

Culture and politics of family relationships, education and protection of minors as mechanisms of stakeholder relations in society

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Summary

The article is dedicated to the interdisciplinary analysis of public policy concepts and approaches being used in various states, regions and cultures of the world for ensuring the children's rights protection. The possibilities to adopt the relevant foreign practice in Ukraine's case are examined.

Keywords: public policy and administration, children's upbringing, rights of a child protection, interdisciplinary analysis

Part I.

Any state or other structural social entity that seeks to dominate always tries to control and direct the thoughts, desires, needs and dreams of people in the right direction for themselves. The experience of human development shows that the most effective method for solving these problems is control or (much better) the formation of a sphere of culture that determines the possible ways, schemes and rules of social interactions, which include stakeholder relations (hereinafter referred to as SR). Therefore, a scientifically grounded and ideologically supported cultural paradigm is the most powerful means of social control and management of any human community. Particularly in the state and process of development of the younger generation (given its unstable psyche), which in the vast majority of cases determines the future of any state or structural social formation.

National state policy in the field of culture is always original and unique. But the influence of various globalization effects, which gradually homogenize humanity, triggers the processes of its forced leveling, including in the spheres of upbringing children and adolescents, protecting minors. One example is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child [1] (hereinafter referred to as the Convention). It obliges the State party to maximize the survival and healthy development of children, indirectly introducing some global standards and requirements for the possibility of analyzing and evaluating its actions, comparing the results obtained. Consequently, this requires unification of the foundations of the national state policy in the field of ensuring the rights and interests of children, taking into account the provisions of the Convention.

Because of such actions, consolidation, clusterization and, eventually, standardization of various socio-cultural spheres and elements in different countries and civic organizations are observed, especially in regional and ideological and political grounds [2]. Positive (most of them) moments of these processes are: 1) saving resources, improving the efficiency of social management and control through the introduction have proven experience; 2) the active development of the universal culture of the SR (laid in this way in the families of the society in the form of certain social values), without which the existence of modern transborder relations is not possible.

SR are studying (analogue – relations of interested parties) today in a rather young interdisciplinary field, which uses information accumulated in various fields of scientific and expert human knowledge – geography, climatology, culturology, economics, sociology, psychology, mathematics, etc.

The SR is a special level and a state of social relations (both processes and phenomena), which often have both a network and an institutional (fractal-chaotic) structure, which bind together the eternal aspiration for freedom and independence (desires, actions, beliefs) of human Personality, and its social obligations (internal and external) to other members of society.

The greatest interest in the results of the SR study is given to the sciences of human management (management, political science, public administration, etc.) due to their practical application. Especially on the part of some executions of national elites and representatives of the corps of leaders (endowed with real power) in the design, construction, management and control of subordinates of social groups on the principles of soft power (soft power). Understanding the nature, rules and capabilities of the SS allows them in many cases to translate conflicting relationships (often subjectively perceived by such, but, in fact, they are not) in constructive social interaction.

The prevailing and functioning SR system is a sign of a socially developed human society. Therefore, the results of this study can help Ukraine, including through diplomatic methods, to find and take a worthy place in the architecture of the new world order. Mastering the mechanisms of the SR and their ability to use them will allow Ukrainians to establish on a more qualitative level a variety of mutually beneficial contacts – both within the country and with representatives of other states and socio-cultural communities. And also to participate more actively in the processes of peacemaking, as the cessation of existing ones or the prevention of possible confrontations will enhance the image of Ukraine as a peace-loving state and a reliable partner in many spheres of international cooperation.

The analysis of the SR in different countries (in the areas of education and health of children, the protection of the rights and interests of minors on continents and in the regions) was conducted on the basis of well-known information on the downward trend of the isolation of the development of their societies, with an emphasis on pronounced national peculiarities and differences (for an example of the most steady manifestations of social, family and personal relationships was taken).

The experience of Europe

Due to the peculiar world view and social organization based on the postulates of Catholic branches of Christianity, the tragic events in history, in general, small size, Europe during the Middle Ages and modern times (constant expectation of the coming of the Savior, which gave rise to the delay of social and economic development, multiple famine, pestilence and bloody war, once split the Church and the discovery of the New world, which caused the collapse of the then world paradigm [3], and so on), europeans made to world culture are two very important concepts Which became axiomatic in the modern world: the right to life and the right to human dignity. What also generated the current "European values", including the concept of "children's rights", the first declaration that was adopted in 1923 in Geneva (Switzerland). Moreover, characteristic of the non-governmental organization

“International Union for the Salvation of Children” [4]. This is not surprising, because even after the horrors of World War European national elite still wanted revenge for mutual marked “images” and “humiliation.” And the continuation of clarification of relations between each other. So, and wanted to be able to use their various purposes children, adolescents and minors – this valuable social and biological and psychological resources.

Since then, many different decisions have been made on this subject, and the state structures have been involved in this process. Especially after the Second World War [5], which gave birth to a terrible tendency of the present day – a significant numerical excess of the dead civilian population compared with the fighting losses among the combatants: this war was not only directed at addressing the urgent economic and social problems or territorial-political claims, but also from Ideological reasons [6].

Among the latest, most influential European events in the field of protection of children and minors, the Warsaw Summit of the year 2005 of the Heads of State and Government of the European Union (hereinafter referred to as the EU), which instructed the Council of Europe (hereinafter – the Council) [7]:

Effectively promote the promotion of children’s rights by complying with the requirements of the Convention;

Integrate children’s rights into the policy of the Council and coordinate all its child-related activities;

Eradicate all forms of violence against children and minors, especially their sexual exploitation.

The latter aspect is directly related to the systematic reduction of the possibilities for the legitimate manifestation of natural human aggression among Europeans (especially migrants), socio-economic and psychological difficulties of the poor and impoverished segments of the European population. Therefore, in developed Western countries, every tenth child or teenager is a victim of sexual assault or violence [8]. There are even entire systems of sexual exploitation of children, organized not only by various criminal groups, but also by representatives of state structures throughout the EU – this is constantly reminiscent of sexual scandals, which are once the property of the general public [9].

In response to a commission in 2006, the program “Building Europe for Children and with Children” [10] was developed, the Stockholm Program 2010-2014 and subsequent documents [11] specified the main tasks of which. The main objective of this program was to assist all stakeholders in developing and implementing comprehensive policies for the development and implementation of a policy to promote the rights of the child in order to eliminate all forms of violence against children.

To formulate recommendations at the pan-European level, the Council carried out a great deal of work together with all EU member states – they analyzed their national policies, legislation and measures aimed at eliminating violence against children. The methodology developed in this way included in-depth analysis: the scale and nature of violence; Legal and institutional fundamentals of combating this phenomenon; National and local programs for

the prevention of violence (including the results of their implementation); Recent trends and developments in politics and rulemaking in this area [12].

In 2007 (gained strength in 2009), the Council adopted the Lanzarote Convention on the Protection of Children against Exploitation and Sexual Exploitation [13]. This is the first international legal document that criminalizes sexual assault on children, including in the family. In addition, the Convention on Cybercrime adopted by the Council [14] criminalized the dissemination of child pornography on the Internet and now provides the international cooperation of law enforcement agencies to combat this phenomenon.

In Europe, due to the natural and historical diversity of the conditions for their social development, various cultural and political traditions have been developed for the attitude of society and adults towards the upbringing of children and adolescents, the protection of the rights and interests of minors. However, nowadays, including under the influence of pan-European legislation and the various processes accompanying migration and mixing of cultures among the EU population, there is a leveling, clusterization and unification of these spheres of national traditions.

In modern Sweden, there are many children's organizations, government and non-governmental programs, and targeted children-related laws. Since 1979, all their corporal punishment, including the raising of the voice (and from the parents, too) is prohibited in the country. Nowadays, the Swedish state is one of the first places in the world for quality at birth and maternal and child health care. For free medical care the population spends about 80% of all income taxes in the country, and maternity paid leave is 480 days for each born child.

Swedes from the very early age take children around with them, since the people around them always help them. Kids are considered to be independent individuals, so parents are not engaged in their education – it is believed that they themselves should want to learn something.

In kindergarten groups 6-7 people (family, with the support of the government, pays only nursery). There, the kids educators definitely talk about their rights and teach that when parents offend – you need to complain about social services. And if the fact spanking or shouting will be confirmed or social worker who constantly monitors such unreliable or noticed a rude family, feel that the child is not well treated, the baby removed and relocated to the state child care-seekers. And often this is done without warning, as long as no adult is at home. And parents receive a notification of deprivation of their parental rights by mail. Therefore, Dad and Mom try everywhere to behave calmly, not trying at an early age to teach something or somehow make something child do. And given the rules of the Protestant ethic embodied in the national culture of this country (compact residence of society with the absence of fences and often curtains on the windows with fetishes image a little, but strong household), children get complete freedom, which are happy to use at their discretion.

The National Contact Group Family Work Program has been operating in Sweden since 1982 and is used in working with different types of families: part-time, divorced, alcoholics, drug addicts, newly created, disabled children, and the LGBT community. Local social

welfare committees select families or individuals (in the form of mentor friends) to provide psychological and social support to other families in distress.

In the past, family traditions in Sweden were patriarchal: the woman obeyed first parents, then her husband, and the standard family had two children (preferably a boy and a girl). Marriages were contracted by the parents, sometimes in the early childhood of the future bride and groom. Premarital sex was (and now is) a common occurrence – the groom could freely spend the night at the bride. The period of allowed courtship lasted up to two years – hasty marriages were condemned by society. Moreover, often the stimulus to the wedding became the pregnancy or the birth of the bride, which served as a vivid confirmation of its fertility, which was perceived in the society as a positive quality.

In Swedish families, boys and girls are brought up equally, and their homework for them is not divorced on a gender basis. However, helping children at home children are involved only from adolescence. Also, each week, as prescribed in the law, they receive pocket money and dispose of them on their own. Swedish children are educated in matters of sexual relations, childbirth, contraception, etc. – on the street you can meet six-seven-year-olds who freely talk about sexuality, etc. Traditionally, in Sweden, the older generation is not engaged in the education of grandchildren.

