

HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF SUPRANATIONAL MILITARY-POLITICAL UNIONS IN A MULTIPOLAR WORLD

Kaptan Maksym, Korniienko Valerii

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61345/1339-7915.2025.2.9>

Annotation. The purpose of this work is to research the historical and legal aspects of the formation of supranational military-political unions in a multipolar world, focusing on the concept of the Baltic-Black Sea Axis. The authors analyze the idea of the Baltic-Black Sea Axis as a geopolitical union that envisages cooperation between countries from the Baltic to the Black Sea and adjacent regions. It is noted that attempts to create similar international organizations have been discussed for over 100 years, but they rarely take on the character of full-fledged “unions” or “alliances”.

The paper traces the development of the idea from the medieval route “from the Varangians to the Greeks”, associations with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the “Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth” project. The development of the concept intensified in the late 19th – early 20th century, especially after the First World War, when “borderland states” sought ways to defend national interests. Initiatives of Finnish and Estonian diplomats, as well as Ukrainian figures such as Julian Bachynsky, Mykola Mikhnovsky, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and Symon Petliura, are highlighted. Particular attention is paid to the Bulduri Conference of 1920, which, despite a developed program for a defense and economic union, did not lead to its full implementation due to “insurmountable differences”.

The Polish “Intermarium” project of Józef Piłsudski is also considered, which, although ambitious, faced fears of imperialism and Polonization from neighboring states. The authors emphasize that the idea of a Baltic-Black Sea Union gained “a second wind” after the collapse of the USSR, mentioning initiatives by the presidents of Ukraine and Poland.

The study identifies potential advantages of creating such a union: geostrategic location, economic complementarity, and shared historical and cultural ties. It is emphasized that such an association could neutralize Russia’s influence, integrate Eastern and Western Europe on democratic principles, and create a powerful Eastern European center of political influence within the EU. The economic potential of such a union is estimated as significant, with a combined GDP that could exceed Russia’s GDP, placing the union among the top ten global economies. Specific infrastructure and energy projects that could strengthen cooperation in the region are discussed.

Key words: Baltic-Black Sea Axis, supranational unions, multipolar world, military-political alliances, geopolitics, Bulduri Conference, Intermarium, Ukraine, Poland, Eastern Europe, regional security.

1. Introduction.

The Baltic-Black Sea Axis is a geopolitical axis, one of the possible supranational military-political unions in a multipolar world, articulated by some politicians and public figures, primarily from Eastern Europe, as an association of independent states through diplomatic relations and military cooperation. It envisages the creation of a geopolitical union between the conditional (Western European and North American states) on one side and the post-Soviet space (especially Russia, its allies, and other totalitarian states) on

the other. Different authors of the Baltic-Black Sea Axis concepts include not only states from the Baltic to the Black Sea in the project but also states located on the opposite shores of these seas: the Caucasus, Anatolia, or Nordic countries. Attempts to create an international organization among these countries have been discussed for more than 100 years; however, to date, such organizations, if created, do not have the character of “unions” or “alliances”.

2. Analysis of scientific publications.

Depending on the specific author of the geopolitical concept or project, its names vary. The most common terms are the Baltic-Black Sea Axis and the Baltic-Black Sea Union project. In general, these terms refer to the creation of a supranational association most often including the following states: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Ukraine. Less frequently, this list also includes: Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Slovakia, Hungary, Turkey, Finland, Croatia, Czech Republic, and Montenegro. In isolated, singular concepts, there is also mention of states that could potentially join: Austria, Great Britain, North Macedonia, Serbia, Slovenia, and Sweden. Analyzing the literature, other names for the same concept can be found, particularly in the works of Stepan Rudnytsky, for example: Baltic-Black Sea Arc, Baltic-Black Sea Alliance, Baltic-Pontic Federation, Baltic Union, etc. Sometimes some geopoliticians, such as the American George Friedman, head of the well-known intelligence and analytical organization Stratfor, use the name Intermarium (Latin: Intermarium or Polish: Międzymorze). However, unlike the original “Intermarium” project, which emerged in the 1920s among Polish Prometheists led by Piłsudski, the Baltic-Black Sea Union projects refer to an association of sovereign states, not a confederation.

