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ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ МІЖНАРОДНИХ ВІДНОСИН

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ESSAY ON THE VALUE-IDEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF STRATEGIC FOREIGN POLICY PLANNING (Russo-Ukrainian War case)

НАРИС ДО ЦІННІСНО-ІДЕОЛОГІЧНОГО АСПЕКТУ СТРАТЕГІЧНОГО ПЛАНУВАННЯ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ (на прикладі російсько-української війни)

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Abstract. *The article highlighted the problem of value defining in the geopolitical prospects. Geopolitical strategic planning as well as the soft power of the state is based on the value system, which was the object of this analysis. Deep historical contradictions between two nations (Ukraine and Russia) have led to the war, and the next steps in architecting a global security system claim to the new unions and alliances, which should be built on unified values.*

Value backgrounds of the current war are dynamic systems and uncertain conditions, total disinformation and Russian myths, and the battle between autocracies and democracies. The value system could become the core basis of the state's mission and strategy. Values guide the behavior of members of society, the decision-making process, and the choice of strategies, can serve as a powerful tool for transformation in different fields of economy, motivation to work or even to fight.

The article determined the great difference between the two nations (Ukrainian and Russians) and examined Huntington's approach to the Ukrainian future geopolitical position.

Keywords: *Russo-Ukrainian war, strategic planning, values, ideology.*

Анотація. *У статті висвітлено питання визначення цінностей у геополітичній перспективі. Геополітичне стратегічне планування, як і м'яка сила держави, базується на системі цінностей, яка була об'єктом цього аналізу. Глибокі історичні протиріччя між двома народами (Україною та Росією) призвели до війни, а наступні кроки у розбудові глобальної системи безпеки претендують на нові союзи та альянси, які мають будуватися на єдиних цінностях.*

Ціннісним фоном нинішньої війни є динамічні системи та невизначені умови, тотальна дезінформація та російські міфи, боротьба між автократіями та демократіями. Система цінностей може стати основою місії та стратегії держави. Цінності керують поведінкою членів суспільства, процесом прийняття рішень і вибором стратегій, можуть слугувати потужним інструментом трансформації в різних сферах економіки, мотивацією до праці чи навіть боротьби.

У статті визначено велику різницю між двома націями (українською та російською) та розглянуто підхід Хантінгтон до майбутнього геополітичного становища України.

Ключові слова: *російсько-українська війна, стратегічне планування, цінності, ідеологія.*

Introduction. The history that is being made today is once again turning the world into a confrontation of ideologies. Francis Fukuyama's belief in the three pillars of a unified world ideology - liberalizing democracy, social market economy, and globalization, leading to positive interdependence between countries and national prosperity - was broken by the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine[Fukuyama, 1992]. The collapse of the international security system and the world's political-ideological polarization require revision of the state's strategic plans.

Some fits of the Russo-Ukrainian war:

a. **Dynamic systems and uncertain conditions.** This thesis was rewritten several times, because of the changes in the agenda. Who could believe that Russia would invade Kyiv? Who could imagine that the German government or NATO would change their mind and narratives concerning Ukraine in a 6 month of full-scale invasion? No European Union, nor the USA didn't expect such resistance against Russia by Ukrainians. And of course, it is hard to predict something when you have to deal with a such leader as Putin. In the field of science of strategic planning, one never says that something will definitely happen one observes the possibilities. Otherwise, linear forecasting in a long-term perspective (taking the times from Bohdan Khmelnytsky, 1648) gives us the possibility to predict Russian Ukrainian war.

b. **Total disinformation and Russian myths.** In the times of war public diplomacy has return to the times of cold war or even worse. If we look to the scale of effect devoted by the Russian state and non-government actors that are inseparable from the government to disinform countries and societies in different parts of the world, one would suggest that these efforts would have limited effect if there were not supported by our own fits and characteristics of liberalism or postmodernism or simply by historical ignorance. This is particularly case about the population and even experts that are suffering of historical ignorance particularly with regard of Russia. If you look through the recent works of foreign experts or analysts who comment on Russia's relations with NATO or the EU, they were not aware of how Russia influences countries in the periphery and often did not perceive such a country as Ukraine as a subject of international relations.

Disinformation is not about spreading lies; it consists of messages of truth and false that are misleading. All effective disinformation is based on a particle of recognized true, definite false, and Russian mythology. The myths of "brother nations", Russia as the only heir of Kyiv Rus, the creation of Ukraine by Lenin, NATO's promises not to expand to the east, etc. have become known as scientific concepts. And the process of creating such myths began many years ago, in the times of Ekaterina II and Ivan Grozny [Snyder, 2022]. The problem is that many Russians have grown up with this mythology. Many pro-Putin essays, as well as those of Mykola I, Alexander II, and Kateryna II, aimed to distort the memory of the Getmanshchyna, Zaporizhska Sich, the development of the state on Ukrainian lands, its language, culture, and literature. So today's Russians grew up entirely on falsified history, just like most Ukrainians.

The distinguishing feature of Russian imperialism compared with others is including the identities and history of other nations into their own. They believe that Ukraine is a Russian identity, but the problem is that Europeans and even some Ukrainians have believed too [Sherr, 2022].

c. The strategic heart of this war, is indeed a battle between autocracies and democracies, between opposite values of east and west, which is the core idea of this thesis. The deep analysis of this thesis was made in a recent article by Parfinenko A. [Parfinenko A., 2023].

The research results. *Value-based issues in terms of state strategic planning.* Strategic planning and building an effective strategy are based on objective and subjective factors. Objective factors include the presence of basic values and interests, external factors, and national resources. Subjective factors include the views, ideas, stances, and values of the ruling elite at one or another period of time.

Reich considers strategy as a reproduction of beliefs and ideas developed in society[Magaziner et al, 1982, p. 12]. R. Reich's scientific research proves the importance of taking

social values into account when developing state-level strategic documents. The goals formulated in state strategic documents should combine economic and social values.

The value system should be the basis of the mission. Values guide the behavior of members of society, decision-making and the choice of strategies, can serve as a powerful tool for transformation in different fields of economy, motivation to work or even fight etc. Large-scale changes cause the destruction of a part of the existing values in the public and individual consciousness, therefore there is a need to replace them with new values, the establishment of which should be aimed at reforms (strategic changes)[Kravchenko, 2014, p.76].

The mission of the state, which is based on values and satisfaction of the national interest, is closely related to the vision. A vision, based on the present situation and predictive research, defines what the future should be like. As a rule, it is considered as a result of the implementation of the strategic plan and helps to formulate goals.

While creating a strategic vision and strategy for the development of the state, it is necessary to define a valuable component that should become the primary basis of the ideological and pragmatic goals of the state. Among the main directions of the influence of values on state strategic planning as a function of state management, the following can be distinguished: the influence of values on the content, nature and direction of strategies.

A. Toynbee noted that in the process of interaction of different cultures, the forms of social organization are assimilated more or less successfully, but the core of culture, the system of values, is much more difficult [Toynbee, 1989, p.289]. This shows that it is possible to create one or another model of the state-political system and the system of state administration corresponding to it, but it is impossible to maintain such a system without its heart. That is why it is important to clearly understand the value orientations of the nation and harmonize state geopolitical strategies accordingly. This is the point where the "people-government" confrontation arises, this is the point where the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine began. This determines the importance of clearly defining the value bases of geopolitical strategic planning, i.e. the legislative consolidation of the list of basic values, which cover everything necessary for the functioning and development of society, the satisfaction of material and spiritual needs of man.

The most important national value orientation is the recognition of a person as the highest social value for the entire society. All other values must be subordinated and related to the value of a person. Based on this, the values in state strategic planning should include the main values on which the European community is based: the rule of law, democracy, freedom and equality, respect for human rights and dignity.

Russo-Ukrainian war: the battle of opposite ideologies.

Scientists identify changes in the international situation as one of the factors affecting changes in the national values [Melnyk, 2017, p.28] In the perspective of the full-scale Russian-Ukrainian war, changes in the international situation have only strengthen the historically established postulates of the Ukrainian nation, which become a unifying factor in the Ukrainian development, as was evidenced by sociological surveys[Servey results, 2022].

From the historical point of view of Ukraine's geopolitical choice, let's turn to the papers of the prominent philosopher and historian Mykhaylo Hrushevskyi, who noted that "Ukrainian-Russian relations are complicated by the existence of a deep antithesis between these two peoples who are close in blood but different in spirit. The Ukrainian people are a nation of Western culture, while Russia has never known such pluralism and was distinguished by an all-powerful government and an amorphous, politically passive society. Compared to the people of Great Russia, the Ukrainian people, in terms of their culture and spirit, are a Western people and at the same time a people rich in Eastern influences. The Great Russian people, even though they are Europeanized, are completely under the power of the oriental spirit and elements and cannot play a mediating role between the West and the East due to the presence of character traits that are not only "deeply different" from the European, but also "deeply "disgusting" to him, namely: patriarchy, increased interest in the moral problems of the "cuckold nation", lack of one's own

human dignity and contempt the dignity of another person, rejection of cultural and social values and glorification of one's own lack of culture and disorganization, etc.”[Shulga, 2006, p.147].

It is from such an embryonic state begins the counterbalance between the national values that precede the geostrategies of Ukraine and the ideological basis of the imperialist efforts of the Russian Federation today, which is based on the doomed Eurasian approach.

The geopolitical concept “Russkiy Mir”, which is based on the Eurasian concept is a Russian quasi-ideology aimed at the expansion of influence abroad and uniting the states considered by the Kremlin as its backyard on the basis of Russian language common history in Moscow’s perception and Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). As a political concept, it gained some importance in the 2000s, particularly after Vladimir Putin started using it in his public speeches, making an appeal to the “compatriots” abroad. In the initial stages, ROC played a significant role in the development and promotion of the concept, which supported the Kremlin-designed confrontation between the “Russkiy Mir” and Western democracies that are consistently portrayed as hostile on the civilizational level and as attempting to enforce their “destructive values” on the other states. With “Russkiy Mir” Putin’s Russia attempts to establish itself as a civilization-forming state and as a leading geopolitical actor [Hurak et al, 2023].

Ukraine follows Western values. It is a democratic state. Its democracy is still young, but much progress has already been made. Ukrainian people can vote in fair elections — and in the last 30 years, six different politicians took the presidential seat. Reforms were started in many fields to eradicate corruption, ensure freedom of the press, and increase accountability and transparency of the officials.

Since 1991, two revolutions have taken place in Ukraine. During the Orange Revolution in 2004, Ukrainians were not willing to accept election results rigged by the authorities. Western Revolution – Revolution of Dignity (2014) made the pro-Russian president Yanukovich run away from Ukraine and turn the country towards membership of the EU bloc.

It seems that the core values of Ukrainian society – a love of freedom, democracy, free-thinking and European values – are values that are anathema to Putin; he can neither comprehend, nor tolerate, these values – and so instead he is seeking to destroy them.

At this point, the investigations of Huntington seem not to come true. In his research “The Clash of civilization” Huntington identifies three possible future options for Ukraine [Huntington, 1993, p.166]:

- *Absence of armed conflict with Russia due to civilizational commonality and close ties.* We can’t agree with this thesis as due to civilization differences it hasn’t happened because of different ideologies and views on the future geopolitical strategies.

- *The actual split inside Ukraine.* Huntington believed that in this scenario, the eastern part of Ukraine would become part of Russia, and Crimea should be the beginning of this process. Russia was trying to begin this process but Russian-speaking and Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians had united around one goal to protect the independence of their native country – Ukraine.

- *Ukraine will remain "united, internally divided and independent",* and will continue to cooperate closely with Russia, due to Huntington. Such interval was in our common history, but now it is time to finish this unequal connection/cooperation. Future scenarios are

The other reality raised, the actual split of civilization has taken place between Russia and Ukraine. So, speaking about strategic planning and developing geopolitical strategy it is extremely important to take into account value-based factors.

Conclusions. This is the lesson to each country: to appreciate its own identity, language, culture, and history in order to save its independence.

Speaking about future security architecture on the value-based ground it is worth admitting the increasing role of Ukraine as the geopolitical center in East Europe. Meeting in Ramstein gives grounds to speak that the development of a new world security model begins.

It should transform in such a way that a large-scale military conflict in the region in the future would not make sense ~~through~~ the absolute parity of the parties. It doesn't make sense even now, but

the Russian government couldn't realize this deep otherness between Ukrainians and Russians, as it wasn't realized by most Europeans, due to European liberal views and ignorance of the real history, which is extremely opposite to Russian myths.

This powerful unity is foreseen in the Baltic-Black Sea alliance of Eastern European states, which is being developed by Ukrainian, Polish, and Lithuanians in the region which has a common geo-political history of over 100 years. All the countries located on the Baltic-Black Sea axis are Christian ones and their nations have long European cultural traditions and similar views on the Soviet Union damage. This is not a discussion of today. After the victory, researchers will think about possible military collaboration. After the war the status quo is not an option concerning extending NATO, Ukraine needs effective security guarantees by states that have the will and capacity to help Ukraine to defend itself.

The war in Ukraine has a far-reaching impact, changing not only the security architecture in Europe, but influencing geopolitics almost globally. In this context, it is still too early to talk about the final contours of the new international system, because it will depend primarily on the results of the Russian-Ukrainian war, as well as on the actions of the China, the EU, the United States, and a number of other factors. Therefore, all future configurations of the international system are possible: monopolar, bipolar or multipolar. One thing is obvious - under any configuration of the international system, Russia will no longer play the role of one of the poles of influence (the NATO extend, reducing the energy dependence by Europe, international isolation of Russia).

And to finish with it is worth to cite Jacqueline Kennedy message to Mikita Khrushchev after the finishing Cuban missile crisis and the death of her husband: "The danger which troubled my husband was that war might be started not so much by the big men as by the little ones. While big men know the needs for self-control and restraint — little men are sometimes moved more by fear and pride".

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ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ ПІДХОДІВ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ ДО ФОРМУВАННЯ ЕНЕРГЕТИЧНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ (2014-2023 рр.)

EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S APPROACHES TO ENERGY POLICY-MAKING (2014-2023)

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Annotation. *This paper provides a research the specifics of strategic planning for energy security within the European Union (EU) during the period from 2014 to 2023. The analysis of adopted strategies, the identification of problems and challenges encountered during their implementation, and the determination of opportunities and prospects for forming a unified concept to ensure sustainable and reliable energy security in the EU are highly relevant for the European community today, aimed at further risk mitigation. The impact of geopolitical factors, climate change, and energy dependence on the formation of the EU's energy security strategy is examined. The research findings make a significant contribution to understanding contemporary challenges and the prospects for the development of EU energy policy.*

Keywords: *energy security, energy and climate policy, European Union, energy security strategy, energy transition, European Green Deal, REPowerEU.*

Анотація. *Дана стаття присвячена дослідженню особливостей стратегічного планування енергетичної безпеки Європейського Союзу (ЄС) упродовж 2014-2023 років. Аналіз прийнятих стратегій, виявлення проблем та викликів, що виникали під час їх реалізації, та визначення можливостей та перспектив формування єдиної концепції для забезпечення стійкої та надійної енергетичної безпеки ЄС є актуальним на сьогоднішній день для європейської спільноти з метою подальшої мінімізації ризиків. Досліджено вплив геополітичних факторів, змін клімату та енергетичної залежності на формування стратегії енергетичної безпеки ЄС. Результати дослідження надають важливий внесок у розуміння сучасних викликів та перспектив розвитку енергетичної політики ЄС.*

Ключові слова: *енергетична безпека, енергетична і кліматична політика, Європейський Союз, стратегія енергетичної безпеки, енергетичний перехід, Європейський «зелений курс», REPowerEU.*

Вступ. The priority of energy security, in particular its high-quality regulatory and legal support, is becoming increasingly important among actors in international relations. Given the emergence and escalation of not only regional but also global threats, such as climate change and an increase in average annual temperature due to significant carbon emissions, it remains important for states and international organisations to develop a set of rules that could serve as a regulatory guideline. However, certain political and economic issues stand in the way of formulating a high-

quality, practical and long-term strategy to ensure energy security, which is currently key to preserving our ecosystem. By consciously assessing the current situation, risks and opportunities, the European Union is striving to take on the role of a leading exporter of energy efficiency technologies and become a world leader in terms of quality rather than quantity.

