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RATIONAL PLACE OF MOLDOVA IN POLITICS AND GLOBAL SECURITY

Summary:

Collective security is of great importance within politically strained modern environment. Especially for small country like Moldova, preservation of sovereignty and territorial integrity, depends upon outside forces and its primary objectives. The great importance for this country is deep analysis of the theories such as the theory of collective enjoyment and also the theories created within the model of "rational choice". Herewith I would like to offer the theory developed by me "the theory of future safety", which is based on principles of the state interests. "The theory of future safety" includes main determinants of doctrine presented at the International Conference of Poland in 2015 year: Main determinants of doctrine of retaining of independence of former USSR republics (Georgia, the Ukraine).

Keywords:

Small countries, safety, balance, order, realism

Introduction

Twenty-first century politicians were not first at the world politics who have tried to use scientific study and understanding of current events. Even Thucydides Athenian philosopher (471-400 BC) in his "History" described and used such concepts as balance of power, alliance, diplomacy, state strategy, armaments race, the perception of strength and weakness and others. He pays special attention to the study of the causes of war. Using the example of Peloponnesian war (V c. BC) he has drawn conclusion that the start of war had been caused by fear of one country before the growth of strength of another state. But this fear, as a reason of the war, is related not to the human nature, but to the nature of relations between the states. In particular, is related to the fact, that there is no supreme political authority, which will spread equal rules of the international relations with regard to all members of these relations. This

approach is out of sight at the research of modern policies. After World War Two were established theories which had large practical nature. But nevertheless they were far from reality, that is expressed in the provision of Thucydides - supreme political authority - which will spread equal rules of the international relations with regard to all members of these relation. As was stated above the theory of political realism has been established after World War Two. Among classic representatives of this theory, we can distinguish Hans Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, George Kennan, Henry Kissinger and others¹. From the perspective of these scientists, politics, and society in general, are managed by objective laws, which have origins in unchanging humanity. They also share an opinion that state strength consists of geographical features, natural resources, economic potential, population, government. But the most important is military power. It is difficult to disagree with this opinion, especially when we take under consideration the example of Russia. This case is an exemplification of Thucydides theory, where politics is independent from economic, ethics or other spheres of people activities. That is why political activities should not be assessment by general moral standards and rules, but in accordance with political results. The next step is to introduce moral standards, which means that policy should not be derived from what it should be, but from the real situation, from what it is. Approximately the same is proved by Andrei P. Tsygankov, but he judges from interests of Russia's Policy. It is important in this moment to note the regulation of G. Kennan. He thinks that: "international system is hierarchical in its nature, large countries dominate in it, and the status of sovereignty of small countries is the essence of nonsense and that should be so, because, to the contrary, small countries should damage the world peace by their wars". Therefore my theory assumes great importance².

Another significant opinion of Robert Gilpin, in which he relates to the safety of small countries and that small country can't satisfy all national interests, that is why it chooses their different combinations³.

Summary of the main political theories

There are a lot of political theories in the world, which try to argue advantage of one of the international political model under different ways. In my opinion we should choose the theory of structural balance of strength, the theory of economic dependence and the theory of balance of risk. The theory of

¹ K. N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Long Grove, 1979; R. Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, New York, 1947, p. 55.

² A. P. Tsygankov, *Foreign policy in the XXI century: theory and practice*, Kraków 2009, p. 37.

³ R. G. Gilpin, *The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism. International Organization*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1984.

structural balance of strength relates to famous structural realist Kenneth N. Waltz and considers the theory of neorealism. This theory, in its final form was formed by Waltz in 1979 in book *The theory of International Politics*. The second theory (the theory of economic dependence) stresses the importance of economic factors. Scientists, who supported this theory, have tried to empirically check relevancy of predictions possibilities of these theories and substantiate that economic factors have positive role at International Politics. I certainly agree with this, but relevancy of predictions reduces significance of this theory⁴. The third theory (the theory of balance of risk) was established by American scientist Stephen Walt. He has created this theory of balance of risk by the way of verification. The theory, which stays within the paradigm of realism, has much more common with post-classical or neoclassical realism than with structural realism (neorealism). And this reduces its practical meaning. Because the balance of power theory is based on the main indicator of the power of the state, which are: military capabilities, the volume of gross national product, quantity of population and geographic location of the country. Which may assist or prevent a projection of own military capabilities into international system and at the same time, the theory of balance of structural power during the assessment of the strength is based on the non absolute criteria⁵.

Analysis

From theories mentioned above, noteworthy is the theory of economic dependence. In accordance with it the quality of economic dependence between two countries determines the nature of their political relations and trajectory. This theory claims that when one country is significantly economically dependent on another, when there is asymmetric dependence within economic relations, it is highly likely that the first country will pursue appropriate policy for the second country. This is exemplified by small countries on the border of

⁴ K. N. Waltz, op. cit., p. 98; H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 1948, p. 99. M. Sheehan, *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*, New York 1996, pp. 150-157.

