

Institutional unity and features of the foreign policy of modern Europe: historical and diplomatic portraits of the founders of the European Union

Vyacheslav Tsivatyy, Oleg Gorenko

Review of the monograph: Vidnyansky S.V., Martynov A.Yu. *United Europe: From Dreams to Reality. Historical essays about the founding fathers of the European Union.* – 2nd form., Papers. and processing. – K.: Publishing House "Kyiv-Mohyla Academy", 2011. – 395 p.

Famous Ukrainian scholars, professors from the Institute of History of Ukraine, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Stepan Vidniansky and Andriy Martynov have been studying the most diverse aspects of life in Europe for a long time, with real scientific diligence and, at the same time, conscious use of the current qualitatively new possibilities of intellectual freedom in setting the most difficult questions. It is quite possible to rank them in the category of the most consistent domestic historians of Europeans – and on the choice of key areas of scientific search, both in the system of ideological landmarks, and in the style of historical writing.

The history of Europe, and especially the history of European integration and institutional processes, is a very difficult subject of scientific analysis. European integration and institutionalization is a phenomenon that is so multidimensional, complex and, therefore, methodologically interdisciplinary, which requires a constant and very demanding self-examination of the researcher at each stage for the purpose of matching the chosen approaches and tools. This is necessary to clarify the essence of any of the European problems, but it becomes simply indispensable when trying to understand the multi-variational European being through the prism of life, thinking and practical activity of a particular person.

Raymond Aron in his "Introduction to the Philosophy of History" specifically emphasized the organic relationship of "understanding ideas", "understanding people" and "understanding the facts." As he stressed in particular, "historical narratives link events, but the facts themselves are understandable only through human, at least direct, motives. (...) Understanding actions, especially since it is decisive for the historian, implies, in this way, the understanding of consciousnesses. (...) A public man, minister or dictator, it is not so important, is identified with his function for a long time – so that the goals of his behavior acquire an individual character."

It seems to us that the author's proposed version of historical essays about the founding fathers of the European Union is an attempt to succeed, original and promising from the point of view of the development of full Eurointegration discourse on the territory of independent Ukraine and beyond. It is quite logical and productive in the paradigmatic attitude that now, in the context of institutional European unification in the space of the renewed European Union, and at the same time, in the context of the obvious methodological imbalance of the European idea in the space of modern Ukrainian state building, a view is made on the historical transformation of all aspects of European life through the dialectic of the perception of this transformation by certain prominent Europeans, and, moreover, as an option for the honest author's perception of these very European ones ant.

At one time, the historical experience of the Weimar Republic more than convincingly proved the futility of "democracy without democrats." To a lesser extent, this formula is equitable for European democracy. Without the historical rationality of the prominent European democrats, and to this cohort one can safely count all the figures who became the heroes of this historical and biographical research, it would be impossible not only to realize the idea of European unity in its modern expedition of the enlarged EU, but even its previous rational design in the form of an acceptable concept. Such a concept would be perceived not only by competing governments but also by citizens of European countries. "Europe of citizens" is born only due to the position of the citizens themselves, due to their readiness for serious changes in the realm of traditional cultural world outlook.

And someone has to generate such profound outlook changes that are found to be adequate in institutional changes. Someone must shape the parameters of such changes and respond to society and history for the truth of these parameters. This is the unity of the ontological and epistemological aspects of the European democratic process. Europe should not believe it – it must be created on the basis of the principles of truth and trust between people. This is the essence. The European space, the only European institutional space, is, first of all, a qualitatively new area of trust. And, accordingly, the rational system of protecting this space from all sorts of mercenary political scammers.

The authors rightly accentuate the readers' attention to the practical experience of the democratic association of Europe as the only realistic variant that had a historical perspective, was due to the pragmatic awareness of the logic of European history and was in line with the vital interests of citizens.

All previous imperial, totalitarian variants were ultimately condemned to defeat, since they were not rooted in people's desires, they did not grow up from the depths of civil consciousness. Periodic bloody massacres, organized by European rulers on the territory of their own continent and far beyond its borders, have generated such deep distrust between people, so deeply to the predatory alien elites that practically did not leave room in the souls of ordinary Europeans. Europeans have experienced a very painful stage of "overcoming Faust", that is, the consistent rejection of excessive faith in the boundless possibilities of "superman", the rejection of all-consuming selfishness, whose apostle was the Goethean Faust, the refusal of internal readiness to step on the death of other corpses in the name of achieving a personal goal on the route specified by the next Mephistopheles. The protector of small nations in the new Europe, the first president of Czechoslovakia and talented philosopher Tomasz Garrig Masarik directly said: "The problem of Faust is the problem of each of us."

Faust failed to overcome under the pressure of Hitlerism and Stalinism. Faust failed to overcome many of the post-Soviet democracies, flooded with rust in corruption. The overcoming of Faust continues in the territory of modern Ukraine. Overcoming Faust is a fundamental refusal to step on the bodies of not only the dead, but also the living and unborn. And not only in Ukraine, but also somewhere far from it. It is disagreement to profitably buy the joy of his life with someone else's blood. The rejection of cynicism is the first step towards optimistic interpretation of its own historical future. Tomas Masarik even wrote articles against pessimism, since he considered it harmful to the small people who must fight for their better future. In his scientific works, long before the most spectacular

massacres of the world, Masaryk urged to improve society in order to become "human humanity." In the course of its evolution, the European Union itself focused on the need of Europeans in a "human Europe", their real need for the implementation of democracy in international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy.

The difference between elites and the masses in access to the main human value – personal liberty – has remained so striking for centuries that, as a result, human freedom as any strictly forbidden fruit has become the greatest need of these "broad masses". After all, as the researchers rightly point out, "the aristocrats traveled freely in Europe, (...) adhering to one polityus." An instructive example of a radical break in a similar historical tradition of interpreting freedom as an aristocratic privilege was the French Revolution of the XVIII century. However, is this process complete completely? Is there "discrimination in freedom" (hidden and undiscovered) as one of the signs of the continental present? Do not feel it for modern Ukrainians who, due to their own falsity in relation to the actual content of the European idea, actually found themselves on a railway crossing, where the barrier is not going to open quickly ahead, and behind – they are threatened to close. And was the ratification process of the Treaty of Lisbon a vivid indication that even the longest process of "internal maturing" is waiting for the most expanded Europe?

The authors of the paper do not reduce the complex and controversial history of the process of European integration to the political biographies of prominent European figures. According to the ideas of these figures, researchers seek to identify "the objective needs of historical time, which ultimately contribute to the development of the idea and practical implementation of the project of European unity." R. Collingwood's idea that "politicians can only give people what they themselves perceived" pushes for a more careful observation of the national elites. And do they really "perceive" these political elites what it is necessary to "give to the people"? How adequately is this perception, if it exists, and is it not merely a compliance with a peculiar "European integration politics" and "European integration ceremony"?

In this sense, the model of European integration pragmatism may well be called the "Monnet method", which consists in the fact that economic integration was recognized as the forerunner of a political association. Integration should take place from the bottom up, and not vice versa. Initially, simple tasks should be solved, for which there is a broad agreement among all the participants in European integration. As Jean Monnet particularly emphasized, "we are not creating an assembly of states, but a union of peoples."

Another prominent European, Winston Churchill, has convincingly proved that a common European interest can only be born from the depths of national interests, and true communion becomes reality only when it corresponds to the concrete interests of the participants, is an expression of a critical and consistent understanding of the inalienability of profound historical shifts. In this sense, by declaring to join the process of deepening the democratization of the European continent, one should have more or less adequate idea of the essence of democracy as such. In his famous Fulton speech Churchill clearly defined the features of undemocratic regimes. This, first of all, is the lack of democratic freedoms. That is, the rights of the people "to elect the government of their country and change the nature or form of government in which they live, through free elections held by secret ballot; secondly, freedom of speech and thought must prevail in any state; thirdly, the courts must

be independent of the executive and free from the influence of any parties, and justice must be based on laws approved by the broad sections of the population of the country or legitimized by the time and traditions of this country.”

Such a reminder is far from superfluous for many post-Soviet Democrats who still have a rather vague idea of the pragmatic nature of democracy, and, in particular, the rather distinct difference between freedom of speech and freedom of thought. A similar impression is made and an understanding of the democratic meaning of legal proceedings and an arbitrary interpretation of the social role of developed legal consciousness at the stage of the Gobbish “struggle of all against all” is achieved.

According to Jürgen Habermas, the most important reason for Kant’s argument about the legislative will of the people is “the combination of practical reason and sovereign will, human rights and democracy. (...) According to this concept, the practice of national sovereignty simultaneously ensures human rights. (...) Democratic rule-of-law is becoming a project, but at the same time a result and a catalyst that accelerates such a rationalization of the world of life that goes far beyond the political sphere.”

The founders of a modern European idea emerged in the formation of key socio-economic parameters of European integration primarily from the interests of their citizens. When the first elections to the German Bundestag took place in 1949, Conrad Adenauer called on the voters to give preference to the social market economy, he genuinely cared for the interests of the Germans, not all of Europeans. However, the very rational balance of the social and economic parameters of the European project has subsequently turned into a key factor in its historical competitiveness. Adenauer’s undeniable merit is the effective functioning of a parliamentary system with a stable government majority (“chancellery democracy”) and a powerful opposition. It has become a true return of West Germany to a European liberal democratic tradition.

Again, democratic institutions were not built for the abstract future of Europe, but for themselves, their citizens, whose consciousness was sufficiently perverted by the previous historical stage of totalitarian slavery. However, thanks to such a succession in the development of democracy as a system of rationally organized economic, social and political elements of social life, Germany, in the end, has become a true locomotive of the European integration process. Similarly, Willy Brandt, proposing his “new Eastern policy”, was interested in strengthening the foreign and political positions of Germany in Europe and in the world, no less than the healing of the environment of international cooperation in Europe and in the world.

He considered the creation of a qualitatively new political-diplomatic dialogue environment as an important prerequisite for the performance of the future “German-German dialogue”. History has proven that he was not mistaken in his global assessments (although, of course, he did not count on such a terrible success as the “dialogue of opposing systems”). Equally relevant, Brandt’s (1979) report on North-South Development Trends, a Survival Program, is well-known, and the idea was to stimulate significant changes in the relations between developed and poor countries. Subsequently, Mikhail Gorbachev summed up and developed this message of world social justice with his thoughts on “new thinking.” Thanks

to Gorbachev, the world and Europe have changed so radically, that have caused the embarrassment of all the most experienced forecasters and analysts.

The price of these changes on the European continent was a terrific disintegration of one of the two superpowers. And the reward is a qualitatively new space of freedom in Europe. Europeans have received their rewards. An enormous amount of former Soviet citizens must fight it in the wake of dangerous economic, social and political instability. As a result, everything will depend on the reality of their desire for freedom. One can agree with the author's conclusion that "on the scale of radical changes that were stimulated by the activities of the last Secretary-General of the CPSU Central Committee and the first and last president of the USSR, there is every reason to consider the greatest revolutionary of the twentieth century not a bearded Che Guevara, and Mikhail Gorbachev. True, these same arguments give at least the reasons for the radical left-wing movement to consider the former Soviet leader the largest "counterrevolutionary" who carried out a mondialist coup that opened the current page of the history of the process of globalization."

