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BOHDAN OSADCHUK'S ROLE IN THE INTEGRATION CONCEPTS DEVELOPMENT IN THE CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE

The geopolitical structure in the Central-Eastern Europe needed the transformation after World War II. The new system of state security was to include the independence of countries in the region and the regional integration. The Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation was the basis for these projects. The Ukrainian political scientist and journalist Bohdan Osadchuk (1920 - 2011) was involved actively in the development and promotion of such projects as Intermarium and others.

Key words: *Intermarium, the Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation, the Central-Eastern Europe, Ukraine, Poland.*

The situation in the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) had a great influence on international security in the bipolar world. The fragmentation of the region was the root cause of the independence loss and the occupation of the region by Germany and the Soviet Union. The facts of getting independence in the region, overcoming of totalitarianism and the Soviet domination required the development of a new configuration of international relations, which would prevent a repetition of the situation in the years of 1939 – 1945. The existing security configuration needed a substantial transformation. The new regional order had to include the independence of CEE countries, the achievement of the international reconciliation and integration, intensification of cooperation.

In exile, the intellectual elites of the nations that lost their independence developed projects of a new geopolitical order. Bohdan Osadchuk (1920 – 2011) was the Ukrainian historian, political scientist and journalist. He was a regular author of articles in the Polish émigré journal “Kultura” that was published by Jerzy Giedroyc. He realized that the establishment of the Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation and integration were the important parts of stabilization of the political situation in the CEE region.

One of the popular concepts was the idea of creating Intermarium. It was a confederal or federal entity would include the area between the Baltic, Adriatic and the Black Sea. Its model was created in 1918 in the terms of the rebirth of the Polish state. Although we can find its historical roots in the idea of the creation of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the ideas of the Polish nobleman Adam Jerzy Czartoryski in the XIX century. Polish Marshal Jozef Pilsudski tried to use the idea of Intermarium in order to establish the allied relationship with the peoples of the former Russian Empire. J.Pilsudski considered its eastern neighbour more dangerous and therefore he saw the prospect of Polish independence in the way of weakening Russia by secession of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine and their merging with Poland in the form of the federation or any other kind of the union. Such contradictory terms as union, federation and confederation testified that the idea of Intermarium had not an integral character. The key aspect was to attract the Ukrainians to the project, otherwise it could not exist. Provisional emergence of independent Ukraine (1918 – 1922) did not foster that project, because its policy was not aimed at the cooperation with Poland. The result of that was the union Pilsudski-Petliura in 1920, which had a target to stop the Bolshevik intervention [6; 9, s. 90].

The Peace treaty of Riga in 1921 was signed after the end of the Soviet-Polish war. It marked the collapse of the concept of Intermarium and the restructuring of the relationship between Poland and neighbours in the East in a different way.

World War II was the result of strengthening of the Soviet power in the East and the rise of the Nazi regime of Hitler to power in the West. The defeat of Germany and its allies put before victorious states the task of post-war arrangement of the world order. The redistribution of spheres of influence has led the nations in CEE to the loss of their independence and occupation them by the Soviet regime. Such region configuration did not contribute to its democratic development and prosperity. At first, its changing required a close cooperation between the Ukrainian and Polish people.

Attempts of the Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation were occurred after the end of World War II. Ukrainian and Polish intellectuals worked out different theoretical models of integration. They also elaborated different theoretical models of integration.

The Congress of Cultural Freedom in Berlin in 1950 had a fundamental importance for B.Osadchuk. It was the forum of Western best elite, aimed at the opposition to the communist influence in a free world. The concept of the “united Europe”, the need to involve the West to the problem of oppressed peoples were the ideas that were sounded at the Congress. B.Osadchuk got acquainted with the editor of the Paris “Kultura” J.Giedroyc and the writer J.Chapski there. They declared in their interview during the Berlin Congress: “All nations of the Central and the Eastern Europe, occupied by the Soviet Union today, must gain their independence as a part of the European federation”. The Ukrainian-Polish federation was considered as one of such variants [2, c. 84; 3, c. 14; 5; 8].

