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«Intermarium» project: civilization, Christian and economic-regional dimensions

Abstract. Currently, the Intermarium project is becoming more and more relevant, given the recent geoeconomic and geopolitical processes on the Eurasian continent. This results from a number of expanding crisis processes, as well as from different understanding of the structure and development of the European Union. It is well known that the European Union is going through hard times after the UK leaving the EU, as well as in view of the growing controversies between the «North-South» and «West-East» axes. The core EU member states, including Germany and France, are shifting towards a need to review the concept of development of the European Union.

In this respect, the initiative of Andrzej Duda, the President of Poland, is very timely and implies the implementation of the Intermarium project which should be developed and given concrete meaning, thus strengthening cooperation between Central and Eastern European states representing the «North-South» axis. The relevant countries are located in the area of the Baltic, Black and Adriatic Seas. Thereby, in our opinion, it is essential to extend the abovementioned project to Eastern European countries, of which Poland and Ukraine could become leaders, in order to shape the Eastern division of the project, crossing the Baltic and Black Seas and proceeding to the Caspian Sea.

In our view, the Intermarium project is diverse and complex. Its basis is polysystemic, and its nature is universal. The project makes it possible to bring together researchers who have knowledge in various areas of science. Also, the spiritual and religious aspect of the project, particularly in the context of the Christian teaching, as well as its civilizational, geopolitical and geoeconomic dimensions, may become some of the important issues relating to the Intermarium project itself.

The article provides an analysis of possible modalities for micro- and macrocooperation within the framework of the Intermarium project, including its two elements, which are the EU member states and selected Eastern European countries. A powerful integral unity of the two countries, which are Poland and Ukraine, could be the driving force behind the Intermarium project and its Eastern division.

Thus, as it is shown in the article, the Intermarium project as a whole has a great future and can be perspective for all participating countries, including EU member states.

Keywords: Christianity; Civilization; «Intermarium» Project; Poland; Ukraine; Intermarium; Islam; China; European Union; Magdeburg Law Cities; Networking Cities

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Проект «Міжмор'я»: цивілізаційний, християнський та економіко-регіональний виміри

Анотація. Тематика проекту «Міжмор'я» стає все більш актуальною на сучасному етапі розвитку геоекономічних і геополітичних процесів на євразійському континенті. Це обумовлено як тим, що відбуваються певні кризові центробіжні процеси, так і різними підходами до розуміння структурування та розвитку Європейського Союзу. Як відомо, після виходу Великобританії зі складу Європейського Союзу, а також через наростання протиріч між осями «Північ-Південь» і «Захід-Схід», Євросоюз переживає не найкращі часи. Старе ядро Євросоюзу, такі країни як Німеччина та Франція, усе частіше говорять про необхідність модифікації його концепції розвитку. У зв'язку з цим дуже своєчасною є ініціатива президента Польщі Анджея Дуди, яка полягає в тому, що треба створити, розвивати й наповнювати конкретним змістом проект «Міжмор'я», посилюючи співпрацю центрально- та східноєвропейських держав, що лежать на осі «Північ-Південь». Ці країни розташовані уздовж Балтійського, Чорного й Адриатичного морів. З огляду на це, актуальним стає доповнення даного проекту його східним дивізіоном, де лідерами могли би бути Польща та Україна, для того, щоб вибудувати східну дугу проекту «Міжмор'я», яка проходила б через Балтійське та Чорне моря й закінчувалася б у Каспійському морі. На наш погляд, проект «Міжмор'я» дуже різноманітний і структурно складний. Він має полісистемний базис та універсальну природу. У цьому проекті можливе об'єднання дослідників, які вивчають різні сфери знання. Важливою проблематикою проекту «Міжмор'я» може бути і духовно-релігійний аспект, особливо через призму християнського вчення, а також цивілізаційна складова, власне як і геополітичний та геоекономічний аспекти. У статті в рамках проекту «Міжмор'я» аналізуються можливі механізми макро- і мікроспівробітництва двох його частин – країн, що входять в Європейський Союз, та країн східного дивізіону. Рушійною силою проекту «Міжмор'я» могло б стати потужне інтегральне об'єднання Польщі й України. Таким чином, проект «Міжмор'я» в усій його цілісності та універсальності, має велике майбутнє і може бути дуже перспективним як для всіх країн-учасниць у цілому, так і для Європейського Союзу зокрема.

Ключові слова: Християнство; цивілізація; проект «Міжмор'я»; Польща; Україна; Балто-Чорноморська дуга (вісь); Іслам; Китай; Європейський Союз; міста Магдебурзького права; мережеві міста.

