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DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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**MOLDOVAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF
EUROPEAN VERSUS EURASIAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES**

**SPECIALTY 562. 02 – HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
AND FOREIGN POLICY**

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CONCEPTUAL BENCHMARKS OF THE STUDY

Relevance and significance of the study. Observing the changes taking place in international relations over the past two decades, the rapid changes affecting the system and structure of international relations, due to the state of the environment and attempts to transform the system of international relations formed after the collapse of the USSR, become obvious. At the present stage in the emerging system of international relations, in addition to the United States, the European Union, China and the Russian Federation are claiming the role of centers of power.

Integration processes, which began in the second half of the XX century, have become the vanguard trends in international relations of the XXI century, and participation in the integration processes ensures the political and economic involvement of states in international processes and stable development. The active processes of enlargement of the European Union at the beginning of the 21st century, together with the spread of European values in the countries of Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet space, contributed to the expansion of the geopolitical interests of the EU. As a result of the expansion of the area of geopolitical interests in the post-Soviet space, the European Union faced the position of the Russian Federation, which considers the area of the post-Soviet space for a long period of time after the collapse of the USSR as a sphere of geopolitical interests and influence.

The increased level of competition in overlapping spheres of geopolitical interest stimulated the Russian Federation to intensify the integration process in the Eurasian space, while maintaining the format of cooperation within the CIS. In these conditions, two integration associations - the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union, different in the depth of integration and the volume of participants, but similar in the basic principles of economic integration, in their scale covered almost the entire continent of Eurasia, forming a kind of subsystem of international relations with two centers of power of the EU and the EAEU. Unlike the EU, within the framework of Eurasian integration, the Russian Federation acts as the main integrator and center of power and fragmentation, has become a characteristic feature of the integration processes in the post-Soviet space.

Thus, the relevance of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the new conditions is due to a number of factors. Firstly, in the current geopolitical realities and taking into account the geographical location of the Republic of Moldova between the two integration associations within the framework of the formed subsystem, Moldova's foreign policy is determined by the environment of international relations, the state of relations between the centers of power in the region, as well as the potential for conflict between them, affecting the regional stability.

Secondly, in the course of the implementation of the foreign policy of European integration of the Republic of Moldova for twenty years, due to the internal political split and foreign policy pressure, the importance of the principles of conducting a balanced foreign policy, fixed in the Foreign Policy Concept, was not taken into account. As a result, the level of trust in the Republic of Moldova at different stages of integration began to decline both in the East and in the West, and foreign policy does not ensure the implementation of the consolidated national interest.

Thirdly, the realization of the national interest of the Republic of Moldova is conditioned by the need to form a new approach to foreign policy and to define a foreign policy strategy. Strategic analysis and determination of the prospects for the development of integration processes and the format of cooperation of the Republic of Moldova in them, ensuring the realization of national interests, is the basis of the new approach. In turn, the establishment and building of full-fledged and trusting cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation, taking into account the historical experience of relations between the two states and the national interests of Moldova in the long term, is due to a number of areas of cooperation that are important for Moldova. The main directions of bilateral interaction are: trade, economic, humanitarian component and cooperation in solving the Transnistrian problem.

Description of the situation in the research field and identification of the research problem.

Bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the context of integration processes have been and remain the subject of research and touch upon various aspects of cooperation in terms of the geopolitical interests and influence of the Russian Federation and the European Union in the region. Among the Western authors who have studied the geopolitical interests of Russia and the European Union in the Republic of Moldova, as a factor influencing foreign policy orientation and the formation of conflict potential, deserve attention N. Medico [16], J. Beyer and S. Wolff [11], F. Parmentier [21], J. O'Loughlyn [17]. The geostrategic interests of the Russian Federation in the region and the Republic of Moldova, conditioned by the support of separatism in Transnistria and the military presence of the Russian contingent, as a factor in restraining NATO expansion to the East, are analyzed in their works J. Friedman [13], R. Kennedy [14], J. F. Drevet [20], V. Țicu [18]. S. Woehrel [19] analyzes the energy and economic component of bilateral relations as an instrument of pressure on Moldova. The problems of the formation and use of instruments of "soft power" of Russia in relations with Moldova are the subject of research in the works of A. Makarychev [15], A. Devyatkov [12].

The study of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation within the framework of the processes of European integration and cooperation with

the CIS is of interest to representatives of the scientific community of the Russian Federation. The analysis of the interests of the Republic of Moldova and the nature of bilateral relations with the Russian Federation in the context of the growing competition of two integration associations - European and Eurasian - are presented by I. Selivanov [34], A. Shevchenko [44], E. Vinokurov, S. Kulik, A. Spartak [24]. L. Brysyakina [22], V. Ogneva [31] analyze the building of full-fledged bilateral cooperation between Moldova and Russia as a factor in strengthening political and economic stability in Moldova and in the region, ensuring the realization of the national interests of the parties. The interest of the post-Soviet states and the Republic of Moldova in cooperation in the context of strengthening Russia's position in world politics is studied by G. Greenberg [26], I. Kobrinskaya [27]. An analysis of bilateral relations in the framework of the changing geopolitical reality and the transformation of the system of international relations is suggested in the study by F. Muhametshin [29]. The interests of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova related to the process of Eurasian integration are analyzed in the studies of A. Lukin [28] and A. Ryabov [33].

Attempts to study bilateral relations between Moldova and Russia in the context of the processes of European integration and cooperation within the framework of the CIS at the present stage have been carried out in the Republic of Moldova. The strategic partnership of the Republic of Moldova with the Russian Federation and the multi-vector foreign policy of Moldova, including European integration and the development of relations with the CIS, the subject of research by S. Nazaria [30]. The historical context of Moldova's relations with Russia in the process of building a foreign policy strategy, the subject of analysis by V. Țurcan and V. Moșneaga [42]. The evolution of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the implementation of the eastern direction of the EU's "neighborhood policy" and the growing geopolitical tension in the region, analyzed by C. Solomon [35], A. Tcaci [36], S. Cebotari and N. Stercul [43], A. Roman and S. Nazaria [32]. The role of the Russian Federation, geopolitical and geostrategic interests in the context of the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict - an integral part of bilateral relations within the framework of integration processes are studied I. Bucătaru [23], V. Juc and V. Ungureanu [6], Gh. Cojocarui [4], C. Mînașcurtă and A. Găncu [7], D. Benchechi [10], O. Serebrian [9]. The analysis of the position and role of the Republic of Moldova in the new geopolitical conditions, the transforming system of international relations and relations with foreign policy partners are presented by E. Ciobu [3], V. Juc [5]. National interest and security of Moldova in the framework of bilateral relations with Russia and integration processes, analyzed by V. Saca [8], S. Cebotari [2], Gh. Căldare [1], Iu. Gorincioi [25]. Despite the rather massive volume of research concerning Moldovan-Russian relations,

presented in foreign and Moldovan scientific works, the problems of bilateral relations in the context of integration processes have not been sufficiently studied.

