Abstract. Currently, the Intermarium project is becoming more and more relevant, given the recent geo-economic 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 geo-economic 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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«Intermarium» project: civilization, Christian and economic-regional dimensions
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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 происходит определённые кризисные процессы, характеризующиеся территориальной диспропорцией и развивающимися концепциями структурирования и развития Европейского Союза. Как известно, после выхода из состава Европейского Союза Великобритании и нарастаия противоречий между осьями «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 полицисемический 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, особо сквозь призму христианского учения, а также цивилизационная составляющая, геополитическая и геоэкономическая. В данной статье анализируются возможные механизмы макро- и микроструктуры 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 интеграционное объединение государств Польша и Украина. Таким образом, проект «Межморье» в его целостности и универсальности, как показывает 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. Rudansky, M. Hrushevskiy and Yu. Lypa (cit. as of 1992) in his work «Cause of Ukraine». As noted by N. Korman (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 Plisudski and Symon Petliura took meaningful steps towards the implementation of the Intermarium project. Zygfrids Anna Meierovicla, 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 with the creation of the Intermarium Ekonomikai ir Politikos Institutas, the Intermarium project relating to both European and Eurasian axes: not only as a geographic, but also as a cultural, project. It was included in all gui-

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 church played a great role in all sectors of public life. For example, Byzantine law formed the basis for the strengthening of the church in Kiev 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 Kiev Rus» (I. A. Balzhik, 2007).

In times of Kievian 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. Inter acción de los estados entre el Mar Báltico, el Mar Negro, el Adriático y el Mar Caspio. A. 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 Russia, 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 pre-terri-
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, saying, «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 Caintites. 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 close countries that were involved in the project. The Gos-

Today, China is a communist country 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 assume 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 with Communist China. The concept of the Intermarium project is 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 geo-economic 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» 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 territorial and geo-economic advantage 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 geopolitical and economic developments, withdrew from the EU. We can see what disintegrat-
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 a 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.

**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]

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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 of open commodity and raw-materials, and stock exchanges; free opening of bank accounts for individuals and legal entities; establishment of free trade areas and consignment warehouses; giving support for private small and medium-sized enterprises at the intergovernmental level; implementation of the common migration policy; development of production facilities, including roads, communications and telecommunications; cooperation in the field of tourism; unification of national civil codes; provision of a visa-free regime (O. I. Soskin, 2001).

| Intermarium countries: «extended» option | Poland | Ukraine | Moldova | Georgia | Azerbaijan | Estonia | Latvia | Lithuania | Czech Republic | Slovakia | Hungary | Romania | Bulgaria | Serbia | Bosnia and Herzegovina | Croatia |
|------------------------------------------|-------|--------|---------|--------|------------|--------|-------|-----------|-------------|----------|---------|--------|---------|-------|----------------------|--------|
| Population                              | 170.8 millions |         |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| GDP per capita                           | 9 281 USD |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Military personnel                       | 812 000 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Military reserve personnel               | 1 797 000 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Military budget                          | 35.8 USD billions |       |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Tanks                                    | 6 490 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Armoured vehicles                        | 20 170 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Howitzers                                | 4 270 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Mobile artillery                         | 2 750 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |
| Jet systems                              | 1 460 |        |         |         |            |        |       |           |             |          |         |        |         |       |                      |        |

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

| Area | 2 047.9 thousands of sq. km | Tactical rocket systems | 162 |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| GDP  | 1 585.2 USD billions         | Middle range air defence systems | 444 |
| GDP  | 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 reproduction of single financial-economic complex will significantly increase competitiveness. Mentions 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 geo-economic 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 attraction apron. If we are to analyze 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 look for partners through cooperation and networking, today, 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 revue, 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 famous world destinations are linked. 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 biotechnologists, programmers, IT specialists, nanobiotechnologists, genetic engineers, tissue engineer, microsurgeons, etc.
In this regard, among the cities located within the «North-South» axis, Lublin is a telling example. In terms of Ukraine, Christians of Odessa, Rivne, Prypiat 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 matrices 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 construction 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 underway, 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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