

**МІНІСТЕРСТВО ОСВІТИ І НАУКИ УКРАЇНИ**  
**КИЇВСЬКИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ ІМЕНІ БОРИСА ГРІНЧЕНКА**  
**ФАКУЛЬТЕТ ПРАВА ТА МІЖНАРОДНИХ ВІДНОСИН**



**МІЖНАРОДНІ ВІДНОСИНИ ТА МІЖНАРОДНЕ ПРАВО  
В ПОСТЫПОЛЯРНІЙ СИСТЕМІ МІЖНАРОДНИХ  
ВІДНОСИН**

**НАУКОВИЙ ЗБІРНИК**

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## ЗМІСТ

<b>ВСТУПНЕ СЛОВО</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>АКТУАЛЬНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ РОЗВИТКУ КРАЇН ТА РЕГІОНІВ У СУЧАСНІЙ СИСТЕМІ МІЖНАРОДНИХ ВІДНОСИН</b>	
Цветков Олександр Глібович <b>СТРЕСОВІ ЗАГРОЗИ АРКТИЧНОЇ ГЕОПОЛІТИКИ</b>	<b>7</b>
Яблонський Василь Миколайович, <b>ДВОСТОРОННІ ВІДНОСИНИ ЕМІГРАЦІЙНИХ УРЯДІВ УКРАЇНИ І ПОЛЬЩІ У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХХ століття</b>	<b>11</b>
Ціватий Вячеслав Григорович, <b>МОДЕЛЬ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ФРАНЦУЗЬКОЇ РЕСПУБЛІКИ В ПОСТШПОЛЯРНІЙ СИСТЕМІ МІЖНАРОДНИХ ВІДНОСИН: АЗІЙСЬКО-ТИХООКЕАНСЬКИЙ РЕГІОН (інституціональний і політико-дипломатичний аспекти)</b>	<b>19</b>
Перга Тетяна Юріївна <b>ЕКОЛОГІЧНА ПОЛІТИКА АВСТРАЛІЇ НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХІ століття</b>	<b>26</b>
Омельченко Андрій Вікторович, <b>«НАЗДОГАНЯЮЧА» МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЯ У СУЧАСНОМУ РОЗВИТКУ КРАЇН СВІТУ</b>	<b>31</b>
Оліцький В'ячеслав Олександрович, <b>ВИТОКИ СУЧАСНОЇ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ РЕЛІГІЙНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ: ВІДНОСИНИ РПЦ ІЗ СХІДНИМИ ПАТРІАРХАТАМИ У ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ 1940-х років</b>	<b>34</b>
Kushevska Natalia, Demchenko Lilia <b>THE BALTIC-BLACK SEA UNION: PROSPECTS FOR UKRAINE</b>	<b>39</b>
Горобець Ігор Володимирович <b>ТАЙВАНЬ У ВІДНОСИНАХ МІЖ США ТА КНР НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХІ СТ.</b>	<b>48</b>
Трюхан Дмитро Андрійович <b>ВІЙНИ ПАМ'ЯТІ У США ЯК ФАКТОР ДЕСТАБІЛІЗАЦІЇ СУЧАСНОГО РОЗВИТКУ КРАЇНИ</b>	<b>50</b>
Іщук Анна Андріївна <b>ІННОВАЦІЇ В ЕКОЛОГІЧНІЙ СПІВПРАЦІ МІЖ КАНАДОЮ, МЕКСИКОЮ ТА США В РАМКАХ ПІВНІЧНОАМЕРИКАНСЬКОЇ ІНТЕГРАЦІЇ</b>	<b>54</b>
Павріанідіс Аліса Віталіївна <b>ДОПОМОГА ДОНОРІВ УКРАЇНИ В РАМКАХ МІЖНАРОДНОГО ТЕХНІЧНОГО СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА</b>	<b>58</b>
Купових Ірина Ярославівна <b>ВИТОКИ БОРОТЬБИ З РАСОВОЮ ДИСКРИМІНАЦІЄЮ У США</b>	<b>62</b>
Підручна Єлизавета Романівна <b>ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЕКОНОМІЧНИХ ВІДНОСИН США ТА РЕСПУБЛІКИ КОРЕЇ В ХХІ СТОЛІТТІ</b>	<b>65</b>