Driver's licenses are issued from the age of 18 – from about this age, the Swedes leave the family of their parents and begin to lead an independent life to which parents no longer interfere. Financial assistance to adult Swedes is not accepted – in extreme cases, they can apply for state support and receive it in the form of payments from social services or loans from the state for 10-20 years.

Education in Sweden is free, and the education system is the basis of the social system of the country. The learning process itself solves two problems:

- 1) obtaining a directional qualification, along with some mastering of general education disciplines;
- 2) education from students of Swedish society citizens who value their values and are ready to show active civil status, protecting them.

To consolidate the latter provision, the law prohibiting any form of restriction of rights and degrading the dignity of students and schoolchildren (the control over its implementation is entrusted to special state bodies [15]) began to operate from 2006.

Sweden does not have a school uniform, but some schools put out special requirements for clothing – mainly for girls, limiting the burst of their adolescent sexuality. Phones, toys, tablets, etc. to bring to school is prohibited. The tutorials are free and are issued on a return basis. Office supplies are also provided free of charge, so preparing for the first day of the school does not require any effort or expenses from parents. With an average salary of about 30 thousand crowns (~ 3000 euros), the main school family expenses – sports uniforms, skates, skis, swimwear, hobbies and clubs. In sports, Swedish students are engaged in many and actively – even special “sports holidays” are planned (week in early March). In addition, there are additional spring holidays, and the school year begins on

August 18. Estimates in Swedish schools begin to be displayed only from grade 6, and before that only the number of completed tasks or errors are fixed.

All exercises and tasks are taught at special school sites – a child at home is trained until the computer program gives him a “passing ball” – a bronze, silver or golden badge. Parents actively help children with school homework, and the teacher tracks the level of knowledge and abilities of students when they enter the site. And, taking this into account, the ladders appoint additional classes with the teacher in the classroom, and the high school students are given lessons in more complex individual tasks. Every fourth quarter there are personal meetings of teachers with parents and children discussing their successes and problems. As a result, to the graduating class for those who have the abilities and who can and will learn to learn, the volume of acquired knowledge is recruited enough to enter higher education. Such a system of school education produces an effective social and biological selection, and a stable stratification of future members of Swedish society, whose processes are brightened by the lack of “pressure” on the students and the promotion of their various enthusiasm.

The Swedish national system for the education of children and adolescents, the protection of the rights and interests of minors clearly captures the cultural reflection of the life story of the Swedish people, which resulted in a hypertrophied attempt to combat its difficult legacy and, at the same time, the dominant development of the recognized positive and acquired qualities. Heavy natural conditions on the promised Swedes lands, a small amount of necessary resources, full dependence on the whims of the weather and the sea brought them from united small social groups with a strict hierarchy, which was difficult to usurp. And they gave birth to their extreme individualism, fatalism, maximum truthfulness and cruelty – both to themselves and to the outside world. That allowed, given the long-lasting war for controlling a limited resource base, to make the Swedes an active expansion to Europe. And this led to the adoption by them of the religious system of Protestantism (in the form of Lutheranism) as a national outlook (the church was separated from the state only in 2000, although the total percentage of believers reaches 76).

Life demanded from the Swedes a conscious behavior and a clear interaction in groups, that is, the absolute balance of the SSR in society, even among children (and nature was also among the main stakeholders). This allowed, with the development of social relations in the era of capitalism, to bring the Swedish society to the atomic state of filling with ideal stakeholders with minimal cycles of social and personal development and material savings, which explains the emergence of an effective Swedish economic model. But such a distortion in the development of society entered into the expected conflict with both the natural needs of man and the laws of the development of the world economy. And as a result, both the destruction of the institution of the family and the weakening of the economic foundations of the state social policy with all its consequences are observed.

In Denmark, there is a peculiar cult of a strong family, so young Danes do not hurry with a marriage and for a long time live together, checking their relationships on endurance (the average age of marriageable persons is about 30 years). Danes treat marriage very seriously and believe that this should be one time and for life. Therefore, in Denmark, but for another reason, a large number of lonely people who did not find their halves and brighten loneliness by visiting various clubs of interest and courses for further education.

Danish families are very specific branches of society in which the freedom of relations between the sexes is used for a detailed study of each other and the establishment of a deep mutual understanding, which is expressed in the pursuit of joint activity in everything. This is a kind of protection against sexual chaos with absolute equality of articles (constitutionally, women were entitled to vote in the elections in 1915, and in 1989 Denmark became the first country in the world to recognize the right of homosexual couples to enter into a marriage union).

Danes are distinguished by purposefulness and punctuality, and their social relations are life according to the schedule according to the social hierarchy and social role. National family traditions are reminiscent of the principles of clan family relationships in the eastern countries, especially in the upbringing of children: respect for the older generation, jealous attitude towards parents and family ties, joint resolution of any problems. All holidays are held together, and children living separately keep warm and friendly relations with their parents and other relatives until the end of their lives. Moreover, the Danes most often consider their close friends relatives.

In Denmark, great importance is attached to their own homes – many Danish families live in their homes, which are often inherited. Before buying a house, the spouses are approaching seriously: choose it for a long time and carefully, because they are going to live in it “forever.” First and foremost, a table and a flag are purchased in the house (the first symbolizes a large, strong and friendly family, and the second one is family happiness). It must decorate it, often with products made by their own hands (they are often also given to relatives and friends). In Denmark there is even a peculiar cult of gifts, especially souvenirs brought from various foreign travels.

The attitude towards the education of small Danes is quite free. They are considered to be full members of the family – parents treat them on an equal footing and do not impose their opinions on them: children are supposed to be given more freedom and freedom, and when a child grows up, she will choose her own way and place in her life for herself. . Therefore, children are often disrespectful to their parents – in conversation between them you can hear brazen tips and rude words. Such freedoms are offset by the joint implementation of all family affairs – children do not sit idly by themselves and learn from a small part of discipline and mutual assistance, though not without some share of parenting “suggestions”. That’s why brushed and rude Danish children, growing up, under the influence of society and parents, change their habits, adjusting and understanding that it is better to have a balanced relationship in society. However, typical feelings of internal contempt and self-esteem in relationships with others remain Danes for life.

If a family breaks up in Denmark or one of the spouses dies, then those who stay with children immediately begin to pay all kinds of subsidies, assistance and insurance. The same thing happens with orphans. However, in Denmark virtually no children’s homes – every child who lost his family literally immediately finds new parents. Moreover, childless Danish families often adopt foreign children. And for the elderly, the disabled and the homeless there are various social institutions where they receive all kinds of help: nursing homes, dining rooms and shelter for homeless people, etc.

At age 18, teenagers traditionally leave their parents' home and begin to live an independent life, considered adults. According to Danish laws, children are placed in queue for separate (social) housing, which is entitled to receive any desirable citizen, regardless of age and income, children aged 14-15 years. And it is given to them in 1-2 years in accordance with the wishes expressed. In Denmark, very high taxation – the majority of social needs of the population are satisfied for a public account: free medical care and education, scholarships for students and the financing of kindergartens, etc. Denmark belongs to a few countries where the main customer of educational services is not the state or its citizens, but families. Some schools are owned by municipalities, financed from local budgets and trained according to a national program. Private educational institutions are on the balance of the state, but they are trained in their independently developed programs without interfering with their work by the controlling state structures.

The whole system of education in the country combines only the uniform requirements for the study of mathematics, Danish and English. This is due to the fact that the basic requirements of parents in the field of education are not brought to the level of knowledge gained at school, but to the processes of social adaptation of their children and the skills of independent decision-making. Therefore, the opening of schools often takes place at the request of parents. In this case, the curriculum is composed, focusing on their requests, and not in accordance with the requirements of the state program of training. Moreover, parents at any moment can interfere and correct the process of learning their children.

Once Denmark was ruled by women, they are traditionally not considered a weak article, and the current structure and priorities of social relations have obvious echoes of the matriarchy. For the same reason, in the country there is no division of spheres of life on a gender basis, including in the family when conducting a household, where the work is distributed equally. The Danes are elegant, good mistresses and independent beings, and the unemployed woman is amazed. Moreover, even when the family is wealthy, they will all work the same way.

History and culture of Denmark speaks of the great passionarity of its population: active participation in Viking campaigns and the development of Iceland, Greenland and North America; The capture of Paris, Normandy, Northeast England and the conquest of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Holstein; The creation of a single kingdom of Denmark, Norway and England; The unification of Denmark, Norway and Sweden into the Kalmar Union; Constant internal struggle for the crown, etc. Such long-term domination in large areas of a small, by number, people has created a special system of internal social relations: the main stakeholders in the state (despite the existence of a rigid social hierarchy) becomes a family (sometimes a small clan), And representatives of subjugated peoples are allowed to manage state structures and elaborate the principles of national policy, which has introduced into the national culture tolerance and tolerance in suzerainty relations.

However, existing earlier opportunities for seizing additional resources, obtaining advanced technologies and knowledge about the world without parallel development of social relations, now multiplied by huge hydrocarbon rent and Danish thrift, have left the Danish society at the level of the family SS. Ultimately, the slow, matriarchal type of national development gave birth to a stable oligarchic system of patronal relations in Danish society. Therefore, now it is an industrially-agrarian country whose economy is based on sectoral

trade. The main motto of modern SR in Denmark: loyalty in exchange for paternalism with an effective consensus social control mechanism – a high cost of living. It deprives most of the Danes of the future under the new system of world division of labor, though the Danish authorities are struggling to create a diverse, highly skilled workforce.

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Cooperation Ukraine and Moldova with NATO

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Summary

The article describes the development of relations between Ukraine and Moldova with NATO, indicates on the main directions of cooperation. This article outlines cooperation of Ukraine and Moldova in the framework of the NATO and the role of Alliance for these countries. Indicates on the attitude NATO to conflicts in Transnistria and separate districts of Donetsk and Lugansk regions.

