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Transcarpathia in Ukrainian-Hungarian Relations 1991-2022

Abstract. The relevance of the research lies in the fact that in the conditions of the modern stage, cooperation and relations between Ukraine and Hungary are tense. This is related to the pro-Russian position of Hungarian politicians, which arose after the appearance of the conflict in Donbas in 2014. Additionally, Hungarians defend their position regarding the level of protection and support of their minorities on the territory of Ukraine. It is reasonable to believe that Hungary is blocking Ukraine's path to European integration through open conflicts. The purpose of the article is the study of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in the period 1991-2022, as well as the resolution of the conflict regarding Transcarpathia to stabilize relations between the countries. The methods used in the work include the historical method, based on which the dynamics of the development of relations between countries were studied; the statistical method, which consists in studying the demography of Transcarpathia; a comparative method based on which the consequences of the influence of relations on Ukraine's integration into Europe were considered. The results of the study determined that the improvement of relations between the countries can take place through the provision of simplified conditions for obtaining Hungarian citizenship for Hungarians from other countries, as well as the promotion of the development of cross-border infrastructure in Transcarpathia to provide new opportunities for the population, which will be an impetus for development in the political and cultural aspect, as well as the termination of cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary. The found ways of resolving conflicts between the countries will be an incentive for the development of both states: Ukraine will be able to continue its integration into Europe and establish favorable conditions for cooperation with Hungary; Hungary will be able to improve its relations with neighboring countries and stabilize the political aspect of these relations. The practical value of the research lies in the use of scientific material and its results to create a unified strategy for the establishment of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, as well as the continuation of the integration movement of Ukraine into Europe

Key words: politics, cooperation, European integration, state, good neighborliness

Introduction

Since the beginning of Ukraine's development as an independent state, it has been necessary to establish trusting relations with neighbouring states to obtain mutually beneficial ties between them. The first country to meet and cooperate was Hungary, which was the first to sign the "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation" [1]. Based on the market economy, the countries managed to establish a democratic society on their territories. In addition, after the proclamation of Ukraine as an independent state, Hungarian minorities remained on the territory of Transcarpathia and are still trying to defend themselves and confirm their presence on this land. As a result, there have been confrontations between representatives of the Ukrainian and Hungarian sides, which have become progressively worse with each passing year. In addition to this problem, after the outbreak of hostilities in Donbas in 2014, Hungary demonstrated its pro-Russian position on

the situation, which caused outrage in Ukraine. It has affected cooperation between the countries to some extent, which may lead to more widespread conflict in the future if the problems are not solved urgently. Currently, the situation is even worse after the outbreak of a full-scale war between Russia and Ukraine, as Hungary has long concealed its views on Russian actions on Ukrainian territory.

Ukrainian-Hungarian relations were previously studied in the works of such authors as: D. Tkach [2], who described in detail the specific features of the establishment of friendly relations between Ukraine and Hungary from the beginning of Ukraine's independence; V. Shramovich and O. Torop [3] were able to explain the specific features of NATO's partnership with Ukraine, and the organisation's attitude towards Russia's military actions on Ukrainian territory; R. Speck [4] identified particular actions that are necessary for the development of Ukraine and its integration

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into Europe and described the necessity of establishing Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and continuing cooperation with the Visegrad Four; E. Kish [5] in his work explained the necessity of improving Ukrainian-Hungarian relations for further development of infrastructure in Transcarpathia and the development of relations between neighbouring countries at a new level; O. Kovaleva [6] in her study indicated the necessity of establishing special rules and laws for national minorities on both the Hungarian and Ukrainian side to regulate the situation in Transcarpathia; S. Vasilenko [7] mentioned the necessity of Ukraine's development towards Europe and the establishment of friendly relations with neighbouring European states; A. Dergachev [8] investigated the subject of Ukraine's European integration and noted that Ukraine's membership in the European Union would be a necessary action for the country's further development. Among foreign authors who studied the subject of improving relations between countries were J. Groszkowski, T. Iwanski, A. Sadecki [9], and A. Brzozowski [10; 11]. The authors of these studies argue that the establishment and consolidation of relations between the countries should be at the regional and bloc levels, and not through the continuation of negotiations between the two countries. Notably, the studies do not fully address the problems between the countries, in particular the problem with Transcarpathia and the Hungarian minorities on its territory, nor do they explore the essence of neighbouring country relations in the context of Ukraine's European integration, which is the relevance of the study.

In addition to using research and literary works by Ukrainian and foreign authors, the study uses data from Ukrainian and Hungarian legislation to investigate the subject in more depth. The study had a particular purpose, namely to analyse the historical aspect of the interaction between the two countries and identify the specific features of their interaction, to explore the politicians' opinions of both countries during 1991-2022, to trace the demographic features of the Transcarpathian region, and to identify the advantages, disadvantages, risks and possible solutions to the conflicts between Ukraine and Hungary.

The purpose of the research is, first of all, to analyse the specific features of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and their impact and reproduction in Transcarpathia, to identify the main conflicts and their causes, to specify the main benefits of cooperation between the countries and the disadvantages that can cause conflicts, and to indicate ways to solve already aggravated conflicts to improve cooperation with each other and to continue the integration of Ukraine into Europe. The novelty of the research stems from the necessity to establish Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in economic and political terms to improve international trade, solve the issue of national minorities in Transcarpathia, re-establish good neighbourly relations and continue the integration of Ukraine into Europe.

Materials and Methods

In writing the study, research methods were used, namely the historical, statistical, and comparative methods. The historical method was used to highlight the specific

features of the establishment of interrelations between Ukraine and Hungary from 1991 up to the present, the specific features of the emergence of national minorities in Transcarpathia, and was essential for explaining the pre-conditions for the main Ukrainian-Hungarian conflicts and the development of Hungarian-Russian relations, which had a direct impact on the situation of the neighbouring countries. In addition, based on the historical method, the most significant events were considered in chronological order, which influenced the state of relations between Ukraine and Hungary, and the specific features of Ukraine's European integration. The statistical method of research was required to demonstrate the current demographic situation of the Transcarpathian region, to examine the number of national minorities and other aspects that are specifically related to the Hungarian minorities (education, language, settlement in Transcarpathian towns, age categories learning the Hungarian language). In addition, the import and export dynamics of international trade between Ukraine and Hungary were determined, which demonstrated how the economic indicators changed in the context of the events of those years. The comparative method provided an auxiliary tool for analysing the political attitudes of Ukraine and Hungary towards each other, and their economic performance and established the main positive and adverse aspects of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, which allowed identifying the main aspects for overcoming the current disagreements regarding the Transcarpathian region and its national minorities, which is an adverse factor influencing Hungarian-Ukrainian relations, and ways for both countries to enter the international arena and cooperate with other European countries to further integrate into Europe. The overall view of the information gathered based on the methods listed above helped to identify the necessary measures to re-establish stability in the countries' relations and to identify possible options for the deployment of various events.

The source base of the study was the scientific research of such authors as D. Tkach, V. Shramovich, O. Torop, R. Shpek, O. Kovalova, S. Vasilenko, O. Dergachov, O. Melnik, Zh. Deriy, G. Petrenko, and the legislation of both countries, including the Treaty on Good Neighbourhood and Cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Hungary [1], "On the Fundamentals of the State Language Policy" [16], the Law of Ukraine "On Education" [18], "On ensuring the functioning of the Ukrainian language as the State language" [21], and the Hungarian "Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities" [29]. In addition, the demographic composition of Transcarpathia, the number of Hungarian minorities in the region, and other features that have a direct influence from Hungary on the territory of Transcarpathia and Ukraine, in general, were investigated, and the indicators from other neighbouring countries to Ukraine were compared graphically. In addition, support for the two states in the international arena, which is necessary for the development of cooperation between the states and at the European level, is considered, and the situation regarding trade and economic cooperation is analysed. Further forecasts and solutions are based on analytical indicators to provide for various possible

outcomes, options for establishing Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, and a solution for the Transcarpathian region and the national minorities living in that territory.

For a more structured exploration of the subject, three main phases of research were identified: a detailed exploration of the relations and their conditions between Ukraine and Hungary in the period 1991-2022, and the economic and political aspects of relations; the identification of Russia's influence on Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and the specific features of political influence and interaction with the Hungarian side; an analysis of demographic indicators in Transcarpathia and an examination of the ethnic features of the region.

Results

Historical features of the establishment and development of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in the period from 1991 to 2022

Since the collapse of the USSR in 1991, most of the countries of the former Soviet Union have begun to strive toward Europe. In addition, the countries strived to enhance the economic, political, and military segments by leveraging international interaction between the countries of Europe and the world. Participation in European integration affected Hungary and Ukraine. Since the proclamation of Ukraine as an independent state, it was Hungary that was the first partner for the country in further cooperation and friendship, signing the "Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation", opening the Hungarian embassy in Kyiv, and establishing provisions and rules for cooperation between neighbouring countries [2]. After Hungary acceded to NATO in 1999, both countries were offered new opportunities to establish beneficial cooperation, with Ukraine becoming even more active in the course of European integration. Between Hungary and Ukraine, new types of cooperation emerged, among which the cooperation between the Ukrainian and Hungarian defence ministries should be emphasised, and the Euro-Atlantic exercises (dissemination of scientific work and research on NATO and its capabilities) for neighbouring countries [12], which generally considered to have a positive impact on the political climate in the states.

Since the early years of the 21st century, relations and cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary have developed rapidly and have been quite successful, as the interaction has encompassed communication with other European countries and organisations. One of the significant events of the beginning of the new century for Ukrainian-Hungarian relations was the visit of Hungarian Prime Minister V. Orban to Ukraine in February 2000. The negotiations between the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko and V. Orban discussed the expansion of economic and trade relations between the countries, resulting in the leaders agreeing to introduce the Ukrainian-Hungarian Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation [13]. Notably, since 2001 Hungarians have been more actively raising the issue of national minorities in Ukraine, which has been repeatedly raised during the meetings of representatives of Ukraine and Hungary. However, the consideration of this issue did not prevent the countries from

actively pursuing cooperation with each other, and as early as 2003, the parties accepted new conditions for bilateral cooperation, which prompted the establishment of the Ukrainian-Hungarian strategic partnership. In the same year, Hungary proposed the establishment of a Consultative Council on European Integration, in which the countries of the Visegrad Four (including Central European countries, namely Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia) and Ukraine were involved. The implementation of the Council provided an opportunity to establish a way to consult and spread their experience from the Visegrad Four for Ukraine. The dynamics of relations between the countries of the Council, in particular Hungary, were successful and continued in subsequent years [9]. In addition to the issues of Ukraine's integration into Europe and the Ukrainian-Hungarian economic problems, notably, the subject of national minorities, their rights and opportunities on the territory of Ukraine, and the issue of energy cooperation continued to be addressed. In 2006, during the "gas war" between Russia and Ukraine, the Hungarian side acknowledged Russia as a "...reliable gas supplier", thus supporting Moscow's future energy projects [14]. The situation was discussed at the meetings of Ukrainian and Hungarian representatives, after which the issue of neighbourly cooperation was raised.

The issue of Hungarian minorities on Ukrainian territory was raised more vigorously following the adoption of Hungary's new constitution in 2011, which stated Hungary's responsibility for Hungarians living outside the country. Before the new legislation was passed, Hungary simplified the citizenship procedure in 2010, which angered neighbouring countries, while Hungary itself benefited from the new law [15]. Subsequently, Ukraine adopted the Law "On the Principles of State Language Policy" in 2013, which was designed to improve relations with Russia, allowing parts of Ukraine to use other languages in addition to the state language if more than 10% of the population in a particular area considers a particular language as their mother tongue [16]. Such a law provided Hungary with some expectations, which were reflected in the rejection of Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity in 2013-2014. Subsequently, representatives of the Ukrainian government were able to discard all countries' false expectations regarding the language law and limited the possibility of establishing a pro-Russian cultural space on Ukrainian territory.

Since the end of the Revolution of Dignity, and with the beginning of Russia's annexation of Crimea, the unfolding of hostilities in Donbas and the rapid development of Russian-Hungarian cooperation, relations between the Ukrainian and Hungarian sides have become more strained. The deterioration of trade and investment flows, and Hungary's declining European support for Ukraine indicated that Hungary had changed its political and economic priorities in favour of Russia, after which political dialogues between Ukraine and Hungary ended. The Hungarian-Russian rapprochement was quite rapid, and in 2014, following a meeting between V. Orban with the representative of "Gazprom" O. Miller, the Hungarian side stopped supplying Russian gas from its reserves to Ukraine [17].

The Law on Education adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in 2017 [18], which discussed the specific features of education in minority languages with an increase in teaching in Ukrainian, was a new reason for Hungary to raise questions about its national minorities in Ukraine, and in particular in Transcarpathia. Hungary could balance friendly relations with Ukraine with constructive relations with Russia, but after the education

law was adopted, the Hungarian side changed its behaviour in the international arena and will block cooperation with Ukraine in the political dimension on the European level. In 2018 the results of cooperation could be observed to improve: Ukraine's trade with Hungary increased by almost 18% compared to the previous year, after which the figures went into decline again, as represented in Figure 1.

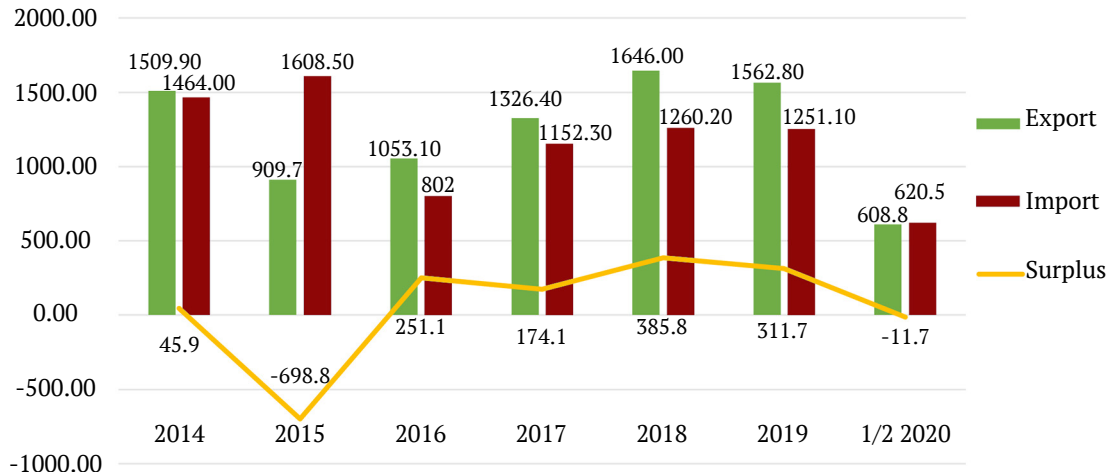


Figure 1. Dynamics of main indicators of bilateral trade between Ukraine and Hungary, mln dollars US [19]

The current relations between the neighbouring countries are defined by new features following the change of power in Ukraine, and by political specific features in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations. Hungary had high expectations of a promising change in relations between the countries and emphasised the desire to regularise the state of relations and adjust bilateral laws. However, there was no dynamic movement towards substantial changes, which was partly explained by the old composition of the government, which still operated on the principles of P. Poroshenko's rule, but by Hungary's uncompromising stance on national minority issues. Notably, Hungary does not support Ukraine's opinion regarding language laws [10], following which the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs P. Szijjártó proposed during his visit to Ukraine additional conditions for improving the problem, but the Ukrainian side was not receptive to the proposed changes, and the agreements only agreed on the treatment of the methodological part, which occurred with representatives of the Hungarian minority [11].

Ukrainian-Hungarian relations in the Russian context

Since the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2014, relations between the two countries have become as tense as possible and have only become strategic in the political aspect, trade and economic relations, and energy cooperation. Although after the temporary occupation of Crimea and parts of Donbas, when the EU started imposing several sanctions against Russia, Hungary decided to continue to actively engage with Russia. Notably, the Hungarians established a separate commissioner for contacts with the aggressor country, and Budapest has repeatedly hosted working and official visits by

Russian representatives [20]. The last such meeting was held in 2019, where the parties discussed new perspectives and innovations in cooperation between them. In addition, Hungary was not the only one who did not want to "become the enemy" of Russia, but NATO indicated that it did not want to establish conflicts with Russia while trying to contain Russian aggression in the East, but that the organisation would be willing to negotiate at any time [3].

Notably, on the political level, the Hungarian and Russian authorities have common features regarding some of the actions taken by Ukraine. An example is the Ukrainian Law on "Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language", adopted in 2019 [21], to which the Hungarian side responded unacceptably to this law, while Russia explained this law as "forced Ukrainisation" [22].

In addition, there was a significant threat of provocations on the part of the Russian side at the expense of national minorities (namely Hungarians) in Transcarpathia, for even greater tension in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations. The involvement of Russia's provocation in the attempts of Hungarian societies to conduct terrorist attacks on the territory of Ukrainian cultural and administrative institutions can be identified [23]. In addition, the issue of the links between Russian secret services and political movements in Hungary, which in turn have expressed support for Russia's occupation of Crimea, and intervention and sabotage operations on Ukrainian territory, has attracted particular attention. The Hungarian side tried to declare the illegally occupied peninsula as Russian, with official and public representatives of Hungary visiting Crimea, which generally indicates a violation of Ukrainian sovereignty (these movements are appropriately considered illegal under Ukrainian law) [24].

Notably, since the start of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Hungary has remained on the sidelines and has been reluctant to help Ukraine, even though most EU countries and the world at large, have turned to support Ukraine. Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament J. Neymet stated that he does not want to have tense relations with Russia, as it is essential to continue the energy relations between the countries, while Hungarians want to protect their minorities in Ukraine [25]. Such double standards jeopardise agreements of friendship and cooperation with Ukraine, which may have an impact on the unfolding of existing conflicts between Ukraine and Hungary.