## **ПРИРОДА ТА МЕХАНІЗМИ МІЖНАРОДНИХ КОМУНІКАЦІЙ**

Слюсаренко Ірина Юріївна, <b>РОЛЬ ЛІДЕРА В ПРОЦЕСІ ПРИЙНЯТТЯ ЗОВНІШНЬОПОЛІТИЧНИХ РІШЕНЬ</b> (за матеріалами журналу <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> за 2022 рік)	70
Мельник Ганна Мирославівна, Роганова Анна Ігорівна <b>РОЗВИТОК ЦИФРОВОЇ ДИПЛОМАТІЇ В УКРАЇНІ</b>	79
Казакова Оксана Миколаївна <b>ІНСТРУМЕНТИ РЕАЛІЗАЦІЇ ПУБЛІЧНОЇ ДИПЛОМАТІЇ ФРАНЦІЇ</b>	82
Лісовська Мирослава Миколаївна, <b>ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА МІГРАЦІЙНИХ ОБМЕЖЕНЬ В ПЕРІОД ПАНДЕМІЇ В КОМУНІКАЦІЙНІЙ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ДИПЛОМАТИЧНИХ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВ</b> (на прикладі Турецької республіки)	88
Vdovychenko Victoria Andriivna <b>BATTLE OF NARRATIVES IN ITALIAN PUBLIC DISCOURSE AFTER RUSSIA'S FULL SCALE INVASION OF UKRAINE</b>	91
Корешков Ігор Валерійович, Пістракевич Олена Володимирівна, <b>ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО ІНФОРМАЦІЙНОГО ПРОСТОРУ В УМОВАХ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ АГРЕСІЇ ПРОТИ УКРАЇНИ</b>	95
Любарець Діана Михайлівна, <b>НОВІ ПІДХОДИ НАТО ДО СТРАТЕГІЧНИХ КОМУНІКАЦІЙ з 2014 року</b> <b>ЗМІНА БЕЗПЕКОВОЇ ПАРАДИГМИ У СВІТІ</b>	101
Бессонова Марина Миколаївна <b>“ВОЄННА” ХВИЛЯ ЕМІГРАЦІЇ З УКРАЇНИ 2022 р. ТА УКРАЇНСЬКА ДІАСПОРА</b>	105
Черкасов Станіслав Сергійович, Бокова Марія Вікторівна <b>РОЛЬ НАТО У РОЗВИТКУ МІЖНАРОДНОГО СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА З ПОДОЛАННЯ СВІТОВОЇ ПАНДЕМІЇ COVID 19</b>	110
Чернишова Лариса Олексіївна, <b>ЧИННИКИ КОНФЛІКТНОСТІ ТА ЗАГРОЗИ БЕЗПЕЦИ В ЛАТИНСЬКІЙ АМЕРИЦІ</b>	117
Кордун Олексій Олександрович, <b>ОСНОВНІ ФОРМАТИ ТА ОБСЯГИ ВІЙСЬКОВОЇ ДОПОМОГИ США УКРАЇНІ У 2022 р.</b>	121
Шимкевич Катерина Олександрівна <b>ОСОБЛИВОСТІ «ВІЙСЬКОВОГО НЕЙТРАЛІТЕТУ» СЕРБІЇ У КОНТЕКСТІ РЕГІОНАЛЬНОЇ СИСТЕМИ БЕЗПЕКИ БАЛКАН</b>	127
Kushevska Natalia, Mondriievska Anastasia <b>THE U.S.-RUSSIAN CONFRONTATION OR A NEW COLD WAR</b>	133
Kushevska Natalia, Musienko Kyril <b>INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS: EXPECTATIONS AND RESULTS THROUGH THE PRISM OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION</b>	139

