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**Viktoriia Bondaruk**

**Factors to influence the formation of the US foreign policy during the presidency of Bill Clinton**

The US foreign policy serves as an example for other countries, as it is one of the most developed countries in the world. For a better understanding of the features of contemporary foreign policy, the preconditions for its formation are determined. The history of the United States of America has been analyzed, which has inevitably influenced the formation of its current foreign policy and geostrategy. The political system of the country is defined as one of the direct factors influencing the formation of foreign policy. It is revealed that the very political preconditions create the legal basis for the existence and development of foreign policy, and therefore their study is very important for a deeper understanding of the vectors, principles and means of implementing the modern foreign policy of any state, namely, the United States.

The internal economic situation, structure and development of the country's economy, as well as problems and challenges on the way to the development of the national economy that are directly relevant for defining the functions, priorities and directions of foreign policy are considered. After all, it is the economy that is one of the most important factors shaping the foreign economic strategy of the state, which is an important factor in the formation of foreign economic relations and politics in general. It is proved that the geopolitical situation is the main factor for the definition of foreign policy vectors of the state. The geographic and geopolitical location of the state, in this case, the United States, defines the directions and vectors of the foreign policy of the state. The article explores all the factors and preconditions for the formation of US foreign policy during the presidency of Bill Clinton and his predecessors.

**Key words:** Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, foreign policy, USA, geopolitical background, economic development.

**Scientific problem and its importance.** William Jefferson "Bill" Clinton is an American politician who served as the 42nd President of the United States from 1993 to 2001. President Clinton assumed office shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War, which had left the United States as the world's only remaining superpower. As such and soon after taking office, President Clinton had to decide whether and how the United States would deal with the violence of numerous conflicts internationally. The relevance research topic is the fact that actions of the USA during the presidency of Bill Clinton in the international arena serve as a model and pattern of behavior of the subjects of international relations. Analysis of the factors and causes of the United States foreign policy during the presidency of Bill Clinton is very important for the understanding of its development. Among the preconditions and factors are the following: historical, political, socio-economic and geopolitical.

The issues of the US foreign policy, its preconditions and course were studied by W. Blum, R. Maddow, W. Russel, S. Coll, H. Kissinger, S. Kinzer etc. The following Ukrainian and Russian scientists researched the mentioned issues B. Shyryaev, O. Oborskyj, M. Beleskov and so on.

**The goal of the paper** is to define the background and features that influenced the formation of US foreign policy during the presidency of Bill Clinton.

**The analysis of the studies.** History of the United States of America is a very long and complicated process. United States Declaration of Independence was issued by the Second Continental Congress of North American colonies of Great Britain and was adopted on July 4, 1776. The Document declared that the thirteen colonies in North America become free and independent states. Since 1776 and until 1959, more and more states joined the United States, expanded the territory of the country and increased population. Now country consists of 50 states and the District of Columbia [6].

The United States of America entered World War II on December 7, 1941. Its impact on the countries of the world has become much stronger. End of the World War II became the beginning of Cold War that was an

extremely important stage of the USA history. The Cold War was a state of political and military tension after World War II between powers in the Eastern Bloc (the Soviet Union and its satellite states) and powers in the Western Bloc (the United States, its NATO allies and others). The end of the Cold War was one of the main historical factors to determine the USA foreign policy during the presidency of Bill Clinton [7].

Speaking about political preconditions, first of all it is important to understand, that the United States is a federal republic, which is a federation (political entity characterized by a union of partially self-governing states or regions under a central government) of states with a democratic form of government. The US political system is defined in the Constitution adopted in 1787, as well as in amendments to the Constitution. At national level, authority is divided into three independent branches – judicial, legislative and executive. The executive branch is represented in the face of the president, vice president, cabinet of ministers and independent agencies. The executive branch is headed by the President and is formally independent of both the legislature and the judiciary. Legislative power is vested in the two chambers of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives. President of the United States can oversee the activities of the legislature. He can veto a bill passed by Congress, convene a special session and announce a break in the Congress. The judicial branch (or judiciary), composed of the Supreme Court and lower federal courts, exercises judicial power [8].

