

## Partnerships in Policy-Relations between Ukraine and Saudi Arabia

By: Dr. Ali Emad Mohamed Azhar

Researcher, Ministry of Higher Education - Kingdom of Jordan

Email: [lokckloky@gmail.com](mailto:lokckloky@gmail.com)

### Abstract

The research outlines the context within which Ukraine new partnership policy has been formulated, especially the changing security and political context for partnerships in the 21st century and the anticipated effects of changing global power constellations and the prospects for change in the so-called liberal. The study followed the descriptive and analytical method approach partnerships in policy, as was highlighted cooperation - between Ukraine and Saudi Arabia.

**Keywords:** strategic partnership, political, foreign trade, Ukraine, Saudi Arabia.

### الخلاصة

يوجز البحث السياق الذي تم فيه صياغة سياسة الشراكة الجديدة لأوكرانيا، لا سيما السياق الأمني والسياسي المتغير للشراكات في القرن الحادي والعشرين والآثار المتوقعة لتغيير مجموعات الطاقة العالمية وأفاق التغيير فيما يسمى الليبرالية. اتبعت الدراسة شراكات نهج المنهج الوصفي والتحليلي في الشراكات السياسية الخارجية، كما تم إبراز التعاون بين أوكرانيا والمملكة العربية السعودية. **الكلمات المفتاحية:** الشراكة الاستراتيجية، السياسية، التجارة الخارجية، أوكرانيا، السعودية

## Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, international relations have witnessed great and profound changes. The world conjuncture has shifted to a multipolar order with many centers of power. Peace, cooperation and development have become a major tendency in the world. The trend of globalization, multilateralization and diversification of foreign relations and international integration has become popular. The demand for diversification of foreign relations, building a new-type relationship of cooperation suitable to the new circumstance and the capability of each subject in international relations has become an objective and inevitable tendency. At present, there has not yet appeared a common concept of the framework, connotation, purpose and significance of strategic partnership. With their national interests in mind, the subjects of international relations seek to establish and implement strategic partnerships suitable to their national capabilities and international circumstances, without limiting themselves in a rigid framework of relations. Normally, only when nations maintain the friendly and cooperative relations at a certain degree shall they take into account the building and establishment of strategic partnerships. Strategic partnership is, in essence, a form of international relations, reflecting the aspirations of the subjects when they participate in this framework of relationship. It demonstrates a commitment higher than the normal bilateral relationship but not yet to the extent of forming a military alliance. In other words, strategic partnership is also a gauge measuring the binding and intertwinement of interests between subjects of international relationship, which go beyond the extent of friendship and cooperation but not to the extent of legal binding. Generally, strategic partnerships in the world are characterized with the following four fundamental features:

First, there exists between them a framework of relationship with broad connotations of cooperation, depending on the political will and cooperation wishes of the parties concerned,

Which are officialized via high-level statements or communiqués. Second, there exist operating mechanisms through regular and extraordinary meetings, visits, etc., particularly at high levels, to build the strategic confidence and enhance friendship and comprehensive cooperation. Third, formerly, when building and deploying their strategic partnerships, subjects often laid stress on political, security and defense cooperation. Yet, now, the tendency to select one or several narrow sectors or to diversify connotations for building a strategic partnership has become more and more common, as long as it benefits both parties and does not lead to a military alliance. Fourth, there is a deeper and closer economic cooperation, creating a clear distinction between cooperation and partnership and creating a relatively sustainable association and intertwining of interests within a given period of time. In addition, a strategic partnership must involve exchange and cooperation at different levels and among different sectors and localities. A strategic partnership aims for basic and long-term national interests among the involved parties. It is not immutable but flexible. It develops and varies, depending on each partner, time, sector and way of application by each subject.

### **The aim of the Research**

The aim of the research is to create and demonstrate theoretical and practical controls and practical recommendations in relation to partnerships in policy - relations between Ukraine and Saudi Arabia

In order to achieve the goal, the following tasks were accomplished: Was selected Theoretical and analytical framework in the foreign political partnership - the general concept. It was analyzed Trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. And Was selected Constraints of partnership.

