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Збірник присвячений актуальним проблемам теорії та історії міжнародних відносин, зовнішньої політики України та інших держав, національної та міжнародної безпеки. У ньому представлено наукові праці дослідників Національного університету «Острозька академія», інших наукових і навчальних установ України і зарубіжжя.

Для фахівців-міжнародників, викладачів, аспірантів і студентів вищих навчальних закладів.

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Алла Киридон, Сергій Троян

РОСІЙСЬКІ СТРАТЕГЕМИ

ЯК ЗАГРОЗА МІЖНАРОДНІЙ БЕЗПЕЦІ5

Тетяна Сидорук

ДИЛЕМИ МОДЕРНІЗАЦІЇ СХІДНОГО ПАРТНЕРСТВА19

Анджей Вавринюк

OD ZNIEWOLENIA DO NIEPODLEGŁOŚCI POLSKI

(WYBÓR I ANALIZA NAJWAŻNIEJSZYCH ZDARZEŃ)38

Віктор Павлюк

ЗОВНІШНЬОПОЛІТИЧНІ ПЛАНИ АДАМА ЧАРТОРИЙСЬКОГО:
НЕВИПРАВДАНИ ІЛЮЗІЇ 56

Любов Корнійчук, Олена Тивончук

СТИМУЛЮВАННЯ КОНФЛІКТІВ У ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКИХ
КРАЇНАХ У СИСТЕМІ РЕАЛІЗАЦІЇ ГЕОПОЛІТИЧНИХ
ІНТЕРЕСІВ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ФЕДЕРАЦІЇ67

Андрій Семенович

ВИКОНАВЧА ВЛАДА ПОЛЬЩІ ТА УКРАЇНИ: ПОРІВНЯЛЬНА
ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА79

Наталія Конопка, Богдан Костів

СТРАТЕГІЧНІ ІНТЕРЕСИ КИТАЙСЬКОЇ НАРОДНОЇ
РЕСПУБЛІКИ В ЛАТИНСЬКІЙ АМЕРИЦІ92

Оксана Балашова

ВПРОВАДЖЕННЯ ДЕРЖАВНОГО ФІНАНСУВАННЯ
ПОЛІТИЧНИХ ПАРТІЙ ЯК ПЕРШИЙ КРОК ДО
ОЗДОРОВЛЕННЯ ПАРТІЙНОЇ СИСТЕМИ УКРАЇНИ103

Ольга Близняк

СХІДНЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО В ЗОВНІШНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ ПОЛЬЩІ119

Святослав Кохан

ПОЛІТИКА США В ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ
У ХХІ СТОЛІТТІ131

Ключевые слова: «Турецкий поток», РФ, Турция, «Третий Энергетический Пакет», геополитика.

Pavlo Stepanets
**«TURKISH STREAM» AS GEOPOLITICAL PROJECT OF
 RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

This article explores geopolitical aspect of Russian energy project «Turkish Stream». It tries to consider this project not only in the geoeconomic context, but also in geopolitical. This is mainly because of fact that «Turkish Stream» is considered and positioned by Russian Federation as an instrument of complex influence on international consumption markets of Russian natural gas. Prior to the analysis of proposed Russian energy project, article is concentrating on political, legal, economic conditions of international gas market functioning in Europe. This allows us to develop integral vision of current geopolitical field for energy aspect of Russian foreign policy in Europe. Complexity of Kremlin energy ambitions and goals are studied not only on the level of bilateral relations of Russia and Turkey, but also on the level of interregional relations. At the same time, this article explores complexity of «Turkish Stream» by spheres of international relations that will be affected the most by this project. Another important approach of this article is analyzing of energy project's development by exploring of Russia-Turkey political, economic relations and its impact on dynamics of realization of «Turkish Stream». This article also pays big attention to the analysis of background, instruments and methods of Russian energy initiative's realization. It also analyzes main issues that allowed Kremlin to persuade Turkey to agree with Russian energy initiative. The article contains prognostic part about prospects of the project and the conclusion about impact of «Turkish Stream» realization on strategic interests of Ukraine. Emphasis on Ukrainian factor is essential due to continuous Russian aggression towards Ukraine and logical necessity for Ukrainian foreign policy-makers to develop new approaches of energy security that will be built on the bases of adaptation to turbulent changes on the energy map of Europe.