Demographic composition and features in Transcarpathia

A review of the demographics of Transcarpathia demonstrates the number of Hungarian national minorities and their specifics of life. The total population of the Transcarpathian region as of January 1, 2022, is 1,244,500 (Fig. 2), but in previous years there have been adverse dynamics of population growth. A decrease in population can be observed from 2001 to 2008, whose indicators were 1,261,300 and 2,242,600 people, respectively. First of all, this is explained by the high mortality rate, including throughout Ukraine. Notably, the situation in Transcarpathia varies from that in other regions of Ukraine, and the highest population growth can be observed in Uzhhorod, Rakhiv, Tiachiv and Vinogradivka districts [26].

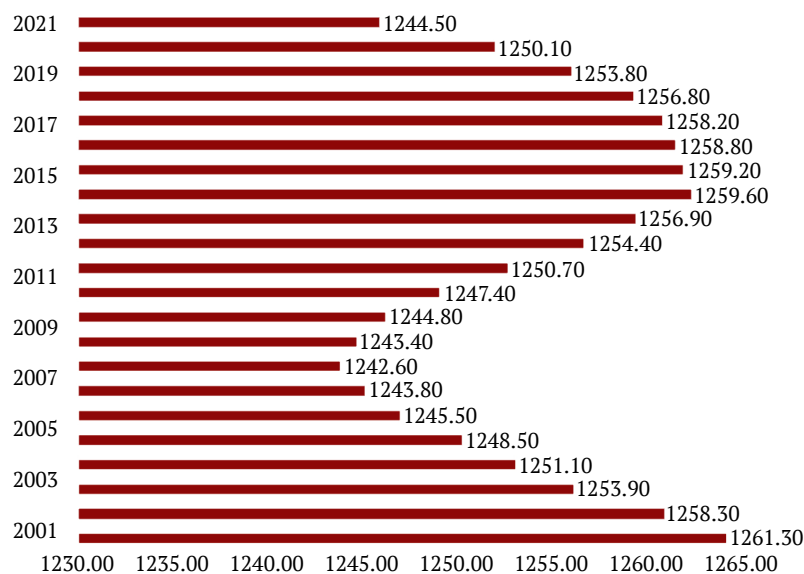


Figure 2. The population of the Transcarpathian region in the period from 2001 to 2022, thousand people [26]

More than 30 nationalities live on the territory of Transcarpathia, most of them are Hungarians, Romanians, Russians and Gypsies. Table 1 demonstrates that 12% of the population of the Transcarpathian region is

Hungarian, thus, Hungary is trying to provide them with as many opportunities as possible and protect them legislatively by pushing Ukraine to introduce relevant laws regarding their national minorities.

Table 1. National composition of the population of the Transcarpathian region as of 2001

Nationality	Number of persons	Percentage of the total population, %
Ukrainians	1 010 127	80.51
Hungarians	151,516	12.08
Romanians	32 152	2.56
Russians	30 993	2.47
Gypsies	14 004	1.12
Slovaks	5 695	0.45
Germans	3 582	0.29
Belarusians	1 540	0.12
Jews	565	0.05
Poles	518	0.04
Others	3 922	0.31

Source: [26]

Notably, no language other than the state language has been able to establish itself in this region, despite a large number of national minorities, as no permanent languages have been distinguished in the last hundred years in which part of the population communicates [27]. At the same time, the Hungarian national minority is demanding

better conditions for them in the territory of Transcarpathia, allowing Hungarians to live comfortably in Ukraine. Currently, in the largest cities of Transcarpathia, there are quite a lot of Hungarians living there (Table 2). Most Hungarians live in Berehove, where they represent almost 50% of the total population of the city.

Table 2. Distribution of Hungarians in the largest cities of Transcarpathia (according to the 2001 census)

City	Number of people	Number of Hungarians	Percentage of the Hungarian population in the total population, %
Berehove	26 554	12 785	48.20
Mukachevo	81 637	6 975	8.50
Uzhhorod	115,568	7 972	6.90
Khust	31 864	1 726	5.40

Source: [28]

Figure 3 demonstrates that the Hungarian language is most preferred by the youngest generations, namely children attending pre-school and primary schools. It explains the fact that parents whose children

learn Hungarian will be able to continue spreading their nationality in Ukraine. Older people, who are studying in Transcarpathia, prefer to study in the state Ukrainian language.

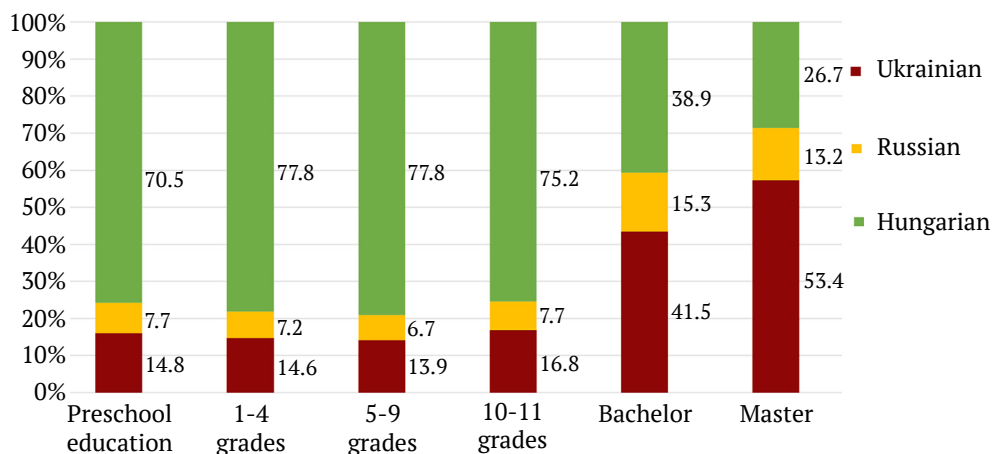


Figure 3. Percentage comparison of the number of the population learning the majority language (Ukrainian and Russian) and Hungarian at each level of education for 2016. [26]

In 2012, new features regarding minority languages on Ukrainian territory appeared in Ukrainian legislation, but with new legislative changes in 2019, the status of the Hungarian language in the country was quite diminished, which may have angered many Hungarians living in Transcarpathia. Currently, they have fewer options compared to the original language law in 1991 (at that time some state institutions and establishments could use Hungarian as an official language), which outrages most of the Hungarian population living in Transcarpathia since then, as it is now forbidden to use Hungarian as an official language at regional and local levels, even if the population of a particular region would speak Hungarian exclusively [26].

Discussion

Based on the study of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations and the analysis of the demographic structure of the Transcarpathian region, the positive and adverse aspects of cooperation between the neighbouring countries can be

identified, and the risks that may provoke even greater differences in the countries' views can be identified. Considering all the developments since the beginning of relations and cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary, the following risk points can be identified that could affect the current state of relations between the two countries:

1. The relations between Hungary and Russia, the introduction of mutually beneficial solutions, and the issue of gas supplies from Hungary, which have been received from Russia to Ukraine.
2. The change of parties and opinions of Hungarian politicians, and the change of Ukrainian government.
3. The issue of dual citizenship in Hungary following the 2010 citizenship law.
4. Implementation of the law on language in Ukraine, which was signed in 2019.
5. The decline in trade between countries and in the European market.

6. Hungary's blocking Ukraine's ability to develop towards European integration.

7. Lack of proper cooperation between the highest levels of officials in both countries and a lack of opportunity for forward-looking negotiations considering the problems involved.

In addition, there are positive developments that could be used to establish Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, namely:

1. The desire of Ukraine to move towards Europe, and partial assistance in this from Hungary.

2. Softening of the visa regime for Ukraine and support of this initiative by Hungary.

3. Conducting electricity imports from Hungary to Ukraine (after all, Hungary is the largest importer that supplies Ukraine with electricity).

4. Conducting cooperative activities with Ukraine and the Visegrad Four, conducting military exercises based on the Visegrad Battle Group.

5. Cross-border cooperation, trade, and development of common infrastructure.

6. Transportation of natural resources to both countries and other European countries, obtaining mutual benefits from transit supplies for both countries.

7. Hungarian assistance to Ukrainian displaced persons and refugees as part of the war, humanitarian aid to victims, and medical assistance to the Ukrainian military.

Thus, it can be stated that Ukrainian-Hungarian relations are not in a critical state currently, which means a possible improvement in the commonwealth and the establishment of economic and political ties shortly. As R. Speck notes in his research, Ukraine and Hungary now require further bilateral negotiations, more active consultations with the Visegrad Four concerning Ukraine's European integration, the development of cross-border and inter-regional aspects, primarily in the Transcarpathian region, increased trade between the two countries and clearer regulation of trade issues, and the provision of mutually beneficial rights and cooperation conditions for national minorities (Ukrainian minorities in Hungary and Hungarian minorities in Ukraine) for the implementation of the interests of both states [4]. The author's opinion on how to solve the problems in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations has room for consideration and implementation, but there is still a great demand to supplement it by considering Hungarian-Russian cooperation, after which some issues could be solved in a shorter period.

First of all, the countries have to actively participate in bilateral negotiations to solve current problems. First of all, the conflict regarding Hungarian minorities in the Transcarpathian region must be resolved to avoid possible provocations by national minorities and to provide them with clearer rules for staying on Ukrainian territory. It can be accomplished by providing Hungarians with the right to use their native language on an official level while encouraging them to learn and use the state Ukrainian language as much as possible; Hungary should protect Hungarians outside the country by establishing appropriate changes in its legislation, and implementing a system of assistance to the same group of people. Currently, the

Law "On the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities", which has been in force since 1993 [29], is still in force in Hungary and requires urgent amendments to consider the current specific features of the life of national minorities abroad. E. Kish, in her scientific work, noted that Hungary and Ukraine should devote particular attention to Transcarpathia, where both countries should develop infrastructure for further European integration and intensify bilateral relations in Transcarpathia at a new level [5]. This opinion may be partly correct, but further regulations on the interaction between the indigenous population of Transcarpathia and the Hungarian national minorities should be established to solve the problem regarding minorities in Transcarpathia, and as researcher A. Kovaleva notes, the specifics of the consular services of Ukraine and Hungary should be expanded to develop the countries economically, politically and culturally [6].

In addition, no less important and relevant issue for both countries is the Hungarian-Russian relations, which have a significant impact on the interaction and cooperation between Hungary and Ukraine. Hungary should determine its position, based on which it will be possible to further develop relations either with Ukraine or only with Russia. The development of relations with Ukraine should be considered more beneficial for Hungary, as it is necessary not only for Ukraine to continue European integration but for Hungary, which will get new economic and political prospects. S. Vassilenko noted that Hungary recognises Ukraine as a sufficiently peaceful and friendly state that has been established on democracy and has used non-violent methods for many years to establish its independence, and is well placed to conclude successful agreements within a market economy to ensure its economic and political development [7]. In addition, the scientist noted that Ukraine should further pursue its path towards European integration, and continue to develop friendly bilateral relations with neighbouring states, in particular, Hungary. Thus, it can be stated that the author supports the necessity to further develop friendly Ukrainian-Hungarian relations for mutual benefits.

The same opinion concerning the continuation of cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary was expressed by A. Dergachov in his work, and he noted that this will be important not only for the neighbouring states but for Europe in general, as it will get new opportunities which Ukraine can offer (economic and political cooperation, the import of natural resources into other European countries, etc.) [8]. O. Dergachov argued that Ukraine should become a member of the European Union as it is impossible to be a full-fledged European country just by being geographically in Europe, thus, it is essential to certify this status with documents.

Summarising all of the above, Transcarpathia is an essential region for both Ukraine and Hungary, and therefore requires further development, including the development of common infrastructure and encouraging the population to live in this particular area. The question of national minorities remains open since it depends on the decision not only of the Ukrainian government but of the Hungarians; in the worst-case scenario, when only one

side agrees to changes regarding the status of Hungarians in Transcarpathia without the agreement of the other side, it could result in a prolongation of the conflict and new disputes over the issue. In addition, notably, a solution to the Transcarpathian question alone in Ukrainian-Hungarian relations will not completely solve the existing differences of opinion between the states, and a comprehensive solution to the problems between Ukraine and Hungary will be necessary, namely to complete Hungarian-Russian cooperation and re-establish a path towards European integration for Ukraine.

Conclusions

As a result of the study, it can be determined that currently, the best option for the Hungarian side to resolve the issue of Transcarpathia is to stimulate and provide the necessary conditions and economic development for Hungarian communities located on the territory of the republic. In addition, there are some additional possible options for solving conflicts between countries, namely:

1. The issues that are causing divergent viewpoints between countries should not be ignored to avoid further disputes.
2. Ukraine should consider positioning Transcarpathia as a region that can unite Ukraine and Hungary and get closer to Europe.
3. The Ukrainian side should more thoroughly explain to the Hungarian side the issue of dual citizenship in Ukraine.
4. Ukraine should consider Hungary's demands regarding its communities in Transcarpathia more seriously to avoid possible ethnically motivated conflicts among the population.
5. Both countries should

encourage each other to engage in international dialogues and address the issue of scientific and educational cooperation between peoples, even if the results of the negotiations are to be ignited in the long term.

In addition, to guarantee relations between neighbouring countries, both sides should work to establish relations, rather than divide them. In this case, it is possible to settle the conflicts and reach a new level of relations, beneficial for Ukraine and Hungary, which will help the countries, and Ukraine to continue their development and integration into Europe. The conflict regarding Hungary's pro-Russian views should be settled by the country itself: it should decide whether it will continue its cooperation, development, and friendly relations with Ukraine, or whether it will completely withdraw to the Russian side, after which it may lose any possibility to cooperate with Ukraine in the future.

In the further study of the subject of Ukrainian-Hungarian relations, the situation in which the existing conflicts will not be solved or will be exacerbated even more can be considered, and to explore whether the relations, good neighbourliness, and economic cooperation between the two neighbouring states will remain short. In addition, the subject of Hungarian-Russian relations can be explored in more depth, identifying possible options for ending the engagement and seeking alternatives in other neighbouring states; an in-depth exploration of the Transcarpathian region, the specificities of its ethnic composition, and their impact on the indigenous population; and a consideration of the possibilities of a new development format for the Ukrainian and Hungarian side of the region.

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Анотація. Актуальність дослідження полягає в тому, що в умовах сучасного етапу співпраці та взаємозв'язки між Україною та Угорщиною є напруженими. Це пов'язано з проросійською позицією угорських політиків, що зародилась після появи конфлікту на Донбасі у 2014 р. Додатково угорці відстоюють свою позицію щодо рівня захищеності та підтримки своїх меншин на території України. Доцільно вважати, що Угорщина блокує Україні шлях до європейської інтеграції через відкриті конфлікти. Метою статті є дослідження українсько-угорських відносин у періоді 1991-2022 рр., а також розв'язання конфлікту стосовно Закарпаття для стабілізації відносин між країнами. До методів, що використовувались у роботі варто віднести: історичний метод, на основі якого було досліджено динаміку розгортання відносин між країнами; статистичний метод, що полягає у вивченні демографії Закарпаття; порівняльний метод, на основі якого розглянуто наслідки впливу відносин на інтеграцію України до Європи. Результатами дослідження визначено, що покращення відносин між країнами може відбутися через надання спрощених умов отримання громадянства Угорщини для угорців з інших країн, а також сприяння розвитку транскордонної інфраструктури на Закарпатті для надання нових можливостей населенню, стане поштовхом для розвитку у політичному та культурному аспекті, а також припинення співробітництва між Україною та Угорщиною. Знайдені шляхи вирішення конфліктів між країнами стане стимулом для розвитку обох держав: Україна отримає змогу продовжити свою інтеграцію до Європи, та встановити вигідні умови співпраці з Угорщиною; Угорщина зможе покращити свої відносини з сусідніми країнами та стабілізувати політичний аспект у цих взаємовідносинах. Практична цінність дослідження полягає у використанні наукового матеріалу та його результатів для створення єдиної стратегії налагодження українсько-угорських відносин, а також продовження інтеграційного руху України в Європу

Ключові слова: політика, співробітництво, європейська інтеграція, держава, добросусідство

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European Integration of Ukraine. What will be the Path to Full Membership and How will Military Operations Affect it?

Abstract. The urgency of the subject matter is primarily conditioned upon the desire of the Ukrainian people for economic and cultural integration into the European community of democratic states and the need for Ukraine to defend its European choice by military means. It is also worth paying attention to the fact that this topic is not sufficiently covered by other researchers, political scientists, and sociologists. In this regard, the purpose of the study is to reveal the topics of economic, political, and cultural integration of Ukraine into the European Union. Moreover, the objectives of this study are to reveal the problems on the way to full membership of Ukraine in the European Union and to investigate the impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on the integration process. The main methods of research are analysis, induction, deduction, and synthesis, which allow the study to describe and highlight the most important aspects of Ukraine's European integration. The paper investigates the process of integration of Ukraine into the economic, social, and cultural space of the European Union; defines the European Union, describes its power institutions; reveals the problems and difficulties of Ukraine related to the integration process; examines how the military aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine would affect the further development of the country's European integration. The materials of the study are of practical and theoretical value for political scientists, sociologists, other representatives of the scientific community and researchers on the topic of European integration of Ukraine, who are interested in the features and aspects of this process, investigate the problems that prevent the Ukrainian state from moving along the path of European integration

Key words: candidate status, war, European Union, economy, reforms

Introduction

Considering the process of Ukraine's European integration and the problems associated with this process, it is necessary to understand the very concept of the EU (European Union). A.M. El Agra and F. Al-Nasarella define the European Union as a political and Economic Union of 27 states located in Europe (Table 1). Researchers claim that the EU is a global player on the world stage due to its size and influence [1; 2].

