

З.С. | Зовнішні справи

*Заснований у 1991 році
Випускається 6 разів на рік*

**Том 33, № 2
2023**

ISSN: 2663-2675
E-ISSN: 2663-2683

**Свідоцтво про державну реєстрацію
друкованого засобу масової інформації**
Серія: KB № 24816-14756 ПР від 31.03.2021 р.

Журнал включено до
Переліку наукових фахових видань України (Категорія «Б»)
з історичних наук (Наказ Міністерства освіти і науки України № 1188
від 24 вересня 2020 р.)

Журнал представлено
у таких наукометричних базах:
Google Scholar, НБУ ім. В.І. Вернадського,
Фахові видання України

Зовнішні справи / Ред. кол.: Т. В. Сидорук та ін. – Київ: Громадська спілка «Редакція журналу «Зовнішні справи», 2023. – Том 33, № 2. – 66 с.

Засновник і видавець:
Громадська спілка «Редакція журналу «Зовнішні справи»
01001, пров. Рильський, 6, Київ, Україна
E-mail: info@uaforeignaffairs.com
www: <https://uaforeignaffairs.com/uk>

F.A. | **Foreign Affairs**

*Founded in 1991
Published six times per year*

**Volume 33, No. 2
2023**

ISSN: 2663-2675
E-ISSN: 2663-2683

**Certificate of state registration
of the print media**

Series: KV No. 24816-14756 PR dated 31.03.2021

Journal included in List of scientific professional publications of Ukraine (Category “B”)
in Historical Sciences (Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine No. 1188
of September 24, 2020)

**Journal is presented
in the following scientometric databases:**
Google Scholar, VNLU, Professional publications
of Ukraine

Foreign Affairs / Ed. col.: T. V. Sydoruk et al. – Kyiv: Public Union Editorial Board of the Journal
“Foreign Affairs”, 2023. – Volume 33, No. 2. – 66 p.

Founder and publisher:
Public Union Editorial Board of the Journal “Foreign Affairs”
01001, 6 Rylskyi Ln, Kyiv, Ukraine
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UDC 314.743
DOI: 10.46493/2663-2675.33(2).2023.8-20

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Main activities of representatives of Ukrainian political emigration in France during the interwar period

Abstract. After the defeat in the struggle for independence of Ukraine in 1917-1921, the Ukrainian people faced the question of defending their national interests and protecting their own identity. The events and phenomena that took place in the next 20 years after the Ukrainian revolution were crucial for both Ukrainian and pan-European statehood. The purpose of the study was to: determine the prerequisites, nature, and features of political emigration from Ukraine, in particular, to France, in the interwar period; outline the main activities of Ukrainian political emigrants at the end of the Third French Republic; analyse the main results and consequences of the activities of emigrants from Ukraine in the political and economic field of France and Europe. The main method of scientific knowledge that was used during the writing of this study is the historical-systematic method, by which, using the system principle, key facts, events, and phenomena that took place during the Ukrainian political emigration to France between the First and Second World Wars were identified and structured; the main consequences of the emigrant movement of Ukrainians for the political and social life of France and European countries were outlined and structured. The main results obtained in the course of the study of the presented subject are as follows: the prerequisites and reasons for the emigration of Ukrainians to France after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 were described, the key areas of activity of representatives of the Ukrainian political elite in Paris were identified, the main consequences and important events that played a historical role in the establishment of Ukrainian statehood during the time of the Third French Republic, as a component of a single European community, were formulated. The results of the study and the conclusions that were obtained during the examination of this issue can be used as a theoretical basis for further research in this area; in addition – for higher education institutions in history, political science, and country studies – as an example of one of the stages of the national struggle of the Ukrainian people for the right to create their own independent state; for scientists in the field of history, archaeology, documentary – as a subject of study to better understand the root causes and consequences of events on the scale of global geopolitical changes; for other scientists whose field of activity is related to the subject of the study

Keywords: Ukrainian revolution; Third French Republic; professional and cultural-educational organisations; information and propaganda activities; Ukrainian diaspora

Introduction

At all times, various reasons have forced people to leave their homes and go to other lands; persecution for political or religious beliefs, unsatisfactory social and economic situations, and military actions are among the main prerequisites for the emigration of the population to other regions and countries. The transition to a capitalist way of life in Ukraine and the approval of new rules for conducting political and economic relations led to a substantial deterioration in the general situation of the Ukrainian peasantry (Kliuchkovska, 2010). The situation was opposed by

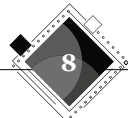
the most active representatives of local political thought: they called for overthrowing the existing system, recognition of national identity, and establishing Ukrainian statehood (Ruchko, 2017). Such actions could not go unnoticed and persecution began for political activists. Thus, one of the possible relatively safe ways out of this situation was to flee to other countries. The emigration of the Ukrainian population had several waves: from the so-called “labour migration” (late 19th century – early 20th century) (Drobko, 2006) to “forced relocation” (early 10 of the 21st century)

Suggested Citation:

Kadriu. A. (2023). Main activities of representatives of Ukrainian political emigration in France during the interwar period. *Foreign Affairs*, 33(2), 8-20.

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Received: 02.12.2022, Revised: 22.02.2022, Accepted: 27.03.2023



(Jaroszewicz, 2016). The study focused on the second wave of emigration of Ukrainians, mainly to France, which occurred during the interwar period (1917-1939), the main reasons for which were socio-economic and political processes (Vlasenko, 2013).

The relevance of the study is due to the identification and summation of key historical events and phenomena related to the process of emigration of Ukrainians to Europe after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 (Vlasenko, 2020), as well as the determination of the nature of the main activities of the political intelligentsia from Ukraine on the territory of France; in addition, the need to establish and generalise the main consequences and important results of the activities of Ukrainian political emigrants in the French Republic in the interwar period.

The problems of the study were as follows: defining the prerequisites for the beginning of the process of emigration of Ukrainians abroad, in particular, to France; investigating the areas of social, political and cultural activities of intellectuals from Ukraine; determining the historical role of the Ukrainian segment in the political life of France and Europe in the 20-30s of the 20th century.

The originality of the study included coverage of the main activities of Ukrainian political emigrants in France, as well as determining the level of influence and results of their work on pan-European processes in the global dimension through the prism of modern events on the geopolitical map of the world.

The purpose of the study consisted of the following points: identification of the reasons, characteristics, and features of the emigration of Ukrainians to France on a political basis; classification and generalisation of the main areas of active work of intellectuals from Ukraine at the end of the period of the Third French Republic; determination of the general assessment and further impact of the results of the work of the Ukrainian community of political emigrants on the pan-European processes of the state.

Today, the question of areas and vectors of activity of representatives of Ukrainian political emigration in France in the interwar period has mostly been investigated sufficiently; the main reasons and key problems that prompted a new stage of emigration of Ukrainians in the 20-30s 20th century, as well as the essence, areas, and results of the activities of political refugees abroad, in particular, in France, have been widely investigated and now constitute an important basis for further investigation on the subject of general emigration of the population. Considering the trends of recent years, namely the emergence of new hotbeds of armed conflicts and the unstable economic and social situation, the further activation of the emigration of the Ukrainian population can be predicted.

Literature Review

The subject of various stages of emigration of the Ukrainian population was actively investigated by many scientists from Ukraine and European countries over the past years. Thus, general questions about the causes, areas, features, and nature of the course of emigration processes in Europe and the world were dealt with by such scientists as V. Vlasenko (Vlasenko, 2013), T. Plazova (Plazova, 2008),

O. Kurbet (Kurbet, 2019), I. Romanko (Vlasenko, 2020), and others. Despite the large-scale migration flows of Ukrainians to the eastern parts of the former Russian empire, the western direction, in particular, Europe and the New World, became the main vector and final point in the interwar period; according to the theses of the Ukrainian ethnographer V. Vlasenko, immigrants from the Western and Central parts of Ukraine felt a certain mental connection with European countries – that is why the movement there was quite intense (Vlasenko, 2013). Investigating the problem of Ukrainian emigration at the turn of the 19th-20th century, the historian T. Plazova noticed an interesting trend about all waves of resettlement: each new stage of large-scale movements first began for political or ideological reasons; later emigration acquired economic and social character (Plazova, 2008). The freedom of movement of the intellectual community of Ukraine was the reason for the beginning of emigration processes in the state – this opinion was expressed by economist and historian O. Kurbet; the author believed that the free access of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia created the basis for further processes and the possibility of establishing Ukrainian national movements in other states (Kurbet, 2019). According to the beliefs of the Ukrainian researcher I. Romanko, it was the French Republic that became the place where the real Ukrainian statehood appeared; grown on the principles of the constitutional system and in the democratic conditions of the Third French Republic, the national state of Ukrainians gathered the best French and world practices of that time (Vlasenko, 2020).

The key areas of activity of Ukrainian emigrants in France in the 20-30s 20th century were considered in some papers (S. Narizhnyi (Narizhnyi, 1999), R. Davydiuk (Davydiuk, 2018), O. Ruchko (Ruchko, 2017), L. Bozhuk (Bozhuk, 2011), R. Tiutenko (Tiutenko, 2021), and others). The cultural and educational activity of Ukrainians in France, according to S. Narizhnyi (Narizhnyi, 1999) and R. Davydiuk (Davydiuk, 2018), was crucial for the establishment of not only modern Ukrainian statehood but also a free democratic France in the interwar period. Scientists O. Ruchko (Ruchko, 2017) and L. Bozhuk (Bozhuk, 2011) were convinced that based on the educational and professional activities of the Ukrainian diaspora in European countries, in particular, in France, a new generation of educated, highly intelligent people appeared, who was able to restore and qualitatively update the new democratic strategy of the world after the end of World War II. The phenomenon of military emigration as an integral component of any forced resettlement has become key for the second and third waves of Ukrainian emigration; Tiutenko concluded that representatives of the Ukrainian national army predictably became a powerful backbone of pro-Ukrainian political processes in France (Tiutenko, 2021).

The role and significance of individuals have always occupied an important place in the research of various historical events and processes. For example, the figure of O. Shulgin as a statesman and political figure was investigated by T. Stadniuk (Stadniuk, 2000); the historical importance of S. Petliura's activities, as a fighter for the national-state idea, architect of Ukrainian identity, military,

and state figure, was analysed by I. Koliada (Koliada, 2019); a biography of some outstanding figures of the interwar period and Ukrainian emigration to France (V. Prokopovych, L. Shumytskyi, O. Boykiv, and others) occupied a central place in the paper of V. Piskun (Piskun, 2015).

In modern European and global scientific literature, a small number of papers on the subject of Ukrainian emigration in the interwar period can be identified. Among the most notable authors of this issue are Yu. Bilan (Bilan, 2017), M. Hofmann and D. Reichel (Hofmann, & Reichel, 2011), and others. Thus, according to the Polish historian and ethnographer Yu. Bilan, the history of the Ukrainian emigrant movement goes back many hundreds of years; according to the author, the first cases of mass migration began long before the departure of the Cossacks and political leaders after the defeat in the Battle of Poltava (Bilan, 2017). The issue of the emigration of Ukrainians to other countries should be considered through the prism of the immigration of representatives of other states to Ukraine; this idea was stated by German scientists M. Hofmann and D. Reichel, who believed that the uncontrolled entry of other ethnic groups, often radically different from the Ukrainian one, and the “occupation” of their respective labour niches, was an indirect reason for the process of large-scale migration of the ancestors in the past centuries (Hofmann, & Reichel, 2011).

Materials and Methods

The main research methods that were used in writing a study are the following: historical-system and comparative-historical methods, as well as the periodisation and historical-typological methods. Through the historical and systematic method, the basic prerequisites and defining events and phenomena that caused the start of the process of Ukrainian political emigration to France in the early 20s 20th century are identified. Using the periodisation method, the main areas of the political activity of emigrants from Ukraine on the territory of France in the interwar period are determined; the key stages and characteristic features of the pro-Ukrainian movement during the Third French Republic after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 are outlined. By applying the comparative-historical and historical-typological methods, the fundamental consequences of Ukrainian political emigration to France after the defeat in the struggle for independence in 1921 are identified and analysed through the prism of modern political and other types of events that took place in the geopolitical dimension, in particular, the main socio-economic and socio-cultural consequences of the activities of the Ukrainian political elite in the post-war Europe of the 20-30s of the 20th century are summarised.

The main theoretical methods of cognition that were used during the writing of the paper include: analysis and synthesis (the main areas of the political struggle of representatives of the Ukrainian emigrant wave in France after the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1921 were outlined and analysed); systematic approach (the key results of the activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in France in the period between the First and Second World Wars were identified, systematised, and presented; the influence and

role of political processes among Ukrainian emigrants on pan-European politics were evaluated).

Scientific papers, critical-analytical investigations, historical essays, and statistical and reference materials form the theoretical basis of the presented study. The basic concepts, phenomena, events, and personalities described in some scientific papers of Ukrainian and foreign authors were analysed, explained, and more widely investigated, in particular, this study focused on determining the specific features and vectors of the activities of organisations and unions created by Ukrainians in French emigration.

The study of the presented subject took place in three stages:

In the first stage of the study, the search, selection, analysis, and processing of information about the object of the study was conducted, namely: using the historical and systematic method, the main events and phenomena that marked the beginning of the political emigration of Ukrainians abroad, in particular, to France, were analysed.

In the second stage, using the method of periodisation and the method of analysis and synthesis, the priority areas and vectors of activity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in exile during the Third French Republic were investigated.

In the third stage of the study, using comparative-historical, historical-typological, and systematic approach methods, the main historical results of the activities of Ukrainian political emigrants in France during the interwar period were identified and presented.

Results

Ethnicity and the issue of survival of the community as a separate ethnic group have always been of primary importance for representatives of all peoples without exception (Zubyk, 2019); this statement is true for the Ukrainian nation. Throughout their history, Ukrainians have fought and defended their national identity both at home and abroad (Zubyk, 2019). For some reasons (political, economic, religious, etc.), the driving forces and ideological inspirers of the national struggle were forced to emigrate to other countries to continue their liberation activities among the Ukrainian diaspora (Kliuchkovska, 2010). For centuries, the history of the Ukrainian people can be considered through the prism of the struggle for the survival of their national group not only as the state of Ukraine but also as an independent ethnic group inside and outside the country.

Economic and social problems, as well as political changes that took place on the territory of Ukraine at different times, prompted certain layers of Ukrainians to leave their native lands and go outside the State (Drobko, 2006). The first officially documented case of emigration from the territory of Ukraine for political reasons was the mass departure of the population in 1709 – after the defeat of King Charles XII of Sweden and Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the Battle of Poltava (Pavlenko, 2014). Subsequently, there was another large-scale departure from the Ukrainian lands: after Catherine II banned the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775, a large number of Cossacks moved to Turkey near the city of Dobrudja along the Danube river (Kindiuk et al., 2019). In the 60s of the 19th century, there was the first mass departure of promising scientists, cultural figures, political, and

social leaders from Ukraine for fear of repression and persecution for their pro-Ukrainian positions (Tsivaty, 2020); very soon, this group was followed by ordinary peasants who could not survive in the conditions of tsarist capitalism of the late 19th-early 20th centuries. (Bozhuk, 2011). The interwar period and the era of the collapse of the Soviet Union (USSR) were also marked by regular outbreaks of mass emigration from Ukraine (Kliuchkovska, 2010).

To date, four waves of emigration of the Ukrainian population to different parts of Europe and the world have been identified and investigated:

1. from 1861 to 1914 – “labour” emigration;
2. early 20s – late 30s of the 20th century – “political” emigration;
3. late 40s – late 80s of the 20th century – emigration of the “intelligentsia”;
4. early 90s of the 20th century – 10s of the 21st century – “economic” emigration (Doroshenko, 2010).

At the turn of the 10-20s of the 21st century some scientists have identified the fifth, unofficial, wave of

Ukrainian emigration associated with the departure of talented young people, promising scientists, educated, and purposeful representatives of creative professions (Kuksa, 2021). However, with the Russian occupation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014. (Bakalchuk, 2022) the time frame and content of the next stage of departure of Ukrainians from the state have changed; it is believed that it was in 2014 that the next, fifth wave of forced emigration of Ukrainians came, which is now the most massive compared to all previous ones (Kuksa, 2021). Waves of Ukrainian emigration had similar prerequisites for their occurrence: similar reasons (unsatisfactory political, economic, and social conditions), the same regions of migration (mainly Western Ukraine), endpoints – countries for life after leaving their native lands (the United States of America (USA), Canada, South American countries) (Hofmann, & Reichel, 2011), etc.

The main characteristics and qualitative and quantitative indicators of official waves of Ukrainian emigration are demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Indicators of official waves of emigration of the Ukrainian population

Waves of Ukrainian emigration	Reasons	Number of emigrants (by registers)	Regions of emigration	Qualitative composition of emigrants	Cells of the Ukrainian diaspora abroad
1861-1914 – “labour” emigration	overpopulation, lack of land for agriculture, unemployment	over 3 million	Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia)	farmers, loggers, miners	Canada, USA, Brazil, Argentina, Eastern borders of the Russian Empire
20s-30s of the 20 th century – “political” emigration	disagreement with the occupation of Ukrainian territories by other states, struggle for national identity	about 900 thousand	Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia)	workers, intellectuals, veterans of the army of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (UPR)	Germany, Canada, South America, Australia
40s-80s of the 20 th century – emigration of the “intelligentsia”	repressions of Soviet special services, persecution for political reasons	over 2 million	Western Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia). Central and Eastern Ukraine	people trafficked out of Ukraine during World War II to forced labour in Nazi Germany; veterans of the UPR army, veterans of the Ukrainian division “Galicia”, intellectuals, scientists	Germany, Austria, Belgium, United Kingdom, USA
90s-10s of the 21 st century – “economic” emigration	difficult economic situation, unemployment, poverty	over 1.5 million	Western, Eastern, Central, and Southern Ukraine	relatives of emigrants of previous waves, representatives of various specialties and professions, intellectuals, scientists	Canada, USA, Western Europe

Source: compiled by the author according to Zubyk, A. (2019)

The second wave of Ukrainian emigration, which occurred in the period from the beginning of the 20s to the end of the 30s of the 20th century, was called “political” (Tiutenko, 2021); it was the first case of massive displacement in the European continent due to the political situation (Plazova, 2008). The main reason for the emigration of Ukrainians abroad was the defeat in the struggle for independence during the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 and the fear of persecution and repression of participants in national events (Vlasenko, 2020). The first stage of this

wave of migration was formed of former military personnel of the UPR and the West Ukrainian People’s Republic (WUPR), who settled mainly in Yugoslavia, Austria, and Germany (Tiutenko, 2021). Subsequently, they were joined by representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, political revolutionaries, and active public figures, moving to France, Belgium, and the United States (Piskun, 2015).

Since Ukrainian refugees did not have their own officially recognised state, the issue of their legal stay in the territories of other states could not be resolved through

the mediation of diplomatic missions in these states; Ukrainian emigrants received shelter and protection but had to obey the laws of the host country (Dzyra, 2015). Due to the increase in the number of political refugees in European countries, the problem of legislative resolution of their issue has arisen. Some agreements and treaties signed in different years (1922, 1924, 1928) partially outlined the rights of Ukrainian emigrants and defined them as stateless persons, which gave them the right to obtain citizenship of the host country (United Nation report..., 1949). The 1933 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons granted political refugees substantially expanded rights and privileges (Melnychuk, 2016); very soon, fearing to return to their homeland and using the paragraphs of this Convention, many political refugees from Ukraine became naturalised citizens in their countries of residence (Zubyk, 2019).

Notably, during the second emigration of the Ukrainian population, the geography of settlement expanded substantially – if at the end of the 19th century almost 90% of emigrants moved to The New World (Canada, USA, Latin America) (Kuksa, 2021), then in the interwar period, the final destinations of Ukrainian immigrants were European

countries (Austria, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Spain, etc.), as well as distant and exotic Australia and New Zealand (Atamanenko, 2019). Due to the mass and uncontrolled migration in these countries, the governments of some states, in particular, the United States and Canada, at the legislative level introduced various quotas and restrictions on entry, giving preference to certain groups of refugees (Bevz, 2006). It was the United States and Canada that became the countries that received the most migrants from Ukraine at that time (Zubyk, 2019); however, their ability to support new arrivals was limited and therefore the governments of these states “reoriented” emigrants to other regions. It is problematic to establish the exact number of Ukrainian emigrants; in the countries of destination, only the country of origin of emigrants was registered, so in the final documents of these registers, some Ukrainians were recorded as Austrians, Poles, Galicians, Rusyns, etc. (Zubyk, 2019). Subsequently, they tried to combine different registers into one; hence, there is a substantial difference in the number of emigrants. For more information, the number of Ukrainian emigrants in different countries of Europe and the world is displayed in Table 2.

Table 2. Ratio of the number of Ukrainian emigrants and the country of destination in the period 1917-1939 (according to registers)

Destination country	Number of emigrants
USA	15000-94385
Canada	60000-70000
Brazil	9000
Argentina	20000-70000
Germany	10000-200000
Austria	3000-50000
France	3000-40000
Poland	30000-50000
Czech Republic	1000-15000
Belgium	300
Italy	100000
Kazakhstan	2.3.
Turkmenistan	21800
Uzbekistan	25800-48000
Azerbaijan	18200
Total	397100-866685

Source: compiled by the author according to Zubyk, A. (2019)

As given in Table 2, one of the centres of Ukrainian political emigration to Europe in the interwar period was France (Zubyk, 2019). The history of Ukraine and France has many common milestones; in 1051, the French King Henry I married the daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Kyiv, Anna (Chemerys, 2016). The name of Anna Yaroslavna is associated with many fateful historical events that defined modern France: on the Gospel that the princess brought with her, the French kings swore an oath before the revolution of 1789 (France, 2020), the

foundation of the monastery and Church of St. Vincent in Senlis (near Paris) on Anna's idea (Prominent Ukrainians in France, 2020), etc.

After the Battle of Poltava in 1709 (Pavlenko, 2014) and the defeat of the Cossacks in it, some of the soldiers moved to France: among them was the son of the Ukrainian Hetman in exile of Philip Orlik – Hryhor (Prominent Ukrainians in France, 2020). He was a member of the Royal Secret Council, and it is due to his activities within this structure that some high-profile French victories on

the diplomatic front are connected (Ukraine during the..., 2022). The departure of part of the Cossacks to the territory of France is called the first emigration of Ukrainians to this country (Assembly history and..., 2010); the next stage of this phenomenon occurred in the period after the end of the revolution in the Russian empire in 1905-1907, the main mass of emigrants during which were refugees for political beliefs (Thatcher, 2021). With their assistance, the first group lessons on the Ukrainian language began to open in Paris, pamphlets about Ukraine were published (Bozhuk, 2011), etc.

The reserve, which was created by political emigrants in France at the beginning of the 20th century, became the basis for the next wave of Ukrainian emigration to this country, which occurred between the First and Second World Wars (Mavrin, 2010). Among the Ukrainian political emigrants of the interwar period were ordinary workers and artisans (mainly Ukrainian emigrants from Western Ukraine, Poland, and Romania) (Antonenko, 2015), representatives of the intelligentsia, scientists, army veterans, and prominent political figures of the UPR, in particular, S. Petliura, V. Prokopovych, and O. Shulhyn (Gilley, 2017).

Through a substantial number of educated and highly intelligent representatives of the Ukrainian people who moved to French cities in the interwar times, separate cells and centres of Ukrainian national thought were formed in different regions, cities, and communities, where active work was conducted to develop and consolidate the Ukrainian national identity as an independent ethnic group with the right to its independent state (Ruchko, 2017). Ukrainians actively created various national organisations, circles, associations, scientific societies, and communities (Kurbet, 2019). The activities of the Ukrainian political emigration of that period in France can be divided into three main groups: state-political, professional, cultural, and educational. Further, each group is considered in more detail.

State and political activities of Ukrainian emigrants in France

Since the beginning of the February Revolution of 1917, which resulted in the fall of the monarchical regime in the Russian empire, the French government has closely monitored the activities of the Central Rada (CR) of Ukraine (Nikolaieva, 2015). It was believed that it was this structure that could become a strong ally of Paris in the future in the confrontation with Bolshevism (Nikolaieva, 2015); That is why diplomatic missions and delegations began to visit Kyiv to form a positive public opinion among Ukrainians about France and relations with it (Blavatsky, 2018). A bold step in this direction was the proposal of V. Vinnichenko – head of the general secretariat of the central bank – to provide substantial financial and technical assistance in exchange for supporting all French initiatives and Ukraine's refusal of any bilateral agreements with other leading European states (Davydiuk, 2018). Subsequently, with the appointment of the commissar of the French Republic to the government of the UPR on January 3, 1918, France officially recognised Ukrainian statehood (Narizhnyi, 1999).

Further strengthening of relations slowed down due to the active anti-Ukrainian activities of the Bolsheviks among the Entente member countries, in which France played a key role (Assembly history and..., 2010). However, the general high spirits of the French population in support of the struggle of Ukrainians for their independence became a strong support for the further evolution of Ukrainian-French relations and the activities of Ukrainian political emigrants there.

After the failure at the end of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921, many patriotic Ukrainians were in danger because of their position (Vlasenko, 2020). They were forced to hide, lead an underground lifestyle, or continue to build a free and independent Ukraine, but for now, outside the national state.