At the same time, in our opinion, despite any degree of controversy of assessments, it is quite obvious that for the fate of modern Europe and for the process of European integration, in its modern form, the role of the first and last president of the USSR was decisive. Any genetic expertise will prove its parenthood in relation to the modern model of Europe (even though, as you know, parents are sometimes quite unexpected!).

A characteristic feature of this work is that all intelligence in it (historical-political and historical-diplomatic portraits) is undoubtedly interesting and useful both for a specialist and for a neophyte, but for all that, they remain different, or rather, peculiar.

Apparently, this should be the case, because the very original and original historical illuminations of the outstanding personalities of a completely new European history are highlighted. This, perhaps, is the famous European "unity in diversity". However, what is important is the fact that the figures of prominent political figures and diplomats remain their integrity. As well as well noted in his well-known work, "The Great Philosophers," Carl Jaspers, "the great can not be dismembered into problems, one can not omit them to the level of a certain system, teaching, can not be moved away as pictures, in the way of shredding, the diversity they lose attractiveness. (...) Already in themselves they are interesting, their truth is interesting. Each of them is unique in view of the results of its activities and their essence."

This work is another fresh start of the European Dialogue of Ideas in Ukrainian Territories. The final impression from work is entirely consistent with the emotional starting point of the authors in the form of the famous statement of Lucien Fever: "Europe is a dream of unity." However, the content of this original study convinces another: "European integration is not just a dream, but above all a laborious and very consistent common work in the name of unity." It is also important to realize that European unity naturally emanates from national unity, is its organic continuation, a function of finding new space for the realization of accumulated national forces, responding to new threats to national interests and conscious search for the best ways to use new global opportunities.

Of course, you can have your own perspective on the selection of personalities for such research. Undoubtedly, the list of "parents" has not yet been exhausted. However, the

authors themselves, in the end, have agreed to continue their scientific research in this direction. The authors of this review were interested, for example, in the plans of researchers to comprehend the personalities of the leaders of the new members of the EU, which brought their states and peoples to the "European finish" of the present. The type of thinking of these leaders, their personal practical experience, the peculiarities of the European dialogue on this issue, is, according to our deep conviction, not only a significant purely scientific interest, but also a considerable practical value for all who are in no hurry to say goodbye to their own European future.

The book presents political biographies of 17 political figures who played a significant role in the history of European integration and institutionalization: Germans, French, British, Czech, Austrian, Italian, Polish, and Russian. His ideas, views and activities in the XX – the beginning of the XXI century they have markedly influenced the development and formation of a modern model of a united democratic Europe. The rich and original concrete historical material analyzed and summarized in the book allows the reader to understand deeper the basic preconditions, stages, character, problems and prospects of the European integration process. An unbiased assessment of the contribution of historical personalities to the complex process of crystallization of the European idea and its real embodiment, presented at the general background of the historical, institutional and geopolitical development of Europe in the modern history, makes it possible to make an adequate representation of the complexity of European political and diplomatic processes and, at the same time, to feel their human dimension, their living creative content ("the living voice of the era"). The book is intended for politicians, diplomats, historians, journalists, students, postgraduates – all who are interested in history, current state and prospects of building a single "European home".

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"Golden" jubilee ASEAN: achievements and developmental issues

Sergiy Shergin

Summary

The article presents the brief analytical review of 50-th year's development of ASEAN. The main achievements of ASEAN in the field of economic development of and its integration policy in the context of contemporary international relations in South East Asia are considered. The special attention is paid to examining the current issues of institutional and integrational development of ASEAN in the region.

Key words: South East Asia, ASEAN summit, "ASEAN Way", Charter of ASEAN, regional integration, AFTA.

On the eve of the 50th anniversary of ASEAN, the jubilee 30th Summit of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Association of South-East Asian Nations), which includes 10 countries of the region: Brunei, Vietnam, was held on April 28-29, this year in the capital of the Philippines, Manila. , Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines. At present, the total population of ASEAN member countries is 628 million people. – it's more than in the European Union or North America. Together, ASEAN is a powerful economic bloc, and if they were one state, they would be the sixth largest economy in the world with a combined GDP of 2.5 trillion US dollars. According to experts' forecasts, by 2030, ASEAN will rank fourth in the world by economy [1].

Growth in the number of labor force and productivity is the basis for the economic development of this integration regional association. According to the number of able-bodied people in the country, ASEAN ranked third in the world after China and India. It is noteworthy that since 1990, 60% of the ASEAN GDP growth has been achieved through industries such as manufacturing, trade, telecommunications and transport. Since ASEAN is at the intersection of trade routes, while Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand are among the 50 countries most involved in global trade, the Association has everything necessary for further development at the expense of the growth of trade and investment flows. All this indicates an increase in the efficiency of national economies in these countries and their joint integration development. At the pace of development, ASEAN is ahead of the rest of the world. So, since 2000, real incomes have grown there by an average of 5% annually. It should be noted that socialist Vietnam has developed faster than all other ASEAN countries: from 1995 to 2006 GDP per capita doubled – from 1.3 thousand dollars to 2.6 thousand dollars At the same time, the share of poor people is rapidly shrinking. So, if in 2000 14% of the population lived on \$ 1.25 for a day, then in 2013 their number was only 3%. The average annual growth rate of the total ASEAN GDP, since 2000, has not fallen below 5% [2].

ASEAN's integration and political achievements

ASEAN is an international regional organization set up at the Foreign Ministers Meeting of the five countries of the region (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines) on August 8, 1967 in the capital of Thailand by adopting the "ASEAN Declaration" (Bangkok Declaration). The purpose and objectives of the Association were formulated in the 2nd article of the above-mentioned declaration:

– accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint efforts in the spirit of equality and partnership;

– to promote peace and stability in the region by respect for justice, the rule of law and respect for the principles of the UN Charter;

- promote active cooperation and mutual assistance in the fields of economics, social welfare, culture, technology, science and administrative management;
- to provide mutual assistance for training in the field of education, technology and management;
- to co-operate more effectively with a view to better utilizing agriculture, industry, trade, transport and communications and improving the living standards of their peoples;
- Facilitate the study of Southeast Asia (PSA);
- Establish and develop mutually beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar goals and objectives.

The completion of the legal registration of ASEAN took place in 1976 after the signing of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation in South-East Asia and the ASEAN Accession Declaration on the island of Bali (Indonesia). Earlier, in 1971, in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), ASEAN member countries adopted a Declaration on a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the PSA (ZOPFAN).

ASEAN's functional and institutional activities are carried out in accordance with the provisions of the ASEAN Charter, which was ratified in 2007 and came into force in December 2008. The ASEAN Charter, which consists of 55 articles, declares the following basic principles and objectives:

- recognition of the role of ASEAN in regional cooperation;
- respect for the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs and national self-identification of ASEAN member countries;
- promotion of regional peace and peaceful resolution of controversial issues;
- respect for international law in matters of human rights, social justice and multilateral trade;
- establishment of a body for the protection of human rights;
- promotion of regional integration and development of friendly relations with the European Union.

ASEAN's highest governing body is the Summit of Leaders (Heads of State and Government) of the member states, which, according to the Charter, may take place twice a year. At the same time, it is supposed to hold emergency meetings of the ASEAN leadership. Annual meetings of foreign ministers play organizationally coordinating and advisory role. Meetings of finance ministers, ministers of economy and agriculture are also held annually. In this case, foreign ministers must approve their most important decisions. The Standing Committee consisting of the Foreign Minister of the Presidency and the ambassadors of the other member states carries out the current leadership. The ASEAN Secretariat is located in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, and is headed by the Secretary General. In January 2013, former Deputy Foreign Minister of Vietnam, Le Luong Min was elected as the new Secretary General of ASEAN (the term of office is 5 years). In each ASEAN country, the activities of the

National Secretariats are organized. The work is carried out in 29 committees and 122 working groups, which allows for more than 300 events at the level of ministers, senior officials and experts within the framework of ASEAN to be held annually.

In 2009, the Council for Socio-Cultural Cooperation, which included the ministers of culture and education, was set up, which at its first meeting in August 2009 identified priorities, focusing on the need to overcome the social consequences of the global economic crisis. In order to coordinate work in the field of socio-cultural relations, the Coordination Conference of the ASEAN Social-Cultural Association was approved. It also includes the ASEAN Foundation, the ASEAN Network of Networking, the ASEAN Group of Ministers and the PSA Education Ministers.

In the 90's of the last century, ASEAN's functional development took place in two main areas: economic – the creation of the ASEAN Free Trade Zone (AFTA) and the political and security sector – the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). ASEAN's institutional and legal basis for the development of integration and co-operative activities is the ASEAN Way standardization institute, which regulates the process of social modernization and the development of socio-economic relations in the countries of the Association. The destructive impact of the Asian monetary and financial crisis (1997-1998) has led to a sharp decrease in the GDP growth and export volumes of ASEAN countries, forcing them to adopt in 1998 two important documents – the "Hanoi Plan of Action" and "The Vision of ASEAN-2020" that became an impetus for strengthening the economic integration and institutional transformation of ASEAN. As a result of this transformation, a model of enhanced regional cooperation emerged in the format of ASEAN + 3 (Japan, China, South Korea), whose combined financial resources helped to cushion the crisis.

Further ASEAN economic integration in the context of the Chiangmai Initiative (2000), the "Vienna Action Plan" (2004), the "Road Map Declaration of ASEAN" (2009), and the process of creating the ASEAN economic, social and security community faced the global financial crisis of 2008 – 2010, which hindered the implementation of these plans. The response to these negative developments was the involvement of Australia, India and New Zealand to create among the 16 free-trade countries in the format of the East Asian Summit (ASEAN + 6). Such an integration association accounts for about 30% of world GDP and almost 50% of the world's population. The formal transformation of ASEAN + 3 into the East Asian Summit, involving Australia, India and New Zealand in 2005, and Russia and the United States (ASEAN + 8) in 2011, created the conditions for strategic dialogue and the construction of a new security architecture and integration in the Asia-Pacific region (APR).

The list of important trade and economic partners of ASEAN, with the exception of Japan, China and South Korea, are the United States, Canada, the leading European Union countries that work with the Association countries both bilaterally and within the framework of the Asia-Europe Forum (ASEM), members which now has more than 50 European and Asian countries. Among the ASEAN partners are the countries of the Middle East, Latin America and Africa. In February 2015, at the 21st meeting of ASEAN economy ministers, Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak said that by 2020, the Association's GDP, while maintaining its current economic growth rate, would reach \$ 4 trillion.

