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THE DETERMINING ROLE OF THE SECURITY DIMENSIONS OF NATO (USING THE EXAMPLE OF THE PRIDNESTROVIAN MOLDAVIAN REPUBLIC AND UKRAINE)

The main security dimensions of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic transformation in the context of NATO enlargement are analyzing. The formation of the Ukrainian political system under the leadership of the European integration reflections is examining. It is proposed to use the scale level of the conflictogenity using the example of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic transformation. The main tendencies of Ukraine development under the conditions of the society globalization are examining.

Keywords: crisis, globalization, self-definition, transformation, European integration, NATO, Trans-Dniester.

(стаття друкується мовою оригіналу)

Formulation of the research problem and its significance. The modern world dictates the new terms of political, economic and military strategies of the development and partnership. Globalization and with it the new principles of the distribution of authority in the multipolar world cause the search of the new conceptual approaches to the whole world development. The North Atlantic Alliance in the processes of the global transformations plays the leading role, especially in the countries of Central Europe. The author thinks that the special attention should be paid to the investigation of the formation and development of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, which, being an unrecognized state quasi-formation, is basically the medium of crisis and conflict in the region [1].

In the modern world the development and the expansion of the boundaries, undoubtedly play the leading roles in the construction of the new concepts of security, peace and partnership. To analyze the optimal and rapid enlargement of the NATO Alliance, not only in the East, but also in all areas it is necessary to carry out an active policy of integration processes of globalization. We bear in mind that the study of the role of the NATO integration into the world system of international relations and the further transformation of the North Atlantic Alliance into the world copartnership should occur with the use of the affiliate political components. So, the actuality of the study of development, enlargement and transformation of NATO in the system of international relations is extremely actual. In this context the problem of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic should be examined as a transformational environment, which develops on a regional scale, but also affects the processes of global partnership, in which the world community takes part. We see that the enlargement of the EU, and therefore NATO is a guarantee of security in all regions of the world. The peaceful development in all regions of the world, NATO can guarantee if it can ensure peace in the local dimensions, especially in the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic. That is why the EU, Ukraine and all participating and partner countries of NATO should show a special interest in studying of the phenomenon of the PMR and focus its efforts on overcoming the threats connected with this unrecognized republic in the post-Soviet space.

The examination of the existence problem of the PMR should be carried out in the context of the Moldavian Re-

public as the neighboring state, and Tiraspol is in rather strained relations with it. Outbreaks of Moldavian nationalism in early 90's led to the formation of military excess and the region involvement into the bloody confrontation. While Russia has played a key role in regulating the "Pridnestrovian conflict". But, in the region a high level of tension in the political, economic and military dimensions was kept. The location of the PMR in Central Europe and the extremely closeness of Tiraspol to the EU boundaries, the significant conflictogenity of this region require the detailed examination and study. The study of regulating the Pridnestrovian Moldavian conflict will be interesting not only for the EU and NATO, but also for the neighboring countries. Ukraine as one of the main security guarantors of all the Central European region should be interested in the analysis of military threats, in the planning and exclusion of the emergence of the newest threats in the whole region of Europe, and the PMR acts as a conflict source, which is necessary to be localized and deactivated in the processes of Central Europe development.

The analysis of the last researches. The problems of Trans-Dniester development and processes of European integration are especially studied by such scientists as: O.Chabala, N.Belitsker, S.Gerasemchuk, O.Grytsenko, Ya.Matiiuk, etc.

The goal and task of research. Analysis of the development of the unrecognized state of Trans-Dniester should be carried out taking into account the relations in the form of the PMR – the Russian Federation – Ukraine and the NATO Alliance positions, because these factors in the system of international relations play the key positions in the east direction of regulating military, political and economic factors of the partnership. Therefore, it is logical to underline, that the purpose of this research is the disclosure of all threats of the PMR for Central European region. Accordingly, it should be noted that the task of our work will be an attempt to create a scale of the conflictogenity factors, which directly affect the level of political activity in this region. In particular, it will be useful for us to investigate the interrelations of the Russian Federation, which is the main financial contributor of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, which is interesting in the analysis of this state. Also, it may be expedient to investigate Moscow's attitude to the problem of Trans-Dniester and the further policy definition in the form of the EU – Ukraine – the Russian Federation – Trans-Dniester – NATO [2].

The main material and the arguments of the received results. So, uncovering the theme of this complex and at the same time unusual phenomenon, namely the existence and formation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic and the value of this analysis, it is worth noting the following factors, namely:

– firstly, the study of the PMR gives an opportunity to estimate the all constructive actions, which are worth using by Ukraine in relation to this unrecognized formation in the way of European integration and building of the international partnership;

– secondly, it will show what specific actions should not be used by Kyiv and partner countries in case of force – majeure circumstances as to this quasi – formation;

– thirdly, it will allows to work out the strategy of behavior of Ukraine to Moldova, the Russian Federation, the

NATO Alliance in case of emergencies or difficult predicted situations as to the PMR.