Diversification of electricity sources, energy transition, energy efficiency, increasing the share of renewable energy sources and multilateral energy diplomacy - this is how the European Union's priorities in this area can be described today. The Common Energy Policy, which began its formation in the last century and later evolved into the single energy market project in 2015, required a solid conceptual framework that would allow supranational institutions and EU member states to develop a coherent vision. However, academic circles are still asking the question: what is EU energy security, what are its mission, goals, and value system? This has prompted more careful planning of energy policy, communication with partners, and the consolidation of strategic priorities in this area. In fact, the catalyst for these processes was the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in 2014, which disrupted energy supply chains. The European Union has realised its main problem in the energy sector: excessive dependence on Russian energy resources.

The new energy crisis that began during the COVID-19 pandemic has prompted countries around the world to seek new or strengthened approaches to shaping the energy agenda. For some, it has become important to develop cooperation and expand the range of partners, while for others it has become important to exert pressure in order to maintain or increase benefits. Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 was also a turning point in the EU's history in the context of rethinking its common foreign and security policy and, accordingly, its own energy security strategy. That is why it is important for the European community to demonstrate solidarity, resilience and prudence in all areas. Energy is becoming more critical than ever, and it may become a factor that will continue to influence the theses and positions of European politicians. Continued support for Ukraine, its integration into the unified energy system and the provision of everything necessary to prepare for the winter season and possible attacks on energy infrastructure is now a key goal of the European Union in the context of ensuring comprehensive security on the continent.

The purpose of this article is to analyse the strategies related to ensuring the energy security of the European Union for the period from 2014 to 2023, and to identify the problems that arose in their implementation, opportunities and prospects for creating a unified concept for ensuring sustainable and reliable energy security of the EU at the present stage.

Literature review. The reviewed scientific sources include the works of both foreign and Ukrainian researchers of the European Union's policy, in particular in the energy sector.

Yuriy Kohut analysed in detail the evolution of the EU's energy policy in the twenty-first century, identifying the role of institutions in decision-making [*Kohut, 2022*]. Ivan Yakoviuk and Maksym Tselik examined the impact of Russian aggression on the European Union's energy security and the initiatives that followed, including REPowerEU [*Yakoviuk and Tselik, 2022*].

Daniel Yergin, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author, in his book "The New World Map", highlighted the negative consequences of decarbonisation for the European continent [*Yergin, 2022*]. Kateryna Domorenok and Paolo Graziano highlighted the necessity and pragmatism of the European Union's Green Deal [*Domorenok, Graziano, 2023*]. Benjamin Schmitt and Aura Sabadus provided recommendations for further EU measures in the field of energy security, in particular in the context of protecting Ukraine's energy infrastructure [*Schmitt, Sabadus, 2023*].

The study also analysed certain legal acts, in particular the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), as well as the EU energy policy strategies approved in the period from 2014 to 2023 and in 2006 (the so-called Green Paper of the European Commission).

Main research results. Speaking of the supranational level of policy-making, the traditional triangle of European institutions (Commission, Parliament, Council) is the engine for shaping the concepts of the mission, vision and goals of the common energy policy and improving the security of the relevant sector. According to Article 194 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, the European Parliament and the Council of the EU shall implement measures necessary to achieve such objectives as a free energy market, security of supply, energy efficiency and

interconnection, with the Member States having the possibility to choose the energy sources they will use to supply their consumers [*Eur-Lex, 2012*].

At the same time, it can be stated that in the 2000s, supranational institutions were united in their definition of the main threat to the EU's energy security, namely a significant increase in import dependence, in particular at the expense of Russian energy resources [*Kohut, 2022*]. In particular, the European Commission's Green Paper "A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy" states that the first steps to address the above problem are to increase energy efficiency and gradually switch to renewable energy sources, which in turn creates opportunities for creating new jobs [*European Commission, 2006*].

Since the Green Paper of 2006, which was approved against the backdrop of the Russian-Ukrainian gas conflict, the Russian Federation has been seen not as a potential partner with whom the EU seeks to develop long-term energy relations, but as a potential threat to energy sovereignty and an actor that benefits from Europe's import dependence for its own gain. That is why, after the annexation of Crimea in 2014, the European Union approved a new document and, at the same time, a roadmap for reforms - the European Energy Security Strategy. Among the main priorities outlined in the strategy are the diversification of energy supplies and cooperation with exporting countries, with the latter coming second to the expansion of ties. The action plan of the EU member states, which was based on the principle of solidarity, also included the development of mechanisms for coordinating risk assessment, demand monitoring, building a high-quality and integrated internal energy market, developing technologies and domestic production, digitalisation, infrastructure development, and "unanimity" of the member states in the context of energy policy making [*European Commission, 2014*].

At the same time, at the European Council summit in October 2014, the leaders of the member states proposed to formulate an ambitious climate and energy policy with an action plan that would last until 2030. Among the goals set by the heads of government were a 40% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, a 27% share of renewable energy sources, further reduction of energy dependence, and the formation of an energy market [*European Council, 2014*], which was later implemented in 2015.

The next step towards establishing and consolidating a common energy security policy was the EU Strategy for a Sustainable Energy Union. In particular, it clearly defined the vision and goals of the energy union. Among its important parameters were the interdependence of member states, security, competitiveness, decarbonisation, energy efficiency, employment, investment in consumer confidence, and the inclusion of citizens in the formation, as they take responsibility for the energy transition, use the latest technologies to "reduce bills", participate in market development, and receive additional protection [*European Commission, 2015*]. According to Yakovliuk and Tselik, the plan proposed by this strategy was primarily to develop eco-friendly technologies, ensure affordable energy prices, create all conditions for foreign and domestic investment in alternative energy sources, and find the least financially affordable way to climate neutrality [*Yakovliuk and Tselik, 2022*].

With the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement in 2016, the European Union focused on a package of necessary reforms to ensure the development of green energy, and environmental issues were raised more actively. In particular, the 2021-2027 EU budget allocates about 1/3 of the funds for the development of innovative technologies and support for projects related to renewable energy and climate protection [*European Commission, 2021c*]. However, the EU, as a "technological powerhouse," was required to engage more globally and set an example for other powerful actors. According to UN Secretary-General António Guterres, the environmental situation is becoming increasingly dramatic, and the G20 countries continue to increase the costs of extracting minerals and their widespread use [*Chernetska, 2020*]. Moreover, the goal of preventing the average annual temperature from rising by more than 2 degrees at the Climate Conference was far from being achieved. Thus, according to the World Meteorological Organisation, already in 2018, the world showed a tendency that the average annual temperature could increase by 3.3 degrees Celsius [*World Meteorological Organisation, 2018*].

Unfortunately, subsequent documents of supranational institutions, in particular the EU Council, were purely declarative and described intentions to achieve certain goals. The action plan in the 2014 strategy, which was urgent and contained steps to ensure energy security, was not implemented to a large extent. It is worth noting that due to the EU's high dependence on imports, in particular from Russia, production volumes did not grow, but even decreased. This also applied to natural gas production, which fell by 40% in 2020 (which can also be attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic) and by 11% in 2021 [*European Commission, 2021a*]. There was also a decline in coal production between 2014 and 2019, by about 65%. The reason for this was a shift in priority in favour of renewable energy sources and biomaterial fuels [*Publication Office of the European Union, 2021*]. The energy transition required certain concessions in the extraction of mineral resources, so this process was quite vulnerable for some EU member states that could be completely dependent on energy from external actors. Speaking about the first months after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Germany remained the second largest importer of energy resources from the aggressor country for the time being. In total, between 24 February 2022 and 31 August 2023, the European Union purchased about €95 million worth of oil from Russia and more than €64 million worth of gas [*CREA, 2023*].

Nevertheless, the European community has made a number of attempts to improve strategic planning in the energy sector. Among such documents and ideas proposed by the European Commission, the following are worth highlighting. First, the concept of an "energy transition", which entails the comprehensive use of renewable energy sources, integration of innovations, digitalisation and reduction of extraction and use of fossil fuels. It has become a key pillar of the new climate change initiative, the European Green Deal. Among the other main goals set were to achieve climate neutrality by 2050 and reduce carbon emissions by 55% by 2030 [*European Commission, 2019*]. A number of sectoral strategies have also become part of the EU's green course, including the hydrogen strategy (use of hydrogen as a fuel), the strategy for processing biological waste into biofuels, improving food quality, etc. A separate Just Transition Fund was also created, with a volume of €18 billion. These funds were to be used primarily by countries with a significant share of the fuel mix made up of coal [*European Commission, 2021b*].

However, such a promising idea has its downsides. For example, according to Daniel Yergin, in the long run, such a policy of decarbonising the industrial complex in Europe, where carbon emissions began to fall at record levels during the COVID-19 pandemic [*IEA, 2022*], will guarantee an economic boom. However, over the next 5-10 years, decarbonisation may reduce the economic opportunities of European countries, which is more likely to lead to a "green recession" [*Yergin, 2020*]. Nevertheless, this approach, which is based on the European Climate Law, aims to consolidate sustainable development and gradual economic growth in the long term, while taking on specific political commitments [*Domorenok and Graziano, 2023*].

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 was also a turning point in the European Union's strategic planning in the field of security and energy. In this context, three initiatives are worth highlighting that still play a significant role in ensuring that supranational institutions and member states maintain energy security and adhere to previous action plans. Firstly, a new EU programme to ensure security of energy supply, increase the role of energy transition, search for new supplier countries and, accordingly, fill storage facilities to prepare for the winter season called REPowerEU was approved. The expediency of its development was justified in the Commission's communication to supranational bodies and institutions entitled "EU External Energy Engagement in a Changing World". It noted that despite the measures taken by the EU after 2009, member states still depend on Russia as a supplier of natural gas, which it uses as an instrument of pressure. The EU's main foreign policy goals in the energy sector included:

- Strengthening energy security, resilience and strategic autonomy to diversify energy sources and fill reserves;
- Accelerating a global green and equitable energy transition to ensure sustainable, secure and affordable energy for the world;

- Providing support to Ukraine and other countries directly or indirectly under pressure from Russia;
- Developing long-term international relations and promoting energy efficiency and clean energy [European Commission, 2022].

The REPowerEU platform itself was initiated on 18 May 2022 and has since served as a hub for member states and partners to exchange information, arrange for the supply of primarily liquefied natural gas, and follow up on previous action plans and strategies, including the Green Deal. According to its resolution no. 2022/2560, the European Parliament called on member states to create common energy reserves and mechanisms for the purchase of energy resources in order to reduce external dependence and price fluctuations [European Parliament, 2022]. Among the first achievements were a reduction in energy dependence on Russia, a 20% reduction in electricity consumption, the introduction of a gas and oil price floor, and a doubling of renewable energy generation. Diversification, in turn, required the conclusion of new agreements with third countries, joint purchases of liquefied natural gas by member states, and the establishment of strategic partnerships with Egypt, Namibia, and Kazakhstan to develop renewable hydrogen production and natural gas supplies. As for the filling of gas storage facilities, as of August 2023, this figure was already 90%. For comparison, the target for November 2022 was to fill the storage facilities by 80%. At that time, the target was exceeded and the storage facilities were filled by 95%. At the same time, the European Union has set a target of reducing gas consumption by 15% under REPowerEU. Finally, the last beacon of this programme is investment in renewable energy sources. The goal is to increase the share of electricity generation from wind and solar (16 gigawatts and 41 gigawatts respectively) to 39%. The sources of funding are diverse: from grants to loans and specialised funds [European Commission, 2023c].

Secondly, in April 2022, the EU created a separate energy platform (EU Energy Platform) under the REPowerEU programme, which aims to coordinate, integrate infrastructure and negotiate with international partners on joint purchases of gas and hydrogen. The energy platform also encourages countries to use their market and political weight to effectively diversify supplies and intensify competition to achieve the best possible conditions for all EU consumers [European Commission, 2023b]. This platform can prove to be of high quality and long-term value by finding new gas exporters. However, in the context of the urgency of the action plans, there are problems and risks with both short- and long-term perspectives. For example, according to Spanish Energy Minister Teresa Ribera, the EU currently lacks a short-term plan to abandon Russian liquefied natural gas. Currently, the foreign policy priority is to reduce tensions and launch a peace process [Yevropeiska pravda, 2023].

Finally, it is worth emphasising the nuclear security of the European Union against the background of Russia's nuclear pressure, which is related to the temporary control of the Zaporizhzhya NPP by the occupation forces. The European Nuclear Energy Forum (ENEF) is an important platform for exchanging ideas and best practices on nuclear safety. In particular, the 2023 forum is dedicated to the risks and opportunities of nuclear energy in the world and its role in the strategic planning of the European Union [European Commission, 2023a]. Meanwhile, Euratom continues to work closely with the IAEA, in particular in developing a common position on the development of safe nuclear energy and prevention of nuclear pressure. Nevertheless, the denuclearisation of the energy sector within the European Union is becoming more intensive, as Germany and Italy have done by shutting down their reactors.

The above-analysed strategies and action plans, which were formed by supranational and national bodies collectively, identified the main problems of energy security strategy in the short and long term, namely:

- The EU member states are still highly dependent on foreign energy carriers, in particular Russian ones;
- Tense geopolitical situation, which makes it impossible to develop an effective long-term strategy due to the changing international political environment and forces to act quickly;

- Changing threats to the EU's energy security: first and foremost, against the backdrop of the gas conflict between Russia and Ukraine, much attention was paid to the security of oil and gas supplies, followed by gas, nuclear energy and renewables;
- Recognition of the vulnerability of the European Union's energy system to various kinds of conflicts, the cornerstone of which could be energy resources;
 - Developing a common position of supranational institutions, as the Parliament and the Commission focus on commonality and solidarity, and the Council on protecting the interests of member states.

Moreover, the energy security strategy adopted in 2014 has not been fully implemented, and some targets have been delayed and not met. New technologies are changing approaches to energy and climate policy making. However, cheap energy resources remain desirable for most countries that do not want to experience a "green recession" as part of the green course.