The research hypothesis:

- As a result of the geopolitical changes of the last decades on the Eurasian continent and the development of integration processes, the system of international relations is being transformed, forming a new geopolitical reality for the Republic of Moldova, necessitating the updating of the Foreign Policy Concept.
- In the emerging system of international relations, the main centers of power in Eurasia are the integration associations of the EU and the EAEU with the leading role of Russia. Pursuing geopolitical interests and spreading geopolitical influence in intersecting spheres, the centers of power influence the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, ensuring the opportunistic nature of foreign policy.
- In the new geopolitical realities and taking into account the geographical location of the Republic of Moldova, located between the two integration associations and the centers of power of the EU and Russia, the formulation of a new concept and foreign policy strategy for the convergence of interests of the Republic of Moldova contributes to the implementation of a balanced foreign policy.
- The progress of the European integration of the Republic of Moldova, the development of the potential of the CIS free trade zone, subject to the restoration of a full-fledged format of Moldovan-Russian relations and the development of strategic partnership, open up the prospect of analyzing the potential and possibilities of Moldova's participation in the EAEU free trade zone, in order to realize the consolidated national interest and economic development.

The research purpose consists in analyzing the state and assessing the potential of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of integration processes, within the framework of the existing associations of the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union and defining a strategic approach to the implementation of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the new geopolitical realities.

The objectives of the research are:

- analysis of foreign historiography of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration;
- analysis of Moldavian historiography of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration;
- identification of the relationship between the theoretical and conceptual foundations of foreign policy, the integration process and the international system;

- analysis of the research methodology of the Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration;
- study of the political and legal framework for bilateral cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation;
- identify the specifics of reconfiguration of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova as part of the process of European integration and relations with the Russian Federation and the CIS;
- determination of the foreign policy strategy for the convergence of interests of the Republic of Moldova in the framework of the processes of European and Eurasian integration;
- identification of the potential and prospects of the strategic partnership of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the new conditions.

The research methodology. As part of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration, the author has formed an area of research, which combines numerous methods and research techniques, the totality of which is interdisciplinary. The theoretical and methodological basis for the implementation of the study was the theoretical and conceptual research of specialists representing this scientific direction from the USA, France, Great Britain, Romania, Russia and the Republic of Moldova. Within the framework of the research, the author applied and combined a set of theoretical and empirical methods of an interdisciplinary nature, which contributed to the implementation of the study of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration. Thus, the author used the following scientific methods in the study: *historical, deduction and induction, observation, systemic, institutional, comparative, statistical, analysis and synthesis* of the information obtained. As part of the study, the author paid special attention to the method of *studying documents*. In order to identify the specifics and features of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration, the *behaviorist method* was applied, which is relevant in the study of the behavior of subjects of domestic and foreign political processes.

The interdisciplinary nature of the problem necessitated the use of a number of approaches, the use of which contributes to obtaining results and understanding the current state of the problem. Within the framework of the *systematic approach*, bilateral relations are considered in the context of integration processes and the process of transformation of the structure of the international system, the characteristic features of which are the competitive environment of relations between the centers of power, as a factor influencing the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova. The *synergistic approach* made it possible to explore bilateral relations and foreign policy in the context of interaction and cooperation with several integration

associations within the subsystem in order to consolidate national interest and form a positive convergence effect.

Scientific novelty and originality of the research "Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration" proceeds from the fact that:

- for the first time in specialized literature an attempt was made to analyze the process of reconfiguration of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova and the evolution of relations with the Russian Federation in the context of integration processes;
- the degree of influence of the environment of the international system (geopolitical processes) on foreign policy and the potential for the realization of national interest in the conditions of competition between integration associations and centers of power is revealed;
- presented at the theoretical and conceptual level the relationship of "foreign policy - the process of integration - the international system", which formed the basis of the proposed "foreign policy strategy of convergence".

The theoretical significance of the research is marked by:

- to supplement the scientifically sound and reasoned theoretical and methodological foundations of the interdisciplinary nature of the study of international relations and foreign policy;
- in developing a conceptual framework reflecting the trends of a scientific approach to the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of European and Eurasian integration processes and identifying the interdependence and influence of international processes on the nature of foreign policy;
- in the formulation of definitions, the scientific argumentation of the relationship between the concepts of "foreign policy", "integration process", "international system" and their conditionality;
- to justify the need to develop foreign policy cooperation with integration associations in the West (European Union) and East (CIS, Eurasian Economic Union), through the proposed "convergence strategy", which contributes to the development of strategic partnership with the Russian Federation and the implementation of a consolidated national interest.

The applicative value of the research:

- This study, by its nature and content, is of both practical and theoretical importance for students attending courses "Foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova", "Foreign policy of the Russian Federation", "Theory of international relations";
- The proposed concepts can complement the theoretical set of studies in the field of foreign policy, integration processes and international relations;
- The presented foreign policy strategy is the basis for the expert analysis of specialists from specialized institutions, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, the

Parliament of the Republic of Moldova and public discussion of the conceptual foundations of foreign policy in modern geopolitical realities.

Main scientific results offered for defense:

1. Structural changes in the transforming system of international relations and strengthening the potential of the geopolitical influence of the Russian Federation - the center of power of the emerging system through Eurasian integration, increase competition between the EU and the EAEU within the Eurasian subsystem.
2. Geopolitical competition between integration associations (centers of power) in the areas of overlapping interests has a destructive effect on the nature of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, stimulating an internal political split.
3. The foreign policy strategy of strengthening stability, consolidation of society and political forces lies in the geopolitical positioning of the Republic of Moldova as a neutral state developing foreign policy cooperation with the EU and the Russian Federation, based on internal political consensus.
4. Realization of the consolidated national interest dictates the need to build a strategic partnership between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation on the principles of mutual respect and within the framework of a balanced foreign policy.

The implementation of the scientific results. The presented proposals are reflected in the definition of the concepts of "foreign policy", "the process of integration", identifying the relationship and interdependence of "foreign policy - the process of integration - the international system" and the proposed "foreign policy strategy of convergence".

Approval and validation of scientific results. The thesis was developed within the framework of the Doctoral School of Social Sciences, Moldova State University. The preliminary assessment of the dissertation was carried out within the framework of a joint meeting (dated October 27, 2020) of the Department of International Relations, Faculty of International Relations, Political and Administrative Sciences, Moldova State University.

Publications on the topic of the thesis: 12 publications on the topic of the dissertation, of which: 4 articles in journals of category "B"; 2 articles in journals of category "C"; 1 publication in the Russian Federation. The main theses formulated in the dissertation are presented at 5 scientific conferences: 2 national with international participation and 1 international in Chisinau, as well as 1 international in Warsaw, Poland and 1 international in Kazan, Russian Federation.

Dissertation volume and structure: introduction, four chapters, conclusions and recommendations, bibliography of 326 sources, 155 pages of the basic text and 4 annexes.

Keywords: Moldovan-Russian relations, foreign policy, integration process, international system, foreign policy strategy, strategic partnership, national interest, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, European Union, Commonwealth of Independent States, Eurasian Economic Union.

CONTENT OF THE THESIS

In the **Introduction**, the relevance and significance of the research problem is argued, the goal and objectives of the research are determined, the scientific novelty of the results obtained, the theoretical significance and applied value, the approval of the results and a summary of the paragraphs of the dissertation are established.

Chapter 1 THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF STUDYING MOLDO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION PROCESSES IN THE WESTERN, RUSSIAN AND MOLDOVAN LITERATURE is devoted to the historiographic research and analysis of the current state and existing problems in the bilateral relations of the Republic of Moldova with the Russian Federation.