## **Research problem**

The research problem lies: in the role of foreign political partnerships in achieving economic development and strengthening relations between countries

## **Materials and findings of the research.**

### **Captor 1 - Theoretical and analytical framework in the foreign political partnership - the general concept**

#### **1. Strategic Partnerships in Foreign Policy**

One of the newest forms of international cooperation is a strategic partnership; even though the concept is often used in academic and political-diplomatic discourse, there is no consensus about the uniform definition or theoretical model regarding this form of cooperation. The concept of a strategic partnership defining a bilateral relationship was first mentioned in the Camp David summit in 1991: the Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the U.S. President George Bush Sr. made a joint declaration, which stated that both states no longer consider each other enemies and commit to the development of a partnership based on mutual understanding and trust. The very essence of the strategic partnership was not been defined; however, its mention reflected an intention to develop a framework for such cooperation when states sought the common benefit at the same time consolidating or expanding area of influence. In the context of the end of the Cold War, the concept of a strategic partnership reflected neo-realism postulates on the structure of the international system: states are sovereign international actors, which belong to a hierarchical category of power and operate under granted opportunities and constraints by that category in order to maximize its benefits and minimize action costs, taking into account the fact that their primary strategic goal is national security. Thus, the concept of a strategic partnership reflected the use of national power in cooperation with other countries when seeking the implementation of national interests.

However, this concept was frequently confused with the concepts of coalition (emphasizes a short-term cooperation) and an alliance (emphasizes a military cooperation) In time the understanding of a strategic partnership has changed and ‘strategic’ has been interpreted in different ways. Nowadays strategic partnerships can reflect cooperation for the purpose of reaching a common strategic

goal ; that is, strategic bilateral relations are defined by the strategic objectives and cooperation required for achieving these objectives. However, in order to form common bjectives states have to identify and match their national interests. The strategic partnership can be defined in the context of national strategic interests; i.e. a state’s concrete strategic interests can be implemented only on the grounds of the bilateral cooperation with other state having the same strategic interests. The cooperation in such strategic areas as security, military, politics, economy can also be called a strategic partnership. The term ‘strategic’ can be interpreted by means of a partner’s power or status in the international structure. In this context the strategic partnership can be determined as the cooperation in various areas between key international actors or as the cooperation between two powerful countries, which can perform strategic actions in the international system . There is no single definition of the strategic partnership and the same concept is used describing completely different forms of cooperation of different nature and developed to different objectives; each case of strategic partnership is unique, because partners cooperate with substance according to their interests.

### **1.1. Functional Use of Strategic Partnership**

The concept of a strategic partnership is teleological, which thus defines the use of strategic cooperation in foreign policy. Consequently, strategic partnerships can be used to form and influence the international structure or to change the autonomy of a state. Powerful countries can use strategic partnerships to form the international system (for example, the USA-Baltic States partnerships),

To expand influence zones (for example, the China-Kazakhstan partnership), and small states can use it for the purpose of gaining more security and the greatest economic and political benefit (the U.S.–Poland or the U.S.–Japan partnership). First of all, strategic partnerships are distinguished from other forms of international cooperation in that their primary goal is not a specific goal, but security; therefore the basis of cooperation is not a common enemy, but common interests and common security issues or threats. Thus, the basic characteristic of strategic partnerships is security and economic cooperation. States initiate strategic partnerships on purpose to increase the national security and reduce the lack of power. Moreover, acting as rational actors they choose such a strategic partner, the cooperation with which will guarantee the biggest benefit from all possible alternatives seeking the implementation of specific strategic interests. Depending on the power of the state, a strategic partnership has different grounds and goals, so one state can use it as an offensive strategy, the other as a defensive strategy: powerful countries increase their political, military, economic power and domination, while small countries seek for security and possibility to restrain rising threats. Moreover, partnerships give opportunities to support or to change the existing international structure thus providing conditions for the rise of the new centers of power or the decline of the old ones. For this reason one country can use it to seek power and domination, and thus form a unipolar international structure (the US strategic partnerships), while other countries can use it to balance the power of a state or states and to form a multipolar structure (the Russian strategic partnerships). This aspect of strategic partnership has the dimensions of dynamism and globalism: the implementation of a strategic partnership between two strategically important powers or rising powers could indicate partners' goal to influence the structure of the international/regional system and its changes, the definition of new influence zones or the restriction of third country power and foreign policy possibilities.