A. Albi argues that the EU is much more than just a free trade association. The European Union is more like a federation, as it has attributes traditionally associated with sovereign states: the flag, anthem, and currency, and member states pursue a common foreign policy [3].

At the same time, S. Hicks and B. Hoyland suggest that the EU is neither an international organisation nor a

federal state. Unlike international organisations, the EU has its own legislative and judicial bodies, currency, and parliament. At the same time, the member states of the Union retain their sovereignty, national legislation, and state languages. Researchers define the EU more as a political system [4].

A.A. Prykhodko considers that since its foundation, the European Union has become a powerful political, financial and economic centre of the world. It is the foundation of European security, the core around which European standards are formed. The European Union unites countries on the basis of creating a closer association around common economic, political, and social goals. Members of the Union have stable economic growth, which is achieved by creating a space without internal borders, strengthening economic and social integration [5].

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Speaking about the European integration of Ukraine, T.S. Zakharchenko and I.V. Shepel note that this process is of particular importance in the context of Ukraine's economic relations with other players in the international market. According to the researchers, the greatest economic benefits for Ukraine are the following:

- An increase in the volume of agricultural exports (traditionally one of the main positions of Ukrainian exports) to the EU countries, which will be conditioned by duty-free access for Ukrainian agricultural goods.
- Increase in the volume of deliveries of goods and services of Ukrainian enterprises to the European Union countries, according to public procurement.

– Increasing the level of competition in the field of procurement, redistributing state resources in favour of more efficient small and medium-sized companies, which would reduce the level of monopolisation in the country [6].

YA.V. Kikhtenko claims that the priority given to Ukraine's European integration is conditioned upon Ukraine's cultural, geographical, and economic proximity to the EU. In addition, the researcher notes that European integration is a strategic civilisational choice, which would result in the establishment of the course of political, economic, and cultural development of the state, and strengthen its weight as a subject of geopolitical relations [7].

Table 1. EU member states and years of their accession

Country	Year of accession
Belgium	Founding country
France	Founding country
Germany	Founding country
Italy	Founding country
Luxembourg	Founding country
Netherlands	Founding country
Denmark	1973
Ireland	1973
Greece	1981
Portugal	1986
Spain	1986
Austria	1995
Finland	1995
Sweden	1995
Cyprus	2004
Czech Republic	2004
Hungary	2004
Lithuania	2004
Latvia	2004
Estonia	2004
Poland	2004
Slovakia	2004
Slovenia	2004
Malta	2004
Bulgaria	2007
Romania	2007
Croatia	2013

Source: compiled by the author

After analysing the findings of other researchers, it can be concluded that the topic of European integration of Ukraine is rather neglected, so in the future, this issue should be considered in more detail. Special attention should be paid to the investigation of problems related to the implementation of reforms necessary for further integration with the EU.

The urgency of the subject matter is primarily conditioned by the desire of the Ukrainian people for economic and cultural integration into the European community of

democratic states. In addition, this desire is of particular importance in our time, when Ukraine is forced to defend itself from Russian military aggression, since the Ukrainian people have chosen the European path of development, which determines the originality of this study.

Materials and Methods

The following methods were used in this study: theoretical (investigation and analysis of political and economic literature and articles on the importance of European integration

of Ukraine; analysis of the features of the impact of Russian military aggression against Ukraine on the process of further European integration; generalisation of theoretical material on the problem under study; logical method with a systematic approach to the investigation of this phenomenon; deduction, and classification method when highlighting the main strategic actions of Ukraine in the field of solving problems related to integration processes; system and structural method for revealing the phenomenon of European integration from different sides and determining priorities in this process; method of comparing approaches to theoretical understanding of the essence of the problem of the future of the Ukrainian state as a member of the European Union; comparison and systematisation of research on such a problem); diagnostic (investigation of scientific studies, findings of research, collection and grouping of empirical facts).

The study was conducted in three stages:

1. At the first stage, a theoretical collection and analysis of existing approaches in economics, history, political science, and the system of international relations on the issue of Ukraine's integration into the economic and political space of the European Union was carried out; the studies devoted to this problem, its features, and approaches to explanation were investigated; information data of books, electronic articles, monographs, conferences, dissertations were considered, in which the aspects and problems that Ukraine faces on the way to implementing the necessary reforms were deeply and comprehensively disclosed; the relevance of the study was revealed; brief reviews of the works of other scientists and researchers were presented; the following were determined: issues related to the stated topic were under-studied; the problem, purpose, forms, and methods of analysing this problem were highlighted, and a plan for conducting research was drawn up.

2. At the second stage, the research, analysis, and design of tools for investigating the problem of European integration of Ukraine was carried out; the features and aspects of this political and economic phenomenon were considered; the internal and external economic and political problems that Ukraine faces on the way to European integration were outlined; the consequences of signing and implementing the association agreement between Ukraine and the EU were revealed; the percentage data of Ukraine's foreign trade with the countries of the European Union were presented; the results of the analysis were revealed, which helped to identify the specifics of this problem; it was determined how Russian military aggression against Ukraine can affect the further process of economic and political integration of Ukraine into the European space; the prospects of Ukraine as a full-fledged member of the European Union were described; the conclusions obtained during the study were systematised.

3. At the final stage, using synthesis, a systematisation and classification of the material obtained during the analysis and study of theoretical research by other scientists were described; based on the results of the work done, the final conclusions were formulated, which were the final presentation of these materials and determined the main

trends in the process of economic and political integration of Ukraine into the European Union.

Results

Ukraine's path to European integration is very long and difficult. Since the late 1990s, Ukraine has demonstrated its determination to participate in the process of European integration, aspiring to join the European Union. However, foreign policy statements did not lead to the necessary internal reforms. Ukraine sought to join the EU, but not to make significant changes to its own institutions and the structure of national policy [8].

The process of European integration was most developed in 2012-2013, when the association agreement was initiated during the presidency of Viktor Yanukovich. However, the Ukrainian government suspended preparations for signing the association agreement on November 21, 2013. Initially, the signing of the agreement was planned at the EU summit in Vilnius on November 28-29, 2013, but this did not happen. The decision to abandon the association has led to pro-European protests in the centre of Kyiv, and after attempts to brutally suppress them – to the Revolution of Dignity. As a result of the February 2014 events, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine removed President Yanukovich and his government from their duties.

Later, on March 21, 2014, Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk signed the political part of the association agreement, and on June 27 of the same year, President Petro Poroshenko signed the economic part of the agreement. On September 16, 2014, the agreement was finally ratified by Ukraine.

The association agreement goes beyond purely economic and trade issues, it also affects the level of development of democratic institutions, public administration and the rule of law in the country. Thus, the implementation of all the points of the agreement should stimulate significant changes in the Ukrainian economy and the state as a whole.

In December 2014, the European Union opened its civil mission in Ukraine, the EU advisory mission, whose main purpose was to mentor and advise Ukrainian officials on civil security sector reform. Speaking about the fulfilment of the terms of the association agreement, Ukraine is following this path quite confidently. As of 2021, Ukraine has fulfilled and implemented about 63% of all points of the association agreement. The greatest success was achieved in the areas of humanitarian policy, freedom, security, justice, and human rights [9].

An equally important milestone in approaching European standards was the fight against corruption. In addition to increasing the percentage of the population that is not immune to corruption, anti-corruption institutions were established, all activities of which were focused on the fight against corruption at various levels, namely:

- Specialised Anti-Corruption Prosecution Service.
- National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, which has certain investigative and law enforcement powers.
- National Agency for the Prevention of Corruption, whose task is to expose the facts of corruption among high-ranking officials by tracking their tax returns and other data. Although the anti-corruption process is far

from complete, some results can be seen already. For example, the indicator of attitude to corruption in Ukraine has changed for the better from 25 units in 2013 to 32 units in 2021, which is a very good result [9].

Nevertheless, a crucial part of the association agreement is the deep and comprehensive Free Trade Area (FTA) – an economic zone that should contribute to the modernisation of the Ukrainian economy and its integration with the EU internal market. The main tool of this process is the adoption of European trade-related regulations.

Of all the benefits that Ukraine will receive from the FTA, the most significant are the following:

- Providing consumers with better access to a wider range of products and stricter quality requirements for products manufactured in the national market.
- Providing duty-free access to the EU market, which would create significant business opportunities.
- Closer to European Union standards, which would improve access to third-country markets, as European quality standards are internationally recognised. In addition, the introduction of EU norms in Ukrainian legislation would help create an attractive regulatory framework for foreign investors, which would increase the volume of foreign investment in the economy [10].

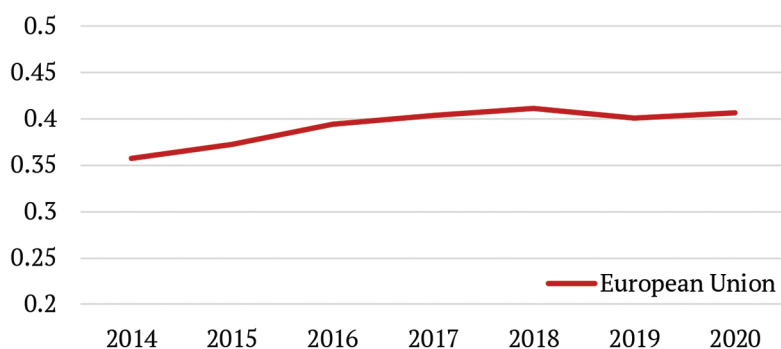


Figure 1. EU's share in Ukraine's foreign trade

From the above data, it can be seen (Fig. 1) that the EU countries play a significant role in Ukrainian foreign trade (40.7% in 2020), which was positively contributed to the establishment of the FTA. In general, there is a trend towards global reorientation from the markets of Russia and the former USSR countries to the markets of the European Union. For example, in 2013, Russia's share in Ukrainian foreign trade was about 30%, and in 2020 – only 7%. Thus, there are significant achievements in the process of Ukraine's economic integration into the EU.

Considering Ukraine's achievements on the path of European integration, it is impossible not to mention the granting of a visa-free regime with the member states of the European Union to Ukraine on May 11, 2017. This event was met with enthusiasm both among the population and representatives of the country's authorities. Among all the changes that have taken place since 2014, the people of Ukraine have felt the positive consequences of this achievement the most [11].

However, it would be unfair to consider only the positive aspects of Ukraine's movement towards European integration. At the same time, the implementation of this process is accompanied by certain difficulties, both external and internal. External difficulties are connected with the problems of the European Union itself, within which various contradictions accumulate (the opposition of national and transnational constitutions, the migration crisis, growing inequality between European regions) and Russia's military aggression. Internal problems include confrontations in government structures, insufficient development of transparency and independence of the judicial system, which is one of the key aspects for further European integration [12].

In addition to the problems associated with the judicial system, there are difficulties with privatisation and the introduction of a form of corporate governance in many state-owned enterprises. This creates conditions for monopolising the market.

Another problem is the presence of oligarchs in the country who have a significant influence on the country's political system, and therefore, are not interested either in reducing the level of corruption among politicians or in increasing internal economic competitiveness [13].

Moreover, the modern state of socio-economic development of Ukraine does not meet the criteria for EU membership. Ukraine's accession to the European Union at the current stage of the country's development may lead to increased internal economic instability and a decrease in the economic indicators of both Ukraine and the EU.

Thus, the possibility of Ukraine joining the European Union significantly depends on the level of development of the Ukrainian economy, its ability to effectively adapt to changes, and the degree of democratisation of the social and political system. In addition, Ukraine should make efforts to strengthen the national economy, focusing on the high level of social development in the EU and European standards [14].

Russian aggression against Ukraine began in 2014 after Russia's annexation of Crimea and the beginning of support for separatist militants in the South-Eastern regions of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts. The first stage of this aggression led to the fact that Crimea was formally incorporated into the Russian Federation, which was not recognised by the international community, and certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts remained under occupation when the fighting turned into a state of frozen conflict.

In the autumn and winter of 2021-2022, there was a massive accumulation of Russian troops and military equipment along the borders of Russia and Belarus with Ukraine. During January and February, intensive diplomatic activities and frequent meetings of Western politicians with the Russian leadership were held, the purpose of which was to try to reduce tensions. Despite statements by Western intelligence agencies that repeatedly warned of a high probability of an attack, Russian officials continued to deny aggressive intentions. However, on the night of February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale military invasion of the territory of Ukraine [15].

On February 28, 2022, during the offensive of Russian troops on Kyiv, Ukraine signed an application for EU membership, asking it to be considered "according to special procedure". At the same time, Georgia and Moldova submitted their applications. The European Council responded quickly and on March 11, 2022, invited the European Commission to provide its opinion on this application in accordance with the relevant provisions of the EU treaties [16]. European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen said that the EU and Ukraine are "closer than ever" and that Ukrainians "belong to the European family". Already in April 2022, Ukraine completed and submitted all the necessary questionnaires to the European Commission for consideration.

At a meeting on June 23, 2022, the European Council granted Ukraine and Moldova the status of candidates for EU membership. The decision taken against the background of Russian aggression against Ukraine is considered by the Ukrainian leadership and governments of other Central and Eastern European countries as an important step in the right direction and as a manifestation of support for the Ukrainians who chose the European path during the 2014 Revolution of Dignity.

Ukraine and Moldova have joined the list of candidate countries seeking to join the EU. These include: Albania, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey. The example of Turkey and Serbia is particularly significant, as accession negotiations with them have been going on since 2005 and 2014, respectively, and have not developed recently due to the political situation in both the EU and the two candidate countries.

At the same time, Ukraine's accession remains a difficult task, as the process of accession negotiations is based on strict compliance with the rules. Becoming a member of the European Union is not an easy task. The European Council drew attention to the conditions under which Ukraine and Moldova must meet the Copenhagen criteria, and "consider the EU's ability to accept new members".

Now that Ukraine has already received the status of a candidate for EU membership, it is extremely necessary to understand that Ukraine's admission to the EU will not take place at the same time. It will be several years before accession negotiations begin, which will mark the beginning of a new very difficult phase of the integration process. As the example of several Western Balkan countries shows, a significant period of time separating obtaining candidate status from obtaining the first concrete benefits from this demanding process can lead to disillusionment and Euroscepticism among society. In order for the process

of implementing admission preparation to be effective, an understanding of its time frame must be realistic.

An equally important factor influencing the prospects for further full-fledged membership is the huge economic losses from the war, which cause fair concerns about Ukraine's readiness to follow the long and difficult path of joining the EU. These concerns will add to the concerns of some other member states about the impact of Ukraine as a new member with a population of about 44 million on the functioning of the Union. Ukraine would be the 5th most populous EU member state, with a larger population than all the current candidate countries from the Western Balkans combined. Thus, Ukraine would have, for example, about 70 delegates in the European Parliament, which is a significant lever of influence.

Discussion

Considering the importance for Ukraine of gaining full membership in the EU, important is the opinion of V. Babenko, Ya. Biletska, and G. Pelyak that in case of EU accession, Ukraine can actively participate in the process of energy transit through its territory and defend its own national interests by establishing its own rules of the game in this market, because in this case, oil and gas pipelines will already belong to an EU member state. The researchers also suggest that after Ukraine joins the EU, other member states will become the most important market for Ukrainian goods and, thereby, will stimulate the development of the Ukrainian economy [14]. Thus, the conclusions of scientists regarding the consequences of Ukraine's accession to the EU are similar to the conclusions obtained by the author of this study.

N.I.M. Novichok believes that the launch of the EU advisory mission in Ukraine was one of the manifestations of opposition to Russia, since the Union at that time did not have the necessary "hard" tools of influence, except for economic sanctions. This was also a manifestation of the political support of the people of Ukraine and its government, which directly affected the ability of the Ukrainian state to withstand Russian influence [17]. Although the researcher touches on the topic of this study indirectly, it organically correlates with the conclusions obtained.

Speaking about the problems of Ukraine on the way to full membership in the EU, it is worth mentioning the work of M. Petrovych, in which he examines in detail the relations between Ukraine and the European Union since 2010. The researcher suggests that, despite the long development of mutual ties between both sides, Ukraine has always sought the prospect of real and full-fledged membership in the EU. The EU perceives Ukraine's request for EU membership as unreliable due to its own concerns about the stability, economic development of Ukraine, and ongoing war. They are concerned that such a request sets a precedent for other Eastern partners. The researcher claims that although Ukraine has received the status of a candidate for EU membership, this is unlikely to lead to rapid admission of the country to the EU, in particular, due to the complex decision-making process on membership [18]. Thus, the conclusions by M. Petrovych regarding the impact of Russian aggression against Ukraine on the process of its European integration, are similar to the findings of this study.

It would also be equally important to pay attention to M. Kralikov, who examined the specific conditions that affect the course and outcome of the spread of EU norms on the example of anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine after the Maidan. She argues that despite the support of the European Union and the successful introduction of legislative changes, the implementation of the reform has been limited. The reason for this was the consequences of implementing reforms for oligarchs and corrupt officials. The clash of EU norms with the prevalence of corruption and the unwillingness of top Ukrainian officials to implement real changes led to an imitation of reforms [19]. Based on this, the conclusions of the researcher on the problems of implementing reforms in Ukraine and the conclusions of the author of this study complement each other.

Paying attention to the prospects for future full-fledged membership of Ukraine in the EU, this study considers the examples of other candidate countries for EU membership. B. Buzan and T. Dies investigated the problem of possible membership of Turkey in the EU, which has had the status of a candidate for EU membership for 23 years. However, the EU is constantly postponing its decision on Turkey's application for full membership indefinitely. Researchers suggest that this only underlines the urgent need to develop an alternative project for future relations between the parties, since it becomes obvious that Turkey will not become a full member. The new architecture of bilateral relations should be based on mutual recognition that Turkey and the EU have many common interests, but there are also long-term contradictions, which would make Turkey's full membership in the European Union purely problematic for both sides. The way out of this situation is to find a more suitable position for Turkey: sufficiently integrated into the EU for some purposes and separate from it for others [20]. Thus, the conclusions made by the researchers can be used for a deeper and more detailed analysis of the problem revealed by the author in this study.