In the **Paragraph 1 Foreign historiography of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration**, approaches and interpretations of the existing problems of Moldovan-Russian relations in scientific research of Western and Russian specialists through the prism of geopolitics and the tense state of relations between the West and Russia are analyzed and synthesized. The most relevant approaches and ideas of Western researchers concerning the research problem are identified. 1. The overlapping geopolitical interests of Russia and the European Union in the Republic of Moldova act as factors of influence on foreign policy orientation, forming a conflict potential. 2. The geostrategic interests of Russia in the region and the Republic of Moldova, conditioned by the support of separatism in Transnistria and the presence of the Russian military contingent, are a factor in restraining NATO's eastward expansion. 3. Problems of the formation and use of instruments of "soft power" of Russia in relations with Moldova, as well as the energy and economic components of bilateral relations are an instrument of pressure on Moldova.

An analysis of the works of Russian researchers made it possible to synthesize and formulate the following approaches. 1. The nature of Moldova's bilateral relations with Russia is determined by the growing competition between the two integration associations - the EU and the EAEU. 2. Building full-fledged bilateral relations between Moldova and Russia stimulate political and economic stability in the Republic of Moldova and in the region, ensuring the realization of the national interests of the parties. 3. The changing geopolitical reality and the transformation of the system of international relations stimulate the Republic of Moldova to

restore bilateral cooperation in the context of strengthening Russia as a center of power in world politics.

In the **Paragraph 2 Moldovan historiography the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration**, the analysis of the research conducted in the Republic of Moldova helped to identify the following approaches to the research problem. 1. The problem of the multi-vector foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova and the development of strategic partnership with the Russian Federation is conditioned by the process of European integration and the development of relations with the CIS. 2. The historical context and evolution of the Moldovan-Russian relations within the framework of the implementation of the "eastern direction of the EU's neighborhood policy", caused by geopolitical tensions in the region, affect the potential for forming a foreign policy strategy. 3. The Russian factor in the new geopolitical conditions, the transforming system of international relations, determines the potential for the implementation of the national interests and security of the Republic of Moldova within the framework of integration processes. 4. The problem of the geopolitical positioning of the Republic of Moldova and the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict in the context of the geopolitical and geostrategic interests of the Russian Federation in the Transnistrian region and the role of Russia in the settlement process determine the modern nature of bilateral relations.

Paragraph 3 Conclusions to the first chapter includes preliminary conclusions, according to which the analyzed approaches are conditionally presented in two directions. On the one hand, there is a common vision of problems in the bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the context of integration processes, which consists in the use of instruments of "soft" and "hard power" by Russia. On the other hand, attention is focused on internal political problems that affect the foreign policy level of Moldova's interaction with Russia, caused by the processes of European and Eurasian integration and the geopolitical competition of centers of power in overlapping spheres of interest and influence.

In the current conditions of geopolitical transformation of the environment and structure of the international system, geopolitical competition between centers of power in the spheres of interest and influence is a conditioning factor in the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova. In this context, the desire of the Russian Federation to preserve and strengthen its influence in the sphere of traditional interests and the polar nature of the Moldovan society, divided according to the geopolitical principle, determines the complex nature of the bilateral relations of the Republic of Moldova with the Russian Federation, dictating the need to search and formulate a new paradigm for the development of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova.

The existing problems and the nature of Moldovan-Russian relations in particular and foreign policy in general, influencing the domestic political situation in the context of integration processes, have become the subject of numerous discussions in the scientific community, political sphere and analysts. At the same time, there is no comprehensive study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration, dedicated to identifying problems, factors of internal and external influence, offering a strategic approach in analyzing the prospects for foreign policy and Moldovan-Russian relations in modern conditions.

This study involves identifying the main factors influencing the nature of Moldovan-Russian relations and the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of integration processes. Geopolitical competition between the integration associations of the EU and the EAEU stimulates the conflict potential of the environment of the international system at the regional level, changing the configuration of forces within the regional subsystem of international relations. In these conditions, the analysis of the relationship and interdependence of the phenomena of "foreign policy", "integration process" and "international system" in modern geopolitical realities, represent an important task in the framework of this study and solution of the problem.

Chapter 2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BASES AND CONCEPTUAL ASPECTS OF FOREIGN POLICY, THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, presents two blocks of theoretical research. The first part is devoted to the theoretical and conceptual analysis of the concepts of "foreign policy", "integration process", "international system" and the identification of interrelation and interdependence between them in modern geopolitical realities. The second part is devoted to the methodology of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration, the methods and techniques of analysis used to achieve the set goal - the research problem.

Paragraph 1 Analysis of the theoretical and conceptual foundations and the relationship of the concepts of "foreign policy", "integration process", "international system", firstly, attention is paid to the analysis of the theoretical and conceptual foundations of these concepts. Secondly, the definitions of the concepts of "foreign policy", "integration process" are formulated, taking into account modern geopolitical trends and transformations. Third, the interconnection and interdependence between these concepts and processes is substantiated in order to determine the degree of influence of the integration processes and the process of transformation of the system of international relations on the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova.

Analysis of the phenomenon of foreign policy in modern conditions, through the prism of different currents and approaches, made it possible to formulate the following definition: *foreign policy is both an activity of the state in the international arena and a means of realizing national interests, due to the historical past, geographical location and external environment, the state of which is determined by current geopolitical trends and structure of the international system.*

In these conditions, the role of foreign policy and its potential for adaptation in the process of integration of states into various structures deserves attention. At the regional and global levels, under the influence of the external environment, integration acts as the vanguard of modern processes in international relations, structurally changing and shaping a new system of international relations. Based on the substantiation that foreign policy is both an activity of the state in the international arena and a means of realizing this activity in international relations, special attention was paid to the analysis of the phenomenon of "integration process".

Based on the analysis of numerous definitions of the integration process, theoretical approaches and concepts, the following definition was formulated: *integration is a long-term process of rapprochement of several or more states, based on geographic proximity, the institutionalization of which originates in the economic sphere and gradually moves into the political sphere of interaction between states with the goal of realizing national interests and overcoming common problems of the participants in the process, ensuring social well-being and economic development within the association, while simultaneously creating a favorable external environment for the international system.*

The analysis made it possible to identify the existing interdependence between the concepts of "foreign policy" - "integration process" - "international system". *Foreign policy is the main instrument of the state in achieving the goals of the integration process, which, as an avant-garde phenomenon of international cooperation, refers to the state of the environment of the international system. The formation of new contours and centers of power in the modern international system, within which interstate relations and foreign policy are determined by the nature of relations between the most influential powers, enhances economic competition and the growth of conflict potential in the geopolitical space, which can be overcome by economic convergence.*

In the **Paragraph 2, Methodology for the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration**, an area of research is formed, in which numerous research methods and techniques are combined, the combined application of which is of an interdisciplinary nature. The use of the most common research methods in the academic community contributed to the implementation of the set goal concerning the problem

of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration.

The application and combination of a set of theoretical and empirical methods of an interdisciplinary nature, contributed to the implementation of the study of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration. The use of a set of scientific methods and the use of a set of scientific research techniques contributed to the development of a holistic understanding of the nature of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the context of integration processes on the Eurasian continent; study of the geopolitical processes of European and Eurasian integration and systemic transformations that affect the nature of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, necessitating the formation of a strategically balanced foreign policy in relations with the Russian Federation and the EU, consolidating the national interest.

In the **Paragraph 3 Conclusions to the second chapter**, preliminary conclusions are formulated that represent a further basis for the study. The integrity of the integration process, the growing interdependence of the participants in the process (states), as well as the influence of the external environment, from the point of view of a systematic approach, allows a correlation between the concept of an "integration process" and an "international system", based on the structural nature of the interaction of elements influenced by the environment. In the context of integration processes, the formation of international systems at the regional level or subsystems in relation to the global international system takes place. The characteristic features of the integration process and the international system are: leadership of an economically developed state performing a system-forming role with a predominant political weight in relation to other states; the nature, intensity and forms of interaction caused by the external environment, which determine the structural configuration of the integration processes of the EU and the EAEU, developing at the regional level as a component of the international system.