The project of creating the Baltic-Black Sea Axis has roots in the medieval route “from the Varangians to the Greeks”. From the beginning, the Baltic-Black Sea Axis has been associated with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia, and Samogitia, or with the project of the “Commonwealth of Three Nations” confederation, consisting of the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Grand Duchy of Ruthenia, which was outlined by the Treaty of Hadiach but not implemented. For Ukrainian territories, cooperation with both northern and southern states has been relevant since the times of Kyivan Rus'. Specifically, examples of such diplomatic relations and military cooperation include the cooperation of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa with the Ottoman Empire and Sweden. This idea has not lost its relevance since.

3. Purpose of the work.

This article comprehensively explores the genesis, evolution, and potential of the Baltic-Black Sea Axis concept as a significant supranational military-political union in the contemporary multipolar world. The authors analyze the historical prerequisites of this idea, starting from the Middle Ages and its connection with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and also meticulously examine attempts to realize the Baltic-Black Sea Union in the early 20th century, notably the Bulduri Conference of 1920 and Józef Piłsudski's Polish “Intermarium” project. Particular attention is given to the resurgence of this idea after the collapse of the USSR and its modern prospects, emphasizing the geostrategic, economic, and security advantages of such an association for the countries of the region, including Ukraine, as an instrument to counter external influences and create a powerful center of power in Eastern Europe.

4. Review and discussion.

The development of the Baltic-Black Sea geopolitical concept began in the late 19th – early 20th century [1]. After the First World War, a number of so-called “borderland states” emerged as a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, German, and Russian empires, raising the question of defending their national interests. This provided the basis for the creation of regional diplomatic and military-political alliances. One of the initiators of the Baltic-Black Sea Union (in 1919) was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland, Rudolf Holsti [2]; diplomats from the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs held the same opinion.

Ukrainian political and public figures participated in the development: Julian Bachynsky (1895), Mykola Mikhnovsky (1900), Mykhailo Hrushevsky (in the work "Black Sea Orientation" in 1918), and Stepan Rudnytsky (1923) [3]. Also, Symon Petliura, the Chief Otaman and Head of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic, paid great attention to this idea. In a letter to Andriy Livytsky, he described a coalition between Poland, the Ukrainian People's Republic, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Kuban, as well as the South Caucasian republics – Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia [4]. In December 1919, the ministry sent a circular to Ukrainian ambassadors stating that close cooperation with former Russian colonies should be ensured for international recognition of the republic by the Entente states. Some Ukrainian statesmen and diplomats of that time (including Kedrovsky, Matsiyevych, Nikovsky, Petliura, Porsh, Slavinsky) believed that the Ukrainian People's Republic should become the center of a union of "borderland states" along with: the Baltic and Caucasian countries, Poland, the Kingdom of Romania, and Kuban.

The Baltic-Black Sea Union was de facto created for the first time in August 1920 at a conference near Riga, in the Bulduri Palace. The Bulduri Conference (also called the "Fourth Baltic" or "Second Riga") [5] was attended by representatives of:

- The Republic of Latvia (Zigfrīds Anna Meierovics, Voldemārs Zāmuels, and Pēteris Radziņš);
- The Republic of Lithuania (Jurgis Šaulys, Dovas Zaunius, Ladas Natkevičius, and Vytautas Gylis);
- The Republic of Estonia (Kaarel Robert Pusta, R. Eliaser, and Paul Lill);
- The Republic of Finland (Leonard Åström, Carl Birger Helsingius, and Erkki Reijonen);
- The Second Polish Republic (Leon Wasilewski, Witold Kamieniecki, and Adam Tarnowski);
- The Ukrainian People's Republic (Oleksandr Salikovsky and Volodymyr Kedrovsky).

The program, developed by Latvian Foreign Minister Zigfrīds Anna Meierovics, included:

- Plans for a defense union;
- Integration of economic systems;
- A common financial and monetary policy;
- A political convention on mutual support and a common foreign policy;
- Ensuring a free route from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

However, the negotiations also revealed insurmountable differences in the policies of its participants, which ultimately prevented the creation of a full-fledged military-political union.