Key words: «Turkish Stream», RF, Turkey, «Third Energy Package», geopolitics.

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Дмитро Тищенко

**HARMONISATION OF THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP
 INITIATIVE WITH OTHER EU POLICIES
 IN EASTERN EUROPE**

**ГАРМОНІЗАЦІЯ ІНІЦІАТИВИ СХІДНОГО ПАРТ-
 НЕРТВА З ІНШИМИ ПОЛІТИКАМИ ЄС У СХІДНІЙ
 ЄВРОПІ**

У статті зроблено аналіз схожих та відмінних рис у розвитку, функціонуванні та структурі трьох ініціатив ЄС щодо Східної Європи – Східного Партнерства, Північного виміру та Чорноморської Синергії. Автор дійшов висновку, що ці проекти, маючи подібні цілі розвитку двосторонніх та багатосторонніх відносин ЄС з країнами Східної Європи, зосереджені на окремих галузях чи напрямках та характеризуються різними рівнями співпраці.

Ключові слова: Східна Європа, Європейський Союз, Східне Партнерство, Чорноморська Синергія, Північний вимір.

The origin and development of the Eastern Partnership initiative within the European Neighbourhood Policy and the EU eastern policy as a whole has much in common with other EU initiatives directed to the region of Eastern Europe, e.g. Northern Dimension and the Black Sea Synergy. There are, although, significant differences in the aims of the policies and their spheres of cooperation.

Objectives of the Article. The article is focused upon comparing the three main EU initiatives on the eastern European space by studying similarities and distinct features in operational structures, objectives and financial assistance of these policies.

The issue of essence and development of the EU initiatives directed to the countries of its eastern border has been profoundly studied by European and Ukrainian think tank and university researchers. Apart from the scientists, the EU official organisms has also been contributing to the theme. It becomes highly important in the way that to show strictly differences between the Eastern Partnership and other EU-led initiatives, to

show no place for doubling functions and spheres of co-operation. As to the researchers, the Ukrainian M. Гладиш [1] focused on the Northern Dimension of the EU integration processes. V. Martuniuk [9] studied contribution of the Eastern Partnership initiative for the European integration of Ukraine. Official papers of the European institutions have also high importance, *verbi gratia*, communications of the European Commission [4–5] concerning the Black Sea Synergy and documents of the European External Action Service [6–7].

The new initiative of the European Union towards Eastern Europe is a new approach in relations with Eastern European countries. In the same time, some EU members expressed their concern that the EaP might overlap functions of other EU programmes and initiatives in the region – the Black Sea Synergy and the Northern Dimension.

The EU's interests towards the Black Sea region are associated with its location between Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East, at the intersection of energy and transport flows, illegal migration and organised crime. Therefore, when Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007, «the EU is no longer an external actor in this region, ... [it is] irrevocably part of the region, with our future security and prosperity intimately bound up in its fortunes» [8, p. 2]. The first step towards a new EU initiative was taken in 2007 when the Commission prepared a Communication «Black Sea Synergy – a new regional cooperation initiative». The new initiative was assumed to complement already existing formats of cooperation with the Black Sea region – the bilateral relations with Turkey and Russia, the ENP concerning countries of the region [4].

Greece, Bulgaria and Romania, having direct access to the Black Sea and being EU Member States, were interested in establishment such initiative and allocation of EU funds for various projects of co-operation in the Black Sea. The Black Sea Synergy was conceived as a «flexible framework to ensure greater coherence and policy guidance» in the joint venture of partners in more than thirteen areas: democracy and human rights, security, frozen conflicts, energy, transport, trade, environmental protection, maritime policy &c [4, p. 3].

