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**MAIN DETERMINANTS OF THE DOCTRINE OF PRESERVATION OF  
INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER USSR  
(GEORGIA, UKRAINE)**

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**Abstract.** In the existing international political system the process of integration of the former USSR republics into the world politics and economy is connected with many problems, as they inherited such causal issues of regional problems as: independence, disputes and ethno-conflicts related to historical territories; integration into the European Union and settlement of relations with Russia; improvement of economic situation and at the same time restriction of Russian capital; and, finally, variability of decisions related to the preparation of the regional integration process. From all this follows the necessity to develop a unified doctrine for the former republics of the USSR and now independent states.

**Keywords:** *Pinpoint strike, doctrine, functional system.*

**Introduction.** In the process of redistribution of world influence, the Russian Federation has chosen the most dangerous method, since Russia's doctrine, and thus its methods, consist in the use of "political-military violence" and "pinpoint aggression". For illustration, it is enough to cite Russia's policies in Chechnya, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. However, this behavior of Russia has created a belt of confrontation around it, and if this belt buckles, Russia will find itself in a bad political and economic situation, which is already confirmed by the current situation. Indeed, for a certain period of time, Russia secured loyalty and neutrality around it with pinpoint strikes, but after the military confrontation with Ukraine, this loyalty has significantly decreased. In addition, the threat from disgruntled autonomies, namely "autonomies" or small nations within the Russian Federation, has increased. And, in addition, there is a threat from the West.

Although some republics of the former USSR (Belarus) maintain good relations with Russia and Russia tolerates a lot from them, but only in order to strengthen the public perception in Georgia and Ukraine that they are in good relations with Russia, which is very important for Moscow to achieve the effect of psychological influence on the public.

**Main part.** Based on the above, the doctrine of Georgia, Ukraine and other republics of the former USSR should be unified and consist of the following:

First of all, there should be a unified military alliance, which should include and be based on the following values:

1. Recognition of the territorial integrity of the states belonging to the union by mutual agreement and, accordingly, the defense of their borders as a postulate of the national dignity of each member;
2. Ensuring regional security;
3. Participating in the fight against terrorism under the auspices of NATO's joint forces and preventing the manifestation of terrorism within their borders by the forces of nation states.

Thus, the purpose and objectives of the allies should be:

- ✓ Protecting the territorial integrity of the allies, the sovereignty of the participating nations, and regional interests, which should include:
  - Ensuring high combat readiness;
  - Establishing an effective mobilization system;
  - Creation of a system of guaranteed detection and warning of new aggression;
  - Creation of a unified system of air and sea space control.
- ✓ Ensuring the return of lost territories, which should include:
  - Systematic peaceful and controlling actions;
  - Establishing full control over territories recovered by the combined forces and supporting the establishment of democratic institutions.
- ✓ Assisting member countries in dealing with natural and man-made disasters;

Also, the management, leadership and functions of the allied armed forces should be determined on the basis of a mutual agreement of the participating countries, the basis of which will be equality, and financial support will be in accordance with the number of military units. At the same time, all participants should follow international norms and democratic principles.

The political doctrine of the Union should take into account the following circumstances:

First: after the collapse of the USSR, a powerful political or military alliance alternative to the NATO armed forces has not yet been created. However, there is an attempt to create two

groupings by Russia and China separately, as well as an alliance of southern Muslim countries with the possibility of forming a secret alliance between them. Therefore, it becomes obvious that Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine (possibly joined by Azerbaijan) should conduct their foreign policy in such a way as to get into the zone of interests of Western countries and at the same time not to lose the respect of Muslim states. This is necessary because the policy of Slavic-Muslim states and Muslim republics that make up the Russian Federation, united in the current political space, as we have already noted, is aimed at the alliance of "southern" Muslim countries, and Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine may find themselves, as it was in the past centuries, surrounded by Muslim countries, and then they will be forced to join Russia, but already as a part of it.

Georgia and Ukraine, geographically located at the economic-magistral crossroads of Europe and Asia, are of the greatest practical importance. Interest in these countries will increase even more if power lines for Europe pass through Georgia, the seaport of Anaklia is built and oil is found in the Georgian part of the Black Sea (where oil does exist).

In the process of redistribution of political power in the world, Georgia and Ukraine should show the whole world that without them Europe will not be able to ensure its economic and political security. For this purpose, Georgia and Ukraine should strive in every possible way to expand economic cooperation among the Black Sea countries, to create favorable conditions for turning the Black Sea basin into a world political decision-making center.