Strategic cooperation can be defined as the possibility to establish a position in global policy/politics, i.e., the selection of an appropriate partner, alignment of interests and formation of the strategic goal determine the ability to become a strategic actor (the EU strategic partnerships). However, strategic cooperation must possess efficiency and fulfill the basic principles of strategic cooperation. One of the most important aspects of a strategic partnership is longevity: a strategic partnership refers to a partner's obligation to develop long-term relationships. The partners must have equal capacity and power to influence the evolution of bilateral relations, with reference to the stability, continuity and common benefit of cooperation. The strategic relations are characterized by reciprocity, the ability to recover and remain flexible and durable in spite of the problems or misunderstandings. Therefore the partnership must be based on tactical opportunity, extensive compatibility of use and purpose, when both of the partners are able to identify common interests and make them along and real cooperation regarding the similar vision of the structure of the international system and the role of the partners in this structure. The basic aspect of the partnership is the recognition by both partners that bilateral relations are strategic and based on a strategic goal, the cooperation in strategically important areas, the performance of strategic actions or the evaluation that partner is strategically important in the international system. Therefore, each case of strategic cooperation is unique and authentic as states base the partnership on the common decision making and its implementation in order to reach such a goal or in such areas, which are considered by mutual agreement as relevant and corresponding the national interests of the states. Strategic partnerships are characterized by a flexible voluntary cooperation based on a formal mutual commitment. Therefore, this form of cooperation has a broad application range and can be defined as the process of a formalized, structured and institutionalized international cooperation in order to achieve the common strategic goals,

Which stem from the national interest and the desire to increase national security. This definition of a strategic partnership allows for the identification of a specific cooperation as strategic by distinguishing its variables, i.e., the matching interests of national security, formulated common objectives, formalization of implementation and institutionalization process.

### **1.2. Evolution of Strategic Partnership**

A specific case of strategic cooperation can be analyzed as a cyclical process, in which the phases of formation, implementation and evaluation can be distinguished. Moreover, strategic partnerships as a continuum are formulated, implemented and evaluated in the context of the internal factors (such as the common vision of the international structure, common values, ideology, interests, goals, commitments, expectations, support, communication, institutions, areas and elements of the cooperation) and the external factors (such as the changes of the international structure or the power of the state, the formation or dissolution of another strategic partnerships and security threats). The mutual commitment to develop strategic relations for mutual benefit, recognition of a specific cooperation as a strategic partnership and the evaluation of partners' interest and motivation to seek a compromise in the implementation of the common strategic objectives are the primary steps in strategic relations' initiative. The common benefit is associated with national security, but understanding of the benefit depends on the national interests of the partners and the capacity to translate it to specific common strategic goals. The strategic goal can be defined as an objective that cannot be reached without the implementation of the strategic partnership between two countries. Essentially, the common goals arise from the compatibility of the national interests with the vision of the international structure. The need to respond to the challenges in the international environment, the common security threats or the same strategic interests are the primary factors that determine the formation of a strategic partnership.

However, in this phase, it is important to take into account other elements of the compatibility between the strategic partners: values, ideology, real gain potential, partner's power and ability to use this power for its own behalf, mutual expectations, commitments and the set of the specific objectives<sup>10</sup>. The higher the compatibility between the strategic partners (political systems, ideology, foreign policy tradition, geopolitical situation, resources, etc.), the more congruous or complementary interests the states would have, i.e, the strategic partnership will be more enduring.