Chapter 3 SPECIFICITY OF FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF INTEGRATION PROCESSES, examines the specificity of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, conditioned by the need to build diplomatic relations and form foreign policy guidelines in the new geopolitical conditions, after gaining independence. The characteristic features of the process of forming the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova and the determination of priority directions have become. On the one hand, the commitment to develop relations with traditional partners - the former Soviet republics, primarily with the Russian Federation within the CIS. On the other hand, Moldova's aspiration to

integrate into the European community, adequately assessing the prospects that open up in the process of cooperation with Western partners.

This chapter examines the nonlinearity and inconsistency of the process of foreign policy reconfiguration, which began in the late 90s with the definition of European integration - the strategic course of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, which revealed a number of internal political problems, dividing society into supporters of the Western and Eastern vectors of foreign policy. In the current conditions of growing geopolitical competition between integration associations in the West and East, the internal political split in Moldova on the geopolitical principle has become an instrument of influence of external forces and manipulation of political parties and leaders of the Republic of Moldova.

In the **Paragraph 1 The Political and Legal Framework for Bilateral Cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation**, attention is paid to the analysis of the political and legal basis of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation, which was formed throughout the period of Moldova's independence. The role of the CIS in the process of building bilateral relations, institutional mechanisms of Moldovan-Russian cooperation, as well as the dynamics of political-diplomatic and trade-economic interaction between Moldova and Russia in the context of the European integration of the Republic of Moldova is analyzed.

Modern integration processes (the EU and the EAEU) determine the state of the environment of the international system and form new contours and centers of power of the international system, as a result, the foreign policy of the state within the framework of the integration process and interstate relations are determined by the nature of relations between the most influential powers representing the centers of power of the international system. In turn, between the influential powers that are at the head of the integration associations, the competitive potential is increasing in the political, economic spheres and geopolitical space [38, p.36]. By signing the Agreement on the CIS Free Trade Area in 2011 and the Association Agreement with the EU in 2014, the Republic of Moldova became a de facto member of two integration associations. This format of cooperation has provided Moldova with unique prospects for the realization of its political and economic interests, taking into account a number of conditions. Firstly, the conduct of predictable foreign policy and foreign economic activity, compliance with the concluded agreements and assumed obligations. Secondly, a change in the approach of the Russian side in the process of resolving controversial issues in the spheres of bilateral cooperation.

Throughout the entire period of interaction as independent states, an impressive political and legal base was laid between Moldova and Russia, on the basis of which effective interaction

is carried out in all areas of bilateral cooperation. This period of time can be conditionally divided into two periods. For the first period, the characteristic processes were: building diplomatic relations and the formation of political and legal foundations for cooperation as independent states, taking into account the common historical past; active participation of the Republic of Moldova in the CIS, which made it possible to strengthen the legal basis of Moldovan-Russian relations, and contributed to the economic integration of Moldova in the CIS space. The second period of development of the political and legal base of bilateral relations begins in 2003. The starting point that influenced the dynamics of cooperation was the disruption of the signing of the "Kozak Memorandum" and the intensification of cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union, envisaging the reconfiguration of the foreign policy vector. The foreign policy "turn" of the Republic of Moldova was justified from the point of view of the desire to integrate into the European community in order to realize national interests. At the same time, the foreign policy reconfiguration did not correspond to the declared principles of a flexible, balanced foreign policy of Moldova and strategic partnership with Russia, as a result of which Moldova faced the reaction of Russia to the possibility of losing influence in the traditional sphere of interests.

At the present stage, in the difficult conditions of relations between the West and Russia, the political and legal basis of Moldovan-Russian relations continues to remain a solid foundation for mutually beneficial cooperation. For a long time, the political leadership of the Republic of Moldova adhered to a pragmatic approach in relations with the Russian Federation, interacting in the most sensitive and relevant areas of bilateral cooperation for Moldova, including: trade and economic cooperation, migration issues and the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict. The pragmatic approach justifies itself only in the short term, limiting the opportunity for the long-term realization of Moldova's national interests.

The stable nature of the Moldovan-Russian relations and the strategic approach in their development, first of all, serves the interests of Moldova, contributing to economic development and social well-being. At the same time, in the context of the transformation of the modern international system, in the multipolar structure of which Russia acts as one of the centers of power, the political stability and economic development of Moldova will depend on the relations of the Republic of Moldova with the Russian Federation.

Paragraph 2 Reconfiguration of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova within the framework of the process of European integration and relations with the Russian Federation and the CIS, includes a comprehensive analysis of the foreign policy blocks of the programs of the Governments in the period from 1998 to 2018, with a view to correlating with the priorities, principles and main directions of foreign policy approved in 1995

Foreign Policy Concept. The analysis also touches upon: the problems of correlation of the foreign policy of the Governments in the context of European integration with national interests; reasons for the deterioration of bilateral relations between Moldova and Russia; transformation of the structure of foreign trade of the Republic of Moldova with the EU, CIS and Russia in the period from 1998 to 2019; problems of strengthening democracy in the Republic of Moldova in the context of European integration; the level of public support for the foreign policy course and the level of confidence in the activities of the Governments of the analyzed period; problems of implementation of political commitments under the Association Agreement.

Being at the initial stage of the integration process and being only a member of the EU free trade zone, the political commitments that the Republic of Moldova assumed by signing the Association Agreement, in particular, in the field of cooperation with the EU on international issues within the framework of the CFSP, are premature from the point of view of stages of integration. On the one hand, cooperation in this area demonstrates a high level of consolidation, on the other hand, in the current geopolitical realities, it does not meet the foreign policy national interests of Moldova. At the same time, the implementation of the most fundamental provisions of the Association Agreement concerning the rule of law and the observance of democratic standards receives critical assessments from the European partners.

In these conditions, from the point of view of realizing the national interests of the Republic of Moldova through foreign policy, neither the Foreign Policy Concept of Moldova, nor the declared goals and intentions in the programs of government activities, reflecting the opportunistic nature of foreign policy, nor their implementation fully reflect national interests. The imperfection of tactical foreign policy actions (prudence, pragmatism and balance) do not contribute to the formation of a full-fledged foreign policy strategy. A consolidated foreign policy strategy is able to ensure internal political stability and unite society through the implementation of common national interests, and not a single part of society, ensuring the socio-economic development and reintegration of the country.

The reconfiguration of foreign policy priorities after 2003, which manifested itself in the course towards European integration, was based on the desire to achieve positive political and economic effects from the integration process using its geographic location. At that stage, the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova became the main instrument for achieving the goals of the European integration process, and the country's political leadership underestimated the importance of such foreign policy principles as flexibility and prudence, primarily in the context of geopolitical competition caused by the external environment.

Foreign policy "turbulence" of the Republic of Moldova had a negative impact on the internal political, socio-economic state and development of the state, limiting the full

development of all the advantages of the process of economic integration and political association of Moldova in the EU and the potential for cooperation with the Russian Federation, as well as within the CIS free trade zone.

Paragraph 3 Conclusions to the third chapter, the following conclusions are formulated. The opportunistic nature of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the modern geopolitical conditions, due to the high level of tension in relations between the European Union and Russia, does not help to fully fulfill the obligations undertaken and to develop the existing potential of agreements with the EU and CIS, as well as to develop a strategic partnership with Russia. This kind of foreign policy behavior of the state has shaped the reputation of the Republic of Moldova as an unstable and unpredictable partner.