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Проект «Межморье»: цивилизационное, христианское и экономико-региональное измерения

Аннотация. Тематика проекта «Межморье» на современном этапе развития геоэкономических и геополитических процессов на евразийском континенте становится все более актуальной. Это обусловлено тем, что происходят определенные кризисные процессы, характеризующиеся центробежностью и разным пониманием структурирования и развития Европейского Союза. Как известно, после выхода из состава Европейского Союза Великобритании и нарастания противоречий между осями «Север-Юг» и «Запад-Восток», Евросоюз переживает не лучшие времена. Старое ядро Евросоюза, такие страны как Германия, Франция, все чаще говорят о необходимости модификации концепции развития Европейского Союза. В этой связи очень своевременной является инициатива президента Польши Анджея Дуды, которая состоит в том, что надо создать, развивать и наполнять конкретным содержанием проект «Межморье», усиливая сотрудничество центрально- и восточноевропейских государств, лежащих на Меридиане «Север-Юг». Эти страны расположены вдоль Балтийского, Черного и Адриатического морей. В связи с этим, на наш взгляд, становится очень актуальным дополнение данного проекта его Восточным дивизионом, лидером которого могли бы выступить Польша и Украина, чтобы выстроить восточную дугу проекта «Межморье», которая бы проходила через Балтийское и Черное моря и заканчивалась в Каспийском море. По мнению автора, проект «Межморье» очень многообразен и структурно сложен. Он имеет полисистемный базис и универсальную природу. В этом проекте возможно синтетическое объединение исследователей с разных сфер знаний. Важной проблематикой проекта «Межморье» может быть и духовно-религиозный аспект, особенно сквозь призму христианского учения, а также цивилизационная составляющая, геополитическая и геоэкономическая. В данной статье анализируются возможные механизмы макро- и микросотрудничества в рамках проекта «Межморье» и двух его частей — стран, входящих в Европейский Союз, и восточного дивизиона. Движущей силой проекта «Межморье» и его восточного дивизиона могло бы стать мощное интегральное объединение государств Польша и Украина. Таким образом, проект «Межморье» в его целостности и универсальности, как показывается в статье, имеет очень большое будущее и может быть перспективным для всех стран-участников и в целом для Европейского Союза.

Ключевые слова: Христианство; цивилизация; Проект «Межморье»; Польша; Украина; Балто-Черноморская дуга; Ислам; Китай; Европейский Союз; города Магдебургского права; сетевые города.

1. Introduction and Brief Literature Review

Various problems relating to Intermarium were studied by S. Rudanskyi, M. Hrushevskiy and Yu. Lypa (cit. as of 1992) in his work «Cause of Ukraine». As noted by N. Koroma (2007), «Mykhailo Hrushevskiy was the first to develop the foundations of geopolitics for Ukraine, taking into consideration the factor of the Black Sea, which was to be taken into account when drafting the foreign policy of the Ukrainian State».

In the early 20th century, Josef Pilsudski and Symon Petliura took meaningful steps towards the implementation of the Intermarium project. Zigfrids Anna Meierovics, a Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, developed a strategic framework for the potential implementation of a Baltic-Black Sea alliance. The concept of Intermarium has always been of interest on the part of different countries, either mainstreaming or slowing down at different times in history. It was revitalised at the end of the 20th century after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system. At that time, both in Poland and Ukraine, as well as in some other countries, the relevant issues were actively discussed and highlighted both in theory and practice. Upon the EU's eastern enlargement, the subject of Intermarium ceased to dominate. However, in the second decade of the 21st century, the geopolitical and geoeconomic situation started to change sharply due to a variety of reasons, and the subject of a Baltic-Black Sea alliance, now as the Intermarium project, has gained prominence and momentum.

The researchers in Ukraine, Poland and USA made attempts to study, analyse and generalise the ideas concerning Intermarium in its various forms and at different historical stages. V. Boyko (2017) prepared a historical retrospective of Intermarium idea in the Ukrainian state building in 1917-1921, while poles J. Brudnicka (2016) and M. Grzechnik (2014) made a research on the geopolitical position of Poland in the same historical period of time and beyond, exploring the context of the Baltic and Black seas in particular. To the explanation of Intermarium space is devoted a research by M. J. Chodakiewicz (2012).

The concept of Intermarium in the foreign policy of Poland in the 21st century has been studied by A. Starzyk and N. Tomaszewska (2017), and P. Zurawski vel Grajewski and A. B. Motusic (2017) devoted their work to the perspectives of co-operation in the Adriatic-Baltic-Black sea region. V. Jančoškova (2016) made a critical review of the implications for the European Union which may occur as a result of deep co-operation between the countries in the Central and Eastern Europe.

A. Umland (2016) made a research concerning security interaction of the states between the Baltic and Black Seas.

J. Levy (2007) investigates the Intermarium in the context of the East Central European Federalism, while A. M. Ene (2017) gives an author view on the role of Intermarium project development in destabilising of the modern Russian regime.