The Intermarium confederation [6]. Polish politicians and government officials of the Prometheist political direction presented their project for a union of states in the 1920s. Thus, the confederation proposed by the Chief of State and Marshal of Poland Józef Piłsudski, consisting of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine, was intended to revive the multinational "Rzeczpospolita" (Commonwealth) with the aim of avoiding the domination of the German Empire and Bolshevik Russia in Eastern Europe. The confederation project was named "Międzymorze" (Polish) or "Intermarium" (Latin). Piłsudski's federalism, where Poland was seen as the center and patron of "Intermarium", was ambiguously received by neighboring states, primarily Lithuania. The main fears were related to the project's imperialism, turning Poland into a metropolis, and consequently, the Polonization of neighbors. Both the Bolsheviks and almost all representatives of Western Europe, except France, also opposed this idea. The project of the confederation was, to one degree or another, also involved Polish Foreign Minister Józef Beck, General and Prime Minister of Poland in exile Władysław Sikorski, the well-known Polish politician and leader of the neo-Sanacja KPN party Leszek Moczulski, and many others.

Subsequently, after the post-war developments of the 1940 project, one of the ideologists of Ukrainian nationalism, Yurii Lypa, developed the geopolitical "Black Sea Doctrine" [7]. In it, he pointed to the historical commonality of the peoples inhabiting the coasts of the Baltic and Black Seas. Lypa leaned towards creating a "Baltic-Black Sea Federation" consisting of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus, which were

then occupied by the USSR and the Third Reich. For the first time, a new concept of understanding and peaceful relations with Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Belarusians was formulated by the Polish political publicist Juliusz Mieroszewski, who, together with his colleague Jerzy Giedroyc, substantiated the need for liberation from Russian imperialism of Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belarus. This concept was called the "Giedroyc-Mieroszewski Doctrine" and became the basis of modern Polish Eastern European policy.

As a result of the disintegration of the USSR and the cessation of the existence of the "socialist camp", the idea of creating something like a union or alliance along the Baltic-Black Sea Axis gained a second wind. Positive statements began to be heard from official representatives of the newly independent states.

In Belarus in 1992, the prominent Belarusian politician, founder of the Belarusian Popular Front, Zianon Pazniak, put forward the idea of creating a buffer union as an international entity without military bases of the North Atlantic Alliance and the newly formed Russian Federation. However, two years later, in the Belarusian presidential elections, Pazniak took only 3rd place with 12,82%, losing to communist Vyacheslav Kebich and the election winner Alexander Lukashenka. Lukashenka established a dictatorial regime in Belarus during his years in power. In 1996, he signed a treaty of commonwealth with Russia, and in 1999, he signed a treaty on the creation of the "Union State of Russia and Belarus", which became the legal and political basis for Belarus's loss of sovereignty, making the local government de facto a puppet one. In Belarusian opposition circles, the idea of creating a union in the image of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is popular. It often coincides with the Prometheist "Intermarium" confederation, including states of Central and Eastern Europe, but does not extend to the Caucasus or Nordic countries [8].

Central and Eastern European Space of Stability and Security.

In February 1993, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk spoke in Budapest with an initiative to create a "Central and Eastern European Space of Stability and Security" (CEEES). It was envisioned that it would include the Baltic states, Ukraine, Belarus, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, as well as Bulgaria and Romania. In April 1993, a draft for the creation of the organization was prepared in Kyiv. The following year, the "League of Parties of the Intermarium Countries" was created in Kyiv, which was supposed to generate the idea of a possible alliance. However, Kravchuk lost the subsequent presidential elections to Leonid Kuchma, and the development of the CEEES project was closed. In September 1999, a summit was held in Yalta, during which issues of activating Baltic-Black Sea cooperation were discussed. There, Kuchma stated that the axis should become one of the pillars of the new Europe. However, formalization and institutionalization of Baltic-Black Sea cooperation did not occur during the Yalta summit [9].