Since the 20s of the 20th century, various groups of political refugees and activists began to arrive in France, which were very different from each other (Vlasenko, 2013). Almost immediately, emigrants began to organise themselves into political circles, organisations, and trade unions. In 1924, the Ukrainian community was founded, which included representatives of all political movements of the then emigrant movement of Ukrainians (Bilan, 2017); subsequently, the organisation was divided into some smaller but very active cells. The most prominent political unions of that time in France were the Union of Ukrainian emigration organisations, created in 1926 under the leadership of supporters of the exiled government of the UPR (L. Shumytskyi, I. Kosenko, M. Kowalski) (Trofymovych, & Martyniuk, 2015); the Ukrainian National Unity in France, founded in 1925 under the leadership of I. Kowalski, Borshchak, T. Halip, O. Sevryuk (Nikolaieva, 2015); Ukrainian people's Union (1932) with the leadership represented by nationalists O. Boykiv, L. Huzar, M. Kapustianskyi (Vovk, 2021), and others. The number of political unions increased, and their ideological orientation was somewhat different; there was an urgent need to unite all pro-Ukrainian cells, including opposition ones, into a single national structure.

Thus, in 1998, S. Petliura (1879-1926), former secretary general for military affairs of the UPR, in the first days of his stay in Paris, called for the cooperation of all Ukrainian emigrants of France under a "united front" to create an influential cell of the UPR state centre (Koliada, 2019). In his opinion, the most effective tool for positive propaganda and interpretation of the ideas of Ukrainian national identity is the printed word (1879 – Symon Petliura..., 2019). For this purpose, at the beginning of 1925, S. Petliura, as well as his associates – V. Prokopovych and P. Chyzhevskyi – created a magazine called "Tryzub", which became one of the leading socio-political publications of Ukrainian emigration (Mavrin, 2010). The magazine was primarily a representative of the UPR State centre in exile, which introduced Ukrainian emigration to its ideological and political foundations and main goals of activity (Mavrin, 2010). It is worth adding that under the authorship of S. Petliura, many publications for "Tryzub" were published; the figure prepared many papers on the subjects of socio-political, and cultural life, the national liberation of Ukraine, wrote reflections on the Ukrainian

revolution, and consolidation of political emigration (1879 – Symon Petliura..., 2019).

Professional activity of Ukrainian emigrants in France

The French public began to take an interest in history and everything related to Ukraine at the turn of the first and second millennia when Princess Anna became the wife of French King Henry I (Chemerys, 2016). There were periods of tension in Ukrainian-French relations, but the general interest never subsided (Dupont-Melnyczenko, 2016). The events that took place after the end of the First World War of 1914-1918 and the Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 – the anti-democratic actions of the Russian Bolsheviks in the occupied territory of Ukraine, the repressive policy of the new leadership of Russia – caused widespread condemnation among representatives of the French intelligentsia (Narizhnyi, 1999). However, due to the lack of an appropriate level of political knowledge, local authorities could not build a clear pro-Ukrainian state position. However, due to the strong support of representatives of Paris classical diplomacy and carriers of democratic European values, the French government was forced to take decisive measures to prevent Bolshevik influence on the local population and organise strong support for Ukrainian emigrants in various fields of life (Dupont-Melnyczenko, 2016).

Many European and French historians claim that due to young, ambitious, highly educated, politically savvy representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in exile, the leadership of the French Republic managed to solve many important problems, for example, the post-war reconstruction of cities, the restoration of the economy and enterprises, etc. (Maftyn, 2019). As soon as they arrived in France, Ukrainians began to look for work, even agreeing to low-paid work. Thus, in a relatively short period, the French authorities managed to partially restore the pre-war infrastructure and economic indicators of the state at the expense of cheap labour from Ukraine (Maftyn, 2019). Subsequently, Ukrainian workers began to unite in various trade unions and institutions that protected their rights and delineated their duties (Antonenko, 2015).

Among the most famous such entities is the Union of Ukrainian engineers of France, which was founded in 1924 in Paris (Assembly history and..., 2010); the purpose of its activity was to unite Ukrainian workers around a single pro-Ukrainian centre for further consolidation of efforts in establishing life and mutual assistance (Assembly history and..., 2010). Notably, the union included not only engineers by profession, but also representatives of other working professions – builders, machinists, drivers, etc. (Assembly history and..., 2010). It was the first organisation in history that brought together a large number of representatives of the working class of the Ukrainian community in France; in addition to professional and social issues, problems of a national nature were discussed and resolved there – the future of Ukraine, the struggle for state independence, rights and freedoms (Ruchko, 2017).

Along with the labour activity of the Ukrainian diaspora, an important place was occupied by intellectual work aimed at restoring scientific thought in Ukraine

and strengthening its research and intellectual potential. Thus, during the second wave of emigration of Ukrainians to France, a large number of scientific organisations, institutions, and alliances were founded in this country (Vovk, 2021). The most famous among them were the Paris library named after S. Petliura, which opened on May 25, 1929 (contains a list of valuable ancient manuscripts, historical interwar chronicles, pre-revolutionary descriptions, and documents on the census of the population of different periods) (Koliada, 2019); French branch of the scientific society named after T. Shevchenko, created at the end of the 19th century and gradually reorganised in the 20-30s of the 20th century in France (the main national treasure of the department – philosophical, natural, and historical papers of figures of Ukraine, as well as France, Germany, Switzerland, etc.) (Kushnir, & Feloniuk, 2019); historical archives on the stages of Ukrainian emigration to France (the central institution was founded in 1949, but the work on collecting and analysing materials on the activities of the Ukrainian authorities in emigration began with the departure of the first political leaders from Ukraine) (Rudling, 2019).

Cultural and educational activities of Ukrainian emigrants in France

As mentioned above, representatives of the political elites of France were rather ambivalent about the national community of Ukrainians who emigrated to the country after the end of the First World War (Blavatsky, 2018). However, the fact of active support and a keen interest in Ukraine and its citizens on the part of the local population forced official Paris to create quite comfortable conditions for the life and activities of cells of the Ukrainian diaspora in the Republic.

The newly arrived refugees settled throughout France, gradually adopting its way of life, principles, and rules of existence in a democratic Europe. Notably, with relative assimilation, Ukrainian citizens did not forget what their true homeland was; aspects of life and features of the national worldview of Ukrainians quickly entered the information space of ordinary French people, creating a wonderful symbiosis of Ukrainian-French coexistence. Given that the official French authorities did not have sufficient information about the internal life and everyday life of the Ukrainian people, the local diaspora of Ukrainians undertook to solve the issue of familiarising the French with the specific features of the Ukrainian ethnic group independently (Hagen, 2013). First of all, the goal was to completely change the opinion of the French regarding the essence of the “Ukrainian question”, the content of which was completely distorted by the Bolshevik authorities and therefore not accepted in Paris (Hagen, 2013).

According to many responsible representatives of the Ukrainian emigration community, it was possible to solve this problem by actively publishing printed materials and conducting information-agitating events (Atamanenko, 2019). Since the 20s of the 20th century, mass printing of Ukrainian periodicals began in France, among which there were historically popular materials (bulletin “Prometheus” (1924) (Vovk, 2021), the above-mentioned

magazine "Tryzub" (1925) (Mavrin, 2010), magazines "Ukrainian news" (1926) and "Ukrainian worker" (1928) (Narizhnyi, 1999), etc.). All these materials clearly and precisely introduced French readers to the history, traditions, and outstanding events in the life of Ukraine and Ukrainians. These publications raised no interest among the local population (Vovk, 2021).

The key role in the establishment of Ukrainian independence and statehood was played by the Ukrainian language, as an independent unit and a sign of Ukrainian national identity (Zubyk, 2019). In the 30s, on the initiative of O. Shulgin (1889-1960) – public and political figure, historian, and publicist, one of the leaders of the French branch of the scientific society named after T. Shevchenko in Paris – the Department of Ukrainian Studies was opened at the Institute of National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations at the Sorbonne; this was an extremely important moment in the history of the Ukrainian language and culture in Europe (Stadniuk, 2000).

In addition to the printed word, the Ukrainian song had a special power (Doroshenko, 2010). National groups with the support of local communities organised regular evenings, traditional concerts, and festive dinners with the obligatory performance of Ukrainian folk songs and patriotic anthems. Especially popular during this period were dance ensembles and academic choirs, such as the groups "Hopak", "Zaporozhtsi", the first Ukrainian theater group in Paris, as well as novice amateurs – "Prosvit", "Ridna khata", etc. (Doroshenko, 2010). Opera singers are also famous – Zaritska, M. Skala-Staritskyi, and others (Vlasenko, 2020).

Along with song activity, local artists and creators of monumental art made a substantial contribution to the development of Ukrainian statehood and informed about national identity. Famous sculptors (M. Boychuk (Notable Sculptors of..., 2022), S. Levytska (Notable Sculptors of..., 2022), M. Paraschuk (Humennyi, 2017)) created in their style, producing beautiful examples of sculptural art. It is worth mentioning the famous Ukrainian artists of the so-called School of Paris the concept of which arose at the turn of the 19th-20th century (Doroshenko, 2010). The school was a conditional self-name for artists and sculptors of predominantly Jewish origin who lived and worked in Paris between the 1900s and 1960s. A substantial part of the artists of the Paris School were Ukrainian creators; in the first 30 years of the 20th century, about 100 representatives from Ukraine came to the school to create. Among them were the following: O. Arkhyenko, M. Andriienko, O. Hryshchenko, S. Levytska (Prominent Ukrainians in France, 2020), and others.

Like now, in the interwar period, sports also united countries and their populations. Thus, with the assistance of Ukrainian and local activists, at the end of 1926, the first semi-amateur football team was created on the outskirts of Paris; later, in the southern regions, in particular, in the city of Toulouse, the Ukrainian swimming team started its sports activity, which took the first positions in local tournaments (Borsiak, 2020).

The Parisian intelligentsia also actively cooperated in communicating the truth about the Ukrainian people.

Thus, the French historian R. Tisserand in the research paper "The Life of one people. Ukrainians" described in detail the key features, ideological principles, and rules of life of representatives of this ethnic group; in his study, the researcher used the achievements of such outstanding Ukrainians as T. Shevchenko (concept of sovereign Ukrainian statehood), M. Kostomarov (the idea of Christian socialism), H. Skovoroda (humanistic concept of politics), P. Orlyk (theory of the constitutional and democratic structure of the state) (Kravets, 2021).

Consequences of Ukrainian emigration to Ukraine and France on a global scale

All waves of emigration of Ukrainians to one degree or another had a substantial impact on the social and democratic development of the population of Ukraine (Bevz, 2006). Migration processes from the territory of the state at the turn of the 19th-20th century in a certain way corresponded to the general European trends of that time, but in the interwar period, they became spontaneous and directly dependent on international and national legislation. Migrations of that period continued in two directions: to the East (remote regions of the former Russian empire) and the West (to Europe and the New World); however, the most noticeable imprint on the long-term perspective was migration towards Western countries. The departure of representatives of different segments of the population of Ukraine in the interwar period was initially political and ideological in nature (the defeat in the Russo-Ukrainian War of Independence of 1917-1921 (Vlasenko, 2020)); subsequently, these processes led to the beginning of the so-called emigration for economic reasons (as a result of the Second World War (1939-1945 (Tiutenko, 2021))).

The main and key consequence of Ukrainian emigration to France was the preservation of the lives of all displaced persons; the then Bolshevik system, which included persecution for political views and ideas, arrests, and tortures, did not give a chance for a peaceful life to all participants in the revolutionary events of the early 20th century without exception. The Ukrainian diaspora joined the creation of a national state through active activities in the educational, ideological, defence, economic, cultural, and other fields of life. The Ukrainian intelligentsia in France had a unique opportunity to act in the legal field of this country during the Third Republic, and therefore, all historical events and decisions took place within the framework of the constitutional regime of the Republic based on the most democratic system of the world at that time. Acting in French society, Ukrainian political activists launched a large-scale information campaign to convey the truth about Ukraine, its history, and everyday public life; thus, the "Ukrainian" theme practically did not disappear from the French information space, purposefully influencing the public opinion of the intellectual elite of France.

As mentioned above, Ukrainian emigrants in France were engaged in various types of activities – educational, cultural, and political (Blavatsky, 2018); in each area of their activity, Ukrainians used best practices to create conditions for the ideal collective existence of the nation as a single political entity. Based on the general democratic

principles of the Third French Republic, Ukrainian activists were able to substantiate and develop their ideas on the creation of the state, and its evolution in the field of economy, defence, science, and other branches of the state. All the activity of representatives of Ukrainian emigration in France testifies to the ability of the Ukrainian people to think and work in the development and modernisation of national political thought; due to the foundations of the French constitutional culture, the achievements of the Ukrainian diaspora, the results of its professional, scientific, educational activities allowed emigrants from Ukraine to join the solution of urgent pan-European and French issues of that period of history.

Discussion

Investigating the background and nature of the political emigration of the Ukrainian population from the territory of the state to France in the interwar period, as well as determining the main areas and results of the activities of emigrants from Ukraine through the prism of pan-European processes, it is worth noting: in the Ukrainian segment of scientific literature on the subject of the presented study, there are a substantial number of papers that are aimed at investigating and analysing the phenomenon of emigration of Ukrainians to France after the First World War. However, among European and international scientists, the issue of migration movements from the territory of Ukraine is not fully investigated; in particular, there is practically no detailed information about the activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in France in the 20-30s of the 20th century. This situation can be partly explained by the general intensity of events on the European continent at that time and the inability to investigate the issues of the emigration of Ukrainians to other countries, in particular, the French Republic, without being distracted by events and phenomena of a different nature. However, summarising all of the above, it can be concluded that the theoretical basis of the presented study formed a solid basis for conducting this investigation, largely due to papers in the area of this study, which were presented by Ukrainian search researchers and specialists.

The results of the study were obtained in the process of investigating primary sources and original texts, including unique documentary references to witnesses of those events and processes. For example, the fundamental concepts, principles, and main characteristics of Ukrainian emigration to European countries, in particular, to the French Republic, in the period between the First and Second World Wars, were isolated and used from the study of S. Narizhnyi "Ukrainian Emigration. Cultural Work of the Ukrainian Emigration 1919-1939" (Narizhnyi, 1999). The historian and researcher introduced the main milestones of the migration process of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, workers, peasantry, military, and political leaders in the interwar period; gave a brief description of the main directions of emigration, calling such a Western vector, namely, Romania, Poland, Austria, France, etc.

The theses on the leading role of educational associations in the environment of the Ukrainian diaspora in

France in defending the interests of independent Ukraine and communicating the truth about it to the general public, voiced in the presented study, were built based on interesting assumptions by T. Borsiak in the study "The Role of the Ukrainian Emigration Sports Movement in the Formation of National Identity" (Borsiak, 2020). The paper presented the role of sports organisations – teams, clubs, alliances – as a leading source of information about Ukrainian specificity and history in the French environment.

The specific features of the process of assimilation and rooting among the French population of representatives of Ukrainian emigration, along with the phenomenon of "Ukrainisation", were considered in the context of their long-term stay abroad; the main theses for this area of study were borrowed from the conclusions made by T. Bevz in the paper "Ukrainian Emigration in the Context of Indigenization Policy" (Bevz, 2006), in which the researcher compared the concepts of "emigration" and "Ukrainisation" as two components of an integral process of attempts at the democratic transformation of the political system.

Mass media, mainly printed publications (newspapers, booklets, informational messages) were considered in the presented study as one of the main sources of informing society about the specific features, culture, and habitual life of an ordinary Ukrainian of that period. The main ideas and key concepts regarding this part of the study were identified and analysed based on the provisions stated by O. Vovk in the paper "The Press of the Ukrainian Emigration as a Source for Studying the Culture, Education and Everyday Life of Ukrainians (1920s)" (Vovk, 2021), which analysed many printed periodicals of the time (the magazine "Tryzub", the magazine "Ukrainian news", the bulletin "Prometheus", etc.), as a source of information about the customs and rituals of Ukrainians.

This work was based on the claims that the Ukrainian migration began at the end of the 19th century and had four official waves; this thesis was presented by I. Kliuchkovska in the paper "The Ukrainian Diaspora in the Lens of Modernity is a National-Political and Spiritual-Cultural Phenomenon" (Kliuchkovska, 2010). However, the author also claimed that all the movements of Ukrainians – the peasantry, representatives of the Cossacks and nobility, political and religious leaders – were not mass and had nothing to do with the phenomenon of emigration and were caused solely by personal reasons and certain events of those times.

The study considered the main areas of activity of political emigrants from Ukraine on the territory of France, namely, educational, professional, and, in fact, state-political, based on the conclusions made by A. Zubyk in the paper "Ukrainian Diaspora: Socio-Geographical Study" (Zubyk, 2019). However, the author noted that the activity of the Ukrainian diaspora in the French Republic was not decisive for the processes of development of the national consciousness of the then Ukrainians and the formation of their identity.

Representatives of the intelligentsia and ordinary workers and peasants, while in exile, actively created various public organisations that dealt with issues of education, culture, and general awareness raising through the prism of communicating the situation and political

situation of Ukraine in the world. This thesis was proposed and demonstrated in the presented study, based on the beliefs justified by V. Antonenko in the study “Documents of the CSAPA of Ukraine on the Activities of Ukrainian Public Organizations in Emigration” (Antonenko, 2015). However, according to the researcher, in France at that time, there were also such associations that tried not to express their political views about the situation and the territory of the former Russian empire.

The results of investigating the presented subject in the context of the role and influence of individuals on the course of the subject under study were formed in the course of familiarisation with the theses by A. Atamanenko in the study “The Role of Foreign Ukrainians in Ukrainian Public and Cultural Diplomacy: Historical and Modern Aspects” (Atamanenko, 2019), in which the author believed that the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians of the diaspora, in particular, in France, had a decisive voice in resolving various aspects of the life structure of both the Ukrainian people and the national state in general. Therewith, the researcher was not inclined to believe that the reputation and image of some historical figures played a key role in certain events and situations that were directly related to certain decisions.

French researcher of Ukrainian origin J.-B. Dupont-Melnyczenko in the paper “Centenary of Ukrainian emigration to France” identified four waves of a general migration from Ukraine, and also identified three peaks of the mass departure of Ukrainians to France, where they are firmly established and now form an integral part of the French community (Dupont-Melnyczenko, 2016). This information became the basis for developing other conclusions and recommendations in the presented research paper. Therewith, the author argued that the vast majority of settled Ukrainians, especially those who emigrated in the early and mid-20th century, do not have both a special connection with Ukraine and a desire to return to their homeland.

Thus, having analysed the prerequisites and features of the process of emigration of the Ukrainian population to France during the interwar period, as well as highlighting and summarising the key characteristics, main areas, and global consequences of the political activity of representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the Third French Republic, it can be clearly stated that the intensity and quality of involvement of members of the Ukrainian diaspora in France in the issues of the state of a general nature had a decisive influence on the history of both France and Ukraine. Quite predictable was the fact that the emigration of Ukrainians in the 20-30s of the 20th century was the most “productive” stage in the history of the country in terms of obtaining fundamental concepts of democracy, constitutional law, civil liberties, and national identity. However, due to the biased attitude of some foreign, in particular, Soviet, scientists toward certain historical figures of that period and the deliberate distortion of some facts and processes, the issue of investigating Ukrainian emigration in the interwar period has quite a lot of insufficiently investigated areas, especially in terms of a detailed description of the activities of political associations and unions in different parts of France.

Summarising the above, it can be noted: when determining the prerequisites and nature of the interwar emigration of the Ukrainian population to France, the main reasons were the political and ideological beliefs of some representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia; tracking the basic fields of activity of emigrants from Ukraine, the key vectors can be called educational, cultural, and informational orientation, the basic unifying factor of which was the political and ideological nature of the activity; the fundamental and determining result of the “French” period in the history of Ukrainian emigration is to determine the education of the generation of Ukrainians on the principles of democracy on the example of the classical constitutional model, which was France from the time of the Third Republic. These conclusions are supported by an array of processing information, which is contained, in particular, in the papers of modern Ukrainian scientists and documentary evidence of those events.

Conclusions

During the preparation of this study, a sufficient number of scientific literature and primary sources were identified, analysed, and investigated, which were available for in-depth examination; in the course of the research paper, substantial results were obtained, based on which subject conclusions and recommendations on the specific features of investigating this subject were presented.

To achieve this goal – identifying the key causes, features, and factors of political emigration of the Ukrainian population to the French Republic in the interwar period, tracking the basic vectors of the most active activity of the Ukrainian diaspora in France and bringing the defining results and consequences of mass migration of Ukrainians and their life in the Republic – the most noticeable elements and components of the migration process of the population of Ukraine to European states in the 20-30s of the 20th century were investigated. In the course of the study, the features that characterise the prerequisites and determine the reasons for the beginning of various stages of emigration of Ukrainians outside their country were established. In particular, it was identified that among the factors that prompted Ukrainians to leave their homes and go abroad were overpopulation, lack of land for agriculture, unemployment, poverty, disagreement with the occupation of Ukrainian territories, repression, persecution, etc. The study showed that being in a foreign territory, very often in a difficult situation and without a vision of their future, representatives of both the Ukrainian intelligentsia and ordinary workers and peasants, united in collectives, the main mission of which was to actively inform the local population about the whole truth about Ukrainians, their daily life, problems, traditions, and customs; such information-educational activities were conducted within the framework of some, first of all, political, as well as educational, scientific, theatrical, sports, and other kinds of platforms. Based on the work conducted, considering the conclusions obtained regarding the prerequisites and root causes of migration of the Ukrainian population, it can be assumed that there are great chances for the continuation of the surge of Ukrainian emigration to other countries,

caused mainly by the military aggression of the Russian Federation on the territory of Ukraine and, as a result, the unfavourable economic and social situation of citizens.

Thus, analysing all of the above, to obtain more accurate and correct results and to further update the presented conclusions and recommendations on the subject of this paper, for subsequent study, it is advisable to focus on the study of foreign, in particular, French sources – papers, information reviews, analytical reports, monographs, etc. – regarding Ukrainian emigration to France in the 20-30s of the 20th

century. This vector of research is a very productive area in the context of clarifying poorly investigated facts and undetected aspects of the emigration of Ukrainians in the interwar period from the standpoint of French contemporaries.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of interest

None.

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Основні напрями діяльності представників української політичної еміграції у Франції в міжвоєнний період

Анотація. Після поразки у боротьбі за незалежність України у 1917-1921 рр. перед українським народом постало питання відстоювання своїх національних інтересів та захисту власної ідентичності. Події та явища, які відбувалися у наступні 20 років після Української революції, мали вирішальне значення як для української, так і для загальноєвропейської державності. Метою наукової роботи було: визначити передумови, характер та особливості політичної еміграції з України, зокрема, до Франції, у міжвоєнний період; окреслити основні напрями діяльності українських політичних емігрантів наприкінці Третьої Французької Республіки; проаналізувати головні результати та наслідки діяльності емігрантів з України у політичній та економічній сфері Франції та Європи. Основним методом наукового пізнання, який був використаний під час написання даної статті, є історично-системний метод, за допомогою якого, використовуючи системний принцип, були виявлені та досліджені ключові факти, події та явища, які мали місце під час української політичної еміграції до Франції між Першою та Другою світовими війнами; окреслені та структуровані головні наслідки емігрантського руху українців для політичного та суспільного життя Франції та країн Європи. Головні результати, які були отримані в ході дослідження представленої тематики, наступні: охарактеризовані передумови та причини еміграції українців до Франції після закінчення Української революції 1917-1921 рр., визначені ключові напрями діяльності представників української політичної еліти у Парижі, сформульовані головні наслідки та важливі події, які відіграли історичну роль у становленні української державності у часи Третьої Французької Республіки, як складової єдиної європейської спільноти. Результати наукової роботи, а також висновки, які були отримані під час вивчення цієї проблематики, можуть бути використані як теоретична основа для подальших досліджень за вказаним напрямом; крім того – для закладів вищої освіти за спеціальністю історія, політологія, країнознавство – як приклад одного із етапів національної боротьби українського народу за право створити власну незалежну державу; для дослідників у сфері історії, археології, документалістики – як предмет вивчення з метою глибшого розуміння першопричин та наслідків події у масштабі світових геополітичних змін; для інших науковців, сфера діяльності яких суміжна з тематикою статті

Ключові слова: Українська революція; Третя Французька Республіка; професійні та культурно-просвітницькі організації; інформаційно-агітаційна діяльність; українська діаспора

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The language issue of Ukraine during the russian-Ukrainian war. The impact of centuries of repression of the Ukrainian language on modern society

Abstract. The study of the language issue in Ukraine is relevant considering the importance of linguistic identification: since most Ukrainians have been Russified, it is necessary to pursue a clear and strategic language policy that could ensure the gradual but steady development of all things Ukrainian in the future. The purpose of this research was to explore the current state of linguistic consciousness in Ukrainian society, and the specifics of the establishment and development of the Ukrainian language during the long linguistic crimes and after the outbreak of the russian-Ukrainian war. The following methods were used to achieve the set purposes: analytical and synthetic, comparative and contrastive, historical, diachronic and synchronous. A panoramic analysis of the prohibitions and restrictions on the functioning of the Ukrainian language over the past four centuries was conducted, in particular in the fields of education, book publishing, office work, the church, etc. The study examined the historical stages of the development and formation of the identity of the Ukrainian language and provided statistics on the language issue a few years after independence, after the russian aggression in eastern Ukraine, and after russia's full-scale invasion. It developed an understanding of the causes and consequences of linguistic crimes and assessed the stages of Russification and the impact of the russian-speaking space in different regions of Ukraine. Attention was focused on the mechanisms of linguistic decolonisation on the example of different national languages and countries, forms of linguistic planning and national policies of states affected by language bans, and the revival of identification. The materials presented in this work can be used for further scientific research in the field of linguistics, sociology, historiography, and cultural studies, in particular, in the study of colonisation and decolonisation processes in various national languages of the world

Keywords: expansion; destruction; decolonisation; public space; planning

Introduction

The study of the language issue in Ukraine is relevant considering the current historical circumstances, including the russian-Ukrainian war, the attempts to get rid of colonial influence and finally decolonise, and the struggle for the right to be a territorially integral and independent state. Language is an important link in national and ideological identification, connecting the speaker with a particular cultural space and public discourse.