Keywords: NATO, Euro-Atlantic integration, "Partnership for Peace", post-Soviet space.

Today, the development of relations between Ukraine and Moldova with NATO has become important, as the Alliance is an essential element of the European security system. NATO is an organization open to cooperation with all countries, and this openness and cooperation opportunity must be used to create a secure and stable Europe and to guarantee the national security of Ukraine and Moldova. The Alliance was interested in co-operating with the new post-Soviet states – the United States has proposed the creation of a Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, which would contribute to the inclusion of post-Soviet states in the European security system. The official basis of the PfP program is the Framework Document, published in 1994, which defines the main commitments and guarantees of the parties.

Moldova is one of the most active member states of the Partnership for Peace program. As early as March 16, 1994, the signing by the then President M. Snegur of the Partnership for Peace Program Framework Document was signed. Moldova became the twelfth signatory. The main tasks were to confront terrorism, ensure security from external threats and expand scientific contacts. One of the aspects of Moldova's cooperation with NATO was the issue of settling the Transnistria conflict: the Alliance is interested in its speedy resolution in order to strengthen security and stability in the Black Sea region. At the same time, the Alliance does not intervene directly to resolve the conflict by acting through bilateral consultations.

The next few years are characterized by intensification of relations between Moldova and NATO in the context of the Partnership for Peace program. Thus, on April 25, 1995, an Individual Partnership Program with the Alliance within the PfP between the Republic of Moldova and NATO was approved, on the basis of which cooperation plans were signed between the Ministry of Defense of Moldova and NATO for 1.3 and 5 years [1]. Since December 1997, Moldova has established regular contacts with the Alliance – the Mission of

the Republic of Moldova to NATO was formed, headed by the Ambassador of Moldova in Belgium. During January 1998, mutual work visits took place.

2001 was the beginning of a new stage in the development of relations between Moldova and NATO. During the visit of the then President of Moldova V. Voronin to the NATO Headquarters on June 28, 2001, a memorandum of understanding with the NATO Nuclear Safety and Supply Agency (NAMSA) was signed on cooperation in the field of logistics. According to him, a special fund was funded by the Alliance in 2002, in which a large number of ammunition were destroyed. In June 2005, V. Voronin announced his intention to approve the Moldova Action Plan to Combat Terrorism and the Establishment of Defense Organizations, an idea of which was voiced at the Summit of the North Atlantic Cooperation Countries on July 28-29, 2004 in Istanbul.

On July 6, 2006, the Government of Moldova approved the Moldova-NATO Individual Partnership Plan (IRRA). The document clearly states that the participation of the Republic of Moldova in the IARAR is aimed at conducting reforms in the security and military spheres, rather than Moldova's desire to join NATO. The emphasis is also placed on the political cooperation of Moldova with other neutral countries. A year later, in October 2007, the NATO Information and Documentation Center in Moldova was formed.

On August 18, 2010, the Government of Moldova agreed upon the updated Action Plan. As part of this plan, Moldova participated in some international military exercises in 2012-2013, joined forces with NATO forces in Kosovo. Moldova's IRAAR with NATO for 2014-2016 indicated continued cooperation with Ukraine to restore border integrity, create the necessary border infrastructure and institutional capacity. The document also stresses the need to complete the process of demarcation of the border between Ukraine and Moldova prior to the end of the IRAR. In December 2016 I. Dodon came to power in Moldova, a pro-Russian politician who questioned the need for Euro-Atlantic integration of the Republic of Moldova. In January 2017, he stated that he intends to cancel the agreement to open a communications bureau with NATO in Chisinau, changing the course on the Eurasian direction.

There is a number of unfavorable factors hindering effective cooperation between Moldova and the Alliance. First, the RM is a politically unstable state. The Tiber's Revolution of 2009 and the crisis of the parliamentary system, which lasted until 2012; "Theft of the century" in 2015, when from the banks of Moldova in the unknown direction disappeared \$ 1 billion; Numerous protests that arose as a result of this theft, and eventually the election of a president in the end of 2016 with pro-Russian orientation and ambiguous statements-all this did not contribute to the fruitful foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, including NATO. Secondly, Moldova appears in the concept of the "Russian world" and, like the whole post-Soviet space, is viewed by Russia as an object of its own influence. While the intensification of military cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and NATO member states creates conditions for the weakening of Russia's position in this region. Consequently, the constitutionally neutrality of Moldova is vital for maintaining the Russian influence on the state. According to the Minister of Defense of Moldova A. Shalaru, if there were no Russian troops on the territory of Moldova, then the state would have no problems with joining NATO [2].

Unlike Moldova, Ukraine's cooperation with NATO was aimed at not only involving the European security system, but also solving tasks inherited from the Soviet Union. This is assistance in distributing the Black Sea Fleet, as well as the elimination of nuclear status. Another goal was shared with Moldova – to prevent Russia's plans to transform the CIS into a modified USSR as a military-political bloc with a single center. For Ukraine, the development and deepening of strategic partnership with NATO is a priority national interest in foreign policy. Therefore, Ukraine, like Moldova, immediately joined the PfP program by signing the Framework Partnership Document on February 8, 1994, ahead of Moldova. The following year, a communications office was opened at NATO headquarters.

1997 was marked by deepening of Ukraine-NATO relations. The Alliance, which planned expansion, also wanted to involve Ukraine as a candidate for the status of a regional leader in building a common security system. On July 9, 1997, a Charter on a Distinctive Partnership was signed between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at the Madrid Summit, and on August 21, 2009, a Declaration on its Addition. In general, the Alliance's relations with Ukraine developed more intensively than with Moldova. Confirmation of this is that, for example, only in 1997, Ukraine's representatives participated in 139 program activities and within the framework of the Partnership for Peace Partnership, including training, conferences, seminars, courses and expert visits.

As a result of internal political changes within Ukraine, relations between the state and NATO were inconsistent. A clear supporter of Ukraine's Euro-Atlantic integration, V. Yushchenko, acknowledged Ukraine's cooperation with NATO as one of the priorities of the government for its presidency, even before Ukraine achieved the criteria for joining this organization. However, for the next president Viktor Yanukovich, Ukraine announced in June 2010 its non-aligned policy, that is, the waiver of Euro-Atlantic integration with the legislative consolidation of these changes in the Law "On the Principles of the Internal and Foreign Policy of Ukraine" of July 1, 2010, by a Decree The then president was abolished by the Interdepartmental Commission on the Preparation of Ukraine's Accession to NATO, which was formed back in 2006. Thus, the first public steps were taken to prepare the legal basis for changing international and security priorities And Ukraine's gradual rapprochement and accession to the conditions of the eastern military-political bloc, the center of which is the Russian Federation.

The pendulum woke again in the other direction after the victory of the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine, when V. Yanukovich fled to Russia and P. Poroshenko became President in May's extraordinary presidential election. By the Decree of the President of Ukraine dated September 24, 2014, the decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine "On urgent measures to protect Ukraine and strengthen its defense capabilities" [3] was enacted, according to which the development of relations of strategic partnership of Ukraine with the EU, the USA and NATO Outlined as a priority national interest. This gave rise to a new stage in the development of Ukraine-NATO relations.

The Alliance strongly condemned the annexation of Crimea and Russia's support for separatists in the ATO zone. According to experts from the Institute for Strategic Studies, NATO's position on Ukraine's support and condemnation of Russia's aggression has been declared extremely clearly, in particular at the summit of foreign ministers of NATO countries on April 1-2, 2014, where Ukraine received important proposals for cooperation

within the framework of the Special Partnership, As well as within the NATO-Ukraine Commission: taking urgent and long-term measures to strengthen Ukraine's ability to ensure its own security [4; P.37]. Russian aggression in Ukraine has generally forced NATO to intensify its activities. The Alliance has fundamentally changed the format of cooperation with partner countries, focusing on the geographical criteria and the presence of common borders with the Allies. In particular, after the Warsaw Summit of July 8-9, 2016, the Alliance undertook an additional commitment to extend its stability beyond its borders, thereby introducing a more effective approach to partner countries, including Ukraine and Moldova [4; P.31].

Ukraine and Moldova also participate in peacekeeping operations and exercises led by the Alliance. In particular, the Ukrainian and Moldovan contingents are part of KFOR, a NATO-led international force responsible for maintaining peace and stability in Kosovo. Ukraine introduced here its peacekeepers on September 1, 1999, and Moldova in early March 2014. As of 2014, the Ukrainian contingent in Kosovo was numbered 162, while Moldovan – 41. [4]

An important area of cooperation between Ukraine and Moldova with NATO involvement of these countries in international peacekeeping exercises. Such exercises as a "shield world" and "Cooperative Partner" enable Ukraine and Moldova at the appropriate level to prepare its military troops to participate in peacekeeping operations [5; P.37]. Traditional steel multinational exercises "Sea Breeze", held at the initiative of Ukraine and the USA as part and "the spirit" of PfP in 1997 and which is often attached Moldova. Moldovan particular the military took part in the exercise "Sea Breeze" in 2007 [6], 2015 [7], 2016 [8] years.

Many factors influence the effectiveness of cooperation between the country and Moldova in NATO. In addition to the above-mentioned problematic issues, there is one common problem for the two countries of an intrinsic nature: a lack of acceptance by the public of the idea of NATO membership. In Moldova, according to the International Republican Institute (USA), for the period 2014-2016, the proportion of those who favored Moldova's accession to NATO has fallen from 31% in 2014 to 19% in 2015. [9] and up to 16% in 2016 [10]. In Ukraine, the situation with NATO perceptions changed after Russia's aggression in 2014 – according to the Razumkov Center, if the question "If the next Sunday was a referendum on Ukraine's joining NATO, how would you vote?" In August 2011, for joining the NATO was represented by 17.9% of respondents, then in April 2014. (2 months after the annexation of the Crimea) the figure increased to 36.7%, and in September 2016 – to 44.3% of the polled [11]. The inertia of the significant distrust of people in the post-Soviet area, including the citizens of Ukraine and Moldova, towards NATO should be considered among many factors, such as the rudiment of ignorance, Sovietism, nostalgia, especially the older generation, for the past paradise, which for some reason collapsed. Another problem is the external factor, namely the complete rejection of Russia, as a former allied center, of the Euro-Atlantic integration of the states that it attributes to its so-called "Near abroad".