The transformation of the Black Sea basin into a world political center is also facilitated by the fact that the Danube states want to launch the construction of the Danube-Rhine Canal and connect it to the Baltic Sea, and if this project is implemented, the countries of Eastern Europe will be united under one political and economic interest, while Russia will be forced to adhere to the principles of international democracy and equality.

As I have already mentioned, the need to establish relations with the leading European states is undoubted, but this should not lead to an excessive bias in favor of European countries. In particular, great attention should be paid to relations with the countries of the East. Taking into account the geographical location and historical experience of Georgia and Ukraine, as well as the expected confrontation between the East and the West (this confrontation will be mainly of an economic nature), relations with China and Eastern Muslim countries should occupy an important place in the foreign policy of Georgia and Ukraine, and thus all the member states of the Alliance.

A cautious and balanced policy should be pursued in relations with Islamic countries, and the doctrine should take this into account, since eastern Islamic states (Iran, Afghanistan, etc.), unlike southern Muslim states, do not adapt at all to the principles recognized by European

states. It cannot be ruled out that such states will create more aggressive, closed alliances based on purely Islamic religious understanding, i.e. especially specific economic and political alliances, which may pose a danger even to Russia.

Therefore, the political doctrine of Georgia, Ukraine and other republics of the former USSR should include:

**Firstly**, the formation of a unified, flexible and multipolar policy with appropriate alternatives;

**Secondly**, the development and implementation of a policy of mutual support for the economic development of the member states of the Alliance, which in turn should include:

- ✓ Harmonization of legislation between the parties;
- ✓ Creation of interstate banks;
- ✓ Introduction of a unified tax system;
- ✓ Implementation of a common foreign trade policy;
- ✓ That is, the gradual creation of a common economic space.

**Thirdly**, building relations with Russia on the principle of partnership and equality;

**Fourthly**, the elaboration of a unified policy for solving minority problems, which should include:

- ✓ Protection of educational and cultural interests of minorities within a given state;

**Fifthly**, the development of a unified energy policy;

**Sixthly**, the development of a unified emigration policy;

**Seventhly**, the development of a unified anti-inflationary policy;

**Eighthly**, the development of a unified environmental security policy.

In addition, the doctrine should take into account the risk factors that may develop from the following amorphous state:

1. The principle of structure of the international system is anarchic, which means that the system consists of independent political units (states) with no supreme authority. In other words, there is no supreme governing body, supra-state, whereas sovereignty is an inherent property of states and at the same time a societal requirement based on historical memory;
2. States are never sure what intentions move another state. In particular, no state has a guarantee that aggressive weapons will not be used against it by its friend or neighbor, and this follows from the fact that the main driving motive of states is self-preservation;
3. States fear each other because they are constantly in anticipation of danger due to policy replay;

4. The personal interest of the state is a fact that expresses independence. Thus the minimum of interests is self-preservation and security;
5. In addition, the following notion should be considered: “The supreme morality and moral of a politician is the interests of his country”.

Taking into account the above-mentioned, it is possible to draw up a functional scheme of union (alliance) management, which can be generalized for other republics of the former USSR (Fig. 1):

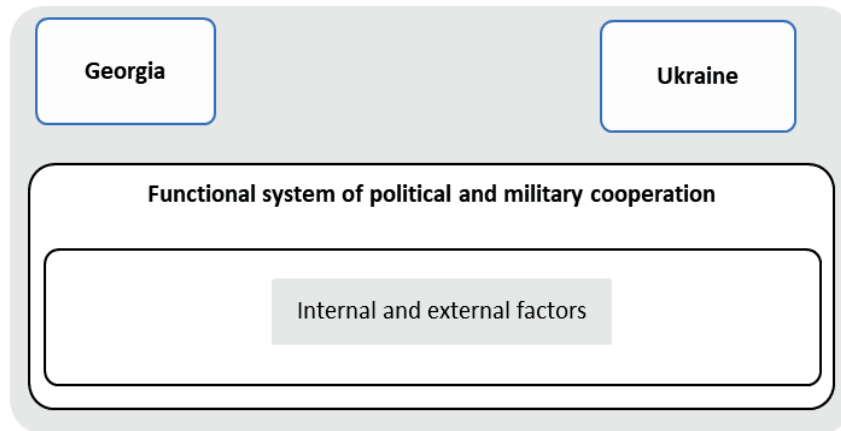


Fig. 1

Depending on the strategic interests of the alliance, the functions can be divided into functional groups, namely:

1. A functional group providing decision making and implementation;
2. A functional group providing formation and functioning of effective information systems and at the same time providing justification of decision alternatives;
3. A functional group ensuring the development of a flexible strategy that will meet new requirements (external and internal factors) at all stages of the Union's development;
4. A functional group to develop and manage an effective system of incentives for the implementation of decisions.