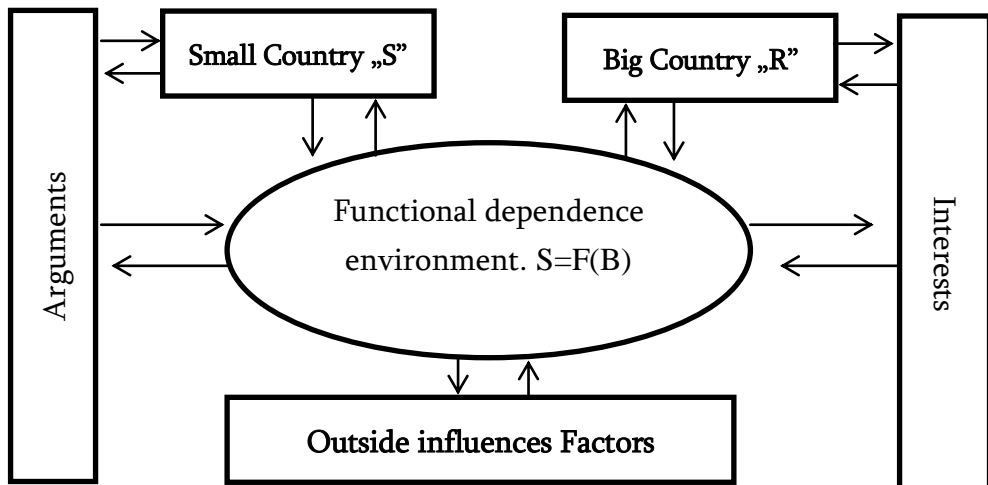
⁵ K. Barbieri, J. S. Levy, *Sleeping with the Enemy: The Impact of War on Trade*, "Journal of Peace Research" Vol. 36, No. 4/1999, p. 463; K. Barbieri, G. Schneider, *Globalization and Peace: Assessing New Directions in the Study of Trade and Conflict*, "Journal of Peace Research", Vol. 36, No. 4/1999, pp. 387, 390; E. Cannan, *An Economist's Protest*, Review by: L. L. Price, "The Economic Journal" Vol. 38, No. 149/1928, pp. 81-89. J. R. Oneal, B. M. Russett, *The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence and International Conflict, 1950-1985*, "International Studies Quarterly", Vol. 41, No 2/June 1997, p. 267.

Russia, including Moldova, and similarly with the relations between Russia and European Union. According to the theory, economic dependence reduces political freedom and leads to predictability of foreign policy of the particular country. This is an incorporating policy, which is well visible in the post-Soviet countries. Miller claims, that the more state from post-Soviet area is depended on Russia, the less they tries to reduce the politics of balance and incorporates to Russia. In the opinion of Miller, the choice of countries is conditioned by economic and political estimations. If the country dependent on Russia tries to change foreign policy on the contrary to Russia will, there is a risk that Russia can use methods of punishment of "obstinate" country. This may create great problems for economic and political stability for such state. In accordance with the argument Miller, ruling political elite, whose the main purpose is maintenance of viability of the regime, will try to pursue foreign policy suitable for Russia and create their own political priorities in accordance with the Kremlin. The most powerful indicator of economic independence is the energy dependence. In this case, mainly refers to energy resources, such as natural gas, electricity and oil. These are the resources that are very important to the country's economy and operation of its infrastructure. More higher is country's energy sector dependent on other state, like Moldova is depend from Russia, the more likely is that Moldova will choose the policy of incorporation. That is why Western countries supposed to resolve problem of Moldova. What should be noticed is the existence of alternative markets, which can provide Europe relative independence from Russia's energy resources. As we can see, this circumstance directly defines the effect of the trade and the energy dependence, if the country can replace one supplier to another. It appears that the weaker state can relate her policy with the state which constitutes great threat to it. Michael Sheehan says that "states don't come in touch with each other only against the strength. There must be threat perception". For Western Europe States the strength of America didn't awake their fear from 1945. When the Soviet Union's aggressive actions constitute a threat to them, and today Russia is political successor of the Soviet Union. As we can see the situation did not change. Thus the strength of the country doesn't create danger. But the danger creates danger and the following factors provoke it. The power - the greater is the strength of the state potentially, the more it is dangerous for other counties. When the relative strength of the state grows, other states may perceive this as threat. Accordingly, the growth of the relative strength of the state may contribute to the balance and the trend of alliance formation. Consequently, the balance of power theory is not false, but it is not complete. The strength is one of many factors, but not most meaningful, and that grows the tendency of the balance. Waltz thinks that the strength is the only one component, the essence, in perception of danger.