Taking into account the above, we will conclude that NATO's cooperation with Ukraine and Moldova is an important component of the foreign policy of both states. The relations of these states, which in 1994 received the status of partners, joined the newly created Partnership for Peace program, with NATO, are developing on a largely bilateral basis. The

interaction of Ukraine and Moldova with NATO provides benefits in the framework of military, economic, scientific and technical, medical cooperation in a bilateral format.

Despite the desire of Ukraine and Moldova to deepen their cooperation with NATO up to membership in the Alliance, now this perspective is developing quite controversially. In order to achieve this, states need not only to reform the armed forces and to prepare professional modern military personnel, but also to overcome corruption, which is a major problem for traditionally oligarchic Ukraine and Moldova. The unresolved conflicts in the territory of Moldova and Ukraine do not contribute to the rapid membership of NATO. Separatists, supported from the outside, act as an additional destabilizing factor and "lever of influence" on the foreign policy of Chisinau and Kiev and ensure the "blurriness" of the borders and their vulnerability.

It should be noted that NATO provides ongoing political support to Moldova in resolving the Transnistrian conflict. The Alliance also strongly condemns aggression and supports separatism by Russia in Crimea and eastern Ukraine. Under the new geopolitical conditions, NATO's role for Moldova and Ukraine is greatly enhanced.

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Position and social role of the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary

Dmytro Tkach

Summary

The state and the social role of the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary is analyzed in the article. Provision of the community rights and freedoms, guarantee of preservation of native language, culture and national traditions are highlighted. It is stated that within Ukrainian-Hungarian relations all political and legal conditions to make the national minorities of both countries feel themselves secure, maintain close relationships with the parent nation on one side and to provide all opportunities to develop cultural, educational and national needs of minorities in the country of residence on another side are created. The specific data on enforcement of rights of the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary are given.

Keywords: Ukraine, Hungary, the Ukrainian national minority living in Hungary, enforcement of rights

The formation of a Ukrainian national minority in Hungary has an interesting history. Even in the days of the USSR, an attempt was made to unite the Ukrainians living in this country into a public organization and to create conditions for them to study their native language, culture and national traditions. Already in those years, Hungary, that the building of a democratic society in accordance with the principles of a market economy, provided significant assistance in the formation of the Ukrainian community. An important role in this case was played by the Declaration on Principles of Cooperation for the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities, signed in May 1991. This document is today the basis of the Hungarian-Ukrainian relations and the policy of ensuring the rights of national minorities. To date, a strong legal framework for cooperation has been established in matters concerning the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary, based on Ukrainian-Hungarian intergovernmental, intergovernmental and interdepartmental bilateral documents. In turn, Hungary has established a powerful legislative framework for the protection of the rights

and freedoms of national and ethnic minorities. The Hungarian state ensures the rights of national minorities based on the relevant articles of the Constitution of the UR, and also more than ten laws are adopted and in force that ensure the rights of national and ethnic minorities.

The main principle of Hungary for many years in the policy of living in the country of national minorities is the creation of model conditions for the development of each national community. Thus, it prompts neighboring states, where Hungarian communities live, to act in the same way. Since 1990, all Hungarian governments in foreign policy have identified the following priorities: integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures, development of good relations with neighboring states and protection of the rights of national minorities residing abroad [1 p.376].

Gorbachev's rebuilding, the beginning of the collapse of the USSR, the velvet revolutions of the late 1980s in Central and Eastern Europe prompted the Hungarians to search the region of a country on which to base a pilot project on such an attitude to the Hungarian national minority that would meet the highest European standards. Such country was Ukraine. First, in the USSR in 1990, there were already political forces that sought to collapse the Soviet Union and build an independent state. Secondly, this position required international support and recognition. Thirdly, a large number of Ukrainians live and live abroad and needs attention, and in some cases, protection from the ancestral home. Fourthly, Ukrainian Hungarians live compactly, mainly in Beregovo, Uzhgorod and Mukacheve districts, which provided an opportunity for the future to create an autonomous national district.

Thanks to the efforts of Hungarian and Ukrainian diplomacy in late May – early June 1991 in Budapest, during the visit of Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine L. Kravchuk, was signed among nine Ukrainian-Hungarian documents and the Declaration on Principles of Cooperation for the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities. This document is today the basis of the Hungarian-Ukrainian relations and the policy of ensuring the rights of national minorities. At the time of its adoption, the Declaration was substantially more progressive than the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1992, ahead of the time leading European documents in this area: The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe (1995) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1993).

The declaration reaffirmed the intention of both countries to comply with all the norms and obligations contained in the UN Charter, the UN human rights instruments, the Helsinki Final Act and other documents on security and cooperation in Europe. This document guaranteed the national minorities of both countries broad rights. Particular emphasis should be placed on paragraph 5 of the Declaration, in which both Ukraine and Hungary undertook to create for national minorities a status that would provide them with effective participation in public affairs, including participation in matters relating to the protection and promotion of their identity, The adoption and implementation of decisions relevant to the regions of their residence [3, p. 269-274]. From this point it follows that any of the national minorities living in Ukraine or Hungary has the right to create a national-cultural autonomy, and under certain conditions, with the consent of the central government, also the establishment of administrative-territorial autonomy.

An important provision enshrined in the Declaration was the establishment of the Mixed Commission of Representatives of State Institutions and, respectively, national minorities of both countries. The Commission was established on May 14, 1992 and acts on the basis of the Regulation approved by the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on June 11, 1994 "On the Ukrainian Part of the Mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian Commission for the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities". During more than 25 years of activity, the commission has shown the effectiveness of its work, its members managed to solve a large number of issues of ensuring the rights of national minorities of both countries, which greatly contributed to the strengthening of trust between Ukraine and Hungary. The signing of this document helped Hungarians to sign similar declarations with Romania, Slovakia and Croatia.

Today, the legal basis for cooperation in matters concerning the Hungarian national minority is the interstate, intergovernmental and interdepartmental bilateral documents signed by Ukraine with the Republic of Hungary, in particular:

- Treaty on Foundations of Neighborhood and Cooperation (31/05/1991);
- Declaration on the main directions of cooperation in the humanitarian sphere (31/05/1991);
- Declaration on the Principles of Cooperation for the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities (31 May 1991);
- Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on cooperation in the field of culture, education and science (04.04.1995);
- Agreement on cooperation on the return of cultural property that fell during the Second World War and in subsequent years into the territory of another country (04. 05. 1995).

Thus, it can be argued that in the Ukrainian-Hungarian relations all political and legal conditions were created in order to ensure that the national minorities of both countries feel protected and, on the one hand, had close relations with the mother nation, on the other hand, they could ensure that the country of residence All opportunities for the development of cultural, educational and national minorities' needs.

Since the 1990s, Hungary has been actively developing and implementing a policy on national minorities that meets the highest European standards. In Hungary, a strong legislative framework for the protection of the rights and freedoms of national and ethnic minorities has been established. The Hungarian state ensures the rights of national minorities, relying on relevant articles of the Constitution of the UR [3, p. 335]. More than ten laws have been adopted and in force to ensure the rights of national and ethnic minorities. Among the most important are the Law LXXVII "On the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities" (1993) and its amendment No. 62 (1994), which regulates the formation of bodies of national self-government; Law LXXIX "On General Education (1993).

The Government's decision to establish the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities, the main task of which is the implementation of the Hungarian state policy on issues of national minorities, is essential in this case. In accordance with the Law LXXVII (1993), a Ukrainian minority, on an equal basis with others, has the right to national and ethnic identity, the

right to freely maintain ties with historical homeland and related nations, the right to protection from assimilation and a number of other collective and individual rights. The law also guarantees the right of the Ukrainian national minority to represent the Hungarian State Assembly. According to the Hungarian legislation in force, a national or ethnic minority is considered to be any nationality living on the territory of a country over 100 years old whose members are Hungarian citizens, have their own language, culture and traditions, and which is minor in relation to the majority of the population [4].

On the territory of the Hungarian Republic, according to the Office of National and Ethnic Minorities in Hungary, there are about two thousand Ukrainian-born people. During the 2001 census native Ukrainian language accepted 4885 people to identify themselves Ukrainian nationality, 5070 persons, 4779 expressed their affiliation to the Ukrainian cultural tradition. According to other organizations, including the Society of Ukrainian Culture in Hungary, Hungarian citizen of Ukrainian origin consider themselves six thousand people [5]. Today, Hungary is officially registered and operates several companies and cultural and educational institutions Ukrainian and Rusyn communities: Society of Ukrainian Culture in Hungary, Public Company Hungarian Rusyns (DTUR), Association of Ukrainian intelligentsia Hungary (TUIU) Scientific Society of Ukrainian Hungary (NTU), a number of scientific societies of Ukrainian studies and Russian studies. All of them are public organizations.

The most authoritative and efficient organization of Ukrainians in Hungary is SUK. In 1991, the Cultural Society of Ukrainians and Ruthenians (CSUR) of Hungary was created as a representative body of Ukrainians. The Society was headed by former party functionary from Transcarpathia O. Rusin, who emigrated to Hungary. History tells how he managed to do it in the days of the USSR. The elected chairman of the Ukrainian community transferred his party experience to community leadership, he had a dictatorial tone, team methods of leadership. Most of the members of the CTCA did not accept it and rose up against the party dictatorship – at the head of the democratic majority was Yaroslav Khortyani, a young teacher of the Hungarian Gymnasium from Ternopil region.