In 1997, the former communist, then President of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas, spoke in favor of activating cooperation; later, in 2006, at an international conference in Vilnius, former Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimira Prunskienė spoke in favor of creating an alliance. However, neither of them specified details of cooperation nor the states with which it was planned. In Poland, the ideas of creating a regional alliance are primarily associated with Piłsudski's confederation project. In the 21st century, Polish President Lech Kaczyński, shortly before the Smolensk catastrophe, initiated an international conference on "Intermarium", referring to political changes in Ukraine, particularly due to the Orange Revolution. After a pause in Ukrainian-Polish relations related to Viktor Yanukovich's pro-Russian policy, the "Euromaidan", and the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war, Kaczyński's work was continued by Andrzej Duda. On the eve of his inauguration on August 6, 2015, he spoke in favor of creating an alliance of states comprising Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldova, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and six former Yugoslav countries. This was the first time in modern history that the initiator of the Baltic-Black Sea project was the president of the most economically and politically powerful country in Eastern Europe. In 2005, after a visit to Lithuania and negotiations with President Valdas Adamkus, M. Saakashvili stated that "the Baltic-Black Sea axis has become a reality for Georgia" and initiated the establishment of the "Community of Democratic Choice", but meetings in this format have not been held since 2006. The idea and project of creating a Baltic-Black Sea Union are particularly popular among Ukrainian, Polish, and Lithuanian political science circles. The basis of such a union is Christian nations with a long European cultural tradition, but the inclusion of secular Islamic states is not excluded. Cooperation between the countries of the Baltic-Black Sea region raises the problem of transforming them into independent geopolitical subjects whose policies may differ not only from Moscow's policy but also from Berlin's and Paris's and the European Union as a whole. That is, the implementation of the Baltic-Black

Sea Union project within the EU would allow for the creation of an Eastern European center of political influence that could realize common political and economic interests. According to some scholars, such an idea would be positively received in Washington as a counterbalance to the Germany-France tandem against the background of serious military-political and economic contradictions between the USA and the European Union, as well as growing "Euroskepticism" and "European anti-Americanism". Thanks to closer political and economic cooperation, Eastern European countries could identify themselves as a completely independent, self-sufficient, and organic interstate association with their own interests [10].

The advantages of creating a union include the successful geostrategic and compact location of the axis countries at the intersection of transport and energy corridors, economic complementarity, long-standing historical contacts and interaction, and similarities in ethnic groups, worldviews, cultural, and civilizational views. This would weaken the struggle between the USA and Russia for influence in Eastern Europe, contributing to the strengthening of European security. The creation of a union along the Baltic-Black Sea Axis cannot slow down the process of integration of Eastern and Western Europe but would give this process a more stable, organized, and harmonious character. Political cooperation would allow for the consolidation of information, diplomatic, and security policies and achieve great economic potential.

The Baltic-Black Sea Union could contribute to the realization of the following tasks:

- Neutralize Russia's attempts to view post-Soviet countries as its sphere of influence and play a leading role in the post-Soviet space;
- Gradually unite Eastern and Western Europe on the basis of pan-European, not just Western European, democratic principles, taking into account the specifics of Eastern countries;
- Counter attempts to preserve Eastern Europe as a traditional raw material appendage or market for Western European and Russian products;
- Create a system of pan-European collective security.

Baltic and Black Sea countries already cooperate in various economic spheres at a bilateral level, but in case of their unification into a supranational union, they would gain the opportunity to implement multilateral large-scale economic projects as well. The Baltic-Black Sea region can become a zone of trans-regional cooperation between countries on one side — Western, Central, Northern, and on the other — the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Strengthening economic cooperation could involve simplifying business conduct in a common economic space, introducing a free trade area, and joint energy, logistical, and infrastructure projects that would contribute to the economic development of the region, which, in turn, could increase its economic potential and defense capabilities. In addition, the economic development of the Baltic-Black Sea region could serve as an example for totalitarian and authoritarian states that are still under Russia's influence, such as Belarus and Central Asian countries. Of course, in the economic dimension, the Baltic-Black Sea Union project can only be viable if it is an integrated part or "sub-region" of Greater Europe and enjoys US support.