Revealing the topic of Ukraine's European integration, it is impossible to ignore the topic of the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. K. Volchuk, in his paper "State-building and European integration in Ukraine", considers Euromaidan as a factor that had a profound impact on relations between Ukraine and the EU. She believes that these events have led to further support for internal reforms in the country. It was after the events of 2013-2014 that the EU supported the Ukrainian people and the country's leadership in their intention to further economic and political integration. One of the manifestations of this process was the conclusion of the association agreement between Ukraine and the EU. Nevertheless, the researcher believes that the points of the agreement repeatedly exceeded the capabilities of Ukraine both in economic terms and in terms of the functioning of the state apparatus. Based on this, the European Union provided some assistance aimed at implementing public administration reform, which was supposed to help Ukraine implement the agreement. K. Volchuk concluded that since the Revolution of Dignity, for Ukraine, the process of European integration has become tantamount to a complete restructuring of state institutions. Thus, this process is of critical importance for

the Ukrainian state [21]. Thus, the presented information is an interesting analysis of the topic, qualitatively complementing the materials of this study.

Given that the topic of this paper is the European integration of Ukraine, it is worth considering the study by V. Zheltovsky, in which he explains the key aspects of European integration in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity. The researcher analysed the political, economic, and social reforms carried out in Ukraine, the attitude to the integration process of the European Union and Russia. As a result of the study, it was concluded that Ukraine in the future has three main ways of development, namely:

1. Successful comprehensive integration with the European Union and, as a result, full membership in the Union.
2. Successful integration with the European Union, but without further membership.
3. Changing the country's strategic political course [22].

The analysis of the process of European integration of Ukraine is an urgent task, as it allows drawing certain conclusions, due to which it is possible to objectively assess the scale of changes and reforms that the country has implemented. The study of this process is an important subject of research in science and arouses the interest of political scientists, sociologists, and representatives of other areas of scientific activity.

This study defined the concept of "European Union" and described its most significant institutions. The author's interpretation of the presented results can become the basis for a new hypothesis or theory within the framework of this discourse and in other directions. The path of the Ukrainian state to European integration was considered, and the main aspects of the association agreement between Ukraine and the EU were described. The problems and difficulties that prevent Ukraine from more effectively implementing reforms aimed at deepening the process of European integration were revealed.

The author of this study also investigated how exactly the military invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation on February 24, 2022, will affect the further development of the process of economic and political integration into the European Union. It was noted that granting Ukraine the status of a candidate for EU membership, among other things, was caused directly by Russia's military aggression. Thus, the EU demonstrated its support to Ukraine at the highest level.

Conclusions

It can be concluded that Ukraine is successfully moving along the path of economic, political, social, and cultural integration into the European Union and has all the prospects of becoming a full-fledged member of the Union in the future.

This study outlined the main trends in Ukraine's European integration, defined the concept of "European Union" and described its most significant institutions, namely: the European Council, the European Commission, and the European Parliament. It was determined that the biggest impetus for the development and deepening of ties with the EU for Ukraine was Euromaidan, and later – the Revolution of Dignity of 2013-2014. The main problems, both internal and external, that prevent Ukraine from implementing the

necessary reforms for further European integration were considered. Among them, the most expressive are the high level of corruption in the country and the state's monopolisation of certain sectors of the economy. In addition, it was also analysed how Russia's military invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, would affect the further process of Ukraine's European integration. It was concluded that granting Ukraine the status of a candidate for EU membership was a manifestation of high support from the European community, and in many ways was a reaction to Russia's actions.

The materials of the study can be useful and relevant for political scientists, sociologists, and researchers

who investigate the process of Ukraine's integration into the European Community. The data will also have a certain value for students and researchers interested in the problems and difficulties that prevent Ukraine from embarking on the path of more effective and decisive reforms.

It is worth continuing the research and conducting it in more depth, continuing to investigate the impact of Russia's military aggression against Ukraine on its European integration. The diagnosis does not exhaust all the features of this political problem and requires further consideration of such issues as Ukraine's cultural integration into the EU.

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Євроінтеграція України. Яким буде шлях до повноцінного членства та як на цьому відіб'ються воєнні дії?

Анотація. Актуальність заявленої проблеми, передусім, зумовлена прагненням українського народу до економічної та культурної інтеграції в європейське співтовариство демократичних держав та необхідністю України військовим шляхом відстоювати свій європейський вибір. Також варто звернути увагу на те, що ця тема недостатньо розкрита в роботах інших дослідників, політологів та соціологів. У зв'язку з цим, ціль роботи автора полягає в розкритті теми економічної, політичної та культурної інтеграції України в Європейський Союз. Також задачами цієї наукової роботи є розкриття проблем на шляху до повноцінного членства України в Європейському Союзі та дослідження впливу вторгнення Росії в Україну на процес інтеграції. Як основні методи дослідження проблеми виступають методи аналізу, індукції, дедукції та синтезу, що дозволяють описати та виділити найбільш важливі аспекти європейської інтеграції України. У статті представлено наступне: дослідження процесу інтеграції України до економічного, соціального та культурного простору Європейського Союзу; дано визначення Європейському Союзу, описані його владні установи; розкриті проблеми та труднощі України, пов'язані з інтеграційним процесом; досліджено яким чином військова агресія Російської Федерації проти України вплине на подальший розвиток євроінтеграції країни. Матеріали статті становлять практичну та теоретичну цінність для політологів, соціологів, інших представників наукового співтовариства та дослідників теми євроінтеграції України, що цікавляться особливостями та аспектами цього процесу, досліджують проблеми, що перешкоджають українській державі рухатися шляхом європейської інтеграції

Ключові слова: статус кандидата, війна, Європейський Союз, економіка, реформи

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Energy Security of the West in the Conditions of Russian Aggression Against Ukraine

Abstract. The relevance of the study is conditioned by the fact that the fuel and energy sector of the state is one of the key ones for ensuring a comfortable life of the population. In recent years, the process of energy development has been negatively affected by climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic, but now the most important problem is the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Political events have only proved that Europe is suffering significant losses in the energy sector and is quite dependent on Russia's fuel and energy resources. That is why the issue of ensuring fuel and energy security and creating a sufficient level of reserves is the most relevant. In this regard, the purpose of this study is to analyse the issue of energy security of Western countries in the context of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The leading methods of investigating this problem are logical analysis, periodisation, induction, deduction, comparison and systematisation of approaches, which will help determine the consequences of the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the current state of energy security development in Europe. The paper describes the concept of security and its features in the energy sector; analyses the studies by historians, economists, sociologists, political scientists, and researchers who deal with the problem of energy security of the West in the context of Russia's aggression against Ukraine; describes the danger of further use of Russian gas; suggests various methods and ways to save energy and help reduce dependence on Russian gas supplies; diagnoses risks and threats in the fuel and energy sector of Ukraine and Western Europe; disclosed main statistical data and facts of dependence of European countries on fuel and energy resources from Russia. The materials of the study are of practical and theoretical value for political scientists, economists, politicians, and diplomats, which would help them create conditions for ensuring the country's energy security. In addition, the information may be relevant for researchers and scientists who are concerned about the economic damage to the whole world as a result of the Russian invasion of Ukraine

Keywords: electricity, Europe, aggressive policy, military conflict, fuel and energy complex

Introduction

Energy is an important factor in economic development and an engine of society's progress. Without it, there would be no social development and prosperity in industry, transport, housing, and services. Energy security is an indicator of national security and a factor in international relations. L. Tai-Ha and N. Kang Fuk suggest that today energy and information represent the basis of the economy and are key components of the country's economic growth [1]. The standard of living of society and the economy depends on reliable, efficient, and affordable energy supply.

The problem of the study is that during the war in Ukraine, the dependence of European countries on oil and

gas imports from Russia was revealed. A. Razavi found that about a quarter of all energy consumption in the EU comes from natural gas, which is an imported product. Such events indicate the West's energy dependence on Russia. Researchers have shown that the high energy dependence on oil and gas imports from Russia is caused by the inability to supply energy from Iran and Venezuela due to sanctions. The most important strategies of the countries are to strengthen international institutions, use alternative sources, ensure joint investment with oil producers, and build new pipelines for gas transportation [2].

P. Kosovsky and K. Kosovar state that energy security is the ability of the economy to ensure a stable supply

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of energy resources. In addition, an important indicator is the regulation of energy prices, which will not have a negative impact on the economy [3]. Now it is important to ensure equal access to energy for all social groups, because Russia's military invasion of Ukraine has jeopardised the energy security of the whole of Europe.

T.P. Gregory noted that Europe depends on Russian supplies. The EU's dependence on Russian imports in 2020 was 38%, but since 2010 it has increased by 30.6% [4]. The result of the war in Ukraine was an increase in European military spending and a decrease in the dependence of European countries, especially Germany, on Russian energy supply (natural gas). Finding new exporting countries (the United States, Australia, Central Asia, North Africa, or the Middle East) does not help create conditions for rapid replacement. In addition, prices for fossil energy carriers only indicate their shortage on the global market [5].

V.V. Dubrovsky established that Russia produced approximately 14% of the world's oil reserves and 17% of its natural gas reserves. It was one of the most important coal exporters to Asia and Europe. Before the war in Ukraine, Russia reduced supplies to Europe to make the West feel a shortage of gas [6].

S. Gaderi investigated the concept of energy security of Western countries and pointed out that it is France and Germany that are most dependent on Russian energy imports. It was noted that Russia's goal was to control the European Union's Energy Market by influencing Iran and military attacks on Ukraine and Georgia. In addition, Russia has close contacts with Central Asian countries that are landlocked and cannot easily supply energy to Europe [7].

The relevance of this study is conditioned by the fact that Russia's invasion of Ukraine affected the emergence of a number of economic, social, and food problems in the world. As a result of the imposition of sanctions on Russia, European countries are unable to import energy resources, which creates a problem of energy security. In addition, Western countries did not express a uniform position on energy regarding Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. M. Mishyk points out that the rapid rise in energy prices and the shortage of natural gas in the winter of 2021-2022 only indicates the limited ability of Europe's existing energy resources to ensure energy security. Important prospects are the creation of energy security for Western countries based on providing them with internal energy sources [8]. It is the transition to renewable energy sources that would help overcome the consequences of the Russian invasion. The originality of the study is its very topic, because this issue has not been described before.

The purpose of the study is to investigate in detail the issue of energy security of Western countries in the context of Russia's war against Ukraine. Additional tasks are to analyse strategies and actions that can affect the improvement of the level of energy security.

Materials and Methods

The following methods were used in the course of the study: theoretical (investigation and analysis of political and economic literature and papers on the importance of energy security in the world; analysis of the features of

the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the state of energy supply in Europe; generalisation of theoretical material on the problem under study; logical method with a systematic approach to the investigation of the phenomenon; deduction and classification when highlighting the main strategic actions of the European Union in the field of energy stability; system and structural method for presenting the phenomenon of energy security from different sides and priorities; comparison of approaches to theoretical understanding of the essence of the problem of energy security and methods of its solution; comparison and systematisation of research on this problem); diagnostic (study of the works of researchers, findings of scientific research, collection and grouping of empirical facts).

The study was conducted in three stages:

1. At the first stage, a theoretical collection and analysis of existing approaches in the economy, history, political science, and the system of international relations on the issue of energy security of the West in the context of Russia's aggression against Ukraine was carried out. Studies devoted to this problem, its features and approaches to explanation were investigated; information data of books, electronic articles, monographs, conferences, dissertations were considered, in which the aspects and problems faced by European countries were deeply and comprehensively revealed; Europe's dependence on Russian energy resources, which was built up over the years, the amount of gas and oil that were exported were determined; brief reviews of different studies were presented and unexplored issues were identified; the problem, purpose, forms, and methods of analysing the problem were highlighted, and a research plan was drawn up.

2. At the second stage, the research, analysis, and design of tools for studying the problem of energy security of the West in the context of a full-scale military invasion of Russia in Ukraine was carried out. The features and aspects of this international economic phenomenon were considered; a three-level model of energy security and its components were defined; measures and tools for developing an international energy security system were explained; percentage data of Russian energy supplies to Europe were presented; the results of the analysis were revealed, which helped identify the specifics of this problem; the components of the Energy Union were analysed; the increase in fuel and electricity prices was determined; alternative solutions of the West to find new gas supplier countries were described and the conclusions obtained during the study were systematised.

3. At the third stage, there was a systematisation and classification of material obtained during the analysis and investigation of scientific and theoretical studies; the theoretical and practical conclusions and results of this study were substantiated; a comparative analysis of research and approaches aimed at investigating the problem of energy security and stability of the West in the context of Russia's aggression against Ukraine; the main economic and political facts and data that certify the real state of EU energy resources was presented; effective methods of ensuring the energy stability of Western countries were analysed; the importance of renewable energy sources for political

independence and economic development was shown on the example of Lithuania; the results of the analysis of different studies and their contribution to the economy, the system of international relations and political science; the importance of developing a fully integrated domestic market based on supporting competitive oil refining companies in Europe was presented. In addition, the author of this study described the general principles of energy security of the West in the conditions of war in Ukraine.

Results

3.1. The concept of energy security and its features

Providing the population with energy is a major issue that needs to be addressed to minimise the risks of depletion of economic, environmental, and social resources in the future. The main goal of each state is to fully provide it with energy in a certain quantity and quality. Energy security strategies are always a response to threats to the state's energy systems [9].

It is important for European countries to ensure their economies and create good conditions for the existence of the population, but for this purpose, it is necessary to ensure the import of the necessary amount of fuel and electricity and supply them at reasonable prices. Often, the concept of "energy security" can be interpreted as the creation of guaranteed energy resources in order to overcome external energy dependence. This is also highlighted in the Energy Security Strategy. Energy dependence on energy supplier countries is also a component of energy and national security. It is imported energy resources and their diversifica-

tion that determine the level of energy dependence of the state. To assess the level of energy security, a system of indicators determined by the subject composition of the energy security system is used. The main indicators of electricity supply are such aspects as: the share of own production; the index of changes in consumption per capita; the index of changes in the share of energy consumption within a certain region in relation to the total volume of state consumption; the share of restrictions in electricity production [10].

Interest is also shown by the idea of F. Cornell, where energy security comes in the form of a three-tier model:

1. The first level consists of "military energy security", which ensures the supply and delivery of logistics chains to combat sites, managing total losses and needs.

2. The second level meets the needs for energy resources and electricity for the education system, transport, health-care, etc.

3. The third level is a priority for the economic sphere, because it regulates energy prices. At the same time, this level is the most unstable due to interruptions in the supply of gas and oil [11].

The implementation of an effective mechanism of interaction to create conditions for international energy security affects the functioning of the global fuel and energy sector and requires regulating the process of inclusion in the global energy space, the interests of the company, and the cost of resources. The mechanism of interaction between countries in the energy sector should be based on a system of economic, technical, institutional, and political measures (Table 1).

Table 1. Measures and tools for establishing the international energy security system

Measures	Tools
Structural and investment	- resource-saving (technologies for creating and distributing electricity, using energy-saving equipment and control automation tools); - energy efficiency to reduce the process of energy use.
Monetary and credit	- availability of state funding; - concessional lending; - focus subsidies and benefits for the consumption and production of energy sources.
Fiscal	- differentiation of taxes depending on resources and difficulties of their extraction; - establishment of a single tax for energy-consuming enterprises; - establishment of taxes depending on energy products; - increased taxation for industries that are associated with traditional energy sources.
Price	- methods of state intervention in activities of natural monopolies.
Regulatory	- existence of laws and bylaws for energy policy that can regulate the issuance of subsidies and establish guarantees for loans in the energy sector; - special regulations that should ensure the protection of nature.
Programme-oriented	- development of strategic plans for adjusting energy use plans and prospects.
Informational	- creation of an information system to improve conditions; - information policy in the field of energy resource reorientation.
Administrative and organisational	- state bodies in the energy sector; - existence of scientific and training centres on energy saving.

Note: the table describes the main measures and methods for creating energy security in the world

Source: compiled by the author based on [10]

3.2. The state of energy security of European countries in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Possible solutions to the problem

The European energy security strategy was adopted in 2014 due to the gas supply crises in 2006 and 2009. The most influential was the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, which negatively affected the transit of natural gas to Central and Western Europe. The energy security strategy was supposed to consider the prospects for the development of the energy sector until 2030 and was aimed at creating competitiveness of EU countries in this area. The European Council and its members are trying to develop and implement plans to create competitive, safe, and sustainable energy. The solution to the problem of energy security should be based on flexibility, the ability to adapt and change in accordance with world circumstances [12]. The most important and urgent problem was Russia's full-scale military

invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, which affected economic instability in the world, and especially in Europe. Many sanctions and restrictions were imposed on Russia, which also affected the economy of Western countries.

It is worth noting that Russia was a leading energy producer. In 2018, this country was an exporting 21% of the world's gas and 11% of oil. In addition, the EU produced only 39% of its energy in 2019, and most of the energy consumed came from fossil fuels (petroleum products and natural gas). It was Russia that supplied energy resources to the EU: the share of crude oil was 27%, and natural gas – 41% in 2019. In 2019, Western European countries received approximately 17% of the total energy volume from Russia [13]. According to the latest available data, among the largest economies in Europe, it is Germany that imports about 50% of gas from Russia, while France receives about a quarter (Fig. 1) [14].