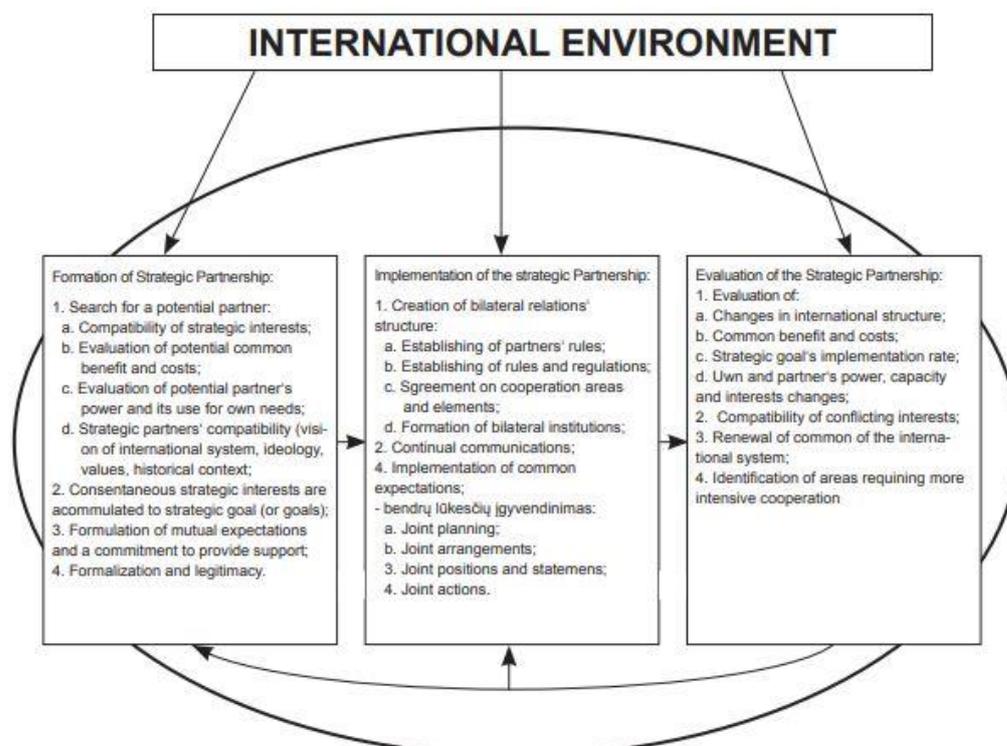


Figure 1. Evolutionary model of strategic partnership

Snyder G. H. Alliance Politics (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs), Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 8. 13 Sautenet A. "The Current Status and Prospects of the „Strategic Partnership“ between the EU and China: Towards the Conclusion of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement." European Law Journal, Vol. 13, No. 6, 2007, p. 706.

When taking into account common interests, and when a state finds a potential partner and defines the common strategic objectives, there is a need to formalize and legitimize the strategic partnership. The formalization grants legal status to the partnership, as well as specificity, greater commitment and reciprocity, which arise from the agreement signing ritual<sup>12</sup>. The formal agreement enables the implementation of the strategic goals through the institutionalization of relations, in which the partners exercise joint, coordinated actions in the cooperation areas. This process reveals the idea of the bilateral coordinated action<sup>13</sup> and lasting commitment to develop close cooperation in various political spheres, when both partners recognize the importance of the mutual liability and attempt to reach an agreement and to cooperate whenever this is possible. Accordingly, in order to coordinate actions and solve problems arising during the implementation of the formal agreement, partners create bilateral institutions that define the roles of the partners, procedures, mechanisms, rules and elements. Communication and cooperation in strategic areas is exercised through the establishment of mechanisms and institutional structures, which guarantee that strategic objectives and commitment to the common benefit should not be influenced by changing internal political powers and strategic cooperation would be maintained on local, national and international levels. The institutional structure has a direct impact on the partners' behavior, and this structure, the definition of goals, and the power balance and/or conflict between the partners lead to the successful implementation of the strategic partnership and its endurance as united security actor. The implementation of the strategic partnership reveals the real dynamics of the interstate relations, as well as intensity, uniqueness, responsibility and mutual commitment. In this phase mutual expectations must be implemented, that is, the specific outcomes of cooperation must be seen as joint planning, agreements, statements, actions demonstrating the depth and extent of the cooperation.

Each of the functional areas requires the involvement of the cooperation elements, which indicate the intensity and effectiveness of the strategic partnership.