A brief description of the success of the ASEAN is complemented by the fact that in the ASEAN countries there are headquarters of about 230 companies, whose annual revenue exceeds \$ 1 trillion. The undisputed leader here is Singapore, ranked fifth in the world by such an indicator as the presence of headquarters of international corporations in its own territory. This factor plays an important role in the growth of foreign direct investment in the region. So, in 2013, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand attracted more investment than their neighbor, China – 128 billion against 117 billion dollars respectively [2].

General problems in the development of ASEAN

Returning to the current ASEAN problem issues announced at the Manila summit, we note that among other issues on the agenda were discussed, in particular: building the ASEAN on the principle of “man is the foundation of everything”; peace and stability in the region; maritime security and cooperation; inclusive innovations and growth; strengthening of the life of ASEAN; ASEAN as an example for regional and global forces. Regarding the contemporary global problems of the local community, the radically-minded anti-globalist movement, despite the unprecedented measures taken by the Philippine police force, held a protest near the US Embassy in Manila during the opening ceremony of the summit [3].

During the summit, ASEAN leaders and their foreign ministers identified key priorities in the area of regional security: the threat of terrorism, territorial disputes and, in particular, increased tensions through nuclear and missile tests in Pyongyang. In turn, Foreign Minister of North Korea, Lee Yong Ho, addressed a letter to the Secretary General of ASEAN, trying to get his support to prevent the possibility of a nuclear holocaust in the region. In particular, the paragraph of the Joint Declaration concerning the situation on the Korean peninsula contains an appeal to Pyongyang to promptly fulfill all the obligations specified in relevant UN Security Council Resolutions. It should be noted that it was on this that insisted and insisted the United States. In addition, dozens of leaders held a private meeting to share their views on the prospects for ASEAN integration, as well as discuss issues related to ensuring peace and stability in the region.

President of the Philippines, Rodrigo Duterte, who chaired the ASEAN summit speaking at a plenary meeting, said that ASEAN will bring positive changes to the region, since the goal of the organization is, first of all, to ensure the rights of the peoples of the region and promote their well-being. In his speech, he stressed that in the process of integration, the ASEAN countries should respect independence, sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity – that is, the fundamental principles of the 1967 Bangkok Declaration. It was noted that the dialogue with the partner countries, including the United States, based on mutual respect and benefits and non-interference in the internal affairs will bring fruitful results to the parties. Interestingly, already in early May, the President of the Philippines, R. Duterte, had a telephone conversation with President D. Trump, during which he received an invitation to visit the United States.

Vietnam’s Prime Minister Nguyen Swan Fouc and other ASEAN leaders during the signing ceremony of the declaration on the role of service systems in the implementation of the program “The vision of the ASEAN Community until 2025” identified the main directions and measures needed to enhance cooperation in the field of services between the

governments of the countries in the near future. It becomes clear that the ASEAN's foreign policy position in conditions of increased competition between the world's leading powers for the impact on the countries of the region is the observance of the only possible balancing strategy for it. This stance is reflected in the Joint Declaration of the Manila Summit, the content of which is that neither the United States nor China should have geopolitical advantages in the PSA, where ASEAN plays the role of the main regional player.

However, the asymmetry of foreign economic relations and certain difficulties in implementing the strategy of regional integration remain the most serious problems on the way of further growth of ASEAN as a regional economic and political power. Despite the fact that ASEAN's leading countries maintain relatively high rates of economic growth, there has been a tendency towards their decline in recent years, which is primarily due to the accumulation of structural imbalances and the high dependence on exports and the dynamics of demand on foreign markets. ASEAN's desire to maintain the position of the so-called locomotive of regional development encourages them to diversify the sources of economic growth. It means that from the trading model of development of the country ASEAN move to a model associated with the rapid accumulation of investment and expansion of domestic demand. Some experts believe that these changes or trends in the economic policy of ASEAN countries can influence the nature of all-regional integration processes, which in turn are able to determine the effectiveness of their transition to a new model of economic growth [4].

However, it should be noted that the overwhelming majority of expert assessments of the results of the activities created 50 years ago by the Association are skeptical. The reason for this restrained attitude to the development of ASEAN is the factors of both the internal attitude to it and the external one. The first is the diverse and radical differences between Member States, first of all, in the socio-economic area. For example, the average income of a resident of Singapore is 5 times higher than in Malaysia and 10 to 20 times higher than the income of residents of other ASEAN countries. These differences, from the outset, excluded the possibility of establishing in ASEAN the institutions and governing bodies that the European Union has with its supranational governing bodies. In addition, the decision-making format is affected by the specific term "ASEAN Way", the interpretation of which opens wide scope for representations. As you know, the basic component of ASEAN Way is the provision to exclude any pressure on the partner and achieve a complete consensus in the decision making process within the Association.

In this regard, we note that a quarter of the products produced in ASEAN are exported to the countries of the organization. At the same time, this indicator remains unchanged over the past ten years, and this is much lower compared to the European Union. ASEAN's plans to engage in a signed agreement on the creation of the Economic Community in principle can change the situation for the better, but so far, special progress has not been made to the countries of the Association. This agreement provides for the free movement of goods, labor and capital. If the barriers to ASEAN's free-trade are virtually eliminated now, then the process of economic integration is very slow.

By overcoming obstacles to the establishment of a free trade area, ASEAN countries managed to conclude free trade agreements with Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand and South Korea. To this end, ASEAN participates in negotiations on the

establishment of an expanded regional trade association in the PSA. Such a partnership could lead to the emergence of a single East Asian market with a population of 3 billion people and an aggregate GDP of over \$ 21 trillion. [5].

Additional difficulties lie in the fact that the ASEAN countries, as mentioned above, vary greatly in terms of level and development potential. For example, if Indonesia, which is a member of the G20, produces 40% of the product mix, then Myanmar has just emerged from economic isolation and is currently working to establish market mechanisms. Another striking example of the differences between the countries of the Association – GDP per capita in Singapore is 30 times greater than the same indicator in Laos. If we take into account socio-cultural and religious differences in the ASEAN countries – 90% of the population of the Philippines – Catholics, the vast majority of Indonesian inhabitants confess Islam, 95% of the people of Thailand – Buddhism, and Singapore have a multi-religious orientation – there is a lot of ways to implement a single regional integration strategy barrier.

An important indicator of the socio-economic development of the countries of ASEAN is the increase in consumption, which goes hand in hand with the process of urbanization. Thus, 22% of ASEAN citizens live in cities with a population of more than 200 thousand people. It is projected that in the next ten years, another 54 million people will live in cities. Another important trend is the development of online technologies. The distribution of mobile communication in the ASEAN region is 110%, the Internet is used by 25% of the population. At the same time, the countries of ASEAN differ significantly from each other in this field: 75% of Singaporeans are constantly on-line, while in Myanmar, only 1% of the population is available in Myanmar; digital technology is very common among Indonesians, and this year, more than 100 million of them will become active users of the Internet. Under these conditions, almost 67 million families in the Association countries became part of the class of Internet service consumers, and by 2025 this number could double. The typical consumer of the middle class in the countries of the region is the demand for entertainment, internet shopping, interest in brands, sports and even foreign travel.

Involvement in global trade processes is a feature that is characteristic of almost all ASEAN countries – the region's share in world exports is 7%. At the same time, each country is one of the main exporters of the world in a certain field of goods production. For example, Vietnam exports textiles and clothing, Singapore and Malaysia – consumer electronics, and Thailand – spare parts for trucks. Other countries mainly supply raw materials and semi-finished products to the world markets: Indonesia is one of the major exporters of palm oil, coal, cocoa beans and tin. The Philippines specializes in agrarian products, and Myanmar has significant oil and gas reserves and reserves of precious metals [2].

However, the asymmetric nature of exchange relations between ASEAN and the industrially developed centers of the world is the cause of various kinds of dysfunctions in the international economic system. Therefore, an important topic around which there is a lot of discussion is the feasibility of establishing a Free Trade Area (FTA) between the Eurasian Economic Union and ASEAN. In addition, there are a number of projects in the area of infrastructure development, nuclear power engineering and military-technical industry in the region within the FTA. It is also known that some ASEAN countries are showing considerable interest in Russian modern weapons and technologies. As part of the dialogue

between ASEAN and the Russian Federation, projects are being developed in the oil and gas industry, mining, etc. [5].

As a result, the ever-growing role of ASEAN in world integration processes and international relations is an objective factor and basis for expanding mutually beneficial cooperation of Ukraine with the leading powers in this dynamic region. Establishment of diplomatic relations with all ASEAN countries and the presence of embassies of Ukraine in the key for its interests in the countries of the region – Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand makes it possible to further develop cooperation with these partners in the trade, economic and investment spheres.

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Geopolitical frontiers and phenomenology of European political and diplomatic modernization: historical retrospective (XVI – XXI centuries).

Vyacheslav Tsivatyy

Summary

The historical background and institutional stages of modernization processes in the Europe XVI-XXI centuries at the context of the evolution of political and diplomatic systems and regional integration processes of the polycentric world is analyzed. Particular attention is paid to the peculiarities of state formation, modernization experience, national specifics, models diplomacy and diplomatic tools, achievements, problems and perspectives of institutional political and diplomatic development of leading of the European countries and in historical perspective (comparative analysis).

Keywords: foreign policy, diplomacy, diplomacy model, institutionalization, modernization, the Europe, early time of the Modern period.

One of the real humanitarian dangers of today is that philosophical comprehension of the strategic problems of the modernization of Ukrainian society is being squandered on the verge of public debate, and this process, in addition, is accompanied by a semantic imbalance of modernization-innovation rhetoric in Ukraine. Today, the social sciences and the humanities should be based on the following principles: methodological consciousness, standards for working with texts, interdisciplinarity (both within the limits of political science

research and attention to the experience of historical, sociological, linguistic, philosophical, literary, cultural studies), European context. These principles will enable to overcome the problems of identity and the definiteness of the subject of national science, the connection with the general-historical perspective and inclusion in the general political, general cultural and pan-European context, as the world and European experience of historical, political and strategic modernization of leading and transitive countries, as in the historical retrospective, and to date, is useful for the effective implementation of modernization and institutional processes in Ukraine.

The issue of institutionalization and modernization of foreign policy is new to historical research, and therefore requires the use of system analysis and appropriate terminology that is necessary for the fulfillment of scientific tasks. Institutionalization is transformation, and modernization is the perfection of any political phenomenon (in particular, foreign policy and diplomacy) into an organized system-setting institution. It is a formalized, orderly process with a certain structure of relationships, a hierarchy or subordination of different levels of government, and other features of the organization (rules of conduct, customs, laws, norms, diplomatic methods, ceremonial, diplomatic protocol, diplomatic institutes, diplomatic instruments, etc.).

Proceeding from the statement of the problem, we must study not only the scheme of chronological events of the foreign policy of the states and their diplomatic tools – based on the source base, to show the transformation of foreign policy and diplomacy as a political phenomenon into an organized system-setting institution, to analyze the internal and external functions of the state, to identify the criteria of the effectiveness of the external politics and diplomacy in terms of the formation of the European system of states or the definition of the priorities of foreign policy of European states.