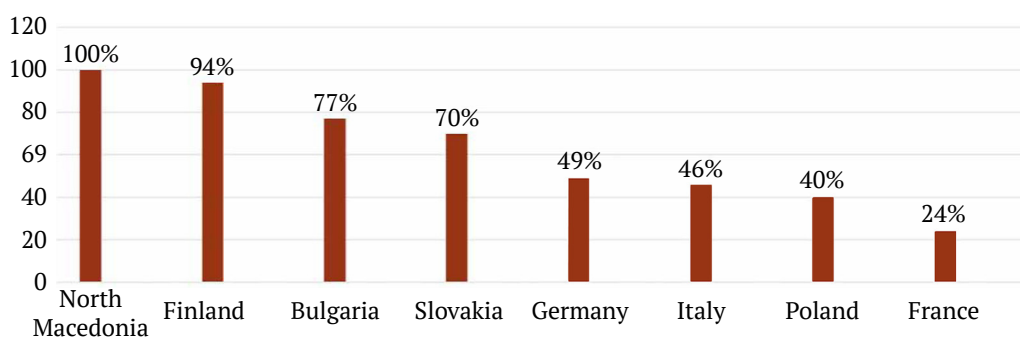


Figure 1. Dependence of European countries on gas in 2020-2021

The most difficult task remains to find substitutes for natural gas suppliers. Now Europe is trying to dramatically reduce this dependence by imposing sanctions on Russia that prohibit the import of energy carriers. It is the political component that poses an important threat to the energy security of countries that import energy resources. For example, in 2012, the European Union imposed an embargo on oil supplies from Iran and reduced oil consumption due to the sanctions imposed. The purpose of such actions was to ensure the non-proliferation of Iran's nuclear weapons.

In 2021, the European Union imported 155 billion cubic metres of natural gas from Russia. This accounts for 45% of gas imports and 40% of its total consumption [15]. Western countries are trying to reduce energy burnout to improve the ecological state of the planet, but today Europe is not yet ready for such radical changes.

An important stage that affected the division of production and supply in the gas and electricity sectors was the Third Energy Package (2009). It was supposed to facilitate the integration of the energy sector into the

single internal market. In addition, a very large amount of cross-border infrastructure has been created. The main idea is to provide new gas transmission infrastructure and reverse supply. The principles of ensuring energy security should also include improving the prospects for natural gas imports and increasing the volume of gas storage facilities. In Europe, prices were standardised and an independent market was created in the electricity sector throughout the EU. This is evidenced by markets in the Middle East and the Baltic States, Central Europe, and the Midwest of Europe. Despite this fact, Western countries should improve cross-border ties and promote greater diversification of energy supply [15].

European countries work closely and cooperate to prevent energy problems and avoid crises in the electric power industry. In 2020, monitoring was conducted in this area to determine the most likely regional crisis scenarios for the electric power industry. It is important to follow the recommendations for fair compensation of resources and mutual assistance for crisis prevention (Fig. 2).

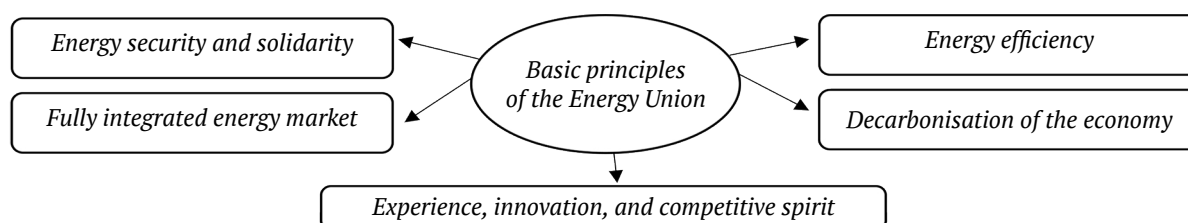


Figure 2. Components of the Energy Union

The problem of security of oil and gas supplies also arises due to the fact that some of these energy resources are a strategic reserve. In addition, maintaining controlled prices is equally important. In Europe, these solutions remain a topical issue. Possible alternative solutions can be described as follows:

1. Creation of the state strategic reserve agency, which will deal with the purchase of oil and petroleum products from the budget, and apply taxes on the turnover of oil companies or introduce special subsidies for energy prices;
2. Creation of a joint-stock company in which oil suppliers and various companies will participate [15].

Now in Western Europe, energy prices are actively rising, which negatively affects the majority of the population, which is forced to spend most of its funds on fuel and heat for basic needs. The prospect of an increase in 2022-2023 would lead to a shortage of supply, because wealthy companies and segments of the population would be able to accumulate energy resources. In addition, high prices will begin to affect developed countries. For example, in the UK, the number of households that fall below the poverty line will increase. In 2020, approximately 13% of households in England (3.16 million) were short of energy, 25% in Scotland, 12% in Wales, and 18% in Northern Ireland. As a result of the military events in Ukraine caused by Russia's armed aggression, energy prices for households in the UK were increased (by about 54%). As a result, electricity bills have increased from GBP 700 to 2,000. It is important that from April 2022, the number of households that will not be able to provide themselves with energy resources may grow to 27%, and payment for electricity may reach 3,000 pounds per year [12]. Now politicians and authorities are trying to create protection in the form of cuts in fuel duties and by supporting household energy bills. The popularity of introducing a super-income tax is spreading in the EU, but EU leaders have not yet reached a final agreement.

It is also worth noting Germany, which imported all its natural gas through pipelines in 2020, but is now determined to create liquefied natural gas terminals in its country. At the same time, Poland is also expanding its terminals in the Baltic Sea and signing new contracts with other gas supplier countries [6].

Many European countries are actively trying to reduce their dependence on Russian energy resources. A possible solution is to use campaigns to save energy, expand renewable and nuclear capacity. It is equally important to find alternative solutions for suppliers. Oil exporters are Canada, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and the Middle East. Natural gas can be supplied from Algeria, Norway, the Netherlands, and Azerbaijan to Europe in large volumes. In addition, Western countries should pay attention to such supplier countries as Australia, Qatar, the United States, Malaysia, and Nigeria. In Europe, the number of natural gas shipment terminals is actively increasing, which would allow the continent to be less dependent on Russian energy resources.

Since Western countries depend on imports of Russian gas and energy resources, the European Commission has put forward a proposal to quickly reduce the use of Russian

fossil fuels and completely abandon it. In addition, it is considered necessary to introduce an emergency tax on excess profits for energy companies that produce oil and gas, and redirect these revenues to help consumers [16].

It is planned that Western countries will reduce the use of Russian gas in 2022 by 60% using methods such as:

1. Improving the energy efficiency of homes, warming them, and using heat pumps;
2. Expansion of gas and oil imports from other countries and creation of its own renewable gas production;
3. Use of renewable energy sources.

Discussion

Energy supply security is important in an aspect of EU energy policy. Most Western countries are dependent on Russia's natural gas, which creates a major security problem in Europe. In addition, Russia's military actions in Ukraine have put the issue of gas security at the centre of European energy policy. It was the sanctions that led to a reduction in gas and oil supplies, or even a complete rejection of Russian energy resources. In March 2014, a gas conflict broke out between Russia and Ukraine related to the war in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea by Russia. I. Henderson points out that the economic dispute between the two countries ended with new stops of gas supplies to Ukraine in June 2014, which created a threat to energy supplies to the EU [17]. Most political scientists consider these events as Russia's political steps to expand its influence and negotiating position in the international arena [18]. The presented studies indicate a high level of vulnerability of the Western European energy system, which was analysed by the author.

In addition, the study indicated that even before the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the world economy suffered from the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change, which negatively affected the stability of Western countries. Russia's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, was a turning point and an opportunity for European countries to refuse to supply oil and gas from Russia. The prospects for the development of the European energy sector based on the rejection of Russian gas and oil were considered, and alternative solutions to this problem were indicated.

T.G. Benton and A. Froggatt suggest that the most important thing for creating energy security for the West in the face of Russia's military invasion of Ukraine is to comply with the following principles:

1. Increase the development of renewable energy sources.
2. Maximise production from low-emission energy sources to increase supply.
3. Increase coal production and supply.
4. Speed up the process of electricity accumulation and storage to address the supply and demand imbalance.
5. Speed up the conversion of heating systems and the use of heat pumps at the domestic level.
6. Reduce the amount of Russian energy imports to Europe to minimise geopolitical and economic consequences.
7. Promote the extraction of new fossil fuel reserves to increase supply.

8. Involve people in the rational use of energy to reduce overall demand.

9. Accelerate the introduction of energy efficiency measures and reduce energy costs.

10. Create social protection for the population that does not have enough monetary resources.

11. Introduce minimum requirements for the energy storage process;

12. Encourage active public transport based on renewable energy to facilitate travel [16].

Such results are a logical addition to the study and consideration of methods of Western countries that would help to abandon Russian energy resources.

Interesting is the development of renewable energy in Lithuania, which demonstrates an effective solution for ensuring the energy security of Western European countries. According to T. Sattich, R. Morgan and E. Mo, it is energy independence that has become a key condition that has been the dominant narrative in political energy discourses over the past decade. Energy dependence on Russia posed a great threat to Lithuania's economic stability and independence. Many special actions have been taken to neutralise this threat, namely, combining networks with the European market, diversifying natural gas supplies, and increasing energy production in the country. In addition, the construction of a nuclear power plant became important. Consequently, renewable energy has been the goal of Lithuania's policy and national energy security strategy since 2018. The turning point was Lithuania's connection to the European energy system, which affected the importance of developing renewable energy sources. These events have opened up many opportunities for a new policy regarding the country's energy component [19]. Lithuania also refused to buy oil and gas from Russia on May 22 because of its position on Russia's military aggression in Ukraine. The example of this state shows how countries can successfully create an energy security system in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

P. Prisetsiru emphasises an urgent need for a new strategy to see the problem of energy supply at the EU and national level in the context of political stability and environmental protection. The energy strategy is based on eight key pillars that must be interconnected:

1. Active actions aimed at improving the ability of European countries to overcome difficulties during the winter of 2014-2015. Special attention was paid to the most dependent states, and actions were aimed at increasing storage facilities, creating reverse flows, and developing supply security plans at the regional level.

2. Strengthen emergency response mechanisms by coordinating risk assessment and contingency plans and protecting critical infrastructure. It is the response plans, the development of risk assessment, security plans and the establishment of a pan-European platform for information exchange that have become key elements for the development of a regulatory framework for gas storage facilities.

3. Reducing energy demand and its saving.

4. Development of a fully integrated internal market based on the support of competitive oil refining companies in Europe.

5. Increase energy production in the European Union to reduce its dependence on individual suppliers and fuels, and improve the use of local energy sources.

6. Development of energy technologies to optimise the energy grid infrastructure.

7. Diversification of external natural gas supplies and related infrastructure. For example, in 2013, approximately 39% of EU gas imports came from Russia, 33% from Norway, and 22% from North Africa (Algeria and Libya). In addition, it is worth developing supplies from North America, Australia, Qatar, East Africa, and the Caspian region.

8. Improving the effectiveness of coordination of national energy policy and creating a common goal in foreign energy policy. International energy markets should become stable, transparent, and coordinated with the promotion of sustainable energy technologies [12].

These results reveal the aspects and strategies of the Energy Union of Western European countries that were considered by the researcher. The most effective method of ensuring the energy stability of Western countries is to conduct stress tests of energy security, considering the reduction and termination of energy supplies due to military operations in Ukraine. In addition, it is necessary to develop backup mechanisms, namely: increase gas and oil reserves; develop infrastructure for emergency situations; reduce energy needs; switch to alternative fuels; develop cooperation with gas suppliers and transport system operators.

K. Siriopoulos considered the progress made in energy security at the European and regional levels [20]. The state of energy resources prior to the adoption of the EU Energy Strategy, its main aspirations and political goals of the main actors involved in the policy development process were demonstrated. Specific case studies were also considered, namely Regulation (EU) 2017/1938, establishing regional cooperation in South-Eastern Europe and the EU Energy Strategy. The research complements the results of the study on the issue of energy security and political decisions in this area.

Russia's military aggression in Ukraine has influenced the understanding of strong dependence on foreign energy resources, and especially Russian gas and oil [21]. T.V. Berling and I. Survillo diagnosed that achieving energy security appears as a common regional goal, which should include further synchronisation of energy networks, development of new energy innovations and technologies, improvement of energy efficiency measures and the establishment of a regional gas market. The first actions were the signing of an agreement between the EU and the United States on the purchase of 15 billion cubic metres of gas in 2022. The EU energy procurement platform was also created. Such an initiative would help fill gas storage facilities across Europe by next winter and facilitate cooperation with key external suppliers [22]. The presented data indicate the possibility of a successful rejection of Russian gas and oil and a reduction in external energy dependence.

The issue of striving for European strategic sovereignty has acquired a new urgency due to the significant military conflict in Europe provoked by Russia. Western Energy Security should be based on rethinking goals, priorities, and finding new partner countries. European

countries should change their course and direct their strategic interest to trade policy and the introduction of new sanctions against the actions of the Russian Federation. It is also necessary to work on reducing dependence on other countries' energy resources and improving financial policies.

Conclusions

Thus, in the context of modern political events and the process of globalisation, the energy supply of states is characterised by instability, increased variability, and unpredictability. As a result of such processes, most countries face the need to develop their own energy security systems that will be resilient to new challenges and threats. An example was the Russian military aggression against Ukraine, which provoked the termination of any current or planned bilateral interactions with representatives of Russian state bodies and state-owned enterprises in the energy sector at various levels.

This study indicates that the Russian military attack negatively affected the energy sector of the Ukrainian economy, and also demonstrated Europe's strong dependence on Russian fossil fuels. The whole world called for the introduction of powerful sanctions against Russia, which created instability in the energy sector of Western countries due to the use of fossil fuels and insufficient development and supply of resources.

The study found that it is international economic cooperation in the energy sector that will become one of the most important factors in the development of Western

countries and their economic progress. The importance of prioritising energy efficiency and creating an efficient energy sector based primarily on renewable sources was highlighted. It was also noted that Western countries adhere to an important global policy in order to stop Russia's destructive actions in Ukraine. Currently, the Energy Union's goals focus on such dimensions as: energy security and trust; internal energy market; energy efficiency to save energy; decarbonisation of the economy; innovation and competitiveness.

The materials of the paper are of practical and theoretical value for political scientists, economists, politicians, sociologists, international figures, and diplomats, which would help them create conditions for improving the energy security system of Western countries in difficult global circumstances. In addition, the information may be relevant for researchers and scientists who analyse the dependence of European countries on Russian energy resources and investigate possible risks to the whole world as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian war.

It is worth continuing the investigation and deepening it, analysing the issues of economic and political nature, namely, the problem of energy security in Western Europe. The conducted study does not exhaust all aspects of this regional problem and requires further consideration of such issues as: interaction between situations of regional conflict, material and social determinants of perception of energy security; the importance of immediate improvement of energy production in the European Union to reduce its dependence on individual suppliers.

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Енергетична безпека Заходу в умовах агресії Росії проти України

Анотація. Актуальність дослідження зумовлена тим, що паливно-енергетична сфера держави є однією з ключових для забезпечення комфортної життєдіяльності населення. В останні роки процес розвитку енергетики зазнавав негативного впливу внаслідок зміни клімату, пандемії COVID-19, але зараз найголовніша проблема – це російське вторгнення в Україну. Політичні події лише довели, що Європа несе значні втрати в енергетичному секторі та доволі сильно залежить від паливно-енергетичних ресурсів Росії. Саме тому питання забезпечення паливно-енергетичної безпеки та створення достатнього рівня резервів є найбільш актуальним. У зв'язку з цим стаття автора спрямована на аналіз проблеми енергетичної безпеки країн Заходу в умовах вторгнення Росії в Україну. Провідними методами дослідження цієї проблеми є методи логічного аналізу, періодизації, індукції, дедукції, зіставлення та систематизації підходів, що допоможе визначити наслідки російського вторгнення в Україну та сучасний стан розвитку енергетичної безпеки в Європі. У статті наведено опис поняття безпеки та її особливостей в енергетичній сфері; проведено аналіз робіт істориків, економістів, соціологів, політологів, дослідників, які займаються проблемою енергетичної безпеки Заходу в умовах агресії Росії проти України; описано небезпеку подальшого використання російського газу; запропоновано різноманітні методи та способи заощадити енергію та допомогти зменшити залежність від постачання російського газу; діагностовано ризики та загрози в паливно-енергетичній сфері України та країн Західної Європи; розкрито основні статистичні дані та факти залежності країн Європи від паливно-енергетичних ресурсів Росії. Матеріали статті становлять практичну та теоретичну цінність для політологів, економістів, політиків, дипломатів, що допоможе їм створити умови для забезпечення енергетичної безпеки країни. Крім того, інформація може бути актуальною для вчених та науковців, які замагаються питанням економічних збитків для всього світу внаслідок російського вторгнення в Україну

Ключові слова: електроенергія, Європа, агресивна політика, воєнний конфлікт, паливно-енергетичний комплекс

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Historical Aspects of the Establishment of the Great Seven

Abstract. The relevance of the study is conditioned by many historical and modern aspects. In particular, by revealing the issues of creating an international organisation, it is possible to understand what functions the organisation had, and the purpose of the organisation's existence against the background of historical events and modernity. The purpose of the study is to highlight the prerequisites and history of the creation of the International organisation Group of Seven (also known as G7), to investigate the influence and significance of this organisation, both in the past and in the context of modern international relations. The scientific approach is based on methods of systematic analysis of other studies and publications, and analysis of documents, in particular, international treaties, memoranda, etc. In addition, historical and comparative, historical and system methods were used, which allowed determining the place of the organisation in the general historical process. The main results of scientific research should be considered the definition of both the prerequisites for the establishment of the Group of Seven and its results, namely: the activities and significance of the organisation, and the definition of the role of an international organisation in historical and modern contexts. Practical application of the results obtained in the course of research is possible as a tool for solving a number of both historiographical and political science problems. In particular, the study can help solve the problem of interstate relations between developed countries and developing countries, the problem of the political and economic unity of developed countries, the problem of relevance and loss of influence of Western countries, and the growth of influence of developing countries, the problem of the relevance of the G7 format and its replacement with the G20 format, etc.