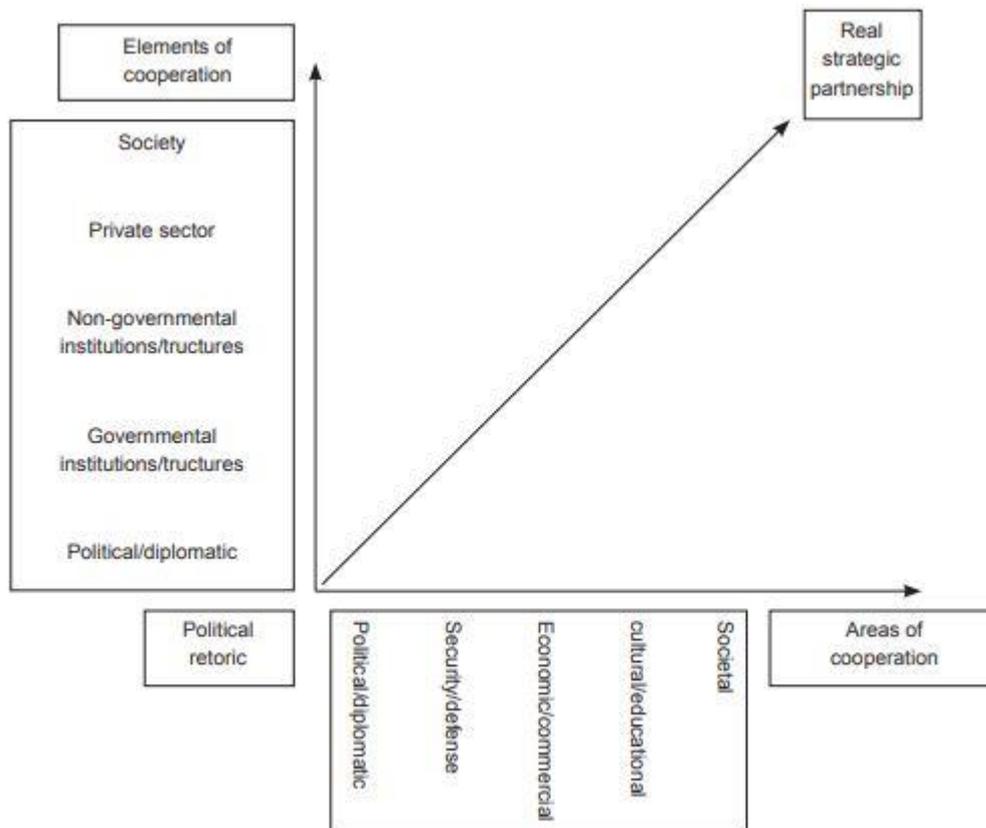


Figure 2. Scope of strategic partnership

Snyder G. H. Alliance Politics (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs), Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 8. 13 Sautenet A. “The Current Status and Prospects of the „Strategic Partnership“ between the EU and China: Towards the Conclusion of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement.” European Law Journal, Vol. 13, No. 6, 2007, p. 706.

## Captor 2 - International cooperation - between Ukraine and Saudi Arabia

### 2.1. Historical relations between Ukraine and Saudi Arabia

Began the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the Republic of Ukraine in 1992, when the Kingdom has recognized the Republic of Ukraine to be the basis for the start of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and this was after the signing of the Protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries on 18/4/1993 m. According to Article VIII of this Convention, the Committee held a joint Ukrainian Arabia to date the first of three meetings in 2004, and the recent (third meeting) in the corresponding 8-9/4/2008 in the city of Riyadh. Is scheduled for the fourth meeting in the first half of the year 2011. In order to consolidate Relations between the two countries and their development in all areas were primarily the approval of Royal Decree No. 4389 / mb at 5/6/1429 H to open the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Republic of Ukraine. Accordingly, it was the opening of the Saudi Embassy in Kiev in 1430, corresponding to 2009. On October 30, 2009 AD the two foreign ministries and a memorandum of understanding in the political consultations in the city of Kiev is scheduled to hold its first meeting of the political consultations in the first half of 2011.