Today, the topic of energy resources has also become a subject of political manipulation in the run-up to the 2024 European elections. However, according to Joanna Pandera, President of the Polish Energy Forum, it is best for Europe to act responsibly right now and to take the past experience of forming a common energy policy and market as a "gift". It is necessary to change the perception of what energy security is and to inform the population about the necessary changes [Euractiv, 2023]. Moreover, a unified concept of energy security should be based primarily on energy efficiency, diversification of sources (but taking into account the need to supply other critical raw materials), long-term sustainability and the establishment of strategic autonomy.

According to Benjamin Schmitt and Aura Sabadus, researchers at the Centre for European Policy Analysis (CEPA), Vladimir Putin's energy gambit against Europe has failed, as the energy crisis that began in 2021 has become a catalyst for positive changes, including the construction of new liquefied natural gas terminals. In 2022, wind and solar power overtook natural gas in terms of electricity generation for the first time, so there is potential for growth. However, in the coming years, the European Union should set the following priorities in its potential new energy security strategy:

1. Restoration and protection of Ukraine's energy infrastructure, development of a decentralised energy system, export of technologies (small modular reactors, smart grids, renewable hydrogen), assessment of damage from Russian attacks, and increase of gas reserve storage capacity;
2. Protection of the European Union's energy infrastructure: development of a single energy market, cooperation with the United States in the nuclear industry, preparation and security of the GTS, attraction of foreign investment, bringing Russia to financial responsibility, blocking the emergence of a Russian gas hub in Turkey, reducing the share of Russian gas in Central and Eastern Europe;
3. Secure Energy Transition: Developing an Emissions Market, Expanding Biomethane and Electrolysed Hydrogen Production [Schmitt, Sabadus, 2023].

Thus, despite the complex nature of the energy crisis, which still prevails not only in Europe but is growing in the world, the European Union has the potential to properly assess the risks, the main anchors that hinder the further development of the energy system in accordance with the "green course", and to develop a single concept of energy security: comprehensive in nature, long-term in time and practical in goals, which will be determined in accordance with the existing legal framework and political and economic experience.

Conclusions. Based on the purpose of this study, we analysed the EU strategies that ensured energy security in 2014-2023. Supranational institutions, in particular the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Council of the EU, play a key role in developing specific measures to develop common energy policies and strategies that are in line with the interests of EU member states.

The European Union's defining problem is still its high import dependence on external energy resources, in particular gas and oil, which come from Russia. Since the annexation of Crimea by the

Russian Federation, Europe has embarked on the path of developing energy security initiatives, introducing a strategy in 2014, but it has not been highly effective.

The European energy market and the signing of the Paris Agreement were further steps towards positioning the EU as a technological and economic power and establishing strategic energy autonomy through the implementation of international standards. Moreover, the member states approved the so-called "green course", the number one goal of which was to reduce gas emissions by 55% by 2030. At the same time, all subsequent documents in the energy sector contained provisions on energy transition, i.e. the prospects for wider use of renewable energy sources.

Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, the European Union has embarked on a path of rethinking its energy strategy. The energy platform and the REPowerEU programme were formed, which allowed the EU to respond confidently to Russia's energy pressure and secure alternative energy supplies, including natural gas. Nuclear safety has risen higher on the agenda, and the EU is developing relevant programmes and projects in cooperation with key partners. Nevertheless, it is still important to create a comprehensive energy security strategy that takes into account current realities and considers both short- and long-term action plans. This, in turn, will position the European Union as a sustainable, ambitious player that is able to meet the needs of consumers and secure a strategic advantage. This, in turn, includes assistance to Ukraine in rebuilding its energy infrastructure and its full integration into the European energy market.

Given the findings of this study, the prospects for further research were also assessed. It is important to further study the EU's experience in responding to crises and its ability to accumulate the efforts of member states for effective strategic planning and ensuring secure energy supplies. The practical experience of the European Union in implementing energy and climate strategies is important for Ukraine in the context of its candidate status and full transition to the "green course"».

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ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN THE MEDIATION BETWEEN SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAN

РОЛЬ КИТАЙСЬКОЇ НАРОДНОЇ РЕСПУБЛІКИ В ПОСЕРЕДНИЦТВІ МІЖ САУДІВСЬКОЮ АРАВІЄЮ ТА ІРАНОМ

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Abstract. *This article analyses the role and influence of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on diplomatic mediation between Saudi Arabia and Iran. The paper examines the historical contradictions between the states, the prerequisites for diplomatic settlement and mediation by other states, and the importance of China's involvement in the settlement process. In addition, the article discovers the impact of negotiations between Saudi Arabia and Iran on the Middle East region and the positions and benefits of dialogue for all three states. The article also touches upon the role and place of mediation in China's overall foreign policy strategy, and the potential for China's participation in other diplomatic processes, including possible diplomatic settlement of the Russian-Ukrainian war.*

Keywords: *PRC, diplomatic settlement, Saudi Arabia, Iran, energy resources, economic cooperation, mediation, negotiations.*

Анотація. *Дана стаття присвячена аналізу ролі та впливу Китайської Народної Республіки на дипломатичне посередництво між Саудівською Аравією та Іраном. Досліджено історичні протиріччя між державами, передумови дипломатичного врегулювання та посередництва інших держав, а також важливість залучення Китаю до процесу врегулювання. Крім того, проаналізовано вплив дипломатичного врегулювання між Саудівською Аравією та Іраном на регіон Близького Сходу, позиції та переваги діалогу для всіх трьох держав. Також, було проведено аналіз фактору та місця посередництва у загальній зовнішньополітичній стратегії КНР, і потенціалу участі Китаю в інших дипломатичних процесах, зокрема у можливому дипломатичному врегулюванні російсько-української війни.*

Ключові слова: *КНР, дипломатичне врегулювання, Саудівська Аравія, Іран, енергоресурси, економічне співробітництво, посередництво, переговори.*

Introduction. For a long time, relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran have been developing and have been quite tense due to several factors. First of all, it is worth noting the factor of religion, which plays a very significant role in the

relations between the two countries: the Islamic Republic of Iran professes Shiite Islam, while Saudi Arabia professes Sunni Islam. The difference in the branches of Islam over time has led to significant exacerbations in bilateral relations between the countries. For example, on 31 July 1987, during the Hajj (a pilgrimage in Islam that involves visiting Mecca and its surroundings, where the main sanctuary of Islam, the Kaaba, is in the Al-Haram Mosque) in Mecca, there was a clash between Saudi security forces and Iranian pilgrims, which resulted in the death of more than 400 people [*The Guardian, 2015*]. Saudi Arabia, like most Arab states, condemned Iran, while Iran blamed the Saudis for the incident. As a result, in April 1988, Saudi Arabia broke off diplomatic relations with Iran and reduced the number of Iranian pilgrims allowed to perform the Hajj to 45,000, compared to 150,000 before the incident. In 1991, diplomatic relations were restored, and an agreement was reached to allow Iranian pilgrims to perform the hajj [*Bezhan, 2016*].

In addition, both states aim to strengthen their influence at the regional level, including consolidating their status as regional leaders, which is why they have a number of contradictions, including over the issue of oil exports. According to a 2009 Rand Corporation study, “Saudi-Iranian Relations Since the Fall of Saddam”, both countries have large energy reserves but have diametrically opposite export goals: Saudi Arabia is interested in a long-term approach to the formation of stable and predictable energy prices, while Iran focuses on the short-term strategy and high prices on energy resources due to the sanctions regime and the economic situation in the country, which ultimately leads to serious discrepancies between the two states in terms of energy and export policy [*RAND Corporation, 2009*].

Also, in January 2016, the Saudi Embassy in Tehran was attacked after the execution of Shiite preacher Nimr al-Nimr in Saudi Arabia. After the attack on the Saudi Embassy in Iran, Saudi Arabia broke off diplomatic relations with Iran, and the Saudi Foreign Minister said that all Iranian diplomats should leave the country within 48 hours [*BBC, 2016*]. Subsequently, in 2016-2023, diplomatic ties between Iran and Saudi Arabia were virtually non-existent. Thus, it can be concluded that relations between the two states have had a complex record of development, with many troublesome aspects that lead to the aggravation of divergences between them.

The purpose of this article is to evaluate the role of the People's Republic of China in the process of diplomatic settlement between Saudi Arabia and Iran, the geopolitical impact of this process on the Middle East and China's position in the region, as well as the importance of China's participation in the negotiated resolution between Riyadh and Tehran in the context of China's overall foreign policy strategy.

Literature review. While working on the research for this article, the author mainly relied on materials presented in such media outlets as The Guardian, BBC, Al Jazeera, Bloomberg and others, which reviewed the relations between China, Saudi Arabia and Iran. In addition, while developing the article, the author analysed the studies of Western and Asian researchers specialising in the topic. In particular, a 2009 study by the RAND Corporation [*RAND Corporation, Saudi-Iranian Relations Since the Fall of Saddam: Rivalry, Cooperation, and Implications for U.S. Policy, 2009*] investigated bilateral relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, domestic and foreign policy factors of both states within the framework of a broader regional confrontation, which provides a more detailed historical context that is important for understanding the preconditions of the inconsistencies between the states. In turn, Yasmine Farouk, a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Middle East Programme, in her paper “Riyadh's Motivations Behind the Saudi-Iran Deal” [*Farouk, Y., Riyadh's Motivations Behind the Saudi-Iran Deal, 2023*] reviewed in detail China's role in mediating between Saudi Arabia and Iran, as well as Riyadh's possible interest in a peaceful settlement with Tehran, especially in terms of the Saudi Vision 2030 programme, which emphasises the importance of a peaceful resolution with Iran as part of a broader course in Saudi Arabia's foreign policy and economic activities.

Amrita Jash, Associate Professor at the Department of Geopolitics and International Relations at the Manipal Academy of Higher Education, also examined China's role as a mediator, as well as China's geopolitical and economic interests in the region [*Jash, A., The Saudi-Iran Deal: A Test Case of China's Role as an International Mediator, 2023*]. In addition, the author examined the

work of Pakistani researchers Dr Adnan Nawaz, Muhammad Afraz Ansar Khan and Zosha Noor, exploring the positions and interests of the United States (US) and China in the Middle East and how the growing Chinese presence could affect the US position in the region [Nawaz, A., Khan, M., Zosha, N., *China-US Competition in the Middle Eastern Political Chessboard: An Analysis*, 2023].

In addition, during the work on the article the author utilised official statements, concepts and publications on official state sources of the People's Republic of China, such as the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.

Main results of the study. On 10 March 2023, with the mediation of the People's Republic of China, Saudi Arabia and Iran agreed to restore diplomatic relations. The trilateral statement reads that "...an agreement was reached between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran to restore diplomatic relations between them and to open Embassies and Missions within a period not exceeding two months, as well as to reaffirm respect for the sovereignty of states and non-interference in the internal affairs of states." It also says that the foreign ministers of both countries will meet to implement the agreement, agree on the return of their ambassadors and discuss means of enhancing bilateral relations. In addition, in this statement, all three countries expressed their desire to exert all efforts towards enhancing regional and international peace and security [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2023].

In September 2023, Saudi Arabia and Iran exchanged ambassadors, officially restoring diplomatic relations between the two countries after a seven-year period. The new Saudi ambassador, Abdullah Al-Enezi, said upon his arrival in Tehran that he would seek to "strengthen relations and intensify contacts and meetings between the Kingdom and Iran to move to a more hospitable space". In addition, Al-Enezi's arrival in Tehran took place at the same time as Iran sent a new ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Alireza Enayati [Dagher, S., Shahla, A., *Iran and Saudi Arabia Formally End Diplomatic Rupture*, 2023].

It is worth noting that China was not the only country interested and involved in a diplomatic settlement between Iran and Saudi Arabia. In April 2021, Iran and Saudi Arabia held the first direct talks in five years in Baghdad, mediated by Iraqi Prime Minister Mustafa al-Kadhimi. The parties mainly discussed the issue of Yemen, where Saudi Arabia and Iran have been supporting the opposing sides since the outbreak of the civil war in 2014 (Saudi Arabia supports the Sunni government of Yemen, while Iran supports the Houthi rebels). In addition, the delegations discussed the political and financial crisis in Lebanon, where, again, the parties support opposing sides. In general, several rounds of negotiations between Saudi Arabia and Iran took place during 2021-2022 with the mediation of Iraq and Oman, but during these negotiations, the parties did not resolve key differences between them [The Iran Primer, 2022][Al Jazeera, 2023]. However, the mediation efforts of Iraq and Oman did not go unnoticed, as the trilateral statement by China, Saudi Arabia and Iran specifically mentioned that "the Saudi and Iranian sides expressed their appreciation and gratitude to the Republic of Iraq and the Sultanate of Oman for hosting the rounds of dialogue that took place between both sides during the years 2021-2022", which recognised and emphasised the mediation efforts of Iraq and Oman in the settlement between Iran and Saudi Arabia [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2023].

According to researcher Amrita Jash, several events that took place during 2022-2023 are vital for understanding the importance of China's role in the diplomatic settlement that eventually led to the signing of the agreement between Saudi Arabia and Iran. First, in December 2022, Xi Jinping visited Saudi Arabia for a series of meetings. During his visit, the two countries issued a joint statement reaffirming that "China and Saudi Arabia will continue to uphold the model of solidarity and cooperation for mutual benefit between the two countries". The two countries also reaffirmed their support for each other's national sovereignty and territorial integrity (Saudi Arabia reaffirmed its commitment to the "One China" principle in this statement), as well as the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. In addition, the parties stressed the importance of energy cooperation between China and Saudi Arabia and the stability of the global oil market [The State Council of the People's Republic of China, 2022]. It is also worth highlighting the holding of the first China-Gulf Cooperation Council summit on 9 December 2022. In his

speech, Xi Jinping said that “China and the Gulf Cooperation Council should be partners for greater solidarity, further consolidate political mutual trust and firmly support each other's core interests; that China and the countries of the region should be partners for common development and common security.” [*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022*] [*Jash, A., 2023*].

Also, according to Amrita Jash, another important point in this context is the visit of Iranian President Raisi to Beijing in February 2023, which marked the first state visit of an Iranian leader to the Chinese capital in more than two decades. During this visit, Xi Jinping expressed support for Iran's territorial integrity and emphasised the importance of the principle of non-interference in Iranian internal affairs. In addition, Xi Jinping pointed out that maintaining stability in the Middle East is essential to safeguarding peace in the region, promoting global economic development and ensuring stable energy supplies, and emphasised that China is ready to continue to play a constructive role in promoting regional peace and stability [*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2023*] [*Jash, A., 2023*]. Thus, we can see that China not only had the necessary political and economic influence on both states but also created the necessary preconditions that undoubtedly contributed to more effective negotiations between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Analysing the positions and interests of the parties involved in the settlement, it is worth noting that the restoration of diplomatic relations and intensification of dialogue between the parties is a mutually beneficial step for all three states. Speaking of Iran, Garrett Nada believes that the resumption of dialogue and diplomatic ties with Saudi Arabia can be seen as a rather strong diplomatic achievement for the Iranian authorities, who are facing a number of economic, domestic and foreign policy challenges. In addition, the potential improvement of relations with Saudi Arabia could lead to a settlement of the conflict in Yemen, in which both countries support opposing sides, which would help improve the security situation in the entire Middle East [*Gallagher, A., Hamasaed, S., Nada, G., 2023*]. Another important factor for Iran is the deepening of bilateral relations with China. In 2021, Iran and China signed a 25-year bilateral cooperation agreement to strengthen economic and political relations between the two countries. In particular, it is important to note that this agreement involves Iran in China's Belt and Road Initiative, which underscores China's strategic interest in stability in the region [*Reuters, 2021*].