Key words: G7, diplomacy, international relations, developed countries, developing countries, world economy

Introduction

The issue of the history of the creation of the Group of Seven is important and relevant both from a historiographical and diplomatic standpoint. The idea of creating a platform for regular meetings of leaders of the most industrially developed democratic countries was first voiced even before the 1973 oil crisis. In addition, back in the early 1970s, due to the economic crisis between the United States, Western Europe, and Japan, relations in economic and industrial issues began to worsen. This means that creating a format for joint meetings was necessary [1].

On March 25, 1973, then US Treasury Secretary George Schultz called an informal meeting of finance ministers from leading Western European countries: Helmut Schmidt (Germany), Valerie D'estaing (France), Anthony Barbera (Great Britain). The Library Group (journalists named the participants of the meeting as such, due to the fact that their meeting was held in the White House Library, in Washington) has become an example of the first informal meeting of the world's leading economic countries [2]. In mid-1973, at Schultz's Initiative, Japan joined the group, and they became known as the Group of Five.

According to some researchers, it was the Group of Five that became the format that will grow into the "Big Seven" in the future [3]. However, the term "Big Seven", which was continued by the term "Big Eight", originated in post-Soviet journalism in the early 1990s from an erroneous interpretation of the English abbreviation G7 as "Great Seven" although, in fact, it stands for "Group of Seven" [4].

The main problem of the study is to determine the political and economic prerequisites that contributed to the establishment of the Group of Seven organisation. Definition of the essence of an organisation, the results of its creation, and its activities. One of the main objectives is to determine the economic, political, and diplomatic consequences of the establishment of the Group of Seven.

Investigation of the history of the founding of the Group of Seven was previously conducted by both Ukrainian and foreign (American, British, Canadian, Japanese) researchers of history and international relations, but so far, there was no consensus on this issue, because the opinions of researchers differ. In particular, the Ukrainian researcher Igor Mingazutdinov notes the main reasons for the creation of the G7 are exclusively economic motives, because

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as of 1973, the leading countries of the Western world experienced economic difficulties not only from the oil crisis (which forced European countries to switch to oil and gas from the USSR), but also from the economic recession in the OECD countries (which included “pro-Western” countries: Austria, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Belgium, Great Britain, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Iceland, Spain, Italy, Canada Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Germany, Norway, Portugal, the United States, Turkey, France, Switzerland, Sweden), the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, and the unsuccessful attempts of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) to reform it, etc. At the same time, the American researcher Robert Schafer claims that one of the main tasks of the G7 was to consolidate the main countries of the “Western world” to oppose the socialist camp, both in economic terms and to discuss other political factors of opposition to the spread of communist ideology in the format of regular informal meetings. In general, most researchers agree that the reason for the establishment of this organisation was a mixture of political and economic factors that developed at the beginning of the 1970s. In particular, the American researcher Roy Likriders focused on the importance of the oil factor, as the main reason in the establishment of the Group of Seven [1]. Another researcher, Robert Schafer, considered the main reason for the creation of the Group of Seven to be the factor of international trade and competition in sales markets between the world's most developed economies, which as of the early 1970s needed to be resolved through a direct dialogue between the leaders of these countries [5]. Thus, despite the lack of consensus, most researchers still identify economic and trade factors as the main reason.

The main objective of the study is to determine the historical and political aspects of the establishment of the G7 and the consequences of this in the historical and modern political context. The purpose of the study is to prove the historical significance, political influence, and effectiveness of the G7 format as an interstate association. In addition, one of the tasks is to solve the problem of insufficient disclosure of this topic in modern Ukrainian historiography. *The purpose of the study* is to determine the function of this international organisation and the political consequences and results of its creation. The relevance of the study consists in clarifying the tasks and capabilities of the G7. The originality of the study is the investigation of the organisation's influence on other countries and events in the world.

Materials and Methods

The methodological approach of this study is based on a combination of several scientific and historical methods. Thus, the method of system analysis was used to investigate and analyse available scientific and historical, journalistic, documentary, memoir, and other sources both on this topic and on related topics. The conclusions obtained during the analysis of the materials became the basis for further research. Another method used in the study was periodisation, due to which the chronology of the creation of the Group of Seven, the prerequisites and consequences of the creation of the organisation were divided into periods and ordered, which greatly facilitated the work during the

study. Using the historical and system method, the role of the G7 as part of the overall historical process was determined, in addition, using this method, the problem of correlation of the organisation's model and assessment of its real activity and relevance was solved. In addition, the historical and comparative method was used during the study. It was used to compare the functions, influence, and historical significance of the Group of Seven with other similar interstate associations (in particular, the Group of Twenty, the Group of Twelve, etc.).

The theoretical basis consists of the investigation of research papers and publications of a number of Ukrainian and foreign (American, British, Canadian, Japanese) researchers. In addition, various documents were used as a source: interstate treaties, acts, etc., memoirs and interviews of politicians involved in the establishment of this international organisation.

The study included three main stages.

At the first stage, the theoretical basis was prepared, which will later be used as the main foundation for further research. At this stage, a systematic analysis of methods, sources, literature, and other components of the study was performed.

During the second stage, an analytical study of the prospects of the topic was conducted, namely: the stages of establishment of the Group of Seven were determined, the tasks set for the organisation and the success of their implementation throughout history were determined; the current state and status of the organisation and prospects for its development in the future were outlined. At this stage, a comparative analysis of the findings was also carried out with the results obtained by other researchers during previous studies. This helps clarify and compare the results obtained and potentially expand the scientific prospects of the study. At this stage, most of the scientific and theoretical methods that were declared as the theoretical and methodological basis of this study were used. Thus, at the second stage of the study, most of the historiographic, documentary, and source materials were processed, which became the basis for the results.

At the third (final) stage, based on the processed materials, the conclusions were finally determined, which in fact became the result of this study. The results obtained in the course of the study reflect the main trends in the development of diplomacy and interstate relations, especially in the policy of informal Interstate associations. Thus, the findings of this study and the conclusions obtained during its implementation, can be used in practice as an effective scientific base or component of scientific research on the subject of world history, namely: as a component of international diplomatic relations during the Cold War or in the modern period.

Results

As of the early 1970s, the countries of North America and Western Europe faced a number of economic and political challenges, and their solution required consolidation and constant contacts between representatives of these countries [1]. Especially the appearance of such an organisation (at least in an informal form) was necessary for the leaders of Western countries (the United States, Germany,

France, and Great Britain), because the existing formats of non-military associations provided for either contacts with the countries of the socialist camp, or cooperation with less economically developed union states, which, nevertheless, had the right to vote and protected their interests, which did not always converge with the interests of the leaders of more economically influential countries [6]. Thus, the idea of creating an interstate organisation that could regularly gather representatives of the world's leading economic countries was laid down even before the appearance of the Group of Seven.

One of the main factors in the creation of the Group of Seven is usually called the oil crisis of 1973. The crisis was one of the continuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Due to the fact that Western countries supported Israel in the "Doomsday War" (October 1973), the countries of the OAPEC (Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries), in response, imposed an embargo on the sale of oil to Europe, North America, and Japan. This hit the economies of developed countries, which were dependent on energy resources from the Middle East and oil prices [7]. This resulted in the shutdown of the largest oil refineries in the United States, Italy, France, and other developed countries, which led to the massive closure of small and medium-sized businesses in the United States, which was somehow tied to oil (primarily gas stations).

Another factor for the creation of an international association was the economic situation of the United States and the crisis in the American economy, which continued from the early 1960s, and later developed into stagflation [8]. This was conditioned by the gradual disappearance of American hegemony in the world market. After World War II, American goods had no alternative in the markets of Western Europe and Asia, because the local economy was just beginning to recover from a long war and was actually being built anew, which led to the rapid growth of the economy and industry in the United States, because the country actually had unlimited access to world sources of raw materials and sales markets [9]. At that time, the United States produced about a third of all manufactured goods in the world. However, in the early 1960s, the economies of some countries began to grow at an alarming rate, while this applied not only to developed countries, but also to third world countries, which began to raise the price of raw materials for Americans. The main competitors of the United States, not only in the global, but also in the internal market, were Japan and Germany. These countries had an advantage over the United States in the form of relatively cheap labour and access to the latest production technologies at that time, which made the products produced in these countries an order of magnitude cheaper than those produced in the United States. Thus, even in the internal American market, purchasing companies preferred foreign goods over their own, because of their cheapness, which did not affect the quality. This led to a decrease in the pace of production and cuts, which resulted not only in unprofitability and closure of some enterprises, but also threatened the disappearance of some branches of American production (in particular, mechanical engineering, metallurgy, electronics, etc.). This, in particular, led to a surge in unemployment, rising prices

and the decline of some industrial regions, the basis of the economy, which was heavy industry [10; 11].

Another important factor in the creation of the organisation was the crisis of the Bretton Woods system, which was also associated with negative processes in the American economy. The Bretton Woods system appeared in 1944 and replaced the outdated "gold standard" system, which already at that time could not effectively cover the entire scale of international trade. The Bretton Woods system, in turn, offered a fixed peg of the US dollar to the gold standard, at a price of USD 35 per 1 troy ounce of gold. Thus, since 1944, the US dollar has actually become the main currency for international financial transactions and the standard in the international financial system, on which the exchange rate of other currencies was based [12]. However, already in the late 1960s, a rapid process of stagflation began in the United States. President-elect Nixon began fighting the economic crisis by cutting federal government spending and raising taxes. However, when this did not help, it was decided to reduce the amount of US currency by raising the interest rate on loans. However, this did not lead to the desired results, but on the contrary, prices continued to rise, and in the first two years of Nixon's presidency, they increased by an average of 15%. Then, in 1971, Nixon announced the end of the conversion of the dollar into gold, effectively withdrawing the US currency from the Bretton Woods system, of which it was the basis. This helped revive US exports, but other problems, such as rising prices and unemployment, were not resolved. Such actions led to a significant devaluation of the dollar exchange rate, which from 1971 to 1973 collapsed from USD 35 to 42 per 1 troy ounce [13]. The instability of the main currency in the international market negatively affected the world market and trade in general, which was dissatisfied with other economically developed countries, which brought their leaders even closer to creating a format for regular meetings, at least to discuss and create a new system of monetary relations that could replace the Bretton Woods (the Jamaican system replaced the Bretton Woods in 1976, and consisted in setting the exchange rate not by the state, but by the market) [14].

Not only the United States, but also every country of the future Group of Seven, experienced certain economic difficulties at the time of the organisation's establishment. In Italy, the 1973 oil crisis, which ended a period that lasted from the 1950s and was called the "Italian economic miracle", in just over 10 years, the Italian economy turned from an agricultural economy into one of the most industrialised in Europe. In order to prevent a recession and a decline in economic growth, Germany was forced to invite labour migrants from the East (primarily Turkey), which had positive consequences for the economy. Great Britain and France were already in quite long crises related to the decolonisation process of the 1970s, which promoted social and political instability in these countries. Only Japan at that time was going through a period that historians would later call the "Golden sixties", with record economic and production growth rates that would continue in one way or another until 1985 [15-17].

After the creation of the Library Group, and later the Group of Five in 1973, the next meeting of representatives of the association's members, at the level of leaders

of countries, was to take place in the following 1974. However, in 1974, all 5 countries of the association were waiting for sudden and often unpleasant changes in leadership. French President Georges Pompidou died suddenly, and Valerie d'Estaing was elected president in early elections. West German chancellor Willy Brandt, US President Richard Nixon, and Japanese Prime Minister Kakui Tanaka have resigned over the scandals. In the United Kingdom, due to the political instability of the newly elected government, elections were held twice in one year. Therefore, the newly elected US President Gerald Ford suggested that the leaders of the countries meet next year in the format of a summit, to better get to know each other [18].

In November 1975, a three-day summit was organised, which was held in the "5+1" format (Italy joined the group of five), which is why journalists began to call the summit participants Group of Six [19]. The summit was initiated by French President Valerie d'Estaing and German chancellor Helmut Schmidt, since it was at the initiative of the French leader that the first meeting was held in France, at the Chateau de Rumbillet. The main topics of the forum were economic problems, in particular, the oil crisis, the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the prolonged recession, etc. [20]. The main result of the summit was the adoption of the Rumbaye Declaration of 15 articles, among which the following should be highlighted:

– "... in order to contribute to the success of the goals set out in this declaration in the context of increasing interdependence, we intend to fulfil all our obligations and strengthen our own efforts to achieve closer international cooperation and constructive dialogue among all countries, overcoming differences in levels of economic development, availability of natural resources, and differences in political and social systems..."

– "... Industrialised democracies are determined to overcome high levels of unemployment, continuing inflation, and serious energy challenges. The purpose of our meeting was to review the progress made, to identify more clearly the challenges that will need to be addressed in the future, and to outline the course that we will follow in the coming period..."

– "... the growth of the global economy is directly related to the increase in the availability of energy sources. We are determined to provide our economies with the necessary energy sources for growth. Our common interests require continued cooperation in order to reduce our dependence on imported energy through environmental management and the development of alternative energy sources. Through these measures and international cooperation between energy producing and consuming countries, meeting the long-term interests of all parties, we use all opportunities to ensure more balanced living conditions, as well as harmonious and stable development in the global energy market" [21].

Based on the above points, it can be concluded that the main task of the first summit was to solve the economic, trade, and energy problems that arose in the world economy in the early 1970s. Despite the "Rumbaye declaration", formally the Group of Six (as well as the Group of Seven in the future) was not an international organisation, but rather an international political club, because this organisation did not have a secretariat, charter, and was not

based on an international treaty. Thus, the documents and agreements adopted by the organisation are not binding, however, they are always implemented by the members of the association, although they are advisory in nature, based on the principle of mutual respect and diplomatic ethics [22].

The next summit was held in 1976, in Dorado, Puerto Rico. That year, British Prime Minister Wilson resigned, so US representatives believed that there should be another English-speaking politician with more experience in managing the country at the forum. Therefore, it was decided to invite Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who had been in office for the last eight years (which is much longer than any other G7 leader at that time), to the forum [23]. Thus, only in 1976, 3 years after the first actual meeting, the Group of Seven received its seventh participant – Canada. In fact, since 1976 (except for the period from 1997 to 2014), the composition of the Group of Seven has remained unchanged. However, in 1977, at the initiative of Great Britain, another participant took part in the forum – the European Economic Community, which became a supervisor at the organisation. Since 1981, all summits, except for the leaders of the 7 participating states, have also been attended by the president of the European Commission and the leader of the country chairing the Council of the European Union [24].

However, already in the 1980s, the scope of issues that were tried to solve in the summit processes expanded, summit participants tried not to limit themselves to economic issues, and the forum began to raise issues of human rights, global and international security (the Iran-Iraq War, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, etc.), ecology (Chornobyl disaster), etc. [25].

Thus, based on the above, it can be concluded that the main tasks of the Group of Seven at the time of its creation were primarily to promote joint macroeconomic initiatives, and to counteract negative processes in the global economy. The main historical aspects and factors were the prolonged financial crisis in leading countries (in particular, the United States), the fall of the global monetary system in 1971 and the oil crisis in 1973.

Discussion

The creation of the Group of Seven was an important event in the field of diplomacy, economics, and international relations in the early 1970s. Over the 50 years of existence of this informal international group, a large number of scientific papers, articles and monographs have been written that evaluated both aspects of the organisation's creation and its very activities. At the same time, there is no consensus on the reasons for the creation of the G7 among researchers, although most researchers adhere to the "economic" version of the organisation's establishment, there are also alternative opinions.

First of all, the ideas of alternative versions of the creation of the group of the Great Seven come from researchers from the countries of the former socialist camp or researchers who are somehow connected with the socialist ideology. In particular, this topic was first raised by representatives of Soviet historiography. For example, the Soviet researcher A.L. Semenov, back in 1975 (after the first summit of the Great Six), in his paper "The left student

movement in France (1956-1968)", saw the creation of an organisation of the world's largest economies as an artificial obstacle to the development of the "class struggle". According to Semenov, the early 1970s were an ideal time for the deployment of "revolutionary activities" and "class struggle" in Western Europe and North America. According to the researcher, the protracted economic and oil crisis of 1973 should have contributed to this, which would have become catalysts for protests that were supposed to develop into socialist revolutions. As an example of this, Semenov cites the events in France in 1968, when protests, demonstrations and street riots forced the resignation of French President Charles de Gaulle, the government and parliament. Soviet historiographers were curious about the French protests because the core of the protest movement consisted of young people of left-wing (socialist and anarchic) views. According to Semenov, the left-wing movement grew in Western Europe, and the protests should have spread from France to neighbouring countries, with subsequent resignations of current governments and elections of socialist governments, at least in some countries, but due to the pressure of "world capitalism", the protests stopped in France and had no further development. This idea is subject to criticism by modern researchers, namely: Ukrainian researcher Olena Yashchuk-Kode, notes that the socialist movement, although it was the driving force of the protests, the socialist revolution was not their end in itself, and the main reason was the fatigue of society from the presidency of de Gaulle, who had been in office for more than 20 years [26]. Thus, the idea that the main goal of establishing the Group of Seven was to prevent the spread of communism and socialism is outdated and irrelevant.