Kushevska Natalia, Mudryk Yana <b>UN'S EFFECT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM'S REFORM SINCE OF ITS CREATION TO THE PRESENT</b>	144
Красатюк Дарія Юріївна <b>ПІДХОДИ США ДО ВИЗНАЧЕННЯ “ДЕРЖАВ-СПОНСОРІВ ТЕРОРИЗМУ”</b>	151
<b>МІЖНАРОДНЕ ПРАВО ТА ПОРІВНЯЛЬНЕ ПРАВознавство В УМОВАХ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ ТА ІНТЕГРАЦІЇ</b>	
Грицяк Ігор Андрійович, <b>ІНСТИТУЦІЇ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКОГО СОЮЗУ В ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННІ ЄВРОІНТЕГРАЦІЇ УКРАЇНИ</b>	155
Братко Ірина Василівна <b>М'ЯКЕ ПРАВО ТА СТАНДАРТИ У МІЖНАРОДНОМУ ПРАВІ</b>	159
Шереметьєва Ольга Юріївна, <b>ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПРАВОВОГО РЕГУЛЮВАННЯ ЄВРОІНТЕГРАЦІЙНИХ ПРОЦЕСІВ У ВАЛЮТНО-ФІНАНСОВІЙ СФЕРІ В УКРАЇНІ</b>	164
Панфілова Юлія Михайлівна, Моложанов Антон Ігорович. <b>МІЖНАРОДНО-ПРАВОВІ АСПЕКТИ КОНТРОЛЮ ЗА ДОТРИМАННЯМ ПРАВ І СВОБОД ЛЮДИНИ В УКРАЇНІ</b>	169
Панфілова Юлія Михайлівна, Ярошенко Андрій Петрович. <b>ІДЕЯ СПРАВЕДЛИВОСТІ У ФІЛОСОФІЇ ПРАВА</b>	172
Чучвага Костянтин Павлович <b>ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ ПІДХОДІВ ДО ВИЗНАЧЕННЯ ПРАВА ВЛАСНОСТІ В ЗАКОНОДАВСТВІ ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИХ КРАЇН</b>	176
Кушнір Владислава Сергіївна, <b>ФЕНОМЕНОЛОГІЧНИЙ ПІДХІД ДО ПРИРОДИ ДАРУВАННЯ ЯК ДИСКУРС ПРО ВИТОКИ І СУТНІСТЬ ПРАВА (на матеріалах дискусії між Ж.Дерріда та Ж.-Л. Маріоном)</b>	180
Гайовий Кирило Дмитрович <b>КОНДИКЦІЙНІ ЗОБОВ'ЯЗАННЯ У РІЗНИХ ПРАВОВИХ СИСТЕМАХ</b>	184
Дубоділ Катерина Дмитрівна <b>МІЖНАРОДНИЙ ДОСВІД КЛАСИФІКАЦІЇ СЕРІЙНИХ ВБИВЦЬ: ФАЗИ НОРРІСА</b>	186
Яценко Юрій Анатолійович <b>ДЕЯКІ ПИТАННЯ ЗНАЧЕННЯ КОМПАРАТИВНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ У ПРАВІ</b>	190
Соколова Валерія Сергіївна <b>ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ВИПАДКІВ ФЕМІЦИДУ ІНЦЕНОВАНИХ ПІД САМОГУБСТВО НА МІЖНАРОДНОМУ ПРОСТОРІ</b>	195
<b>НАШІ АВТОРИ</b>	200

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## THE BALTIC-BLACK SEA UNION: PROSPECTS FOR UKRAINE

*У статті розглядається актуальність створення Балто-Чорноморського союзу для України та сусідніх країн у контексті російської загрози. Стає все важче ігнорувати нагальну потребу в новому альянсі для захисту кордонів Балто-Чорноморського регіону та відновлення нашої економіки та співпраці. В останні роки інтерес до нього зростає. Ідея цього міждержавного об'єднання є не новою для Східної Європи, і це питання знову набуло актуальності у світлі останніх подій після початку українсько-російської війни у 2014 році та загострилося після вторгнення російської федерації на територію суверенної України в повному обсязі 24 лютого 2022 року.*

*Основна мета об'єднання – забезпечення власної безпеки та оборони в країнах Балтії та Чорного моря. Історично більшість із цих країн входили до Речі Посполитої, а Україна є ключовим союзником, без якого об'єднання неможливе. Оскільки військова і політико-економічна загроза державам зараз виходить з боку росії, актуальним є створення союзу з великим політичним, економічним і, головне, оборонним потенціалом. Тому що сила є єдиним ефективним засобом стримування агресії Російської Федерації.*

