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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

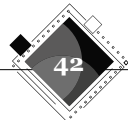
with (Tereshchuk, 2019). The beginning of the 20th century was marked by radical modifications of the established structures of international relations, of which Ukraine was a part (Datsckiv, 2010). At the beginning of the 21st century, the Ukrainian state is once again undergoing a period of transformation 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

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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, Yanukovych 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 (Kotyky, 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 (Chechelnytskam, 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.

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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