Political institutionalization, the geopolitical frontier, institutes of diplomacy and the institutionalization of foreign policy are a peculiar aspect, which is characterized by the positions of phenomenology. After all, the very existence of the phenomenon, in particular the phenomenon of political and diplomatic modernization, is subject to both its internal laws and external influence.

Proponents of phenomenological history proceed from the fact that the external, surrounding people of the world is the result of their activities, the creation of their consciousness. Without denying the objectivity of this world (since it exists as such outside people, beyond their consciousness), researchers (political scientists / historians / sociologists) believe that it becomes meaningful to people when they perceive it and when it is from the outside, objective becomes for individuals inward, subjective. In this case, people perceive, as a rule, not the world itself, but its phenomena (phenomena). The task of phenomenological science (political science, history, sociology) is to clarify, to reveal, to understand, to know how, how people structure (arrange) the perceived world (its phenomena, phenomena) in their consciousness and how they embody their knowledge of the world in everyday activities, that is, in everyday life, and geopolitical fronts. Representatives of the phenomenological direction are interested, first of all, in the way that the objective world of social phenomena and processes and its various structures are perceived by ordinary people in their daily lives. Therefore, advocates of phenomenology seek to theoretically comprehend the institutional and social world in its human, spiritual

being. In the politico-philosophical sense, the word "phenomenon" is often used to refer to phenomena (for example, institutionalization) that are attained at the sensory level in opposition to the word "noumen", which means a phenomenon understood by the mind. In New European philosophy, by the definition of Immanuel Kant, the phenomenon is any phenomenon that can be learned on the basis of experience.

A comparative analysis and comparison of specific foreign policy doctrines and models of diplomacy in the historical retrospect puts the main and obligatory condition for a certain level of abstraction from the historical and political-institutional context of the development of events and the separate factors of political and legal processes in the international political regions. That is, the main emphasis is placed on the context and factual discourse formed by historical or political science. After all, foreign policy doctrines and models of diplomacy are formed together with scientists and practitioners and political actors, which act purposefully and consciously, well orienting in the political-diplomatic and institutional coordinate systems.

For the era of the early New Age, the process of completing the institutionalization of foreign policy and diplomatic services of the leading European states, in particular, France, Italy and Spain, is objectively determined. Accordingly, the original question of the relation and priority of concepts "foreign policy" and "diplomacy" appears. This problem is also connected with assessments of contemporaries regarding the various state-legal forms and types of government, institutional political processes, characteristics of reality and the creation of ideals in the light of the tasks and practical activities of the authorities, the concepts of "foreign policy" and "diplomacy", models of diplomacy, institutes diplomacy, diplomatic tools, etc.

In order to study these historical processes, phenomena and events, the author suggests that previously existing research be based on the position of new methodological foundations, namely, to use the theory of institutions and institutional changes in political, legal, social and diplomatic systems. This methodological approach provides an opportunity to show how institutions develop in response to specific challenges, incentives, strategies and choices and, accordingly, how they affect the functioning of political-diplomatic systems and systems of international relations over a long historical period.

The notion of "institutionalization" is actively used by political scientists, lawyers, philosophers, sociologists, economists to identify contradictory problems of social development from ancient times to today. Historians, in view of its specificity and the conceptual and theoretical complexity, are in no hurry to engage in a methodological arsenal of historical knowledge. The historical aspect of the study of the institutionalization of foreign policy and diplomacy involves identifying ways to achieve certain social results, reproducing the process of transformation itself, rather than focusing the researcher's attention on a mere factual statement. Such a statement of the problem should show how the emergence took place, the formation of institutional foundations and the development of diplomatic services of European states.

The state of scientific study of the topic. In contemporary Ukrainian historiography, the problems of international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy of the early modern and modern times in the context of their actualization and comprehension were studied by such

national scientists as B.M. Gonchar, O.B. Dyomin, V.O. Dyatlov, A.I. Kudryachenko, S.V. Vidnyansky, N.G. Podalyak, M.V. Kirsenko, M.S. Buryan, S.S. Troyan, V.V. Adadurov, O.P. Mashevsky, S.V. Pron, O.I. Sich, S.I. Lyman, T.V. Chukhlib, O.V. Zernetska and others. Representatives of French, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, Anglo-American and Latin American historiographical schools pay special attention to the problems of international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy of the early New and New times in their scientific developments.

There are no special basic researches on this topic. In general, the analysis of scientific and theoretical developments in relation to the genesis and development of the system of European states, the problems of its doctrinal provision, testifies to the tradition of the factorial reproduction of processes established in historiography, based on the principle of historicism, which largely indicates the impossibility of avoiding the schematization of the reproduction of historical events under such conditions. and political processes. At the same time, it is necessary to identify organizational and quantitative, qualitatively new changes in foreign policy and diplomacy of the European states of the period under study, that is, to indicate all the essential events and facts, which means to understand the essential features of the system of states themselves. To study it, it is necessary to use new methods of cognition, one of which is the theory of institutions and institutional changes, as well as modernization processes.

Formulating the goals of the article (statement of the task). The purpose of this article is an attempt to make a retrospective analysis of political and diplomatic modernization processes in Europe, in particular – the historical preconditions and institutional stages of modernization processes in Europe of the sixteenth and twenty centuries in the context of the evolution of political-diplomatic systems and regional integration processes of the polycentric world. The subject of the study is the specificity and significance of foreign policy and diplomacy as a spiritually oriented social organization, functioning on the background of a complex socio-economic and modernizing evolution of European society, fundamentally changing the value orientations of the individual. Exploring the modernization and institutional processes in European foreign policy during the Middle Ages and early modern times, the author in this article seeks to show not only the history of the development of foreign policy and diplomacy in the pan-European context, which was already the subject of research of scientists, but to distinguish its functional aspect in the context institutionalization and modernization of diplomatic services in the states of Europe in the time-spatial dimension [1, c. 268-274].

Since the end of the fifteenth century, Europe is entering a new period of international relations. The political situation in Western Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, after the events of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453 biennium), changed significantly due to the fact that the monarchy was substantially strengthened, and in the majority of states, in particular, France, Spain and England, the process of internal consolidation was completed. It was in these states that the foundations of modern national states were laid, while the fragmentation of Germany and Italy remained irresistible. These trends have been clearly reflected in the events of the Italian Wars (1494 – 1559) [2].

New political and modern conditions create new perspectives on foreign policy and diplomacy. Earlier, these more recent views on the state and its foreign policy and

diplomacy were expressed in Niccolo Machiavelli's writings: "... the host, if he seeks to preserve power, must acquire the ability to deviate from the good and use this ability depending on the need" [3, p.345], that is, to be able to join the path of evil, if necessary. The ideas and political realism of Machiavelli, whose origins are clearly outlined in the needs of the era, were shared by prominent political figures and diplomats of the Middle Ages and early New Age [4].

The first among them was Ferdinand Aragonic, who had his embassy at the court of St. Jacob from 1487; First it was headed by Dr. Rodrigo Gondesalvi de Pueblo, and later a woman – Katerina Aragonsky, Princess Velsky and the daughter of the king. Francis of France Francis and usually commemorate the founding of the first organized royal diplomatic service – from 1526 he had ambassadors even in the Ottoman Porte.

Soon after, the corps diplomatique, the diplomatic corps, appeared in every large courtyard and in every capital city. Living in a certain danger, diplomats quickly developed the necessary rules of immunity, interaction, extraterritoriality, drafting of credentials and precedent. In 1515, the father said that the Nuncio was for the duain of the diplomatic corps, that the imperial ambassador should be higher than his colleagues, and the remaining ambassadors should be divided into ranks, depending on when their country recognized Christianity as a state religion. In practice, this order did not work, because Charles V placed the Spanish ambassadors above the imperial and, as the "most Catholic" king of Spain, refused to recognize the superiority of the French ambassadors over the Spanish. The quarrel began, the Spanish and French ambassadors firmly defended their convictions for almost two hundred years. Once in The Hague (1661), when French and Spanish ambassadors clashed in a narrow street, diplomats stood forever, without leaving the place until the city council ordered that the fence be dismantled so that the ambassadors could be torn apart to each other. At the time of Maclavelli, diplomats soon became famous for their mischief. They should have been familiar with codes, ciphers and invisible ink. However, the development of permanent diplomacy was an important stage in the formation of a community of states. In 1643 – 1648, when a major diplomatic conference was convened in Münster and Ostburyk to end the Thirty Years War, the "European Consent" was already emerging. Undoubtedly, Italy itself, and its model of diplomacy, is rightly considered the founding country of permanent diplomacy. So, the first republic that laid the foundations for it was Venice.

Italy, France and Spain became the favorites of the politico-diplomatic system, which was formed at the beginning of the epoch of the early modern times, and the glorious, true schools of European diplomacy.

In France and Italy, at the end of the fifteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the forms and methods of diplomacy of the New Age are beginning to be established. In Spain, this process was somewhat restrained, which, according to the author, was probably explained by a certain system of views (somewhat conservative to the processes of institutionalization) of its dominant powers, who feared the creation of a permanent diplomatic service in Spain, as at one time they were cautious and extended to institutionalization of jurisprudence. For example, Michelle-Ekwe de Monten said: "King Ferdinand, sending colonists to India, wisely predicted that there should be no scholars of lawyers among them, expressing fears that the courts in the New World are being brought to justice, because it is law as a science naturally

generates controversy and differences in views. The king, as Plato in his time, saw that any country was only suffering from lawyers and doctors ... "[5, p. 332]. It is likely that the same point of view extended to diplomats who had much in common with lawyers. But this condition was not too long. Spain, perceiving obviously the positive experience of France and Italy in the formation of the diplomatic service, began this case and in itself, realizing the necessity and feasibility of the existence of permanent diplomacy.

Permanent diplomatic service was rapidly spreading and using in the practice of interstate relations. Thus, since the 1510s, in the Pontifical state, from the 1520s in England, in the Empire in the era of Charles V. By the middle of the seventeenth century, this has already become a European tradition.

The first quarter of the seventeenth century should be recognized as the official beginning of the process of institutionalization of foreign policy, the era of permanent embassies, and permanent diplomacy. And then the next stage continued – the stage of development and improvement of diplomatic practice by the experience of many states and peoples, and, undoubtedly, the center of this practice was originally the question of war and peace, because, as claimed by Philippe de Comin, "friendship between sovereigns is far from the eternal" [6, p. 107]. The first wars of the early modern times were the Italian Wars (1494 – 1559).

Western European rulers of the time of the early New Age (Charles VIII, Louis XII, Isabella Castilla, Ferdinand Aragonic, etc.) were reformed peoples both in the way of thinking and in their convictions. It is their state activities that have made significant and vivid changes to the processes of state-building in Western Europe, to the processes of political institutionalization, to the methods of conducting wars and the organization of diplomatic services on an ongoing basis, to the development of contractual foundations of coexistence of states forming the European system of states [7, p. 287-294].