2. Intermarium: a project created by Christian Civilization

Currently, Intermarium is a project which includes several countries in Central and Eastern Europe that are on the «road from the Vikings (Varangians) to the Greeks» which was traced in the period of Scandinavian kingdoms, Rus, Poland and Byzantium. The aforementioned trade and economic project lived through its best years in Christian times. It was a time when there existed theocratic Christian states. Trade between states developed rapidly, so did the economic ties. The clergy played a great role in all sectors of public life. For example, Byzantine law formed the basis for the strengthening of the church in Kievan Rus. «The novelty introduced by Emperor Justinian, which contains the concept of the «symphony of powers», was virtually the first significant ruling due to which church authorities began to had the same power as secular authorities, i.e. the princes. It was included in all guiding books that existed in Kievan Rus» (I. A. Balzhik, 2007).

In times of Kievan Rus, Intermarium, known as the «road from the Vikings (Varangians) to the Greeks», emerged as a sacred project relating to both European and Eurasian axes: not the «East-West» parallel, but the «North-South» meridian, as a project reflecting principles of the Christian Civilization in Central and Eastern Europe. As noted by S. Khvedchenia (2012), «the «road from the Vikings (Varangians) to the Greeks» was of great importance as a primary trade route in 10th-11th centuries AD, yet it lost its significance, as such. Even then, it remained popular and was actively exploited for a very long period of time».

A trade route that traversed from the Baltic Sea across the territory of what is Poland today to Constantinople can be considered a branch of the main route.

Numerous Christian states for the project included Rus, Poland, Byzantium, Hungary and Bulgaria. In the South, the route that crossed the Baltic, Black, Adriatic and Caspian Seas linked to the ancient Silk Road, in which India, as a pra-territory, played a major role. The Indo-European family of languages is another manifestation of the sacral nature of the project which has been around for over one thousand years.

Let us emphasise that it was spiritually homogeneous and close countries that were involved in the project. The Gospel of Luke gives us an interpretation of the concept of «your neighbour». «And, behold, a lawyer arose, testing him saying, «Teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?»

And he said to him, «What is written in the law? What is your reading of it?»

And he in answer said, «You shall love the Lord thy God from your whole heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with your entire mind, and your neighbour as yourself.»

And Jesus said, «You have answered correctly. Do this and you will live.»

But wanting to justify himself, he said to Jesus, «And who is my neighbour?»

In reply Jesus said, «A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among bandits. And they, when they had stripped him and inflicted wounds, went away, leaving him half dead. And by chance a priest was going down that road, and when he saw him he avoided him. And likewise also a Levite, when he came near that place and saw him, and passed on around. But a Samaritan man came travelling by him, and when he saw, he was moved with pity. And he approached and stopped up his wounds, and applied olive oil and wine. And mounting him on his own animal, he took him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two denarii, and gave them to the innkeeper, and said, «Take care of him; and whatever you spend beyond this I will reimburse you when I return. Which of these three seems to you to be a neighbour for the one who fell among bandits? And he said, «The one who did mercy with him. And Jesus said to him, «Go yourself and do likewise». (Luke 10: 25-37)

Hence, the «North-South» project was implemented and developed by countries that had adopted Christianity and were spiritually homogeneous.

3. Intermarium: a civilization aspect

Having been introduced by close Christian states, Intermarium evolved within European Christian Civilization. It was terminated by hostile Turkic Khazar hordes which came from the lands of Cainites. Islamic Civilization subjects completed its destruction. Therefore, Intermarium is a system of close geoeconomic and geopolitical links between Christian countries in Europe, whereas those who destroyed it belonged to Islamic Civilization or Paganism. In the modern context, an intercivilizational confrontation is further reinforced. The Intermarium project is confronted by the initiative supported by communist China, known as «One Belt, One Road».

The Silk Road Economic Belt initiative was introduced by Chinese President Xi Jinping in his address in Nazarbayev University in Astana in the framework of his state visit to the Republic of Kazakhstan in September 2013 (I. Yu. Frolova, 2016).

Today, China is a communist county based on secret societies which, in fact, are criminal organisations structured as triads. If we look deeper, we can see that, according to the biblical legend, Cain was exiled to those lands. This is what A. Lopukhin wrote about in his studies: «So Cain went out from the Lord's presence and lived in the land of Nod, east of Eden. It is difficult to pinpoint the location of that land. Some scholars state that it might be Northern India, China, etc» (A. P. Lopukhin, 1896).