They re-elected O. Rusin, and although he sued the Society, wrote terrible letters to Kyiv, CTUR became a democratic, Ukrainian-oriented public organization. The author of these lines proudly recalls his personal contribution to the formation of the Society – as a Soviet diplomat. Following the adoption of the Law on National Minorities (1993), the Society for the Ukrainian Culture in Hungary (TUKU) was founded, headed by Yaroslav Khortyani. In 1995, the Society replenished its branches in Szeged and Komarom. The Ukrainian culture community remains a public organization, a base for cultural and educational activities in Hungary. His activity, first of all, is aimed at the care of preserving the native language, culture, national traditions, historical monuments.

In Hungary, since January 1996, the magazine "Hromada", the only printed organ of the Ukrainian minority, issues the Ukrainian and Hungarian languages. Since January 2000, the magazine comes in color format, which makes it much more attractive. The Ukrainian community has the opportunity once a month to present its program on Hungarian television within the framework of the special platform for national minorities "Rondo", as well as the Hungarian radio once a week broadcast a half-hour Ukrainian program. Since 2001, it has its own Internet portal (www.ukrajinci.hu), where you can find topical information in Ukrainian and Hungarian on the life and activities of Ukrainian NGOs in

Hungary. Information is provided with photo and video. The portal also contains the numbers of the magazine "Community", including archives of previous editions.

Particular attention is paid to the publishing house of Ukrainian literature in Hungary. For those who do not have a proper command of their mother tongue (especially children), as well as Hungarians who want to learn the Ukrainian language, in 1995 the first Ukrainian language textbook was published in Hungary. In honor of the 125th anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian poetess Lesia Ukrainka in 1996, the Society issued a bilingual poetry collection *Seven Strings*, in 1999 – a bilingual collection of poems by Taras Shevchenko "The Epistle", in 2000 – the scientific work of Kamil Neupaer "The Word of the Regiment Igor ", in 2001 – the album " 10 years of the Society of Ukrainian Culture in Hungary ". Published bilingual assemblies of poems by Taras Shevchenko and Lesia Ukrainka, collection of poetry by Ukrainian poetess living in Hungary, Valentina Zinchenko "Malvi on towel". The world has prepared a documentary work by Yaroslav Khortyan on the famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine called "Hidden Truth," as well as the historical study by Camil Neapaer, "Testimony of the witness." Self-government of Ukrainians organized an international historic conference "In Memory of Innocent Victims", the materials of which were published in 2007.

In February 2008, a presentation of the first Ukrainian music disk called "To the Willows and Poplar" was held in Hungary. This is the fruit of a creative collaboration of a team of Ukrainian authors and performers living in Hungary. On June 14, 2014, the presentation of the audio album "In Memory of Taras Shevchenko" was held in Budapest, in which Hungarian poetry sounds performed by famous Hungarian actors.

An outstanding event in the life of the Ukrainian community was the opening by the Society with the support of the Embassy of Ukraine in the UR memorial plaque in honor of the 160th anniversary of the release of the almanac "Rusalka Dnistrova" in Budapest, a manifesto of the national revival of the 3rd Eastern Ukraine. The significance of this event is that it is the first printed perpetuation of the phenomenon of Ukrainian culture in Hungary. According to the recommendations of the Mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian Commission on the Rights of National Minorities, the day was designated as the Day of Ukrainian Culture in Hungary [6, p. 23].

The Society of Ukrainian Culture has established memorial plaques: in Tokaj, in honor of the visit to Hungary of the famous Ukrainian writer and philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda; On the territory of the Abbey in Tigon (near Balaton) to perpetuate the memory of the wife of Hungarian king Andras Anastasia, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise. On February 25, 2003 a memorial plaque was opened on the wall of the famous Budapest Pigeon Vigado Concert Center in honor of Ukrainian musicians who performed concerts in Budapest in the 20-30's of the last century. TUKU organized international conferences: "The role of M. Hrushevsky in the revival of Ukrainian national consciousness", from "Aeneid" I. Kotlyarevsky to "Mermaid of the Dniester", European conference of Ukrainian youth" Ukrainian youth on the threshold of the XXI century".

In the Society since 1995 in Budapest, there is Sunday school, which has about 30 students. Similar schools operate in the cities of Komaromi and Szegedi. The funding of these schools is provided by the Hungarian Ministry of Education. Annually more than 600 thousand

forints are allocated to their maintenance [7, p. 246]. Ukraine is constantly helping to provide schools with textbooks.

On April 12, 2000, in accordance with the recommendations of the Mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian Commission for the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities, the Research Institute of Ukrainian Studies was created with the help of the Hungarian State. Celebrate the New Year, Christmas and Easter holidays, Shevchenko Evenings, Memorials to the Chernobyl Disaster, festivals and contests, art exhibitions, joint liturgies in Ukrainian in the Greek Catholic Church in Budapest, etc. The Ukrainian community organized a humanitarian assistance to flood victims of the Transcarpathians on the initiative of SUC.

All these and other activities carried out by the Society were supported by the decisions of the Mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian Commission on the issues of ensuring the rights of national minorities. The Society of Ukrainian Intelligentsia was formed in 1995. According to its chairman, the organization has 120 members. The activities of the Society are reduced to the requirements of its leadership to receive financial assistance from the Hungarian state for the operation of this organization, which according to unofficial data actually amounts to only about 20 people. In order to promote the development of Ukrainian studies in Hungary, the Scientific Society of Ukrainian Studies of Hungary was also established. Ukrainian organizations are also involved in its organization, and the Hungarian authorities provided UKRIN with the appropriate premises. Head of the Ukrainian Studies Society of Hungary O. Kovac, lecturer at the Department of Baltic Philology and the East Slavic Languages of the Budapest University. L. Etwasha is an experienced specialist in the field of Ukrainian studies. The founders of the Society were the well-known Ukrainians from Hungary and abroad, as well as the Lviv Institute of Ukrainian Studies. I. Krypiakievych, Lviv Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Uzhhorod State University, writers, scholars and cultural figures, Hungarian and Ukrainian entrepreneurs.

The peculiarity of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Hungary is that here there is also State Society of Hungarian Rusyns (DTUR), formed in 1993. It brings together more than a thousand Rusyns of Hungary, compactly living in the Northeast part of Hungary, and in 1994 created a body municipality. This organization consists mainly of the inhabitants of the village Komloshka, located near the city of Miskolc. Most of them no longer speak their native language. In the village there is an eight-year school, in which the Slovak language is taught as a foreign language. The results of the elections to local governments of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary October 12, 2014 DTUR won 100 seats, the remaining smaller Rusyn organizations – 59 seats. State governments Rusyns of Hungary formed October 28, 2014, led by Viktor Kramarenko.

Unfortunately, the organization does not support cultural, educational, humanitarian ties with Ukraine. Former head of the DDRG G. Gattinger only supported contacts with representatives of the political Rusynism of Transcarpathia. It was with the assistance of G. Gattinger that the first press conference of the so-called provisional government of Subcarpathian Rus in Budapest was organized. DSEU publishes its own newspaper, " Rusyn Belly ", has, like the Ukrainian minority, its airtime on television and radio. However, there is considerable doubt that the funds allocated by the Hungarian government to this organization bring some benefits. In Hungary, dozens of Rusyns understand the language in which these materials are being prepared at best. The radical views of this organization's

leadership regarding the Rusyns, as a people other than Ukrainian, contradict objective scientific data on the origin and nature of the cultural features and ethnicity of the Ukrainian population of Transcarpathia, as well as international legal instruments in the field of interethnic relations, create additional problems for consolidation. Ukrainian minority in Hungary.

Regarding the situation of the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary, it should be noted that despite the right of only Rusyns to rely on the status of an indigenous nation under Hungarian law, the Hungarian state recognizes this social status as a Ukrainian. First of all, this is due to the presence of a large Hungarian national minority in Ukraine. Hungarians, giving local Ukrainians full rights of an autochthonous nation, thus encouraging the Ukrainian authorities to follow the principle of reciprocity. In this regard, it should be noted that Ukrainian legislation really creates opportunities for a European level for the development of culture, education, national traditions of national minorities, including Hungarian, but the realization of these rights, however, is associated with high financial costs, which, unfortunately, our country does not always have the right funds.

A special event in the life of the Ukrainian diaspora was the fact that five self-government bodies of the Ukrainian minority were created on October 18, 1998 in Hungary, in the cities of Budapest, Szegedi and Komaromi. An important milestone for Ukrainians in Hungary was the day of January 24, 1999, when in Budapest for the first time in history was elected the State Self-Government of Ukrainians of Hungary (DOSUU) headed by Y. Gortyan, who at that time was simultaneously the chairman of the Ukrainian Culture Society Hungary. Thus, the Ukrainian minority in Hungary has become an official representative body at the highest state level. Today there are 16 local government bodies in Hungary. They work as centers of the Ukrainian minority – uniting local Ukrainians around them, carrying out cultural and educational activities.

As for Yaroslava Hortyani, in the spring parliamentary elections in 2014, she was elected speaker of the Ukrainian national minority in the Hungarian parliament. In this regard, in accordance with the current legislation, it has lost its parliamentary mandate of the Ukrainian self-government of Hungary.

On October 28 the same year Yuriy Kravchenko was elected chairman of DOSUU. The establishment of self-government bodies of the Ukrainian minority in Hungary has not only legal but also political significance – the Ukrainian community has become equal with other national and ethnic minorities, a state-building factor. It should be noted that the number of citizens who voted in the elections for self-government bodies for Ukrainians significantly exceeded the number of Ukrainian communities, which indicates a significant authority of both Ukraine in Hungary and the Ukrainian minority.

With the change of status, the Ukrainian minority, in accordance with the legislation in force in Hungary, has received adequate material support. The state self-government of Ukrainians from the budget of the Hungarian Parliament is financed. In 1999, only 13 million forints were allocated to support the activities of the State Self-Government of Ukrainians in Hungary, while in 2000 – 14 million forints, in 2001 – almost 15 million forints (one US dollar equals 290 forints). In 2003, for the same purpose, 159.7 million forints were allocated, of which 100 million forints were allocated for the arrangement of the premises in which the

Ukrainian Culture Society of Hungary and the Governmental Self-Government of Hungarians of Ukraine were based. In the following year, 68.4 million forints were provided for the needs of the Ukrainian community [8]. In 2017, the Hungarian government allocated 90 million forints to the Ukrainian community for the maintenance of its structures, 10 million forints for the implementation of individual programs and 45 million forints to fund the rest of 700 Ukrainian children from the ATO zone.