*До переваг створення Балто-Чорноморського союзу можна віднести геополітичну та транзитну ситуацію, оскільки держави розташовані на перетині транспортних та енергетичних коридорів. Це дає змогу доповнювати економіки та забезпечувати безпеку регіону. Між країнами також є культурні, національні та історичні подібності. Вирішальною є історична пам'ять — про важкі війни за незалежність від Росії 1918-1920 рр., а також про репресії часів, коли країни Балтії та Україна входили до складу СРСР.*

**Ключові слова:** ООН, міжнародна безпека, реформа, міжнародна організація

The discussion of the idea of the creation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union began after the First World War by Polish and Ukrainian scientists to form a group of states in order to defend their independence and cultural identity. The formation of the idea, perspectives, and analysis of the association started at that time. Stepan Rudnytskyi,

Yuriy Lipa, and Jozef Pidsudskyi, among other foreign scientists, took part in the development of the idea.

In 2014, Ukraine was faced with the need to regain its independence and integrity, and the countries of the Baltic-Black Sea region were in territorial and economic danger due to the undisguised military aggression of the Russian Federation. In Ukraine, the question of the external development vector for rapprochement with the European Union arose, and in neighbouring states, the main issue was protection against the possible exit of Russian aggression beyond the borders of Ukraine.

In 2015, among European countries, discussions on the creation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union were initiated in Poland. On the eve of the inauguration on August 6, 2015, Polish President Andrzej Duda repeatedly stated his intention to create a Baltic-Black Sea Alliance of states consisting of Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldova, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and six countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Based on this, the potential Baltic-Black Sea Union (Baltic-Black Sea Axis, Midzymorze, Intermarium, Baltic-Pontic Federation, Baltic Union, and other configurations) will have a military-political character by involving its Central and Eastern European countries.

Taking into account the current situation, in which the existence of Ukraine as an integral independent state is under threat, part of the territory is occupied, and the economy is destroyed, we must look for allies in the resistance to Russian armed aggression. The countries of Eastern and Central Europe are also under threat due to the threats of the Russian Federation towards them.

In this article, we argue that it is necessary to investigate the prospects and reality of the creation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union within the framework of the countries neighbouring Ukraine from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea. The purpose of the work is to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the formation of the idea of the Baltic-Black Sea Union from the very beginning to the present, the role of Ukraine as the main member of the alliance, and an analysis of the prospects and possible forms of the union of the Baltic States and the Black Sea after the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine.

The main methods applied by the authors are the universal philosophical method, general methods (inductive and deductive), and methods of synthesis and analysis.

Regarding the Baltic-Black Sea Union, opinions have been expressed for a long time. It is traditionally believed that the origins of this idea lie in the 1920s, in the post-war years after the First World War. However, in fact, the chronological framework of the formation of the idea of Baltic-Black Sea unification covers the period of formation of the great trade route "The Way from the Varangians to the Greeks." The path is first mentioned in the annals "The Tale of Timely Years," which dates from the XI-XII centuries. The route connected Scandinavia and Byzantium and was the first unification of the Baltic and Black Seas. One of the most important points was Kyiv. On the map, we can see that most of the route passes along the Dniro River through the territory of Kyivan Rus, modern Ukraine. From this, we can conclude that Ukraine

historically played an important role in the union of the Baltic and Black Sea countries because it united them together.



Picture 1 - The path from the Varangians to the Greeks

The decline of the trade route in the 11th century AD attested to significant economic changes in both the region and Kievan Rus. An important aspect is that the region between the two seas is located at the political and cultural junction of Europe and Eurasia, it is here, between the two seas, that the conflict potential between the European and Eurasian worlds can be traced.

The Hadiatsk Agreement of 1658 can also be considered the union's forefather. The agreement was concluded but not implemented due to the geopolitical processes of the 17th century. Following that, it reappeared as a political concept on numerous occasions. Similar projects have been discussed in the Ukrainian and Polish environments. Their goal was to guarantee the security of Central Europe. Back in the time of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Ukrainian historian and head of the Central Rada, M. Hrushevskyi, in his work "Orientation of the Black Sea" (1918), outlined the idea of creating the Baltic-Black Sea Union.

The ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism, Yurii Lypa, created the geopolitical "Black Sea Doctrine" (1940), in which he favoured the creation of a Baltic-Black Sea Federation consisting of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus. All these projects were aimed at anti-Russian measures since the main enemy of the countries has always been Russia (Muscovy in the 17th century, the Russian Empire in the 19th century, the USSR in the 20th century, and, finally, the Russian Federation already at the beginning of the 21st century).

The first Baltic-Black Sea Union was created in August 1919 in Latvia at a conference near Riga. Delegates from Poland, Ukraine, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania became signatories. The programme of the union was developed by the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia, Siegfried Meyerowitz. The main tasks were: defense, integration of economic systems, common banking and monetary systems, mutual support and common foreign policy, and ensuring free passage between the seas. But the project was never implemented.



From May 2 to 5, 2006, the international conference "Common Vision of a Common Neighborhood" was held in the city of Vilnius, Lithuania. As the first prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania after the restoration of independence, Casimir Prunskene, emphasized, "I do not lose hope that the Baltic-Black Sea Alliance is not only our historical past from the time of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania." Certain historical motivations have remained to this day [0].

After Russia annexed Crimea and launched a war against Ukraine in 2014, the states saw that existing alliances were unable to respond effectively and stop armed aggression. Therefore, it became necessary to create a new alliance to oppose the Russian Federation.

The formation of the scientific basis of the idea of the Baltic-Black Sea Union began to actively develop after the statement of the President of Poland, Andrzej Duda, in 2015. Today, A. Duda proposes the implementation of the Baltic-Black Sea Alliance in conditions where modern European security systems are not able to stop the Russian Federation. Also, the USA and Great Britain did not fulfil their obligations to protect the sovereignty of Ukraine given when signing the Budapest Memorandum of 1994. The concept of Gedroyc-Miroszewski became the basis of Poland's modern Eastern European diplomacy. The outstanding Polish thinker Juliusz Miroszewski long ago substantiated the need to liberate Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus from Russia. Currently, there are three main scientific concepts of the Baltic-Black Sea Union:

- 1) the concept of the Intermarium, a union from the Baltic to the Black Sea;
- 2) the concept of the Polish politician Jerzy Gedroyc: a union of Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus;
- 3) the Polish concept of the union of the countries of the Adriatic, Baltic, and Black Seas.

But currently, Belarus is not considered a member of the Baltic-Black Sea Union, because it ended up under the absolute influence of Russia and is a participant in the war against Ukraine.



Picture 2 – Intermarium

The West's delay in accepting Ukraine into the EU and NATO requires Ukraine to find allies to protect its independence and sovereignty from Russian aggression [0].

Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, and Georgia are primarily potential ally states. These countries have been victims of the Russian empire, the Soviet

Union, and the current Russian Federation more than once and are again receiving threats and armed provocations from Russia.

In general, there is no single definition of the region. Considering the location and areas of cooperation, all countries with access to the Black Sea or the Baltic Sea can be potential members of the association. Possible members of the Baltic Union include Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Sweden, Finland, Germany, and Denmark. Among the countries of the Black Sea basin: are Ukraine, Georgia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Turkey.

Nevertheless, most of the variations are focused on the prospects of uniting the five countries along a straight axis from the Black Sea to the Baltic Sea. These countries are Ukraine, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

The Ukrainian-Russian war erased everything that had been developed by the European civilised world until 2014 [0, p. 13]. However, these rapid changes are having a serious effect. After February 24, it became clear that a change in the security system and relations among European countries was now required. We see that relations in Europe have a bipolar nature. The newest system is built on the principle of confrontation between NATO and the Russian Federation. The problem for Ukraine and the states of Central and Eastern Europe is that our sovereignty is threatened by our close proximity to the borders of the Russian Federation.

With recent incidents related to the fall of a Russian missile on the territory of Poland on November 15, we can conclude that these threats are not groundless. As a result of an air attack by the Russian Federation, two Polish citizens died near the village of Przewodów. At the same time, the next day, the representatives of the USA and Poland denied that it was Russia's invasion of Poland's airspace. The Russian Ministry of Defense has traditionally denied any shelling and claims that its occupying forces allegedly did not fire anywhere within a 35-kilometer radius of the Ukrainian-Polish border. Moscow insists that this "is a deliberate provocation with the consequence of escalation." The occupiers have traditionally accused Ukraine of a crime. Ukraine denied that it was a Ukrainian air defence projectile that exploded in Poland and called for it to be included in an investigation into the fall of the missile, to which Poland agreed. The President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, is convinced that the rocket that fell in Przewodów was not Ukrainian. "I have no doubt that it was not our missile or our missile strike. We have to participate in the investigation. I want us to be fair, and if it was the use of our air defense, then I want that evidence," he announced on November 16 [0].