And although bilingualism, using exclusively russian or Surzhyk, is not an accurate identification in terms of political or social, it still indicates a specific degree of colonisation, which can influence the production of thought patterns.

Thus, it is crucial to apply a policy of restrictions on the russian language and gradually push it out of the

public sphere and eventually out of everyday life. Despite the qualitative and quantitative changes in the language issue, it remains important to pass on the language to other generations, and this can only be ensured by a complete transition to Ukrainian in all spheres of life.

The relevance of the subject is high only for a specific proportion of Ukrainians, the majority do not fully understand the importance and urgency of its solution. The policy of effective and targeted language planning should enshrine provisions both in official laws and in the linguistic consciousness.

Despite the positive dynamics in this area, there are still many unresolved problems, including the legal framework and the implementation of state regulations on using the Ukrainian language, for example, in the service sector.

Suggested Citation:

Dzyublenko. I. (2023). The language issue of Ukraine during the russian-Ukrainian war. The impact of centuries of repression of the Ukrainian language on modern society. *Foreign Affairs*, 33(2), 21-30.

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Received: 27.11.2022, Revised: 20.02.2022, Accepted: 27.03.2023

To understand what kind of language policy to pursue, it is necessary to assess and rethink the impact of centuries of linguistic crimes on the current state of the Ukrainian language. Considering this, it is necessary to revive the language in terms of lexicon, to restore using Ukrainian suffixes and prefixes, syntactic constructions, etc.

The study by E. Mites demonstrates that using a colonial language in education and other areas of functioning results in linguistic inequality. The author demonstrates the persistence of colonial provisions transmitted through language by analysing social media, drawing attention to the main threat: the coloniser's practice is taken for granted and not questioned, and language policies focused on the development of the mother tongue are usually encountered with several prejudices regarding prestige, function, etc.

Based on Chayinska's survey data, it was identified that citizens who were familiar with the subject of historical linguicide demonstrated greater support for restrictive policies designed to preserve the ethnic group due to concerns about the future viability of the Ukrainian language and collective fear (Chayinska, 2022).

O. Nikilev examines how the evolution from a monolingual majority to a bilingual majority occurred at the regional level. Due to socio-economic factors, the narrowing of the spheres of functioning of the Ukrainian language was not accepted in society as an adverse phenomenon. The absence of support for the Ukrainian language environment demonstrates that the political processes regarding language policy have not been organic. russification was accompanied by a disregard for national cultural heritage and a rejection of the Ukrainian language (Nikilev, 2021).

Linguist V. Britsyn examines the trends in the development of the modern literary and colloquial Ukrainian language from a retrospective perspective, in particular, linguistic phenomena in word development, morphology, and syntax, studies the practice of using communication strategies, and focuses on applied linguistic sections (rhetoric, stylistics, translation studies). In addition, the researcher notes that loose language codification leads to a loosening of provisions, which adversely affects the development of the Ukrainian literary language (Britsyn, 2021).

L. Bromham discusses the problem of narrowing linguistic diversity, in particular, based on various criteria: official documentation, educational policy, legal recognition, and socio-economic indicators. The author attempts to prove that contact between languages cannot cause its loss, but educational processes can contribute to this more actively than other factors (Bromham, 2022).

The purpose of the research was to explore the colonising influence of the Russian language on the development of Ukrainian linguistic identity, centuries of linguistic crimes and their adverse effects on the modern development of the language in Ukraine, and to consider qualitative and quantitative changes in the statistics of language changes over the past year. The subject of this linguistic work is theoretical research, which deals with the synchronic and diachronic development of the Ukrainian language and data from modern sociological surveys.

Materials and Methods

The theoretical foundation of this research is the scientific work of linguists who have explored the problem of linguistic and ethnocide, language planning, prevention of the destruction of national languages, changing the discourse from colonising to decolonising, and developing ideas about educational processes and their impact on language policy. Based on these works, the author analysed the development and establishment of the Ukrainian language over the past four hundred years, in particular, during the linguistic crimes of the Russian empire, the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), and the period of Ukraine's independence.

To confirm the key ideas about the dynamics of qualitative and quantitative language changes, the following survey data on the language issue in Ukraine were used: data from the Soviet census (Historical Truth, 2023); data from the All-Ukrainian census in 2001 (State Statistics Committee, 2003); and a survey conducted by the sociological group "Sixth nationwide survey..." in 2012 (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012). In addition, the materials of the nationwide survey conducted by the "Democratic Initiatives" Foundation together with the sociological service of the Razumkov Centre were covered (Novynarnia, 2021); CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) survey, March 2022, participants – citizens of Ukraine aged 18 and older (except for the temporarily occupied territories) (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022); Gradus Research survey at the request of Suspilne and with the support of BBC Media Action (Ukrinform, 2022).

This work uses analytical and synthetic, comparative and contrastive, historical, diachronic, and synchronic methods, which were used in combination to establish a complete picture of the functioning, development, and establishment of the Ukrainian language in public, official, and everyday spaces. To compare the statistical data and consider the current linguistic situation, materials on the oppression and linguistic crimes against the Ukrainian language over the past four hundred years, including the Russian empire, the USSR, and the period of Ukraine's independence, were first collected.

The analytical and synthetic method was used to explore scientific research and monographs that reflected the basic laws of language policy and planning. The issue of decolonisation in the post-Soviet space and the stages of establishment of the national identity of Ukrainians over the past thirty years were considered. The perception of numerous bans on the Ukrainian language was developed, in particular, through restrictions on its functioning in the church, education, printing, official documents, and later on television and radio broadcasting. The comparative and contrastive analysis concerned different historical stages of the establishment of the Ukrainian language, in particular, the language policy of the Russian empire and the Soviet government was compared, and the adverse effects and influences on the modern Ukrainian language, in particular regarding monolingualism and bilingualism, were assessed. Connections were being developed between political restrictions on the functioning of the Ukrainian language and the russification of large cities and regions in the east, south, and centre of Ukraine.

The historical analysis was designed to explore the establishment of the Ukrainian language in chronological order (from the 17th century to the present day), citing important historical dates related to the narrowing or expansion of the spheres of functioning of the Ukrainian language. The diachronic method was used to explore the vertical section of the language, i.e., its historical development, and the synchronic method was applied to the current state of the Ukrainian language.

Results

Linguocide should be understood as the planned and deliberate extermination of a particular language, which is a key feature of a particular nation, primarily targeting the written language, with the main purpose of eliminating a particular ethnic group as a separate cultural and historical unit (Kramsch, 2020). Nowadays, about 7000 languages are spoken in the world, and 2500 are endangered (Kornai, 2013). The extinction of languages is accompanied by the disappearance of culture, history, and cognitive habits (Kaul, 2015).

The destruction of the tradition of bilingual education in post-colonial societies is an important factor in preserving national identity and language (Chimbutane, 2011). Recent research on language education has demonstrated that it has a significant impact on the outcomes of language policy in general (May, 2003; Vanbuel, 2022).

Linguistic crimes of the 17th-20th centuries and the state of the Ukrainian language in the early 21st century. Repression of the Ukrainian language began as early as the 17th century: in 1626, an order was issued to destroy old Ukrainian books and import moscow editions instead, then in 1627 they were burned, and in 1693 severe restrictions were imposed on all literature.

The 18th century was a real linguistic genocide: in 1720, a ban on printing books, strict censorship of religious literature, and in 1729, the rewriting of all state documents in russian. In 1740, Ukrainian was ousted from the sphere of office work. The destruction of the national language continued with a ban on teaching at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and after the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich, an order to close Ukrainian schools located there (Zinchenko, 2017).

In the 19th century, the situation deteriorated, as bans were imposed on the extermination of Ukrainian in schools, including a tsarist decree of 1804 that prohibited teaching in Ukrainian. The year 1847 began with the defeat of the Cyril and Methodius Society and the tightening of control over cultural space (Zinchenko, 2017).

The Valuev Circular of 1863 further restricted the rights of Ukrainians concerning language, in particular, it was decided to suspend the publication of most books, prohibited the publication of literature related to education, training, and religion, and allowed only the publication of fiction. The motive for the introduction of such repressive measures was the tsarist authorities' suspicion of an increase in "separatist" or "anti-tsarist" sentiment. The Valuev Circular is an example of russia's chauvinistic imperial policy (Literary Encyclopedia, 2007).

The Ems Decree of 1878 consolidated and expanded the restrictions specified in the Valuev Circular, in particular, it was forbidden to print texts under music, import Ukrainian books from abroad, and stage theatre performances. Only "great russians" (Muscovites) were appointed as teachers, and Ukrainian intellectuals were evicted to the St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Orenburg districts. Thus, Ukrainians migrated to Russia and vice versa, which had adverse consequences in the future (Literary Encyclopedia, 2007).

At the end of the 19th century, new bans were introduced: it was forbidden to preach sermons and teach in public schools in Ukrainian, to translate Russian books, and to use Ukrainian at the state level. In 1908, it was declared that Ukrainian-language activities were harmful to the Russian empire, and thus cultural societies, publishing houses, etc. were forced to close (Zinchenko, 2017).

During the Soviet period, the language situation in Ukraine was difficult, as Russian began to spread in the public sphere and was promoted as a "second mother tongue". Ukraine has demonstrated less resistance to such narratives than the Baltic states and the Transcaucasus (Olszanski, 2012).

In 1918, the Bolsheviks brutally executed 5,000 people who spoke Ukrainian or wore Ukrainian national clothes. The years 1929-1930 were marked by the arrests of Ukrainians who were active in the scientific, educational, cultural, and church spheres, and they were tried in Kharkiv under the name of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (Zinchenko, 2017).

The Soviet government's policy in the 1930s was called "indigenisation", which included systematic russification as a method of combating "bourgeois nationalism". In addition, the lands of southern Ukraine were affected by the high intensity of migration to industrial areas (Schneider, 2007).

Ukrainian was gradually being ousted even from everyday communication, while several laws were passed to regulate educational processes and the study of the Russian language, and to translate the record-keeping in museums into Russian. Russian received the status of an official language in 1989 (Zinchenko, 2017).

Compared to the Soviet censuses (the last one in 1989) (Historical Truth, 2023), the number of ethnic Ukrainians increased by 3-5%, which was reflected both at the linguistic level and in civic position and cultural identity (State Statistics Committee, 2003).

The proportion of bilinguals has decreased significantly (from 27-34% to 22-23%), but the ratio between Ukrainian and Russian-speaking citizens has hardly changed. The situation with the language in the west, east, and centre is heterogeneous, as restrictions on the functioning of Ukrainian in the east lasted from the 17th century until Ukraine gained independence (State Statistics Committee, 2003; Historical Truth, 2023).

According to the 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census, 68 per cent of Ukrainians stated that Ukrainian was their native language, while 30 per cent considered Russian to be their native language (Fig. 1) (State Statistics Committee, 2003).

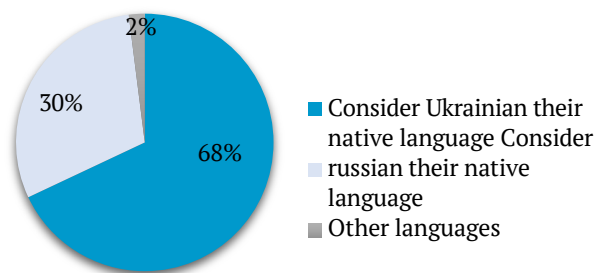


Figure 1. Data from the 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census on language

Source: 2001 All-Ukrainian Population Census data on language (State Statistics Committee, 2003)

The russification of the Ukrainian corpus in Soviet times occurred at the level of language planning, and today it is reflected in regional varieties of the Ukrainian language, and various types of surzhyk. Bilingualism implies knowledge of both languages and the highest number of people in Ukraine were bilingual. At the present stage, the promotion of the Ukrainian language is intended to de-Russify it to eliminate the consequences and influences of russian colonialism.

Surzhyk is marked by significant stigma, generally perceived as an adverse phenomenon, as it is a demonstration of Soviet russification, described as a form of linguistic deformity, a sign of low culture, national schizophrenia, low intelligence, or identity crisis.

Important changes in linguistic discourse since Ukraine's independence in regions with a high proportion of russian speakers are being recorded alongside the dominance of russian in the media, which is a sign of postcolonial thinking. The absence of a clear and planned language policy has resulted in the russification of Ukrainian-speaking citizens, particularly in large cities. Notably, the situation concerning language before 2014 was as follows: linguistic and ethnic borders are not identical, with the share of Ukrainians speaking Ukrainian being roughly the same as the share of russian speakers (Kaplan, 2011).

The development of the Ukrainian language during the russian-Ukrainian War

In Ukraine, the russian language functions as an object of russia's assimilationist colonial policy, which is trying to continue its linguistic and cultural expansion. Since the aggressor country has been using hybrid warfare methods for years, language policy has long been in line with disinformation, manipulative distortion of facts, and illegal operations in the cybersphere (Liddicoat, 2021).

On 28 February 2018, the Constitutional Court ruled that the Kivalov-Kolesnichenko law, which legalised bilingualism in the regions and hindered the development of the Ukrainian language, was unconstitutional. The absence of a language law regulating the language issue has hurt the conduct of language policy in general. Notably, in Ukraine, unlike the Baltic states, there has long been no strategy for developing a political nation through a linguistic tool (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2013).

On 25 April 2019, the Law of Ukraine "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" was adopted based on the current legislation

and international legislative practice, which emphasises the importance of its use in various spheres of life. The adoption of this language law was a significant step towards statehood, a path that other Eastern European countries have taken (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

Notably, not all provisions of the language legislation have been fully implemented, and many of them have not been enforced both by individuals and businesses and at the governmental level. The law "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" stipulates that the state gives citizens the right to master the state language "through non-formal and informal education", but the programme was not approved promptly (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

The rule on book publishing states that a publisher must publish at least 50% of its books in Ukrainian during the year, but there is a clarification: this rule does not apply to publishing in the languages of indigenous peoples and national minorities of Ukraine. In addition, Article 29 is ambiguous: "The language of public events is the state language unless otherwise provided by the Law" (the first version of the law clearly stated that only Ukrainian was the language). The provisions of this law do not impose an obligation on persons holding public office to pass an exam or certification for knowledge of Ukrainian, and the procedure for bringing to justice those who violate language rights in trade or services is very complicated (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

On 16 January 2021, Article 30 of the Law "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" became effective, requiring all service providers to serve consumers and provide information about goods and services in the state language. On 16 January 2022, Article 25 of the Law "On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" became effective, which provides for the transition of all national and regional publications published in russian to Ukrainian. The introduction of such provisions has undoubtedly influenced the development of the Ukrainian language in the public sphere, particularly in large cities. However, notably, not everyone still adheres to the established rules, despite the full-scale invasion. A system of punishment for non-compliance has not yet been developed (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

On 16 July 2022, the second and sixth parts of Article 27 of the same law came into force, stating that the state language on the Internet should be exclusively Ukrainian

and that it should be used to establish computer software interfaces. In particular, it applies to Ukrainian-language interfaces in technical devices that must have control panels in Ukrainian and Internet resources (websites, social media pages, mobile applications, telegram, and Viber channels) that provide an online representation of business entities registered in Ukraine. The main version of any software should be in Ukrainian by default. Advertising for services and goods on the Internet should be published only in Ukrainian. The amount of the fine is set at UAH 3,400 to 8,500, and for a repeated violation – from 8,500 to 11,900 UAH (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019).

The absence of a coherent and systematic national language policy in 2014 established the preconditions for russian aggression. In the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine, in particular, in Donetsk, Luhansk, and Crimea, the Ukrainian language is gradually being ousted from the public sphere. Citizens are unable to speak Ukrainian fluently, have no access to Ukrainian-language media, and cannot educate their children in Ukrainian-language schools. Any manifestations of national identity are suppressed by using false accusations and torture. The occupation administration seeks to level the legal status of the

Ukrainian language. Although Ukrainian has been granted the status of an official language in Crimea, it is declarative, as no measures are taken to promote Ukrainian. In the occupied territories of Crimea, parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, Ukrainian does not have the status of the state language. The liquidation of educational institutions results in Ukrainians being deprived of learning their native language, which prevents them from entering Ukrainian universities (Review of restrictions..., 2021).

The sixth nationwide survey on the language issue was conducted in March 2022, with citizens aged 18 and over participating (1,000 respondents from all over Ukraine, except for the occupied Crimea and Donbas). The CATI method (telephone interviews) was used.

The number of citizens who consider Ukrainian to be their native language has increased from 57% (2012 statistics, survey conducted by the Sixth nationwide survey... sociological group) to 76% (2022 statistics, sixth national survey). The share of citizens who say russian is their mother tongue has decreased from 42 to 20% (Fig. 2), which was influenced by the Revolution of Dignity, the annexation of Crimea, and the occupation of Donbas (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

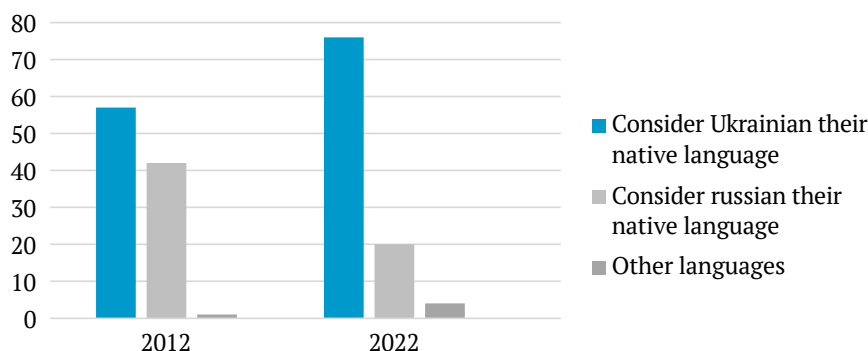


Figure 2. Dynamics of language changes (2012-2022)

Source: data from the survey conducted by the sociological group “Sixth nationwide survey...” (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012) and the sixth national survey (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022)

A steady decline in the share of russian speakers: 40% in 2012, 18% at the beginning of the full-scale invasion, accompanied by a shift in the status of “bilingual” citizens: the share of bilinguals increased from 15% to 32%. Notably, the total abandonment of the russian language in everyday life is insignificant: from 44% to 48% (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

The intensification of russia's aggression in 2022 had a positive impact on the recognition and consolidation of the status of the only state language in Ukraine, supported by 83% of citizens in all regions. In 2021, as many as 25% of citizens were in favour of declaring russian the state language (a nationwide poll conducted by the “Democratic Initiatives” Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Centre sociological service), and in March 2022 – 7% (Novynarnia, 2021; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

Data from the sixth nationwide survey in 2022 demonstrate that language is largely perceived as a regional feature and is not identified with political opinions, with 65%

of bilingual Ukrainians calling the russian federation an aggressor country (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

Nowadays, 67% of Ukrainians believe that there is no problem with the language issue in Ukraine, 19% claim that there is a minor language problem, and only 12% say that the language issue is a threat to national security. Opinions about problems in the language sphere are most common in the west of the country (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

The level of linguistic identification demonstrates stable growth; the war has given a new impetus to the development of Ukrainian cultural and linguistic products and influenced the rejection of russian and russian-speaking. There is a gradual evolution in both public life and everyday life, in particular, many factors contribute to this: the isolation of the russian federation from the international cultural and information space, and the destruction of the idea of “fraternal peoples” (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022).

On 18-19 October 2022, Gradus Research, at the request of Suspilne and with the support of BBC Media

Action, surveyed 1000 respondents, aged 18-60, throughout Ukraine, except for the occupied territories and active combat zones, with a margin of error of 3.1% (Novynarnia, 2021; Ukrinform, 2022).

Since the share of residents of small towns who spoke Ukrainian even before the full-scale invasion was higher, the growth rate of Ukrainian-speaking citizens in large cities is

slightly higher (54% in cities under 50,000, 60% in cities over 50,000) (Ukrinform, 2022). The survey demonstrated that 42% of Ukrainians began to speak Ukrainian more frequently, and 14% of citizens switched to Ukrainian completely compared to the language situation in 2021 (a nationwide survey conducted by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Centre sociological service) (Table 1).

Table 1. Dynamics of language changes since the beginning of the full-scale invasion

Criterion	2021	2022
Consider Ukrainian their native language	78%	76%
Acknowledge the status of the only state Ukrainian language	75%	83%
Consider russian their native language	18%	19%
Allow for recognition of the official status of the russian language	25%	7%
Speaking Ukrainian	51%	48.4%
Speaking two languages	36%	23,9%
Speaking russian	13%	27,3%

Source: based on a nationwide survey conducted by the “Democratic Initiatives” Foundation in cooperation with the Razumkov Centre sociological service, a survey conducted by Gradus Research at the request of Suspilne and supported by BBC Media Action 2022, and the sixth nationwide survey in 2022 (Sixth nationwide survey..., 2012; Ukrinform, 2022; Sixth nationwide survey..., 2022)

The demand for learning Ukrainian in Ukraine and around the world is growing and thus is the desire to study Ukrainian history and culture. The return to the Ukrainian language in public space, the entry into the force of laws on language legislation, and the development of new educational programmes will only help to promote the Ukrainian language. Nowadays, a large proportion of Ukrainians are aware of the necessity and value of preserving their own cultural and linguistic space.

Despite numerous linguistic crimes by the russian authorities, Ukrainians managed to preserve their language. Survey data from the years of independence confirm that the process of returning to the mother tongue is gradual, with more intense changes recorded in 2022. Ukrainian performs the functions of the state language in Ukraine and is used in the information space, business, NGOs, and public authorities.

Notably, although positive changes are gradually occurring, the statistics on the transition to Ukrainian in everyday life and the abandonment of russian are not high. There is still a large proportion of the population that uses Surzhyk, which is a consequence of russification and hinders the development of the Ukrainian language. The increase in the share of bilinguals is, on the one hand, a positive development, but, on the other hand, it may pose a threat if Ukrainian is used in public but not spoken in private.

Discussion

The term “post-colonial societies” refers to communities in certain territories that were under colonial rule in conditions of political or economic domination, and hierarchisation, accompanied by violence and oppression of the enslaved, and which have gained independence or other changes in political status.

F. Kramer notes that a distinction should be made between the concepts of “colonialism” and “coloniality”, which implies the preservation of power structures from

the colonial period. In such post-colonial societies, inequality (social, economic), cultural and linguistic marginalisation, and the lack of equal political representation may persist (Kramer, 2022).

Decolonisation is an ongoing process of struggle against the remnants of colonialism after independence (Kramer, 2022). The current stage of development of the Ukrainian language demonstrates that it still has significant colonising influences, in particular, due to the ongoing russification of its citizens. In addition to teaching the Ukrainian language in schools and supporting its functioning in public spaces, citizens should be encouraged to deepen their knowledge, expand their language vocabulary, etc.

Decolonisation processes concern officially colonised countries, unofficially colonised countries, and those states that have faced the challenges of colonialism. P.P. Poudel examines Nepal's policies that have resulted in the double colonisation of indigenous languages: on the one hand, external colonisation by English, and the other hand, internal colonisation by Nepali (Poudel, 2022).

The author illustrates the waves of colonisation and decolonisation, relying on the country's linguistic policy and the decisions of local communities, and focuses on the issue of decolonisation of modern educational programmes (Poudel, 2022). The example of the Ukrainian language demonstrates a deliberate policy of its destruction over the centuries, with decolonisation beginning only with the declaration of independence.

P.J. Meighan raises the issue of decolonisation of the English language, as it carries assimilative and colonial features. The author believes that this history is not emphasised in textbooks and curricula, and notes the need for an ecocentric linguistic policy towards indigenous peoples (Meighan, 2021). Since russians are not indigenous people of Ukraine, there should be no additional rights to the russian language in the public or state sphere.

The term “trans linguistics” is associated with the switching and mixing of cultural codes, and the fitting of certain concepts into a historical and social context. J.E. Bonnin highlights the issue of considering linguistic dynamics in the state to the rights of indigenous language speakers engaged in national revitalisation in Latin America (Bonnin, 2021).

The work presents clear distinctions between Spanish and ethnic languages, which is a key impetus for the accumulation of socio-political struggles of national minorities against Spanish cultural and linguistic expansion (Bonnin, 2021). The absence of a clear and consistent language policy since Ukraine's independence has led to tragic consequences for the Ukrainian language, with Russian dominating television, radio, and publishing.

Chimbunde's research examines the progress that has been made in the decolonisation of African languages and steps taken to combat linguistic violence, particularly in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The author highlights the challenges of decolonising language policy and its implementation (Chimbunde, 2022). To restore the Ukrainian language after a long period of colonisation, it is important to limit using Russian-language products, including those produced by Ukrainians, as much as possible.

N. Bermingham's research focuses on the contradiction between linguistic diversity in the lusophone world and monolingual educational systems, which confirms how deeply rooted monoglossic ideologies contribute to the process of marginalisation of local varieties of Portuguese. The author presents the implications of education in the wider social context, in particular, regarding social mobility and social justice (Bermingham, 2022). A large number of schools in Ukraine were bilingual, which hurt the education of citizens and the development of national identity.

Linguistic planning and policy are based on laws (overt and covert) that define the linguistic rights and privileges associated with the national language(s). T. Alam explores the process of evolution of policy documents used at different levels of government: municipal, regional, state, and national. The author examines how language development occurs and what factors influence language policy (coercion, contestation, neglect) (Alam, 2022).

In addition, research on linguistic planning is based on communicative analysis of speech, semantic analysis of data corpora, and linguistic analysis of films, music, and other cultural products (Alam, 2022). Language planning in Ukraine should be implemented through the introduction of unambiguous legal provisions and their enforcement.