The algorithm of stabilization of the Alliance can be presented as follows (Fig. 2):

<b>Main stages of stabilization</b>			
<b>Characterization of indicators</b>	Elimination of defense incapacity	Ensuring political equilibrium	Maintaining political equilibrium

Fig. 2

And the algorithm of the Alliance's development should be based on the following principles (Fig. 3)

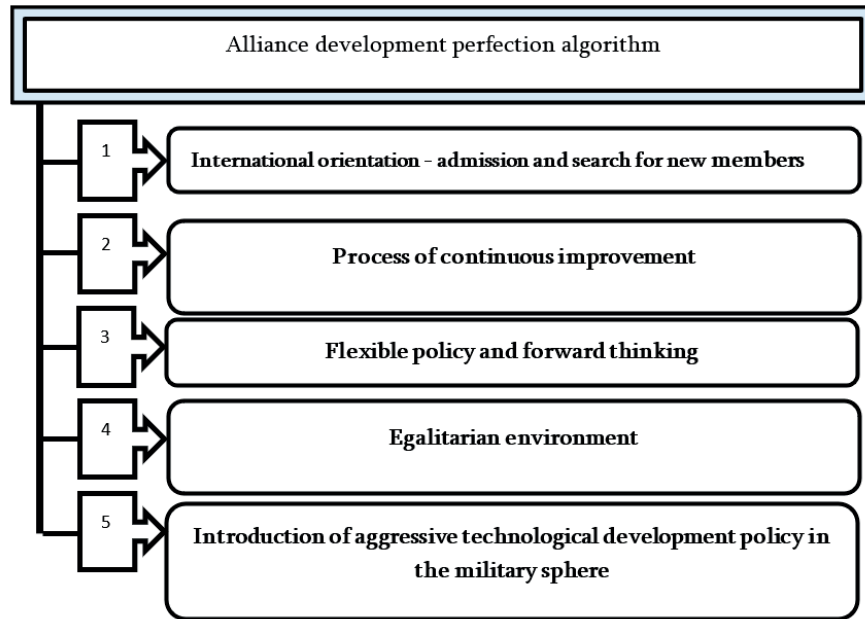


Fig. 3

**Conclusion.** Thus, politics is an arena where the interests of individual states constitute an independent algorithm, and often these interests collide, which sooner or later will lead to conflict. Hence, a doctrine should not be based on the interests of only one state if it is to work for a long time.

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**ყოფილი სსრკ-ს რესპუბლიკების დამოუკიდებლობის შენარჩუნების  
(საქართველო, უკრაინა) დოქტრინის ძირითადი განმსაზღვრელები**

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ბიზნესის ინსტიტუტმა*

**აბსტრაქტი.** არსებულ საერთაშორისო პოლიტიკურ სისტემაში ყოფილი სსრკ-ს რესპუბლიკების მსოფლიო პოლიტიკაში და ეკონომიკაში ინტეგრირების პროცესი დაკავშირებულია მრავალ პრობლემასთან, რამეთუ მათ შთამომავლობით ერგოთ რეგიონული პრობლემების ისეთი კაუზალური საკითხები როგორცაა: დამოუკიდებლობა, ისტორიული ტერიტორიებთან დაკავშირებული სადავო საკითხები და ეთნოკონფლიქტები; ევროკავშირში ინტეგრირება და რუსეთთან ურთიერთობის მოგვარება; ეკონომიკური მდგომარეობის გაუმჯობესება და, ამასთან, რუსული კაპიტალის შეზღუდვა; დაბოლოს, თავად გადაწყვეტილებათა ვარიაციულობა, დაკავშირებული ისეთი გადაწყვეტილების მომზადებასთან, რომელიც უნდა მოიცავდეს ქმედებების ალტერნატიულ შესაძლებლობებს, რაც შეუძლებელია ყოფილ რესპუბლიკებში შემორჩენილი რუსული აგენტურის ქსელის და რუსეთისადმი ნოსტალგიურად განწყობილი საზოგადოების არსებობის გამო. ყოველივე არსებულის გამო აუცილებელია ყოფილმა სსრკ-ს რესპუბლიკებმა და, ამჟამად უკვე, დამოუკიდებელმა სახელმწიფოებმა შეიმუშაონ ერთიანი დოქტრინა.

*საკვანძო სიტყვები: წერტილოვანი დარტყმა, დოქტრინა, ფუნქციური სისტემა.*