Considering Saudi Arabia's position and interests in the settlement with Iran, according to Yasmine Farouk, it is worth noting that de-escalation with Iran may be part of a more global foreign policy course, which aims to implement and support Saudi Arabia's plan for socio-economic development, better known as “Vision 2030”, the idea of which is to diversify the Saudi economy and includes a number of goals and reform strategies for the Kingdom's long-term economic success [*Farouk, Y., 2023*] [*The Embassy of The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the USA, 2018*]. Stability in the Gulf region can have a positive impact not only on relations between the countries but also on attracting foreign capital and investors, which are extremely important under “Vision 2030”.

In addition, stability in the region and a demonstration of constructiveness in negotiations could potentially have an impact on Riyadh's foreign policy ambitions, namely, strengthening as a powerful regional and global actor. At the moment, it can be argued that the conditions are quite favourable for reinforcing Saudi Arabia's role in the region: high prices for oil and energy resources as a whole, strengthening its position in the international arena, especially in terms of maintaining the balance of energy prices after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine [*Farouk, Y., 2023*]. Another important factor is the fact that Saudi Arabia is currently seeking to balance its foreign policy: to maintain a strategic alliance with the United States and at the same time build closer bilateral relations with China. The diversification strategy can be considered quite beneficial, as Riyadh can potentially reach a strategic level of cooperation with the two most powerful countries in the world, which will have a positive impact on the economic development of the country and its geopolitical role in the region and the world as a whole [*Gallagher, A., Hamasaed, S., Nada, G.,*

2023]. That is why the settlement with Iran might be considered a favourable foreign policy step for Riyadh.

Speaking about China, according to Amrita Jash, it is crucial to mention that, first of all, China has a great interest in the stability of relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia, as well as the region as a whole, due to the importance of the Persian Gulf for China's energy needs: for both Saudi Arabia and Iran, China is the main importer of their oil and the main trading partner. For example, in 2022, Saudi Arabia was the largest oil supplier to China - 1.75 million barrels per day, while Iran has established itself as the third largest oil exporter to China (about 1.2 million barrels per day as of the end of 2022) after Saudi Arabia and Russia [*Al Jazeera, 2023*][*Jash, A., 2023*]. Also, according to Amrita Jash, one more important aspect is that in August 2022, Saudi Arabia's national oil company Aramco signed a Memorandum of Understanding with China's Sinopec, which covers numerous areas of potential cooperation between the parties in Saudi Arabia. According to the official statement, this memorandum "outlines pathways for strategic cooperation between Aramco and Sinopec and supports the long-term relationship between the two companies and their existing joint ventures in China and the Kingdom." [*Saudi Aramco, 2022*].

In addition, the PRC and Chinese companies are actively involved in joint projects with companies in the Middle East, which is why China's economic interests in the Gulf region are an important factor in consolidating China's presence and the importance of stability in the region for the country. First of all, as per Amrita Jash, it is important to emphasize that China is the main bilateral trading partner of a number of Arab countries (for example, according to her, in 2021 China's trade turnover amounted to 330 billion US dollars, of which 200 billion US dollars were accounted for by China's trade with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates alone). In addition, the Persian Gulf is of crucial geopolitical importance for China's Belt and Road Initiative due to the geographical location of the region and its large transit and transportation potential, as well as its huge energy reserves, uninterrupted and stable access to which is of paramount value to China [*Jash, A., 2023*].

Speaking about the geopolitical importance of China's mediation in the settlement between Saudi Arabia and Iran, first of all, this process should be considered within the framework of Xi Jinping's "Global Security Initiative", which was announced on April 21, 2022, during the Boao Forum for Asia. During this speech, he mentioned the significance of commitment to the vision of "common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security", and emphasised the need for states to "stay committed to respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, stay committed to abiding by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter". Attention was also paid to the need for joint cooperation to overcome the challenges of global governance and rebuild a balanced and sustainable security architecture around the world [*Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference, 2022*]. In this context, it is crucial to analyse China's publication of the conceptual document "Global Security Initiative", which refers to the commitment to the principles of "ensuring security through political dialogue and peaceful negotiations" [*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2023*]. In this regard, it can be assumed that China's mediation in the settlement between Riyadh and Tehran might be a sign of the implementation of this strategy by Xi Jinping in China's foreign policy.

Also, the fact of such mediation undoubtedly strengthens China's position in the Middle East and creates a certain counterbalance to the United States in the region. According to Pakistani researchers A. Nawaz, M.A.A. Khan and Z. Noor, "For most of the last century, the US has dominated the region, primarily through its military presence and strong economic ties with the states of the region". According to the scholars, the United States has traditionally pursued several goals in the Middle East, such as ensuring the security of its allies, protecting its energy interests, and fighting terrorism. Taking into account that the US has military facilities and units in certain countries in the region, such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, and others, the United States has maintained a significant military presence in the region, which allows it to project power and provide the necessary security support to strategic regional partners. In addition, the United States

plays a crucial role as an important trade and economic partner especially in the energy and technology sectors [Nawaz, A., Khan, M., Zosha, N., 2023].

As A. Nawaz, M.A.A. Khan and Z. Noor point out, the PRC, in turn, has significantly bolstered its position in the Middle East in recent years, primarily through trade and investment. China is one of the largest oil and gas exporters from the Middle East, which makes this country a very important partner for most states in the region. Moreover, as part of the Belt and Road Initiative, China is paying significant attention to the implementation of infrastructure projects in the region, deepening economic cooperation and strengthening bilateral relations between individual countries in the region and China. In general, in recent years, China has significantly strengthened its position in the Middle East, primarily through economic and energy cooperation with the states of the region [Nawaz, A., Khan, M., Zosha, N., 2023]. Thus, the People's Republic of China is consolidating itself as a powerful and influential actor in the Middle East, acting not only as an investor and major economic partner, but also as a key country in terms of its potential and effectiveness as a mediator in the diplomatic settlement of conflicts in the region.

In general, the United States remains the most influential actor in the region, primarily because of the security aspect, as well as military and political cooperation with many countries in the region. China, in turn, prefers economic cooperation with the states of the region, which makes it possible for China to create a certain alternative pole of power in the Middle East. For both the US and China, strengthening their presence in the region is an important element in planning and implementing their foreign policy strategies, so the geopolitical rivalry for influence in the region may become another platform for confrontation between states, which eventually may reach the global level of strategic disputes. In turn, for the countries of the Middle East, this means the possibility of balancing between the two most powerful countries in the world in matters of politics, economy and security.

An important factor in China's mediation between Saudi Arabia and Iran might be to consolidate China's position as one of the probable mediators in the context of a possible diplomatic settlement between Ukraine and Russia. On 24 February 2023, China published 12 points political settlement plan, that provide an overview of China's position and vision for a political settlement and de-escalation [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2023]. China's participation in mediation between Riyadh and Tehran gives Beijing a basis for strengthening its credibility as an effective mediator that can play an important role in a possible future diplomatic dialogue between Ukraine and Russia. Given that China is one of Ukraine's largest trading partners and a key economic and political ally of Russia, the issue of involving China in a diplomatic settlement may become a possibility, taking into consideration China's experience in mediating between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Conclusions. Thus, it can be concluded that the People's Republic of China has played a significant role in mediating between Saudi Arabia and Iran, achieving several important goals at the same time. First, China's involvement in mediation is an important element in maintaining stability in the Middle East, which is crucial for China from an economic and foreign policy perspective, especially in the context of stable energy exports and uninterrupted transit. Secondly, China has demonstrated the ability to play a key mediating role in complex and deep conflicts between states, which allows China to potentially mediate more conflicts between other states and thus strengthen the country's position as an influential diplomatic actor and mediator. Thirdly, China's consistent policy in the Middle East challenges the United States leadership in the region and creates an economic and political alternative to the US for the countries of the region, which is an important element in terms of further global confrontation between states.

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ISRAELI-SAUDI PARTNERSHIP: REALITIES AND PROSPECTS

ІЗРАЇЛЬСЬКО-САУДІВСЬКЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО: РЕАЛІЇ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

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Abstract. *In this scientific article, we examine today's realities and future prospects of the Israeli-Saudi partnership in the context of dynamically evolving Middle Eastern geopolitics. Exploring the multifaceted dimensions of this strategic cooperation, the study delves into the diplomatic relations, security considerations, and economic ties between Israel and Saudi Arabia. Using a comprehensive analytical framework, the study sheds light on the motivations behind this unprecedented regional alliance and examines its implications for the broader Middle East security paradigm. By revealing the intricacies of this diplomatic rapprochement, the article aims to provide valuable information to scholars, politicians and observers interested in the geopolitical dynamics of the Middle East.*

Key words: *Israeli-Saudi relations, Middle East, Middle Eastern geopolitics, regional alliances, security cooperation, diplomatic rapprochement, Middle Eastern security paradigm, regional stability.*

Анотація. *У цій науковій статті досліджуються поточні реалії та майбутні перспективи ізраїльсько-саудівського партнерства в контексті близькосхідної геополітики, що динамічно розвивається. Досліджуючи багатогранні виміри цієї стратегічної співпраці, дослідження заглиблюється в дипломатичні відносини, міркування безпеки та економічні зв'язки між Ізраїлем і Саудівською Аравією. Використовуючи комплексну аналітичну базу, дослідження проливає світло на мотиви цього безпрецедентного регіонального альянсу та вивчає його наслідки для ширшої парадигми безпеки Близького Сходу. Розкриваючи тонкощі цього дипломатичного зближення, стаття має на меті надати цінну інформацію науковцям, політикам і спостерігачам, які цікавляться геополітичною динамікою Близького Сходу.*

Ключові слова: *Ізраїльсько-саудівські відносини, близькосхідна геополітика, регіональні альянси, безпекова співпраця, геостратегічне партнерство, дипломатичне зближення, близькосхідна парадигма безпеки, регіональна стабільність.*

Introduction

This scientific article examines a critical problem of modern international relations — the formation of an alliance between Israel and Saudi Arabia. Against the background of the complex geopolitics of the Middle East, this partnership brings dynamic changes with profound consequences. The study problem requires a detailed review of the motives, consequences and future vectors of this cooperation. The scientific significance lies in the unique opportunity to deepen our understanding of the evolving geopolitical landscape in the Middle East. By studying the realities and prospects of the Israeli-Saudi partnership, researchers contribute to the scholarly discourse on international relations, diplomacy, and regional security. This analysis sheds light on the intricate web of historical, cultural and geopolitical factors that underlie the alliance, enriching our understanding of regional cooperation marked by historical rivalry. From a practical point of view, revealing the realities and prospects of the Israeli-Saudi partnership is crucial for politicians, diplomats and analysts in the field of international relations. As transformative changes are taking place in the Middle East, the findings of this study directly influence foreign policy decisions, regional stability initiatives, and conflict resolution strategies. Understanding the practical implications of this alliance helps decision makers navigate the complexities of diplomatic engagement and strategic alignment.

The purpose of the article is to explore the historical, geopolitical, and strategic factors that led to the establishment of the Israeli-Saudi partnership, as well as to analyze the broader geopolitical implications of this partnership in the Middle East.

The source base of the research is at the stage of its formation, taking into account the dynamics of events in the Middle East and the rapid development of Israeli-Saudi cooperation. A large number of publications and analytical reviews are offered by such journals as "International Affairs," "Middle East Policy," and "Journal of Middle East Studies." Think tanks such as the Brookings Institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies frequently publish research on Middle East geopolitics, particularly on the prospects for an Israeli-Saudi partnership.

The Middle East during the last century is a region characterized by complex geopolitical dynamics, historical conflicts and changing power structures. Key to understanding this complex landscape is the definition of a security paradigm that encompasses the multifaceted strategies, interests, and challenges that shape security politics in the region.

Security in all its definitions is key to understanding the Middle East region in its broadest sense in the context of a wider geopolitical scale. Moreover, it is the security paradigm that forms the new geopolitical reality in this region and influences the formation of alliances and strategies in the middle of the region. The security paradigm in the Middle East can be defined as a framework of policies, strategies and actions undertaken by states and non-state actors to protect their national interests, territorial integrity and political stability in a region marked by historical conflicts, power struggles and socio-cultural diversity. This paradigm goes beyond conventional military concerns to encompass economic, political, and ideological aspects that affect the achievement of security.

In this context, such characteristics of the Middle East security paradigm as historical conflicts and power struggles come to the fore. The security paradigm of the Middle East is deeply rooted in historical conflicts, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iran-Iraq war, and territorial disputes. These conflicts have led to historic grievances, shaping regional perceptions of security and influencing public policy. Over the past few decades, the region has become a major arena for proxy wars, where global and regional powers support opposing factions to advance their interests. This has led to complex alliances and confrontations, such as the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, further exacerbating security concerns.

During the last thirty years, since the end of the Cold War, the political and strategic profile of the Middle East has been changing quite rapidly. Middle Eastern dynamics became relatively stable, and the United States began to play the role of a dominant external player that actively participated in strategic decisions in the middle of the region. Today, a combination of revolutions, civil wars in the region, US fatigue from global leadership, Russia's return to the region as a

regional player, as well as terrorism, energy conflicts, and the struggle for resources have quite thoroughly changed the geopolitics of the Middle East.

The peculiarity of Israel's policy in a conflict-prone environment

Israel occupies a unique and complex place in the Middle Eastern subsystem of international relations. The historical context, strategic importance and interaction with neighboring countries determine the role of the State of Israel in the region. The creation of Israel in 1948 during the Arab-Israeli conflict led to the formation of a national identity, and most importantly, security imperatives, which to this day play a decisive role in the formation of foreign policy. The geopolitical location at the crossroads of continents provides both advantages and creates a kind of vulnerability. While formal peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan mark diplomatic progress, informal alliances are forming to counter common threats despite limited recognition. In this context, the formation of the foreign policy of the State of Israel played an important role in the transformation of the Middle Eastern subsystem of international relations.

In the political space of the Middle Eastern region, at first glance, Israel looks like a kind of "unusual phenomenon", a state that, due to the long-standing conflict with the Arabs, by definition aligns itself exclusively on the West - both from a values point of view and in terms of foreign policy. However, in reality we are dealing with much more complex and ambiguous things.

From the very first days of its existence, Israel faced a number of serious challenges, the solution of which is, in fact, a guarantee of the "success" of the development of any state. Among them, one of the key ones was the challenge of finding ways to overcome diplomatic isolation: legitimization in the international political arena, finding points of contact and ways of forming a positive model of relations with Muslim countries.

As for Israel's regional policy, it generally focuses on a few key categories to address its own geopolitical and socio-economic challenges. First of all, it is about security and defense policy. Given Israel's complex security environment, much of its regional policy is based around ensuring national security, which mainly consists of countering threats from neighboring countries, terrorism, and potential military conflicts. The policy includes defense cooperation with strategic allies, intelligence sharing, and efforts to counter regional destabilization.