One of the most important tasks of language policy in South Africa is to officially recognise African languages and support a multilingual policy that would allow the development of indigenous languages. N.M. Kamwangmalu notes that official language practice has a three-tiered structure, with English at the highest level, Afrikaans at the middle level, and African languages at the lowest level (Kamwangmalu, 2012). In addition to multilingualism and multiculturalism, it is necessary to ensure that citizens are aware of their national identity, including through language.

A.B. Nicholas explores the connection between linguicide and historicide, in particular, he emphasises that

the destruction of a language goes hand in hand with the physical destruction of its speakers. The researcher draws historical parallels and compares historical facts with the cultural and social life of the population (Nicholas, 2022). The war in eastern Ukraine and the full-scale Russian invasion have proved that the destruction of language and culture goes hand in hand with the physical destruction of the carriers of the national code.

J.J. Zwisler notes that the forced loss of language affects many communities around the world and carries many threats. In linguistics, this linguistic situation is described by two terms: linguistic genocide and linguicide, which are synonymous. According to the researcher, the result of the loss of the national language is the forced assimilation or destruction of the identity of a certain group of people (Zwisler, 2021).

The term “linguicide” better reflects the essence of the destruction of language, thus, it is commonly used in linguistic practice (Zwisler, 2021). The results of this research examine the main stages of the linguistic destruction of the Ukrainian language by the Russian empire, the USSR, and now the Russian Federation.

P. O'Neill defends the rights of speakers of different languages and uses the example of Brazil to examine the fight against language prejudice and linguistic discrimination. The author emphasises that such manifestations should be condemned at the level of international institutions (O'Neill, 2019). In the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, linguistic discrimination should be considered in conjunction with linguistic violence, as Russians do not recognise the right of Ukrainians to their own language and cultural space.

Scholar C. Bower suggests that one of the reasons for language loss may be a harsh policy of colonisation with cultural restraint on the development of national languages, suppression of indigenous languages, and the lack of language learning in educational institutions (Bower, 2021). The gradual destruction of the Ukrainian language is occurring in the temporarily occupied territories, including Crimea, and parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts have been under a ban on the Ukrainian language for 8 years. They are marked on the language map as areas with a high threat of losing their native language.

H.N. Lee's macro-level analysis demonstrates that those languages that are surrounded by extinct or endangered languages are at risk of extinction, which suggests the existence of “language hotspots” in the world. The Meso-level analysis identified 13 language communities with varying degrees of threat. Micro-level analysis has confirmed that geographically isolated languages are critically endangered (Lee, 2022). Currently, many Ukrainians are abroad due to Russia's full-scale invasion, but despite this, Ukrainian citizens are trying to produce Ukrainian content, work for Ukrainian companies and communicate in Ukrainian.

M. Khawaja explores the endangered languages of Canada's indigenous people. The author notes that some languages have retained their status, while others have completely lost it, and indicates that assimilation policies (e.g., education in special boarding schools) have been implemented to eradicate these languages, which has

resulted in a deterioration in the mental health of citizens (Khawaja, 2021). In addition to the Ukrainian language, the Crimean Tatar, Krymchak, and Karaite languages are considered indigenous languages in Ukraine. As Crimea has been under occupation since 2014, it is not possible to implement language planning and policy for the study and development of these languages.

Thus, contemporary researchers most frequently consider issues related to linguistic and ethnic crimes, colonisation and decolonisation processes, language planning, and policy, i.e., the range of issues is wide. The problem of the destruction and establishment of the Ukrainian language in different historical periods is mainly explored by Ukrainian linguists, historians, and literary critics.

Conclusions

The language issue in Ukraine is a complex one, as the current state of the language consciousness of society is affected by centuries of linguistic crimes during the Russian Empire and the USSR. The influence of the Russian-speaking space on Ukrainian culture after independence and the lack of a well-thought-out and clear language policy have had adverse consequences for linguistic identification.

The decolonisation of Ukraine's public, educational, religious, and cultural space should be implemented through language planning, which could ensure the gradual transition of Ukrainians to their native language and increase the number of Ukrainian speakers. Important changes in the language issue have already occurred, with a significant proportion of the Russian-speaking and bilingual population opting for Ukrainian.

As the Ukrainian language has been destroyed over the years, many regions of Ukraine, particularly in the south and east, are now Russified. The language problem still requires a solution and an effective policy in the linguistic sphere, the development and implementation of language laws, and their enforcement at various levels: state, regional, or local.

The study analyses the main stages of the establishment of the Ukrainian language, the forms of destruction of Ukrainian culture, education, and book printing in different historical periods, and presents the results of surveys that demonstrate an increase in demand for the study and use of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of life. The author demonstrates in detail how the linguistic identification of Ukrainians has changed since independence and with the beginning of Russia's aggression against Ukraine.

Considering the results of the study, the main objectives of the language issue in Ukraine were achieved. Priority tasks in further linguistic practice will include the following: exploring colonisation and decolonisation processes in different countries of the world, statistics on the growth of speakers of Ukrainian or other national languages during certain historical periods, researching linguistic phenomena that were destroyed in the Ukrainian language, restoring specific Ukrainian lexemes, affixes, syntaxes, etc.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of interest

None.

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Вплив столітніх репресій української мови на сучасне суспільство країни під час російсько-української війни

Анотація. Дослідження мовного питання в Україні актуальне з огляду на важливість мовної ідентифікації: оскільки велика частина українців була русифікована, необхідно проводити чітку та стратегічну політику щодо мови, яка змогла б в подальшій перспективі забезпечити поступовий, але впевнений розвиток всього українського. Метою цього дослідження стало вивчення сучасного стану мовної свідомості в українському суспільстві, особливостей становлення та розвитку української мови впродовж тривалих лінгвоцидів та після початку російсько-української війни. Задля реалізації поставлених цілей використовувалися такі методи: аналітико-синтетичний, порівняльно-зіставний, історичний, діахронічно-синхронічний. Було здійснено панорамний аналіз заборон та обмежень стосовно функціонування української мови впродовж останніх чотирьох століть, зокрема в сфері освіти, книгодрукування, діловодства, церкви тощо. Розглядалися історичні етапи формування та становлення ідентичності української мови, наводилася статистика щодо мовного питання через кілька років після здобуття незалежності, після російської агресії на сході України та після повномасштабного вторгнення росії. Формувалося уявлення про причини та наслідки лінгвоцидів, оцінювалися етапи зросійщення та вплив російськомовного простору в різних регіонах України. Акцентувалася увага на механізмах лінгвістичної деколонізації на прикладі різних національних мов та країн, формах лінгвістичного планування та політики держав, що постраждали від мовних заборон, відродження ідентифікації. Матеріали, представлені в цій роботі, можна використовувати для подальших наукових розвідок у сфері лінгвістики, соціології, історіографії, культурології, зокрема при вивченні колонізаційних та деколонізаційних процесів у різних національних мовах світу

Ключові слова: експансія; знищення; деколонізація; публічний простір; планування

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The political path of independent Ukraine from the national-state revival to its place in the modern historical process

Abstract. The relevance of the stated research subject is conditioned upon the fact that at the beginning of 2022, Ukraine faced new challenges that threaten its sovereignty and territorial integrity and are related to Russia's armed aggression. The full-scale invasion is frequently justified by Russian politicians as a "fall from grace" and a historical misunderstanding. However, there are hundreds of facts that confirm the thesis that Ukrainian statehood is the result of the centuries-long struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence from the empire. The purpose of this research is to analyse the political path of Ukraine from the period of national and state revival to the present stage of historical development. To address the tasks set, the author used a range of general scientific and special research methods, including historical and genetic, political and legal analysis, and comparative and institutional analysis. The results obtained in the course of the study should be considered as the identification of the main stages of the establishment of Ukrainian statehood and the analysis of the events that established and strengthened Ukraine's independence. In addition, the author identifies the reasons for the strengthening of national-democratic movements and ideas during the Ukrainian Revolution in the late 1980s and in independent Ukraine, explains the content of national revival processes in different historical periods, and analyses the prospects for the development of the state against the backdrop of the war with Russia. The materials of this study can be used in research and applied fields, and to explore the issues of Ukrainian state-building, nation-state building in the context of independence and transformation of political institutions

Keywords: sovereignty; armed aggression; full-scale war; People's Movement of Ukraine; political institution; state building; democratisation

Introduction

In 1991, Ukraine gained independence after the adoption of a series of documents proclaiming its state sovereignty. The legitimacy of these steps was confirmed by the All-Ukrainian referendum, in which more than 90% of residents voted in favour of independence (Filipenko, 2019). However, Ukraine's independence is not an "accident," as Russian propaganda claims, but the result of the efforts of many generations of Ukrainians.

M. Gorbachev's "perestroika" gave impetus to the processes that had previously restrained repression. In 1987, under pressure from the international community, the Soviet authorities released Ukrainian dissidents from detention who joined the national liberation movement. Therewith, cultural and political NGOs emerged, such as the "Memorial" Society, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language

Society, the "Green World" Association, etc., which united active Ukrainians around them (Danylenko, 2019). In addition, in early 1989, the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika was established. The organisation presented a programme for a comprehensive reform of the country's socio-political and economic life (Polishchuk, 2019). Democratic transformations in public life contributed to the transformation of national consciousness, the search for truth, and the revival of cultural heritage. It marked the beginning of the development of Ukrainian statehood, which continues to this day.

However, in early 2022, Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty were threatened by Russia's full-scale invasion, which posed new challenges to society. This fact determines the relevance of the stated subject of the research.

Suggested Citation:

Meleshchenko. T. (2023). The political path of independent Ukraine from the national-state revival to its place in the modern historical process. *Foreign Affairs*, 33(2), 31-41.

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Received: 25.11.2023, Revised: 17.02.2022, Accepted: 27.03.2023

In this research, the author for the first time comprehensively examines the main stages of Ukraine's development, considering the new circumstances related to the armed aggression of the Russian Federation (RF). In Western European and Ukrainian historiography, there are many works devoted to the establishment of statehood in Ukraine. In particular, V. Smolii considers the modern period of the country's history as a process of implementing the Ukrainian dream (Smolii, 2016). The author identifies such components as statehood, democracy, and welfare. The study examines Ukraine's progress in each of these components in the first decades of independence and demonstrates how they are affected by global trends. Researcher H. Chechelnytska considers Ukraine's declaration of independence as a solution to the dialectical contradiction between the objective need to establish a state, due to the actual level of development of the nation, and the impossibility of establishing it in the conditions of the USSR (Chechelnytska, 2021).

V. Skomorovskyy pays attention to the role of the policy of "perestroika" in the democratisation of public life in the last years of the USSR (Skomorovskyy, 2013). The author states the fact that the lack of a clear concept of reforms and contradictions in the party nomenclature resulted in crises in all spheres of public life, which eventually caused the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Scholar V. Baran highlights the main stages of the Ukrainian people's struggle for independence and the establishment of their state in 1917-1991. According to the author, the establishment of modern Ukraine is a continuation of the ancient nation-building tradition that was initiated by the people in the times of Kievan Rus and the Galicia-Volhynia principality and maintained by them over the centuries. However, the researcher attributes the rise of the national liberation movement to the collapse of the Romanov monarchy in the Russian Empire and the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921 (Baran, 2019).

The researcher H. Shinar substantiates the existence of Ukrainian state sovereignty in contrast to the statements of the Russian authorities about its absence (Shinar, 2022). He notes that this is how the Russian Federation justifies the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the full-scale war. In addition, J. Mearsheimer mentions Ukraine as part of the war with Russia (Mearsheimer, 2014). The author emphasises that the Russian authorities still consider the countries of the former USSR to be their sphere of influence and are ready to occupy neighbouring states if they orient toward the West, as happened with Georgia and Ukraine.

The purpose of the research is to explore and analyse the main stages of Ukraine's political path from the moment of national revival to the present. The object of the research is the political path of Ukraine from the period of the beginning of the establishment of its statehood to the present day.

Materials and Methods

To solve these tasks, the author used an entire range of general scientific methods – analogy, analysis, specification, synthesis, and abstraction. In addition, special research methods were used, such as structural and functional, comparative, systemic, historical and genetic, socio-psychological, institutional, etc.

Thus, the historical and genetic methods became the foundation for exploring the processes of establishment and development of the national idea that unites Ukrainians. Particular attention was devoted to the period of national and state revival during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921. In addition, this method allowed the formulation of the preconditions, causes, and consequences of the intensification of national democratic movements in the Ukrainian territories during "perestroika" in the second half of the 1980s.

The structural-functional method allowed examining the internal factors that stood in the way of the Ukrainian nation's proclamation of its state in different historical periods and determining the role of social groups in state-building processes at the time of the people's realisation of their own identity.

The comparative method allowed identifying common and distinctive features of the national liberation movement in the Ukrainian lands in the first half of the 20th century, during the period of "perestroika" in the USSR from the mid-1980s, and in the first decade of Ukraine's independence under the presidencies of Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kuchma.

The method of political and legal analysis became the foundation for the study of regulations related to the establishment of Ukrainian statehood, international treaties, and other documents that allowed Ukraine to secede from the USSR and proclaim itself an independent state. In particular, the Declaration of State Sovereignty, the Act of Independence of Ukraine, and the Laws "On Citizenship of Ukraine" and "On the State Border" were examined.

Using the institutional method, the author managed to analyse the process of establishing new political institutions in Ukraine in the context of the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic form of government and to examine the characteristic features of nation-state building since the early 2000s under the presidencies of Viktor Yushchenko, Viktor Yanukovich, and Petro Poroshenko.

The socio-psychological method allowed exploring the motives of citizens' participation in protest events in different historical periods and examining their specific features during the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921, the Revolution on Granite, the Orange Revolution, and the Revolution of Dignity, and describing the impact of each of them on the development of state-building processes and the establishment of democratic institutions in the Ukrainian lands.

Using the forecasting method, the author describes the prospects for Ukraine's establishment as an influential European state against the backdrop of Russian aggression assesses the role of the sixth President V. Zelenskyy in consolidating the nation, and characterises the most likely ways of the country's development in the next two to three years in the context of rapprochement with the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance. The author used the systematic method to comprehend the role of civil society in the state-building processes in Ukraine at the beginning of the 21st century. In particular, special attention was devoted to large-scale protest actions, when most of the most important state-building impulses in the country came not from the state to civil society, but vice versa.

Results

State-building Processes in 1917-1921 and the Ukrainian Struggle for Independence

The Ukrainian people have come a long way in fighting for their right to independence. The development of Ukraine in its modern form is considered by scholars to be a continuation of the ancient state-building tradition that began in the Middle Ages and was followed by generations of Ukrainians for many centuries (Vasylenko, 2021).

However, it was at the beginning of the 20th century that events occurred that can be considered the period of development of a modern political nation and the revival of Ukrainian statehood. It is about the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921. The collapse of the Romanov monarchy contributed to the intensification of the national liberation movement in the Naddniprians. In March 1917, intellectuals under the leadership of the historian M. Hrushevsky established the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR) (Honcharenko, 2017).

In June, the UCR adopted the First Universal, which proclaimed Ukraine's autonomy within the Russian empire (First Universal of..., 1917). However, most representatives of the Ukrainian elite of that period held autonomist views. But, over time, they increasingly took the position of Ukraine's independence.

The overthrow of the Provisional Government in the fall of 1917 and the Bolsheviks' rise to power in the former Russian empire prompted the UCR to adopt the Third Universal, which proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) (The Third Universal..., 1917). And the Bolshevik troops' attack against the UPR accelerated the adoption of the Fourth Universal, which became the final stage of the national liberation struggle of that period and proclaimed Ukraine independent (Fourth Universal of..., 1918).

In April 1918, the UPR was replaced by the Ukrainian state of P. Skoropadskyi in a coup. The Hetmanate implemented several important reforms designed to develop Ukrainian national identity. It contributed to the fact that the Ukrainian state was recognised by almost 20 countries. However, P. Skoropadskyi was unable to resist the UPR Directorate and abdicated in December 1918.

Therewith, during the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the establishment of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR) with its centre in Lviv, headed by E. Petrushevych, was proclaimed in the western Ukrainian lands. In January 1919, the Act of Unification of the UPR and WUPR was signed in Kyiv, which was the culmination of the national liberation struggle and embodied the unity of Ukraine. However, in practice, the unification of the two parts of the state has not been achieved. The Bolshevik offensive in Naddniprianshchyna and the Polish offensive in the WUPR resulted in the loss of Ukraine's statehood for more than 70 years (Tymchenko..., 2018).

Thus, in the first half of the 20th century, complex state-building processes unfolded on the Ukrainian lands, which testified to the presence of a national consciousness among the Ukrainian people and demonstrated their desire for independence. But during the revolutionary events, there was a constant internal political struggle in the Ukrainian lands. Each of the political parties tried

to establish a state based on its principles and dogmas. Therewith, the Ukrainian Revolution became a point of no return on the path to independence, which resulted in the restoration of statehood in 1991.

Prerequisites for the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine

As part of the USSR, Ukraine remained economically, politically, and ideologically dependent on Moscow for 70 years. Ukrainians were deprived of their fundamental rights and freedoms and decent living conditions. And the Soviet regime considered the slightest manifestation of national consciousness to be a manifestation of so-called bourgeois nationalism and brutally suppressed it by the punitive authorities.

Notable changes occurred only with the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, who tried to satisfy the population's demand for socio-economic and political reforms. These events were called "perestroika." The reforms resulted in the collapse of the USSR and the independence of its member states (Skomorovskyy, 2013).

In April 1985, Gorbachev announced the introduction of a policy of transparency. Due to this, citizens overcame stereotypes and dogmas of the old way of thinking and began to receive objective information about the situation in the country. A few years later, the ban on importing literature from abroad was lifted and some of the archives were declassified. As a result, glasnost became an important factor in social development and contributed to the politicisation of the population (Danylenko, 2019).

In Ukraine, the communist leadership paid lip service to reforms, but in reality, did everything to hinder these processes. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU Central Committee), V. Shcherbytskyi, remained loyal to the communist ideology and became one of Gorbachev's opponents (Ploky..., 2015).

Another impetus for the intensification of the socio-political movement in Ukraine was the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant (Chernobyl NPP) in 1986. The republic's leadership, under pressure from Moscow, suppressed the fact of the disaster and its true consequences. Nevertheless, the truth about the environmental disaster in the centre of Europe reached the pages of newspapers and magazines. But this event turned from an environmental factor in public life into a political one. As noted by academician V. Smolii, the Chernobyl accident became a reason to criticise the communist regime and introduced a component of "perestroika" such as the initiative from below, which proved effective in establishing a multi-party system and citizen participation in protests (Smolii..., 2016).

Chernobyl launched a massive environmental movement in Ukraine: journalists, scientists, writers, and activists called for environmental protection and prosecution of those who designed and built dubious facilities, of which there were hundreds across the country. Similar slogans were frequently used in political life during "perestroika," and the environmental movement became an integral part of the Ukrainian struggle for independence (Marples..., 1988).

In general, glasnost resulted in accelerated self-organisation of citizens. They were transformed from an object of management into a subject of the political process. An important step in this area was the release of dissidents and political prisoners from detention (Danylenko, 2019). At the end of 1987, M. Horyn and V. Chornovil were released from prison, and in 1989 – L. Lukyanenko. One of the founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), M. Rudenko, returned from exile.

Citizens' permission to associate resulted in the emergence of a large number of national liberation organisations. Under the influence of these associations, communist stereotypes were overcome, and discourse was conducted on current issues of Ukraine's historical past. Progressive-minded Ukrainians declared their willingness to participate in the renewal of society and the solution to the most pressing social problems. Every year, the scope of what was permissible in public discussion expanded to include previously taboo subjects. In particular, the truth about the Ukrainian Revolution, the Holodomor of 1932–1933, collectivisation, Stalinist repression, and the activities of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) began to be discovered.

In the context of liberalisation, the creative intelligentsia establishes the People's Movement of Ukraine (PMU) for Perestroika. The organisation united representatives of different groups and political opinions. In the spring of 1989, branches of the People's Movement began to emerge in different regions of the country (Bazhan..., 2010). In the fall of the same year, Kyiv hosted the founding congress of the PMU, which included nearly 280,000 people at the time. The delegates proposed the idea of transforming the USSR into a union of sovereign states based on a new treaty.

However, the People's Movement defined its main purpose as the restoration of Ukraine's independence through parliamentary means and the construction of a democratic state that would ensure the comprehensive development of the Ukrainian nation and the national and cultural needs of all ethnic groups. In October 1990, the Second All-Ukrainian Assembly of the PMU was held in Kyiv. The documents adopted at these meetings demonstrated a change in political orientation. The movement refused to support the course of perestroika and became an opposition to the Communist Party. In addition, the phrase "for perestroika" was removed from the organisation's name (Polishchuk, 2019).

The self-organisation of democratic political forces spoke both to the growth of their authority and to a gradual change in the balance of power in the political processes occurring in Ukraine at the time.

State-building Processes in the First Years of Ukraine's Independence

In 1989, for the first time, certain elements of people's power were allowed during the elections of people's deputies of the USSR. However, the situation changed dramatically in Ukraine during the elections to the Verkhovna Rada (VR) and local councils that occurred in the spring of 1990. Namely, representatives of non-governmental organisations not affiliated with the Communist Party could run for deputy.

Although the representatives of the democratic forces lost these elections in terms of numbers, they won an unconditional victory by potential (Teptyik..., 2019). Of the 422 elected members of the VR, 111 belonged to the Democratic bloc. For the first time in history, an opposition was established in the parliament, the People's Council, headed by theoretical physicist and public figure I. Yukhnovsky, and the leader of the Communist majority, the "Group 239," O. Moroz, was elected leader of the Socialists.

Despite the CPU's majority, the newly elected Verkhovna Rada begins the process of restoring Ukraine's independence. As a result, on July 16, 1990, the deputies adopted the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR (Declaration on State..., 1990). According to the document, Ukraine was to develop based on the exercise of the nation's right to self-determination.

In addition, the Declaration of State Sovereignty proclaimed the country's economic independence, defined its intentions to establish its armed forces, state security agencies, banking, customs, and tax systems, and claimed the right to a share in the foreign exchange fund and the USSR gold reserves. In addition, it acknowledged Ukraine's independence in addressing issues of education, science, and culture (Omarova..., 2015).

The document adopted by the Verkhovna Rada did not receive the status of a constitutional act. The Communist majority refused to comply with the demand of the democratic forces to vote for it. An important point in the Declaration was that the principles contained therein would be used to conclude a new union treaty. As a result, the Ukrainian SSR remained part of the Soviet empire, thus the world did not acknowledge its independence.

Therewith, according to the constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, only the people of Ukraine, who had all the power, had the right to decide on independence in a referendum. Provisions of international law obliged the Verkhovna Rada to arrange a republican referendum, but it was not held. In the fall of 1990, the parliamentary opposition accused the government of the Ukrainian SSR of not adhering to the Declaration of State Sovereignty and not creating conditions for reforming the country and demanded the resignation of Parliament Speaker L. Kravchuk, Chairman of the Council of Ministers V. Masol, and the refusal to sign a new union treaty. These demands were supported by Ukrainian students, who organised various political events designed to liberalise public life.

The most notable action was the student hunger strike in October 1990 in the centre of Kyiv. This event has gone into history as the Revolution on Granite, and 157 students from 24 cities of Ukraine participated in it. The participants demanded that the Union Treaty not be signed, that re-elections to the Verkhovna Rada be held, that Ukrainians serve only in the Ukrainian SSR, and that the Communist Party's property be nationalised. The Revolution on Granite demonstrated the high activity of the Ukrainian youth movement. The action was organised entirely by students and was unprecedented in Europe at the time. The authorities did not dare to disperse and arrest the protesters, as they saw that they had support among Kyiv residents (Student Maidan..., 2022).

In addition, the struggle between the two centres of power in Moscow – the “democrats” led by Boris Yeltsin, who came to power in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and the union centre led by Mikhail Gorbachev – contributed to the weakening of the Soviet system and facilitated the struggle of the republics for independence. In addition, there was no agreement among the republics’ leaders on what the new union treaty should be.

The deepening economic crisis, which was exacerbated by the communist nomenklatura’s opposition to real reforms, caused chaos in all spheres of public life. Therefore, some representatives of the ruling elite insisted on returning to the old course. On August 19, 1991, they attempted a coup d’état in the USSR. Communist conservatives created the State Committee of Emergency Situation (SCES), which was supposed to assume power and preserve the existing regime (Danylenko, 2019). The plans of the rebels were not implemented and only strengthened the democratisation process throughout the country. And on August 24, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine (The Act of Declaration..., 1991). Similar documents were approved by the parliaments of other republics, and the USSR virtually disappeared from the political map of the world.

On December 1, a referendum was held in which 90% of citizens supported the Act of Independence of Ukraine. On the same day, the country held presidential elections. L. Kravchuk won the first round with more than 60% of the vote, while his main opponent, V. Chornovil, received only 23% (Bohdalov..., 2019).

After that, hundreds of laws were passed that laid the groundwork for the transformation of the Ukrainian SSR into an independent state. By the end of the year, the laws “On Citizenship of Ukraine” and “On the State Border” (Law on Citizenship..., 1991; The Law of Ukraine..., 1991) came into force.

In 1992, the national anthem, national flag, and coat of arms were approved. Considerable attention was devoted to the development of its armed forces by reorganising existing structures. In the early 1990s, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was particularly active, expanding its network of embassies around the world. Much attention was devoted to establishing relations with the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO).