Another trend of criticism from socialist researchers of the organisation is the aspect that the Group of Seven includes exclusively capitalist countries, and is not a reflection of "really powerful economies in the world", in particular the USSR and China. This means that the Great Seven was nothing more than a "club of capitalists", whose members were engaged in the redistribution of the world economy and world resources. This opinion was held by the Soviet-Estonian researcher Arno Kirt, back in 1979. The answer to the question "Why were the USSR and China not invited to the Group of Seven?", is the very essence of the organisation, because its main task was to discuss issues of foreign trade and economy, while the USSR and communist China were countries with a planned economy, their currency was not tied to the market, and therefore, economic relations between them and Western countries were impossible [27]. In general, despite popular opinion, politics and the struggle against the socialist camp and the USSR were not the primary tasks of the organisation. Issues related to the USSR were the main agenda of the forum only a few times: for the first time, in 1980, when the meeting members condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, in 1981, when the topic of the summit was the global arms race, and in 1986, when world leaders discussed the Chernobyl disaster. In contrast, the rest of the summits between 1975 and 1987 focused on economics, energy, trade, and the environment. Moreover, in 1988, the main topic of discussion at the forum was "perestroika" in the USSR, and in 1991, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev

was invited to the summit for the first time. Thus, the process of rapprochement between the organisation and the USSR began, because with the introduction of transparency and a market economy, the USSR became an increasingly attractive trading partner for developed countries [19].

However, despite the presence of alternative opinions, most modern researchers share the opinion that the creation of the Group of Seven, although caused by negative factors in the global economy, had a positive impact on international relations in the world. In particular, the American researcher Nicholas Bain suggests that although the creation of the organisation contributed to a decrease in the autonomy of the economies of each of the countries separately, however, it had a positive result for each of them [28]. Bain recognises the organisation's influence on globalisation, both economically and culturally, which has strengthened ties between the world's leading economies. At the same time, many researchers agree that over the 50 years of its existence, the Group of Eight format has somewhat lost its relevance. Thus, already in the 1990s, there were many countries that had the same economic privileges that Japan, Germany, and Italy had in the 1950s and 1960s, namely: a large amount of cheap labour and access to modern production technologies. According to researcher and publicist Lex Riffel, already in the early 2000s, countries such as China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Turkey, and South Africa had not only serious potential for development, but also the opportunity to compete with the countries of Western Europe and North America in terms of economic and production capacity. Thus, already in 2010, China was ahead of Japan in the ranking of the world's leading economies, taking second place, second only to the United States. In general, according to researchers, at the moment the G20 summit, which was founded in 1999, is more suitable for solving global economic issues, but the G7 has not completely lost its relevance, because the 7 participating countries still account for about 45% of world GDP [29].

In addition, researchers see membership in the G7 not only as economically profitable, but also as an image component. American publicists and journalists Alison Smale and Michael Shire suggest that the Group of Seven is not just an economic forum, but a club of countries that share the same economic, social, political, and legal values. That is why in 2014, after the illegal seizure of Crimea, Russia was excluded from the group (Russia became a member of the group in 1997 against the background of the collapse of the USSR and the liberal policies of then-Russian President Boris Yeltsin, during this period the organisation was called the Group of Eight). Despite the absence of a charter in the organisation as such, all members of the organisation agreed that it makes no sense to discuss world problems at the same table with the leader of the country, who in the 21st century considers it acceptable to increase his political capital through aggression against a neighbouring state [30]. Despite the fact that most modern researchers see common reasons for the creation of the organisation in 1973, namely: the economic, trade, currency and oil crises that affected the economies of the world's leading countries, over time, the organisation expanded the scope of issues discussed not only by the economy and international trade. Researchers have not reached

a consensus on the importance of the organisation itself, despite the fact that some of them tend to consider it not just an economic forum, but rather a club of countries that share common values, and based on them they try to find solutions to global problems.

Conclusions

The international organisation of G7 was created in the 1970s as a response of leading countries to current economic challenges at that time, in particular, financial crises (sometimes caused by political instability), problems in the international currency market and, as a result, problems of international trade, economic stagnation, and the industrial crisis in the United States and Western Europe. The biggest challenge for the economies of developed countries was the oil crisis of 1973, which served as an impetus for the establishment of this international group. The main task of the new informal organisation was to address international economic and financial issues, and consolidate the leaders of Western countries in the process of strengthening economic cooperation.

Most researchers positively assess the consequences of creating an organisation not only for the global economy, but also for international relations in general. At the time of its creation, the organisation was the main platform for international negotiations between the leading countries of the Western world, which contributed to the establishment of economic relations between countries that were complicated by market competition between countries

(in particular, between the United States and Japan). Over time, the scope of issues raised at the Group of Seven summits expanded, from exclusively economic leaders of the countries moved to discussing social issues, environmental issues, and security and human rights issues were increasingly raised at the forum.

Despite the fact that over time, the Group of Seven has lost its relevance as an organisation of the most industrially and economically developed countries in Europe (some members were overtaken by China, India, Indonesia, and some other developing countries), the Group of Seven is still considered the most prestigious international organisation in the world. After all, from an organisation of countries that share a common economic interest, the Group of Seven has grown into an organisation whose members share common political values, in particular, democracy, the protection of human rights, and respect for international law.

Based on the above, it is possible to foresee future line of research related to this topic, in particular, in the near future, the issue of competition between the G7 and G20 organisations will be relevant for researchers, because the latter includes countries that oppose their ideologies and economies to Western countries (in particular, China and Russia). The issue of maintaining the subjectivity of the Group of Seven will also be relevant, because there is a risk that over time, meetings will become a formality and will not serve as a solution to pressing world issues (as has happened with the UN over the past few decades). All these issues will become objects of scientific study in the near future.

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Історичні аспекти створення міжнародної організації «Великої сімки»

Анотація. Актуальність теми зумовлена багатьма як історичними, так і сучасними аспектами. Зокрема, розкривши питання створення міжнародної організації, можна зрозуміти, які функції мала організація, мету існування організації на фоні історичних подій та сучасності. Метою науково-дослідницької роботи є висвітлення передумов та історії створення міжнародної організації «Великої сімки» (відомої також як: «Група Семи» або G7), дослідження впливу та значення цієї організації, як в минулому так і в контексті сучасних міжнародних відносин. Основу наукового підходу у статті складають методи системного аналізу інших досліджень і публікацій та аналіз роботи з документами, зокрема міжнародними договорами, меморандумами та ін. Крім того, були використані історико-порівняльний та історико-системний методи, завдяки яким було визначено місце організації в загальному історичному процесі. Основними результатами наукового дослідження слід вважати визначення як передумов створення організації «Великої сімки», так і результати її створення, а саме: діяльність та значення організації, а також, визначення ролі міжнародної організації в історичному та сучасних контекстах. Практичне застосування результатів, отриманих під час дослідження, можливе в якості інструменту вирішення ряду як історіографічних, так і політологічних проблем. Зокрема, наукове дослідження може допомогти з вирішенням проблеми міждержавних відносин між розвиненими країнами та країнами, що розвиваються, проблеми політичної та економічної єдності розвинених країн, проблему актуальності та втрати впливу країн Заходу та зростання впливу країн, що розвиваються, проблему актуальності формату «Великої сімки» та заміщення її форматом «Великої двадцятки» тощо

Ключові слова: G7, дипломатія, міжнародні відносини, розвинені країни, країни, що розвиваються, світова економіка

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Women of Europe in the Great War (1914-1918)

Abstract. The relevance of this topic was primarily conditioned upon the need to cover women's experience during combat operations, both on and off the front lines. The importance of highlighting such experiences was the insufficient level of study of the relevant issue, as a result – the unsatisfactory level of awareness among the population of the importance of women during military operations. The purpose of the study was to investigate and clarify the issue of the participation and role of European women in the First World War. The following methods were used to conduct the study: comparative, statistical, historical, systematic, terminological, etc. The findings revealed the place of women during the World War in 1914-1918, and identified the main changes observed among the female population in the corresponding time intervals, in particular, the issue of women's emancipation and the feminist movement. On the example of a number of countries, including France, Romania, and Ukraine, statistics on women's employment in jobs that belonged to men before the war were presented. A comparative analysis of the involvement of women in direct military operations during 1914-1918 was carried out. Some changes in the political, social, and economic environment of European countries in relation to women are presented as the main results of emancipation and feminist movements during the First World War, in particular, the Ukrainian women's movement of 1914-1918 is considered. The results of this study can be used to further clarify women's experience during military operations by historians and researchers, as well as public figures to highlight the participation of women in the First World War among the population

Keywords: World War I, feminist movement, emancipation, gender inequality, women's experience

Introduction

The global armed conflict, which had a decisive impact on the transformation of the world and the overall society, was called the First World War or Great War. The scale of such a confrontation between the Quadruple Alliance and the Entente is difficult to overestimate, because the involvement of about sixty million European military personnel in this war, among the total number of seventy million mobilised, indicates that this war was one of the largest wars in the history of the world.

Important in the context of such a topic is the issue of the other side of the Great War, which included most of the women who were not involved in military operations. The goal is to investigate and highlight their experience in the period 1914-1918 and the changes that the war brought to women's lives.

A number of studies by researchers who paid attention to this topic are considered. It is advisable to highlight the book by the American author S. Greisel "Women's identities at war: gender, motherhood, and politics in Great Britain and France during the First World War". In

her opinion, the First World War, despite the tragic consequences for the world, provided women with new opportunities for training, employment, and service [1].

For example, the Ukrainian researcher O. Bezruk in his work "The First World War in the system of binary oppositions of female and male experiences" based on epistolary sources proves that the Great War allowed to move away from the everyday image of a woman in the view of society and opened her up in new images, in particular, as a breadwinner of the family, a member of military associations, a worker, etc. [2].

Interesting for review and analysis is also the book "The gender dimension of the Great War: the final emancipation of women" by O. Drach, where arguments are proposed similar to those of the above-mentioned author, which consist in the modification of traditional ideas about the social role of women in society and the transition of her occupation from feminine to masculine [3].

It is also advisable to consider the opinions of the author M. Guk in the dissertation "Women of Ukraine in the First World War: historiography". She notes that one

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of the revolutionary consequences of the Great War was the participation of women in demonstrations, rallies, etc. The growing role of woman as a philanthropist, a person who can help wounded soldiers, refugees, and make a significant contribution to the course of the war [4].

Important is the opinion of the American researcher M. Darrow in the scientific study "French women and the First World War", which defined and described the role of French women in the course of the war based on the analysis of diaries, letters, etc. Thus, the work provides an overview of the daily activities of French women, their social and economic contribution, questions about electoral rights and other consequences of the war of 1914-1918 [5].

A significant contribution to the study of women's experience in the First World War is the collection of works "Gender and War in Eastern Europe of the 20th Century", published under the editorship of N. Wingfield. The studies were devoted to the restoration of the social pre-war status of women, the patriotism of women during the First and Second World Wars, sexual violence against women, etc. [6].

The study by O. Pavlyshina "Emancipation of a peasant woman during the First World War" is also of interest. The author cites considerations about the higher level of involvement of women in jobs that belonged to men, as a result of large-scale mobilisation activities by the authorities. It also emphasises the opportunities for women to master new professions and the emergence of access to defence enterprises [7].

Thus, the purpose of the study is to investigate the participation of women in the Great War. The relevance of the study is the need to demonstrate the experience of women in conducting combat operations and outside the front. The originality is conditioned by the fact that this topic has not been covered so extensively before.

Materials and methods

The study was conducted using a number of methods of scientific cognition. Among them, the main one was the historical method of research, which allowed the authors to better understand women's experience in the conditions of combat operations. In addition, using the historical method, the development of the main events that became a prerequisite for the establishment of a new image of women in society was clarified. The next method of research was comparative, the use of which revealed the main similarities and distinctive features of countries' policies towards the status of women. Among such countries, it is advisable to single out Germany, France, Great Britain, Ukraine, etc. The comparative method allowed determining the so-called "level of emancipation" of women in a particular country.

The systematic method used in the study revealed the women's experience during the First World War, both in its division according to the situation of women in different countries, and in its integrity and similarity. Thus, for example, the similarity of women's experience according to the systematic method is manifested in widespread emancipation.

The statistical method of scientific knowledge, that was used in the study allowed providing some analytical data on changes in sectors of the economy of countries

during the First World War, the level of women's involvement in new jobs, and losses among the civilian population, among which a significant part were women.

The study outlined a number of concepts related to the topic of women's experience during military operations, in particular, the definition of such concepts as "emancipation", "feminist movement", "gender inequality", etc., was provided using the terminological method of scientific cognition.

The study included three main stages.

1. At the first stage, the main prerequisites of the First World War and the state of women in the pre-war period were theoretically outlined. This allowed us to gain a deeper understanding of the fundamental changes in women's rights and freedoms that were caused by the Great War and how it affected all spheres of public life through the involvement of women in them.

2. The second stage is characterised by a study of the situation of women in European countries in wartime. In particular, at this stage, attention was paid to women in Ukraine, Germany, France, Great Britain, etc. Attention is focused on the modification of the usual representation of the image of women in society, examples are given regarding the activities and types of work that women gained access to through mobilisation movements on the territory of a particular country that was atypical for women at that time. Statistics on some of the employment rates of women are also offered. The study examines the issue of women's participation in patriotic movements, the nature of their presence at the front, etc.

3. The final stage of the study – the third – is the analysis of the previous stage and comparison of its results with the arguments, studies, and research of other authors, researchers, and scientists. This analysis allows considering the relevant topic more deeply, taking into account the advantages of research developments of others, and forming a conclusion that would provide a complete imagery of the state of women in Europe in 1914-1918.

Results

The First World War was the logical solution to a number of conflicts and disputes between countries, which were largely conditioned by differences in interests regarding development and cooperation. The course and development of the war was influenced by the foundation of military-political blocs, namely the Triple (and later Quadruple) Alliance and the Entente. The first allied formation included the Austro-Hungarian and German empires, Italy, etc. The second bloc consisted of Great Britain, France, and the Russian Empire. The arms race, dissatisfaction with the newly created German Empire with the division of territories between two existing ones, and the lack of a mechanism for resolving conflicts peacefully and relying on militarisation led to sufficient conditions for the emergence of one of the most global and more massive wars in the world [8].

During 1914-1918, about 74 million men from several dozen countries were mobilised to the front. The loss statistics are impressive (Fig. 1).

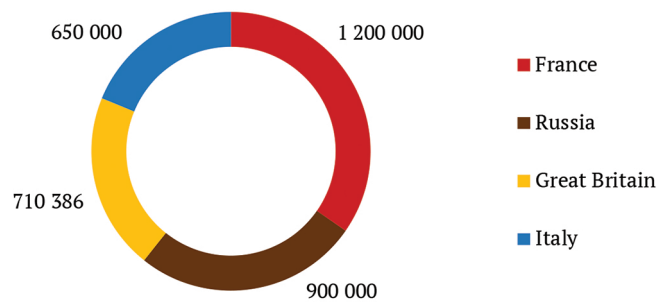


Figure 1. The greatest human losses of countries during 1914-1918

Source: [9]

Given the mobilisation of the almost exclusively male population, it is logical for women of the society of that time to adapt to the new conditions of reality. This means taking on the role of breadwinner of the family, worker, and sometimes defender, as well as increasing the activity of women in patriotic and national movements. In general, this trend of changing the so-called “role of women” can be called a revolution that took place under the tragic circumstances of 1914-1918 and brought a number of transformations in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of women [9].

The pre-war situation of women's legal rights is important for understanding their further change against the background of the transformations that the First World War brought with it. In particular, one of the important issues raised by women before the outbreak of the Great War was the right to vote. It was at the beginning and during the 19th century that women, using various methods (demonstration, campaigning), began to demand the right to vote. The first country to grant this right to women was New Zealand in 1893, but it was after the Great War that this process was introduced in most countries of the World (Fig. 2).

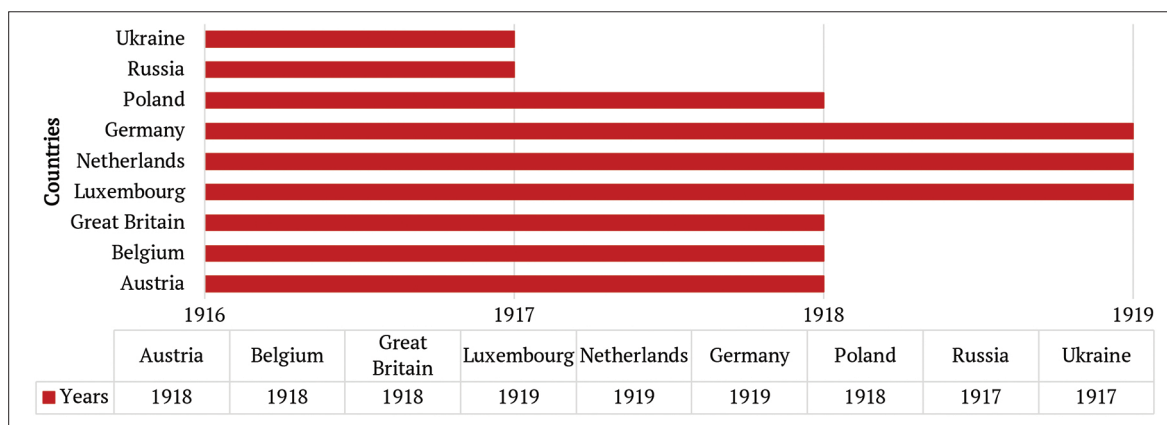


Figure 2. Granting women voting rights in some European countries by year

Source: [10]

Before the outbreak of the Great War, most of its participants believed that it would not last long and hoped for a quick and effective solution to this conflict [7]. That is why the large-scale mobilisation of the working population, the majority of which were men, was accompanied by the temporary closure of factories. Thus, women who either worked in these factories or were economically dependent on their husband's income found themselves in a difficult situation, which forced them to look for new jobs and claim those that in pre-war times belonged to men.