In the context of the transformation of the international system, the main factors determining the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova are: geopolitical influence of the centers of power; geographic location; environmental factors (EU - the process of European integration and Russia - Eurasian integration); factors of the internal environment (division of society into supporters of European and Eurasian integration).

In the current conditions, for the full realization of national interest, consolidation of the status of a reliable partner, both in the West and in the East, restoration of a full-fledged strategic partnership with the Russian Federation, it is necessary:

- the formulation of a foreign policy strategy that meets the new geopolitical realities;
- political will, consolidating political forces and society;
- tactical steps aimed at building a balanced foreign policy.

In the **Chapter 4 FORMATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN NEW GEOPOLITICAL REALITIES: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS**, the problem of the formation and implementation of a full and long-term foreign policy strategy based on a comprehensive understanding of the category of "national interest" of the Republic of Moldova and taking into account the geopolitical interests of the Republic of Moldova is analyzed. The transformation of the modern international system and the growing tendencies aimed at the formation of a multipolar system within which Moldova is located between two centers of power and integration associations, set the task of forming a balanced foreign policy. On the one hand, the EU, whose geopolitical interest in Moldova in recent years has increased as it expanded, and as a result was finally conditioned by the emergence of a direct EU border with the Republic of Moldova. On the other hand, for the Russian Federation, a member of the EAEU, actively promoting the idea of Eurasian integration, forming a new center of power, Moldova has always been of geopolitical interest, which is accompanied by factors of geopolitical influence in the region.

In the **Paragraph 1 the Foreign Policy Strategy for the Convergence of the Republic of Moldova's Interests in the Framework of European and Eurasian Integration**, the analysis of external factors influencing the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in general and Moldovan-Russian relations in particular is carried out. Among them, there are structural transformations of the system of international relations, which determine the growth of geopolitical competition between the integration associations of the EU and the EAEU, headed by the Russian Federation. The internal context of political disunity is analyzed as an obstacle to the formulation and implementation of a consolidated national interest. In this context, the need to formulate and implement a foreign policy strategy that meets new geopolitical realities and consolidates national interests and society is considered.

Over the past two decades, Moldova's geopolitical position in relation to centers of power has been transformed. For many years, Moldova has remained in Russia's foreign policy and continues to represent a sphere of interests in which Russia has significant geopolitical influence. At the same time, before the "big" enlargement of the EU in 2004, the geopolitical interest of the EU towards Moldova was significantly less than after the enlargement in 2007 and the emergence of a common border. Naturally, the growth of the EU's geopolitical interest was accompanied by the formation of the potential for geopolitical influence, primarily through the use of "soft power" instruments, the integration process and its intermediate stages - political association and economic integration of Moldova into the EU. In these conditions, the direction of Moldova's foreign policy strategy is forced to proceed from the fact of strengthening the geopolitical interest and influence of two centers of power (the EU within the framework of European integration and Russia within the framework of Eurasian integration), at the regional level in general and in Moldova in particular.

In these conditions, on the one hand, as the EU expanded and its borders approached the borders of the Republic of Moldova, the EU's geopolitical interest increased, drawing Moldova into the orbit of its geopolitical influence. On the other hand, the Russian Federation strove to maintain its influence in the zone of its traditional geopolitical interests in the CIS space in general and in Moldova in particular. In these conditions, the nature of Moldovan-Russian relations became unstable and unpredictable, which significantly influenced the level of Moldova's cooperation within the CIS and was reflected in the program documents of the Governments, having a negative impact on the potential for the realization of national interests within the "eastern vector" of foreign policy.

The balanced foreign policy strategy of the Republic of Moldova, combining potential and vital national interests, the implementation of which is possible on condition of building mutually beneficial cooperation with the EU and the EAEU, requires a trilateral format (EU -

Moldova - Russia). The format of the trilateral dialogue will contribute to: identifying problem points in the development of cooperation; search for ways to resolve existing contradictions and disagreements; the growth of trust in the Republic of Moldova of external integration partners and strengthening the level of stability and security of the Republic of Moldova in the political and socio-economic spheres.

The absence of an updated foreign policy concept and strategy that meets the consolidated national interest and geopolitical reality, taking into account the structural changes in the system of international relations, stimulates each new government to formulate an opportunistic foreign policy agenda. In the Western vector of foreign policy, this was expressed for a long time in the simulation of the process of European integration and as a consequence, the lack of progress in the implementation of the tasks set and the untapped potential. The Eastern vector of foreign policy largely corresponds to the declarative level and bears an opportunistic and pragmatic character, based on trade and economic interests.

In the **Paragraph 2 Potential and prospects of strategic partnership between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in modern conditions**, the prospects for the development of Moldovan-Russian relations and the development of potential are analyzed through the prism of external factors of influence: *structural changes in the system of international relations; geopolitical competition; changes in the geopolitical landscape* in the region and internal factors: *division of society; national interest*. Also a functional analysis of the strategic partnership between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation from the point of view of the prospects for the development and implementation of the national interest of the Republic of Moldova was carried out.

The foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in general and bilateral relations with the Russian Federation in particular, at the present stage of development of the external contours of international relations are conditioned by: *structural transformations* of the system of international relations; *geopolitical competition* between the integration formations of the EU and the EAEU and the new *geopolitical landscape*. External conditionality puts forward the requirements for the formation of a new approach to building bilateral relations between Moldova and Russia. At the same time, the format of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation is determined by an internal contour and includes internal factors of influence on the potential and prospects for the development of Moldovan-Russian cooperation: *the factor of division of the Moldovan society, the factor of national interest of the Republic of Moldova*, which were formed under the influence of the external environment.

Based on the internal agenda, bilateral relations between Moldova and Russia in terms of the scope of interests and spectrum existing problems requiring urgent and long-term solutions, are conditioned by the need to build strategic relations in which Russia acts as a strategic partner.

The functional aspects of the strategic partnership with the Russian Federation at the present stage demonstrate the existence of a potential for development in the national interests of the Republic of Moldova, limited by the internal political context and the continuing level of mistrust between Moldova and Russia.

The symbolic function of support is fragmented, providing support to domestic political forces advocating the development of a strategic dialogue with Russia. In these conditions, the main problem is the opportunism of this support, due to the instability of the political situation in Moldova and the format of the parliamentary majority of the PSRM - PDM. The approval of the Government of I. Chicu and the declaration of a "consistent and balanced foreign policy in order to strengthen relations with international partners in the West and East" is conditioned by two categories of risk. First - the informal nature of the parliamentary majority, which can affect the stability and consistency of the implementation of a balanced foreign policy. Secondly - in the context of strengthening the position of pro-Russian political forces and developing cooperation with Russia, there are risks of strengthening the EU's policy of conditionality and the growing influence of the Russian factor in Moldova's foreign policy. The factors of geopolitical competition in these conditions can provoke a slowdown in the European integration of the Republic of Moldova.

The institutional function of strategic partnership, supported by a solid political and legal framework and mechanisms of interaction at different levels of Moldovan-Russian relations, provides a solid basis for the development of strategic partnership, provided that the practices of using trade restrictions on the Russian side that violate the provisions of bilateral treaties and principles mutual respect.