The analysis of the situation in the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic makes it possible to evaluate all the negative or destructive consequences of the existence of this formation. It opens all the advantages and prospects of further cooperation with the PMR in case of its recognition. Specifically for Ukraine and NATO the following advantages in the study of the PMR can be pointed out, namely:

– it reveals the opportunity to analyze the strategy of the behavior of the PMR in case of force – majeure circumstances, that is technological or natural disasters, armed conflicts or the outbreak of the terrorism in the Pridnestrovian region. Accordingly, the production of the behavior during the emergencies will be useful for Ukraine and the NATO Alliance to help properly prepare for the threats both internal and external;

– in the case of stabilization in the region it will help to organize and conduct tactics of the development of well neighboring relations, including such countries as Moldova and Russia, which will be constructively reflected in the further development strategies in the format Ukraine – the EU and then it will provide a new development plan for Ukraine and NATO in the region of Central Europe;

– extremely important appears the attempt to estimate the situation in cases, when the PMR will adhere to its position in the form in which it is now. Ukraine and NATO will develop a behavior strategy with other states, in particular it concerns to the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation indirectly, and therefore Romania, a member of the EU.

Therefore, the study of the PMR is directly interesting not only for neighboring countries, but also the EU and therefore NATO as a collective security system of not only a regional but also a global scale. We may notice that in future NATO will act as the guarantor of global security and deterrent to conflicts in the whole world [3].

To determine the level of the crisis genity and conflictogenity in societies in the study of relations between Ukraine and the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, the following “**Criteria of the conflictogenity of the society**” are proposed (Indices of 5–point scale):

1. Relations in the format “Power – people”.
2. Degree of the society democratization.
3. Level of the country corruptibility.
4. Factor of the opposition.
5. Social dimension.
6. Indicator of the national identity.
7. International image.
8. Security dimension.
9. Special features of the party system.
10. The anti–crisis strategy (action, mechanisms of implementation, results).

This approach will allow to evaluate all prospects of further development of the study state, that will be absolutely useful in predicting scenarios of transformation of this society. Because these transformations of the regional states may have an influence on the system of the political architecture of the region and the partnership in the most unexpected way.

The main advantages of the study of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic in political and security dimensions are also interesting by that approach, which can be applied in

the study of conflicts which went to the latent form, but accompanied by the extremely difficult transformations in post–Soviet Moldavian region. For each state, which is studied on the verge of existence of the PMR and Moldova, and also for NATO it should make an attempt to implement the recommendation tactics of behavior, which should be developed, taking into account the peculiarities of the Moldavian Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, the EU, etc. Accordingly, this approach will help to implement for the EU and Ukraine:

– firstly, for the EU it would develop a common tactics of the behavior in case of conflicts or other force majeure circumstances with the PMR and neighboring countries;

– secondly, it would help to develop a strategy of the behavior in case of joining the PMR with neighboring states, or in case of keeping the status of the PMR as the unrecognized republic.

Thus, the analysis of the PMR activity will be useful for all countries in the region, as it will give an opportunity to explain the main problems and potential threats, in which the neighboring countries and the main state donor are (meaning the Russian Federation). Having estimated the development of the PMR and having carried out a deep analysis of all the political, social and economic transformations, we will be able to make a prediction of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic development and those processes by which in future this territory will be able to integrate into the world community.

For the public, the research would be able to highlight all the positive aspects of NATO in the Central European region. Having examined the whole spectrum of threats and having made a detailed analysis of the PMR activity, the materials can be prepared, which are worth extending in the mass media and other sources of information, especially in research and educational institutions for the popularization of the EU and NATO as the guarantors of security in the region.

The consideration of the themes of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic would also help to implement the multilevel strategies of behavior of Ukraine, in particular it seems an interesting the project “smart borders”, having introduced them, we can qualitatively change the processes of transformation in Central Europe. Having considered and examined the situation in the PMR, we can improve the quality of migration policy, confirming the expediency of introducing a system of “smart borders”, which may be the key to solving the problem of illegal migration into the EU.

The conclusions and the prospects of further researches. Thus, it is necessary to define the basic principles of research themes of the transformation of the PMR. First of all, it should be emphasized that the Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, being on the periphery of the processes of globalization, concentrating the significant military threats. In particular, the extremely complex situation is the processes of uncontrolled proliferation of weapons and ammunition in this area (meaning the PMR). The significant influence on social life of the PMR also makes trafficking in persons and human organs, which is rather widespread because of extremely low standard of living. The weak border control causes the development of illegal trade and is the

way of infiltration of the illegal migrants through the PMR in Moldova, and therefore the EU.