The rulers-states at the turn of the two epochs personified a definite defined social type of mentality of the era of Early New History, thus moving far ahead of the still existing traditions in society, which was largely unclear and not entirely well-appreciated by their contemporaries. And with full confidence it can be noted that the rulers of the states of Western European countries were politicians, whom history itself put to the helm of European politics in the initial period of the formation of the European system of states at the turn of the Middle Ages and the early New time. From them begins counting new events and major changes in the international life of early modern Europe [8].

The problem of war and peace, war and diplomacy worried contemporaries of the early modern times. They were in search of answers to those questions that posed to them an objective reality. After all, this period of history could not leave anybody indifferent, because "peace and harmony – first and foremost necessary things for kings and states" [9]. The development of politico-diplomatic events and the politico-modernization processes in the early modern Europe testified to the institutionalization of new interstate relations, with France, Italy, and Spain leading states, shaping their models and traditions in the field of foreign relations and geopolitical frontiers [10; 11].

Consequently, at the turn of the Middle Ages and the early modern times in European countries, the political and modernization process of registration and transformation of

foreign policy functions of the state from sporadic to state institutions begins. The diplomatic initiatives, plans and projects of the French and Spanish domineering powers prompted the intensive functioning of the mechanism of interstate relations of the European system of states, which began to emerge, and accelerated the processes of institutionalization of their foreign policy. Diplomacy of the states of early modern Europe, qualitatively new in content, was the stage of formation, coinciding with the time with the Italian wars. That is why, in addition to advanced ideas, she had the power of the state and the army.

At the turn of the XV-XVI centuries, the genesis of the institutional processes of the new foreign policy and diplomacy, which will find its identification during the days of the early New and New times, takes place. The favorites and founders of these processes were France, Italy and Spain – their models of diplomacy served as models for the creation and effective introduction of diplomatic tools of all the states of Europe in the period under study. The early New Age (XVI – XVIII centuries) was a time of diverse changes, modernizations and innovations for the European society. The newest modernization tendencies were most clearly revealed in the formation of a new European society as a whole, and in particular – the formation of mental attitudes and personality of a new type under the influence of European socio-political thought of the early modern times. One of such factors of influence was spreading of printing practices in Europe as a new direction in the dissemination of information in French society, the spread of ideology from foreign policy and socio-economic theory to political and diplomatic pragmatics.

Permanent diplomatic service in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was rapidly spreading and using in the practice of interstate relations. During the early days of the New Age (XVI – XVIII centuries), the need for alphabetizing the population and printing as a new way of transmitting texts increases, it becomes a coherent factor of the political and diplomatic processes and active ideology that are actively developing in this period and spread through the process of cultural transformations of a new society. and the mental settings of the personality of the early modern times. The book printing in Europe at the beginning of the XVI century already embodies the European book culture itself. The attempt to construct a generalized model of political-diplomatic thought (ideology, concepts, theories, etc.) of the beginning of a special, transformational, political modernization era, of course, is not exhaustive and final. Almost all of the above-mentioned approaches bring us in one way or another closer to the disclosure and understanding of the peculiarities of the views on power, law, ideology, state, diplomacy, internal and external policy of the state, the processes of their institutionalization, and, accordingly, also help to formulate ideas about people of the time age, their outlook, ideologues and mental settings.

The day of the early modern times (XVII-XVIII centuries) is a period of transformation and institutionalization of a fundamentally new socio-political order and socio-economic development of a society in Europe formed by the territorial states, the formation of a new institutional diplomatic practice and geopolitical space. As the historical experience confirms, the significance of the ideology varies according to political pragmatics, and the purposeful use of the ideologue is an effective means of managing mass consciousness – ideologema is easily remembered and creates an illusion of understanding in the object of manipulation. Understanding the ideology means understanding the whole ideology, in

particular the new socio-economic and foreign policy ideology in the context of European leadership, the transformation of the system of interstate relations and the expansion of geopolitical processes.

The phenomenology of politico-diplomatic modernization is a methodological approach in the humanities, first of all, in political science, history and sociology, which attaches particular importance to the views of supporters of politico-diplomatic art. Phenomenology of politico-methodological art seeks to reveal the essence of national types of diplomacy and politics. The phenomenological approach to the study of politico-diplomatic art involves the personal involvement of the scientist in the politico-diplomatic traditions studied by him, which makes it possible to understand the significance and manifestations of various political and diplomatic phenomena that belong to specific activities of the state and the processes of institutionalization and modernization both in historical retrospective, and in the future. When conducting research using the phenomenological approach, scientists take a neutral position and refuse existing value judgments regarding the types and forms of politico-diplomatic art. Any kind of art has its source historical experience, which serves as the main subject of study in the phenomenology of politico-diplomatic art.

The phenomenology of institutional development and institution-diplomacy in Renaissance Europe has been particularly evident in France, Italy and Spain. Models of diplomacy in France, Italy and Spain originate in parallel with similar processes in other European states and quite quickly, by the beginning of the XVI century, they are becoming a notable phenomenon in the life of the European society of the Renaissance in the historical retrospective and international political context.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that in recent years the tendency towards the prevalence in scientific research of the topics of generalization, global, etc. has become more noticeable. But we should not forget about the regional and regional issues. That is why the understanding of the directions and content of modern civilization and modernization processes is impossible without the awareness of the basic historical types and basic forms of traditionally-historical established socio-cultural and political-diplomatic systems in the aspect of their change under the influence of the challenges of the present. After all, history left us a lot of evidence that those who have not paid attention for a long time resulted in significant changes in the historical-political and modernization of not only individual regions, individual states, but also civilizations and societies as a whole.

Looking back into the past, we clearly have to see the guides to the future! Since 1815 history has known a significant number of congresses, conferences, summits, congresses. Nevertheless, the interest in the Vienna Congress is not weakening to this day. Nowadays, in the research and journalistic literature, the debate continues on what the effectiveness of the Viennese system of intergovernmental relations and security is, what is the secret of the Viennese system, which for a long time maintained a lasting peace in Europe of the nineteenth century, and could it serve as an example for arrangements that will ensure stability on the planet at the present time and create in the modern world, for example, the new international institutional formation of states – “global concert” or “planetary concert”.

In other words, events around Ukraine of the twenty-first century have led to the logical conclusion of the geopolitical erosion of the system of international relations and security

that existed since the collapse of the USSR and the short-lived existing post-bipolar system of world order. In conflict-based conditions, when those elements and diplomatic tools inherited from these ages are ineffective at present (a striking example is the current ineffective UN activity), there is no new international consensus, but the desire of individual states to peacefully or forcefully realize their interests in profitable circumstances. Today we can state the fact of institutionalization of the polycentric (multipolar) system of world order. Inter-pole relations are based predominantly on the balance of economic interdependence between world geopolitical players and geopolitical frontier, but this is too unreliable, too fragile and insufficiently institutionalized instrument today.

It seems that the world has come to the need to convene a new international institution – the All-European New Vienna Congress of the 21st Century to define the rules of the political-diplomatic game. It is believed that conference diplomacy should become a priority form in the tools of modern diplomacy for settling conflicts in the post-Soviet space and avoiding geopolitical fronts. A further study of the modernization, institutional, political and diplomatic origins of European political and diplomatic systems and geopolitical fronts is worthy of further study: through the prism of modernity to the historical origins of institutional history. Prospects for further research in this area will provide an opportunity to create a coherent systemic picture of the political and diplomatic world in Europe as an institutional cluster of interstate relations.

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Organization of the archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland

Alisa Kolesnikova

Summary

The article is devoted to highlighting issues connected with the organization and activities of the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. During the research the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland was analyzed. The main tasks and objectives of the Archive as a structural unit of the Ministry were determined as well as its interaction with other departments and institutions of the Ministry.

Keywords: archive, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland

Information on the work of the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland in the Ukrainian and foreign-language sources is practically absent, which makes it impossible to process the study of its structure and organization of work. This publication attempts to highlight the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, ascertaining the main goals and objectives of the archives within the ministry and its interaction with other institutions and units. The archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland operates within the structure of the Ministry as a subdivision of the Bureau of Archives and Information Management. In accordance with the Law of July 14, 1983 on the National Archival Resources and Archives of the Polish Republic, the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland is a separate state archive [1].

In turn, the Bureau of Archives and Information Management was created to implement the culture of compilation and optimal use of the database on the history of foreign policy of the country. Currently, it implements communication standards and controls the appropriate use of the IT network created for information management. The bureau also collects and stores documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland in the archives of the Ministry for their use in future studies.

The office is divided into archive and information sections, and the hierarchical management structure is appropriate. The archive section in the structure of the Bureau is headed by the director responsible for the circulation of correspondence and archives [2]. The staffing of the archive is ten employees, including the head of the archive section of the Bureau. The archives and information office is locally located in Warsaw and has four buildings. Two buildings are reserved for the archive section, and the other two – for storing other information and documentation. One of the archival section buildings is privately owned and rented by the ministry for a long-term budget.

The archive has about 6 thousand square meters of materials that accumulated since 1945. Materials from 1945 to 1986 are stored in paper form. From 1986 to 2012 all materials are digitized and can be found in the electronic system. At the moment, the archive has 28

collections for 1945 – 1965 years. Each of the collections is based on documents issued by individual institutions, departments, sections of the ministry. Archival collections also contain documents provided by embassies and consulates of the Republic of Poland abroad, – diplomatic notes and correspondence, memoranda, reports and analytical references on the current political situation in the host country.

The electronic collection of the archive contains about 40 thousand political documents, the total number of which is about half a million sheets. Among them, information materials and procedures for the day of international meetings, including a proposal for a discussion topic; evaluation of the activities of foreign diplomatic missions in Poland; reports of ambassadors after the drawing up of their authority in the host country; political reports; official positions of Poland on a specific issue or situation, etc.

All documents of the ministry, which have passed 2 years after the expiration of the action, fall into the archive for lifetime storage. All official employees of the ministry have unrestricted access to the archives. For scientific purposes, access to archive work is restricted to documents stored in the archives for at least 30 years. You can only obtain permission to access the archive materials for employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Ministry, by submitting a corresponding application in the name of the authorized deputy director of the Bureau of Archives and Information Management. The permit is granted for a period of 6 years [3].

Based on the analysis of the functions of the Bureau of Archives and information management, one can conclude that the archive performs five main tasks:

- maintains information and documentation of the ministry;
- Provides archival references for scientific research;
- provides control over the documentation of archives of foreign diplomatic establishments in Poland (embassies, consulates, other diplomatic missions and Polish cultural centers);
- manages the electronic archive system and digitizes documents with paper carriers;
- carries out cooperation in the field of working out of rules of document circulation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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Brexit: divorce in the British scenario

Lyudmyla Chekalenko

SUMMARY

The article is devoted to the consideration of the first stages of Brexit; The problems that the UK has faced in this difficult journey; the ambiguous policy of the EU-27 and individual states of the Euro-space. Relying on a wide range of documentary sources, an attempt was made to predict further divorce moves in the British scenario.