The prospect of mastering *the instrumental function* of strategic partnership with Russia in relation to the process of resolving the Transnistrian problem is represented by two important components of the national interest of the Republic of Moldova. First, it is the restoration of a full-fledged and trusting dialogue between Moldova and Russia. Secondly, taking into account the role of Russia as a mediator in the negotiation process, its influence in the Transnistrian region and the modern geopolitical landscape, the prospect of a political solution to the Transnistrian problem opens up. At the same time, this perspective depends on the internal political institutional consensus, as well as on the ability of the Moldovan authorities to initiate and develop a plan for a political solution to the Transnistrian problem.

The potential prospect of the formation of a balanced policy of the Republic of Moldova and strategic partnership with the Russian Federation is due to two parallel processes. On the outer contour - the process of changing the geopolitical landscape in the region and strengthening the position of Russia. On the internal contour - the process of consolidation of society around a unifying domestic and foreign policy agenda, through the formulation of a unifying conceptual and ideological agenda that meets national interests and modern realities.

In the **Paragraph 3 Conclusions to the fourth chapter**, the following conclusions are presented. Changes in the geopolitical landscape at the regional level and the observed transformation of the nature of the external environment, within the framework of the analyzed subsystem of international relations, demonstrate structural changes in the system and the strengthening of the position of the Russian Federation as a center of power at the regional and global levels. In the current conditions, the issues of geopolitical competition and the division of spheres of influence in the region become the subject of discussion between the main actors of the global level, the United States and Russia.

In the current conditions of limited sovereignty, the factor of external influence continues to dominate in the foreign and domestic policy of the Republic of Moldova. The argument confirming this thesis was the interference of external partners in the post-election process of power formation. The main external forces with influence are the United States and Russia, to a lesser extent the European Union.

A consolidated foreign policy strategy focused on the maximum realization of the national interest of the Republic of Moldova, and not subordinate to the interests of geopolitical players in the region, individual political parties or political figures, should replace the practice - the "foreign policy swing" that has formed over the past twenty years. The geographic location of the Republic of Moldova and the geopolitical situation in the region, characterized by tense relations between the West and Russia, and the unsystematic foreign policy behavior of the leadership of the Republic of Moldova in recent years, have led to a complex geopolitical positioning. In these conditions, the categorical choice of one vector of foreign policy development as a strategic course will be accompanied by increased pressure and influence from the opposite center of power, provoking political instability and aggravating the division of society, continuing to provide political parties with programs, rhetoric and an electorate divided according to the geopolitical principle.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the carried out theoretical and empirical research, **a significant scientific problem is solved** by developing a theoretical and conceptual framework for the interdependence of foreign policy and integration processes in the context of a transforming system of international relations, a fact that in modern geopolitical realities determines the nature and dynamics of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation and the direction of external policies in the context of integration processes. The degree of influence of factors of the external environment, centers of power and internal political split in the process of formulating and implementing the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is determined.

Based on the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration, the following **conclusions**:

1. The analysis of scientific literature made it possible to identify topical problems in Moldovan-Russian relations at the present stage, affecting all areas of bilateral cooperation, which have accumulated throughout the entire period of interaction as independent states. Additional factors influencing the nature of bilateral relations were the processes of European and Eurasian integration, the active phase of which fell on the period of the late XX - early XXI centuries, the period of the formation of Moldovan statehood and the search for strategic priorities in the foreign policy of Moldova and Russia. As part of the EU enlargement process and the spread of European values and influence in the sphere of traditional geopolitical interests of the Russian Federation, including the Republic of Moldova, Russia losing the EU competition in the sphere of overlapping interests and using the instruments of "soft" and "hard" power, stimulated the European integration of Moldova. The growing competition between the EU and Russia in the post-Soviet space and Russia's desire to restore the status of a center of power, determined the development of Eurasian integration, creating a complex environment of international relations, directly affecting Moldova's foreign policy and Moldovan-Russian relations [37].
2. The configuration of foreign policy and the implementation of Moldova's national interests at the present stage depends on the geographical location, the geopolitical context (environment), as well as the avant-garde trends (integration processes) of cooperation in the world economy and politics, determining new centers of power and the structure of the modern international system. The integration process, being the vanguard trend of modern international economic and political relations, affects all spheres of social life of the integrating states and determines the nature of their foreign policy. The integrity of the integration process, the growing interdependence of the participants in the process (states), as well as the influence of the external environment, from the point of view of a systematic approach, allows a correlation between the concept of an "integration process" and an "international system", based on the structural nature

of the interaction of elements influenced by the environment. In the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration, an international subsystem is being formed at the regional level in relation to the global international system. The characteristic features of the subsystem are the leadership of an economically developed state that plays a system-forming role with a predominant political weight in relation to other states. The nature, intensity and forms of interaction, conditioned by the external environment, determine the structural configuration of the integration processes and foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova [38].

3. Throughout the entire period of interaction as independent states, a solid political and legal basis was laid between Moldova and Russia, on the basis of which effective interaction is carried out in all spheres of bilateral cooperation. The foreign policy reconfiguration does not correspond to the declared principles of a flexible, balanced foreign policy of Moldova, set forth in the concept and program documents. The political leadership of Moldova underestimates the importance of such foreign policy principles as flexibility and prudence, primarily in the context of geopolitical competition caused by the external environment. The opportunistic nature of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in modern geopolitical conditions is due to the high level of tension in relations between the EU and Russia and does not help to fully fulfill the obligations assumed and to develop the existing potential of the agreement with the EU and the CIS free trade zone, as well as to develop a strategic partnership with Russia [39].

4. Empirical research has shown that a consolidated foreign policy strategy focused on maximizing the realization of the national interest of the Republic of Moldova, and not subordinate to the interests of geopolitical players in the region, individual political parties or political figures, should replace the practice - the "foreign policy swing" that has formed over the past twenty years. The geographic location of the Republic of Moldova and the geopolitical situation in the region, characterized by tense relations between the West and Russia, and the unsystematic foreign policy behavior of the leadership of the Republic of Moldova in recent years, have led to a complex geopolitical positioning. In these conditions, the categorical choice of one vector of foreign policy development as a strategic course will be accompanied by increased pressure and influence from the opposite center of power, provoking political instability and aggravating the division of society, continuing to provide political parties with programs, rhetoric and an electorate divided according to geopolitical principles [40].

5. The potential prospects for the formation of a balanced foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova and strategic partnership with the Russian Federation are conditioned by two parallel processes. On the outer contour - the process of changing the geopolitical landscape in the region and strengthening the position of Russia. On the internal contour - the process of consolidation of society around a unifying domestic political (socio-economic development) and foreign policy

(balanced) agenda, through the formulation of a unifying conceptual and ideological agenda that meets national interests and modern realities [41].

6. The main criteria for the formulation and implementation of a balanced foreign policy aimed at the convergence of free trade zones and the full development of strategic partnership with the Russian Federation in the national interests of Moldova are: internal political and institutional consolidation, which forms a socioeconomic agenda uniting society; rejection of the geopolitical rhetoric that divides society; analysis of the potential for international recognition of Moldova's neutral status; counteraction to external influence, including Russian, by strengthening sovereignty.