It is very important to analyze the main directions and preferences in the domestic and foreign policy of George Herbert Walker Bush (the predecessor of Bill Clinton) in order to understand the preconditions and factors of development of the foreign policy of the USA during the presidency of Bill Clinton, because that time in many areas the external policy of the country was caused by achievements and shortcomings of G. Bush policy.

George Herbert Walker Bush is an American political leader who served as the 41st President of the United States of America from 1989 to 1993. Domestic policy of George. W. Bush was called "Reaganomics without Reagan". However, the precise program he had, trying to follow throughout predecessor. That lack of fresh ideas was the main reason for criticism of the President. Despite the fact that when Congress was controlled by Democrats, Bush managed to reach an agreement between

Republicans and Democrats on major issues of domestic and foreign policy and to ensure the effective implementation of its policies. Four years of the Bush presidency fell on a difficult period: the end the Cold War, which lasted forty years, fall of the Berlin Wall, collapse of the Soviet Union and other events [2].

A key focus of Bush's presidency was foreign policy. He began his time in the White House when Germany was in the process of reunification, the Soviet Union was collapsing and the Cold War was ending. Bush would be credited with helping to improve U.S.-Soviet relations. He met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and in July 1991, the two men signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. He succeeded in other areas of foreign policy. For example, he sent American troops into Panama to overthrow the General Manuel Noriega regime there. He sent 425,000 American soldiers to the aid of Kuwait after the invasion of the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein troops into the country. First there were the weeks of bombing and battles, and then there was a battle which lasted one hundred hours and now is known as "Operation Desert Storm". In this battle a million Iraqi army was defeated.

In the Middle East, Bush continued to support Israel. US-China relations occupied great importance during the Bush presidency. George. W. Bush participated in promoting the unification of Germany, he was one of those who on September 12, 1990 in Moscow signed the settlement of the German question, which included the unification Federal Republic of Germany and East Germany. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the United States supported the newly independent states and established diplomatic relations with them [3].

As for relations with Ukraine during Bush they were mixed. On the one hand, his administration made significant efforts towards international recognition of Ukraine, and on the other, the policy concerning Ukraine was limited to its nuclear disarmament. Yet during the Bush presidency Ukraine received foreign financing. As US President in August 1, 1991 in Kiev he made a speech in which he clearly advocated the preservation of the USSR and supported Gorbachev.

The economy of the United States of America is determined by its rich and diverced natural resources which are considered to be the greatest power into the strengthening of the USA economy. Internal and external economic and social situation of the country plays extremely important

role for the formation of the foreign policy directions of the country. The most prominent presidential events planned by G. Bush were to fight against drugs and organized crime, to solve environmental problems, to develop educational system and to improve the health care system. These activities were significantly complicated by the 1989-1992 economic crisis, due to some negative manifestations of Reaganomics [2].

The main problem on which his administration worked all the time was a constantly growing budget deficit. Early in his term, Bush faced the problem of what to do with leftover deficits spawned by the Reagan years (during the 1980-1990 period the deficit had grown to three times in size). Bush understood that one of the main tasks of his administration is to deal with this problem. It was clear that it is impossible for the country to remain world leader with such a problem, so it was decided to make great efforts in order to get rid of this problem [1].

The problem was, that Republicans and Democrats had very different views on the ways of this problem solving. But, since Democrats controlled the Congress,

G. Bush was forced to raise tax revenues. Republicans didn't like that, as it was against his presidential campaign. This difficult decision provoked great decrease in popularity of the President. After that many governmental programs increased and started to develop. Among them are welfare programs, program to provide additional benefits for unemployed people (unemployment rate started to increase) and so on.

During second year of service G. Bush stopped to pay so much attention for the economy and become more concentrated on the foreign policy. By that time, inflation rate had become the lowest and that was one of the main achievements of George Bush. But, the level of unemployment and number of people who lived in poverty were extremely high. George Bush recognized, that his domestic policy was not very successful and said that he was more interested in the foreign policy, that's why he paid more attention to it.