Key words: Brexit, Great Britain (U.K.), EU-27, trade, finance, security, human rights, migration.

A year has passed since the announcement by the United Kingdom of the withdrawal from the EU. The reaction of European countries was differentiated according to their level of development, wealth and status in the European integration framework. At the same time, the positions differed in their level of engagement with the European process and responsibility for European integration as a whole. Europeans are gradually getting used to Brexit. An overview of the tangent sources on the subject adds some optimism: the debate on the subject, whether the WB in the European Union is needed, quickly went to a non-believer popularly-fashionable a year ago. The threatening myths about the consequences of divorce are gradually being overthrown: the EU is self-liquidating, and China and Russia will intensify, since with the departure of the UK with the EU other countries can reduce the sanction of the Russian Federation; weaken NATO troops in Europe, and so on. Some even predicted a catastrophe for the United States, which has always relied on WB in European affairs. It did not take into account the fact that the EU's weakness would have negative consequences and economic risks for all countries, including Russia and the PRC.

THE FIGHT FOR "HERITAGE". Unexpectedly for the majority, some of the 27 EU members rushed to "split" the British not yet formalized European integration legacy (still "living" neighbors). Some, focusing on the WB, have dramatically changed their position on participation in the various components of the EU, despite the threatening warning about the appropriate sanctions. And some have slowed down their further immersion in European integration processes.

Concerning the consequences of Brexit for the British market: clear estimates and forecasts are unlikely to be found even in British sources. At the same time, the "British" companies are struggling both Ireland and Luxembourg. This is a delicate piece, as a number of foreign firms have been concentrated in London and have access to the entire EU market. Poland also joined the pursuit of British affiliates. The rates are rising, because the medical sector and the banking sector are an attractive legacy for the Poles. Ireland seeks to attract bankers, software engineers and accountants, but faces the problem of lack of housing for visitors.

In the opinion of the overwhelming majority of European citizens, including the British themselves, the country chose not quite a good moment to make a fateful decision. Economic and political crises, complications and threatening conditions with illegal migration, terrorism, ongoing wars around and inside Europe – all this will not, in one way or another, alleviate the effects of divorce.

Analyzing the course of the British in the EU, recalling all the nuances of their advancement to the integration space, you come to the conclusion about the predictability of Brexit, as warned in due time by the President of the French Republic, General Charles de Gaulle. The current effects of British "reluctance", "inhibition", "special approach" of the 1960s-1970s lay on the surface of European WB-aligning politicians. The EEC executives went on a permanent deal, closed their eyes to possible dangerous consequences and threatening trends, because ... Britain (!). We recall the first applications for membership with the demands of significant changes in favor of Britain in the already formed European Economic Communities. Later, the tenders for one or another concession by the central organs of the EU. Finally, the position of incomplete dependence, incomplete responsibility and incomplete participation in key components of European integration, except, perhaps, only the role of the payer to the euro budget. We recall the position of the weak states that have made a lot of effort to delay the WB to the European community. What were they guiding in the 1960s? Fearing for the strengthening of France and Germany, they were prepared to make any compromises to accept WB to unite.

TRADE + HUMAN RIGHTS + BANKING SPHERE. The most sensitive areas of Brexit, according to WB's general belief, are trade, banking and the protection of the rights of EU citizens working and living in the WB. Trade should be managed in accordance with the principles of the WTO. Although one way or another, WB exports to Europe will face customs duties and other restrictions. British bankers should move from Europe to the new rules, and various transactions for clients from the Eurocontinent will become illegal. Some experts put forward the idea of the need for Brussels to create a network of underwater fiber optic cables, similar to those that support London business. Cables that carry high-speed Internet traffic are essential to maintaining a significant amount of electronic bidding.

Global banking giants such as Citigroup (Citigroup, Citi – American Multinational Banking and Finance Corporation with headquarters in New York), American Bank Morgan Stanley (JPMorgan Chase – JPYMorgan Chase – USA's largest asset bank holding company) [1], as well as HSBC (The BBC is an abbreviation of Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, a British international commercial bank with headquarters in London) [2], which is the largest market capitalization in Europe and one of the largest in world financial group Japan Sumitomo Mitsui Financial Group [3], Frankfurt was chosen to move. After Brexit, Frankfurt is preparing to move significant portions of its trading and investment banking assets from London and Deutsche Bank. It is anticipated that, in general, hundreds of traders and more than 20,000 client bank accounts will be moved. A well-known financial tycoon, Henry Sachs, also confirmed that he was transferring hundreds of bank jobs from London, expanding his offices in Frankfurt and Paris. The telecommunications giant Vodafon (Vodafone, France) announced the abolition of his office in London.

Great Britain has used its accession to Europe to attract international companies and missions dealing with aviation, medical and financial spheres. They pushed the development of WB's of industrial centers, marketing departments and sales offices, selling their products across Europe from Ireland to Greece, that is, in the entire geographic area of 500 million people. The number of jobs transferred will increase by roughly 35,000, which means moving British finance professionals to new jobs in Dublin, Amsterdam, Paris, Frankfurt and Luxemburg. This process will actually lead to a loss of more than \$ 24.8 billion from the UK

revenue side. [4] Almost 57% of companies are conducting security audits in the event of emergencies involving Brexit, but only 11% have already begun implementing their plans.

Some steps by the British government, such as the successful completion of the negotiation process with Nissan's car manufacturing in the north of Brittany in Sunderland, reassured a number of Brexit supporters, as it became apparent that in certain cases, it could be agreed with specific WB employers on leaving the ground. Although Ford and BMW are not certain about the stability of the British stay "afloat." Interestingly, despite Brexit's warnings, the annual figures of the British economy clearly indicate its growth by almost 1.8 percent, while British banks continue to operate financially in the usual manner. British factories produced cars, medical equipment and aircraft components, most of which were destined for Europe. In March, Toyota also announced that it will remain in the WB and will invest an additional \$ 297 million. to develop a plant in Derbyshire. Although the British are keen on the tongue, they say that all expenses are covered by debts, since the British pound fell by 17% compared with the dollar, increasing the cost of imported goods [5].

The British are striving to retain the right to painless transition to free trade through British borders until the agreement is settled; solution to the problem of gas dependence: WB expects gas prices to rise; solving the issue of new conditions for direct participation in Euratom related to hazardous nuclear waste; participation of WB troops in joint EU military formations; sharing and access to classified information, etc. The Office of the UK Information Officer will strive to maintain close ties with the EU in the field of data protection, according to the Bureau's Strategic Paper for 2017-2021. Agricultural managers are busy with the new Green Brexit program, which is also linked to issues of hired seasonal workers outside of the issue of product sales, and this is the immigration policy after Brexit.

British and American authorities in late July 2017 discussed a potential free trade agreement between the countries after Brexit. British manufacturers have faced Brexit's "turning point" long before the talks on the timing of the withdrawal of the WB with the EU (March 2019). The Federation of Engineering Employers, representing 20,000 companies in the United States, noted that the lack of transparency on this issue risks to cause significant damage to the country's economy.

MEDICINE. Outside of trade and banking, the WB within the EU also managed the medical field – the provision of eurospace drugs. New medicines entering the EU market were usually reviewed and evaluated by the European Medicines Agency (EMA) in London using the expertise of national regulators (more than 20 percent of the reviews are conducted in the UK). Then officially licensed by the European Commission. In the event of a change of EMA place of dislocation, there will be a significant delay in the registration and delivery of drugs to patients. The EU-27 does not rule out the possibility of leaving the WB in the EU regulatory framework, but no one knows how to do it, because it's not easy to "be in the block and outside the block". One of the options for getting out of the difficult situation with licensing drugs was the inclusion of this scheme in the United States Department of Health. This will allow WB drug regulators to continue to participate in the EMA assessment. In a similar situation, such countries as Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein are currently taking EMA recommendations for new medicines without any restrictions. The US can evaluate the product, and the EMA acknowledges it or, conversely, object. However, in case

of objection, the WB will not be able to bypass the European Court. The American version of the drug is interesting, but will Britain agree on such a scheme?

HUMAN RIGHTS. The majority of the population of WB – 60% – wish to remain citizens of the Community. Among them, the largest stratum “for European citizenship” is young Europeans from 18 to 24 years old. At the same time, most Britons are willing to pay for this approximately 400 feet [6]. Negotiations on mutual respect for the rights of EU and WB citizens continue, although after the first round of talks, its participants, in particular Brexit’s EU counterpart Michel Barnier, stated that there are “fundamental differences” with the British side in order to guarantee the rights of EU citizens in the UK, since she does not have a clear vision of the Brexit bill.

The constituent part of the negotiations is the issue of the powers of the European Court on the WB. The British have demanded the granting of permits for checking criminal cases of any citizen of the EU, who addresses the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the country with a new status. Such a provision overwhelms the position of the EU, which proposes to British expatriates in Europe to grant only the right to reside in the country where they reside, and not throughout the EU, thus depriving them of their right to freedom of movement, which they enjoy nowadays. Thus, Britons themselves can suffer from Brexit as their employment in other EU countries can be subject to quotas and work permits of the EU Commission as well as to all other citizens. British emigrants will also travel and resettle in the European Union for relevant proposals.

SAFETY EU and GB. Uncertainty about the future flagship of GB participation in the EU caused by Brexit will be added to the known issues. Under current plans, Britain needs to provide more than 1,500 soldiers to the EU combat group, the rapid response military unit, etc., although it will leave the EU in July 2019. The British government has announced its plans for a sanctions bill, which provides for sanctions to be imposed on terrorist groups and hostile regimes after it leaves the EU. Under the current rules, the GB imposes sanctions through EU legislation. The decision of the Irish parliamentary committee, which examines the impact of Brexit on Ireland, is noted as a positive. The committee prepared the relevant report Brexit and the future of Ireland: uniting Ireland and its people in peace and prosperity, outlining 17 recommendations regarding the Republic of Ireland’s aspirations for Brexit EU-U.K. Among them – the requirement of special status for Northern Ireland, the need to protect structural funds and the lack of new passport measures. The main decision of the committee concerns the need for peaceful reunification with Britain. According to some estimates, Scotland will also revise its desire to separate itself from GB.

EUROPEANS. IDENTIFICATION. The overwhelming majority of Europeans are optimistic about the future of European integration. According to new sociological surveys, in which over 33,000 people take part in the entire Eurointegration space, 68% recognize themselves as citizens of the EU. Such an estimate is the highest level ever registered by the European Commission. Despite Brexit, 36% of Britons have a positive image of the EU, while 29% say the EU [7] negatively affects them.

The key figure in Brexit’s process should be Austria, which takes over the leadership in the European Council in the second half of 2018. The most important task for the Austrian leadership is to secure the rights of 25,000 Austrian citizens now living in the WB. The

Austrian authorities are also concerned with financial problems: they expect the WB and the EU to guarantee a solution to the European budget, which will decrease significantly with the release of WB – several billion euros.