The discussion in the emigration press in 1947 – 1948 was one of the important attempts to analyze the possibility of the international reconciliation. B.Osadchuk was well-informed about the projects of CEE integration that were put during this debate and after them. He approved the proposal of the Ukrainian member of the Revolutionary Democratic Party M.Voskobiynyk to create a shield “Ukraine – Poland – Belarus” for protection against Russian imperialism. A Ukrainian socialist S.Chernetsky proposed to create the bloc of nations from the Baltic Sea to the Caucasus in 1952 [12, s. 95 – 96; 10, s. 139].

According to B.Osadchuk, during the discussion of years 1947 – 1948 it was not achieved the desired results. The Ukrainians demonstrated their fear towards the Polish concepts of federation. On the one hand, nationalist circles saw a camouflaged Polish imperialism in it; on the other hand, representatives that were more moderate marked dangerous tendencies of neutrality in the question of destruction of the Russian empire and hegemonic tendencies of Polish federalists in Belarus and Ukraine. Therefore, the debate about the forms of federation at that time were not relevant due to the unresolved principal issues of the Ukrainian-Polish relationship. The discussion had an illogical character, because the key and hierarchically burning problems were not solved immediately [7, s. 48, 55 — 56; 12, s. 89, 93 – 94].

Geopolitical changes in the late twentieth century allowed to return to Intermarium idea of J.Pilsudski. The collapse of the socialist camp created the preconditions for the development of integration processes in the region. It was important to establish relationship between peoples in the direction of mutual understanding and cooperation. The journal “Kultura” was one of the forums in which discussions were conducted about models of cooperation and integration.

The Act of Independence of Ukraine was proclaimed on August 24, 1991. Poland first recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 2, 1991 despite the waiting position of the Western world. Regarding this, the editor of the “Kultura” J.Giedroyc wrote to B.Osadchuk: “The independence of Ukraine is a historical date, moreover, in the full sense of the word” [3, c. 51].

The status of independence was legitimized through national referendum on December 1, 1991. There were the first elections of the President of Ukraine at that time. The newly elected president, Leonid Kravchuk gave an interview to B.Osadchuk on December 2, 1991.

He outlined the vectors of the foreign policy of Ukraine. The relationship with Russia, Belarus and Hungary were marked as priorities. Particular attention was paid to a great cooperation with Poland. A bilateral cooperation with neighbour country was solidified by a joint signing of international agreements [13, s. 115].

The Intermarium project took on a new meaning in today's realities despite the anachronism at first glance in the historical and practical terms. It was returned in the journalism of B.Osadchuk in the modified form according to the needs of time. It was examined as an attempt to involve Ukraine in the European processes. The author of the idea also noted that Poland could become a leader of the union of states in that region [1, s. 533; 7, s. 289].

The geopolitical position of CEE countries between such powerful players as Russia and Germany urged them to converge. In B.Osadchuk's point of view the expansion of cooperation and integration of Ukraine with its neighbours, first with Poland, allowed to provide security against and avoid the direct threat of traditional adversaries of the Ukrainian independence. However, the problem of intellectual elites and political leaders was in their political short-sightedness and the lack of alternative ideas towards the foreign policy. B. Osadchuk wrote: "If in our region between the Baltic and the Black Sea it can not be found such thinkers as Mieroshevski who would inspire politicians to the action, otherwise Poland, Belarus, Ukraine and the Baltic countries will be in the face of threat to the today's independence within one generation back" [14, s. 85].

The official Warsaw did not use its potential opportunities that appeared in new geopolitical realities. In particular, it did not initiate a promising project of creating a regional system of the economic and political cooperation "from the Baltic states to Romania and Hungary and then Chechoslovakia via Belarus and Ukraine". Taking into consideration Poland's rejection of "Kravchuk's plan" to create a security zone in CEE, stretched to the Baltic, Ukraine, Belarus, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria and Austria with the possibility of using the Ukrainian nuclear weapons to protect the region, B.Osadchuk underlined that the idea of creating the center of including the other potentially weaker partners around the axis of Warsaw - Kyiv was the same as the plans of J.Pilsudski and S.Petliura [1, s. 533; 16, s. 103].

As far as 1993 year is concerned discussion on the project of the Intermarium was practically stopped. The writer I.Drach was one of the few speakers of that idea among the Ukrainians. Only similar doctrines were considered as further statements or theoretical study. The concept of cooperation between the states in the Black Sea was intercepted by Turkey, which maintained a leading position in the region. Nevertheless, the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone between Russia and France, with the participation of the largest states, including Germany, Poland and Ukraine did not become the subject of the detailed discussions [15, s. 115].