The Table (1) of current international agreements between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

| №  | Effective date | Name of Agreement   |
|----|----------------|---|
| 1- | 14.04.1993     | Protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia               |
| 2- | 29.12.1996     | Protocol between the State Committee of Migration of Ukraine and the Ministry of Haj of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia |

|     |            |  |
|-----|------------|--|
| 3-  | 19.06.2003 | Agreement on trade-economic, scientific, technical and investment cooperation between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  |
| 4-  | 24.05.2005 | Memorandum of Understanding between the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Ukraine and the Council of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on establishment of the Ukrainian-Saudi Business Council                                 |
| 5-  | 18.02.2009 | Agreement on reciprocal promotion and protection of investments  |
| 6-  | 30.10.2009 | Memorandum of understanding on bilateral political consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia   |
| 7-  | 09.10.2011 | Agreement on cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes   |
| 8-  | 01.12.2012 | Convention on avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income and estate and prevention of fiscal evasion.  |
| 9-  | 01.11.2017 | Memorandum on investment cooperation in the field of agriculture between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.  |
| 10- | 01.11.2017 | Program of cooperation between Hennadiy Udovenko Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Prince Saud Al-Faisal Institute for Diplomatic Studies under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. |
| 11- | 01.11.2017 | Memorandum of understanding on cooperation and exchange of news between the Ukrainian National Information Agency "Ukrinform" and the Saudi Press Agency.  |
| 12- | 23.11.2018 | Memorandum of Understanding between the  |

|     |            |  |
|-----|------------|--|
|     |            | Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on cooperation in the sports sector  |
| 13- | 23.11.2018 | Memorandum of Cooperation between the National Bureau of Air Accidents Investigation of Ukraine and the Aviation Investigation Bureau of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia |
| 14- | 05.02.2020 | Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on cooperation in the field of defense                       |

## 2.2. Trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

### Bilateral trade and economic relations

The goods turnover between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 2018 amounted to USD 935.88 million. At the same time, the Ukrainian exports totaled USD 749.08 million (or 144.8% compared with the indicators of the same period in 2017), imports – USD 186.80 million (102.1%). The positive balance for Ukraine was USD 562.29 million.

The table 2

|                        | 2017   | 2018   |
|------------------------|--------|--------|
| Export,<br>Million USD | 515.61 | 749.08 |
| Growth rate, %         | -      | 144.8% |
| Import,<br>Million USD | 182,88 | 186.80 |
| Growth rate, %         | -      | 102.1% |

Ukrainian exports consisted mainly of commodity items such as cereals (60.0%), ferrous metals (11.6%), meat and meat preparations (7.7%), animal or plant fats and oils (5.5%). The basis of the Saudi imports to Ukraine was formed by plastics and polymeric materials (86.8%), mineral fuel, petroleum and petroleum distillation products (9.4%).

Kingdom is the world's largest importer of feed barley and wheat used in the livestock industry. The trend of increasing Saudi imports of these products will be permanently stored because the Saudi government stopped support national grain production because of its unprofitability as well as has taken into account the problem of global food crisis. A favorable factor for Ukraine is a program declared by the KSA to ensure the Kingdom's strategic food supply. This program provides an investment of Saudi Arabia majorly in the agricultural sector for selected foreign countries based on signed agreements.

In September 2018 the Saudi Agricultural and Livestock Investment Company (SALIC) has acquired a large Ukrainian farming company Mriya Agro Holding, thus signing the largest contract in the agricultural sector in the history of Ukraine's independence. In November 2018 (in the framework of the Sixth Session of the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Saudi Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation) the expanded joint meeting of the Ukrainian-Saudi Business Council and the first Saudi-Ukrainian agribusiness investment forum were held in the city of Kyiv.

The promising spheres of bilateral trade and economic cooperation are energy (renewable energy sources and their development), construction (infrastructure projects), water management, transport (air, maritime, urban), mechanical engineering and aircraft building.