All these problems and threats to the national security of a number of countries, which geographically and politically conduct communications with the PMR, cause the need for more deep analysis of the existence of this and other societies, which assert their right to exist in the system of international relations. It is interesting for us in future to consider such state formation in the light of the emergence of the crisis genity and conflictogenity.

Indisputably it must be emphasized, that any transformations in societies of all types, stages and forms are under the influence of certain catalysts. The catalysts in this case we consider the processes poorly governed and low controlled. These processes can be called a crisis or the conflicts, or political excesses. However, we are more interested in the content of these concepts than in the titles. Because, the processes of transformations and modernization of the societies pass through certain stages of bifurcation, and the use of “Criteria of the conflictogenity of the society” is able to make clear the destructive and constructive phases of these changes in the international partnership.

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Детермінуюча роль партнерських вимірів НАТО (на прикладі Придністровської Молдавської Республіки та України)

Аналізуються основні оборонні вимірювання трансформації Придністровської Молдавської Республіки в контексті розширення НАТО. Розглядається становлення української політичної системи під керівництвом євроінтеграційних рефлексій. Пропонується застосування шкали рівня конфліктогенності на прикладі трансформації Придністровської Молдавської Республіки. Розгляда-

ються основні тенденції розвитку Української держави в умовах глобалізації суспільства.

Ключові слова: криза, глобалізація, самоідентифікація, трансформація, євроінтеграція, НАТО, Придністров'я.

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Детерминирующая роль измерений безопасности НАТО (на примере Приднестровской Молдавской Республики и Украины)

Анализируются основные оборонные измерения трансформации Приднестровской Молдавской Республики в контексте расширения НАТО. Рассматривается становление украинской политической системы под руководством евроинтеграционных рефлексии. Предлагается применение шкалы уровня конфликтности на примере трансформации Приднестровской Молдавской Республики. Рассматриваются основные тенденции развития Украинского государства в условиях глобализации общества.

Ключевые слова: кризис, глобализация, самоидентификация, трансформация, евроинтеграция, НАТО, Приднестровья.

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ПРОБЛЕМИ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ТОЛЕРАНТНОСТІ В ІДЕЯХ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ МИСЛИТЕЛІВ ХІХ–ХХ СТ.

На тлі загострення соціальних, політичних та релігійних протиріч у сучасному суспільстві дослідження теми толерантності набуває виразної актуальності. Процеси глобалізації та інтеграції, що характеризують наше сьогодення, спричиняють зростання ймовірності зіткнення різних народів і культур. У науковій літературі толерантність розглядається, насамперед, як повага і визнання рівності, відмова від домінування і насильства, визнання багатомірності і різноманіття людської культури, норм поведінки, відмова від зведення цього різноманіття до однаковості чи переваги якої-небудь однієї точки зору. Незважаючи на те, що тема толерантності давно стала предметом наукових рефлексій та попри вагомому науковому вартість праць В.Хантаншинова, В.Лозвичук, І.Кушніренко, А.Катренка, А.Кармазіної, Ю.Лаврова, Ю.Шаповала та інших, історіографічний аналіз даної проблематики засвідчує відсутність її цілісного студіювання. У статті розглянуто особливості розвитку української ліберальної суспільно-політичної думки кінця ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. Зроблено акцент на гіпотезі, що толерантність була реакцією на практичні потреби гармонізації суспільних відносин на етапі кристалізації української національної ідеї.

Ключові слова: суспільно-політична думка, толерантність, моральні цінності, свобода.

В українській політичній думці ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. ідеї толерантності та прав людини набули значного розвитку в творах видатного мислителя і громадського діяча Михайла Драгоманова, який у своїх працях виступав проти релігійної нетерпимості та закликав до демократичної розв'язки конфліктів та суперечок: “Міжконфесійні суперечки є дестабілізуючим чинником державотворчого процесу, тому якщо їх неможливо повністю ліквідувати, варто максимально зменшити їх негативний вплив у суспільстві” [1, с.254].

Досліджуючи питання про місце і роль релігії в процесі національного розвитку, М.Драгоманов наголошує, що будь-який примус у справах віри є шкідливим як для громади, так і, власне, для віри [1, с.10]. Свободу віросповідання може бути гарантовано кожному громадянинові, однак у жодному разі це не повинно зашкодити загальному поступу нації, розвитку її держави.

Особливу увагу слід приділити такому чиннику, який було висвітлено у правовій концепції М.Драгоманова як безпосередній зв'язок ідеї