B.Osadchuk turned to the idea of Intermarium. He analyzed a high level of cooperation between the Ukrainian and Polish sides during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma and Alexander Kwasniewski. It allowed him to declare the need to implement the concept. Therefore, the Ukrainian journalist wrote: "It is still further in the training, and it is not less politically and even more important, the concept of creating space Intermarium or connection of the Baltic Basin with the Black Sea. This is the program of the century, if not of the millennia, because if we can realise this idea, turn over the old geopolitics, always disadvantageous for us, upside down" [7, s. 331; 11, s. 124].

Professor Maciej Mruz analyzed an interest of B.Osadchuk to that concept. He thought that Intermarium old conception did not contain internally coherent intellectual and innovative ideas, adapted to the modern conditions. Besides, it was not an example of a classical political thought in the political understanding. However, its appeal followed from the geopolitical,

military and political realities in Central and Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of a new political map, which was so important for international security and stabilization of Old Continent [4, s. 48].

Thus, the Intermarium project was failed to realize when Marshal J. Pilsudski offered it. The reasons for this were that it were the facts that it was not so strategic, important and not elaborated in detail. Later the Polish political leadership chose the alternative model of building relationship with the peoples in the East. New geopolitical realities of the second half and the end of XXth century allowed to claim urgency and even a strategic importance of this concept.

The Intermarium project can be viewed as an ambitious and great. The Ukrainian historian, political scientist and publicist B. Osadchuk managed to restore partially the interest to this subject in his publications. Modified and adapted to the modern conditions such integration projects on the Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation basis would have in author's opinion significant political benefits for their participants. However, none of these ambitious plans, which sometimes were sounded at a high political level (eg, "Kravchuk's plan") were not put into practice.

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Геополітичний устрій в регіоні Центрально-Східної Європи після II світової війни потребував трансформації. Нова система державної безпеки мала включати отримання незалежності країнами регіону і регіональну інтеграцію. Основою для реалізації цих проєктів було українсько-польське примирення. Український політолог і публіцист Богдан Осадчук (1920 — 2011) активно долучався до розробки і пропагування таких проєктів як Міжмор'я та інших.

Ключові слова: Міжмор'я, українсько-польське примирення, Центрально-Східна Європа, Україна, Польща.

Геополитический устрой в Центрально-Восточной Европе после II мировой войны требовал трансформации. Новая система безопасности должна была включать получение независимости странами региона и региональную интеграцию. Основой для реализации этих проектов было украинско-польское примирение. Украинский политолог и публицист Богдан Осадчук (1920 — 2011) активно приобщался к разработке и пропагандированию таких проектов как Междуморье и других.

Ключевые слова: Междуморье, украинско-польское примирение, Центрально-Восточная Европа, Украина, Польша.

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POLITICAL FREEDOMS THE CONDITIONS OF UKRAINIAN NATION-BUILDING

The theoretical principles of anthropological and institutional dimension of political freedoms in the paradigm of Ukrainian national genesis have been investigated. The genesis of political freedoms from princely age to the newest Ukrainian state has been revealed. Ukrainian national political experience with its most ponderable values as freedoms, respect of dignities of a man, his rights and participation in the institutes of self-government has been interpreted. Through dichotomy "nation-individual" the peculiarity of correlation of anthropological and institutional forms of freedom, historical tendency of their formation, very often contradictory forms of display, difficult processes of transformation, institutional formations of political essence, as the state, political relations, institutions of ideological and administrative character, social and civil institutes has been displayed.

Keywords: political freedoms, Ukrainian national genesis, political institutes, political values, national consciousness.

Stating of scientific problem and its significance. The historical past of the Ukrainian people must be grounded on the basis of historical facts, events where it is clearly stated and well-proven that from the Ants-Slavs to the present time the Ukrainian national genesis acquired certain forms and political determination in geopolitical space. Having the own social and political mode in which freedoms were provided by the local bodies of self-government, elements of cultural, spiritual, social and legal forms of existence.

Realities of the modern social and political life in Ukraine are accompanied by the relapses of the past political history. Among the most meaningful negative relapses is a myth formed by pro-Moscow historiography about the unity of state culture of Russia and Ukraine