Therewith, the country was gripped by a deep economic crisis, accompanied by miners’ strikes and hyperinflation. It forced Kravchuk to resign, and the Verkhovna Rada called early presidential elections for 1994. Leonid Kuchma, who had served as prime minister since October 1992, won the election. During his rule, the country adopted a constitution, approved the text of the national anthem, introduced a new national currency, and began structural reforms in the tax area and privatisation (Rudych, 2018). Kuchma ran for office with slogans about rapprochement with Russia, but after winning, he radically changed his position. The head of state implemented a multi-vector policy: he was establishing relations with Russia, but, therewith, moving Ukraine toward EU and NATO membership.

In 1999, Leonid Kuchma was elected president for a second term. He based his campaign on opposing the

return of the “red threat” and called peace his main achievement. Therewith, his reforms were not completed, and the privatisation of large enterprises was conducted in favour of persons associated with the president (Presidential elections in Ukraine..., 2000).

National-State Building in Ukraine at the Beginning of the 21st Century

In September 2000, well-known journalist Gongadze disappeared in Kyiv. A few days later, O. Moroz, a politician opposed to Kuchma, said from the rostrum of the Verkhovna Rada that he had recorded with evidence that the president was involved in the abduction and murder of the journalist. This event was called the “cassette scandal” in Ukrainian history. It marked the beginning of an indefinite campaign “Ukraine without Kuchma”. The protesters demanded the resignation of the head of state, Interior Minister Yuriy Kravchenko, the head of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), Leonid Derkach, and the Prosecutor General, Mykola Potybenko. The protests lasted until April 2001. Under public pressure, Kuchma was forced to release Kravchenko and Derkach. Therewith, administrative pressure intensified in the country, and censorship was restored. In connection with the “cassette scandal,” Leonid Kuchma was isolated. In addition, relations with the Russian leadership did not develop, primarily due to the conflict over the island of Tuzla (Annexation of Tuzla..., 2021).

Thus, Kuchma’s tenure as head of state is a kind of process of restoring the command and control system, on the one hand, and rhetoric about commitment to the values of democracy, on the other (Rudych, 2018).

Viktor Yushchenko became the third president of Ukraine. In 1999–2001, he served as prime minister, but despite GDP growth and increased budget revenues, he was dismissed. After that, Yushchenko established a bloc of parties called “Our Ukraine” and won the parliamentary elections with it, developing the largest faction in the Verkhovna Rada.

In 2004, Viktor Yushchenko ran as a self-nominated candidate for the presidential election. His main opponent was the government candidate, Viktor Yanukovich. This presidential campaign was characterised by pressure on Viktor Yushchenko from administrative resources. Therefore, his main strategy was to communicate personally with voters, and for this purpose, a tour of Ukrainian regions was organised (Yakovleva..., 2018). At the height of the election campaign, Viktor Yushchenko was poisoned. The result was a distortion of the politician’s face. However, a thorough investigation of the crime was not conducted even after he was elected head of state.

According to the results of the first round, Yushchenko and Yanukovich received 39.9% and 39.26% of the vote, respectively (Rudych, 2018). The second round of voting occurred on November 21. According to international experts, the elections were held in violation of the law, and with interference in the electronic vote-counting system of the Central Election Commission (CEC). Against this backdrop, an indefinite protest called the Orange Revolution begins in the centre of Kyiv.

The facts of falsification of the results of the second round of elections were proved in the Supreme Court of

Ukraine and a second vote was scheduled for December 26. At that time, Yushchenko won almost 52% of the vote, while Yanukovych received 44.2% (Rudych, 2018).

During Viktor Yushchenko's presidency, a new version of the Constitution came into effect, which weakened the powers of the president and strengthened the role of the Verkhovna Rada. In addition, he is remembered for his confrontation with Prime Ministers Viktor Yanukovych and Yulia Tymoshenko, whom he submitted for approval to the Verkhovna Rada.

However, the humanitarian policy of Viktor Yushchenko deserves the most attention: it was aimed at strengthening national identity and developing respect in society for national and religious traditions and cultural heritage.

The foreign policy of the third president was centred on the West. He tried to get an Action Plan for membership in the North Atlantic Alliance and was one step away from it in 2008. In addition, the head of state initiated negotiations on replacing the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement with the EU with a new cooperation format – the Association Agreement with the EU, which would provide for a visa-free regime (Political results of..., 2010). Yushchenko's openly pro-Western policy caused constant disputes with the Russian leadership, which resulted in two crises when Moscow restricted gas supplies to Ukraine.

Therewith, the third president did nothing to unite democratic forces around him and overcome the country's division into East and West. Public conflicts between Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko undermined the international image of Ukraine gained by the Orange Revolution and brought Viktor Yanukovych to power in 2010. Back in 2006, he managed to win the parliamentary elections and form a coalition that included the Party of Regions (PR), the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU), and the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) (Denisenko, 2021).

In the first round of the 2010 presidential election, 35.32% of voters voted for Yanukovych and 25.05% for Tymoshenko. In the second round, 48.95% of voters cast their ballots for him against 45.47% in favour (Voting results for Ukraine, 2010).

In the first years of his term, the fourth president tried to rely on various elite groups. Thus, positions in the executive branch were held by representatives both of the Party of Regions and other political forces, including the former "orange camp" (Rudych, 2018).

In addition, most of the basic elements of Ukraine's national policy have not changed. One of them was the course of integration into the EU. Therewith, Yanukovych was implementing a policy of deepening relations with Russia and increasing the status of the Russian language. The first was realised through the signing of the so-called Kharkiv Agreements, which extended the Agreement on the Status and Conditions of the Russian Black Sea Fleet's Stay in Ukraine for 25 years in exchange for a reduction in gas prices.

Yanukovych's "language commitments" to the voters were implemented in 2012 by adopting the scandalous Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of National Language Policy" (Law of Ukraine..., 2012). These two decisions of the fourth president caused tension in society and contributed to the destruction of the informal consensus, as

evidenced by the growth of protest activity. In addition, repressions against political opponents contributed to this. In particular, Yulia Lutsenko and Yulia Tymoshenko were imprisoned in trumped-up criminal cases.

Despite the above-mentioned trends in the socio-political life of the state, V. Yanukovych and the government of Mykola Azarov consistently worked on the formal component of the Association Agreement with the EU. The international document was scheduled to be signed during the Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit. However, on November 21, 2013, the Cabinet of Ministers issued a decree that stated that it would refuse association with the EU and resume active dialogue with Russia and other post-Soviet countries (Azarov refused the..., 2013).

It triggered mass protests across Ukraine, which eventually resulted in Yanukovych's flight to Russia in February 2014. These events entered modern Ukrainian history as Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity.

The Revolution of Dignity was one of the key moments of Ukrainian state-building and the post-Maidan period

The first protests began on the evening of November 21 in Kyiv on Independence Square. The reaction of the authorities was predictable – police and internal affairs units were deployed to the centre of the Ukrainian capital. However, this did not stop the protesters; tent cities were established in major cities of the country and organisational structures of mass protest were developed.

The key moment was the events of the night of November 30, when Berkut officers beat protesters who were then on Independence Square, allegedly to free up space for the Christmas tree. It caused great indignation in Ukrainian society and became an impetus for further actions. These events stimulated an increase in the number of protesters and contributed to a change in the protesters' demands. Currently, they are calling both for a return to the EU integration course and the resignation of the Interior Ministry officials involved in the Maidan beatings (Golovko *et al.*, 2016).

On December 1, more than 500,000 people came to Kyiv to protest against police brutality. They established a new tent city and occupied the buildings of the Kyiv City State Administration (KCSA) and the House of Trade Unions. After that, a kind of positional confrontation between protesters and law enforcement officers began in the centre of the capital.

Moreover, in early December, representatives of the parliamentary opposition, represented by A. Yatsenyuk, O. Tiahnybok, and V. Klitschko, initiate negotiations with V. Yanukovych. L. Kravchuk, L. Kuchma, and V. Yushchenko were to play the role of conditional arbitrators. However, these negotiations did not bring any visible results and were only an imitation of a dialogue.

On January 16, the Verkhovna Rada adopts the so-called "dictatorial laws" (The dictatorial laws..., 2018). They were adopted in flagrant violation of the regulations and legislative procedure. These regulations were adopted without using the Rada system and without discussion, and their texts were made public only after the vote. The laws essentially restricted the rights of citizens, gave law

enforcement agencies greater discretion in punishing protesters, and intended to criminalise the systemic opposition and civic activists.

As a result, these actions of the authorities led to the radicalisation of the protest. These circumstances did not force Yanukovich to make concessions, but, on the contrary, to once again use force against Protestants. From February 18 to February 22, a confrontation between security forces and protesters occurred in the centre of the Ukrainian capital. They resulted in more than 80 deaths and 660 injuries.

The killing of civilians forced representatives of the Verkhovna Rada to express support for the protesters, disown the president, and begin to develop an opposition to him. A radical breakthrough occurred on February 21, when the Verkhovna Rada was supposed to adopt the "Agreement on settlement of the crisis in Ukraine" (Agreement on settlement..., 2014). The document contained provisions on returning to the 2004 Constitution, developing a coalition government, and holding early presidential elections by the end of 2014.

At midnight, it became known that Yanukovich flew from Kyiv to Kharkiv, where he planned to participate in a "congress of deputies of all levels from the southeastern regions of Ukraine, the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and Sevastopol." It was supposed to be an event at which he was planning to announce the establishment of a new state. However, according to various sources, due to the threat of protests in Kharkiv, Yanukovich first went to Crimea and then flew to Rostov-on-Don (Koshkina..., 2015).

On the morning of February 22, members of the Verkhovna Rada elected O. Turchynov as the new Speaker of the Parliament by a majority vote (the previous Speaker, V. Rybak, resigned). The Verkhovna Rada began to function in the face of Yanukovich's failure to sign the law restoring the 2004 Constitution, as provided for in the "Agreement on the Settlement of the Crisis in Ukraine," and the inability to establish the President's whereabouts as of the morning.

In this regard, the parliament enacted the previous version of the Constitution, which established a parliamentary-presidential form of government, and adopted a resolution "On Taking Political Responsibility for the Situation in Ukraine." The next day, the deputies elected the Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada Oleksandr Turchynov as acting president of Ukraine. In addition, it was announced that early presidential elections would be held on May 25, 2014.

P. Poroshenko became the fifth president of Ukraine, winning 54.7% of the vote in the first round (Extraordinary Elections..., 2014). However, at that time, Russia had already annexed Crimea and unleashed an armed conflict in Luhansk and Donetsk regions, occupying a significant part of these regions. Therefore, the newly elected president had to reform both the economic, political, and social spheres of public life, repel the aggressor and liberate the occupied territories.

Currently, public opinion does not have an unambiguous attitude to Poroshenko's rule. His critics mention his promises to end the war in a matter of hours, the signing of the Minsk agreements, numerous corruption scandals, and his cooperation with Medvedchuk. The fifth

president's supporters highlight the strengthening of the state's defence capabilities, the signing of the Association and Free Trade Agreement with the EU, the introduction of a visa-free regime, the establishment of new anti-corruption bodies, the launch of the ProZorro e-trading system, and the receipt of the Tomos (Gains and losses..., 2019). Despite his achievements, P. Poroshenko failed to win the 2019 presidential election. In the second round, V. Zelensky won with more than 73% of the vote. While less than 25% voted for P. Poroshenko (Presidential elections-2019..., 2019).

At the beginning of his presidency, V. Zelenskyy managed to gain a high level of trust from citizens and ample opportunities to implement his promises. The results of the early parliamentary elections allowed the President's team to monopolise control over the legislative and executive branches of government. However, this did not result in greater synergy in the interaction between them. And since 2022, the main task of the president has been to repel Russian aggression and de-occupy the territory, and everything else has become secondary (Zelenskyi's rate..., 2023). However, notably, this stage of Ukrainian history is part of a longer transformation period, the comprehension of which is still to come.

Prospects for Ukraine's establishment as an influential European state against the backdrop of Russian aggression

In the more than 30 years since its official declaration of independence, Ukraine has been going through a difficult path of becoming an independent democratic state. It is the path of both covert and overt ideological struggle between Ukraine and the empire of which the country was a part for centuries.

All this time, Kyiv's steps toward integration with the EU and NATO have been hampered by both conservative political forces within the country and Russia's attempts to draw Ukraine into the orbit of its sphere of influence. The year 2014 was a turning point when citizens in mass protests declared their reluctance to see pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich as head of state and demonstrated their readiness to be part of a united Europe both territorially and by values.

The annexation of Crimea, the outbreak of the war in Donbas, and Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine have finally severed all ties with the aggressor country and given citizens confidence in the rightness of their European choice. In addition, Ukraine is liberating its territories from Russian occupation and rebuilding its Armed Forces and defence industry to NATO standards (Ukraine on the way..., 2022).

In addition, the year 2022 can be considered decisive in establishing Ukraine as an independent and influential state. On the one hand, there is a full-scale war with Russia, and on the other hand, the entire civilized world is uniting around Ukraine and helping to fight aggression (Bollfrass & Herzog, 2022). Therewith, the state received EU candidate status and submitted an official application for NATO membership in response to Russia's annexation of four Ukrainian regions. These actions of the authorities once again demonstrated Ukraine's desire to be part of the Western world.

Discussion

For many years, the subject of the establishment of Ukrainian statehood has been mainly the focus of domestic researchers. However, the processes currently occurring in the country are of scientific interest, including to American, European, and Asian scholars.

M. Shkilnyk emphasises the state-building processes on Ukrainian lands during the Ukrainian Revolution (Shkilnyk, 2016). The scholar demonstrates his vision of those events, analyses them, and tries to identify the reasons for the defeat of the national liberation struggle in the early 20th century. The main ones, in his opinion, are the discrediting of the Ukrainian idea by P. Skoropadsky, who, under the guise of the Ukrainian state, intended to restore the “united and indivisible” Russian empire, and the inconsistency of the UCR's actions in implementing socio-economic policy, establishing the state apparatus and ensuring order and legality.

A fundamental work on the subject of Ukrainian state-building is the work of V. Danylenko (Danylenko, 2019). The author examines various aspects of the implementation of the policy of “perestroika” in Ukraine. He pays particular attention to the socio-economic conditions of the Declaration of independence and the reasons for the growth of political activity of citizens in the second half of the 1980s.

In addition, the scholar notes that “perestroika” was the logical conclusion of the previous stages of historical development. First of all, according to V. Danylenko, it is genetically connected with the revolutionary events of 1917–1921. However, the revival of the Ukrainian state in 1991 occurred in difficult conditions of struggle against conservative and reactionary forces that tried to preserve the existing system and the colonial position of Ukraine. But all segments of society wanted radical transformations, which is why it was possible. Therewith, the author does not consider the state-building processes that occurred in Ukraine at the beginning of the 21st century and are still ongoing.

It is impossible to analyse the problems of Ukraine's political path without assessing the situation with Russian aggression and the annexation of Ukrainian territories. In particular, E. Lichterman sees Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 as a threat to security in the entire Europe (Lichterman, 2022). According to the scholar, the occupation of Ukrainian territories and the attempt to overthrow the legitimate government there is an international crime and should be condemned at all levels.

The author refutes the Russian aggressor's thesis that in 2014, after Yanukovich fled, nationalists who posed a threat to Ukrainians in Crimea and parts of Luhansk and Donetsk regions, which have long been under occupation, captured power in Ukraine. He proposes to conclude the Russian-Ukrainian war to preserve peace on the European continent and to develop a new disarmament programme to prevent similar conflicts in the future.

In their work, scholars P. Gai-Nyzhnyk, L. Zalizniak, I. Krasnodemska, Y. Figurnyi, O. Chirkov, and L. Chupriy examine Ukraine's political path, based on the historical origins and parallels of Russian aggression, considering

the events of the Russian empire and the establishment of the Bolshevik totalitarian regime (Gai-Nyzhnyk *et al.*, 2016). The authors analyse the Kremlin's actions at the present stage as an aggressor state, paying attention to strengthening Ukraine's defence capabilities as an integral part of preserving its statehood and territorial integrity.

They explain Russia's invasion by the fact that Ukraine has always been at the intersection of global geopolitical interests, and therefore has now become the focus of significant changes on a global scale and has become one of the “hot spots” on the Eurasian continent. Thus, according to the authors, the national security of Ukraine should be considered as the content and purpose of national policy.

Therefore, without developing a rational national security policy and ensuring its implementation, it is impossible to solve the problems of state-building, establish an effective mechanism of social protection of the population and stabilise political processes. Therewith, the authors do not pay attention to the issue of international security in the context of Ukraine's aspirations and the authorities' implementation of concrete steps towards membership in the North Atlantic Alliance.

The impact of the Revolution of Dignity on the processes of state-building in Ukraine is explored by A. Terzyan (Terzyan., 2020). The researcher tries to determine the significance of the Euromaidan events for the political transformation of the country and the consolidation of various social groups. The author argues that the events on Independence Square demonstrate the crisis of the post-Soviet political model based on repressive rule and are a manifestation of the antagonism between the European aspirations of Ukrainians and the Russian vision of a common neighbourhood.

F. Baranovskyi, in his work, comprehends the influence of civil society in Ukraine on the process of integration into the EU and NATO (Baranovskyi, 2017). The researcher emphasises that the European and Euro-Atlantic future of countries depends on the work of politicians and diplomats, and the entire society. Therefore, constant co-operation in this area between public authorities and civic activists is necessary. It is important to acknowledge the convergence of interests of state institutions and the public in achieving strategic purposes.

In addition, the author notes that the experience of European countries has demonstrated that the processes of integration into the EU and NATO go hand in hand with democratisation and economic growth.

A group of researchers V. Golovko, V. Danylenko, S. Kulchytskyi, O. Maiboroda, V. Smoliy, L. Yakubova, and S. Yanishevskyi offers a new perspective on the recent history of Ukraine (Golovko *et al.*, 2016). Scholars consider this period in the context of the activity of the Ukrainian people, which culminated in the Revolution on Granite, the Orange Revolution, and Euromaidan. In their opinion, each of these events became a powerful impetus for the development of the state.

In addition, the researchers concluded that the experience of state building in Ukraine has demonstrated the existence of several fundamental concepts that determine its leading trend. It is about three components – power, de-

mocracy, and welfare. The trend in the socio-political development of the state in recent decades has demonstrated that the historical process unfolded in a three-dimensional space: state – people – elites. And currently, there is no room for polemics – to be or not to be independent of Ukraine. The only relevant question is what kind of country it should become and how to make the authorities in it more effective and the political regime more democratic.

Thus, Ukrainian and foreign scholars consider mainly separate stages of the establishment and development of Ukrainian statehood. And in this work, the author, for the first time, attempted to comprehensively describe the main events of Ukraine's political path from the moment the nation became aware of its own identity, the declaration of independence, to the present stage.

Conclusions

The analysis of Ukraine's political path from the national revival to its place in the modern historical process has resulted in the following conclusions.

For the Ukrainian people, the establishment of national statehood was quite difficult and took a long time in the context of external expansion and internal political struggle. Ukrainians realised their identity during the revolutionary events of 1917-1921, and the Declaration of Independence came only 70 years later. However, despite all the difficulties, Ukraine has managed to establish itself in the global political arena.

Since the Declaration of Independence, Ukraine has been undergoing democratic transformation, which continues to this day. For more than 30 years, the state emblem, anthem, and flag have been legally approved,

important laws and the Constitution have been adopted, the national currency has been introduced, and the geopolitical vector has been chosen. Therewith, the political path of the country during this period can be described as a time of contradictions between the words of senior state officials and their actual activities, and the lack of will to implement radical reforms in various spheres of public life.

In 2013-2014, during the Revolution of Dignity, society declared its desire for the European path of development and demonstrated its willingness to fight for it as a right of choice. In turn, Russia, having lost the opportunity to use Ukraine for its geopolitical interests, resorted to military aggression and questioned Ukraine's sovereignty. Russia annexed Crimea, parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and launched a full-scale invasion in February 2022. However, Ukrainians have preserved their statehood, stopped the aggressor, who had a significant advantage in resources, and continue to move towards European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

The prospect of further research on this subject is a detailed consideration of the different stages of Ukraine's political path. In addition, this research work can become a starting point for assessing the prospects for the development of the state in the context of post-war reconstruction and its establishment as a new centre of economic growth in Europe.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of interest

None.

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Політичний шлях незалежної України від національно-державного відродження до її місця в сучасному історичному процесі

Анотація. Актуальність заявленої тематики наукового дослідження зумовлюється тим, що на початку 2022 року Україна зіткнулася з новими викликами, які загрожують її суверенітету і територіальній цілісності та пов'язані зі збройною агресією росії. Повномасштабне вторгнення російський політикум часто обґрунтовує тим, що незалежність України «впала з неба» і є історичним непорозумінням. Однак існують сотні фактів, які підтверджують тезу, що українська державність – це результат віковичної боротьби українського народу за самостійність від імперії. Метою даної науково-дослідної роботи є аналіз політичного шляху України від періоду національно-державного відродження до сучасного етапу історичного розвитку. Для вирішення поставлених задач автором було застосовано комплекс загальнонаукових та спеціальних методів дослідження, серед яких історико-генетичний, політико-правового аналізу, порівняльний та інституціональний. Результатами, які були отримані в ході дослідження, слід вважати визначення головних етапів становлення української державності та аналіз подій, які сформували і зміцнили незалежність України. Також автором були сформульовані причини посилення національно-демократичних рухів та ідей в період Української революції, наприкінці 80-х років ХХ століття і в незалежній Україні, розкритий зміст процесів національного відродження в різні історичні періоди і проаналізовані перспективи розвитку держави на тлі війни з росією. Матеріали даного наукового дослідження можуть використовуватися у науково-дослідницькій та прикладній сферах, а також для вивчення проблематики українського державотворення, національно-державного будівництва в умовах незалежності та трансформації політичних інститутів

Ключові слова: суверенітет; збройна агресія; повномасштабна війна; Народний рух України; політичний інститут; розбудова держави; демократизація

UDC 342.21
DOI: 10.46493/2663-2675.33(2).2023.42-56

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Diplomacy of Ukrainian statehood from the establishment to the present (the late 1910s - 2020s): Major international partners, dynamics, and specific features

Abstract. Throughout its history, Ukrainian diplomacy has gone through different periods; the legacy of the events of the 20th century is of practical importance for modern Ukraine, the establishment of its statehood, and recognition as an equal subject in the global international arena. Using the achievements of predecessors in this area, considering past mistakes and miscalculations, it is now possible to strengthen the state's diplomatic activity on a democratic basis with specific national characteristics. The purpose of the study is to provide practical recommendations for the development and strengthening of Ukrainian diplomacy at the present stage by identifying theoretical and conceptual approaches to the ways, methods, and means of developing the diplomatic service of the state in different historical periods of the 20th and 21st centuries. The comparative historical method was used to prepare this work, which, through comparison and analysis, identified the key points, features, nature of the interaction, and specifics of the process of diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian state in the 20th – early 21st centuries. The originality and identity of the diplomatic service of the Ukrainian state and the strengths and weaknesses of foreign policy at different stages of the country's historical development were identified. The author outlines the most significant international achievements of the first independent Ukrainian Republic and identifies the key features and basic features that determined the future development of the country's domestic diplomatic corps. The most optimal mechanisms, instruments, and means of Ukraine's international activity to implement them in the modern practice of international relations were indicated. Considering the priority areas for bilateral and multilateral diplomatic cooperation, the author proposes variant solutions and possible scenarios for further transformation of the country's foreign policy course regarding specific vectors of cooperation. The results and conclusions of the work can be used as a framework for future practical research, in particular, in the development and implementation of new systems and mechanisms of the best international practices in the field of diplomatic service in the national foreign policy

Keywords: foreign policy; defence strategy; independence; sovereignty; strategic cooperation

Introduction

In the 9th century, a powerful Slavic state, Kyivan Rus, was established in the Dnipro region and surrounding lands, and it was an active participant in international contacts in the fields of politics, economics, and culture (Flissack, 2013). Due to the active foreign policy activities of Ukrainian descendants, which included peace negotiations, military operations, and intricate and far-sighted strategies of influence on certain external opponents, significant progress was made in establishing relations with other states, tribes, and communities; in the late 9th century and early 10th century, Kievan Rus was a powerful state that all actors in international relations of that time had to reckon

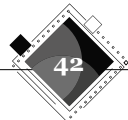
with (Tereshchuk, 2019). The beginning of the 20th century was marked by radical modifications of the established structures of international relations, of which Ukraine was a part (Datsckiv, 2010). At the beginning of the 21st century, the Ukrainian state is once again undergoing a period of transformation and development on a fundamentally new model. The Russian-Ukrainian war that has been going on in Ukraine since the beginning of 2014 has forced the country to fight for its freedom by using both military means and all means and mechanisms of diplomacy and foreign relations. This study is relevant in light of the current situation in the country and through the prism of events

Suggested Citation:

Stoyan. T. (2023). Diplomacy of Ukrainian statehood from the establishment to the present (the late 1910s - 2020s): Major international partners, dynamics, and specific features. *Foreign Affairs*, 33(2), 42-56.

Received: 20.11.2023, Revised: 15.02.2022, Accepted: 27.03.2023

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occurring in the world; the study of the specific features and specifics of the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian state over the past hundred years, the identification of the main features and success factors of certain events in the international arena with the participation of the country will allow using the information obtained to develop and present practical recommendations on the optimal vector of Ukrainian diplomacy at the present stage and soon.

The research emphasises the key features and nature of Ukraine's diplomatic activity at different stages of its establishment in the 20th and 21st centuries to identify the optimal tools, means, and mechanisms for the nation's foreign policy in the third millennium.

The issues of the establishment and development of the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian state are being actively explored by scholars and experts in this field. Ukrainian researcher O. Durman (2019) examined the transformation of Ukraine's foreign policy strategy at different stages of its history as a foundation for the launch of the state's diplomatic activity after gaining independence. According to journalist V. Tereshchuk (2019), such components of classical diplomacy as cultural and public diplomacy are integral parts of any country's international activities and serve to strengthen intergovernmental contacts at all levels of interaction.