Today, the inhabitants of the relevant territories, along with other beliefs, worship the cult of the dragon or serpent. Communist China is antichristian. Therefore, it is considered inconceivable to link Central and Eastern European states which represent Christian Civilization, namely Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, Moldova, Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary and the Baltic States, to China. It is unacceptable for our civilization to try to link this very alliance of Christian, primarily Catholic and Christian, countries to pagan Turkic communist China. This would mean an intrusion similar to what we can observe these days from the part of Islamic Civilization in the form of migration of Muslims to western and Southern

Europe. It is worth to mention that Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán told at the European People's Party (EPP) congress in Malta in 2017 that «language of liberal political correctness is even, unable to identify and understand the true danger of migration. We, Central Europeans, expect that if things go on like this, there will be a dominant Muslim presence in the Western half of Europe even in the lifetime of our generation» (The Visegrad Post, 2017).

Consequently, the Intermarium project and the One Belt, One Road incentive are two different projects which belong to heterogeneous civilizations. Furthermore, it is necessary to indicate that, besides the civilizations of China and Islamic states, The Russian Federation, which is the last fragment of the Russian Empire belonging to the Eurasian satrapic world, is also a party to the One Belt, One Road incentive. As is widely known, Eurasian civilizations, especially Muscovy, were established by the Turkic Khazar Horde, supported and encouraged by Chinese advisers. For example, Chinese advisers were widely involved in Genghis Khan's armies and took part in strategic planning relating to the advance of the troops to conquer Rus and other Christian states. R. Tolmacheva (2012) notes, in particular, that, according to some oriental chronicles, 4,000 ethnic Mongols, including the guard created by Genghis Khan, who died in AD 1227, as well as 30,000 Tatars (Mongol-lingual tribes), were part of those who were engaged in the campaign. Also, 200-300 thousand horsemen coming from a variety of tribes joined the armies during the Western campaign.

Currently, we are observing the formation of a new alliance between the Russian Federation Horde and pagan atheistic communist China. This alien structure is intruding into Christian Civilization of European countries, disguised as the development of trade and economic relations, translogistics or the One Belt, One Road incentive.

The One Belt, One Road incentive is a false model of the Silk Road, which is secret and aggressive expansion of extraneous civilizations to Christian countries in Central and Eastern Europe, which leads to undermining spiritual practices attributed to European civilization. All this is much more dangerous than the Muslim invasion in the form of hordes of migrants, promoted by Islam, in Western and Southern Europe.

The contemporary Intermarium project is viewed to be a powerful alternative of European Christian civilization to other models of civilization, which are antagonistic and pose spiritual and civilization challenges. A powerful integral unity of two Christian countries, which are Poland and Ukraine, could be the driving force behind the Intermarium project and its Eastern division.

The creation of the alliance between the two countries will make it possible to provide a framework for the project in a short time, designating it as a continental dimension. The enlargement of the Intermarium project to its Eastern division will increase its geoeconomic part by several times. A common economic and monetary space will begin to shape across the meridian. Finally, it will become possible to opt out of the failed and outdated «East-West axis» project which is considered as such by both Poland and Ukraine, as well as by some other Central and Eastern European states. The functioning of the abovementioned spiritual and civilization project has always meant a geoeconomic and geopolitical decline for Ukraine-Rus, Poland and other nations. The fragmentation of Poland by three empires and loss of its statehood in the period from 1795 to 1918 is the most striking example in this regard. In those times, Ukraine ceased to exist in a similar way. Therefore, we should consider the tragic experience and avoid past mistakes.

There are several prerequisites for the establishment of the comprehensive Intermarium project, including the following.

Disintegration processes within the European Union. It has become obvious that the situation within the European Union has deteriorated significantly after the so called Brexit, when the UK, a country playing an important role in terms of geopolitics and economic developments, withdrew from the EU. We can see what disintegration

processes are happening in Spain or Italy, for example, where Eurosceptics came to power. Also, we can observe differentiation regarding the new EU member states represented mainly by post-communist countries, including the Visegrad Four Countries.

Geopolitical and geoeconomic expansion of the Russian Federation. Currently, we see the Russian Federation attempting to save the remains of the former Russian Empire with its colonies consisting of 21 proto-national republics, which, indeed, were eliminated and deprived of their statehood by the metropole. We understand that these attempts are tries to restore and renovate the Russian Empire. We assume that, in certain circumstances, we can expect military aggression directed primarily against Ukraine.

A need to implement joint projects in the Eurasian space. In conditions of the falling wave of Kondratiev supercycles, which will continue until 2021, followed by the stagnation phase of the cycle, it is urgent to establish joint innovative projects in the framework of the fifth and sixth technological stages.

A need to access new markets, predominantly in the Eurasian space. Getting access to the Caspian Sea across Georgia and Azerbaijan makes it possible to enter vast territory with both enormous resources and significant economic potential.