As we can see, NATO is trying to avoid an escalation of the conflict with Russia. However, looking at past experience, we can conclude that this does not alleviate the situation but, on the contrary, frees the hands of the Russian Federation due to a sense of impunity. Because of this, the question of ensuring the own defence of the countries in the region has once again become acute. Now the only answer to the threat is the creation of a military-political Baltic-Black Sea Union. It is the Baltic and Black Sea countries that currently support Ukraine the most. The position of the Baltic states is respected among Ukrainians because they demand the toughest measures against Russia, provide a lot of military aid, and help Ukrainian refugees from the very beginning.

The creation of a new security alliance requires the convening of an international forum and the creation of new international structures. It is necessary to develop a new system of incentives and countermeasures, new principles and regulations, mandatory for the implementation of all subjects of international relations, and the creation of bodies that monitor them. It is also necessary for all international organisations that must ensure security and counter aggression to reform their own systems and ensure prompt responses to any aggression.

Although the discussion of the project of the Baltic-Black Sea Alliance is primarily about security motives, the security aspect alone is not enough to realise the full functioning of the association. The state's economic relations with its joint import and export are critical. Despite the fact that the Baltic and Black Sea countries already cooperate in various fields, if they form an alliance, they will have the opportunity to use multilateral, large-scale international projects. Strengthening the economic cooperation of the countries will lead to the simplification of doing business in joint energy, logistics, and infrastructure projects. This will have a positive effect on the economic development of the region and allow it to increase its defence capability.

The idea of alliance and cooperation between the Baltic-Black Sea countries makes it necessary to transform them into independent subjects of international relations, whose policies may differ from those of the European Union. But at the same time, it can implement profitable cooperation based on common needs and interests. Within the European Union, this distinct geopolitical influence centre will be present.

To analyse the prospects for cooperation in the region, it is worth considering trade relations and the economic situation of each individual country, as well as their cooperation with Ukraine after the war started by Russia. Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Poland currently support Ukraine the most among the neighbouring countries on the international stage. Back in March, the parliaments of these countries called on the entire civilised world to create a no-fly zone over Ukraine, after which they recognised Russia's aggression and war crimes as genocide against the Ukrainian people. Despite the conflict, these four nations' presidents and politicians keep travelling to Ukraine.



Picture 3 - Volodymyr Zelenskyi's meeting with the presidents of Lithuania Gitanas Nausėda, Poland Andrzej Duda, Latvia Egils Levits and Estonia Alar Karis. April 13, Kyiv

Latvia, most people want Ukraine to win. "To prevent Russian aggression elsewhere, it is necessary to support Ukraine by all means until Russia is completely

defeated," says Eviya Dyatkovicha, an expert at the Center for Geopolitical Research in Riga [6]. The expert emphasises the fact that Latvia has a 500-km border with Russia and Belarus, while the number of its army is only 7,500. Even taking into account the presence of a NATO contingent in Latvia, the threat from Russia and Belarus to extend military operations beyond the borders of Ukraine to seize lands that were considered Russian is present.

Latvia as a state has powerful economic potential. This happened thanks to the economic boom during the "Baltic Tigers" in 2000. The main export areas of Latvia are agriculture, food products, textiles, chemical products, machine building, woodworking, and green technologies. The main areas of import that the country needs are mechanical devices, mineral fuel, vehicles, and pharmaceuticals. In addition, Latvia has three ports capable of handling 40 million tonnes of freight traffic.