A historically important event – the recognition of the Ukrainian People's Republic – was described by museum specialist N. Tryfonova (2020) as an example of the establishment and development of young states, and their activities toward the recognition of their independence in post-war Europe. The historian I. Martsiyas (2021) believed that one of the main purposes of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was to preserve the identity of Western Ukrainians and strengthen their position on the European map of the world.

Historian I. Datskiv (2019) defines the union of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic as one that had its prospects but was doomed to failure due to internal disagreements. According to international relations specialist M. Mishchenko (2022), the transformation of the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was very intense, especially regarding the cooperation of domestic representatives within international organisations, in particular the United Nations.

The specific features of Ukraine's diplomatic activity at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries were considered by Y. Kotyk (2020) (in particular, the foreign economic aspect of the state's international relations), M. Petrovych (2022) (strategic relations between Ukraine and the European Union), I. Tkeshelashvili (2022) (past, present and prospects for rapprochement between Ukraine and Georgia and the North Atlantic Alliance), O. Brusylowska (2018) (history of relations and conflicts between Ukraine and the Russian Federation).

The main emphasis in the above works was placed on the key features of Ukraine's foreign policy activity through the prism of using historical developments by the modern diplomatic service of Ukraine.

The purpose of the study is to outline rational ways and options for the most appropriate development of

Ukraine's diplomatic strategy by exploring the historical experience of Ukraine's foreign policy development from the early 20th century to the present.

Literature Review

The systematisation of diplomatic activity, generalisation, and identification of certain structural elements of the sphere is an important task for any democratic state in the current context of global development. According to O. Myronchuk (2020), such an element of foreign policy cooperation as scientific and technological is designed to bring practical benefits to the search for solutions and their implementation to the most important international problems of today.

According to Datskiv (2010), the emergence of the foreign policy department of the Ukrainian state and its structures was primarily due to the active diplomatic activity of young European republics, which later became the prototype of modern Ukraine; this applies to the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, which achieved incredible results in their activities, given the conditions under which diplomatic work was performed to achieve these results. N. Martyniuk (2020) examined the positive impression of the Ukrainian government in exile and its achievements in various areas of state-building during the Soviet history of the country was important for modern diplomats both from Ukraine and around the world, as many means, mechanisms, and instruments of foreign policy were first used in practice by figures from the young Republic.

According to Maruniak (2019), the academic elite, scientists, artists, and ordinary Ukrainians currently living abroad have always been the driving force behind national diplomacy due to their active pro-Ukrainian stance both during national unrest and throughout history, thus influencing both local governments in their countries of residence and sending a powerful signal of support and emotional unity to the homeland. I. Sologub (2022) tried to summarise the results of long-term cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union, thus explaining the rapid convergence of the two subjects of international law in terms of strengthening foreign economic relations, and strategic cooperation in the field of defence and security, science, education, and culture. Yu. Fisher (2019) considered Ukraine's desire for as independent a foreign policy as possible and freedom in diplomatic contacts to be the main prerequisites for the emergence of modern military confrontations in the country, in particular, the Russian-Ukrainian war.

The specific features, specifics, and differences in approaches to establishing cooperation between the United States and the young republics after the collapse of the Soviet Union were explored by D. Bruder (2020), who considers the US policy towards each particular state in the region to be very different and specific, especially concerning Ukraine. B. Richardson-Smith (2021), analysing the events of the Holodomor in Ukraine, emphasised the extraordinary efforts of modern Ukrainian diplomats to recognise this crime at the international level and noted the role of US senators of Ukrainian descent, who once

made great efforts to establish international commissions and groups to study this event in the history of Ukraine and develop mechanisms for some moral reparation to all victims of the 1932-1933 tragedy.

Reflecting on the future of the Ukrainian state, its people, territories, and place on the global map, V. Kurban and Ch. Duman (2021) predicted that, following the current dynamics and pace, experts on the state's foreign policy will continue to pursue a course of rapprochement with the European Community (accession to the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance), strengthening cooperation with the main geostrategic partners (the United States and the United Kingdom), and expanding regional contacts on the Asian continent.

Materials and Methods

The main methods of scientific cognition used in the preparation of this work were the systematic-analytical and comparative-historical methods and the method of periodisation and forecasting. Using the systematic-analytical method, the author identifies and examines the main features of the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian state at different stages of historical development; identifies key features, common and distinctive characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses of the sphere. Using the comparative historical method and the method of periodisation, the author compares and contrasts the key achievements of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, identifies the defining phases in the course of the State's diplomatic activity, compares the basic features and significant events, and outlines their significance for the current situation. Using the method of forecasting for the design of scenarios and options for further development of the sphere, the author provides practical suggestions on the ways and areas of the country's foreign activity in specific spheres of influence, summarises the general results of the century-long history of diplomatic activity of the modern Ukrainian state.

In the course of exploring the presented subject, a variety of literature was used: scientific and analytical publications ("Events of 1914-1922 in Ukraine: Their Meaning and Historical Significance" (Part 4). Historical and political problems of the modern world were explored by V. Makar, Y. Makar, V. Semenko, and A. Stetsiuk (2020). Y. Tyshkun (2019) identified the specific features of Ukraine's status in global politics. Other state and historical materials such as critical reviews and analysis of the foreign policy activities of Ukrainian foreign bodies in 1945-1991 (Foreign policy activity..., 2023)); reference and descriptive information ("Diplomacy. Encyclopaedia of Modern Ukraine" (Diplomacy..., 2022), a collection of data on Ukrainian archival cells in North America (Ukrainian archival cells..., 2023)); methodological and strategic materials (information on the activities of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the United Nations and other international organisations in 1954-1964 (Activities of the Ukrainian..., 2023), a description of the process of establishing Ukraine-European Union relations (History Formation..., 2023)), etc.

In addition, to provide more complete and extensive research results regarding the analysis of the legislative framework and regulatory documents of the Ukrainian state

in different periods of its historical development in the field of diplomatic relations and foreign policy, a wide range of regulatory acts was examined and conceptualised. For example, the First Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada of 10 (23) June 1917 (Universal of the Ukrainian..., 1917) is a state and political document that proclaimed Ukraine's autonomy, the adoption of which was one of the first serious steps towards the revival of Ukrainian statehood in the 20th century. In addition, the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine of 16 July 1990 (Declaration 55-XII..., 1990), which recognised the rule of law, independence, fullness, and indivisibility of power within the territory of Ukraine - an independent state in its foreign relations. In addition, the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy" of 1 July 2010 (Law of Ukraine 2411-VI..., 2018) provides for the principles of Ukraine's domestic policy in the areas of statehood development, local self-government development and promotion of regional development, the establishment of civil society institutions, national security and defence, economic, social and humanitarian spheres, environmental and technogenic safety, and the principles of Ukraine's foreign policy. And the Presidential Decree "Strategy of Foreign Policy of Ukraine" of 26 August 2021 (Decree of the President № 448/2021..., 2021) on the establishment of Ukraine in the world as a strong and authoritative European state capable of providing favourable external conditions for sustainable development and realisation of its potential, economy, and Ukrainian society.

Results

The history of Ukraine's modern diplomatic service traditionally begins on 10 June 1917, the date of the adoption of the First Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) (Trifonova, 2020). This event marks the beginning of independent foreign relations in independent Ukraine, the development of the first institutions responsible for diplomatic relations, and the development of the foreign policy apparatus (Datsckiv, 2010). For a better understanding of the essence of the problem and to thoroughly consider the specific features of different stages of development of this area of political development of the country, three main periods in the history of diplomacy of Ukrainian statehood are distinguished (Durman, 2019) (Table 1).

Diplomacy of the Ukrainian People's Republic/ Western Ukrainian People's Republic (1917-1922)

The proclamation of the First Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada on 10 (23) June 1917 (Universal of the Ukrainian..., 1917) established the UPR, the first independent Ukrainian state. The executive and legislative branches, the first foreign policy departments and institutions were quickly established (following the best international practices in Germany, France (Zabolotnyuk, 2017), etc.) The Second Universal, adopted on 3 (16) July 1917 (Universal of the Ukrainian..., 2017), declared the establishment of the General Secretariat, which included the General Secretariat for National Affairs; this body became the prototype of Ukraine's foreign policy institution - the first Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Datsckiv, 2010).

Table 1. Stages in the Historical Development of Ukraine's Modern Diplomacy (1917-Present)

Ukrainian People's Republic / Western Ukrainian People's Republic (1917-1921)		
Key international partners	Key events	Features
French Republic, Great Britain, German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgarian Kingdom, Ottoman Empire	adoption of the First and Second Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada, The Treaty of Brest, establishment of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, establishment of the Directorate, Unification Act, the activities of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile, Paris Peace Conference, Soviet occupation of Ukraine	Emphasis on official recognition of the Ukrainian state. Assisting it in the war against Poland and Russia
The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (1922-1991)		
Poland, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, Czechoslovakia, United Kingdom, United States of America	establishment of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Law on granting union republics greater rights in the field of foreign relations, establishment of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Republic, San Francisco Conference, adoption of the United Nations Charter, establishment of the National Committee for the Commemoration of the Victims of the 1932-1933 Genocide in Ukraine.	Focus on bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. Establishing the foundations of the modern Ukrainian diplomatic service
Independent Ukraine (1991-present)		
European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation member states, Poland, Baltic States, United States of America, United Kingdom	adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine, signing the Act of Independence, adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine, establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States, The North Atlantic Alliance's "Partnership for Peace" programme, adoption of the Strategy of Ukraine's Integration into the European Union, Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity, Annexation of the Crimean peninsula, Association Agreement with the European Union, the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Ukraine gaining the status of a candidate for membership in the European Union	Main purposes: defence of independence and state sovereignty, restoration of territorial integrity and state borders, membership in the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance

Source: compiled by the author

The first government of the Central Rada established diplomatic relations with the Allied powers, receiving representatives from Great Britain, France, and Romania in December 1917 (Datskiv, 2010). On 27 January (9 February) 1918, the UPR government participated in peace negotiations in Brest. As a result, the Treaty of Brest was signed, according to which the Ukrainian state established diplomatic relations with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria (Beresteysky Peace Treaty..., 2020). The main content of the treaty was the final recognition of the UPR as a full participant in peace negotiations, although this was opposed by L. Trotsky, who was part of the Soviet delegation; however, the legitimacy of the Republic's representatives was later recognised and supported (Beresteysky Peace Treaty..., 2020). In addition, under the terms of the agreement, the newly established state included the Kholmshchyna and Podlasie, while Galicia and Bukovyna were recognised as separate districts within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On 3 March 1918, the Central Powers and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) signed the Brest-Litovsk Agreement, which obliged the latter's Council of People's Commissars to recognise the legitimacy of the Central Rada and its People's Secretariat, stop political propaganda in the UPR,

withdraw Soviet troops from it, and sign a peace treaty (Brest-Litovsk peace treaty..., 2020).

After the official recognition of the UPR, the state-appointed ambassadors to several countries, opening diplomatic missions there, in particular, in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria, Sweden, Romania, Switzerland, etc (Makar *et al.*, 2020). Diplomatic envoys to France, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America (USA) were being prepared, but at that time it was not possible to establish such missions (Trifonova, 2020). During the time of Hetman P. Skoropadskyi (29 April-14 December 1918), the foreign ministries of Poland, the Don Republic, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Finland, and the Kuban were opened in Kyiv (Makar *et al.*, 2020).

After the overthrow of the Hetmanate on 14 December 1918, the Directorate of the UPR was established as the highest state authority of the Republic, which existed until 10 November 1920; the heads of the Directorate were Vynnychenko and S. Petliura, who replaced V. Vynnychenko on 11 February 1919 (Makar *et al.*, 2020). As a result of Bolshevik aggression and the establishment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), members of the Directorate were forced to leave the territory of Ukraine; from the end of 1920, the period of the UPR government

in exile began, during which the legislative and executive authorities of the Republic were located in the territory of the Polish Republic, and Paris, Munich, and Philadelphia (Plaviuk, 2004). Due to its constant movements, the Directorate was unable to establish diplomatic missions of other states, but it intensified its foreign policy activity within the framework of the Paris Peace Conference (18 January 1919 – 21 January 1920), an international conference with the participation of the victorious powers to draft and sign agreements with the defeated states in the First World War of 1914-1918 (Martynyuk, 2020). The issue of recognition of states in the process of development was an important one during the event; delegations from Ukraine and several countries (Transcaucasia, the Baltic states) (Datsckiv, 2010) had high hopes for the outcome of the conference. However, due to active anti-Ukrainian sentiments artificially established by representatives of Russian circles and the Polish delegation, and personal miscalculations of Ukrainians (late arrival at the opening of the conference, lack of an official invitation, etc.), the final decisions on the “Ukrainian question” were disappointing for the Republic: Naddnyprianshchyna Ukraine was occupied by the Bolsheviks and incorporated into the RSFSR; Galicia and Western Volhynia were part of Poland; Northern Bukovyna and Southern Bessarabia were part of Romania; and Transcarpathia was annexed to Czechoslovakia (Paris Peace Conference..., 2020).

Since October 1918, in the wake of the defeat of the Austro-German alliance, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the formation of newly independent states, Ukrainians have become more active in building their own independent country on western Ukrainian lands (Marcias, 2021). On 19 October 1918, the Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council (Proclamation of the Ukrainian..., 1918) was announced on the establishment of the Ukrainian state on the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. On 13 November 1918, the Constitution was adopted, according to which the newly established state was named the “Western Ukrainian People’s Republic” (“WUPR”) (Marcias, 2021). It should be noted that the WUPR maintained its foreign relations even after its unification with the UPR on 22 January 1919 (Datsckiv, 2019); diplomatic missions existed in several countries (Germany, Italy, the USA, Canada), but they were not recognised as official institutions of the Western Ukrainian state (Monolaty, 2019). The WUPR sent a separate delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, but, like the UPR, there were no positive results for the Republic (Paris Peace Conference..., 2020).

An important element of the UPR’s international activities was cultural diplomacy, the main drivers of which were mainly emigrants – representatives of the scientific and political elite, intellectuals, scientists, writers, artists, and singers (Tereshchuk, 2019). Through their educational activities, they established a positive image of the Ukrainian state abroad, building a holistic picture of what an ordinary Ukrainian looks like and lives like in the eyes of ordinary people around the world (Tereshchuk, 2019).

In February 1921, with the beginning of the Bolshevik occupation of Ukrainian territory and the UPR’s offi-

cial authorities in forced exile, some foreign missions severed relations with Ukrainian diplomats and recognised the leadership of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (Datsckiv, 2010). Notably, until 30 January 1937, the Republic was known as the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Makar *et al.*, 2020), but to avoid confusion with abbreviations, this study will use the abbreviation USSR to refer to Ukraine during the entire Soviet period of its history. In addition, diplomatic missions of the UPR in many countries were forced to cease to exist due to the lack of funds for their financial support. As a result, diplomatic contacts developed in previous years were partially lost, and relations with some countries deteriorated to some extent for many years (Mishchenko, 2022).

Summarising the diplomatic activity of the UPR during its recognised existence, it can be stated that the main purpose of the foreign policy missions of the Ukrainian state was to achieve official recognition of Ukraine and to enlist assistance in its war against Poland and Russia. However, due to indecision in social and political reforms, the successful offensive of the Red Army and the refusal of some members of the Republic’s leadership to negotiate with the Bolsheviks caused a split in the Directorate, which was the beginning of the fall of the UPR. Participation in subsequent international events (for example, the Paris Peace Conference) did not have a positive impact on the history of the UPR precisely because of internal misunderstandings and the imbalance of the Republic’s power structures caused by the forced exile of its main representatives. However, the legacy left by the UPR, especially regarding diplomatic activities and foreign service, is invaluable in terms of its usefulness and practical application in the modern world; active international contacts, widespread emphasis on the unique history and identity of the Ukrainian nation (especially by emigrants from Ukraine and through various cultural events with the assistance of the diplomatic corps), have established the foundation of Ukraine’s foreign policy practice in the 21st century.

Diplomacy of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (1922-1991)

Since January 1919, the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, a full-fledged legal entity in international relations, has been operating on the territory of the Ukrainian state (Datsckiv, 2010). During its existence, the institution developed a wide network of diplomatic missions, in particular in Warsaw, Prague, and Berlin; foreign missions represented in the state included envoys from Poland, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc (Trifonova, 2020). The main purpose of the Council was to develop and strengthen diplomatic relations with other countries and improve domestic legislation in the field of international relations and foreign policy (Trifonova, 2020). However, after 1922, with the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Council was abolished, and all powers in the field of interstate contacts were transferred to the Union centre in Moscow; thus, the Ukrainian SSR was deprived of statehood for a long time and, as a result, the right to conduct international and diplomatic activities independently (Himej,

2012). However, during this period, Ukrainian cultural and public organisations continued to be active in other countries, including the state publishing house “Knigospilka” in London and cultural centres in Berlin (Kocho-Williams, 2013); they claimed leading roles in foreign policy activities of the Ukrainian state at the beginning of the country's Soviet history (Tereshchuk, 2019).

For the next two decades, the participation of the Ukrainian state in international events was symbolic and nominal; there was practically no fully independent policy, and representatives of the Ukrainian people were only members of numerous diplomatic missions and delegations within the USSR (Chechelnytskam, 2021). The situation began to change only in early 1944 when the Supreme Soviet of the Union State adopted the Law “On Granting the Union Republics Powers in the Field of Foreign Relations and on the Transformation of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs from the All-Union People's Commissariat into the Union-Republican People's Commissariat”; this document granted the republics, including Ukraine, broader powers in the field of international relations and more freedom in diplomatic matters (History..., 2019).

On 5 February 1944, a resolution was adopted on the establishment of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, whose main vector was worked within the United Nations (UN) (Activities in the UN, 2016), from the tribunes of which representatives of the Ukrainian state could convey information about the state to the world, and participate in discussions of important global issues, gain experience in multilateral diplomacy, receive up-to-date information on world events, etc. During the San Francisco Conference, which passed from 25 April 1945 to 26 June 1945, on the penultimate day of the event, the UN Charter was adopted (United Nations Charter, 1945); the document was developed with the active participation of the Ukrainian SSR, a large number of proposals of Ukrainian representatives were considered in the document, in particular, the provisions on the promotion of international cooperation in solving economic and social problems, on universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms regardless of race, gender, language or religion (Ukraine is the Founder..., 2023).

Ukraine's work within the framework of the UN is multifaceted and fruitful; the state has participated in meetings of various missions under the auspices of the organisation (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), UN economic units, etc.) (Cooperation with International..., 2021). The Ukrainian SSR signed the UNESCO Constitution in 1954 (the organisation began operating in 1946) (Constitution., 1946), after the death of J. Stalin; the reason for this delay was his unwillingness to involve the Republic in scientific and educational issues in Europe due to its strong manifestations of freedom and democracy (Activities of the Ukrainian..., 2023). However, after joining the institution, Ukrainian representatives worked with greater openness and activity; this was facilitated by the relative depoliticisation of the activities of the international organisation (Foreign policy activity..., 2023).

The issue of Ukraine's accession to the UN economic units was difficult to resolve. It is known that the central government tried to limit the presence of the delegation from Ukraine at the Economic Commission for Europe in March 1948 (Foreign policy activity..., 2023). On 8 February 1949, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR decided to appoint a representative of the republic to the Committee for the Development of Foreign Trade of the European Economic Commission (Himei, 2012); this was a tangible victory for the Ukrainian side, as it was due to this decision that representatives of the Ukrainian SSR played an important role in decision-making within the Commission in the first ten years after the end of World War II.

Significant attention to Ukraine's initiatives at the UN has become a driver for the state to take further active diplomatic steps. Since the late 1940s, the Ukrainian SSR has participated in several international conferences, including the 1948 Danube Conference in Belgrade (Himei, 2012). The Ukrainian state became a member of several international organisations: The International Court of Justice in 1945, the World Health Organisation in 1946, the International Labour Organisation in 1954, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957 (Ukraine in International..., 2023), etc. Ukraine has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, elected to the Board of Governors of various organisations (UN Economic and Social Council, IAEA), and was a member of the Committee on the Fight against Apartheid (Foreign Policy Concept..., 2020). However, it should still be emphasised that during the period of its Soviet history - until 1991 - Ukraine's international moves were guided and controlled by Moscow. However, although such activity was strictly accountable, representatives of the Ukrainian diplomatic service gained invaluable international experience in conducting foreign policy work (Mishchenko, 2022).

In the 60s and 70s of the 20th century, the USSR and its allies, on the one hand, and the United States and Western countries, on the other, began another stage of confrontation in Soviet-American relations due to the struggle for spheres of influence (Mishchenko, 2022). From that time on, the central government in Moscow demanded greater accountability and subordination to the Union Centre from the republics, particularly Ukraine and Belarus. Henceforth, all international initiatives had to be coordinated between the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR), which again significantly limited the freedom of Ukrainian representatives in international organisations and which, moreover, occurred in the context of anti-Soviet sentiment (Mishchenko, 2022).

Important successes of Ukrainian foreign policy during this period include several diplomatic visits at the highest and most senior levels (Tishkun, 2019). The events were extremely important: firstly, the meetings took place in the heart of the Ukrainian SSR - the capital Kyiv, and secondly, Ukrainian diplomats were able to demonstrate their professional skills in organising and holding international meetings of this level to the maximum extent possible under the circumstances.

Therewith, the emigrant community of Ukrainians abroad continues to be active (Shyrokykh..., 2018). Thus, in

1980, the Ukrainian American Community Centre was established in the United States (Ukrainian archival cells..., 2023); due to the constant attention to it from the authorities in the Ukrainian SSR, and the fact that it operated in the United States, the centre soon became a centre of national resistance of Ukrainians abroad (Tereshchuk, 2019). In the autumn of 1980, the organisation held its first meeting, attended by representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States and officials (congressmen, politicians) from the American government, which demonstrated the latter's desire to establish a strong pro-Ukrainian lobby in the United States (Ukrainian archival cells..., 2023). The Ukrainian-Baltic Commission of the US Congress, established in 1980, played a significant role (Ukrainian archival cells..., 2023); its merits include the development of a draft resolution that, after being adopted by the Senate, legitimised the proclamation of 9 November as the day of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group (Our Freedom Is Not..., 2016).

In the mid-1980s, the most pressing issue was the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Holodomor in Ukraine (Richardson-Smith, 2021). Due to the active actions of the Ukrainian authorities and representatives of immigrants in the United States, the idea of establishing an appropriate institution on this issue arose. Despite the fierce resistance of the Soviet authorities and the opposition of some local anti-Ukrainian politicians, the National Committee for the Commemoration of the Victims of the Genocide in Ukraine of 1932-1933 began its work in 1983 in the United States (Ukrainian archival cells..., 2023). It consisted of more than 100 members, including religious leaders and leading secular figures. On 12 October 1984, the Commission for the Study of the Holodomor in Ukraine was established; its work focused on debunking the USSR's lies about the events of that period, and Ukrainian emigrants and American diplomats of Ukrainian descent played a leading role in this process (Maruniak, 2019).

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, representatives of the Ukrainian state in various diplomatic missions – within the framework of the IAEA, UNESCO committees, etc. – discussed broad issues (hunger in Africa, the danger of epidemics on the Asian continent) (Himei, 2012), but did not address the crisis in the USSR. However, the problem of the critical situation in the member states of the Union was on the agenda of the US Senate, which believed that the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of newly independent states was a matter of the near future (Maruniak, 2019). This opinion was supported by close advisers to then-President Bush, who urged him to shift the focus from the Soviet Union to the individual republics of the state, in particular, Ukraine (Bruder, 2020). Subsequent events (brutal suppression of any nationalist manifestations in certain regions, and persecution for political beliefs) demonstrated that the Soviet government itself contributed to the rapid collapse of the USSR and the emergence of newly independent states (Tishkun, 2019).

Concluding on the specifics of Ukraine's diplomacy in Soviet times, it can be stated that through active work, in particular within the framework of UN missions, committees and initiatives, Ukrainian diplomats and international

experts gained vast experience in organising bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, conducting global foreign policy negotiations, and participating in solving global problems in the face of the virtual absence of the right to make independent decisions in the international space. The central government in Moscow strictly controlled all steps of Ukrainian diplomats, regulating their rights and powers; however, due to the vision of the real state of affairs in the world, first of all, all the advantages of Western democracy over the socialist system and market economy over the command system, Ukrainian diplomats were able to perform their duties clearly and efficiently and establish the foundation of the national diplomatic service based on the principles of the Western diplomatic tradition, which is already followed by modern independent Ukraine.

Diplomacy of independent Ukraine (1991-present)

A qualitatively new stage in the history of Ukrainian statehood diplomacy began on 16 July 1990, with the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (Declaration 55-XII..., 1990), a document that proclaimed Ukraine's state sovereignty, independence, fullness, and indivisibility of power within its territory, independence, and equality in foreign relations. According to Article 10 of the Declaration, Ukraine "shall maintain immediate relations with other states, conclude treaties with them, exchange diplomatic, consular and commercial missions, and participate in the activities of international organisations" (Declaration 55-XII..., 1990). On 24 August 1991, the Act of Independence was signed (Act 1427-XII..., 1991), which set new tasks for the young state in the field of diplomacy and international relations. From now on, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, as a fully official and legal agency, had to establish relations between the already independent Ukraine and the international community, establish diplomatic relations, establish efficient and effective networks of foreign policy and consular missions around the world, develop bilateral and multilateral relations, acquire membership in international organisations, etc (Flissack, 2013).