In the social sphere G. Bush payed a lot of attention to the social issues. He approved Civil Rights Act of 1991. He worked to increase federal spending for education, healthcare, childcare, advanced technology research and so on. Also he signed Radiation Exposure Compensation Act, according to which compensation was guaranteed to those people who had contracted cancer and a number of other specified

diseases as a direct result of their exposure to atmospheric nuclear testing undertaken by the United States during the Cold War. Thanks to Immigration Act of 1990, signed by George Bush, the number of legal immigrants increased very much. This fact was widely criticized all over the world.

There was one more act of the President George Bush that was not appreciated by the Republicans. In 1992, during the presidency of G. Bush US Supreme court with the majority of voices recognized the right of women to abortion. It was criticized inside the country and in the other countries all over the world. But it was made in order to assure rights of women and to show to the world that the USA is democratic country.

George Bush payed great attention to the international economic relations. The greatest example is cooperation in the way of creation of the North American Free Trade Agreement. He understood, that this kind of agreement would eliminate majority of tariffs on goods in the trade relation between the United States of America, Canada and Mexico. Also this treaty would provide removal of investments restrictions and in such a way would encourage them [3].

The agreement came under heavy scrutiny amongst mainly Democrats, who charged that NAFTA resulted in a loss of American jobs. NAFTA also contained no provisions for labor rights; according to the Bush administration, the trade agreement would generate economic resources necessary to enable Mexico's government to overcome problems of funding and enforcement of its labor laws. Bush needed a renewal of negotiating authority to move forward with the NAFTA trade talks. Such authority would enable the president to negotiate a trade accord that would be submitted to Congress for a vote, thereby avoiding a situation in which the president would be required to renegotiate with trading partners those parts of an agreement that Congress wished to change.

Attempts to create the North American Free Trade Agreement played extremely important role for the defining of the foreign policy vectors of Bill Clinton. George Bush provided all necessary talks and negotiations, but agreement was signed by Bill Clinton and came into force during his presidency [3].

The end of the Cold War was the period, when world was no longer bipolar and became unipolar. The United States of America became the

only remaining superpower in the world. It was the period of the drastic changes in the international politics. The system of international relations was changed, new tendencies and processes were developing very fast. After the end of the Cold War the USA get a lot of new possibilities to develop the world it the way that will meet the needs of the country. The USA became even more active in the global arena, started to develop existing vectors of the foreign policy and to create new ones [4].

One of the greatest examples is the fact that the USA started to work actively in the sphere of international organizations. For example, they were working on the creation of the new program for the NATO in order to expand its membership. Also, the process of creation of some new international organizations (such as NAFTA and WTO) began.

The main priority of the US diplomacy after the Cold War was Europe. Main reason for that was the growing power of the European countries. Europeans wanted to be more independent in the economic and political issues. As the result, the USA could lose its leadership in the international economy. That's why it was very important for the USA to build strong economic relations with the European countries in order to be able to control situation [4].

The USA is a founding member of the United Nations Organization (established on 24 October 1945) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (established on April 4, 1949). Also, it is a member of many others international organizations. Membership in a large number of international organizations shows that the United States has developed system of relations with many countries of the world [5].

**Conclusions and further research prospects.** The position of the USA as the actor at the international arena was rather controversial when Bill Clinton became the President. After the end of the Cold War, collapse of the USSR and a number of other events balance of power has changed. Some countries were not leaders anymore and other ones became more powerful on the contrary. There was great necessity to show the power of the USA as the only leader of the unipolar world. George Bush, who was the predecessor of Bill Clinton was concentrated on the foreign policy. He was trying to build friendly relation with many countries (USSR and later Russia, China, Latin American countries and others). In the sphere of economy Bush was trying to deal with budget deficit by raising tax revenues. This decision caused many disputed and became one of the

reasons why G. Bush lost his support at the next elections. In the sphere of international economic relation the process of creation of NAFTA started. The major priority of US diplomacy was Europe, as it was necessary to build friendly relations with rather powerful European countries. The main task of the President Bill Clinton was to ensure position of the USA as the only world leader.