Research indicates that a list of states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan) could be self-sufficient and powerful, as their combined GDP would exceed Russia's GDP by one and a half times. In the broadest version of the union, the potential alliance would have a population of more than 263 million people and a gross domestic product at purchasing power parity of 7.3 billion US dollars, comparable to the richest states in the world and would place this union among the top 10 economies alongside the USA, China, India, and Japan. The economic development of the Baltic-Black Sea region must take into account its role as an important crossroads from north to south — from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and from west to east. In the first case, the countries of the Baltic-Black Sea region could create a transit system for transporting goods from the Baltic Sea to the Black, Caspian, and Mediterranean Sea basins and vice versa. Particularly important and effective could be the "South-North" transit connection: joint transport and energy projects, the development of the Euro-Asian transport corridor, cooperation in transporting Caspian, Iranian, and Iraqi energy resources to European markets, provided sanctions are lifted. As for the eastward orientation, it includes cooperation with countries located along it. Partially, based mostly on bilateral relations, some logistics projects have already been implemented. If we consider the logistics between the Baltic and Black Seas, in February 2003, within the framework of pan-European transport corridor № 9, Ukraine, Lithuania,

and Belarus launched the “Viking” railway combined transportation route from Chornomorsk to Minsk to Klaipėda, which, if connected with the ferry-railway line operating between Ukraine and Turkey, could gain access to the Middle East [11]. In 2009, a joint project of Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Estonia, as well as Poland and Moldova, the freight train ZUBR, was launched. In the south of the Baltic-Black Sea region, infrastructure projects have been implemented, primarily related to the supply of Azerbaijani energy resources to Europe. Thus, based on the former oil pipeline “was built” (in the 1990s) and “Baku – Tbilisi – Ceyhan” (in the 2000s). The “Baku – Tbilisi – Erzurum” gas pipeline and the “Baku – Tbilisi – Kars” railway also operate. After the completion of the Second Karabakh War, according to the ceasefire statement, Azerbaijan was supposed to gain access to the so-called “Zangezur corridor” in exchange for Russian military control of the “Lachin corridor”. This would allow connecting the main part of the country with its Nakhchivan exclave and significantly reducing the “logistical shoulder” to the Turkish transport system not by bypassing Georgia or Iran, but directly. Promising projects across the Caspian are also considered: the Middle Corridor and the Trans-Caspian gas pipeline. There were also ideas to build a Trans-Black Sea gas pipeline from the Caucasus to Crimea (White Stream); however, it was not implemented due to the annexation of the peninsula by Russia in 2014. Instead, Russia and Turkey launched the Blue Stream and TurkStream gas pipelines (the latter replacing the canceled South Stream). At the same time, the Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline (TANAP) was built through Turkey, connecting the South Caucasus and the Balkans and transforming Turkey into a major energy hub. The implementation of the Baltic-Black Sea Union project would contribute to the EU program TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia) for the development of a transport corridor from Europe through the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian to the countries of Central Asia and China. The so-called “Middle Route” of the project to restore the “Silk Road” seems promising: “Baltic Sea – Poland – Ukraine – Black Sea – Caucasus – Central Asia – China – Yellow Sea”. Other logistical projects may also occur: the Latvian initiative to restore the Daugava-Dnipro waterway; the restoration of the Libava-Romny railway connection; the Via Carpatia road route (from Klaipėda, Lithuania, to Thessaloniki, Greece), which could be part of the Trans-European Transport Network and to which Ukraine could join; the E40 waterway project, which would connect the Baltic and Black Sea basins from Gdansk to Kherson along the Vistula and Western Bug to the Belarusian border, and further – through the Pripjat to the Dnieper. These same routes can be extended north to Scandinavia and south to the Caspian [12].

In the energy sector, there is a project known since the 1990s – the “Euro-Asian Oil Transportation Corridor” (EAOTC), which can be built on the basis of the existing Odesa-Brody pipeline. It would reach Gdansk in the North, and Baku in the South via the Black Sea and the South Caucasus, thus connecting the Caspian and the Baltic. Some experts believe that the main reason for the lack of progress in the implementation of the Odesa-Brody-Płock-Gdansk pipeline project is the opposition of the Russian authorities, who block the appearance of competitive Caspian oil on the European market [13].

5. Conclusions.

Research indicates that a list of states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan) could be self-sufficient and powerful, as their combined GDP would exceed Russia’s GDP by one and a half times. The Baltic-Black Sea region can become a zone of trans-regional cooperation between countries on one side – Western, Central, Northern, and on the other – the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East.