Belgium is most concerned about the trade issue, since 80% of its exports are directed to GB. In addition, Belgium is also counting on cooperation in the security field with the WB. Bulgaria, which is in the EU under the patronage of Germany, takes care of the protection of the rights of 60,000 Bulgarian citizens staying in the GB. Denmark is concerned with Brexit's own trade. The Danish side is worried that British companies would not have access to the EU market, as it could lead to British trade in Danish goods at low prices with clear negative consequences for the Danish economy. Estonia is concerned about the fate of the NATO armed forces, in particular the British components on its territory, and the future of Estonian firms in Britain. Estonians will continue to maintain close economic relations with Britain, as there are a significant number of Estonian hardware companies operating in London. Estonia will one way or another strive to leave GB a key role in the security sector of the EU. The Netherlands looks more sober about Brexit's consequences for both the GB itself and the domestic economy: it sees the need to correct the rather unrealistic expectations of WB in connection with Brexit. Let's remind that the Netherlands is one of the leading exporters in the GB among the EU countries, and expects protection of trade bases and rights of its citizens. Greece tries to avoid any debate about the effects of Brexit and to adhere to clear rules of the game by the decisions of the governing bodies of the EU. Among the most important tasks of Dublin (Ireland) is the preservation of peace in Northern Ireland, as well as the prevention of the breakdown of trade relations with GB. Spain sees the only task in the unity of Europe and the continuation of the integration process. The Spaniards are concerned about the issue of preserving the rights of Spanish citizens – about 300 thousand people. In addition, the effects of Brexit can also affect tourists – nowadays almost 18 million Britons visit Spain. In addition, Spanish diplomacy is trying in every way to avoid the Gibraltar case in the Brexit negotiation process. The headache of Cyprus relates to the British military base of Akrotiri, which is the Cypriot territory where the Cypriots live. From the British investments, the Cyprus tourism industry also depends. In addition, the vast majority of students in Cyprus are studying at British universities. Lithuania is worried about preserving the rights of 200,000 Lithuanians living in the World Bank. In addition, Lithuania, like Poland, is also the beneficiary of eurofunds in areas related to economy, education and science. Lithuania is worried by the prospect of staying alone with these programs, as with the implementation of Brexit, the funds concerned may be reduced. Malta will try to use the most beneficial effects from Brexit both as a former British colony and as a branch of British financial firms. Ironically, the GB most actively encouraged Malta to join the EU.

For Germany, Brexit has a symbolic meaning. This is the position demonstrated by the German side after the referendum in the GB and the Netherlands. Germany once again proved its worth and responsibility for the future of European integration. The German position quite rigidly defines the conditions under which Britain will not be able to rely on access to the European market if it does not recognize its basic principles, in particular the demands of the free flow of workers. But on the other hand, as was discussed in the election manifesto of the Christian Democrats of Germany, headed by Angela Merkel, in the interests of Germany after Brexit to maintain intense economic and political ties with Great Britain. In doing so, limit the negative impact of Brexit on people and the economy. The current German policy on WB is defined as "Do not hurry to break the cherry." The German rulers

are even convinced that Europe can overcome the migration crisis, but there are problems with Brexit. Brexit is not a tragedy, but it will create a lot of problems.

The Polish government in a number of questions shares the opinion of the British about the need to introduce changes to the supranational policy of the EU, which continues to resist sovereignty. According to the Poles, it is necessary for the EU to conduct deregulation, the introduction of new trading schemes, and the development of a common market. Countries outside the euro area, including Poland, also see the importance of an appropriate European security mechanism that guarantees national security. The next important issue for Poland is the protection of the rights of Poles in the islands. According to estimates, more than 800,000 Poles live in the GB, of which 400,000 are there for less than five years. Consequently, they do not yet have the right to permanent residence. The second important issue is money. Poland is the largest beneficiary of EU countries and is heavily dependent on EU structural funds. After Brexit, the overall EU budget will significantly decrease.

Portugal is concerned about the security and rights of EU citizens. In the negotiations on Brexit, the country emphasizes its pro-European and transatlantic nature. And, according to the Portuguese, the loss of a strong GB in the EU security system will significantly weaken the security system and make it vulnerable. For Romania, the fundamental issue is the equal rights of EU citizens. And, during a divorce, there was no question of differential treatment of citizens from different countries. The first decision the Romanians want is a provision on the equal rights of EU citizens in the islands of Britain. The Slovak Republic is concerned with the rights of its citizens in the British Isles and therefore seeks to ensure that their rights are as high-value as the British themselves. Today, 75,000 Slovaks live and work in the UK. Slovenia: For Ljubljana, it is important for the GB to regulate everything in accordance with the principles and legislation of the EU. Finland, first and foremost, worries about the future of the whole of the EU – is in despair: what will happen to it if ... But France instead of despair tries to keep the EU afloat and to prevent Brexit from spreading to other countries, which could lead to further defeats of the EU. At the same time, France does not forget about practical issues: according to the French side, Britain should return funds to Europeans and pay debts to the EU as a prerequisite for the start of negotiations on trade after Brexit. Among the new EU members is Croatia, which worries about its own security, and hopes that Brexit will not lead to a redefinition of Russia's and Turkey's geographic map of Europe, as GB serves as a key state of European stability and is essential in the defense of civilized Europe. The Czech Republic is in no hurry to conclude, but believes that trade issues should be resolved after all legal approvals. In Sweden, the idea of preserving the unity of the EU and the single EU budget, which are pillars of the reliability of Eurointegration, prevails.

So, for all EU-27 countries, Brexit's fundamental question is to protect the rights of Europeans from which countries they would not be, which corresponds to the most important European values. At the first stage of the discussion on the components of the WB with the EU and the first practical steps in implementing the "divorce under the British scenario", it turned out that the problems to be resolved are multiplied by geometric progression and are multifaceted and complex. To solve them, there are often no easy and unambiguous schemes of familiar mechanisms, since most of them cover several areas of multilateral integration processes that have already deepened the British economy. The UK and the EU are faced with more and more problems, including the complicated process of

“removing” the GB from the EU legislation – the entry into force of the draft law on termination of powers. The European Parliament did not have time to consider this issue among others during the sessions, so the real work on the realization of the planned is likely to begin in September 2017. Participants of the third round of debate, as it became known, will discuss the issues of “green Brexit”, “Norwegian Brexit” and others.

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2. Founded in Hong Kong in 1865 as “The Hongkong and Shanghai Bank” (Bank of Hong Kong and Shanghai) to support trade between Europe and China. Later, the name was changed to “The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation” (HSBC). In 1991, the headquarters was transferred to London.

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Return of life-giving heritage from oblivion

Nataliya Nabokova

Summary

The article considers the importance of a mission carried out by cultural diplomacy to return the archival heritage of many Ukrainian creators and outstanding personalities who, due to the tragic events of the 20th century, were forced to leave their historical homeland. Preserving their national identity, they made a huge contribution to the creation of the Ukrainian cultural space. It is necessary to unite two layers of cultural heritage for the formation and preservation of national homogeneous cultural achievements. An example is given with archival sources of the prominent Ukrainian composer Fedir Yakimenko

(Théodore Akimenko), who was excluded from the culturological system of the Ukrainian nation by previous ideology. Some found archival documents that are preserved in different countries, restore important milestones of the composer's life and creativity. Diplomatic establishments could accelerate the task of reproducing a single national multicultural space, taking into account the achievements of Ukrainian artists of the diaspora.

Keywords: cultural diplomacy, Fedir Yakimenko (Théodore Akimenko), homogeneous cultural achievements, archival heritage, national multicultural space.

Diplomacy, which influences the foreign audience with ideas, information, various aspects of culture and achievements in the field of art and science, using this influence on the structure of the permanent intergovernmental relations in the long run, is an integral part of the foreign policy of any country in the modern world. Such an external diplomatic activity was termed "cultural diplomacy."

The interaction of diplomacy and culture has long historical traditions and serves the national interests of the state. Cultural relations, as one of the most flexible factors in the foreign policy mechanism, are called upon to work to create a supportive and objective image of the state in the world, since they are capable of making a significant contribution to the achievement of the fundamental goals, to increase the efficiency of foreign policy, and to promote the achievement and returning to the Motherland the artistic and archival values of our compatriots. In this context, the cultural activities of diplomatic institutions should develop and establish long-lasting links between government institutions, archival and privately owned funds, public organizations and stakeholders, taking into account the experience of academics from different fields and involving them in the formation of a cultural policy, creating a peculiar new form of cultural cultivation. As a rule, it is these connections that allow the development of culture in contemporary discourse, emphasizing the national identity and identity of the Ukrainian people in an accelerated process of globalization. Thus, among the wide range of tasks of cultural foreign policy, the right of the people to acquaint themselves with the cultural heritage created by ethnic Ukrainians is a special place, but because of the terrifying and tragic events of the twentieth century they were scattered throughout the world, in various collections, collections and private archives.

For the Ukrainian people, the rarities of the material and spiritual heritage, epistolary sources, archival testimonies, memories and events, engraved in correspondence and diaries, play a special role in restoring historical memory and national culture, which is an extremely important factor for building a powerful independent state with a distinctive and a unique culture for strengthening real sovereignty, and for joining the international community on an equal footing.

The notion of cultural diplomacy is closely linked to the experience of France, which has always cared for its cultural influence, systematically integrating cultural activities from the 19th century into the bosom of foreign policy. In this area, France, being the most experienced heir, has the best network of cultural and diplomatic institutions. Cultural diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy in this country is also considered an important factor in domestic cultural development. France has always tried to find and preserve its artistic, literary, archival and artistic works that, after the revolution of 1789, and the plunder of Versailles, spread throughout the world. Thanks to diplomatic relations and involvement,

scholars, artists, researchers and patrons managed to find and return 20 percent of the entire fund that existed before the French Revolution. This is a vivid example of how to take care of your spiritual treasury to leave it for your descendants.

Within this discourse, Ukrainians are also faced with the question of finding, familiarizing, researching and returning to the Motherland scattered throughout the world archival materials, documentary evidence, printed literary works of our prominent compatriots who were outside of mainland Ukraine and worked in conditions of emigration, in forced isolation from the general flow of cultivation, without communication with the historical homeland. This led to an unbalanced structure of cultural values, some of which became public, supported by the ideological orientation of the contemporary society, while others remained marginal or generally pushed beyond the limits of national cultural development, not falling into the ideology of building a new society, with the stamp of traitors and decadents.

A striking example of such artificial oblivion and exclusion from the scientific and cultural circulation of information on life-creation is the biography and legacy of the famous Ukrainian composer, pianist and critic Fedir Stepanovich Yakimenko (1876-1945), who left Bolshevik Russia in 1923, already having authority abroad.