## **Captor 3- Constraints of partnership**

### **3.1. Weak Points in invest in Ukraine**

The weak points of the Ukrainian economy include:

A legal framework that provides little security (for instance in relation to intellectual property) and support for foreign investors, which is characterised, among other things, by endemic corruption

A weakly diversified economy which is highly dependent on Russia (its main trading partner, with which it has also been in diplomatic conflict since the crisis in Crimea) High public debt (especially external debt) The financial fragility of the national oil company Naftogaz and the permanent risk of the country's inability to pay its gas bill The fall in industrial production since 2009 An unstable economy, characterised by a high rate of inflation (14% in 2017 according to COFACE) Political instability reinforced by internal armed conflict with the separatists and external with Russia A business environment that is generally poor and complicated to understand (eg particularly cumbersome and inefficient clearance procedures), as can be seen in its 76th place in the Doing Business 2018 report of the World Bank.

#### **Government Measures to Motivate or Restrict FDI**

The government is implementing pro-investment reforms. For example, it has been striving to simplify the procedures for starting a business. Tax benefits also exist in certain sectors such as the mining sector and agriculture. In addition, imported capital goods are exempt from customs duties.

#### **Bilateral investment conventions signed by Ukraine**

The Ukraine has signed 64 investment protection bilateral agreements, namely with the United States and most of the OECD and the CIS countries. Ukraine and the EU finished negotiations on a Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement in 2011.

### **3.2. Weak Points invest in Saudi Arabia**

While the country has undertaken reforms to encourage foreign investment, the legal framework in resolving commercial disputes is considered by some to be inadequate. There is a lack of transparency in applying intellectual property legislation, and the Government imposes quotas of Saudi employees in companies. Cases of delayed payment of some government contracts have been reported. The traditionally conservative cultural environment, including the enforced segregation of the sexes in most businesses and social settings, may discourage certain investors who are not accustomed to such practises.

#### **Other weak points are:**

High dependence on hydrocarbons sector.

High unemployment rate among natives, and under-employment of women.

Economy is dependant on public spending.

Weak political governance.

Weak economic transparency.

Deteriorated regional geopolitical environment.

#### **Government Measures to Motivate or Restrict FDI**

According to the law on foreign direct investment, foreigners are now allowed to invest in all sectors of the economy, except for specific activities on a “negative list” (oil and mining sector, some services, etc.). Foreign investors are no longer required to have local partners in a number of sectors and may own property for company activities. They are allowed to repatriate their company money and can sponsor foreign employees, subject to certain criteria in accordance with the Nitaqat (Saudisation) programme. In order to facilitate investments in the Kingdom, the Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority (SAGIA) has set up an Investment Services Centre (ISC). The ISC must decide to grant or refuse a license within 30 days of receiving an application from an investor. Finally, the Saudi Centre for commercial arbitration has been created,

Which assures foreign investors an inexpensive fee in case of commercial arbitration. The Saudi government launched Saudi Vision 2030, an ambitious development program that foresees important opportunities for foreign investors in the sectors of education, housing, health and energy, among others. In 2016, Saudi Arabia authorized the acquisition of 100% of assets by foreign investors in retail and wholesale trade. A privatization program has also been launched. The government also tries to attract FDI in the sectors of renewable energy and entertainment. Nevertheless, other recent governmental initiatives aimed at favoring employment of Saudi citizens may discourage foreign investors: cost of working permits for foreigners, quota of foreign worker employees, stricter policy of localization and introduction of a VAT beginning of 2018.

### **Conclusions**

We just suggest focusing on the implementation of the Association Agreement and, if necessary, its revision, and to use the revealed resources to promote Ukrainian interests in other regions where Ukrainian exports can win competitive struggle. Another direction is the contacts with other centers of power, as well as restoration of regional projects with the participation of the Partnership countries, in order to turn Kyiv into an intermediary between global Partnerships. All this will restore the subjectivity of the Ukrainian state and will return it to the proper place in the world. This research included conducting a study of partnerships foreign policy and taking a sample on the Ukrainian-Saudi cooperation. We discussed three items that were taken by testing the theoretical and analytical concept of companies. As for the applied aspect is the development of relations and economic cooperation between Ukraine and Saudi Arabia, the last obstacles were identified during weaknesses in foreign investments in Ukraine. And Saudi Arabia.

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