According to the document, the main principle of Black Sea Synergy should be «flexible geometry», where individual countries also might participate in single spheres. Funds for the implementation of activities were to be allocated based on the principle of co-financing. If necessary, the EU may transfer funds of the ENP national, regional and cross-border programmes, other instruments for external assistance.

The new initiative did not had not goal to create either institutions or specialised structures; the states were proposed to continue co-operating

within the existing formats and sectorial programmes, initiated by the European Union. It was also intended to establish close ties with other regional organisations, especially the BSEC, where seven EU Member States had observer status (France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia) and three of them were members (Greece, Bulgaria and Romania). EU sought to take advantage of co-operation with the BSEC institutions to increase its presence in the region. Black Sea Synergy was planned to become an «umbrella structure» for the main organisations and programmes operating in the Black Sea region.

The first summit of EU and the Black Sea states' foreign ministers took place in Kyiv in February 2008, during the presidency of Ukraine in the BSEC. Participants recognised the role of the EU in increasing the capacity of regional co-operation in the Black Sea and the Black Sea Synergy as an important tool to achieve this goal. In the final statement, the participating countries expressed their support for obtaining the European Commission observer status in the BSEC in 2007 and the establishment of co-operation in various fields [6]. Only Russia did not accede to the final statement. Russian Foreign Office explained such decision: «at the meeting in Kyiv, where was not agreed a balanced document providing for the establishment of equal relations between the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation and the European Union» [2].

What is vastly important is that the Communication from 2007 indicated a possibility of the new format for the «frozen conflicts» resolution by improving governance, economic development and social stability. The events of August 2008 increased the EU interest in engaging in settlement of «frozen conflicts» in the region of its neighbourhood.

As it can be seen, both initiatives, the Eastern Partnership and the Black Sea Synergy, are directed to the Eastern Europe and Southern Caucasus aiming to increase attention to the region and assist its development (see Table 1). These initiatives have great differences, though, allowing them not only to co-exist but also to complement to each other:

a) the goals of two initiatives are different – the EaP aims to develop European integration processes of the Partner States by strengthening bilateral and multilateral relations. The Black Sea Synergy aims to deepen regional co-operation between the countries of the Black Sea;

b) the participant countries are different – Turkey and Russia do not participate in the EaP but are members of the Black Sea Synergy, Belarus – vice versa;

c) the Eastern Partnership is a new step in development of the European Neighbourhood Policy, when the Black Sea Synergy is an additional tool to the ENP;

d) areas of co-operation are slightly different: the EaP includes political association and economic integration with free trade and visa-regime facilitation. The Synergy envisages resolution of frozen conflicts, fishery, development of the Black Sea region, area, that are barely described in the EaP;

e) the EaP is more flexible containing various forms of co-operation with the bilateral and multilateral tracks;

f) institutional structure of the Eastern Partnership is more complex comparing to the Synergy (meetings at the level of foreign ministers with not regularity) [9, p. 17].

Table 1: Comparison of the Eastern Partnership with other EU regional projects

Initiative	Eastern Partnership	Black Sea Synergy	Northern Dimension
Target countries	28 EU Member States + Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan	EU + Romania, Bulgaria and Greece (as EU Members) + Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkey	EU + Norway, Iceland, Russia. The US and Canada have observer status. Belarus is not a member but it has participated in the environmental partnership and partnership on transport and logistics since 2009
Initiator(s)	Poland and Sweden	Germany	Finland
Relations with other regional actors	Different international organisations can take part in EaP activity, e.g. Council of Europe, OSCE	Is close co-operation with regional organisations and initiatives, e.g. Organisation of Black Sea Economic Co-operation, Black Sea Forum, Baku Initiative, Black Sea Commission for the protection of the Black Sea	Co-operation with other regional organisations: Arctic Council, Council of the Baltic Sea States, Barents Euro-Arctic Council, Nordic Council of Ministers
Main spheres of co-operation	Four Thematic Platforms: Democracy, good governance and stability; Economic	stimulate democratic and economic reforms; support stability and promote development;	environment; public health and social well-being; transport and logistics; culture