The variability of positions held everywhere by women acquired an increasingly emancipated image: from drivers to employees of the military-defence complex [11]. In the end, given the course of the war and a large number of human losses, industrialists and state representatives themselves launched a broad campaign aimed at

attracting women to production and industry. In particular, German labour campaigns were supported and coordinated by the government, while French ones were based on the exclusive desire of women to take a particular job.

The decline in the labour force as a result of the war also significantly affected the conditions under which women now worked. Their working day was irregular and in some cases exceeded 12 hours. As Françoise Thebaud notes in her report, such work, although dangerous, was sometimes well paid. According to the statistics, the share of working women has increased to more than 50%, and the share of French women in the industry to 20%. Despite such indicators, a significant part of employers did not want to recognise the replacement of male jobs by women as equivalent and, accordingly, reduced wages for work performed by women with the same productivity as men before [12].

In general, it is possible to distinguish several categories according to which there was a replacement of jobs by women, among them:

- 1) jobs that even in pre-war times belonged to women on an equal basis with men;
- 2) jobs that were only partially replaced by women;
- 3) attracting women to work through staff cuts at the enterprise;
- 4) transition of women to those jobs that have never been occupied by them before, mastering a new profession, career, etc. [13].

A large percentage of women's involvement was in the transport and trade sectors. Thus, as already noted, women often worked as trolleybus drivers, conductors, cleaners of transport salons, ticket holders, etc. Women were also involved in shipbuilding. They were allowed to trade, wash windows, clean premises, perform agricultural work, and were involved in the stationery industry [14].

Given the complexity of some of the jobs that women had access to, sometimes a single-man process was performed by several women. At the beginning of the war, most of the women who held jobs did not have a high level of qualification in relation to the process in which they were involved. Only with the long course and further development of the war, having the opportunity to practice and hone skills, women mastered new professions. Thus, some factories had about 90% of female staff with variable skill levels [15]. Attracting women to work in the military-defence complex, for example, in the manufacture of ammunition, also contained some difficulties and features of work, for which a woman needed auxiliary cranes, trolleys, etc. Most women who worked to support their families, maintaining the economic stability of the country, etc., had hopes for an appropriate attitude even after the war. Some countries considered the contribution of women to the victory and support of the state, and some, such as Germany, France, and Italy, conducted campaigns to return the position of women to the post-war level by campaigning for motherhood [15].

Another important area occupied by women is helping the wounded. For example, at the beginning of the war, M. Stobart gave a speech about the creation of the British Women's National Service League, which later included women who had the skills to provide medical services to

the wounded at the front. Later, Stobart received a request from the Belgian Red Cross to create a separate relief corps for Belgian and French wounded soldiers [16].

In total, about 50,000 women began serving in voluntary associations to help the wounded at the beginning of the war, mostly feminists, suffragettes, qualified medical workers, and patriots. Less qualified women were engaged in the supply of medical instruments to sanitary trains, inpatient departments of hospitals, etc. [17].

Women were mostly present as nurses or volunteers in the following organisations:

- 1) First aid nursing service;
- 2) Voluntary assistance unit;
- 3) Women's army auxiliary corps, etc.

In general, it is advisable to single out some women who are the most famous participants of the First World War. Agnes Bennett has become the first female surgeon to work for the British Army. Elsie Ingles, a physician and suffragist, founded a number of Scottish women's hospitals to serve the wounded, and also actively fought for women's suffrage rights. Flora Sandes, who was a volunteer in the Serbian ambulance brigade, later became an officer in the Serbian army and was awarded the highest distinction – the Order of the Karadorde Star. Helena Gleichen, who was engaged in painting, joined the service as an ambulance driver, and later became a doctor in a number of European countries. She received the title of female major and a number of awards. Belgian spy Gabrielle Petit, who spied for the British Corps in Belgium, was executed at the end of the war, and later recognised as the national heroine of Belgium. Another spy, Louise Bettigs, who spied on the German army in favour of the British Army, was posthumously awarded the Legion Cross. Marie Mervington was the first female bomber to complete a combat mission to destroy a German military base in Metz, and was later awarded. Romanian military Catherine Teodorou became the first officer in the Romanian Army, after her death in battle in 1917, she was awarded the title of the national heroine of Romania [18].

Ukrainian women's experience in the First World War is also quite valuable and indicative for the study. According to F. Turchenko, as of 1916, about 10% of women were employees in those enterprises where only men were involved in pre-war times.

Women's pre-war education was low (Table 1).

Table 1. Percentage of illiterate Galician women before 1914

Illiterate Galician women aged 8 to 11 years	55%
Illiterate Galician women over the age of 30	80%

Source: [19]

That is why the beginning and course of the First World War can be identified with the beginning of the emancipation of Ukrainian women.

As of 1914, Ukraine was divided between two empires: the Austro-Hungarian and Russian. Considering the situation of women in Galicia, which was then part of Austria-Hungary, it is worth noting that with the outbreak of hostilities, women's rights were expanded in the sphere of private property – for example, they could be guardians

and receive inheritance. Often, women were involved in digging trenches by enemy forces in inhumane conditions. A peasant woman, who even in pre-war times worked harder than urban women, received a new, wider range of responsibilities for caring for the farm and family [20].

An important stage in the emancipation of women was the creation of the Union of Ukrainian women. The founders of this union sought to unite the efforts of both women from villages and women from cities, and gradually engage in

educational activities and socialisation of peasant women for the further qualification of a particular speciality [21].

Indicators of changes in the social order and role models of women in society were speeches, demonstrations, and protests of Galician women to expand their rights and status, and protest movements against the actions of the authorities. The responsibilities that women received in the absence of men gave them the opportunity to feel like equal members of society and gave rise to the need for an appropriate status and attitude.

As for the part of Ukraine that was under the rule of Russia, the researcher I. Shcherbina cited statistics from 1913 to 1916 showing how the number of female workers increased, in particular, in the Poltava region, the number of female workers doubled, in the Yekaterynoslav region – six times, in Podolsk and Tavriyskyi also doubled. The combined number of women who were somehow involved in the industry and other areas increased to 77%, the largest increase was observed in enterprises of the defence complex, metalworking industry, etc. The smallest was in the textile and woodworking industries [22].

As for the militarisation of women in Galicia, it is important here to create the Supreme Ukrainian Council, which later made efforts to establish the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. The legion also included a women's corps, where there were about 30 women who participated in combat missions and applied for military ranks [23]. The exact number of women who participated in Ukrainian military associations is difficult to determine exactly because, in most cases, they used male pseudonyms. But it is advisable to give examples of Ukrainian military women who took part in combat operations during the First World War. Among them: Olena Stepaniv, who was the leader of the women's corps, and also participated in the Battle of Komarynky, Makivka, and later became a standard-bearer. Sofia Galechko, who was a volunteer in the Association of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, performed reconnaissance tasks, was a rifleman, a nurse, distinguished herself in the battles in the Ternopil region, etc., and was awarded the "Medal for Bravery". Anna Dmyterko, who participated in the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen since the beginning of the First World War, acting as a nurse in a hospital, also distinguished herself by serving under G. Kossak, fights near Strypa and Lysovychi. Olena Kuz, who joined the Red Cross, later became a volunteer in the Sich Riflemen. She took part in the battles for Lviv, Makivka, for which she was awarded the "Medal for Bravery". Cornet Olga Pidvysotska, who served in the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, was a rifleman and a participant in battles with Russian troops [23].

Discussion

The previous section, entitled "Results", examined and outlined the situation of women both in pre-war times and during the Great War of 1914-1918. From the above data, it is possible to draw a conclusion about a forced change in the role of women in society. This opinion is also relevant to the reasoning of O. Drach, who notes that it was the First World War that became the catalyst with which a woman was able to declare herself as an equal subject and participant in public relations, received rights that she did not have

before. Indeed, as already noted, women in Galicia received an expanded right of inheritance and guardianship [3].

British researcher Diana Condell in the book "Work for victory? Images of women in World War I, 1914-1918" illustrated a number of images of women and the new roles that they had to accept at the height of the Great War. The author notes that the military actions radically changed the position of women in society and their perception of themselves, according to which women realised that they could do the same work as men, be at the same social level. D. Condell added that in addition to the internal modified perception, external changes related to clothing, hairstyles, etc. were also important [24].

Similar are the arguments of the French researcher Francoise Thebaud, who notes that external emancipation is confirmed by fashion trends that became the main ones in post-war times, namely: short hairstyles, trousers, and the like. In some countries, women were granted the right to vote and universal suffrage. Other states, as noted by F. Thebaud, on the other hand, tried to return to the conventions that existed before the Great War. In particular, French propaganda and agitation were directed towards the return of women to the status of mother and wife in order to restore the country's gene pool and the need for reconstruction. The author notes that the most emancipated in France as a result of the war could be called young girls from wealthy families who previously lost parental care and had to take care of their own needs. However, generalising the female experience, according to Thebaud, is impractical, because it varies from one individual to another [12].

American author Jo Vellakot in the paper "Feminist consciousness and the First World War" considers the topic of changing feminist trends and reasoning against the background of the Great War. The researcher also considers feminism as one of the components of the pacifist movements of women. Like most authors and researchers, J. Vellakot notes that the female subordinate position has changed significantly, and the war has shifted the traditional vision of a woman as exclusively a mother or wife. One of the most significant feminist achievements of that time, according to the author, was the establishment of the International Women's League for Freedom and Peace [25].

The experience of Belgian women during the First World War is demonstrated by I. Bogerts in "The Belgian Woman and the Great War". In particular, the work describes the establishment of the Patriotic Union of Belgian Women as the main consequence of national movements on the part of women. The union was engaged in providing variable assistance both in the reconstruction of Belgium, and in the care of wounded military personnel, and refugees from other countries. After the union was ousted by the Belgian Red Cross, they were transferred to the kitchens of the upper classes and trade union formations. After the German invasion, the activities of the Patriotic Union were based on the manufacture of clothing for the wounded, military, etc. [26].

A separate study of the experience of French women in the Great War was "The French Woman and the First World War" by Margaret Darrow. The author, using letters, diaries, and other sources, summarised the martial law of

women and described it as a revolutionary change in traditional gender roles. She also added that despite the general need for labour, which could now be provided by women, such actions were often condemned by society, which for a long time was based on conservatism and morality, and sometimes manifestations of patriotism were also condemned. In particular, an important fact of the study is the sharply negative attitude towards the militarisation of women in the French army, where no women's military corps was established. The argumentation of such actions was based on the idea that in this way a woman wants to oust a man from the "purely male sphere", create competition for him, prove superiority, etc., which could significantly undermine the authority and position of a military man in society [5].

Interesting for consideration and analysis is the paper "Women of Ukraine in the First World War" by Ukrainian researcher Maria Guk. In particular, the author's attention was paid to the issue of employment and labour of women. For example, in the part of Ukraine that was under the rule of the Russian Empire, in the conditions of mobilisation of a significant part of the male population, a woman was forced to look for earnings, engage in unusual work, and master new professions. M. Guk also cites data on the national policy on attracting women to work, for example, the government adopted a law in 1915 "On the admission of women and minors under the age of fifteen to night and underground work in coal mines". Later, the decree was supplemented with a permit for night, overtime, and pre-holiday work for young children at mining enterprises, defence enterprises, etc. It is clear that the attitude of the authorities to the work of women was loyal not because of the need for their emancipation, but because of the need for uninterrupted operation of enterprises, which occurred at the expense of inhumane working conditions [4].

Olena Gutak's study "Ukrainian Sich Riflemen: representation of women in folklore, press and popular culture (1914-1939)" is devoted to the investigation of the female experience of Ukrainian women in the territory controlled by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The researcher focuses on the Ukrainian militarisation and involvement of women in military operations, which in other countries was either minimised or prohibited, that is, the right to violence, according to O. Gutak, was the prerogative of the exclusively male population. Despite this, the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen had a female military corps, the name "strilchynya" was established, which was later represented in a number of Ukrainian rifle songs. But women's involvement in military operations was not an ingrained practice. The image of a nurse helping the wounded and sick was better and more accepted by society [27].

The taboo of militarisation of women was again associated with the alleged undermining of the authority of men's military experience and men as soldiers in general, as a result of women's involvement in military operations. Thus, according to the majority of traditionalists and conservatives, who made up the exclusive majority of society at that time, a woman, as a military man, demonstrates the inability of a man to protect his family, etc. Namely, this function was the main one of the imposed gender male roles. The toleration of nursing and its better perception

may be related to the traditional perception of women as being called upon to nurse, to care, to help, to be at a man's side, etc. At the same time, despite the negative reaction of society, the heroism of Ukrainian women members of the USSR association is a unique experience of women's emancipation due to the war.

It is quite valuable to consider the reasoning of the researcher O. Bezhuk in the paper "Charitable activities of Ukrainian women during the First World War and in the post-war period". The paper presents thoughts on the integration of Ukrainian women into the socio-political activities of the state against the background of military operations, which caused the consolidation of women and further joint work. Thus, the result of this study is the creation and widespread involvement in the Ukrainian women's committee for assistance to wounded soldiers. The main tenets on which the committee relied in its activities were: consideration of its own strength and capabilities, non-government, economic independence and cooperation. Due to the observance of these principles, notes O. Bezhuk, Ukrainian women received permission for their activities from the Red Cross and became a legitimate organisation [28].

Thus, considering and results of the study in comparison with the findings of this paper, it is reasonable to note that the First World War was a catalyst for the urgent emancipation of women. It was as a result of a series of tragic events, which resulted in a large-scale armed clash of dozens of countries, that women were able to declare themselves as an equal participant in public activities.

Analysing the data obtained, it is advisable to note that in some enterprises and factories in Europe, women completely or partially replaced men, the majority of women were able to master new professions, and become qualified employees of a particular industry. Thus, despite the masculine profile of professions related to military production, the share of women who occupied these jobs was significantly higher than jobs in other enterprises.

An important consequence of the opportunity for women to express themselves was the granting of their voting rights in post-war times in a number of countries, etc.

The issue of women's military experience and patriotism is also interesting. In most countries, for example, France, women's military formations were banned, because this went against gender ideas about women. But the experience of Ukrainian women proves the possibility of militarisation of women, in particular, through the participation of women in the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen.

Despite attempts to restore the position of European women to pre-war conditions, it is impossible to ignore the fundamental changes that contributed to the emancipation and consolidation of women around the world.

Conclusions

As a result of the study, the issue of the experience of European women during the Great War of 1914-1918 was clarified. Attention was paid to the situation of women in pre-war times, which was characterised by a lack of equality with representatives of the other gender, the inability to work in certain positions, and restrictions on obtaining education and speciality.

Some statistics on the employment of women in enterprises as a result of the outbreak of the First World War against the background of mobilisation have been clarified. For example, some factories had approximately 90% of female staff with varying skill levels. According to the data obtained as a result of the study, it is possible to state an increase in the number of working French women by almost half, and their employment in the industrial sector was 20%. Indicators for working Ukrainian women were lower – 10% of women held exclusively male positions in industrial enterprises.

The militarisation of women was uneven on the territory of different countries, so, for example, if in France the participation of women at the front was prohibited, then on the territory of Ukraine women took an active part in combat operations as part of the legion of Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. In particular, Ukrainian women heroines of the First World War are Anna Dmyterko, Sofia Galechko, Olena Stepanova and others, most of who were honoured with awards.

An important consequence of the First World War, as it was found in the study, was the close cooperation of women and the emergence of patriotic, nationalist colouring in women's communities. This, in particular, prompted them to create various leagues, alliances, committees, whose activities were aimed at helping the troops of a particular country. Another logical consequence of the emancipation of women was the granting of their right to vote in a number of countries immediately after the end of the war. The research is not limited exclusively to this topic. The following studies should be devoted to issues related to women's experience during the Second World War, it would be quite interesting to conduct a comparative study of the attitude of society towards female military personnel in different years, find out statistics that would allow the authors to assess the level of involvement of female representatives in the armed forces on the side of different countries, it is also advisable to also investigate the contribution of women to the course of modern wars.

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Жінки Європи у Великій Війні (1914-1918 рр.)

Анотація. Актуальність даної тематики значним чином була зумовлена необхідністю висвітлення жіночого досвіду під час ведення бойових дій, як на фронті, так і за його межею. Важливість висвітлення такого досвіду полягала у недостатньому рівні вивчення відповідного питання, як результат – незадовільного рівня обізнаності щодо важливості жінок під час воєнних дій серед населення. Метою науково-дослідної роботи була необхідність дослідження та з'ясування питання участі та ролі європейських жінок у Першій світовій війні. Основними методами, за допомогою яких проводилося дослідження були наступні: метод порівняльний, статистичний, історичний метод наукового пізнання, систематичний, термінологічний тощо. Результатом роботи виявилось з'ясування місця жіноцтва у роки Першої світової війни 1914–1918 р., виокремлення основних видозмін, що спостерігались серед жіночого населення у відповідні часові проміжки, зокрема з'ясовувалося питання щодо емансипації жінки та феміністичного руху. На прикладі низки країн, серед яких Франція, Румунія, Україна, були наведені статистичні дані щодо зайнятості жінок на робочих місцях, які до війни належали чоловікам. Здійснено порівняльний аналіз залученості жіноцтва до безпосередніх бойових дій протягом 1914–1918 років. Наведено деякі зрушення та зміни у політичному, соціальному та економічному середовищі європейських країн щодо жінок як основні результати емансипаційних та феміністичних рухів протягом Першої світової війни, зокрема приділена увага й українському жіночому руху 1914–1918 років. Результати даного дослідження можуть бути використані для подальшого з'ясування жіночого досвіду під час воєнних дій як істориками, дослідниками та авторами, так і громадськими діями задля висвітлення участі жіноцтва у Першій світовій війні серед населення

Ключові слова: Перша світова війна, феміністичний рух, емансипація, гендерна нерівність, жіночий досвід

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