Israel's security and defense policy is primary in its broader foreign policy. Given the country's unique geopolitical context and historical experience, ensuring national security is a fundamental imperative that significantly determines Israel's interaction with the international community and its regional neighbors. Existential threats and historical context date back at least to the creation of Israel as a state in 1948. This process was accompanied by conflicts with neighboring Arab countries, which questioned the existence of the state as a whole. The historical context in the form of numerous wars and ongoing tensions has deeply rooted the importance of security in the national psychology. The memory of past conflicts and an understanding of the potential of existential threats continue to shape Israel's approach to foreign policy.

The deterrence of enemies and the formation of a circle of trust are also taken into account in that process. Israel's strong defense capability and deterrence policy are the key elements of foreign policy. By maintaining a powerful defense apparatus and demonstrating its ability to effectively respond to any aggression, Israel seeks to prevent potential adversaries from carrying out hostile actions. This increases its credibility in the eyes of regional and global actors and has the effect of strengthening regional stability: Israel recognizes that a stable regional environment contributes to its own security. Israel's defense policy is aimed primarily at preventing regional destabilization, which could have far-reaching consequences for its own stability and security. In this regard, working with regional partners and stakeholders to address shared security challenges contributes to a more stable Middle East, which has certainly been reflected in Israeli Middle East policy for at least the past decade. Thus, Israel's constant focus on its own security creates a basis for diplomatic engagement both with traditional allies and with countries that were previously skeptical of its policies. Security cooperation is the basis for building alliances, building trust and promoting common interests, leading to broader cooperation in areas beyond security.

In the sphere of diplomacy, Israel's regional cooperation priorities reflect a dynamic restructuring of traditional alliances and a strategic desire for stability. Diplomatic initiatives, once limited by historical animosity, now govern a landscape where the interests of countries in the region converge, creating opportunities for diplomatic engagement. The normalization of relations with some Arab states marks a paradigm shift, signaling a move away from historical animosity toward a more pragmatic approach and cooperation. The pursuit of regional stability becomes a spearhead of Israel's diplomatic calculations, recognizing that a stable regional environment that fosters cooperation fosters broader global integration. By developing diplomatic ties and building relationships with regional partners, even unofficial ones, Israel seeks to contribute to a transformational narrative where cooperation replaces conflict and shared interests serve as the basis for diplomatic engagement.

The influence of the USA on the foreign policy of Israel and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

For many decades, the United States has pursued a number of core interests in the Middle East: the fight against terrorism and the prevention of nuclear proliferation; ensuring the free flow of trade and security in the region; protection of Israel and mediation in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Despite the transformation of American foreign policy over the past few years and the reducing the influence on global affairs, it is worth noting that Israel remains the key non-regional priority of the US foreign policy.

Nevertheless, the Middle East is a rather conflict-prone region, the balance of powers in the region varies depending on the foreign policy tasks of the states, coalitions are quite situational, and the religious factor plays a significant role in making political decisions.

In this context, the partnership between the USA and Israel, the foundations of which were laid after the Second World War, looks quite stable. The United States and Israel share a unique and multifaceted partnership that has evolved over decades, shaped by historical, geopolitical, and cultural factors. This alliance, often characterized by a strong bond, has features that distinguish it from other typical bilateral relations between the two countries. A study of the dynamics of the American-Israeli partnership reveals a complex interplay of strategic interests, shared values, and occasional tensions.

The United States was one of the first countries to recognize Israel's independence, thus laying a solid foundation for the relationship. Historical events such as the Cold War played a crucial role in the formation of this alliance, as both countries found common ground in opposing Soviet influence in the Middle East. One of the key features of the American-Israeli partnership is shared strategic interests. The Middle East is a region of geopolitical importance, and both countries have recognized the importance of cooperation on issues such as the fight against terrorism, regional stability and deterring common enemies. Israel is a key ally of the United States in a region marked by complex challenges.

The military dimension of the US-Israeli partnership is a prominent aspect that distinguishes it from many other alliances. The United States continuously provides military aid and technological support to Israel, increasing its defense capabilities. This cooperation not only has strengthened Israel's security, but also allowed the United States to create a reliable and technologically advanced partner in the region. Beyond strategic interests, the American-Israeli partnership is deeply rooted in shared values and commitment to democracy. Both countries are proud of their developed democratic governance, human rights and the rule of law. This commonality fosters a sense of kinship and understanding between them, strengthening the ties that bind them even in times of diplomatic challenges.

The key role of the United States in the regional life of Israel can be summarized due to the following factors: annual aid in the amount of approximately 3 billion US dollars, the active work of the AIPAC committee, the constant export of new weapons, the interchange of intelligence information, etc. Moreover, the United States has a number of interests in the Middle East that are fully aligned with the regional priorities of the State of Israel.

Thus, the US-Israeli partnership is a unique and complex alliance shaped by historical, strategic, and cultural factors. The bond between the two nations, which has stood the test of

decades, reflects a shared commitment to democracy and shared interests in the turbulent Middle East. Despite periodic difficulties, the partnership continues to grow, demonstrating resilience and adaptability on the global stage. As the geopolitical landscape changes, the US and Israel face new opportunities and challenges, further confirming the uniqueness of their enduring partnership. Thus, the significant role of the USA is worth noting in formation of Israel's regional foreign policy goals and objectives in the context of the current international political situation.

The foreign policy of the KSA was also structurally influenced by the United States, so its formation by sole Arab efforts was limited for a certain period of time. In this regard, Israel was more autonomous, because it simply had to reckon with the opinion of its senior partner, while conducting an independent foreign policy. Looking at the evolution of Saudi policy through a historical prism, it can be stated that since the early 1970s, the KSA began to distance itself from the US and moved to an active phase of forming its own foreign policy priorities and goals, which were less and less influenced by the US [D.Sanger, 2015]. The real expansion of the circle of strategic partners, which was now not limited to the United States, took place in the mid-1980s, but it was more a survival necessity than an attempt to form the institution of a strategic partnership.

Nevertheless, for the US, the alliance with Saudi Arabia has long been the focus of foreign policy in the Middle East. The origins of the US-Saudi Arabia partnership can be traced back to the mid-20th century, when the two countries began cooperating on issues of mutual interest. Relations strengthened during the Cold War, when the United States sought to counter Soviet influence in the region. The subsequent discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia further strengthened the strategic importance of the partnership.

Therefore, the defining feature of the US-Saudi Arabia partnership has always been and remains energy security. Saudi Arabia has vast oil reserves, and the United States has always sought to maintain a stable and reliable source of oil from the region. This economic dimension of the alliance has influenced diplomatic, economic and military cooperation between the two countries.

Since 9/11, counterterrorism cooperation has become a critical aspect of the US-Saudi partnership. Both countries share a common interest in fighting extremism and maintaining regional stability. Intelligence sharing, military cooperation and efforts to counter radical ideologies have been central to their joint efforts to address complex security challenges in the Middle East.

This partnership is also marked by a mutual desire to influence regional dynamics in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia, as a key player in the Arab world, and the United States, as a global superpower, are working together to address shared challenges such as Iranian influence, the Yemeni conflict, and broader regional stability. This strategic alignment determines the policies and actions of both countries in the complex geopolitics of the Middle East.

Despite a number of problems that exist between the two countries, in particular in the field of human rights protection, the partnership between the United States and Saudi Arabia is a special alliance formed by historical, economic and geopolitical factors. The dynamics of this partnership reflect the complexity inherent in the intersection of national interests, regional stability, and global security. As the Middle East continues to evolve, the U.S. and Saudi Arabia are trying to adapt and work together to address new challenges, even as some differences have emerged recently.

The United States played a key role in influencing the formation of the alliance between Israel and Saudi Arabia, shaping the strategic landscape of the Middle East. The historical context of the US involvement in the region, driven by geopolitical considerations and common security interests, contributed to the development of this informal alliance.

The United States has historically pursued a strategy of fostering alliances with key regional players to maintain stability and protect its interests. Israel and Saudi Arabia's cooperation with the US positions them as significant partners in addressing shared challenges, including countering Iranian influence and promoting regional security. The US has been and remains a major supplier of military aid and technology to both Israel and Saudi Arabia, contributing to the creation of a joint security apparatus. This not only strengthened the military potential of these countries, but also created a basis for mutual cooperation in countering regional threats.

US diplomatic efforts have played a role in encouraging dialogue between Israel and Saudi Arabia. Without being formal allies, the two countries have found common ground in certain geopolitical scenarios facilitated by US diplomacy. The US-brokered normalization agreements between Israel and some Arab countries, known as the Abraham Accords, created a more favorable environment for regional partnership.

Since the US has a profound influence on the regional dynamics of the Middle East, its policies, statements and military presence affect the calculus of both Israel and Saudi Arabia, prompting them to readjust their strategies and potentially find areas of cooperation. US influence creates both challenges and opportunities for the Israeli-Saudi alliance. While aligning with the US improves their security and economic prospects, it also exposes them to regional tensions and the complexities associated with US foreign policy decisions.

In summary, the United States is a key element in the development of the alliance between Israel and Saudi Arabia, shaping the strategic landscape and influencing the potential for increased cooperation between these regional states. The dynamics of these tripartite relations continue to unfold in response to changing geopolitical realities and common problems in the Middle East.

The influence of the new geopolitics of the Middle East on establishing cooperation between Israel and Saudi Arabia

In the context of world globalization, the reduction of the US presence in the Middle East, as well as the return of Russia to the race for leadership and increased presence in the region, Israel resorted to the search for new partnerships that could satisfy national interests and provide the necessary level of security for survival in a conflict-prone environment. In the absence of (or insufficiently high level of development of) relations with neighboring Arab countries, strategic relations with an Islamic but non-Arab state could become for Israel a kind of "bridge" to the region, which should ultimately lead, if not to the settlement of the Middle East conflict, then, at least, to the minimization of threats to Israel's national security, as well as to a more favorable arrangement of forces in international organizations.

Thus, Israel's regional politics have undergone significant transformational changes over the past ten years at least. The components of Israel's regional policy were, firstly, Israel's support of various non-Arab ethnic and religious minorities in the Middle East (which gave Israel the opportunity to play a complex geopolitical game, the strategic goal of which was to "shake up from within" the Arab regimes hostile to Israel), and secondly, the creation of alliances with non-Arab Muslim states located on the regional periphery, with the aim of changing the balance of power in the region in favor of Israel [M. Ayoob, 2018].

So, in the environment in which Israel found itself, the concept of a "peripheral alliance" crystallized, the essence of which came down to the need to find allies in a hostile environment based on ethnic and religious lines.

Israel's primarily "security-regional" vision of partnership does not coincide with the Kingdom's global reflections on this topic. Saudi Arabia represents the Arab bloc and for quite a long time actually opposed the existence of Israel as such. Until the interests of both states began to coincide in terms of creating an anti-Iranian coalition. The main actors in the geopolitical game in the Middle East have clear goals: Iran and Saudi Arabia are trying to contain each other and keep the balance, Israel is trying to counter both the nuclear and regional ambitions of Iran. From this point of view it follows that Israel and Saudi Arabia share one strategic and regional goal - the containment of Iran.

Far from being a region characterized by European-style cooperation, the Middle East is full of ancient antagonisms and bitter geopolitical rivalry. Saudi Arabia's recent rapprochement with Israel can best be explained by reference to the proverb "The enemy of my enemy is my friend." The enemy in this case is Iran, which both countries perceive as a threat to their strategic interests in the Middle East. Iran is engaged in a fierce competition with Saudi Arabia for influence in the Persian Gulf and the Middle East in general [Haaretz, 2009]. Moreover, Riyadh seems to be losing this competition in the context of events in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq.

The reasons for Israel's improved dialogue with Saudi Arabia are more complex. The common front against Iran is one of the factors that determine Israel's policy. Iran challenges Israel's nuclear monopoly in the region and uses its influence in the Levant to thwart Israeli dominance in the region, and is therefore considered a threat by Israeli policymakers [D.Sanger, 2015]. Equally important, the Israeli authorities believe that improving relations with Riyadh will also serve other important purposes.

First, Saudi Arabia's first steps in establishing relations with Israel may encourage other Arab countries, especially the oil-rich Gulf countries, to open their economies to Israeli investment and technical know-how, thus Israel will reap significant economic benefits. For example, the visit of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to Oman in 2018 and other senior members of the Israeli cabinet to the UAE are part of the same strategy [M. Ayoob, 2018]. But the success of this strategy depends critically on how Israel develops a significant, if unacknowledged, relationship with Saudi Arabia.

Second, the Netanyahu government calculated that improving relations with the Saudi regime, which remains the location of the two holiest sites in Islam and the world's leading oil exporter, would help resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although not entirely in Israel's favor, but at least with minimal losses. This would help Israel maintain the status quo, or more specifically, control the entire area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, without granting the Palestinians any right to citizenship and thereby diluting Jewish political dominance in the area. Moreover, with Riyadh's help, the status quo will be acceptable to other Arab and Muslim countries, as some of them, such as Egypt and Pakistan, depend on Saudi largesse.

Saudi-Israeli rapprochement was also actively supported by the Trump administration. Jared Kushner, the former president's son-in-law and the man who ran the administration in the Middle East, developed a special relationship with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman [Middle East Monitor, 2019]. He used this, among other things, to train the prince to accept Israel's point of view on the Palestinian issue and to convince the Saudi regime, and he had considerable success in this regard, as it was achieved before the Khashoggi case began.

The United States is also very interested in a joint front between Saudi Arabia and Israel against Iran, which is seen as America's main adversary in the Middle East. The opposition of both Riyadh and Tel Aviv to the Iran nuclear deal laid the foundations for such a common front. The rise to power of Donald Trump and his subsequent withdrawal from the nuclear deal have further emboldened Saudi Arabia and Israel in their confrontation with Iran.

Things were progressing quite smoothly until Israeli-Saudi relations were disturbed after the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, apparently on the orders of the Saudi regime. Senior officials of the two governments, including Mossad Chief Yossi Cohen, have met with each other on several occasions, although these meetings have been kept secret. It was at this time that Riyadh was particularly interested in acquiring modern Israeli-made surveillance technologies in order to strengthen control over Saudi society and its neighbors [Middle East Monitor, 2019].

Nevertheless, the assassination of Jamal Khashoggi, which is believed to have been carried out on the orders of the highest echelons of the Saudi government, caused some problems in the further establishment of bilateral relations. First, the two main interlocutors from Saudi Arabia, Qahtani and Assiri, were removed from their key positions because of their involvement in the Khashoggi case, and this resulted in the halting of Saudi-Israeli interactions in key areas [M. Ayoob, 2018].

Second, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has been the focus of intense criticism since Khashoggi's death, and he is also responsible for events in Yemen that have left thousands of civilians dead and millions of people still on the brink of starvation.

Nevertheless, the rapprochement between the two countries continued on the sidelines, without attracting too much attention. Supported by the United States, which maintains strong ties with both countries, these classified interactions have focused on intelligence sharing, counterterrorism efforts and cooperation on regional security. The secretive nature of this

relationship reflects the delicate balance that both countries must strike to deal with internal conflicts.