References:

1. Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine.: O.V. Klynchenko, Ya.P. Matyichyk. Baltic-Black Sea Union (BBU), ed. board: I.M. Dziuba: NAS of Ukraine, Shevchenko Scientific Society. Kyiv: Institute of Encyclopedic Research of the NAS of Ukraine, 2003. Vol. 2: B — Bio. 872 p. [in Ukrainian].
2. Baltic-Black Sea Union: Prospects for Implementation (Part 1). URL: https://bintel.org.ua/nash_archiv/arxiv-regioni/arxiv-yevropa/arxiv-insha-yevropa/volodich-balto/ (accessed: 05.04.2025).
3. Hrushevsky, M.S., On the Threshold of a New Ukraine: Thoughts and Dreams. Kyiv: Printing Co. “Petro Barsky in Kyiv”, 1918. 120 p. [in Ukrainian].

4. Baltic-Black Sea Union as a Ukrainian Geopolitical Paradigm / Scientific Bulletin of Uzhhorod National University. Series: History. 2021. Issue 1 (44). P. 104-114. [in Ukrainian].
5. Holovchenko V. I., Diplomatic History of Ukraine (Late XIX — First Quarter of XX Century): Textbook for Students of Higher Educational Institutions. KNUTSH. Kyiv: Kyiv University, 2011. 476 p. [in Ukrainian].
6. Honcharenko Yu. "Intermarium Project: From Concept to Implementation". URL: <https://fpdi.org.ua/2017/06/09/iu-honcharenko-proekt-mizhmoria-vid-kontseptsii-do-realizatsii/> (accessed: 05.04.2025).
7. Baltic-Black Sea Union – a New Geopolitical Axis for Ukraine. Online Newspaper "Narodna Volia". Nadvirna, 2016. URL: <http://volia.if.ua/2016/08/balto-chornomorskyj-soyuz-nova-heopolitychna-vis-dlya-ukrajiny/> (accessed: 20.04.2025).
8. Bohdanovich I. I. Formation of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Belarus in the Context of the Evolution of Its Statehood. In: Historical Foundations of the Foreign Policy Course of Post-Soviet Countries: Monograph / edited by A.H. Bulvinsky; Kyiv: SE "Institute of World History of the NAS of Ukraine", 2023, pp. 88–103.
9. Lazarenko Yu. M. Threats and Challenges to Ukraine's Security in a Hybrid War. Qualification work. 2022. Chernivtsi, P. 67-73. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200128220625/http://bintel.com.ua/uk/article/volodich-balto> (accessed: 20.04.2025).
10. Baltic-Black Sea Union: Myth or Reality? Odesa Regional Public and Political Newspaper "Chornomorski Novyny". 2016, No. 48. URL: <https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/944167.html> (accessed: 20.04.2025).
11. Bolzhelarsky Ya., Hrevtsov S., Sannytsky N. Combined Transportation in the Logistics System of the European Union and Ukraine: Industry Publication for Railway Transport Specialists URL: <https://www.railway.supply/uk/kombinovani-perevezennya-ta-%D1%97h-misce-u-transportnij-logistichnij-sistemi-%D1%94vrosoyuzu-ta-ukra%D1%97ni/> (accessed: 05.06.2025).
12. Nikolaev S. "Pipeline" to Europe: Electronic Publication VVR Holos Ukrainy. URL: <https://www.golos.com.ua/article/237029>. 2004, (accessed: 05.06.2025).

Maksym Kaptan,

*Lieutenant Colonel of Justice, Master of Law,
Assistant Head of the Mine Action Center for Legal Affairs
of the State Special Transport Service of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, Chernihiv, Ukraine
E-mail: kaptan.maks@ukr.net
ORCID: 0009-0008-3610-4633*

Valerii Korniienko,

*Employee of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Candidate of Legal Sciences,
Associate Professor, Leading Research Fellow
of the Research Department of Legal Problems in the Sphere of International Cooperation
of the Research Directorate for Resource Provision in the Military Sphere,
Defense, and Military Development of the Center for Military-Strategic Studies
of the National Defence University of Ukraine (Kyiv, Ukraine)
ORCID: 0000-0003-3202-6013*