F.S. Yakimenko was born in Kharkov, his father sang at the church choir, all three sons – Fedir, Nikolai and Jacob (the future Yakov Steppe) – were extremely gifted. Everyone, one after the other, at the age of ten was taken to the famous Court Singing Chapel of St. Petersburg, after which they continued their studies at the Conservatory. Fedir Yakimenko taught composition of M.O. Balakirev and M.A. Roman-Korsakov, a young student showed great skill and dedication to learning, and M. Rimsky-Korsakov and M. Balakirev showed real parental care to him to provide further education.

The life and creative path of the young Yakimenko began gloriously and brightly. Balakirev, highly valued the talent of his student, in 1896, made for him, already a student of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, monthly assistance of the royal government in the amount of 40 rubles for the entire duration of study. In the central state historical archives of St. Petersburg, in the fund 361, description 1, case 44, the personal affair of the student of Fedir Yakimenko, the beginning of which dates from 22.02.1896, and the end – January 28, 1902, is kept by his fate Mitrofan Belyaev, who Noting the exceptional talent, he took care of him and in every way supported the material, offering since 1900 constantly publishing in his musical publications.

Archival documents, journalistic sources, musical editions of early and late works, which are published for the first time, give an opportunity to accurately outline its activity, world outlook and define a national identity.

This arsenal of investigated evidence of the past proves that it is a significant figure in a homogeneous Ukrainian culturological space, with a unique outlook, where the true aspiration for the spiritual comprehension of the universe in its integrity and harmony has been fully reflected in creativity, which is urgently needed to revive and bring to the modern audience. In 1901, on the recommendation of M. Rimsky-Korsakov, F. Yakimenko became the first teacher of the harmony of Igor Stravinsky. In total 14 lessons were held, for each of which he received a fee of 1 ruble 50 cents, about which the records in the book of

expenses of his father Igor Stravinsky preserved. In an effort to get acquainted with the latest trends in world art, in 1903 young Yakimenko traveled to Europe, where he performed in concert programs with his works. In European capitals, his path intersects with the prominent composers and artists of that time, as evidenced by the letters to him, as well as extremely endorsing articles about his work in prestigious musical criticisms and almanacs stored in the archives of the National Library of France – with whom the author of this publication got acquainted, but the volume of the article does not allow them to be made public.

Multifaceted creativity F.S. Yakimenko resulted not only in the composer's heritage – he wrote numerous essays, essays, a monograph "Life in Art", indicating his writer talent, philosophical and critical experience, encyclopedic knowledge and literary eloquence. The merger of music and philosophy, music and science, music and literature formed his artistic world, and in fact became the leitmotif of creativity.

In 1906, Yakimenko returned to his native Kharkiv, began teaching at the Institute of Noble Ladies and at the Music School of IRMO (Imperial Russian Musical Society). They began to publish their essays, philosophical and musical reflections in the Russian music newspaper – then RMG.

In his monograph "Life in Art," published in Nos. 6-7, 10, 12, 13, 35, 38 of the RMG for 1912, No. 1, 12 of RMG for 1913, the author touches on the urgent theme of the disadvantages of musical education in society, the need for reform in the field of music education, opposes the fact that music turned into a craft, talking about the wretched social position of man, even in peoples with a high culture. Emphasizes the fact that art is the haven where a person burdened with a burden of life will find true peace of mind and the satisfaction of higher spiritual demands. His article "Art and War" (RMG No. 46, 1914) imbued with tragic content, where the war is described as a crime with endless flows of blood flooding huge territories, plunging into the deep grief of the world and the Artists. The author is convinced that only spiritual renewal will teach people to be humane and strong in spirit to influence the progress of civilization and to unite the high ideals of Humanity.

During the turbulent years of the First World War and the Revolution, he initially became a professor at Moscow Conservatory, then St. Petersburg, later Petrograd Conservatory, where he worked until 1923. In the Central State Archives of Literature and Arts of St. Petersburg in the fund P-298, description 2, case 25, the personal affair of the professor of the St. Petersburg Conservatory – Yakymenko F.S. is kept, the final date of which is October 31, 1923. IN

In 1924, Yakimenko moved to Prague, where he headed the musical-pedagogical department of the Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute named after Drahomanov. In the Svoboda newspaper, the Ukrainian diary of New York, in a room dated May 26, 1924, the Shevchenko concert in Prague was mentioned, dated May 10, ordered by the common actions of all Ukrainian emigrant organizations, where "a new valuable force appeared on the field Ukrainian music ":" The main difference of the concert was its high artistic level, due to the fact that Professor Yakimenko participated in his program."

In Prague in 1925, the Ukrainian Public Publishing Fund printed a copy of 5000 copies of the first Ukrainian textbook on harmony, authored by F. Yakimenko, "The Practical Course of

Harmony Science" in two parts with a task force who had many innovative ideas for the Ukrainian musical theory of that time. The National Library of France has an agreement on copyright to this textbook, according to which the author paid 300 CZK for a printed sheet of 32 000 letters at the time of leaving the work world.

After installing the "Iron Curtain" to return to the homeland was not possible, so he traveled in 1926 to France, where his senior colleague from the conservatory had settled down with his family, devoted to his youth, M.M. Cherepnin, who repeatedly visited the family of Fedir Stepanovich in Kharkiv, arriving there on summer holidays. There also lived professor of the Moscow Conservatory Ye.O. Gwest, a mentor and colleague. Dipping to France, Yakimenko settled in Nice, in order to improve her broken health under her sun. At this time in French publishing houses, his works written on Ukrainian themes are printed. In the private archive of the French researcher of cinema of Ukrainian origin Lyubomyr Gosityko, the manuscripts of Fyodor Stepanovich's works on Oleksandr Olesya's poetry are kept, which, fortunately, were published in 1937 in the publishing house "M.P. Belaïeff" – "Romance and songs on verses of Ukrainian poets". To the author of the article these solos were kindly sent from England by opera singer Pavel Gunka, who intends to record them on a disc together with other early romances of the composer. There are numerous works devoted to Ukrainian subjects, their list is composed by the composer himself and is also in the archive of Lubomyr Goseyk. With him, as a result of correspondence, he was able to get acquainted – in this way, droplets gather information about the archives of this outstanding Ukrainian artist and his creativity in a foreign country. Numerous manuscripts are in the National Library of France. These are his ballets: "On the Ukrainian Hills" – "Sur les collines de l'Ukraine" (Op. 81, 76 pages); "Ghosts and Visions" – "Fantômes et visions" (Op. 82, 96 pages); "On the Dnipro River" – "Au bord du Dnieper", (Op. 83, 96 pages); "Mermaids" – "Les ondines", (Op. 84, 87 pages). In the epistolary legacy of F. Yakimenko, which is kept in the National Library of France, there is a letter from Andriy Livitsky, who during 1926 – 1954 headed the State Center of the Ukrainian National Council in exile and led the Ukrainian foreign state policy. The letter is dated February 4, 1944, where the author, appreciating the fruitful work of the composer and his rare creative work, is trying to find the opportunity to publish his ballets, drawing the attention of Simon Sozontiva (after the war he led the Ukrainian public ward in France.) Sozontiv had his job in France, was the owner of the extragomme rubber production company). In the same letter, the author, understanding the difficult situation of Fedir Yakimenko, who was in danger of military action and suffering from poverty and disasters, advises him to move to Montreux, not far from Paris, and temporarily reside at home at Sozontiva. But he remained alive for one year, because on December 28, 1944, in the evening, he fell down on St. Michel's Square, from where he was taken to the Hotel Dee Hospital. He died there at noon on January 3, 1945, as evidenced by the memoirs of musicologist Pavlo Matsenko, who wrote a major article in the Svoboda newspaper on June 1, 1945, dedicated to Fyodor Yakimenko.

The National Library of France maintains the epistolary heritage of the FS in the archives of manuscripts. Yakimenko These are letters to him from O. Glazunov, M. Kalvokores, O. Grechaninov, M. O. Cherpnykh, M. Ravel, Mrs. Khmelyuk, directors of various publishing houses, the agreement on publishing a textbook in Prague, an agreement on obtaining fees from certain publishing houses and other Already processed more than 200 archival units, which gradually clarify the important stages of his life in Kharkiv, St. Petersburg, Prague and Paris. Kharkiv musicologist and critic Y. L. Shcherbinin, who revives the history of musical

culture in Slobozhanshchyna, agreed to provide materials about the family and parents of F.S. Yakimenko, who carefully kept it all the time. In addition to the above-mentioned locations, the personal archive of the composer with an extremely valuable epistolary material is in Basel. In Moscow, there are musical editions of the early period and memoirs of contemporary composers about it, St. Petersburg kept personal affairs during the days of students and professors, in Prague, documentary evidence and remains of exhibits of the Museum of the Liberation struggle, where in the life of F.S. Yakimenko transmitted some of his works and manuscripts, while his only portrait, painted by well-known Ukrainian artist Ivan Celera, was kept. There are some correspondence in Kharkiv and Lviv, and from the first creative works, there are articles from newspapers and magazines in ukrainian foreign collections – for example, from the editions "Freedom", "Ukrainian self-sustainer", "Dilo", "Liberation way", and in A small number of works in the National Library of Ukraine named after VI were carefully assembled in Kyiv by musicologists. Vernadsky and in the musical fund of the library of the NMAU them. P.I. Tchaikovsky.

A well-known musicologist, a Frenchman of Ukrainian origin, Aristide Virsta, who for a long time kept his archives privately, bought invaluable documents at Yevhen Deslav, made great efforts to rebuild Theodore Yakimenko in the famous cemetery Batignolla in Paris. Unfortunately, he did not have time to write a monographic study, using the purchased fund of the composer, although it was going to do it. He published his only article in 1959, which he read at the World Music Symposium in Cologne in 1958: "Théodore Akimenko, représentant de l'impressionisme de l'Europe de l'Est" – "Fedir Yakimenko – Representative of Impressionism of Eastern Europe". At that time, in the Soviet Union Yakimenko's work was considered decadent and "anechoic" and "impersonal", therefore, the research was not conducted; attention to his legacy was not given at all; the works were not reprinted, and, therefore, they were not executed – he was undeservedly artificially removed from the artistic environment and forgotten.

The development of the archaic heritage of Fedir Yakimenko and the return to her native land require joint efforts of many specialists. Foreign funds have their own rules, the observance of which requires a lot of time and long-term correspondence. Of course, with the participation of diplomatic institutions with their authority and taking into account the localization at the places of search and processing of archives, this case could be accelerated. Thus, the process of reproduction of the national multicultural space, taking into account the achievements of Ukrainian artists of the Diaspora, which, being far removed from the mainland, could always identify themselves as Ukrainians, creating a culture in which their national identity crystallized, could be no less important direction of cultural diplomacy. This is extremely important in preventing the fragmentation and preservation of the integrity of a single Ukrainian cultural space. Formation and preservation of the national homogeneous system of creative achievements – both mainland and diaspora Ukraine for the dynamic identification of its identity, as well as to maintain the ethno-cultural boundaries of its space in the world of accelerated globalization – should become an important direction of cultural diplomacy.

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