After the American elections, newly elected President Joe Biden continued the work of his predecessor in normalizing relations between the two Middle Eastern power centers. Although the relationship between the American president and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has been strained, to put it mildly, not least because of the lack of compromise on the part of the US regarding the settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and US pressure on the kingdom to increase oil production, progress in promoting an agreement with Israel has been notable.

Also, two visits of Israeli officials to Riyadh became a kind of historical event: the first took place on September 10, 2023, when Israeli diplomats firstly officially visited Saudi Arabia to participate in a meeting of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, and later, at the end of September, a visit to the Minister of Tourism of Israel took place to the kingdom.

As of today, negotiations for the signing of a historic agreement between Israel and Saudi Arabia are suspended after the attack by Hamas on Israeli territory on October 7, 2023. For its part, Riyadh explains that it is impossible to continue negotiations as long as violence continues in the region to achieve political goals. The Americans have their own opinion on this matter. For example, US President Joe Biden believes that Hamas was motivated to attack Israel in part by a desire to prevent that country from normalizing relations with Saudi Arabia. U.S. Secretary of State Anthony Blinken said the Hamas attacks may have been motivated in part by a desire to derail the most ambitious part of the United States' initiative: cementing diplomatic ties between rivals Israel and Saudi Arabia. The two largest powers of the Middle East have a common enemy in Iran, a generous military and financial sponsor of Hamas.

Conclusions

The nascent Israeli-Saudi partnership represents a significant shift in the geopolitical dynamics of the Middle East. Driven by shared interests, stealth diplomacy and a desire for regional stability, the two nations are cautiously exploring areas of cooperation once thought unthinkable. While challenges remain, the evolving relationship underscores the volatility of Middle Eastern alliances and the potential for unexpected partnerships that will shape the future of the region. As geopolitical landscapes continue to evolve, the Israeli-Saudi partnership is sure to be at the center of regional debates with ramifications that extend beyond the borders of these two nations.

The signing of the agreement between the two countries will also have far-reaching implications for the Middle East region and certain benefits for both countries. Saudi Arabia seeks security guarantees from the US to protect itself from Iran. For Israel, the signing of this historic agreement contributes to the resolution, at least partially, of the Arab-Israeli conflict and will open the door to the Arab world more widely, as the peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan did. Normalization agreements will contribute to a more stable regional environment by strengthening diplomatic ties and reducing historical tensions. Improved relations between Israel and Saudi Arabia, two key regional players, could have a positive impact on the overall stability of the Middle East.

Normalization agreements will also open possibilities for economic cooperation and development. Shared economic interests such as trade, technology sharing and investment can contribute to regional prosperity and stability by addressing socio-economic challenges that often fuel regional tensions.

Furthermore, it is important to note that their shared antagonism towards Iran and their close relationship with the United States will ultimately play a role in the development of new approaches to regional stability through the joint efforts of Israel and Saudi Arabia.

The trend towards normalization means a change in traditional alliances in the Middle East. As more countries recognize Israel and establish diplomatic relations, this is helping to reshape regional partnerships, influencing the geopolitical landscape and potentially reducing the risk of conflict. Establishing formal ties facilitates direct communication, allowing countries to resolve disputes, manage crises, and work toward shared regional goals.

Common points of contact and mutual benefit in certain areas have already been identified, so today it is about creating comprehensive partnerships that will help not only to confront regional threats, in the form of Palestine, Iran or Lebanon, but also to develop a joint strategy for preventing crises and facing new challenges and be ready to take on obligations to solve global and regional problems.

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FORMATION OF THE EXTERNAL AUTHORITARIAN COUNTRY'S IMAGE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA

ФОРМУВАННЯ ЗОВНІШНЬОГО ОБРАЗУ АВТОРИТАРНОЇ КРАЇНИ ПІД ВПЛИВОМ ЗМІ

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Abstract. *The formation of a country's image is a highly relevant topic in the field of social sciences and humanities. A country's positive image is increasingly seen as a crucial strategic resource, providing a competitive advantage on the global stage, enabling the promotion of ideas and concepts, and creating an attractive investment image for the international target audience. This article explores the formation of a term "country image" and the image of an authoritarian country under the influence of the media. It identifies the role of the media in shaping the image of authoritarian countries. The research also systematically investigates the pivotal roles played by media framing, agenda-setting mechanisms, and the cultivation of a collective national identity in either reinforcing or challenging prevailing perceptions of authoritarianism.*

Анотація. *Формування іміджу країни є надзвичайно актуальною темою в галузі соціально-гуманітарних наук. Позитивний імідж країни все частіше розглядається як важливий стратегічний ресурс, що забезпечує конкурентну перевагу на світовій арені, сприяє просуванню національних ідей та концепцій, а також формує привабливий інвестиційний імідж для міжнародної цільової аудиторії. У статті досліджується формування терміну "імідж країни" та іміджу авторитарної країни під впливом ЗМІ. Визначається роль ЗМІ у формуванні іміджу авторитарних країн. Дослідження також систематично вивчає ключові ролі, які відіграють медіа-фреймінг, механізми формування порядку денного та культивування колективної національної ідентичності у зміцненні або спростуванні домінуючих уявлень про авторитаризм.*

Key words. *Authoritarian countries, authoritarianism, media, mass media, country image, image formation, media influence, media framing, agenda-setting, collective identity, political narratives, governance, international relations.*

Ключові слова. *Авторитарні країни, авторитаризм, ЗМІ, мас-медіа, імідж країни, формування іміджу, вплив ЗМІ, медіафреймінг, формування порядку денного, колективна ідентичність, політичні нарративи, врядування, міжнародні відносини.*

Problem Statement. *In contemporary societies, the pervasive influence of media in shaping public perceptions has become a critical aspect of political discourse. However, the specific*

dynamics through which media contributes to the formation of an authoritarian country's image remain inadequately understood. The existing literature, while acknowledging the impact of media on public opinion, lacks a comprehensive examination of the critical examination of the image construction of authoritarian countries. Consequently, there is a pressing need for a systematic inquiry that employs an interdisciplinary approach to elucidate how media, through framing, agenda-setting, and narrative cultivation, actively shapes and sustains the image of authoritarian regimes, influencing societal attitudes and contributing to the broader discourse on governance and political structures.

The purpose of research is to comprehensively examine the multifaceted relationship between media influence and the formation of an authoritarian country's image. By employing an interdisciplinary approach that integrates thoughts from political science, communication studies, and psychology, the study aims to elucidate the intricate mechanisms through which media, including framing, agenda-setting, and narrative cultivation, actively contributes to the construction and perpetuation of authoritarian narratives.

Analysis of the latest publications. A limited number of studies have investigated the media's role in shaping the image of authoritarian countries, revealing a consensus among scholars that the media plays a crucial role in influencing perceptions of such nations. Existing literature primarily focuses on describing the formation of a country's image, yet there is a notable gap in understanding the specific portrayal and the media's impact on images of authoritarian countries. Recent scholarly works by V. Rozin, K. Boulding, M. Cottam, N. Khazratova, I. Didukh, O. Shchurko, A. Potseluyko, G. Pocheptsov, I. Semenenko, M. Shishkina, M. Hirshberg, and W. Lippman have made significant contributions, offering nuanced insights into the multifaceted nature of a country's image. These contributions explore psychological, cognitive, and sociological dimensions, providing a more comprehensive understanding. However, the current body of knowledge remains incomplete, highlighting the need for further research to discover the complexities of the relationship between media influence and the images of authoritarian countries.

Presentation of the main research results. The contemporary significance of image formation for nations is underscored by its role as a strategic resource, offering a competitive edge on the global stage. This positive image not only characterizes a country but also facilitates the promotion of its ideas, concepts, and fosters an appealing investment image for the international audience.

In today's interconnected world, the image of a country is not solely determined by its own actions and policies but is also significantly shaped by global media coverage. This is particularly true for authoritarian countries, which often face negative portrayals in the international press. It is important to discover the genesis of the terms "image" and "country image" to understand the concept of an image of an authoritarian country.

The term "image" in the context of international relations encapsulates a form fixed in the mind of a recipient regarding a specific object (Martin & Eroglu, 1993). The inception of the concept of "country image" dates back to 1959 when K. Boulding first employed it to explain the origins of hostility between states, highlighting the existence of national images of "other" states within the international system (Boulding, 2017). Initially centered on the image of the "enemy," subsequent interpretations broadened the scope, incorporating the "other" state's image into the context of the self-image of the state.

Psychological studies by M. and R. Cottam revealed that the country's image comprises intricate dimensions such as "enemy," "barbarian," "empire," "colony," "degenerate," and "pariah" within the social and political perception of the state, extending beyond the simplistic dichotomy of allies and enemies (Cottam & Shih, 1992).

In response, the theory of international relations introduced the self-concept, embodying the subject's ideas about themselves. D. Blaney employs the metaphor of state self-awareness to illustrate the logical correlation between a nation's identity and its international standing (Blaney, 1992).

The image of a country is a complex construct that is shaped by a variety of factors, including its political, economic, and cultural characteristics. However, recent research has also identified other important characteristics that contribute to the image of a country.

One such characteristic is the associative link between the country's image and the products it produces. For example, R. Desborde argues that the country-of-origin image refers to the overall impression of a country that is present in the consumer's mind. This impression is supplemented by the country's culture, political system, and level of economic and technological development (Desborde, 1991).

Another important characteristic is the impact of stereotypes on the image of a country. For example, J. Steenkamp notes that the image of a country consists of mental representations of the country's people, products, culture, and national symbols. The image of a country also contains widely held cultural stereotypes (Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998).

N. Khazratova's scientific school presents the image of the state as a multi-level concept in the recipient's subconscious and conscious, manifested through attributes representing certain features of a state (Khazratova, 2006). The concept of "Sense-Absurd" explores individual constructs and bipolar reference axes characterizing the socio-political interaction with a state (Khazratova, 2004).

Building on cognitive theory, I. Didukh confirms the individual factor's presence in the perception of a state's image, emphasizing that the image is a dynamic, not a stable construct (Didukh, 2014).

O. Shchurko's model introduces multiple levels of the state's image, including sensory-emotional, rational-thinking, and sign system levels, revealing primary factors such as territory and historical context, and secondary factors like values, historical memory, archetypes, and myths (Shchurko, 2017).

In the realm of social constructivism and structural functionalism, A. Potseluiko's analysis of the term "state image" introduces a paradigm shift, considering the country's image not as a mere representation but as a product of unconscious societal ideas that intricately shape behavioral scenarios. This innovative perspective posits the country's image as a dynamic manifestation of mass consciousness, effectively transforming abstract notions into tangible realities (Potseluiko, 2015).

An additional dimension in the formation of the state's image, explored by Yu. Romanenko and A. Potseluiko, revolves around historical myths and stereotypes. The societal construction of prognostic ideas about a country's life is intimately connected to the existence and perpetuation of specific historical myths. These myths, deeply embedded in societal narratives, contribute significantly to the formulation of the state's image (Potseluiko, 2015).

This study endeavors to delineate the fundamental components constituting the country's image, with a particular emphasis on unraveling the intricate influence of mass communication as a primary shaping force. Mass media, as a pivotal element within the broader communication system, emerges as a critical source in the dynamic construction of a country's image. The process of shaping a country's image within mass media is portrayed as not guided by purposeful creation or specific technologies. Instead, it is an intricate interplay of unintended contributions, where the media, bound by the responsibility to disseminate reliable and objective information, aligns with the democratic values underpinning societal governance structures (Semenenko, 2008).

The country's image, conceived as a symbolic model that serves to unite the conceptualization of the national community and its individual members, encompasses a diverse array of elements. These include the political landscape, economic dimensions, the social sphere, cultural aspects, and geographical considerations. It is within this intricate tapestry that mass media plays a pivotal role, constrained by the specificity of its mission to objectively inform about events, yet inadvertently contributing to the ongoing formation of societal images. The triad of factors shaping media images comprises the personality of the journalist, the chosen media format and editorial policy, and the prevailing social stereotypes.

U. Lippman's conceptualization of the "reconstruction of reality" provides a lens through which the impact of media representation. It does not matter whether it is an objective reflection of

reality or a one-sided modified representation of events, the created subject of discussion will in any case influence the public, changing their views and judgments (Lippmann, 2010).

Therefore, the concept of state image is complex and influenced by many elements. In fact, the image of the state is a system that combines media involvement, historical myth, geography, history, culture, political and economic aspects, and individual and group identity. However, the study of the image of authoritarian states is not sufficiently addressed in scholarship. Therefore, this article uses the method of analogy to analyze the concept of authoritarian regimes and the image of states (Lembcke, 2020).

The Ukrainian scientific school, spearheaded by V. Tomakhiv, H. Shypunov, and M. Shabanov, has delineated specific characteristics defining authoritarian regimes. V. Tomakhiv notes that such regimes typically lack political competition, curtail human rights, and restrict freedom of speech, consolidating power in the hands of a single individual or a group (Tomakhiv, 2014).

Addressing a crucial characteristic of authoritarian states, H. Shypunov emphasizes that authoritarian leaders evade accountability to society and are inclined to alter legal frameworks to suit their needs (Shypunov, 2014).

M. Shabanov directs attention to the unique role of the ruler's image in the functioning of authoritarian states, particularly in what he terms the "patrimonial political regime." Here, power is rooted in personal relationships between the head of state and subordinates, with the leader viewed as a symbol of the nation's existence, grounded in traditions and customs (Shabanov, 2017).

Previous scholarly works identify fundamental elements associated with authoritarianism, yet often omit discussions on the potential for political competition in such countries. In contrast, V. Sukhonos contends that multipartism is possible and frequently practiced within these regimes. However, this partial pluralism is unequivocally subordinated to the ruling party, autocrat, or junta, constituting what can be described as simulated multiparty systems lacking real influence (Sukhonos, 2000).

Offering a divergent perspective, S. Kyselev posits that authoritarianism represents a form of freedom for individuals and state power. The rationalization of such a regime is contingent upon a rigorously organized society. However, when taken to an absolute extreme, this measure can transform the regime into tyranny (Kyselov, 2003).

N. Rotar and Yu. Levenets highlight that authoritarian regimes not only concentrate power in the hands of the ruler but also adapt the electoral system to the needs and objectives of the executive branch. Force structures play a significant role in controlling these authoritarian states, and constitutional principles are often entangled or overridden (Rotar, Levenets, & Shapoval, 2011).

H. Linz delves into authoritarianism as a form of governance characterized by a substantial disconnect between the ruling elite and the populace. The electoral nature of state organs is nominal, and the ruling elite relies on bureaucracy, the church, or oligarchy for support. An essential characteristic of authoritarian regimes is the absence of power subject to restrictions and balanced by other branches of authority. The researcher identifies various legitimacy strategies employed by authoritarian regimes, each exhibiting distinct propensities for survival and development towards democratic transitions (Linz, 2000).