In order to coordinate the activities of Ukrainian national organizations at the republican level, it became necessary to establish a centralized body. To this end, the Center for Ukrainian Culture and Documentation, which provides cultural activities of the State Self-Government, was established by the Government of Ukraine's Hungarians, organizes and directs cultural events in accordance with the annual plan.

The experience of Ukraine and Hungary in the modern age to protect the rights of national minorities is truly unique for Europe. By overcoming the accumulated lack of confidence in each other in Soviet times, the two countries, through negotiations, consultations and scientific conferences, have created such cooperation mechanisms that have helped to solve jointly problematic issues in the sensitive area of national minorities without leading them to conflict. It is also instructive that the imbalance between the Hungarian national minority in Ukraine and Ukrainian in Hungary did not affect the assertion of equal cooperation. Moreover, having wide rights and opportunities for studying the native language, culture, national traditions, establishing closer contacts with the ethnic homeland, creating its civil organizations, the Ukrainian national minority has become an influential factor in strengthening good-neighborly relations and mutual understanding between Ukraine and Hungary. In 1995, Foreign Ministers of Ukraine G. Udoenko and L. Kovacs of Hungary sent a letter to Miguel A. Marghines, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, in which they wrote: "We believe that Ukrainian-Hungarian activities in the sphere of protection of the rights of national minorities are worthy An example for imitation throughout Europe, and these efforts, multiplied by the activity of the Council of Europe and other international organizations, will create a proper ground for the effective and full satisfaction of the needs of national minorities" [9, p. 111]. In general, when assessing the situation over the years of the existence of an independent Ukraine around the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary, one can unequivocally state that the two countries have achieved generally accepted positive results. And, despite existing problems, it can be stated that the situation of the Ukrainian national minority in Hungary meets European requirements.

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"Great Choice" of Italy and the future of the European Union

Viktoriya Vdovychenko

Summary

EU's economic and political challenges open a new page of the European integration history. The crisis and challenges presented by Brexit enhanced scholars from various countries to analyze and rethink about the future of the European integration and EU as a whole. This article will outline the issues framed by Italy as a presiding country for G7 in 2017. As a founding member of the European Union, Italian Republic will try to raise discussions on various issues crucial for further development of the EU. The article poses the question to what extent the political fluidity within the member-states will be necessary in order for the EU to still remain solid tackling common economic and political challenges.

The article presents the opinions of the Italian scholars and politicians referred to future of the European Union. The first part of it presents an evolution of scholars' thoughts about the role and place of the European integration in the Italy's foreign policy. However, the emphasis is made on the last two years, when Italy had to have transformational changes referred to holding referendum in December 2016.

The second part of the article reveals the challenges of the EU, the European integration process and the implications on the Italian Republic. It tries to show how Italy manages to overcome the present integration challenges. The article presents discussion during the G7 and G20 summits. The special attention is given to analyzing the priorities of the Italy's G7 Presidency and its relations with some of the nations. It reveals the liaison between the interests of the Italian Republic and the European Union in order to present a consolidated position on EU's future.

Key words: European integration, Italy, EU, G7, G20.

Political “panic” associated with the release of the British EU referendum results in Italy and the presidential campaigns in the United States and France demonstrate the dilemma in choosing euro integration or nationalistic way to the founding of the European Union. Such developments become permanent in the impact of globalization not only in design integration associations in Europe, but the place and role of government, which is its economic and political powers. In addition, it should be borne in mind that Member States have become more sensitive to the populist tendencies and threats of terrorism in Europe and in the world. This determines the relevance of the study of evolutionary changes and the dynamics associated with the future of the European Union. This vision is presented in the analysis of the approach taken by one of the founding members of the EU – the Italian Republic and its positions during the summit of the G7 and G20 this year.

In Italy, by the end of 2016, Europe has shaped the ideal environment for ambitious Italian projects related to the impact on the process of European integration. Italy’s participation in the development of the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty, the holding of intergovernmental conferences, especially during the Italian presidency in the EU, concluded with the signing of the EU’s fundamental treaties (Maastricht and Amsterdam), determined the role and place of this country in shaping European politics in the early 1990s. These treaties included not only the completion of the creation of a common internal market, monetary and economic, customs unions, but also monetary, political integration and the creation of a military-political alliance. In addition, it was about preparing for the processes of deepening and expanding European integration and the EU as a whole. The principles of deep integration, laid down by the Maastricht and Amsterdam treaties, are subject to numerous discussions at the beginning of the 21st century. However, the Italians themselves remained the largest European-optimist in the EU.

The historical connection between Italy and Europe has always determined the priority of pan-European affairs on national issues. However, after voting in the referendum on December 4, 2016, the Italians realized that their country is also in dynamic transformational change, and that the referendum of 2016 was a kind of “point of non-return” to cases under the formula “as before”. Italian politicians and scholars are polarizing around two further directions of the European Union’s development in the future, namely: through further and deeper integration or, conversely, disintegration, that is, the weakening of existing ties between Member States in certain areas [1, p. 419]. As to the importance of further integration in 2015, Paolo Gentiloni spoke in a conference organized by the Italian Institute for International Political Studies. He noted that the future of Europe would depend on the ability of States-states to regenerate interactions and the desire to overcome the frustration associated with slowing down the pace of European integration. The EU will be able to take a prominent place in the new world order if Member States make more efforts and work out common solutions to deal with situations of greatest uncertainty [2].

The well-known Italian economist, president of the Pirelli Group Marko Trinketti-Provera identifies two fundamental factors that will influence the dynamics of such a European uncertainty. First, we are talking about the need to intensify efforts to increase investment, both European and national. Secondly, at the pan-European political level, the limited ability

of European institutions to effectively identify and respond to the needs of the population forms one of the most serious challenges facing the EU in the future [2].

At the same time, it should be noted that evolutionary changes in the EU countries with a multi-party system of governance began even earlier. Accordingly, Italy, one of the founding members of the EU, felt the unprecedented growth of non-systemic political forces formed into populist movements. They even acquired forms of inter-ideological, that is, those that penetrate all spheres of life [3, p. 56]. In addition, populism in the Italian Republic was also called "national", since the Italian political circles begin to favor the idea of gradual disintegration and the weakening of relations with Europe [4, p. 12].

Accordingly, in 2017 for Member States is essential to demonstrate the world for its solidarity and common will and commitment to European values, therefore, that the Italian Republic celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, which decided the fate of European integration and contributed to the preparation of the transition from the European Community to the European Union. The Roman treaties became fundamental to the creation of a "Europe of Nations" from the ruins in the years after the Second World War. They determined the priority of the rule of law, democracy and four freedoms: the free movement of people, capital, goods and services.

The Italian Republic has made efforts to ensure that the leaders' meeting for EU Member States is a demonstration of attempts to overcome the political and economic challenges that have turbulently influenced the EU since the Brexit. Signed again in March 2017, the Roman political declaration on the future of the EU without the United Kingdom symbolically marked the EU exit plan for a deep and systematic political and economic crisis [5]. The Declaration has highlighted the priority of security for Europe, which identifies important sustainable development and economic growth. In addition, it will foster the unification of Europe, which will thus be able to strengthen. This step has shown that the EU is doing its own systemic work aimed at effective transformational change [5, p. 1].

The next great achievement of the Italian Republic, which demonstrated the world's readiness to shape world politics, was the G-7 summit in the Sicilian town of Taormina on May 26-27, 2017. Italy advocated the need for new measures in the fight against terrorism, as well as prioritizing the question of overcoming migration challenges. However, it was precisely because of the position of the US president that no agreement was reached on climate. President Trump will later refuse to participate in the Paris Climate Action, which will trigger a series of negative comments from the world's leading powers.

Priority is also given to open, transparent and mutually beneficial trade. Europe will continue to be pressing issues and growing competition, in particular the impact of new markets and their competitive edge, which the EU was not prepared for. The emphasis in the final communiqué of the summit is on foreign policy challenges. Thus, the G-7 leaders condemned the Syrian war and called for a cessation of the conflict and efforts to resolve the situation under the aegis of the UN [6, p. 1].

G7 leaders for Libya see the need for further political dialogue and national reconciliation. In addition, the communiqué also talks about North Korea, which put the world at risk, carrying out nuclear tests and launching ballistic missiles. In connection with this, the G-7 calls on the country to abandon all nuclear programs and launches of missiles in the future.

As for Ukraine, the thesis confirms the importance of the implementation of the Minsk accords and emphasizes the efforts to be made to resolve the crisis in the "Norman format" [6, p. 2].on, the communiqué also talks about North Korea, which put the world at risk, carrying out nuclear tests and launching ballistic missiles. In connection with this, the G-7 calls on the country to abandon all nuclear programs and launches of missiles in the future. As for Ukraine, the thesis confirms the importance of the implementation of the Minsk accords and emphasizes the efforts to be made to resolve the crisis in the "Norman format" [6, p. 2].

Another reference point for the countries of the Maghreb and the African continent is that the threats common to the EU Member States are in the Mediterranean region, to which the Italian Republic wishes to regain its attention. The Italian Republic recognized the priority of its chairmanship to overcome the challenges of illegal migration and the settlement of flows of migrants from the African continent. For this, Italian government officials invited some African presidents to the summit of the G-7, but this issue was not identified as a priority United States, and the draft decision, prepared by the Italian Republic, had to be changed precisely because of the position of Donald Trump.

The theme of security and migration threats has become the main point in Italy's position during the G-20 summit in Germany on 7-8 June 2017. The Italian delegation has repeatedly highlighted social challenges in Europe, in particular the need to draw attention to employment in Europe and the mobility of workers a force seeking professional growth and gaining new skills [7, p. 18]. In addition, Italian officials support the idea of the importance of disseminating clear and transparent information about new technologies and advocating their application in the social sphere.