Communist China's economic expansion. Under the pretext of the so-called New Silk Road (or «velvet road»), the People's Republic of China is trying to form dictatorial communist monopoly imposing its own model and using it to create its own financial, economic and demographic basis to infiltrate into Europe, and the European Union in particular.

Strengthening of potentially powerful players on the Eurasian continent: India, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Establishment of joint innovative projects in all economic spheres.

A «confined» option of the countries within Intermarium may consist of Poland, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan (see Figure 1), and their cumulative potential is presented in Table 1.

Analysing data in Table 1, we can conclude that when a small group of the «confined» option of Intermarium is created, it serves as a model for testing of economic control problems, including financial, economic, political-economic (and later military). As a result, it is very profitable to expand the obtained experience to the whole Intermarium project, connecting the second wave countries, which are currently cooperating within Baltic-Black Seas-Adriatic region. Concerning financial-economic indices, which are defining the potential of sixteen countries of Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian arc, as well as Mediterranean arc, it is possible to specify that very powerful geoeconomic and geopolitical subject may be forming on the Eurasian continent, which shall feature population of 170 million people, GDP of USD 1.6 trillion, and quite large volume of goods turnover.

It is necessary to consider that USA are starting aiming for domestic market (while evading close EU integration), simultaneously shaping enormously powerful Asia-Pacific Union with large financial-economic potential and hundreds of millions of well-educated and mobile population. It is worth considering that all countries are looking for allies for implementation of fifth and sixth technological mode, use competitive strengths of countries, which are forming geoeconomic alliances, in order to perform as large a break as possible in information technologies and space technologies, acquire additional value as high as possible, force competitive strengths on countries that keep on developing outdated technological modes, in mining industry and industrial productions sites with low processing level and small share of intellectually intensive products, first of all.

An «extended» option of the countries within Intermarium may include Poland, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia (see Figure 2), and their cumulative potential is presented in Table 2.

Data in tables 1-2 mean that small Baltic-Black-Sea-Caspian division group of the «confined» option within Intermarium (five countries), is extremely perspective regarding opposing aggressive Russian Federation's behaviour. Essentially, four countries out of five are injured parties from the Russian Federation's aggression. As is general knowledge, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Azerbaijan lost parts of their territory as a result of military, political, information and other Russian Federation's activity, and are suffering significant losses due to the Russian expansion and aggressive foreign policy. Poland has suffered also, one way or another, from the Russian Federation's activity.

It is quite evident that objective reality points that these countries must join their effort in military sphere, but in order to successfully oppose aggressive military and foreign Russian Federation's politics, they have to perform rearmament more intensively, create military-political alliance and strengthen their position on the Eurasian continent.

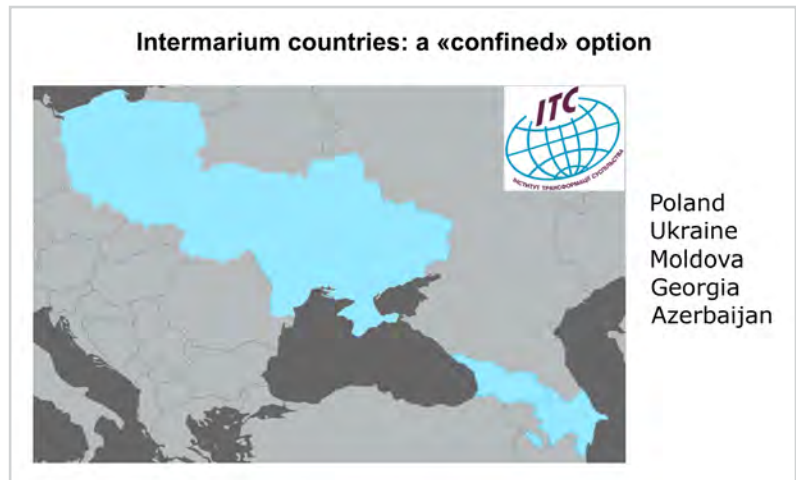


Fig. 1: A «confined» option of the countries within «Intermarium»
Source: Author's presentation

Tab. 1: Potential of the «confined» option of «Intermarium» project (five countries)

Area	1 106.5 thousands of sq. km	Long range air defence systems	130
Population	97.4 millions	Middle range air defence systems	230
Quantity of military personnel	530 000	Attack helicopters	93
Military reserve personnel	1 218 000	Other helicopters	372
Military budget	20.4 USD billion	Combat airplanes	244
Tanks	3 570	Other airplanes	118
Armoured vehicles	10 550	Frigates	4
Howitzer weapons	1 450	Corvettes	3
Mobile artillery	1 540	Submarines	8
Jet systems	798	Missile boats	4
Tactical rocket systems	94	Patrol boats	25

Source: Compiled by the author based on [5-9; 13; 21; 24; 28-29; 33]

4. The economic component of the Intermarium project

The Intermarium project could result in an economic, and, under certain conditions, military and political alliance of Central and Eastern European states. In order to achieve the aforementioned, it is essential to be creative, inventive and consistent. In this regard, it is possible to make use of the experience of the European Union, except to the extent that it may be required to implement the Intermarium project in less time.