In Estonia, already on February 24, people took part in mass actions in support of Ukraine. Evgeny Tsybulenko, a Tallinn Technical University professor and former head of the country's Ukrainian Community, explains such support by pointing out that Estonians also fought for independence from Russia and faced repression from the Stalinist regime. Dmitri Teperik, the head of the International Center for Defense and Security in Tallinn, also believes that the countries' historical similarities have given Estonians an understanding of the threat from Russia. Estonian politicians and experts have been warning their Western colleagues about the Russian threat for decades. Estonia knows how cruel the Kremlin can be and that they do not care about international law and human rights. There is an understanding that Russian dictator's regime will not stop in Ukraine. Russia must be defeated in Ukraine in order not to be able to attack the Baltic countries," he explains [0].

The economy of Estonia is very promising among the Baltic countries. Currently, it has the highest GDP per capita. The main areas of export are electrical machines and equipment, boilers, wood, charcoal, mineral fuel, and also, which is very important, nuclear reactors. The main consumers of Estonian exports are Latvia, Sweden, the USA, Finland, and Germany. The main areas that the country needs to import are electrical equipment, vehicles, mineral fuels, oil, wood and wood products, furniture, ferrous metals, nuclear reactors, and spare parts for them. Estonia has six ports: Muuga, Sillamäe, Paldiski, Pärnu, Haapsalu, and Kunda. This is quite a large number, and they are all located in Tallinn. They are able to carry out a freight turnover of 37.6 million tons. Passenger transportation involves more than 10 million people per year. Estonia has great potential for an alliance in port trade.

Poland has been one of Ukraine's main allies ever since the Russian invasion of Crimea. Since 2014, on all international platforms, the Republic of Poland has resolutely advocated the need to increase pressure on the Russian side in order to restore the territorial integrity of Ukraine within internationally recognised borders. The war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, which became full-scale on February 24, 2022, consolidated the representatives of the Polish government and society for comprehensive support of Ukraine even more. Poland-Ukraine relations have now reached the pinnacle of their potential.

Poland can become the main ally of Ukraine. Since 2014, the sovereignty of Ukraine has not been exercised by the Republic of Poland on all international

platforms. The war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine (February 24, 2022) further consolidated the representatives of all political parties and the forces of the Polish state and society in full support of Ukraine. On the international stage, the Republic of Poland advocates the need for the international community to increase pressure on Russia to immediately end the war against Ukraine and restore the territorial integrity of our state within internationally recognised borders. Poland supports the development of the gas and electricity markets in Ukraine and the integration of our country into European energy projects.

For the Baltic-Black Sea Union, Poland has prospects due to the fact that it sells more than it imports. The main branches of industry are machine building, metallurgical, mining, chemical, shipbuilding, food, textile, and light industry. In exports and imports, Poland mainly deals with European countries. The main areas of export are nuclear reactors, boilers, motor vehicles, cars, plastics, polymer products from them, furniture, and appliances. The top three countries that Poland exports to include Germany, Great Britain, and the Czech Republic. The country's imports include nuclear reactors, boilers, machines, equipment, and mechanical devices; mineral fuels; and means of natural transport. Cargo turnover in the ports of the Republic of Poland is quite high, namely in Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin. Poland's GDP growth forecast for 2022 is 5.1%.

The close connection between Ukraine and Lithuania has existed since the Middle Ages, when the military-political and dynastic alliance between the King of Kyiv, Rus Danylo Halytskyi, and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Mindovga, was directed against a common enemy from the East. History, as we can see, is cyclical, and currently, our countries are once again facing a common enemy. Linas Koyala, director of the Center for Eastern European Studies in Vilnius, agrees that Ukraine's struggle should not be undertaken alone. "There is a clear understanding that Ukraine is also fighting for us because Russia is also showing aggression towards the Baltic countries. "Ukraine's success means the Baltic states' success; Ukraine's struggle is our struggle," explains Linas Koyala [0].

Lithuania is an important part of the formation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union and, at the same time, it is a sufficiently developed country. Lithuania's exports are estimated at 32.7 billion dollars. To it we add: fuel, electronic devices, nuclear boilers, furniture, and plastic. The main consumers of Lithuanian exports are Latvia and Poland. Fuel and oil, furniture, agricultural products, and cars are the major supports for the country's imports.