An explanation of the position of the Italian Republic at the present stage was proposed by the publishing house "Limes". This Italian magazine on geopolitics presented a special edition in May 2017, which highlighted the role and place of Italy in the modern geopolitical environment. The main conclusions of the authors' council about their own country relate, first of all, to the failure of the Italian Republic to overcome the position of the "middle class" and once again become the "great" power of the EU [8, p. 3]. Ironically, Italy is referred to as a "geopolitical teenager" who fled from his own achievements and unable to assume responsibility for the fate of Europe in time [9, pp. 3-4].

However, the authors point out the positive aspects of such a geopolitical lesson. The subjective contradictions of the Italian Republic in the long-term evolutionary change also contributed to the increase of its contributions to the development of European integration. The authors argue that Italy has undergone a complete cycle of geopolitical transformations, namely: from a country that was a measure in geopolitics, lost it, but again claims to be returned. Thus, in particular, Italy is an example of a country that can decide on the fate of the existence of the euro zone. The Italian Republic, in case of its release, will lead to the complete collapse of this monetary union [9, p. 4]. It should be noted that Italy is increasingly disappointed with the advantages of the euro area, and this is reflected in the growing political dissatisfaction of the Italian government with the EU policy and leads to social tension within the country [10, p. 158].

In addition, Italy itself is the regional leader of the Mediterranean, taking over the levers of "migration" threats from the Maghreb. It should be noted that Ukrainian scholar W. Helberg, analyzing economic and migration threats, identifies them with social security. It indicates that the main object of security in this regard is collective identities, that is, groups with certain ethnic, religious and national characteristics [11, p. 53]. The same idea is true for Italian researchers when they explain the EU's immigration policy as operating in Italy between two approaches: further securitization and the implementation of "ineffective policies" [10, p. 42]. The process of transforming the migration challenge into a security field remains one of Italy's top priorities in the European Union.

In times of growing anti-globalization and populist sentiment in the European Union's major efforts, it is important for the Italian Republic itself to understand its own place and steps in the international arena. However, the Italian Republic seeks to continue to believe in the fundamental importance of European integration and the EU as a whole. She understands that in order to overcome modern challenges in Europe, it is necessary to rethink each of the EU member states their place, importance and contribution to the joint development of a "united Europe".

Accordingly, 2017 is important not only for Italy but also for the European Union in its attempts to transform its own approaches to diplomacy, politics and the economy on the path to overcoming globalization. Italy, as well as other major European countries, are struggling to become more flexible in terms of socio-economic challenges, on the one hand, and more sustainable in addressing common external threats and security, on the other hand.

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Constellation of the Southern Seas:

Australian way of successful medium-nationality

Oleksandr Galandziy

Summary

The article describes peculiarities of the historical path of Australia. The successful development of Australia as an influential middle power was essentially contributed to the unique geographical location and rich natural resources. At the same time a balanced political course accounting for a combination of domestic and international factors was equally important. Active participation of Australia in the system of treaties and partnerships supports sustainable economic development and maintains its role in Asia-Pacific international interactions.

Keywords: the Commonwealth of Australia, foreign policy, middle power, forward defence, international security, protectionism, free trade.

In the international processes of recent decades, the phenomenon of Australia as an unconditionally successful middle-level state from the standpoint of economic and defense potential, which demonstrated the ascent from the peripheral migration colony to one of the most influential developed countries of the modern world, clearly emerged. At the beginning of the XXI century. The Australian Union is a member of the G-20 from leading economies in the world. The state plays a key role in the South Pacific region, due to its geographical location, established partnerships with the United States and New Zealand, active economic cooperation with Asian countries and influence on neighboring countries, including military-political control of the surrounding area.

The development of Australia began with the British expedition captain A. Philip, who landed in Sydney Bay (1788) – in a place called Port Jackson – where he founded the first permanent settlement. Initially, the bulk of the colonists were prisoners from Britain and Ireland. Until the 1840's, the Metropolitan Government used Australia as a place of exile for hard labor, until the parliament in 1837-1838 decided not to abolish this practice. The founding of South Australia, the first "free" colony established in the 1820s between the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, changed the character of colonization and significantly accelerated the process of settling the continent by Europeans. In the 1840's, in the Victoria colony, deposits of gold were found, which contributed to a rapid increase in the flow of settlers. For 20 years, the population of the Australian colonies has increased from 400

thousand to 1146 thousand people. An increase in the population contributed to the accelerated development of farming and industry. Subsequently, the discovery of deposits of gold in Queensland in the 1880's provoked the colonists' relocation from the south to the west and the northwest, which stimulated the development of new territories and the development of the mining industry.

In 1855-1890, six Australian colonies received from the metropolitan constitution, which recognized their right to self-government. The administrative-political structure of the Australian colonies arranged for a "Westminster model". From the middle of the nineteenth century. In Australia there was an active development of the trade union movement. In 1879 the number of trade union members was more than 100 thousand, which allowed them to influence the results of parliamentary elections and lobby for the interests of employees. On the basis of trade unions, the Labor Party was created. Having received parliamentary representation, Labor was blocked by the liberals and supported the expansion of self-government, against which conservatives – opponents of the idea of the sovereignty of the British colonies.

The integration of the colonies contributed to the harmonization of immigration rules. Colonial governments have made the British Parliament a law on the need for migrants to speak one of the European languages as a precondition for entry into Australia. This decision closed access for migrants from Asia. The formal motivation for such a migration policy was to stop the outflow of money and gold that Asian migrants sent to their countries of origin. In 1883, the British Parliament passed a federal act, the draft of which was developed with the direct participation of the governments of the colonies. This act created the first joint governing body – the Federal Council of Australia, which had rather weak levers of influence on the policy in the colonies. Subsequently, in 1889, a full-fledged system of domestic self-government was introduced in Australia, which included the federal parliament and government.

The beginning of the formation of foreign policy stimulated a debate on the determination of Australia in relations within the British Empire and its role in the region. The specifics of Australia's geopolitical position and its proximity to Asian countries have led to the consolidation of the stereotype of "white Australia", justifying the response to the immigration of immigrants from China and India. Anti-Chinese, and later, anti-Japanese sentiments fueled interpretation of the role of Australia as an outpost of Western civilization. Instead, Asia was perceived as an unstable and fragile environment that poses a potential threat to Australia's absorption of its small displaced population. And only after the Second World War, when Australia gained real independence in foreign affairs, the country's political elite began to soberly assess the benefits and prospects of partnership with Asian countries.

In the second half of the twentieth century. Australian foreign policy was significantly influenced by the reorientation of foreign economic relations. If in the 1940s more than half of Australia's exports were to Great Britain, then by the mid-1960s this figure fell to 10%. Instead, during post-war reconstruction Australia has significantly expanded relations with the US and neighboring countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Since then, the Australian governments have sought to strike a balance between the interests of the country in the

Asia-Pacific region and the constant tradition of allied relations with the Western powers and their military-political alliances.

Priority partners of Australia proclaimed the United States, New Zealand, Indonesia, the countries of Southeast Asia and China. Correction of foreign policy tasks did not affect the sphere of allied military-political relations with the United States, formalized by the agreement on the creation of the ANZUS bloc (1951). At the same time, the first Australian "White Paper" on defense policy (1976) contained such innovations as the justification for the goals of cooperation with ASEAN and the desirability of integrating into the South-East Asian economic environment. An assessment of the general state of the country was that Australia could influence the development of processes in the surrounding area, "using a close and fruitful cooperation relationship with local and regional partners." Such ties should contribute to the security and stability of the strategic situation. Given the remoteness of Australia from Europe and the realization that the United States has many diverse interests and commitments. Consequently, government circles were encouraged to use their own leverage to protect themselves from uncertainty and to support regional change in the desired direction, which would allow them to cope with different situations on their own [1, p. 2].

An essential feature of the foreign policy course of the 1980's was the priority of the development of relations with the countries of East Asia and the South Pacific. There was an intensification of economic ties with Japan, Malaysia and the countries of Oceania. Having declared the course for integration into the Asian economic space, Australia has positioned itself as a regional power of "middle power". The emphasis on regional interests was accompanied by a significant reduction in attention to global issues. A specific form of "isolationism" in the military sphere has been realized in strengthening the capabilities of naval forces, focusing on regional security and border protection issues, primarily on illegal immigration. An important task was recognized finding a country's own role in the balance of power within the Asia-Pacific and establishing cooperation with countries that had a medium power potential comparable to Australia [2, p. 164-171].

In 1983, the Labor Government, R. Hawke initiated the development of a new concept in the field of national security and defense. It was based on the report "Defense capabilities of Australia" (1986). This paper determined that Australia is outside the geostrategic interests of the belligerent camps in the bipolar world. The island's position of the country provides it with natural protection, and the direct threat can be as if the conflict between the superpowers – the USSR and the United States. Therefore, excessive defensive measures were recognized as non-priority, and expediency of participation in the ANZUS was considered primarily from the point of view of obtaining intelligence and access to high technologies. However, the establishment of a flexible balance between regional interests and participation in global affairs was accompanied by confirmation of the permanent role of special relations with the United States and Great Britain. Significant attention was also paid to cooperation with New Zealand, whose potential was estimated at 15% of the Australian Defense Forces [3, p. 284-285]. In December 1989, Australian Prime Minister G. Evans presented a new regional security strategy geared towards "joining" the country into Asia and expanding cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The conclusion of new agreements and the use of various forms of bilateral and trilateral alliances should have helped to diversify trade. The Australian Government was the main promoter of the Asia

Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC, 1989), a broad-based economic association dedicated to promoting multilateral dialogue, promoting free trade and investment liberalization. The countries participating in the forum account for about 40% of the world's population, 54% of GDP and 44% of world trade.