Objective reasons for the implementation of the Intermarium project:

- geopolitical threats;
- military threats
- geoeconomic threats and challenges.

As it is known, the European Union was originally established as economic partnership in the form of three cartels. In 1951, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and Italy signed the Treaty of Paris, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community.

The second step, from the part of the six countries mentioned above, was to sign the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community.

The third step was to sign the Merger Treaty in 1965, establishing the Council and the Commission of the EEC. The Treaty came into force in 1967 (European Political Strategy Centre, 2017).

Thus, it took 16 years to create the prototype of the European Union, as we know it today.

The Intermarium project can operate basing on the principles of the aforementioned model, with the subsequent emergence of an economic alliance, introduction of Euro as a single currency, and free circulation of gold, Bitcoin (which we propose to call the «digital gold») and other cryptocurrencies as payment units of the given alliance.

In 2017, an initiative was launched to establish an international consortium in the region of the Baltic, Black and Caspian Seas, with Ukraine being an organic part of the Eastern division of the project.

The eastern part of the Intermarium project is considered in terms of taking into account the entire system of the Eurasian continent. The Intermarium territories facing the Adriatic are very narrow and do not cover the entire Eurasian continent; it significantly hinders momentum and provides no synergies. Such a model gives neither geopolitical nor geoeconomic opportunities if it reaches the Adriatic only. We believe that there should also be another axis stretching to the Caspian Sea and reaching Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, where there are vast markets.

We are of the opinion that economic cooperation in the framework of the Intermarium project could be focused primarily on the following main lines of action:

- 1) lifting the restrictions on trade in goods and services;
- 2) elimination of obstacles to the free movement of people;
- 3) establishment of the common capital market, free tripping of capital;
- 4) creation of joint ventures;
- 5) formation of a single labour market;
- 6) establishment of joint-stock commercial and investment banks, insurance companies, pension funds, etc.
- 7) establishment of common commodity and raw-materials, and stock exchanges;
- 8) free opening of bank accounts for individuals and legal entities;
- 9) establishment of free trade areas and consignment warehouses;
- 10) giving support for private small and medium-sized enterprises at the intergovernmental level;
- 11) implementation of the common migration policy;
- 12) development of production facilities, including roads, communications and telecommunications;
- 13) cooperation in the field of tourism;
- 14) unification of national civil codes;
- 15) provision of a visa-free regime (O. I. Soskin, 2001).

Each country of the «confined» option of Intermarium (Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and Azerbaijan) has its own weak and strong sides within economy. These countries may be useful to each other in various economic areas. It is quite evident that good synergistic effect can be achieved due to these countries' economic resources linkage through mutual cooperation model, creation of industrial clusters in various industry branches, creation of international logistic schemes within railway transportation system (high-speed railways at first), construction

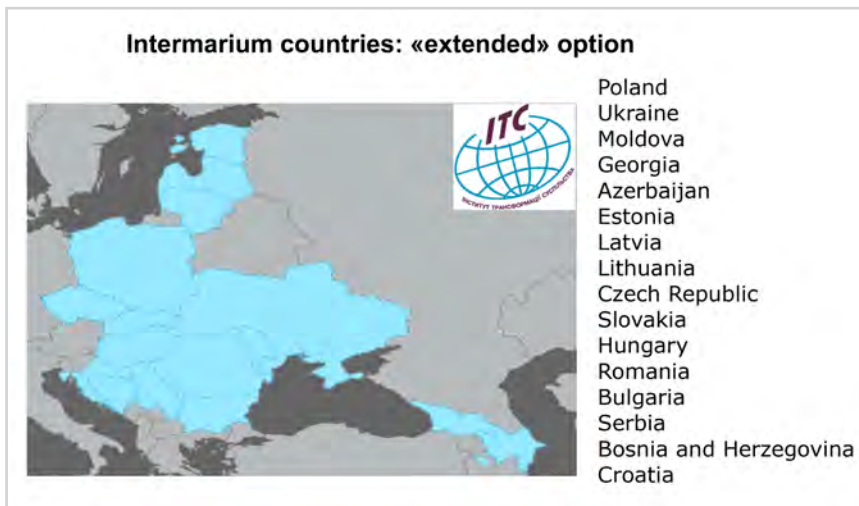


Fig. 2: An «extended» option of the countries within «Intermarium»
Source: Author's presentation

Tab. 2: Potential of the «confined» option of «Intermarium» project (sixteen countries)