It should be emphasized that the strength is not the most important factor, but it is necessary element to measure the danger. I would like to emphasize

once again, that strong, but not aggressive country may constitute a danger, also the weak country constitutes small danger. In this case, we should to take into consideration the fact to which the weak country is aggressive. If weak country threaten to large country (that happens very rarely), than the object of danger would not consider it as a great danger. But if weak country constitute a threat to another weak country, it would be considered as a great danger, especially if the aggressor is supported by a strong country. Similar situation is in Moldova. One of the element of theory of balance, is that estimation of the danger is impossible, and is based only on the variance of strength. Because the state can use the strength for two different purposes: threatens to other state or doesn't threaten. Here we can see necessity to take into consideration additional factors, which assist us to estimate the danger. These is geographical proximity: the states, which are located in the proximity, create more danger, rather than states, which are far away. For Moldova such proximity is Russia, and this danger is double. Consequently, economic dependence and geographical proximity create the conditions for danger and incorporating politics, which also clashes, or coexists, or doesn't arise that relations, and this establishes the systems of intention. For example, aggressive intentions will be balanced by other countries. The assessment of intentions is most important factor during taking a decision about the allies, and it is changes according to the situation. That is why it should be considered as variable function.

Figure 1. The scheme of Small and large states in the functional dependence



Source: Author's research.

Which represents the dependence of one state (small) to another state (aggressive). Strength state "B" and small state "S" are related to each other when "S" agrees with all resolutions of "B", than "S" depends on "B", and that means that "B" is independent and "S" is dependent variable and their relations may be represented by $S=F(B)$. Dependence function (formula) represented by me authorize me to establish the theory of safety. Theory predicts that future safety in political and economic area will be based on increasing economic welfare. The theory takes into account functional independent of $S=F(B)$ according this it is necessary to disband functional independent by equal functional independent parts for achievement of independence. In practice, implementation of this theory depends on such countries as Japan, USA, Great Britain and France. The core of this theory is to apply the absolute economic blockade of Russia, and appeal to countries in Europe like Germany or other countries in the world (except Turkey, Iran and China). Such coalition will be profitable for every member. Small countries like Moldova, Georgia, Poland, Azerbaijan, Finland and the Baltic states will be able to return the lost territories and to integrate into the current coalition system without Russian influence. Also, Japan and China will reclaim territories. USA will strengthen their political positions in Africa and Eastern countries, and the tension between Iran and the United States will be broken. Iran will sell freely its energy resources to Europe, Turkey will solve the problems of Kurds, Great Britain will receive gas on preferential terms, France, Germany and other European countries will not dependent on Russian gas. And, all of this creates a pyramid of Unions system, built on rightful principle, which entrance will be open to subjugated Russia⁶. So we approach to opinion of Thucydides, that it is necessary to create supreme authority, which will spread equal rules to the all subjects of international relations. Without a doubt European Union is not such supreme authority.

In case when the abovementioned theories will not be spread, another world war is inevitable. That will create chaos and a danger for the human race, or everybody becomes Russian in the world. And this will rise collision of nations (because the nations will not exist), clannish collision will rise with the result: chaos war.

⁶ G. H. Snyder, *Alliances, Balance and Stability. International Organization*, Vol.45, No. 1/1991, p. 71; V. Kakabadze, *Georgia's independence – development opportunities*, Sibiu, 2014, p. 204; V. Kakabadze, N. Maisuradze, *Main determinants of doctrine of retaining of independence of former USSR republics (Georgia, the Ukraine)*, "Ante Portas – Studia nad Bezpieczeństwem", No. 1(6), 2015, pp. 383-388. V. Kakabadze, N. Maisuradze, *EU, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine – analysis and forecast*, "Acta Scientifica Academiae Ostroviensis", vol. 7 (1)/2016, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, 2016. p. 300.

Conclusion

The realism in international relations is one of the most known approach, according to which the main subjects are states, the main driving idea – nation-state interests, the determining factor - power (military, political, economic), and the main regulator - the balance of power, which is subject of international law and morality. The political realism argues that the country's foreign policy is determined by their attempt to achieve the optimum power (influence). Consequently, countries will always define the national interests as power within the conditions of optimization. This view explains that every country has natural geopolitical sphere of influence, which determines the potential of the state.

The main political theories which clearly explain the political safety of small countries were analyzed in this article. Also, it offers the theory of future safety and variable function of relations, which describes dependence of one (small) state to another (strong) state. And it is defined if strength state "B" and small state "S" are related to each other when "S" agrees with all resolutions of "B", than "S" depends on "B", and that means that "B" is independent and "S" is dependent variable and their relations may be represented by $S=F(B)$. Dependence function (formula) represented by me authorize me to establish the theory of safety. The theory of future safety considers the providing of future economic and political safety on the base of warming of current economic welfare. The theory takes into account functional independent of $S=F(B)$. Is says that it is necessary to disband functional independent by equal functional independent parts for achievement of independence.

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