The principles, foundations, and areas of foreign policy activity are enshrined in several documents, including The Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (16 July 1990) (Declaration 55-XII..., 1990), the Act of Independence of Ukraine (24 August 1991) (Act 1427-XII..., 1991), the Constitution of Ukraine (28 June 1996) (Constitution of Ukraine 254к/96-BP, 1996), the Law of Ukraine "On the Principles of Domestic and Foreign Policy" (1 July 2010) (Law of Ukraine 2411-VI..., 2018), the Law of Ukraine "On Diplomatic Service" (7 June 2018) (Law of Ukraine 2449-VIII..., 2018), the Presidential Decree "Strategy of Foreign Policy of Ukraine" (26 August 2021) (Decree of the President № 448/2021..., 2021), the Decision of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine "On the Strategy of Ensuring State Security" (16 February 2022) (Decision of the National..., 2022), etc.

The positive results of Ukraine's foreign policy service in the first years of independence included the establishment of diplomatic relations with more than 170 countries

(Tishkun, 2019). Key foreign policy decisions: non-recognition of war as a means of solving interstate problems, commitment to neutrality, absence of territorial claims to other states, and building relations with the European Union (EU) on the principles of integration, a special partnership with the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), nuclear disarmament in 1992-1996 (Stages of evolution..., 2023).

The first states to recognise Ukraine's independence were Poland and Canada (2 December 1992); in December of the same year, they were joined by Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Croatia, etc, with whom Kyiv began to actively establish bilateral and multilateral contacts (Tishkun, 2019). Therewith, the principle of multi-vectors was introduced – the establishment of equal relations with different members of the international community (History..., 2019). The main vectors of foreign policy were: participation in regional cooperation, activities within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), membership in the UN, EU, and NATO, and strengthening regional cooperation (primarily with the Russian Federation) (Stages of evolution..., 2023). However, since 2014, the priority has been mainly the course towards European integration, and since 2022, integration into the European Community has become the main and only priority purpose of Ukraine (Decree of the President № 448/2021..., 2021).

Commonwealth of Independent States

Ukraine, being one of the founding members of the Commonwealth, but not a member, undertook to develop partnerships within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (8 December 1991) and its Protocol (21 December 1991) (Philippidis *et al.*, 2016). In 1993, at a meeting of the Council of Heads of State in Minsk, the CIS Charter was approved (Durman, 2019), which was not signed by Ukraine due to certain disagreements over the main purpose of the organisation. Thus, it was proclaimed that the institution regulates military-political and border cooperation between member states, but Kyiv preferred economic, social, environmental and humanitarian contacts within the structure.

In 2008, the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine registered a draft Law of Ukraine “On Denunciation of the Agreement on the Establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States” (Law of Ukraine No. 3056..., 2008), after which Kyiv expressed its intention to denounce several other CIS agreements. Moscow immediately began to put pressure on Ukraine, demanding it should not withdraw from the existing agreements but rather renew cooperation by launching new joint projects (Flissack, 2013). However, after 2010, European integration sentiments became even stronger: the number of joint Ukraine-CIS events was minimised, membership fees were suspended, etc.

As of 2023, Ukraine continues to withdraw from agreements within the Commonwealth, in particular, on 19 June 2022, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted laws on the withdrawal of the state from the agreement with the CIS on combating illegal migration; on the withdrawal from the agreement with the CIS on the Common Agricultural Market; and on the withdrawal from the agreement on perpetuating the memory of the courage and heroism of

the peoples of the CIS in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 (Ukraine Withdraws from..., 2022).

European Union

The official recognition of Ukraine's independence by the Union dates back to December 1991, when the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, H. van den Broek, as a representative of the EU presidency, officially recognised Ukraine's independence in a letter on behalf of the institution (History Formation..., 2023). In 1998, the Strategy for Ukraine's Integration into the EU was adopted, and in 2000, the Programme for such integration was adopted (Petrovic, 2022). The first summit occurred on 5 September 1997 in Kyiv, and there have been 23 such meetings in total; the next summit will occur on 3 February 2023 in Kyiv (Ukraine-EU Summit..., 2023). In 2007, negotiations on Ukraine's association with the EU began, and the long-awaited result was a decision on the format of the future association – the “Eastern Partnership” for Eastern European countries, including Ukraine (Petrovic, 2022). Until 2013, there were numerous meetings and lengthy discussions on the Association Agreement, with the main controversial issues being the liberalisation of Ukraine's socio-political life and the fight against corruption. On 21 November 2013, an event occurred that radically changed the situation in the country – the beginning of the Euro-maidan and the Revolution of Dignity (Mykityshyn, 2021) – which resulted in the refusal of then-President Viktor Yanukovich to sign the Association Agreement.

The events that occurred in 2013-2014 (protests, rallies, acts of disobedience, etc.) demonstrated the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian population with the pro-Russian government, which did not support the course toward European integration (Minakov, 2020). Thus, in November 2014, the Association Agreement came into partial effect without confirmation of ratification by all EU members, and in 2017, the visa-free regime came into force (Visa-Free Regime..., 2017). Numerous EU-Ukraine summits have seen a gradual rapprochement between Kyiv and Brussels in various areas of cooperation (Minakov, 2020).

After 24 February 2022, the date of the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, relations with the Union became the most fruitful since the official recognition of the state's independence. Supporting Kyiv and helping it fight the aggressor became a priority for the Union, thus, on 28 February 2022, Ukraine officially applied for EU membership; the document was accepted for consideration (Sologoub, 2022). On 17 June 2022, the European Commission recommended to the European Council that Ukraine be granted candidate status, and on 23 June 2022, the European Council granted Ukraine candidate status (Ukraine Received the status of..., 2022) along with Albania, Serbia, Moldova, North Macedonia, Montenegro, and Turkey.

North Atlantic Alliance

The foundations of NATO-Ukraine cooperation were laid in 1993. In 1994, Kyiv signed the Framework Document of the NATO-initiated Partnership for Peace Programme, and in 2007 – the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership (Tkeshelashvili, 2022). The relationship between the state

and the organisation has been based on the principles of openness and support from the very beginning; several agreements and memoranda signed before 2010 in various fields demonstrate the common purposes and aspirations of both parties in matters related to peace, security, and stability (Kurban, & Duman, 2021).

However, in 2010, Yanukovich dissolved the Interagency Commission on Ukraine's Preparation for NATO Accession and the National Centre for Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine, which had been established several years earlier (Fiszer, 2019); this decision marked the beginning of Ukraine's drastic departure from the European integration course and a return to Moscow's circle of influence. However, the Revolution of Dignity again shifted the emphasis the national foreign policy, renewing Kyiv's European integration and security aspirations (Gebeska..., 2020). The annexation of the Crimean peninsula contributed to the revision of existing documents in NATO-Ukraine cooperation; much more attention was paid to the European collective security system with Ukraine's participation (Durman, 2019). Thus, in 2019, Ukraine's strategic course toward EU and NATO membership was enshrined in the Constitution of Ukraine (Constitution of Ukraine 254к/96-ВР, 1996). In 2020, Ukraine joined NATO's Enhanced Opportunities Partnership programme along with Australia, Georgia, Finland, Jordan, and Sweden, and in 2021, during the Brussels Summit, it was officially confirmed that Ukraine would become a NATO member, and the Membership Action Plan would be an integral part of this process (Umland..., 2022). Currently, Ukraine's strategic cooperation with NATO member states continues; the main areas of this cooperation are primarily the security component, military support, training and assistance to the army, and strengthening it to meet international standards.

Russian Federation

On 14 February 1992, diplomatic relations were established between the two countries, and in 1997, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership was signed (Brusylovska, 2018), which enshrined the principle of strategic cooperation, respect for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. In the first years of independence, relations between the two states were quite friendly and open, but in 2003, after the escalation of the conflict over Tuzla Island (Kotyk, 2020), relations began to deteriorate, and the conclusion of new agreements did not significantly change the situation.

On 20 February 2014, Russian troops crossed the Ukrainian border in violation of all legal provisions; since then, relations between the two countries have been deteriorating rapidly, reaching their highest point after 24 February 2022, with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine (Kurnyshova, & Makarychev, 2022). Currently, Ukraine's diplomatic corps has initiated the termination of almost all major and minor bilateral agreements and treaties. Within the framework of international organisations (UN, Council of Europe), the Ukrainian side has achieved or is in the process of expelling Russia from these institutions.

Notably, Ukraine's diplomacy has done a great job in responding to Russia's aggression in Ukraine. Using

all possible regional and international public platforms, through all available legal mechanisms and instruments, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, represented by Minister D. Kuleba (4 March 2020-present), actively communicate to foreign citizens the real state of affairs regarding the Russian-Ukrainian war, its causes, and possible consequences. Due to such activities, for the first time in the history of the Ukrainian state, it is clearly defined as a separate, independent, and democratic state, independent of outside influence. The main message of the Ukrainian side is to consolidate international support and unite all democratic states in the fight against Russian aggression to prevent the escalation of this aggression further to the west of Europe.

Other areas

Analysing Ukraine's diplomatic actions in the foreign policy arena since its independence, it can be stated that Kyiv's activities in this area are relatively even and balanced. Thus, Ukraine is a member of many international organisations (UN, Council of Europe, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Organisation for Democracy and Economic Development, etc.), participates in numerous international humanitarian missions, and frequently chairs the Commissions and Central Bodies of global institutions, which once again demonstrates the high professional level of Ukrainian diplomats. Kyiv actively cooperates with its immediate neighbours, in particular within the framework of the Lublin Triangle (Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania). On 11 January 2023, Kyiv hosted the second summit with the participation of the three presidents, which resulted in the signing of the Declaration (In Lviv, the Presidents..., 2023), according to which the partners provide Ukraine with significant military assistance.

Thus, summarising all of the above, and describing the peculiarities and specifics of Ukraine's diplomatic line after gaining independence, it can be stated that as of 2023, the national foreign policy is primarily designed to ensure independence and state sovereignty, restore Ukraine's territorial integrity, and the country's strategic course is to become a full member of the EU and NATO. The main difference between the period is the pronounced multi-vector nature of international policy: work is conducted both within the framework of global organisations and institutions and in the initiatives of other global structures, along with the deepening of bilateral relations with individual countries.

Recommendations for future vectors of Ukraine's diplomatic activity

In exploring the issues of the establishment and the development of the diplomatic service of the Ukrainian state, the author identifies separate stages that had their specific features, characteristics, and key events. However, the foreign policy activities of recent years are extremely important for modern independent Ukraine; the 10s and 20s of the 21st century were marked by the beginning of extremely difficult challenges for the state, the main ones being the struggle for independence and the nation's right to physically exist in the modern world. Kyiv's foreign policy

in 2022 was determined by two factors: victory in the russian-Ukrainian war and maximum isolation of russia; activities in these areas had both positive and neutral results.

Russian federation

Since the start of russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Ukrainian diplomats have been active in the foreign policy arena, demanding that the aggressor country's activities be restricted as much as possible by imposing the toughest sanctions. Such behaviour has had a positive result: as of 2022, russia is the leader among countries by the number of sanctions restrictions imposed on it (russia is the Most..., 2022). However, this fact does not indicate that there is nowhere else to go in this regard. Authorised representatives of the Ukrainian government abroad should continue their efforts to maintain tough pressure on moscow. The combination of successful tools of diplomatic influence and convincing facts of atrocities on the territory of Ukraine will help achieve the main purposes of national diplomacy in winning in 2023.

European Union

A historic event was the granting of Ukraine the status of a candidate for membership in the Union (Ukraine Received the status..., 2022). It was preceded by years of diplomatic negotiations, numerous bilateral and multilateral meetings, summits, conferences, etc. Currently, Kyiv is waiting for the beginning of spring 2023, when the European Commission is supposed to review the results of the reforms that have been implemented to start immediate formal accession negotiations (Ukraine Received the status..., 2022). It is not precisely known what the outcome will be for Ukraine, but both inside and outside the country, it is recommended to speak openly about reforms and to keep in touch with the central government to communicate all the facts and processes inside the country regarding reforms and changes for EU accession.

North Atlantic Alliance

In autumn 2022, President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyy signed an application for fast-track accession to NATO, following the example of Finland and Sweden, which became members of the Alliance bypassing the procedure for obtaining a Membership Action Plan (We are taking our..., 2022). However, in the case of Ukraine, this option does not seem realistic at the moment due to the different lengths of experience with the organisation; in addition, military operations on the territory of the country do not contribute to the rapid acquisition of membership. In addition, all 32 NATO members must approve the candidate for membership. Therefore, considering all the above circumstances, it is recommended to focus on strengthening strategic relations both at the level of the organisation and with each member state of the Alliance, demonstrating Ukraine's political will and military potential as a worthy partner within the institution.

East-West confrontation

For many decades, China-US confrontation has determined the principles of foreign policy activities of other

states on all continents of the planet (Foreign Policy Concept..., 2020). This statement is relevant for Ukraine, which in early 2022 actively called on Beijing to become a security guarantor and openly condemn russian aggression (Zelenskiy says China's..., 2022). However, as of 2023, the situation has not changed, and China continues to balance, protecting its interests. In this context, Ukraine's foreign policy service must find a balance and stay the course – to continue rapprochement with the Western democratic bloc. However, there is no need to freeze relations with Beijing, given the possibility of resuming close contact soon. However, this requires resolving the issue of appointing an ambassador of Ukraine to Beijing, instead of whom a chargé d'affaires has been acting since 2021 (Embassy of Ukraine..., 2023).

Summarising the above recommendations, it should be noted that all foreign policy activities of Ukraine are based on the principles of equality, democracy, freedom, and the rule of law, the foundations of which began to be established in the times of the UPR/WUPR and were consolidated and developed during the Soviet period of the Ukrainian state. Currently, the entire work of the diplomatic service is focused on winning the war against russia and recognising Ukraine as an independent and full-fledged subject of international relations. The recommendations presented here are based on the achievements of the modern foreign policy department of the state and continue the course of Ukraine's European integration and independence in the free world.

Discussion

Evaluating the array of available information and various materials on this issue, namely, the most characteristic features and key events in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy, the main results of the work of representatives of the foreign policy department of the state in different years of the 20th and 21st centuries, practical recommendations for various areas of international cooperation of Ukraine soon, the following conclusion can be drawn: scientific literature on the subject of the work in the form of studies, critical reviews, reference, and descriptive literature, methodological and strategic materials, presented in a wide range. In particular, special emphasis was placed on the specifics of the diplomatic steps and foreign policy decisions of the Ukrainian People's Republic in the early 20th century; such characteristic features as openness to international dialogue, the desire to prove itself to the European community, and the desire for an independent domestic and foreign policy were the basic features of the young Republic. The results of Ukrainian specialists in this field of research were the most informative; the facts presented in the works of Ukrainian scholars were very useful in designing practical recommendations and options for the future development of national diplomacy in this study. Another important source of information for this research was the regulations and international agreements signed by the Ukrainian state.

In this research, the development of Ukraine's foreign policy and its transformation under the influence of various global and national events occurred due to the acqui-

sition of both positive and adverse experiences in bilateral and multilateral diplomatic relations during the existence of the first independent Ukrainian republic in the early 20th century; Swedish researcher K. Shyrokykh (Shyrokykh..., 2018) believes that the value of past achievements of Ukrainian figures should not be rejected since they acquired unique skills that were suitable for use in the modern world – both by representatives of Ukrainian foreign policy departments and foreign institutions and missions.

The instruments and mechanisms of the negotiation process, along with the methods and specific techniques of foreign policy in the first decades of the 20th century, require careful research to use the best practices in the practice of modern diplomatic relations; this opinion was voiced in this study, with which the Ukrainian historian H. Chechelnytska (Chechelnytska, 2021) agreed, who believed that although the existence of the Ukrainian People's Republic was short-lived, its achievements and historical role were outstanding and significant and related to state transformations, processes of consolidation of power, restoration of Ukrainian independence and democratic transformations.

The role and political influence of the activities of the West Ukrainian People's Republic on the processes of statehood establishment and the definition of Ukraine's identity as a young and independent country on the post-war map of Europe were not significant enough, as noted in this study. The same position was taken by political observer I. Monolaty (Monolaty, 2019) emphasised that the general impotence of the diplomats of the Western Ukrainian state was due to the desire to create an independent state without the help of a more powerful close partner – the Ukrainian People's Republic.

The study emphasised that despite Ukraine's long stay under Bolshevik rule, which tried to control its every move in both domestic and foreign policy, it was the times of limited freedom that allowed the state to develop diplomatic institutions, establish official contacts, and learn from the experience of international bilateral and multilateral policy from the world's leading states. In addition, the historian M. Mishchenko (2022) has noted this fact, emphasising the strength and durability of several official intergovernmental contacts (for example, with Canada), which began in the days of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The study examines the situation in which the European Union, at the level of individual member states, seeks to develop effective bilateral and multilateral relations with the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which includes Ukraine. The same fact was explored by a group of scholars from the Netherlands, including D. Philippidis, S. van Berkum, A. Thabo, and M. Verma (Philippidis *et al.*, 2016), who agreed that the harmonious expansion of the Union's economic and political opportunities requires new ways and spheres of influence. Therewith, however, the researchers believed that the crisis in several Commonwealth countries (for example, the annexation of Crimea in Ukraine) required the European diplomatic service to decelerate active foreign economic relations with such countries to avoid the aggravation of the situation in Europe.

The gradual deterioration of Ukrainian-Russian relations, as a result of Ukrainians' desire for independence and the central government in Moscow's attempts to suppress nationalist sentiment in the Republic, was described in the presented study as a key factor in the catastrophic escalation of the confrontation between Ukraine and the Russian Federation in the early 21st century. The Estonian researcher O. Mykytyshyn (2021) agreed with this circumstance, speaking of the emergence of the first pockets of independence sentiment among the Ukrainian people long before the official recognition of the Ukrainian People's Republic and its Western Ukrainian neighbour; but the expert noted that, in the case of a calmer and more balanced diplomatic line of the young Republics in the 10-20s of the 20th century, the deterioration of relations between the two states could have been avoided and the possibility of a full-scale war, which is still ongoing today, could have been rejected.

The main thesis of this publication, which characterises all periods of historical development and establishment of the diplomatic service of the Ukrainian state, is that Ukraine was established as a sovereign, pluralistic, and relatively free state (at the initial stages) within the framework of the post-Soviet wave of democratisation. The events of 2004 and 2014 provided a revolutionary opportunity for rapid, liberal democratic reforms in political governance, economic change, and social standards, which, according to American scholar M. Minakov (2020), began when the efforts of the Ukrainian people and Ukrainian diplomats united for a single purpose – Ukraine's democratisation and European integration. However, therewith, the researcher argues that the war of 2022, and the economic turmoil resulting from the hostilities, will definitely hinder the state's progress toward renewal and may even set it back for years.

Thus, having reviewed and explored all the available material on the diplomacy of Ukrainian statehood from its inception to the present, in particular, during the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the 20th century and independent Ukraine in the 21st century, and highlighting the most successful steps of the national foreign policy service to implement them in the diplomatic practice of the third millennium, the following conclusion can be drawn: in the foreseeable future, the quality of scientific information, research results and conclusions in this area will remain at a consistently high and professional level. Most probably, the subjects of the new works will be somewhat expanded due to the rapid development of internal and external circumstances in which Ukraine is a close participant, and the dynamics of international processes in the global context, which make diplomatic cooperation between all developed countries much more practical, closer and productive. Notably, the results of scientific research by Ukrainian experts on this subject are much more extensive, and the analytical reflections and conclusions presented in their works are a powerful basis for continuing to explore the diplomatic activities of the Ukrainian state both by domestic scholars and historians abroad, who conventionally do not pay much attention to the first years of Ukraine's existence in the early 20th century.

Conclusions

In the process of preparing the research, the features, specifics, and characteristics of the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian state at different stages of historical development were explored to identify the key factors determining the current foreign policy of Ukraine. It has been established that each period in the evolution of Ukraine's foreign policy has its differences, positive and adverse aspects, distinctive and common features, and significant events that were crucial for the history and establishment of the Ukrainian state as an independent and self-reliant subject of international relations in the future. Analysing the specifics of the foreign policy activities of Ukrainian diplomats and public figures of different years, it was found that the strongest feature of all periods was the desire to recognise Ukraine as an independent and sovereign state, and the ability of Ukrainian diplomats to successfully pursue a multi-vector foreign policy. The study demonstrated that Ukraine's desire to assert itself in the international arena, to prove itself a responsible partner, and a legal, sovereign, and socially oriented state, has borne fruit. The reaction of other countries was unequivocal; a wave of diplomatic visits, the opening of official missions, and the exchange of diplomats and envoys preceded by their recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian state (first the Ukrainian People's Republic in the 1920s, and then sovereign Ukraine in the early 1990s). Based on the results obtained from the analysis of the efficiency of the Ukrainian diplomatic corps in the late 10s of the 20th

century – the early 20s of the 21st century, it can be assumed that the further activities of Ukrainian experts in the field of foreign policy will continue to be based on the principles of openness, maximum transparency, and multi-vectors, the foundations of which were laid in the previous periods of Ukraine's history.

The originality of the study is to highlight the importance of the achievements of Ukrainian diplomacy over the past hundred years by considering and studying the specific features and characteristics of the area in different periods of the history of the Ukrainian state to determine the best scenarios for further activities in the context of the rapid transformation of the conventional geopolitical situation and to establish a positive image of the state in the international community.

Analysing all of the above, to obtain broader results and provide more practical recommendations, for future research on this subject, it seems advisable to dwell on the specifics of Ukraine's foreign policy in the early 21st century, in particular, focusing on the features and specifics of this area regarding the unification of world powers through the prism of an unprovoked war on the territory of Ukraine.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Дипломатія української державності від становлення до сьогодення (кін. 1910-х ст. – 2020-і рр.): основні міжнародні партнери, динаміка, особливості

Анотація. Протягом своєї історії українська дипломатія переживала різні періоди; спадок, що залишився в результаті подій ХХ ст., відіграє практичне значення для сучасної України, становлення її державності, визнання у якості рівноправного суб'єкта на світовій міжнародній арені. Використовуючи напрацювання попередників у даній сфері, беручи до уваги минулі помилки та прорахунки, сьогодні можливо укріпити дипломатичну діяльність держави на демократичних засадах із особливими національними характеристиками. Мета дослідження полягає у наданні практичних рекомендацій щодо розвитку та зміцнення української дипломатії на сучасному етапі шляхом визначення теоретичних та концептуальних підходів щодо способів, методів та засобів формування дипломатичної служби держави на різних історичних періодах ХХ-ХХІ ст. Для підготовки даної роботи був використаний порівняльно-історичний метод, за допомогою якого шляхом зіставлення та аналізу встановлено ключові моменти, особливості, характер взаємодії та специфіку процесу дипломатичної діяльності української держави у ХХ – початку ХХІ ст. Своєрідність та самобутність дипломатичної служби української держави, а також сильні та слабкі сторони зовнішньополітичної діяльності на різних етапах історичного розвитку країни були розкриті. Окреслені найважливіші міжнародні здобутки першої незалежної Української Республіки, зазначені ключові особливості та базові риси, що визначили майбутній розвиток вітчизняного дипломатичного корпусу країни. Найбільш оптимальні механізми, інструменти та засоби міжнародної активності України з метою імплементації їх у сучасну практику міжнародних відносин були зазначені. З урахуванням пріоритетних сфер для двох- та багатосторонньої дипломатичної кооперації держави запропоновані варіативні рішення та можливі сценарії подальшої трансформації зовнішньополітичного курсу країни стосовно окремих векторів співпраці. Результати та висновки роботи можуть бути використані у якості бази для майбутніх практичних наукових пошуків, зокрема, під час розробки та впровадження у вітчизняною зовнішньополітичну діяльність нових систем та механізмів кращих світових практик у сфері дипломатичної служби

Ключові слова: зовнішня політика; оборонна стратегія; незалежність; суверенітет; стратегічне співробітництво

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The role of natural resources in international relations in the 20th – early 21st century

Abstract. The availability of natural resources has always been one of the most important aspects of international relations, which have historically developed as a system of interconnections between different countries. However, there is a problem of natural resource scarcity in the world, thus, it is necessary to understand how markets influence national policies and how states can intervene and regulate the balance of natural resources and energy markets, which is the relevance of the study. The purpose of the study is to determine the impact of natural resources on the development of international relations in the 20th – early 21st centuries. To achieve this purpose, the study uses general scientific and special methods: historical, synchronous and diachronic, logical, analysis and synthesis, generalisation and quantitative comparison, scientific abstraction, and comparative analysis. The study established that the United States of America, South America and the Middle East had significant reserves of oil, natural gas, coal and precious metals. In addition, as noted, at the end of the 20th century, the issue of energy security was increasingly used to define international energy policy, and at the beginning of the 21st century, energy became one of the important aspects of geopolitics and an instrument of geopolitical competition. The consolidation of economic interests realised through the exploitation of natural resources is becoming the foundation for conflicts between different countries seeking to dominate the global resource market. It is established that the policy of the United States of America in the Middle East was based on an attempt to control natural resources, and in South America - on supporting its national interests. The practical significance of the study allows exploring key issues in international relations for an in-depth understanding of the balance of geopolitical forces in the 20th – early 21st centuries

Keywords: world economy; globalisation; economic system; competition; sources of raw materials

Introduction

The subjects of international relations are political collectives, each of which is characterised by its interests, political potential, and vision of contacts with similar communities. Each of these communities occupies a separate territory and constitutes a state. The states remain independent of each other, which is sanctioned by law. On the other hand, as countries come into contact and interact with each other, they have a mutual influence. The result is a network of complex connections and relationships, cooperation, and competition. Competition frequently results in conflicts that escalate into wars, sometimes ending in the fall of some states and the rise of others. Thus, international relations are dynamic, and their history is centred on the interaction between states.