Based on the results of the study and the formulated conclusions, the following **recommendations** were formulated regarding Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration:

1. In the current difficult geopolitical conditions for the Republic of Moldova, competition between the integration associations of the EU and the EAEU and the centers of power and structural transformation of the system of international relations, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, on the basis of Article 66 d) of the Constitution, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, needs to update Foreign policy concept. The new concept should reflect the principles of a balanced foreign policy, corresponding to modern geopolitical realities and obligations under agreements with the EU and the CIS, reflecting the national interests of Moldova.
2. It is advisable that the Parliament and the Government, with analytical support from sectoral departments, initiate the development and formulation of the foreign policy strategy of the Republic of Moldova, which is based on the convergence of the EU and CIS free trade zones with the involvement of the EU and Russia (EAEU) in the dialogue.
3. On the initiative of the Parliament and with the active participation of the Government, it is necessary, on the basis of the basic Agreement, to develop an action plan for the full restoration of Moldovan-Russian relations, including an algorithm for the development of a strategic partnership that meets the national interests of Moldova in modern geopolitical realities.
4. On the basis of the presented recommendations, the state government authorities should in parallel: a) analyze the prospect of international recognition of Moldova's neutrality; b) formulate an internal plan for a political solution to the Transnistrian problem; c) initiate the process of negotiations with the Russian Federation on the final withdrawal of the military contingent from the Transnistrian region.
5. It is necessary to supplement the areas of the Government's activities in Article IV, paragraph b) "foreign affairs and European integration" and strengthen parliamentary control of Articles II,

paragraphs 2 and 6 of the Law on the Government No. 136 of July 7, 2017, for the continuous compliance of the foreign policy block of the Government's Programs, the updated Concept of foreign policy and implementation of the strategy of convergence and the development of strategic partnership with Russia, excluding the domestic and foreign political conjuncture.

Prospects for the study of the scientific problem consist in an in-depth study of the role of the Russian Federation in the emerging system of international relations and potential geopolitical transformations in Eurasia. An equally important area is the study of the role of the European Union as the center of power of the emerging multipolar system of international relations and the development potential in the context of tense relations with the Russian Federation and increasing competition between the integration associations of the EU and the EAEU. The most important problem of the research concerns the prospects for the integration of the Republic of Moldova into the European Union in the context of the internal political crises in Moldova and the geopolitical factor of systemic transformation affecting foreign policy.

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1. **ТКАЧ А.** Процессы европейской и евразийской интеграции как факторы влияния на молдо-российские отношения. In: The International Conference „Interdisciplinary Aspects of Contemporary Higher Education” American University in Moldova, 10 May, Chisinau, 2018 - materialul a fost publicat în revistă științifică International conference „Interdisciplinary aspects of contemporary higher education”: supplement of the Interdisciplinary study review „C. Stere”: I edition, Chisinau, May 10th, 2018. Iași: Vasiliana '98, 2019, с.209-215.

5. Materials / theses at national conferences with international participation in the Republic of Moldova:

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ADNOTARE

TCACI Anatoli, „Relațiile moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste europene versus euroasiatice”, teza de doctor în științe politice, Chișinău, 2021.

Structura tezei: introducere, patru capitole, concluzii și recomandări, bibliografie din 326 de titluri, 4 anexe, 155 de pagini de text de bază. Rezultatele obținute sunt publicate în 12 de lucrări științifice.

Cuvinte cheie: relațiile moldo-ruse, politică externă, proces integraționist, sistem internațional, strategie de politică externă, parteneriat strategic, interes național, Republica Moldova, Federația Rusă, Uniunea Europeană, Comunitatea Statelor Independente, Uniunea Economică Eurasiatică.

Scopul lucrării constă în cercetarea stării și evaluarea potențialului relațiilor moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste în cadrul asociațiilor existente Uniunea Europeană și Uniunea Economică Eurasiatică și determinarea abordării strategice a politicii externe Republicii Moldova în noile realități geopolitice.

Obiectivele cercetării: analiza istoriografiei străine a studiului relațiilor moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste europene și eurasiatice; analiza istoriografiei din Republica Moldova a studiului relațiilor moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste europene și eurasiatice; identificarea abordărilor teoretico-conceptuale ale relației triadice „politică externă-proces de integrare-sistem internațional”; determinarea metodologiei de cercetare a relațiilor moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste europene și eurasiatice; investigarea cadrului politico-juridic de cooperării bilaterale dintre Republica Moldova și Federația Rusă; reliefa specificului reconfigurării politicii externe a Republicii Moldova în cadrul procesului de integrare europeană și a relațiilor cu Federația Rusă și CSI; identificarea strategiei de politică externă de convergență a intereselor Republicii Moldova în cadrul proceselor integraționiste europene și eurasiatice; evaluarea potențialului și a perspectivelor parteneriatului strategic al Republicii Moldova cu Federația Rusă în condițiile noi.

Noutatea și originalitatea științifică cercetării „Relațiilor moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste europene versus euroasiatice”, rezultă din faptul că: pentru prima dată în literatura de specialitate s-a încercat analiza procesului de reconfigurare a politicii externe a Republicii Moldova și evoluția relațiilor cu Federația Rusă în contextul proceselor integraționiste; se dezvăluie gradul de influență a mediului sistemului internațional (procese geopolitice) asupra politicii externe și potențialul realizării interesului național în condițiile de concurență între asociații integraționiste și centrele de putere; la nivel teoretic și conceptual, a fost prezentată interconectarea „politicii externe - procesul de integrare - sistemul internațional”, care a stat la baza propunerii „strategiei de convergență a politicii externe”.

Problema științifică importantă soluționată prin dezvoltarea unei viziuni holistice a interdependenței politice externe și a proceselor integraționiste în cadrul unui sistem de transformare a relațiilor internaționale, un fapt care în realitățile geopolitice moderne determină natura și dinamica relațiilor bilaterale dintre Republica Moldova și Federația Rusă și orientarea politicii externe în contextul proceselor integraționiste. A fost determinat gradul de influență a factorilor de mediu, a centrelor de putere și a divizării politice interne în procesul de formulare și implementare a politicii externe a Republicii Moldova.

Semnificație teoretică constă în completarea bazelor teoretice și metodologice fundamentate și motivate științific ale naturii interdisciplinare a studiului relațiilor internaționale și a politicii externe; în dezvoltarea unui cadru conceptual care să reflecte tendințele unei abordări științifice a studiului relațiilor moldo-ruse în contextul proceselor integraționiste europene și eurasiatice și identificarea interdependenței și influenței proceselor internaționale asupra naturii politicii externe; în formularea definițiilor, argumentarea științifică a relației dintre conceptele de „politică externă”, „proces de integrare”, „sistem internațional” și condiționalitatea acestora; să justifice necesitatea dezvoltării cooperării cu asociațiile integraționiste din Vest (Uniunea Europeană) și de Est (CSI, Uniunea Economică Eurasiatică), prin „strategia de convergență” propusă, care contribuie la dezvoltarea parteneriatului strategic cu Federația Rusă și la punerea în aplicare a unui interes național consolidat.

Valoarea aplicativă: constă în strategia de politică externă propusă, care reprezintă baza pentru o analiză de specialitate a experților din instituții specializate, cum ar fi Ministerul Afacerilor Externe și Integrării Europene, Parlamentul Republicii Moldova și discuția publică a fundamentelor conceptuale ale politicii externe în realitățile geopolitice moderne.

Implementarea rezultatelor științifice: teza de doctor a fost elaborată în cadrul Școlii doctorale Științe Sociale, Universitatea de Stat din Moldova.

АННОТАЦИЯ

ТКАЧ Анатолий, «Молдо-российские отношения в контексте процессов европейской versus евразийской интеграции», диссертация на соискание учёной степени доктора политических наук, Кишинэу, 2021.