Ukraine is currently the main figure on the international stage in the opposition of the civilised world to the Russian Federation. All current changes in the international system and world order depend on our victory. Now Russia has destroyed a large part of Ukrainian infrastructure, the energy sector has been the most affected. The operation of nuclear power plants was disrupted; factories, stations, railways, farms, highways, and city targets were destroyed; and large stocks of Ukrainian grain were stolen. Nevertheless, Ukraine has huge potential. Our country has a large territory and a favourable geo-economic location. Thanks to this, we have significant and, at the same time, close stocks of various natural resources. The natural resource base of Ukraine consists of deposits with 97 types of mineral raw materials of industrial importance.

The state can not only provide itself with raw materials and energy carriers, but also export to other countries. But in connection with the barbaric destruction and damage caused by Russia, Ukraine needs the help of allies in financing the reconstruction of the country, financing development, and mining, joint economic turnover of exports and imports with neighbouring countries, and pressure on Russia to pay reparations.

Analysis showed that neighbouring states are under the same threat from the Russian Federation, due to threats and armed provocations. The economy of European countries has already suffered due to Russia's armed aggression against Ukraine. The most pressing issue is the grain agreement because Russia stole large stocks of grain and is blocking Ukrainian ports in the Black Sea. The most beneficial solution for Ukraine and European countries to the security and economic problems caused by Russia is the creation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union. At the most critical moment, Ukraine lost 80% of its export potential, especially due to Russia's blocking of ports, but later it began to recover. By September 2022, 65% of exports went to the European Union, thanks to which Ukraine's budget for 2023 began to fill up.

Thanks to closer political and economic cooperation within the framework of the Baltic-Black Sea Union, the countries of Eastern Europe could become a self-sufficient and organic union of states fighting for common interests. The creation of an alliance will not slow down the process of integration between Eastern and Western Europe. The integration process will become more stable and well-organized, improving European security in the process.

The positive economic and defence development of the countries of the Baltic-Black Sea region can become a case study for countries that are under the influence of Russia. If the cooperation of the participating countries is reinforced by informational, diplomatic, and security activities, the region will be able to create its own political and ideological orientations and interests in the international arena. The Baltic-Black Sea Union can be realised in the economic sphere if it is integrated into Greater Europe and has the backing of the United States.

Therefore, it can be concluded that it is now necessary to conduct negotiations at all levels of interstate cooperation on the creation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union. Because of a thorough debate, the establishment of complex mechanisms and the harmonious distribution of functions among states takes time, and Ukraine and the states of Eastern and Central Europe are already in an economic crisis, with their sovereignty and integrity under threat.

But it should be noted that this Baltic-Black Sea military-political alliance cannot be considered an alternative to NATO. The Eurasian continent, in connection with the situation that has developed due to the armed aggression and terrorism of the Russian Federation, needs a new security system. If each participating state is a member of both NATO and the Baltic-Black Sea Union, their cooperation will expand the defence potential and security in Europe. This will guarantee the stability of the entire continent.

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Горобець І.В.

## ТАЙВАНЬ У ВІДНОСИНАХ МІЖ США ТА КНР НА ПОЧАТКУ ХХІ ст.

*The author analyzed the problem of Taiwan in relations between China and the United States at the beginning of the 21st century. The position of China and the United States on the issue of Taiwan is shown. Is Analyzed the current situation around the island. Predictions are made about the development of the situation around the island in the future.*

**Keywords:** *China, USA, Taiwan, international crisis.*

Зміцнення свого впливу у Східній Азії стає одним із пріоритетних завдань зовнішньої політики США. Свої дії Вашингтон здійснює під гаслом турботи про регіональну стабільність та безпеку. Своєю метою Сполучені Штати – військово та політичне стримування Китаю. Пекін розглядається Вашингтоном, як головний економічний, політичний та військовий суперник США у ХХІ ст. Важливу роль цьому грає Тайвань – острівна, не визнана держава, що не заважає США розглядати його як стратегічного партнера в Азіатсько-Тихоокеанському регіоні.

У своєму економічному розвитку, починаючи з 90-х років. ХХ ст. Китай став другою країною за величиною економіки у світі, та енергійно нарощуючи свою військову міць. Посилення могутності КНР призвело до зростання напруженості у відносинах із нинішнім світовим лідером – США. Тому після вступу на посаду президента Дональда Трампа політика США щодо КНР стала більш жорсткою. У військовій та геополітичній сферах, Трамп запропонував «Індо-Тихоокеанську стратегію» для стримування просування Китаю. В