	integration and convergence with the EU policies; Energy security; Contacts between people	facilitate practical projects in areas of common concern; open up opportunities and challenges through coordinated action in a regional framework; encourage the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the region	
Operational Structure	Summits of heads of state/ government every two years; annual meetings of foreign ministers; meetings at the level of senior officials within the thematic platforms twice a year; meetings of sectorial ministers if needed	No new institutions were established. Ministerial Meetings, with unidentified frequency, provide political orientation of the initiative	Meetings of foreign ministers every two years; meetings of senior officials if needed (obligatory in years of meetings of foreign ministers); meetings of Steering Group thrice a year
Financial Instruments	European Neighbourhood Instrument; EIB and EBRD; European Investment Facility	European Neighbourhood Instrument; budget of Partner States; loans from EIB and EBRD.	Financial programmes and instruments of the EU (including ENI); budget of partner States; private sector; EIB and EBRD.

Source: Author's own compilation based on [1, p. 4–8].

The launch of the EaP in 2009 caused declination of the Black Sea Synergy. The Commission attempted to fix the initiative for a special niche with the ENP. In 2010, the Commission emphasised that, in contrast to the Eastern Partnership, the Synergy was open to all states in the region with tied relations with various organisations [5, p. 1]. The EU also established sector partnerships in three areas: environment, transport and energy, which have great importance in the region.

One more initiative of the European Union is the East is the Northern Dimension. Northern Dimension initiative is an instrument of co-operation between the two partners – the EU, Norway, Iceland and Russia and geographically covers the Baltic Sea, North-West Russia and the Arctic regions (including the Barents Sea). The policy includes a series of sectors of co-operation as environment, nuclear security, energy, transport, trade and investment, science, education and culture. The idea of the initiative was proposed by Finland during its pre-accession process to the EU.

Prime Minister of Finland, Esko Aho, first mentioned the need for the EU to develop the Northern Dimension in March 1994 [1, p. 69]. However, the Northern Dimension initiative was officially presented by Finnish Prime Minister, Paavo Lipponen, at the conference of Barents Sea region countries in September 1997. In December 1997, the Finnish government proposed the Northern Dimension initiative to the European that ordered the Commission to prepare a communication presented to the European Council in December 1998. The Northern Dimension was initiated in 1999 and renewed in 2006. There are four partnerships within the initiative:

1. Northern Dimension Environmental Partnership (NDEP).
2. Northern Dimension Partnership Health and Social Well-being (NDPHS).
3. Northern Dimension Partnership on Transport and Logistics (NDPTL).
4. Northern Dimension Partnership on Culture.

It was also established Northern Dimension Institute, Northern Dimension Business Council and Northern Dimension Parliamentary Forum in order to complement the co-operation between the members. Over the years, the EU has contributed nearly 100 million euro for the Northern Dimension.

Despite not including any of the EaP Partner States, Belarus has participated in the environmental partnership and the partnership on transport and logistics since 2009 [3, p. 1]. The Northern Dimension has not a goal to develop the European integration but it is aimed to increase stability and facilitate security in the region of Northern Eastern Europe through co-operation with the EU Member States.

Other regional initiatives, such as the Central European Initiative*, do not overlap the objectives of the Eastern Partnership either in geographic scope

* **Central European Initiative** (CEI) is forum of co-operation between 18 Central, Eastern and South Eastern European countries that was established in 1989 in Budapest aiming to overcome the division between post-Communist and Western European countries by consolidation their economic and social development.

or in functional dimension. Hence, the Eastern Partnership does not collide with any of the EU initiatives/programmes concerning Eastern Europe.

Conclusion. The Eastern Partnership initiative is based on the desire of the six ENP Partner States to become closer to the EU by aligning with the norms and standards of the EU own policy/national legislation, while taking into account the individual characteristics of each, according to national development and the ultimate goals of relations with the EU. All the partners have the opportunity to build their bilateral relations with the EU on the basis of political association and economic integration. This feature of the Eastern Partnership is different from the Black Sea Synergy and Northern Dimension goals, which is mainly solving specific regional problems and finding ways to restore confidence between the neighbouring countries. In addition, Eastern Partnership should be a step forward towards deeper integration of Eastern neighbours, because of their European identity.