Структура диссертации: введение, четыре главы, выводы и рекомендации, список литературы из 326 источников, 4 приложения, 155 страниц основного текста. Результаты исследования опубликованы в 12 научных работах.

Ключевые слова: Молдо-российские отношения, внешняя политика, процесс интеграции, международная система, внешнеполитическая стратегия, стратегическое партнёрство, национальный интерес, Республика Молдова, Российская Федерация, Европейский Союз, Содружество Независимых Государств, Евразийский экономический Союз.

Цель работы заключается в анализе состояния и оценке потенциала молдо-российских отношений в контексте интеграционных процессов в рамках существующих объединений Европейский Союз и Евразийский Экономический Союз и определении стратегического подхода в реализации внешней политики Республики Молдова в новых геополитических реалиях.

Задачи исследования: анализ зарубежной историографии исследования молдо-российских отношений в контексте процессов европейской и евразийской интеграции; анализ молдавской историографии исследования молдо-российских отношений в контексте процессов европейской и евразийской интеграции; выявление взаимосвязи теоретико-концептуальных основ внешней политики, процесса интеграции и международной системы; анализ методологии исследования молдо-российских отношений в контексте процессов европейской и евразийской интеграции; исследование политико-правовой базы двустороннего сотрудничества Республики Молдова и Российской Федерации; выявить специфику реконфигурации внешней политики Республики Молдова в рамках процесса европейской интеграции и отношений с Российской Федерацией и СНГ; определение внешнеполитической стратегии конвергенции интересов Республики Молдова в рамках процессов европейской и евразийской интеграции; идентификация потенциала и перспектив стратегического партнёрства Республики Молдова и Российской Федерации в новых условиях.

Научная новизна и оригинальность исследования «Молдо-российских отношений в контексте процессов европейской versus евразийской интеграции», исходит из того, что: впервые в специализированной литературе была предпринята попытка анализа процесса реконфигурации внешней политики Республики Молдова и эволюции отношений с Российской Федерацией в контексте интеграционных процессов; выявлена степень влияния среды международной системы (геополитических процессов) на внешнюю политику и потенциал реализации национального интереса в условиях конкуренции интеграционных объединений и центров силы; представлена на теоретико-концептуальном уровне взаимосвязь «внешней политики - процесса интеграции - международной системы», которая легла в основу предложенной «внешнеполитической стратегии конвергенции».

Значимая научная проблема решена посредством разработки целостного представления взаимообусловленности внешней политики и процессов интеграции в рамках трансформирующейся системы международных отношений, факт, который в современных геополитических реалиях определяет характер и динамику двусторонних отношений Республики Молдова с Российской Федерацией и направление внешней политики в контексте интеграционных процессов. Была определена степень влияния факторов внешней среды, центров силы и внутривнутриполитического раскола в процессе формулирования и реализации внешней политики Республики Молдова.

Теоретическая значимость исследования заключается в дополнении научно обоснованных и аргументированных теоретико-методологических основ междисциплинарного характера изучения международных отношений и внешней политики; в разработке концептуальной основы, отражающей тенденции научного подхода в изучении молдо-российских отношений в контексте процессов европейской и евразийской интеграции и выявлении взаимообусловленности и влияния международных процессов на характер внешней политики; в формулировании определений, научной аргументации взаимосвязи между понятиями «внешняя политика», «процесс интеграции», «международная система» и их обусловленности; в аргументировании необходимости развития внешнеполитического сотрудничества с интеграционными объединениями на Западе (Европейский Союз) и Востоке (СНГ, Евразийский экономический союз), посредством предложенной „стратегии конвергенции“, способствующей развитию стратегического партнёрства с Российской Федерацией и реализации консолидированного национального интереса.

Прикладная значимость работы заключается в представленной внешнеполитической стратегии, являющейся основой для экспертного анализа специалистов из профильных учреждений, как Министерство Иностранных Дел и Европейской Интеграции, Парламента Республики Молдова и общественного обсуждения концептуальных основ внешней политики в современных геополитических реалиях.

Имплементация научных результатов. Диссертация разработана в рамках Докторской Школы Социальных Наук, Молдавского Государственного Университета.

ANNOTATION

TCACI Anatoli, „Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of European versus Eurasian integration processes”, PhD thesis in political science, Chisinau, 2021.

PhD thesis structure: introduction, four chapters, general conclusions and recommendations, bibliography that consists of 326 works, 4 annexes, 155 pages of the main text. The obtained results are published in 12 scientific works.

Keywords: Moldovan-Russian relations, foreign policy, integration process, international system, foreign policy strategy, strategic partnership, national interest, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, European Union, Commonwealth of Independent States, Eurasian Economic Union.

The purpose of the thesis: consists in investigation the state and assess the potential of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of existing integration associations of the European Union and the Eurasian Economic Union and to determine a strategic approach to the implementation of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the new geopolitical realities.

Research objectives: analysis of foreign historiography of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration; analysis of Moldavian historiography of the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration; identification of the relationship between the theoretical and conceptual foundations of foreign policy, the integration process and the international system; analysis of the research methodology of the Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European and Eurasian integration; study of the political and legal framework for bilateral cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation; identify the specifics of reconfiguration of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova as part of the process of European integration and relations with the Russian Federation and the CIS; determination of the foreign policy strategy for the convergence of interests of the Republic of Moldova in the framework of the processes of European and Eurasian integration; identification of the potential and prospects of the strategic partnership of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation in the new conditions.

Scientific novelty and originality the research „Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of the processes of European versus Eurasian integration”, proceeds from the fact that: for the first time in specialized literature an attempt was made to analyze the process of reconfiguration of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova and the evolution of relations with the Russian Federation in the context of integration processes; the degree of influence of the environment of the international system (geopolitical processes) on foreign policy and the potential for the realization of national interest in the conditions of competition between integration associations and centers of power is revealed; presented at the theoretical and conceptual level the relationship of „foreign policy - the process of integration - the international system”, which formed the basis of the proposed „foreign policy strategy of convergence”.

A significant scientific problem has been solved by developing a holistic view of the interdependence of foreign policy and integration processes within the framework of a transforming system of international relations, a fact that in modern geopolitical realities determines the nature and dynamics of bilateral relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation and the direction of foreign policy in the context of integration processes. The degree of influence of environmental factors, centers of power and internal political split in the process of formulating and implementing the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova was determined.

The theoretical significance of the study is to supplement the scientifically sound and reasoned theoretical and methodological foundations of the interdisciplinary nature of the study of international relations and foreign policy; in developing a conceptual framework reflecting the trends of a scientific approach to the study of Moldovan-Russian relations in the context of European and Eurasian integration processes and identifying the interdependence and influence of international processes on the nature of foreign policy; in the formulation of definitions, the scientific argumentation of the relationship between the concepts of „foreign policy”, „integration process”, „international system” and their conditionality; to justify the need to develop foreign policy cooperation with integration associations in the West (European Union) and East (CIS, Eurasian Economic Union), through the proposed „convergence strategy”, which contributes to the development of strategic partnership with the Russian Federation and the implementation of a consolidated national interest.

Applied value of the work lies in the presented foreign policy strategy, which is the basis for an expert analysis of specialists from specialized institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova and public discussion of the conceptual foundations of foreign policy in modern geopolitical realities.

Implementation of scientific results: the work is elaborated at the Doctoral School of Social Sciences of the Moldavian State University.

TCACI ANATOLI

**MOLDOVAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF
EUROPEAN VERSUS EURASIAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES**

**SPECIALTY 562. 02 – HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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