The notion of an authoritarian country's image is a complex construct shaped by distinct characteristics identified by the Ukrainian scientific school. In these countries, the image is marked by the absence of political pluralism, curtailing of individual rights, and restrictions on free expression, consolidating authority within a central figure or group. The image is influenced by the leader's role, especially in patrimonial political regimes, where personal relationships and traditions play a crucial role. The accountability evasion by leaders and potential manipulation of legal frameworks contribute to the overall perception of such countries. Simulated multiparty systems, as described by V. Sukhonos, underscore the controlled nature of political competition. S. Kyselov's perspective introduces the idea that authoritarianism, despite its constraints, can be viewed as a form of societal organization. N. Rotar and Yu. Levenets highlight adaptations in electoral systems to suit the needs of the executive, while H. Linz identifies a disconnect between ruling elites and the populace, characterized by nominal electoral processes. The authoritarian country's image,

therefore, encapsulates a multidimensional portrayal influenced by political, social, and governance dynamics, distinctly differentiating it from the image of democratic nations.

However, these works devote insufficient attention to the influence of the media on the image of authoritarian states as one of the core components. Global media plays a central role in shaping public perceptions of countries, both democratic and authoritarian. These perceptions are shaped by a variety of factors, including the audience's own culture, political system, and media environment. The news media, in particular, has a powerful influence on the way people understand and evaluate the events taking place in other parts of the world.

Distinguished researchers from the Ukrainian scientific school, notably I. Musiyuk and I. Panina, assert that contemporary media wield a "soft power" in shaping the images of nations. The early 1950s marked the initiation of sociological and political studies examining whether media could influence the development of traditional societies and the international system as a whole. By the 1960s, this approach evolved into quantifying the development of states based on media development indicators, encompassing factors such as the quantity, accessibility, and quality of media content. However, it proved imperfect, recognizing that media is not the sole factor influencing societal development.

It is crucial to delineate the concept of "global" media and its constituents, primarily encompassing widely circulated media outlets with established brands of trust. Leading television broadcasters such as CNN, BBC, Euronews, Al Jazeera, among others, occupy a significant place within this category (Musiyuk & Panina, 2020).

In studying the influence of media on the formation of country images, a functional approach must be considered. Several interpretations of this approach exist. Firstly, global media can shape transnational identity, correlating with the concept of a country's image. Secondly, global media facilitates global public participation in international affairs, exemplified by the "CNN effect" and the "Al Jazeera effect." Both phenomena result from the increasing influence of global media on international politics and public opinion. The constant news coverage, constituting the third approach, emphasizes the need for international context and its impact on individual states.

Drawing inspiration from F. Ziblert, T. Peterson, and W. Schramm's "Four Theories of the Press," D. Hallin and P. Mancini's groundbreaking work on "Comparing Media Systems" posited that what we read in the news today is a product of the historical interaction between the press, government, and society. Their classification remains a prominent comparative foundation, though concerns about its relevance in the era of global convergence persist, underscoring the need for a political comparative analysis to account for historical and political differences among authoritarian countries (Coban, 2016).

An intriguing concept within this context is the impact of journalistic practices on the portrayal of authoritarian states. The use of derogatory terms such as "sexist," "racist," "dictator," and their equivalents evokes aversion in all democracies. Referring to Hallin and Mancini's work, it is inferred that in countries where journalistic standards favor an independent writing style, journalists are more likely to avoid such terms. Additionally, based on political science literature on authoritarian legacies, it is concluded that journalists are more inclined to negatively portray a state and its leadership when the subject is associated with historical examples of authoritarianism (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

The influence of media on the image of authoritarian countries is a multifaceted interplay between global media dynamics, historical context, and journalistic practices. Understanding this influence requires a comprehensive examination of the media's role in shaping transnational identities and the intricate relationship between media, politics, and societal perceptions.

Conclusions. The media play a significant role in shaping the image of authoritarian countries. The image of a country is a complex concept encompassing a nation's political, economic, cultural, and social identity as perceived by the international community. It is a dynamic construct that constantly evolves in response to the country's actions and policies, as well as the narratives and perceptions shaped by global media and public discourse.

Initially introduced by K. Boulding in tandem with hostility between countries, the concept has evolved far beyond simplistic binary notions of enemies and allies. The contemporary conceptualization, epitomized by the "I-state," amalgamates three pivotal components: the identification of political leaders with shared values, an awareness of the country's status, and a comprehensive understanding of its role on the international stage. This holistic exploration serves to illuminate the intricate dynamics at play in the perpetual construction and reconstruction of a country's image within the evolving landscape of societal perceptions and global interactions.

Mass media, including television, radio, newspapers, and online platforms, plays a central role in influencing public perceptions of countries. Through selective reporting, framing of events, and the use of language, media can shape how audiences understand and evaluate a particular country. Positive media coverage can enhance a country's reputation, attracting investment, tourism, and international support. Conversely, negative media portrayals can damage a country's image, leading to isolation, sanctions.

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ОСОБЛИВОСТІ РОЗВИТКУ
СВІТОВОГО ГОСПОДАРСТВА ТА МЕВ

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GREEN FINANCE STRATEGIES FOR POST-WAR UKRAINE: A GLOBAL REVIEW

**СТРАТЕГІЇ ЗЕЛЕНОГО ФІНАНСУВАННЯ ДЛЯ ПІСЛЯВОЄННОЇ УКРАЇНИ:
ГЛОБАЛЬНИЙ ОГЛЯД**

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Abstract. *In an era defined by pressing environmental and social challenges, environmental finance has become a key force in the global economy. This paradigm shift in financial practice goes beyond the profit motive, expanding its reach to environmental sustainability and social responsibility. The urgency of climate change, biodiversity loss and other global environmental crises has highlighted the need to reassess the consequences of human efforts for the planet and future generations.*

The article considers both developed economies and developing countries. The purpose of the article is to find insights and strategic approaches that can catalyze investment opportunities in Ukraine during the post-war transition phase, a key period that precedes long-term stability.

The global relevance of green finance cannot be overstated, as it connects financial sectors, countries and societies to a common mission of sustainable development. The transformation from conventional financial norms is undeniable as businesses, governments and international organizations recognize the inextricable link between environmental stewardship and long-term prosperity.

In addition, green finance serves as a channel for reallocating resources, directing capital to initiatives aimed at limiting carbon emissions, improving energy efficiency and using renewable energy sources. This paradigm shift not only guarantees the future of the planet, but also opens up new avenues for innovation and economic growth in various sectors.

This article explores the intersection of finance, sustainable development, and global cooperation, offering insights that can guide Ukraine's post-war recovery toward a resilient and sustainable future.

Key words: *green finance, environmental sustainability, post-war recovery, international economic relations, sustainable development, Ukraine investment opportunities and needs.*

Анотація. *В епоху, яка визначається гострими екологічними та соціальними викликами, екологічне фінансування стало ключовою силою глобальної економіки. Ця зміна парадигми у фінансовій практиці виходить за рамки мотиву отримання прибутку, розширюючи своє охоплення до екологічної стійкості та соціальної відповідальності. Актуальність зміни клімату, втрати біорізноманіття та інших глобальних екологічних криз підкреслила необхідність переоцінки наслідків людських зусиль для планети та майбутніх поколінь.*

У статті розглядаються як країни з розвинутою економікою, так і країни, що розвиваються. Мета статті полягає в тому, щоб знайти ідеї та стратегічні підходи, які можуть каталізувати інвестиційні можливості в Україні під час повоєнної перехідної фази, ключового періоду, який передуватиме довгостроковій стабільності.

Глобальну актуальність «зелених» фінансів важко переоцінити, оскільки вони об'єднують фінансові сектори, країни та суспільства спільною місією сталого розвитку. Трансформація від звичайних фінансових норм неzapepечна, оскільки підприємства, уряди та міжнародні організації визнають нерозривний зв'язок між піклуванням про навколишнє середовище та довгостроковим процвітанням.

Крім того, зелене фінансування служить каналом для перерозподілу ресурсів, спрямовуючи капітал на ініціативи, спрямовані на обмеження викидів вуглецю, підвищення енергоефективності та використання відновлюваних джерел енергії. Ця зміна парадигми не тільки гарантує майбутнє планети, але й відкриває нові шляхи для інновацій та економічного зростання в різних секторах.

Ця стаття досліджує перетин фінансів, сталого розвитку та глобальної співпраці, пропонуючи ідеї, які можуть спрямувати післявоєнне відновлення України до стійкого та сталого майбутнього.

Ключові слова: зелене фінансування, екологічна стійкість, післявоєнне відновлення, міжнародні економічні відносини, сталий розвиток, інвестиційні можливості та потреби України.

Introduction.

Green finance has become an integral part of the modern global economic landscape, playing a key role in solving serious environmental and social challenges. Growing awareness of the impact of economic activity on the environment and the need for long-term sustainability have led to the emergence of the concept of green finance - an approach to investing and financing aimed at achieving not only financial profit, but also environmental sustainability and social responsibility.

Climate change, biodiversity loss, water pollution and other global environmental problems have accelerated the need to pay attention to the consequences of our activities for nature and future generations. As these problems deepen, it is clear that traditional approaches to economic activity no longer meet the needs of our world. Green finance, thanks to its focus on ensuring environmental sustainability and social welfare, has become a key tool in the search for a balance between economic development and the environment.

The purpose of the article is to provide a comprehensive review of green finance practices across a spectrum of nations, encompassing both developed and developing economies. In doing so, it seeks to discern valuable insights and strategies that can be harnessed to bolster investment opportunities in Ukraine during the post-war period, in the transitional phase before lasting stability is achieved.

Literature review.

Many Ukrainian and foreign scientists show a special interest in studying green finance in the context of international economic relations. It is worth highlighting such authors as Reznikova N., Dziubak K., Karlin M., Aliev M., Galushkina T., who in their works describe the reasons, principles and methods of creating a green economy. For example, Reznikova N. in her works defines the possibilities of solving the issues of the interaction of the economy and sustainable development, increasing the influence of the circular economy. Characteristic features of the circular economy as a component of sustainable development are clearly described in her works [Reznikova N., Grod, M.: 2023]. Karlin M. in his work "Recovery of the economy of Ukraine after the war: problems and prospects of "green" financing" pointed out the conceptual principles of creating "green" workplaces in Ukraine after the end of hostilities [Karlin, M., Batiuk, O.: 2023]. This analysis plays a significant role, as the author shows the country's national security through the prism of attracting green investments, which in turn can fuel the economy as a whole. Among foreign researchers, we can mention Cigu E., who in her article "The role of green finance. An

overview." concludes that Green Finance can be stimulated via harmonization through: a commonly accepted taxonomy; a common disclosure framework; a common standard and labeling on green bonds; green lending principles; and standardization of contracts and risk performance analysis [Cigu, E.: 2020].

Main results of the research.

The importance of green finance in international economic relations cannot be overestimated. Global problems require global solutions, and green finance becomes a bridge between the financial sector, states and society to achieve the common goal of sustainable development. In this context, the scientific analysis of the role and impact of green finance on international economic relations becomes extremely relevant and valuable.

Conventional financial practices and investment strategies can no longer ignore the importance of preserving the environment and supporting sustainable development. Perceptions of risks and opportunities have changed, and today's businesses, governments and international organizations recognize that environmental sustainability is a critical component of long-term success. Green finance has emerged as a response to these challenges, helping to shift the focus from profit generation to environmental, social and governance considerations in financial planning.

The importance of green finance becomes especially felt in international economic relations, where it acts as a catalyst for changes in the scale of global financial transactions. The international nature of this concept allows countries and organizations to jointly solve environmental problems, supporting innovation and stimulating sustainability in the economic dimension.

Green finance is also becoming a mechanism for redistributing resources in favor of projects and initiatives aimed at reducing carbon emissions, improving energy efficiency and using renewable energy sources. This helps ensure a healthier and more sustainable future for the planet, and creates new opportunities for innovation and growth in various sectors of the economy.

However, it is important to understand that the success of green finance requires the joint efforts and interaction of all stakeholders, from governments and businesses to activists and academics. Partnership and coordination become key principles that underline the importance of this approach in international economic relations.

Therefore, this article offers a deeper look at the role of green finance in international economic relations, opening up important prospects for cooperation and development that can significantly affect our common future.

Green finance in the context of international economic relations has gained significant importance as a tool aimed at solving global environmental and economic challenges. International organizations play a critical role in supporting and promoting the development of green financial instruments that help ensure sustainability and a healthier future for the planet.

One of the key organizations actively promoting green finance is the United Nations. Through its Commission on Sustainable Development and other relevant agencies, the UN ensures the definition of global goals for sustainable development, including green aspects, and coordinates the efforts of countries to achieve these goals. The organization promotes the need to integrate green finance into national plans and budgets, stimulating partnerships between governments, businesses and the public [*Green Financing. UNEP.: 2022*].

The World Bank, as a UN financial institution, exerts a significant influence on the development of green financial initiatives. It focuses its efforts on providing financial support and technical assistance to countries in the development and implementation of green investment projects. The World Bank is actively developing the green bond market, which helps attract capital for renewable energy sources, energy efficiency and other green projects [*Introduction to Green Finance: 2011, The World Bank Impact Report. Sustainable Development Bonds & Green Bonds: 2022*].

Heike Reichelt and Scott Cantor from World Bank Treasury in their blog say that capital markets are transitioning to a new model. They also fifteen years after the first green bond was issued by the World Bank -- and almost a decade after the World Bank transitioned to labeling all its bonds "Sustainable Development Bonds" to communicate its holistic approach to incorporating

sustainably into all its activities -- financial markets are still in a transition period, but change is accelerating. The financial markets have progressed beyond the initial stages of enhancing transparency for risk management and impact investing, primarily through the use of labeled bonds. These markets are now entering the subsequent phases, driven by a surge in reporting. What's noteworthy is the emergence of a comprehensive approach to sustainability and disclosure, which is not confined to a small subset of labeled bonds but is applicable to all bonds.

As these markets continue to expand in both the short and medium term, catalyzing the growth of sustainable investments, we can foresee a future where the demand for labeled bonds might diminish. The data and transparency that initially underpinned labeled bonds could soon become the standard across the entire market. This widespread adoption would provide the critical insights needed to assess the genuine environmental and social impact of investments on both people and our planet [*Why green bonds matter: 2023*].

The International Monetary Fund, despite its focus on economic issues, recognizes the importance of green finance. It promotes the introduction of green taxes, subsidies, and reforms aimed at reducing environmental risks and promoting sustainable development. The IMF also supports countries in reforming energy subsidies and implementing pricing mechanisms to encourage green consumption and production.

International agreements also play an important role in supporting green finance. The Paris Agreement on climate change, for example, is designed to promote international cooperation and financing of projects aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. In addition, a number of regional and multilateral agreements establish standards for green investments and the obligation to include environmental aspects in financial analysis and reporting.

In general, the role of international organizations and agreements in supporting green finance is to create structures to facilitate joint coordination, knowledge sharing and support of national initiatives towards sustainable development. Their actions aim to raise awareness, create financial incentives and ensure more efficient use of resources to achieve global green finance goals.

In addition to international organizations, commercial banks and financial institutions also play an important role in the development of green finance. Banks can issue green loans and support businesses working on green technologies and initiatives. They can also encourage environmentally responsible consumption by providing benefits for using green financial products and services.

Currently, it is evident that Ukraine faces a compelling imperative to undertake a comprehensive overhaul, rehabilitation, and reconfiguration of its energy infrastructure. Concurrently, there is a vital need to diminish reliance on energy components that were originally designed within the framework of the Soviet Union, in favor of adopting contemporary European counterparts. Regrettably, this transition is neither expeditious nor uncomplicated, demanding a substantial allocation of time, resources, and capital investment. In this regard, programs administered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and various commercial entities and financial institutions may serve as valuable resources in facilitating this transformation.