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Дмитрий Тищенко
ГАРМОНИЗАЦИЯ ИНИЦИАТИВЫ ВОСТОЧНОГО ПАРТНЕРТВА С ДРУГИМИ ПОЛИТИКАМИ ЕС В ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЕ

В статье сделан анализ похожих и отличительных особенностей в развитии, функционировании и структуре трех инициатив ЕС по отношению к Восточной Европе – Восточного партнерства, Северного измерения и Черноморской синергии. Автор пришел к выводу, что эти проекты, имея подобные цели развития двусторонних и многосторонних отношений ЕС со странами Восточной Европы, сосредоточены на отдельных отраслях или направлениях и характеризуются различными уровнями сотрудничества.

Ключевые слова: Восточная Европа, Европейский Союз, Восточное партнерство, Черноморская синергия, Северное измерение.

Dmytro Tyshchenko
HARMONISATION OF THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP INITIATIVE WITH OTHER EU POLICIES IN EASTERN EUROPE

The article seeks to assess similarities and differences in origin, development, functioning and structure of the three EU initiatives in Eastern Europe – Eastern Partnership, Northern Dimension and the Black Sea Synergy. The similar features of the initiatives are similar areas of co-operation on bilateral (EU-each country) and multilateral (EU-group of countries) level. However, spheres of co-operation within the Eastern Partnership are wider because the EaP Partner States tend to build their relations with the EU on the basis of political association and economic integration.

The EaP complements the Black Sea Synergy and other initiatives by promoting regional cooperation. The Black Sea Synergy aims to solve problems that require great efforts and attention at the regional level, focusing on the Black Sea space. The Eastern Partnership is aiming at grouping the EU Partner. In March 2009, the European Council highlighted the commitment to strengthen the Black Sea Synergy and support its implementation.

Key words: Eastern Europe, European Union, Eastern Partnership, Black Sea Synergy, the Northern Dimension.

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Наталія Матвійчук

**ПОЛІТИКА АМЕРИКАНСЬКИХ ПРЕЗИДЕНТІВ
У ПРАЦЯХ МИРОНА КУРОПАСЯ**

У статті проаналізовано бачення М. Куропасем внутрішньої та зовнішньої політики президентів США. Розглянуто зроблений дослідником аналіз діяльності Р. Рейгана, Дж. Буша (ст.), В. Клінтона, Дж. Буша (мол.), Б. Обама.

Ключові слова: політика, американські президенти, М. Куропась.

Мирон Куропась – представник української громади США, активний член Українського народного союзу (далі – УНС), радник Президента Дж. Форда з етнічних питань, активний діяч республіканської партії США. Поряд із дослідженнями історії міграції українців до США та функціонування створених ними інституцій, М. Куропась аналізував політичне життя в цій країні, політику американських президентів із погляду користі для української громади у США та для України.

Окреслена проблематика здебільшого знайшла віддзеркалення у замітках, опублікованих М. Куропасем на сторінках періодичних видань УНС: «The Ukrainian Weekly» та «Свобода». Проте дотепер немає спеціальних досліджень публіцистики вченого. Наявні рецензійні огляди та рецензії на монографії дослідника [1; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 37; 38; 39]. Публікації вченого в періодиці було використано також під час дослідження бачення ним впливу церкви на українську громаду США та проблему національної ідентичності українців у США [4; 5].

Метою цієї розвідки є аналіз оцінки М. Куропасем діяльності президентів США: Р. Рейгана, Дж. Буша (ст.), В. Клінтона, Дж. Буша (мол.), Б. Обама.

Наголосимо, що М. Куропася цікавили лише певні аспекти внутрішньої та зовнішньої політики того чи іншого президента США. Під час розгляду внутрішньої політики дослідник переважно аналізував економічну сферу та етнополітику. Аналізуючи зовнішню