Area	2 047.9 thousands of sq. km	Tactical rocket systems	162
Population	170.8 millions	Long range air defence systems	183
GDP	1 585.2 USD billions	Middle range air defence systems	444
GDP per capita	9 281 USD	Attack helicopters	140
Quantity of military personnel	812 000	Other helicopters	628
Military reserve personnel	1 797 000	Combat airplanes	412
Military budget	35.8 USD billions	Other airplanes	192
Tanks	6 490	Frigates	11
Armoured vehicles	20 170	Corvettes	10
Howitzers	4 270	Submarines	9
Mobile artillery	2 750	Missile boats	12
Jet systems	1 460	Patrol boats	41

Source: Compiled by the author based on [5-9; 13; 21; 24; 28-29; 33]

of shared automobile highways, development of marine transportation, transfer of goods from Eurasia's European part to Asia, bypassing Russian Federation.

Even simple addition of the following indices: territory, GDP, GDP per capita, foreign trade, specify that creation of single financial-economic complex will significantly increase competitive position of the aforementioned countries on the global level. Eastern division's development is not some utopia, as far as such models are quite widely implemented throughout the world. The practice being performed by the Russian Federation through creating such international projects as Eurasian Union or taking part in Shanghai Pact or BRICS is evident. It is possible to state that creation of Eastern division (the «confined» option of Intermarium) as economic alliance of countries within this area is extremely perspective.

The economic potential of the «confined» option of Intermarium versus Russia shows Intermarium's objective competitiveness at the geoeconomic level, as it is shown in Table 3.

If International consortium of Eastern division of Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian region (Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Azerbaijan) is to exist, it shall be strongly competitive to the Russian Federation a priori. If we are to analyse financial-economic indices of the mentioned countries, their GDP is about 50% of the Russian one. The However, the export of those countries is almost even with the Russia's one. Services' export shall be higher than the Russian one. Export of high-technology goods is higher than Russia's (USD 14.7 billion, in contrary to Russia's USD 6.6 billion). The same goes for other figures. We are witnessing the event how these five countries are becoming highly popular in all spheres, relatively to Russian Federation's class. So, study of the tables' data means objective necessity to create as soon as possible Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian division alliance with five countries, in small variant. The resulting matrices, schemes, instruments for further economic, geopolitical and military cooperation should be applied for a wider circle of the Intermarium states within its «extended» option.

Rather interesting may become Intermarium countries' partnership on the beginner level of Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian division with Austria, because Austria's involvement may strengthen Intermarium's positions in all the directions of its development.

5. Regional and municipal cooperation as part of the Intermarium project

The Intermarium project is the total of a number of continents and dimensions. Fundamentally, it should develop as a highly organised system of complementary elements which provide synergies. It appears that cities and regions forming the «North-South» axis will play a very important role in the implementation of the project, with open networking cities being the key driving force for rapid development.

The concept of open networking cities is not a new phenomenon. Retrospectively, it has its prototype: free cities along the aforementioned axis have had power since the Middle Ages. Such cities developed with regard to Magdeburg Law and they were numerous in Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Czechia. «As most studies indicate, Magdeburg Law is a set of medieval city laws, according to which cities were granted internal autonomy to a certain degree and could establish their own judicial and administrative institutions. The essence of their autonomy was in the fact that a city that was granted Magdeburg rights was free from restrictions imposed by the central government, was free to develop and rise to the level of maintaining its economic activities to the full» (Yu. M. Kyrychenko, 2011). Among Ukrainian cities, Magdeburg rights were granted to Khust, Tiachiv and Vyshkovo, as well as to Lviv in 1356, Kamianets-Podilskyi in 1372, Kremenets in 1431, Lutsk in 1432, Zhytomyr in 1444, Mukachevo in 1445, Rivne in 1493,

Tab. 3: Economic potential of the «confined» option of «Intermarium» (Poland, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, and Azerbaijan) vs Russia

Index	«confined» option	Russia
GDP	676.41 USD billions	1 469.3 USD billions
GDP per capita	6 945 USD	1 018 USD
Gold and foreign currency reserves	141,4 USD billions	377.1 USD billions
Export of goods	247.5 USD billions	281.9 USD billions
Export of services	71.1 USD billions	50.5 USD billions
Export of goods and services	318.6 USD billions	332.4 USD billions
Export of oils and energy goods	17 USD billions	133 USD billions
Export of high-technology goods	14.7 USD billions	6.6 USD billions
Import of goods	252.9 USD billions	191.6 USD billions
Import of services	55.3 USD billions	74.4 USD billions
Import of goods and services	308.3 USD billions	266.0 USD billions
Trade balance of goods and services	+10.3 USD billions	+66.4 USD billions
Annual tourists quantity	38.4 millions	33.7 millions

Source: Compiled by the author based on [5-9; 13; 21; 24; 28-29; 33]

Kyiv in 1494, Ternopli in 1548, Bila Tserkva in 1588, Chyhyryn in 1592, Chernihiv in 1623, and Vinnytsia in 1640. Among Polish cities, we can mention Zlotoryja in 1211, Wroclav in 1242, Szczecin in 1243, Poznan in 1253 and Krakow in 1257 (M. Kobyletskyi, 2015).