At the same time, the development of green finance is not without challenges. One of them is the lack of a unified system of standards and metrics for assessing the environmental sustainability of projects. There is often a need to separate "greenwashing" from actual environmentally relevant projects. Here, international organizations can play a role in developing common standards and criteria for green finance initiatives.

Overall, the role of international organizations, commercial banks, financial institutions, and national governments in supporting green finance is extremely important for achieving sustainable development. Their coordination, cooperation and joint efforts solve not only financial challenges, but also contribute to the creation of a favorable environment for innovation, environmental responsibility and conservation of natural resources. Supporting green finance at the international level helps realize shared responsibility for the future of our planet and shape a more sustainable and viable global economic environment.

Green finance certainly contributes to the attraction of investments in projects aimed at reducing the impact on the environment and improving the quality of life. This becomes possible thanks to the implementation of financial mechanisms and tools aimed at supporting sustainable development and conservation of natural resources. In the paper of Eyraud, L., Clements, B., & Wane, A. the results imply that Green Investment (GI) can be powerfully influenced by public policies. While macroeconomic factors such as economic growth and interest rates matter so too do energy policies. GI increases when its cost, relative to traditional fossil fuel technologies, is reduced by higher oil prices. This implies that higher taxation of fossil fuels to address negative externalities associated with their use, or a reduction in subsidies, would help foster green investment. The boost to GI from higher energy prices could be quite large: a 10% increase in fuel prices – assuming other prices in the economy were to remain constant – could lead to a 10% increase in GI. [Eyraud, L., Clements, B., & Wane, A.: 2013].

Green investments play an important role in attracting investment funds to projects aimed at implementing environmentally friendly solutions. These can be investments in renewable energy, water management, production of environmentally friendly materials and technologies. With the help of green finance, conditions are created for the development of innovative solutions that contribute to reducing the negative impact on the environment and preserving ecosystems.

Attracting investments in green projects contributes to the improvement of the quality of life of society. In particular, investments in renewable energy help ensure a stable and environmentally friendly energy supply, reducing dependence on coal sources. This helps to reduce the level of air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions, which has a positive effect on the health of the population [Xue, Y., Jiang, C., Guo, Y., Liu, J., Wu, H., & Hao, Y.: 2022].

In addition, green investments contribute to the development of new jobs in the fields of renewable energy, water management and other sectors related to the preservation of natural resources. This contributes to increasing social well-being and improving the economic stability of the country.

However, the success of green investments requires a comprehensive approach and consideration of environmental, social and economic aspects of projects. Achieving maximum results involves the implementation of innovative technologies, ensuring a high degree of environmental responsibility and ensuring interaction between various subjects, including business, the state and the public.

In conclusion, green investment is a key tool for achieving sustainable development and conservation of natural resources. Their importance lies in facilitating innovative solutions, improving the quality of life and creating sustainable economic growth that ensures the long-term environmental and economic sustainability of society.

In today's world, the use of environmental criteria and standards in financial transactions is gaining more and more importance. Their implementation becomes especially relevant in the context of green bonds and loans - financial instruments aimed at supporting projects with a positive environmental impact.

Green bonds and loans are becoming important mechanisms for attracting financing to green initiatives that contribute to the conservation of natural resources and the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. The main difference between conventional bonds and loans and green ones lies in their focus: the money collected with the help of green financial instruments is used only for projects that have a positive impact on the environment [Sangiorgi, I., & Schopohl, L.: 2021].

Environmental criteria for green bonds and loans can be diverse. They include an assessment of the impact of the project on climate change, the use of renewable energy sources, the reduction of emissions of harmful substances, the improvement of the efficiency of resource use, and other indicators. In addition, an important element can be taking into account social aspects, such as improving the quality of air and water, increasing the environmental awareness of the population, etc.

Standards for green financial instruments are defined by relevant organizations and initiatives. For example, the International Green and Social Market (IGSB) develops generally accepted standards for green bonds that help investors assess the environmental value of an investment.

The use of environmental criteria and standards allows to ensure transparency and openness in financial transactions, as well as attract more investors to support green projects. Such an approach is of great importance for balanced development, ensuring environmental sustainability and creating a better future for our planet.

The role of financial institutions in the implementation of environmental criteria is also important. Banks, investment companies and other financial market participants can play an active role in supporting green financial initiatives. They can promote green bonds to their clients and set internal standards and criteria for green investments.

As a result, the use of environmental criteria and standards in financial transactions opens up new opportunities for attracting investments in green projects. This helps support sustainable development, preserve natural resources, and create a favorable environment for future generations.

As interest in green finance grows, so do the challenges facing countries and international public organizations in implementing green finance initiatives.

Financing and investing in green projects often requires significant upfront costs. Many developing countries and less developed regions cannot always provide their own capital to implement green initiatives. This can create a barrier for their involvement in global processes of sustainable development.

The regulatory environment is another important aspect that can create obstacles to the development of green finance. The lack of a clear and unified methodology for assessing environmental criteria and standards can lead to unpredictability and irrefutability in assessing the environmental value of projects.

Risks also play an important role in the consideration of green finance. Because many green projects are innovative and involve new technologies, there is a certain level of risk involved. This can lead to uncertainty for investors and increase the cost of capital for green initiatives [Albarrak, M. S., Elnahass, M., & Salama, A.: 2019].

Social awareness and education can also be factors that slow down the development of green finance. Lack of knowledge among investors and society as a whole about the benefits and opportunities of green financial instruments can limit their popularity and implementation.

Inequality and affordability are also important aspects. Unequal access to financial resources may result in certain countries or population groups being excluded from the opportunity to engage in green initiatives.

Lack of trust and transparency can become an obstacle to attracting investors to green financial instruments. Investors may doubt the compliance of projects with the declared environmental goals or the effective use of funds.

Political instability can also be a challenge for the development of green finance. Changes in power, unclear legislation and strategic directions can create uncertainty for investors and reduce their interest in green projects.

Summarizing, it is necessary to recognize that the development of green finance is important, but requires overcoming a number of challenges and obstacles. These include funding, regulatory environment, risk, social awareness, affordability, trust and political stability. Overcoming these challenges requires the joint efforts of all stakeholders, from governments and international organizations to business and the public [Hafner, S., Jones, A., Anger-Kraavi, A., & Pohl, J.: 2020].

A number of countries and regions have already seen significant success in the development and use of green finance. These examples show that with the right support and strategy, green financial instruments can truly change the environmental paradigm.

Denmark is an example of a country that has achieved significant success in the development of renewable energy and green technologies. The country has attracted business and government investment in wind and solar power, energy efficiency and other green projects, resulting in

significant reductions in CO₂ emissions and environmental improvements [Shah, M. I., Kirikkaleli, D., & Adedoyin, F. F.: 2021].

China is one of the world's largest economies, actively investing in green technologies and infrastructure. China is launching large-scale renewable energy projects, developing innovative electric vehicles and promoting the development of green infrastructure facilities [Jiakui, C., Abbas, J., Najam, H., Liu, J., & Abbas, J.: 2023].

The European Union is a large area that has declared the green restructuring of its economy one of the main priorities. The EU actively supports the development of green technologies, emission reduction and energy efficiency through financial instruments, incentives and regulatory measures [Pianta, M., & Lucchese, M.: 2020].

Costa Rica is an example of a country that has already achieved a lot in implementing green initiatives. It has achieved 99% renewable energy use and actively pursues conservation and biodiversity programs [Araya, M.: 2016].

India, classified as a developing nation, is actively channeling investments towards the advancement of renewable energy technologies and combating air pollution. India has initiated programs designed to broaden the adoption of solar panels and electric vehicles as part of its strategic endeavors in this regard [Singh, V., Singh, V., & Vaibhav, S.: 2021].

Sweden, a nation distinguished for its resolute commitment to mitigating greenhouse gas emissions, is notably engaged in substantial initiatives targeting the proliferation of electric vehicles and the promotion of renewable energy sources. In the year 2019, Sweden unveiled a comprehensive strategy aimed at attaining carbon neutrality by the year 2045 [Salvia, M., Reckien, D., Pietrapertosa, F., Eckersley, P., Spyridaki, N. A., Krook-Riekkola, A., ... & Heidrich, O.: 2021].

Kenya as a TOP-10 African country by GDP in 2022 is diligently progressing in the field of renewable energy, with particular emphasis on solar and wind resources. By means of substantial investments in renewable energy infrastructure, Kenya extends access to electricity in remote areas while concurrently mitigating the utilization of energy sources detrimental to the environment [Kirubi, C., Jacobson, A., Kammen, D. M., & Mills, A.: 2009].

Colombia exhibits a notable commitment to the development of renewable energy and the responsible utilization of water resources. This commitment is reflected in their proactive establishment of programs with the primary objectives of integrating green technologies into energy production processes and ensuring equitable access to clean water resources for the populace [Rogers, P., & Hall, A. W.: 2003].

Norway is internationally recognized for its substantial investments in renewable energy and its strong advocacy for electric vehicles (EVs). The country has a rich history of utilizing hydropower as a clean and sustainable energy source. In line with its commitment to environmental sustainability, Norway actively promotes and supports the integration of electric vehicles into its transportation system, thereby reducing its dependence on traditional fossil fuels [Hall, D., & Lutsey, N.: 2017].

Peru is actively engaged in the development of environmentally conscious initiatives aimed at the preservation of biodiversity and the protection of forest cover. The nation has established comprehensive programs dedicated to offsetting carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions through strategic forest conservation efforts. In addition to these conservation endeavors, Peru is proactively pursuing renewable energy initiatives as part of its broader commitment to sustainability and environmental stewardship [Shanee, N., Shanee, S., & Horwich, R.: 2015].

This discourse examines a spectrum of methodological and strategic approaches adopted by nations in the pursuit of advancing green finance, exemplifying the multifaceted nature of these initiatives. It is evident that countries tailor their emphasis, whether in the context of carbon dioxide (CO₂) emission mitigation or the integration of renewable energy sources, to align with their distinct needs and resource capacities.

Furthermore, these illustrative cases provide empirical evidence reinforcing that triumphs in green finance development are not exclusively within the purview of advanced economies but are equally attainable by emerging nations. They underscore the pivotal role played by comprehensive

support frameworks, spanning both domestic and international domains, underpinned by a fusion of financial instruments and a commitment to social responsibility. This comprehensive investigation serves to elucidate the dynamic and evolving landscape of global green finance strategies and their transformative potential.

The contemporary investment landscape is undergoing a profound transformation driven by an escalating awareness of climate change and environmental preservation imperatives. Investors are increasingly drawn to green financial instruments, recognizing their dual potential to yield both positive environmental impacts and profitable returns. This paradigm shift is exemplified by the substantial integration of green instruments into the portfolios of prominent entities, including large corporations, pension funds, and other institutional investors. This collective enthusiasm translates into enhanced financial support for diverse initiatives encompassing renewable energy, recycling, and sustainability projects.

Moreover, the burgeoning demand for green technologies and environmentally friendly products provides a fertile ground for pioneering innovations. Companies, both established and startups, are actively engaged in the ideation and development of cutting-edge technologies aimed at reducing ecological footprints and enhancing environmental conditions. These innovative pursuits span a wide array of domains, encompassing the optimization of solar panels, the formulation of biodegradable materials, and advancements in eco-conscious vehicular technologies, among others. This evolving landscape signifies a pivotal shift towards environmentally sustainable practices and underscores the progressive momentum in both green finance and technology innovation domains.

The evolution of green finance is profoundly influenced by alterations in legislation and regulatory frameworks, which hold the power to significantly shape the trajectory of this burgeoning sector. Many nations are enacting laws that establish rigorous standards for green investments and bonds, thereby fostering standardization and trust within this specialized market segment. Simultaneously, international organizations are assuming a pivotal role in formulating global standards and guidelines essential for the harmonious development of green finance on the international stage.

The sphere of green financial instruments, comprising green bonds, green loans, and climate insurance, is witnessing a perpetual expansion of its market horizons. This expansion engenders fresh opportunities for investors and green project stakeholders alike. Measures dedicated to ensuring transparency, rigorous analysis, and comprehensive rating mechanisms for green instruments enhance their appeal to a diverse spectrum of investors.

Global cooperation is increasingly recognized as an indispensable facet of green finance development in the context of international economic relations. The attainment of sustainable development and the mitigation of global environmental challenges necessitate collective action from all nations and stakeholders. To this end, international forums and conferences, exemplified by platforms such as UN Climate Change Conferences, provide invaluable opportunities for deliberating global challenges and formulating collaborative strategies. Such forums facilitate the exchange of knowledge and expertise in the arena of green finance development, alongside the harmonization of international standards and initiatives to foster a greener and more sustainable global financial landscape.

International Financial Institutions – Organizations that provide financial support, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, can play an important role in promoting the development of green finance. They can provide financial support for projects that contribute to sustainable development and promote a policy shift towards green investment.

International agreements and initiatives, exemplified by the Paris Agreement on climate change, delineate the responsibilities of nations in the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and the promotion of sustainable development. These agreements serve as foundational frameworks for collaborative endeavors in the realm of green investment and financial initiatives, fostering a unified global front for environmental preservation.

Global cooperation extends beyond policy agreements to encompass the exchange of technological innovations and knowledge sharing between nations. Developed countries, leveraging their technical expertise and financial resources, can provide vital support for the development of green projects in less-developed regions, thereby catalyzing the global transition towards sustainability [Zhang, K., Li, Y., Qi, Y., & Shao, S.: 2021].

Furthermore, the impact of global cooperation reverberates throughout global markets and the business landscape. The establishment of an accommodating regulatory environment for green investment can stimulate the demand for green tools, services, and the advancement of green technologies. This interconnected influence contributes significantly to the growth and diversification of green finance.

In light of mounting global environmental challenges, effective global cooperation emerges as an imperative for the advancement of green finance. This collective effort and coordination among stakeholders are pivotal for realizing the ambitious objectives of green finance and fostering positive transformations in the state of our environment.

Conclusions. In the wake of a series of environmental and energy-related incidents instigated by the Russian military within the confines of Ukraine's territory, there is now a heightened recognition of the imperative to instate a fresh paradigm in Ukraine's energy sector relations. The recovery process hinges on harnessing the energy potential of the Kakhovka Dam, reestablishing the devastated thermal and electric hydropower facilities, and addressing the ongoing degradation of energy infrastructure in the East and South of Ukraine, perpetuated by incessant attacks on civilian structures.

At present, it is widely acknowledged that Ukraine must transition towards novel energy supply systems that leverage diverse renewable energy sources, including hydroelectric, solar, and wind power. In this context, the imperative is to institute two distinct approaches to governance when soliciting green investments: both a centralized and a decentralized framework. Ukraine's energy capacity can serve as a catalyst for attracting foreign investments from both private and public sectors into the nation's energy sphere, thereby contributing to the broader framework of Europe's and the world's sustainable development mechanisms.

To facilitate this transformation, comprehensive engagement with various platforms is indispensable. These platforms encompass international organizations, global exhibitions, international grant initiatives, as well as projects tailored to support the development of nations facing analogous challenges.

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