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**Бондарук Вікторія. Фактори, які впливали на формування зовнішньої політики США за часів президенства Біла Клінтона.** Зовнішня політика США слугує прикладом для інших країн, адже вона є однією з найбільш розвинених країн світу. Для кращого розуміння особливостей сучасної зовнішньої політики визначено передумови її формування. Проаналізовано історію Сполучених Штатів Америки, яка неодмінно вплинула на формування її сучасної зовнішньої політики та геостратегії країни. Політична система країни визначена як один із прямих чинників, що впливають на формування зовнішньої політики. Виявлено, що саме політичні передумови створюють правову базу для існування та розвитку зовнішньої політики і, тому їх вивчення є дуже важливим для глибшого розуміння векторів, принципів та засобів здійснення сучасної зовнішньої політики будь-якої держави, а саме США.

Розглядається внутрішня економічна ситуація, структура та розвиток економіки країни, а також проблеми та виклики на шляху до розвитку національної економіки, які мають безпосереднє значення для визначення функцій, пріоритетів та напрямків зовнішньої політики. Адже саме економіка є одним із найважливіших факторів що формують зовнішньоекономічну стратегію держави, саме тому вона і є важливим чинником формування зовнішньоекономічних відносин та політики в цілому. Доведено, що геополітична ситуація є основним фактором для визначення зовнішньополітичних векторів держави. Географічне та геополітичне розташування держави, в даному випадку Сполучених Штатів Америки, визначає напрями та вектори зовнішньої політики держави У статті досліджено усі фактори та передумови формування зовнішньої політики США за часів президентства Біла Клінтона та його попередників.

**Ключові слова:** Білл Клінтон, Джордж Буш, зовнішня політика, США, геополітичні передумови, економічний розвиток.

**Бондарук Виктория. Факторы, которые влияли на формирование внешней политики США во времена президентства Билла Клинтона.** Внешняя политика США служит примером для других стран, ведь она является одной из самых развитых стран мира. Для лучшего понимания особенностей современной внешней политики определены предпосылки ее формирования. Проанализировано историю Соединенных Штатов Америки, которая непременно повлияла на формирование его современной внешней политики и геостратегии страны. Политическая система страны определена как один из прямых факторов, влияющих на формирование внешней политики. Выявлено, что именно политические предпосылки создают правовую базу для существования и развития внешней политики и, поэтому их изучение очень важно для более глубокого понимания векторов, принципов и средств осуществления современной внешней политики любого государства, а именно США.

Рассматривается внутренняя экономическая ситуация, структура и развитие экономики страны, а также проблемы и вызовы на пути к развитию национальной экономики, которые имеют непосредственное значение для определения функций, приоритетов и направлений внешней политики. Ведь именно экономика является одним из важнейших факторов формирующих внешнеэкономическую стратегию государства, именно поэтому она и является важным фактором формирования внешнеэкономических отношений и политики в целом. Доказано, что геополитическая ситуация является основным фактором для определения внешнеполитических векторов государства. Географическое и

геополитическое положение государства, в данном случае Соединенных Штатов Америки, определяет направления и векторы внешней политики государства. В статье исследованы все факторы и предпосылки формирования внешней политики США во времена президентства Билла Клинтона и его предшественников.

**Ключевые слова:** Билл Клинтон, Джордж Буш, внешняя политика, США, геополитические предпосылки, экономическое развитие.

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Світлана Була

### **Співвідношення локальної демократії та вертикалі влади**

У статті визначено моделі взаємодії місцевого самоврядування та центральних органів влади: модель партнерства та модель агента. Локальна демократія передбачає відносини партнерства з органами центральної влади, ба більше, питання, що стосуються інтересів територіальної громади, мають належати лише компетенції органів місцевого самоврядування. Виділено три основні системи здійснення публічної влади на місцях: англосаксонська, романо-германська, іберійська. Розглядаються різні підходи до законодавчого закріплення та регулювання компетенцій місцевих органів влади.

Встановлено принципи співвідношення локальної демократії та вертикалі влади: законність (розподіл компетенцій має бути законодавчо закріплений); пріоритетність інтересу громади; автономія (зокрема фінансова) органів локальної демократії, що дозволяє здійснювати належне врядування, формувати органи самоорганізації населення; представництво, участь громадян; контроль (і з боку громадян, і з боку центральних органів влади). Наголошено, що головним інструментом локальної демократії, а також принципом співвідношення з органами державної влади є самоорганізація.