It is well known that free cities played a key role in the development of productive forces on the European continent. It is these cities that became a key driver of Christian Civilization in Europe. Free cities laid the ground for the industrial revolution in European countries. Regrettably, free cities as a focus for transformation development were abolished in the age of late feudalism, as well as during the time when European empires emerged, and capitalism entered the phase of imperialist development. They fell under central authorities that put an end to both economic diversity and the economic and social model of free cities. Today, in the era of space, information, and internet revolutions; in the era when vertical hierarchies collapse, and the so called paradigm of primary chaos is making its way, the present times require the most powerful and sustainable development of networking cities. The matrix of the free city is beginning to revive, however within the new context of the horizontal network system connecting the productive forces, now that the fifth technological stage is under way, and the sixth technological stage gradually proceeds in practical terms.

Free cities look for partners through cooperation and network clustering, rather than through central authorities. It is not essential for a cluster to be in the same area. Presently, we are about to observe the emergence the so called star-like multicomponent international clusters. Networking cities located in different countries will form integral clusters. Each city will have a certain advantage, either professional staff, or knowhow, or resources, or innovations. Herewith, a model of how to gain synergies, when the available resources are pooled together in different areas to create a quality new product, takes effect.

Logistics networks will also be of crucial importance. The exchange of labour force, knowledge and capital takes place. The key role is played here by:

1. State-of-the-art airports connecting certain cities with other destinations. In this regard, Lublin Airport is a telling example. This, in turn leads to the establishment of ongoing contacts, since the air traffic of today fast travelling for the intellectual elite and highly skilled workforce of the relevant cities.
2. Express motorways enabling a travelling speed up to 130 km/h, and a quick transfer of goods and persons.
3. High-speed transnational railways.
4. Capital movements.
5. Personnel training, human capital development, along with the development of new contemporary trades relevant to the fifth and sixth technological stages, including biochemists, programmers, IT specialists, nanobiotechnologists, genetic engineers, tissue engineer, microsurgions, etc.

In this regard, among the cities located within the «North-South» axis, Lublin is a telling example. In terms of Ukraine, cities such as Lviv, Odesa, Rivne and Lutsk can become relevant examples. It is important to establish an alliance of such cities and to implement the Intermarium project not only at the regional level within the «North-South «framework», but also at the municipal level with regard to cities of key importance. To successfully implement the project, it is vital to specify what cities belonging to the Eastern division of the Intermarium project can act as free open networking cities striving to create their matrixes with a focus on the fifth and sixth technological stages.

Intermarium has its infrastructure including a vast pipeline system and logistics networks. It is ready to use; although some objects may be built up, we can say that we refer here to the completion and commissioning of the facilities and not to the construction of infrastructure, starting almost from scratch. Now we can observe an ongoing dispute over Nord Stream 2. The establishment of the alliance of Baltic, Black and Caspian Sea countries, including its Eastern division, and its coordination with the Three Seas initiative (or Trimarium), where Poland will connect the west wing with the East wing, will stop Nord Stream 2. Then, there will appear a new geopolitical and geoeconomic power that will be able to create an international system of power supply. By doing this, we can avoid the «East-West» parallel, a line along which all empires were formed. Consequently, we

will have a different model, according to which Poland and Ukraine will serve as crossing points of the «North-South» and «East-West» axes, allowing us to bypass the remnants of the Russian Empire.

6. Conclusions

The initiative of Andrzej Duda, the President of Poland, aimed at structuring the Intermarium project is very timely, promising and meaningful. Undoubtedly, the Intermarium project, in its modern version and in conditions when the fifth technological stage is under way, and the sixth technological stage gradually proceeds in practical terms, is very promising and ambitious. Of course, an alliance between Poland and Ukraine at all levels is a driving force of the Eastern division of the project, promoting geopolitical and geoeconomic benefits. Such a project, including its spiritual and civilization dimensions, based on the Christian doctrine, will have a qualitative impact on development of countries evolved in it and create a new geopolitical and geoeconomic community of states that either are EU member states or signed association agreements with the EU, or want to have a similar level of relations.

The Eastern division of the Intermarium project, within which Ukraine can potentially become a leader, will significantly increase the economic potential of all its participating states and create integral links between the relevant states, strengthening their position on the Eurasian continent.

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