According to M. Smělá and co-authors, modern international relations reflect the totality of relations between

state and non-state actors in political, economic, and social terms. During the complex process of interaction between individual members of international relations, many structures are established that determine specific development trends in the form of cooperation or rivalry, local, regional, and global tensions, and conflicts. These trends began in the 20th century and accelerated at the beginning of the 21st century due to the dynamic process of globalisation, which is spreading across the globe and influencing the development of a new balance of power in the international arena (Smělá *et al.*, 2022).

According to C. Mlambo, each state seeks to defend its interests to obtain and enhance its means of subsistence, establish trade networks and support the production and commercialisation of its goods. The issue of natural resources, including energy, has become an emerging issue in the international arena, both due to environmental

Suggested Citation:

Tsybukh. V. (2023). The role of natural resources in international relations in the 20th – early 21st century. *Foreign Affairs*, 33(2), 57-64.

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Received: 30.11.2022, Revised: 28.02.2023, Accepted: 31.03.2023

changes and various existing disputes between states to obtain better commercial provisions in this regard (Mlambo *et al.*, 2022).

A. Majeed and his co-authors believe that access to resources – water, land, energy – is and has always been one of the most important aspects of a state's power. However, with the growth of industry, gradual scientific and technological progress, and the transition to fossil fuels, energy resources have become the most important in the development of countries (Majeed *et al.*, 2021).

Scholars such as J. Wang, M. Shahbaz, and M. Song believe that the crucial role of oil, which was most clearly manifested during World War II, when the course of hostilities depended on its stable supply and the production of sufficiently large quantities of fuel, laid the foundation for the modern economy (Wang *et al.*, 2021).

The situation at the end of the 20th century is frequently referred to as a crisis of raw materials, fuel, and food, which is confirmed by such scholars as E. Dogan, M. Majeed, T. Luni, etc. Then, a very high rate of growth in prices for basic commodities was recorded, which is seen as an external expression of the deterioration in the conditions for the reproduction of the global economy (Dogan *et al.*, 2022).

M. Usman and co-authors argue that the discovery of rich natural resource deposits and the beginning of their export will inevitably be associated with significant changes in the structure of the countries' economies, which will mean a new path for their development. After all, the fact of finding raw materials is an opportunity for significant changes in the socioeconomic life of a country, improving the well-being of its citizens, reducing poverty, expanding opportunities, and changing global relations (Usman *et al.*, 2022).

Thus, natural resources can represent great wealth and power for those states that possess them, as they determine both domestic economic growth and political and social growth. Thus, the study of the development of international relations of countries under the influence of natural resources is of great relevance.

Thus, the purpose of the study is to determine the impact of natural resources on the development of international relations in the 20th – early 21st centuries. To achieve this purpose, the following tasks were set: to establish the balance of natural resources in the international market in the 20th – early 21st centuries, and to determine to what extent the availability of raw materials affected international relations of the United States of America, South America, and the Middle East.

Materials and Methods

The theoretical foundation of the study was the main conceptual provisions, recommendations, and conclusions presented and substantiated in fundamental applied research by scholars in the field of international relations, works by leading scholars in the field of economic development, and the works of scholars on historical events of the 20th – early 21st centuries.

In the course of the study, theoretical methods of scientific research were used to identify and substantiate the deeper and more significant aspects of the historical phenomena under examination, and generally, scientific

methods of cognition were used to characterise the research process and historical events. They allowed for the systematisation of factual and historical material.

To identify the elements of international political relations and economics, the following methods were used: historical – to explore economic theories in the order of their historical and chronological origin, logical – to explore the evolution of concepts, notions, and theories, dialectical method of moving from the abstract to the specific, which includes general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction (in the process of theoretical understanding of problems), and is based on institutional and evolutionary approaches. In addition, the retrospective method was used to move from the effect to the cause, which allows adjusting knowledge about the general nature of the development of historical phenomena.

In addition, the study used a whole range of special and general scientific groups of methods, namely: theoretical generalisation (when working with literary sources and to summarise the results of the work), dialectical (to identify patterns of international relations), visual (to visualise the results of the study), grouping (to examine the totality of data), analysis (when defining the purposes and objectives of the study, and to analyse the collected information, concluding), abstraction (to determine the subject of the study), statistical methods (to express data), synthesis (to combine the knowledge gained into a single unit), scientific abstraction (in defining the essence of natural resources and international relations) and comparative analysis (to compare the results obtained).

In addition, synchronic and diachronic research methods were used to describe and analyse historical phenomena, and to explore the following aspects: natural resources as a factor in the military potential of the state, and natural resources as a cause of international conflicts.

The information base of the study includes data from the World Bank Database (World Bank, 2023), official materials and publications of the United Nations Commissions (United Nations Organization, 2023), and monographic and periodical scientific literature and the results of the author's research. The materials examined were analysed using the comparison and grouping methods, and the abstract and logical method, which was designed to examine the role of natural resources in international relations in the 20th – early 21st century.

In addition, to identify relevant issues related to the importance of natural sources of raw materials in the strategic policy of countries, and for a thorough analysis of the balance of natural resources, the study analysed the following indicators: the structure of world oil reserves at the end of the 20th century and the performance of the US steel industry over the past hundred years.

Results

Resource potential is the foundation of any country's economic development. The provision of natural resources determines the stability and spatial organisation of the territory and the dynamics and parity in the international economy.

In the early 20th century, the problems of raw materials and energy were already at the centre of international relations. The lack of resources is the threshold of global cataclysm and interstate confrontations, as the limited resources of the planet, including arable land and sources of raw materials, are a serious dilemma when it comes to the prospects for economic growth in the world.

According to scholars such as B. Graham and R. Jacob, in the early 20th century, international relations were characterised by a slow flow of goods, services, and capital. Notably, the 19th century saw the expansion of global production, trade, and rising living standards in Europe and North America. However, the First World War caused a breakdown in trade and financial ties, and the international economy collapsed during the Great Depression and World War II. Thus, as of the 50s of the last century, globalisation and the degree of integration of the world economy were at a low level (Graham & Jacob, 2019).

However, according to O. Vasilyeva and A. Libmanbc, countries such as the United States of America, Australia, Canada, and those that did not suffer military destruction were at a much higher economic level than Europe, the USSR, China, Japan and had more promising plans for future development (Vasilyeva & Libmanbc, 2020).

According to Z. Batool, the Middle East has always been considered a rich area for natural sources of raw materials, especially oil, non-ferrous metals, potash, chromites, etc. Thus, large oil deposits were discovered in the early 20th century in Persia and Kuwait. However, it soon became apparent that the entire region around the Persian Gulf and the Tigris and Euphrates River valleys in Iraq is abundant in these natural resources, and of high quality (Batool *et al.*, 2020).

As for the United States, according to N.F. Crafts, the country is capable of providing itself with gas, oil, uranium, gold, iron, titanium, silver, phosphorites, boron ores, potash salts, and other minerals (Crafts, 2000).

Natural resources and the ability to use them have always played a prominent role in the economy of each country. Thus, South America can be considered a rich global region. An example of this is Colombia with its abundance of resources (gold, silver, platinum, emeralds, oil, etc.), Brazil, where ferrous and non-ferrous metal ores are mined, Argentina with deposits of oil, natural gas, and brown coal, and Venezuela, a leader among countries with large oil reserves, which is rich in natural gas, diamonds, gold, iron ore, and coal (Fig. 1) (World Database).

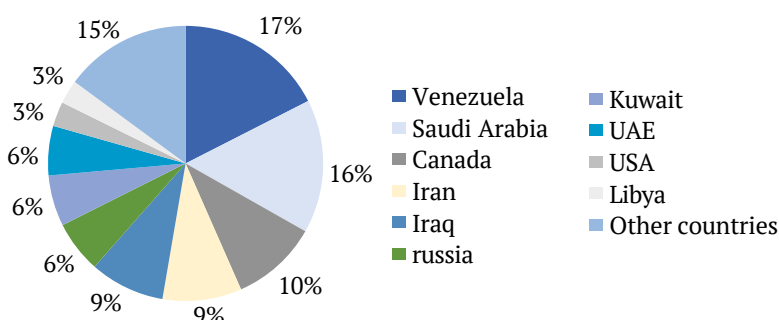


Figure 1. The structure of world oil reserves at the end of the 20th century

Source: World Database

Already in the early 20th century, steel became the most important industrial product and the backbone of modern technical civilisation. The rapid growth of the steel industry in the US, USSR, Japan, and European countries in 1950-1975 was largely driven by the arms race and post-World War II reconstruction. As for iron ore reserves, at the end

of the 20th century, the largest resources were in the USSR, the USA, Canada, and Brazil. At the beginning of the 21st century, international trade in ferrous metallurgy products gained significant momentum, which contributed to the levelling of global quality standards and major changes among producers and consumers (Fig. 2) (World Database).

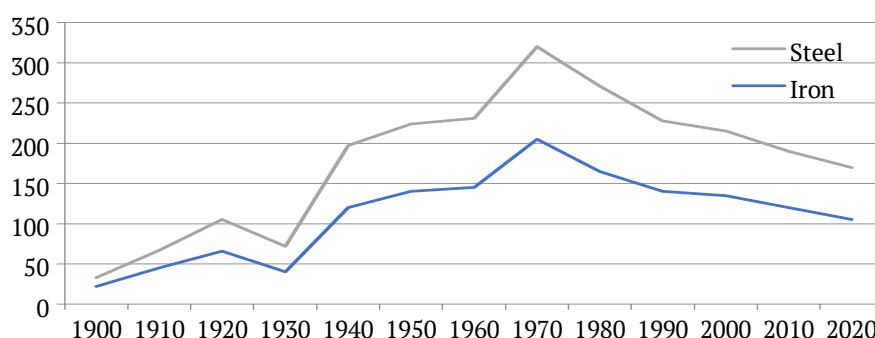


Figure 2. US steel industry performance, million tonnes (1900-2020)

Source: World Database

M. Dunne notes in his scientific works that starting in the mid-20th century, the oil demand began to grow, especially when the US's resources began to decline due to demand from the growing economy of the US military and the lack of access to oil threatened economic collapse. Therefore, US policy towards the Middle East has never been accidental. This region was perceived as key to the realisation of US strategic interests. Over the next decades, it was geopolitics determined the strategic purposes and interests of the United States in the Middle East. The US-Soviet rivalry for influence during the "Cold War" significantly contributed to the intensification of the US government's interest in this part of the globe, both in declarative and practical terms. Since the end of the Second World War, the Middle East has been forever inscribed in the dominant concepts of US foreign policy (Dunne, 2000).

Before the Second World War, the US interest in the Middle East was limited to economic issues. The American presence in the region was the result of the activities of private international companies related to energy and the financing of Jewish emigration. Only World War II Reassessed American political opinions on the Middle East. Oil has come to be perceived as a strategic resource necessary for military and economic activities and as a guarantee of US security.

J.H. Michaels argues that US policy towards the Middle East was closely connected with the global, political, and military doctrine of the United States. Three of the American foreign policy doctrines proclaimed in the post-war period were specifically related to the Middle East and adjacent territories (the Truman, Eisenhower, and Carter doctrines), while the fourth, Nixon's double pillar policy, was addressed specifically to the Gulf states: Iran and Saudi Arabia. The purpose of all the doctrines was to protect the strategic, economic, and political interests of the United States in the region, especially in the face of changing socio-political conditions in the Middle East and the potential expansion of the USSR into this territory (Michaels, 2011).

H.G. Huntington, in his study of the international economy, notes that by the end of the 20th century, prices for raw materials and foodstuffs began to rise significantly around the world, and the financialisation of the economy, which involves the transformation of goods into specific financial assets in demand, is emerging. It was in 1973-1974 that the "oil price shock" caused an almost fourfold increase in oil prices, and oil-importing countries found their import costs to be significantly higher (Huntington, 2017).

R.J. Samuels notes that the United States of America is the country whose military commitment to ensuring the stability of the global energy market is the most visible. Thus, President Carter, proclaiming a new foreign policy doctrine in 1980, officially announced that the United States was ready to use all necessary means, including the military, to protect its strategic interests in the Persian Gulf region. Earlier, in 1945, President Roosevelt assured the King of Saudi Arabia that the survival and security of the kingdom were in the interests of the United States. In exchange for protection, the Americans gained access to rich oil deposits. Referring to this historic pact, in 1990, Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney recognised it as a key factor in US intervention in the region and openly added

that the most important reason for US military intervention was the country's energy resources (Samuels, 2023).

US-led forces tasked with monitoring and protecting strategic waterways were present in all key oil transit regions, from the Persian Gulf through the Indonesian archipelago and the South China Sea to the Mediterranean. In addition, the United States is strengthening the safe transportation of raw materials by land. For example, in the Caspian Sea region, at the initiative of the Bush administration, the Americans are seeking to establish a special detachment of US troops - the Caspian Guard - to guard the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline. Another example is the establishment of AFRICOM (U.S. Africa Command) in February 2007. This step means that Africa's strategic importance for the United States is growing. Ensuring the stability and security of African countries through military presence, including in oil production and transit regions, will be even more important for the United States, as it intends to import about a quarter of its oil imports from the continent by 2030 (Liu *et al.*, 2020).

Notably, at the beginning of the 20th century, the relationship between society and nature was purely economic and commercial. The interaction was established between states based on large-scale exploitation to respond to the demands of a society that required more and more goods and resources, to strengthen the culture of progress based on material things.

In the 20th and early 21st centuries, the issue of resource security continued to be a factor in relations between different states. Thus, the trade rapprochement between China and South America is emerging, which indicates success in strengthening and diversifying international relations. In addition, it provides grounds to believe that a fundamental step has been taken for uniform economic growth focused on increasing investment in resource exports to Asian markets, a new and large resource that may represent a new territorial dispute over the so-called "blue gold", i.e., water.

According to J. Scarfi, in the 1940s, the United States began to finance the study of strategic mineral deposits in South America. And since the end of the Cold War, South America has undergone significant political, economic, and social changes. In the 1980s, South America's cooperation with the United States was the most important, as the United States accounted for 45% of imports and more than half of investments. It was based on the Monroe Doctrine, announced in 1823, which was intended to provide the principles of US policy towards South American countries, making the United States the leader in the region's international affairs (Scarfi, 2020).

The scientific works of E. Bah and M. Aaditya noted that in the 1990s, South American countries began a process of systemic transformation and implemented several economic reforms that had a positive impact on the growth of their importance in international relations. Brazil - the largest American country, is considered a developing country and acts as a regional power. South American countries such as Chile and Mexico, or in Central America, Panama, are striving to become increasingly important players in the market of international economic relations, and South

American cooperation is intensifying not only with the region's conventional partners but even with the European Union. The agreement on the establishment of a joint free trade area in the first decade of the 21st century, signed in 1995, is a testament to this fact (Bah, 2011; Aaditya, 2020).

Notably, against the backdrop of global integration and intensification, international relations are intensifying, resulting in accelerated growth in global production, international flows, the emergence of industrialisation, and the emergence of new players in international relations. However, notably, it is industrialisation that is causing political confrontations that may pose a threat to future economic success in the early 21st century.

Thus, natural resources had a significant impact on the development of international relations in the 20th - early 21st century, as they were the foundation for partnerships between different states, and energy resources are key elements of foreign policy in states' efforts to expand their influence abroad.

Discussion

Land and its resources are valuable assets and sources of economic, social, and cultural development and wealth for any country. Together, soil, water, and natural resources are of great significance to those who own them.

Thus, Y. Kusunose and M. Tufail, along with their co-authors, note that a country, due to its natural resources, gains advantages that allow it to weaken the enemy or make it dependent on itself. The current importance of energy resources in the era of energy transformation and the role of hard and lignite coal in the global balance is changing. Therewith, new technologies, and renewable energy sources are developing, which are becoming increasingly important and will determine the future of the energy sector in the long run, as established in the study (Kusunose *et al.*, 2020; Tufail *et al.*, 2021).

In the middle of the 20th century, the globalisation of the economy emerged, which was associated with the necessity to solve several socio-economic, political, scientific, and technical problems. It is a global problem of war, along with environmental, energy, fuel and raw materials, demographic, and food problems.

The results of the study are confirmed in the scientific works of J. Rahimi, who notes that in the first half of the 20th century, there was a development of American interests and political, military, and economic participation in the Middle East. In the US military plans of the second half of the 1940s, the Mediterranean area and the Middle East were listed as priority areas along with Western Europe and Japan. They emphasised their raw material value, which should remain beyond the reach of the USSR (Rahimi *et al.*, 2021).

According to M. Pesaran, the planning of the post-war era was based on several assumptions, the main ones being that the United States would emerge from the war economically strong, while European countries and Japan would be economically devastated and would require a lot of time and resources to recover, and that multilateral cooperation within the institutional structures of states would remain an important aspect (Pesaran *et al.*, 2001).

T. Vonyó argues that in the period after the end of World War II until 1973, the world economy was characterised by the growth of international trade, and there was freedom of financial flows among industrialised countries. After all, during the 1960s, private capital flows between the United States and European countries began to grow rapidly. However, due to rising inflationary pressures, commodity prices began to rise in 1972-1973. It, however, was associated with structural disruptions in the economy (supply and demand, deterioration of reproduction conditions on a global scale, etc.), as demonstrated by the results of the study (Vonyó, 2019).

J. Scarfi notes that South America entered the era of industrialisation around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, but the subordination to a narrow specialisation, namely the production of raw materials for export, resulted in its dependence on the international economic situation, and a severe decline in industrial production in 1929-1933 led to the collapse of the region (Scarfi, 2020).

In addition, the study correlates with the scientific statement of R. Łaciński, who determines that the reason for the development of the international order in Latin America may be the geopolitical and economic rivalry of supra-regional or world powers. The United States is at the top of the list of forces that can influence geo-economic and geopolitical relations in Latin America, as the European Union, burdened by many internal problems, has less and less to offer Latin America (Łaciński, 2017).

However, as Z. Su and Umar D. Xu along with their authors, already at the end of the 20th century, economic integration in Latin America changed its meaning from the policy of state protectionism to the liberalisation of international trade and economy and an important aspect was its accession to a single world economic complex and the growth of internal regional cooperation (Su *et al.*, 2021; Umar *et al.*, 2022).

U.K. Pata believes that there is a strong correlation between natural resources, international relations, and the understanding of global security. First of all, the energy interests of the largest and most influential consumers in the global energy market are driving them to increasingly intervene with armed forces in those parts of the world where oil and gas are supplied to the world market, such as Africa, Asia, or the Middle East. Such involvement usually appears as protection of raw material transit routes. Secondly, the high demand for hydrocarbon fuels and the simultaneous competition for them among importers is a factor that largely determines the emergence of conflicts over raw materials in these regions. It is the most vivid expression of the connection between energy relations and other areas of international relations, including war and peace, which is confirmed by the study (Pata, 2021).

The results of the study are echoed in the works of B. Charbonneau, who argues that at the beginning of the 21st century, the world's leading industrialised countries, which accounted for 15% of the world's population, controlled more than 70% of the world's resources, production, trade, and consumption. Therewith, some of them openly ignored the interests of other countries and humanity in general, such as the United States, which consumes the

lion's share of the world's fuel and energy resources and, therewith, withdrew from the Kyoto Agreement on Environmental Cooperation. The events in Iraq in 2003-2007 demonstrated that the United States considers it quite possible to use military force in the struggle for global resources (Charbonneau 2021).

In addition, energy is an essential resource. Several scientists such as B. Graham, L. Yuping, M. Usman, etc. agree that global energy demand began to grow at the beginning of the 21st century and will continue to grow rapidly. The energy security of the state is an interdisciplinary, multifaceted, and strategic issue, especially in times of change, challenges, and threats. In the political context, geo-economic rivalry includes energy resources and economic instruments used to achieve strategic purposes, which is reflected in the study (Graham *et al.*, 2019; Yuping *et al.*, 2021; Usman *et al.*, 2022).

Although the purpose of future global competition will remain to secure access to oil and gas sources and transportation routes, its scope will expand significantly, and it can occur on many fronts, in different regions of the world, and between different subjects. Moreover, the more countries seek to gain strategic access to sources of raw materials, the greater the risk of destabilising developing countries.

The actions of states to ensure energy security is an important factor influencing their foreign policy and relations with other countries. However, the scale and intensity of these activities depend on the specific international context, including relations between importers and exporters, market trends, and the level of awareness of countries about potential energy security challenges and threats. As a result, energy resources, being at the centre of interests of countries, especially superpowers, on the one hand, allow redefining their relations and contribute to the establishment of regional alliances, and on the other hand, they are becoming the subject of international competition in many regions of the world. For these reasons, the structural changes that occurred at the beginning of the 21st century in the international energy market, along with the growing scale and intensity of threats to energy security and the increasing level of interdependence between individual market participants, have serious geopolitical consequences.

Conclusions

Natural resources have always been considered real or potential sources of wealth and have become important for states, and the issue of resource endowment has been one of the most important prerequisites for political stability and economic development for countries.

By the end of the 20th century, access to natural resources was becoming increasingly important in international relations, which caused conflicts that eventually became part of the globalisation process. Thus, since the 1970s, oil producers have decisively entered the international arena, and fluctuations in natural resource prices have encouraged or deterred states from initiating conflicts.

Energy and geopolitics have always been closely connected. In the 20th century, access to natural resources determined the possibilities of resolving and, therewith, settling major conflicts. Oil has become the main energy resource in developed countries after the Second World War, especially in transportation and manufacturing, as about 40% of global energy consumption is accounted for by oil, which dominates the commodity market.

Throughout the 20th century, the security and wealth of the United States were based on a strong economy, military superiority, promotion of open trade, economic cooperation, and building regional security systems. Notably, the availability of significant military force and the demonstration of determination to use it unilaterally in any region of the globe is considered a prerequisite for protecting US national security interests and spreading American influence globally.

The Middle East was besieged by international conflicts related to oil and gas production. For many years, the United States has been trying to influence strategic areas of the Middle East in an attempt to control natural resources.

The US policy towards South American countries was based on subordination and adherence to the principles imposed by Washington, which in practice manifested itself in the establishment and support of dictatorial regimes in which the United States openly pursued its national interests.

Thus, the dynamic growth of the demand for limited natural resources is increasing, which may increase tensions between states competing for them. The practical significance of the study allows tracing the main aspects in the development of international relations of the 20th - early 21st centuries to understand the alignment of geopolitical forces under the influence of natural resources. Prospects for further research may include an in-depth study of the impact of natural resources on international relations between Europe and Asia and consideration of ways to overcome resource shortages.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Роль природних ресурсів у міжнародних відносинах у XX – поч. XXI ст.

Анотація. Забезпеченість природними ресурсами завжди була одним з найголовніших аспектів міжнародних відносин, що історично склалися як система взаємозв'язків між різними країнами. Проте у світі існує проблема дефіциту природних ресурсів, тому необхідно зрозуміти як ринки впливають на політику держав, і як держави можуть втручатися і регулювати баланс природних ресурсів та енергетичні ринки, що становить актуальність дослідження. Мета дослідження полягає у тому, щоб визначити вплив природних ресурсів на формування міжнародних відносин у XX – поч. XXI ст. Задля досягнення мети використано загальнонаукові і спеціальні методи: історичний, синхронний та діахронний, логічний, аналізу та синтезу, узагальнення та кількісного порівняння, наукової абстракції, порівняльного аналізу. В результаті дослідження встановлено, що Сполучені Штати Америки, країни Південної Америки та Близького Сходу характеризувалися наявністю значних запасів нафти, природного газу, кам'яного вугілля та покладів цінних металів. Також зазначено, що в кінці XX століття питання енергетичної безпеки все частіше використовується для означення міжнародної політики в енергетичній галузі, а вже на початку XXI століття енергетика стала одним з важливих аспектів геополітики та інструментом геополітичної конкуренції. Закріплення економічного інтересу, реалізованого через експлуатацію природних ресурсів, стає ґрунтом, з якого беруть початок конфлікти між різними країнами, які прагнуть домінувати на світовому ринку ресурсів. Встановлено, що політика Сполучених Штатів Америки на території Близького Сходу базувалась на спробі контролю за природними ресурсами, а у країнах Південної Америки – на проведенні підтримки своїх національних інтересів. Практичне значення дослідження уможливило дослідити ключові питання у міжнародних відносинах задля поглибленого розуміння розстановки геополітичних сил XX – поч. XXI ст.

Ключові слова: світова економіка; глобалізація; економічна система; конкуренція; джерела сировини

**Журнал
«ЗОВНІШНІ СПРАВИ»**

**Том 33, № 2
2023**

Відповідальний редактор:
О. Таукач

Редагування англomовних текстів:
К. Касьянов

Комп'ютерна верстка:
О. Глінченко

Підписано до друку з оригінал-макета 01.03.2023
Ум. друк. арк. 7,7
Наклад 300 примірників

Видавництво: Громадська спілка «Редакція журналу «Зовнішні справи»
01001, пров. Рильський, 6, Київ, Україна
E-mail: officeua.foreign.affairs@gmail.com
www: <https://uaforeignaffairs.com/uk>

**Journal
“FOREIGN AFFAIRS”**

**Volume 33, No. 2
2023**

Managing Editor:
O. Taukach

Editing English-language texts:
K. Kasianov

Desktop publishing:
O. Glinchenko

Signed to the print with the original layout 01.03.2023
Conventional Printed Sheet 7.7
Circulation 300 copies

Publisher: Public Union Editorial Board of the Journal “Foreign Affairs”,
01001, 6 Rylskyi Ln, Kyiv, Ukraine
E-mail: officeua.foreign.affairs@gmail.com
www: <https://uaforeignaffairs.com/en>