The relationship between the strategic alliance with the United States was unequivocally confirmed during the meeting between Australian Prime Minister R. Hooke and Reagan (1986), who, for his part, welcomed the stabilizing role of Australia and the ANZUS in securing the security of the Pacific. In the southern part of the U.S.A.R., the United States actually assigned Australia the role of "sheriff's assistant", which was to coordinate its actions with other members of the Western alliances. The collapse of the bipolar system led to another revision of the guidelines of the foreign policy course towards "broader horizons", which was embodied in the renewal of Australia's engagement in wars and anti-crisis operations. Australian troops participated in the Gulf War (1990-1991), military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as in international peacekeeping operations and missions in Somalia, Rwanda, Cambodia, Egypt (Sinai Peninsula), Southern Sudan, and others.

In the positioning of the Australian government, it is worth pointing out such a specific feature as the self-determination of the country as a "western club" state, and in the economic one as an organic component of the Asia-Pacific region, which has fundamental interests in Asia. In government documents, in addition to Southeast Asia and Oceania, the country's national interests area included the most explicit space of the Indian Ocean – up to the Persian Gulf and Madagascar. In the strategy of national security (2000), three basic principles – self-reliance, ownership of the sea and air, and the ability to respond to emergencies in crisis situations, in particular the use of preventive operations, were grounded. This approach included monitoring the security situation in the countries – the immediate neighbors of the Australian Union, including the island states of Oceania. Among the priorities were the need to resolve conflicts and disputed problems in the APR, support the United States on global issues, guarantee a "security zone" in adjacent marine areas, actively participate in addressing the security challenges of South-East Asia, and increase its own influence in the Asia-Pacific region by increasing access to markets [4]. Issued in February 2016, the "White Paper" on defense and security shows that the provisions of the previous defense doctrines of the need to maintain the most effective, but relatively few armed forces to protect their own territory and the surrounding space, replaced the ambitious goal of developing a military A potential suitable for the control of the South Asia and Pacific Ocean. Since the mid-1990s, Australia's economic ties have undergone a significant transformation. In the 1990s, the US government initiated talks on the preparation of the Australia-US Free Trade Agreement (AUSFTA). Although Australian observers considered the signing of the agreement on July 15, 2004 to be a significant concession to the United States, Australia received some compensation in the form of promoting the development of its own military-industrial complex. The agreement facilitated the access of American goods to the Australian market and reduced tariffs for American industry goods. At the same time, the abolition of customs barriers led to cheaper Australian imports of agricultural products and light industry products to the US [5].

Another important trend was the active growth of economic ties with Japan and the People's Republic of China. Since 2007, China has become Australia's largest trading

partner. It accounts for about 30% of Australian exports and 23% of imports. Active development of economic relations in the Asia-Pacific contributed to the accelerated growth of the Australian economy. Despite the reduction of macroeconomic indicators due to the economic crisis of 2008 in 2011, Australia ranked fifth in the world in terms of GDP per capita. The development of relations with the countries of the APR was accompanied by an increase in assistance to promote the development of neighboring countries. In 2011, Australian assistance to the countries of South-East Asia amounted to 0.35% of the country's GDP. Indonesia and East Timor received the main aid, which Australia considers strategic partners. The share of assistance for development needs is expected to increase to 0.5% of GDP.

Under the influence of the global economic crisis of 2008, the Australian governments intensified talks on the liberalization of foreign economic relations. Their outcome was the signing of the Free Trade Agreement with China (June 17, 2015) and the US-initiated Multilateral Transatlantic Partnership Agreement (February 4, 2016). The Australian-Chinese Free Trade Agreement, which came into force on December 20, 2015, is considered to be mutually beneficial. The lifting of restrictions on Chinese investment promotes their influx into the Australian economy. As of 2015, China's total investment in the Australian economy reached \$75 billion and continues to grow. Australian exporters of agricultural products and services received unimpeded access to the domestic market of the People's Republic of China. In turn, Chinese companies were able to extract and import energy [6]. At the same time, Australia has maintained strong economic ties with Taiwan. Changes in relations with the PRC have not damaged the cooperation between Australia and the United States in the security field, including the placement on the Australian territory of American advanced facilities. According to the agreement in 2011, a powerful US military base is created in the north of the country for contingents of the Marine Corps, aircraft, naval vessels and logistics services.

For the presidency of B. Obama, the most promising foreign economic project in the APR region was the creation of a Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP), which was objectively aimed at removing China. February 4, 2016 12 countries of the Asia-Pacific Region, which together produce up to 40% of the world's GDP, have signed an agreement on the establishment of the TTP. The Obama administration initiated the draft TTP envisaging the formation of a free trade zone and a common economic space of the participating States. The institutional homogeneity of the economies of the participating countries should be ensured through the introduction of common standards for investment regulation, competition policy, supplies within international production networks, public procurement, monopolies, labor relations, environmental protection, etc. The terms of the TTP had to significantly facilitate cross-border production cooperation. It is interesting to note that the transitional period for the complete abolition of protectionist barriers to certain types of agricultural products had to last up to 100 years.

Despite ambitious intentions and expectations, the TTP agreement failed, due to political reasons. H. Clinton's defeat in the 2016 presidential election in the United States put the TTP's project into question, as the newly elected President D. Trump repeatedly promised to abandon its ratification. As of the beginning of 2017, the agreement was ratified only by Japan. On the third day after joining the US president, January 23, 2017, D. Trump issued a decree to withdraw from the TTP agreement and expressed his intention to review the terms

of the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. The decision of D. Trump's administration to strengthen protectionism and return the production capacity of American companies to the US has created a fundamentally new situation in the region of the APR.

US withdrawal signing the agreement on TTP and claimed renegotiation of trade with countries in the region have tightened significantly influence the position of China, ruling circles, which declare support economic globalization and promote their integration projects. In response to a formal rejection of the US administration of TTP agreement, Australian Prime Minister M. Turnbull expressed expectation that J. Trump and US leadership of the Republican Party will review the decision. Or, if this does not happen, the dealers can weigh the prospect of continuing the TTP implementation without US involvement. M. Turnbull advised the Japanese prime minister, Sinzo Abe, on the possibility of China joining this project.

However, the governments of the signatory states of the TTP agreement are hesitant about further action. After all, the continuation of the project without the participation of the United States requires a significant correction of its conditions, as much of the mutual concessions were due to access to the American market. In the case of China being involved, the negotiations will be longer, as they will require the reciprocal concessions by the participating countries and alignment with the alternative project of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RELP). The talks on the creation of RELP involve 10 ASEAN countries and 6 other countries in the region, including China, but the US TTP negotiators are not involved. The essential difference between the two projects lies in the depth of the integration ties, since the TTP agreement provides for the free movement of labor and capital in the long run prospect.

The China-Australian negotiations in February 2017 showed the readiness of the parties to seek agreement in order to avoid protectionism and find mutually acceptable forms of economic development assistance. During his visit to Australia, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Van I, declared readiness to negotiate with the parties to the TTP to create a free trade area in the Asia-Pacific region because of "openness and inclusiveness", the use of "artificial political factors" or standards beneficial only to "narrow Circle" countries [7].

The fundamental interest of Australian politicians and businesses in stimulating integration processes in the APR is due to the structure of its own economy, which is significantly dependent on the raw material base and the export of minerals. The dynamics of world prices for commodity products causes significant fluctuations in the nominal value of GDP of the country, which led to a reduction in its figures from \$ 1559 billion in 2012 to \$ 1257 billion in 2016. The main ways of ensuring sustainable economic development are Australian experts consider the diversification of the economy, its technological upgrade, attraction Investment and prevention of protectionism and commercial warfare in the area of the Asia-Pacific region.

At a certain stage, the strengthening of the competitive capabilities of the Australian economy allowed combining simultaneous participation in free trade areas with the US and China. In a context of significant dependence on foreign trade, it has become a major

success for Australian economic diplomacy. At the same time, the revision of the US foreign economic policy in early 2017 put the government of Australia and other countries in the Asia-Pacific region in a difficult dilemma, the solution of which will depend largely on the further direction of regional economic processes.

Describing the state of relations between Australia and Ukraine, it should be noted that for a long time after the recognition of Ukraine's independence (December 26, 1991) and the establishment of diplomatic relations (January 10, 1992), the intensity of ties between the two countries remained rather low. The political dialogue was conducted mainly in the format of meetings of foreign ministers within the sessions of the UN General Assembly, other international organizations and forums. The Ukrainian embassy in Australia was opened in 2003, and the Australian Embassy in Ukraine – in 2015. Among the documents defining the legal framework for bilateral relations, it should be noted the Ukrainian-Australian Intergovernmental Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation (1998), which introduced the most-favored-nation trade regime, outlined the principles of economic relations, and the intergovernmental Cooperation Agreement In the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes (2016), which envisages joint research in the nuclear field, the development of means for the peaceful use of the atom and the supply of uranium ore to Ukraine.

The intensification of relations between the two countries came at the beginning of 2014. After the change of power in Kiev and the emergence of the crisis in Ukrainian-Russian relations, the Australian government took a tough stance on the annexation of the Crimea and joined the sanctions against Russia imposed by the United States and the G7 countries. The package of sanctions against Russia, which has gradually expanded in 2014-2015, has set a ban on trading and investment operations of Australian entrepreneurs in Crimea, the cessation of lending to Russian state-owned companies and the supply of arms and oil and gas equipment to Russia. The problem of the conflict in eastern Ukraine occupied a significant place at the 9th summit of G20 leaders in the Australian city of Brisbane, November 15-16, 2014. At the summit, Prime Minister T. Abbot expressed his strong protest against the Russian policy aimed at To destabilize Ukraine. During the state visit of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko to Australia (December 10-12, 2014), the Government of Australia expressed principled support for the principles of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, and also committed to contribute to the full investigation into the circumstances of the disaster of the Malaysian Boeing 777 passenger aircraft Airlines down the Donbass on July 17, 2014. The revival of economic ties and scientific and technical cooperation between Ukraine and Australia are considered important and insufficiently realized by perspective directions. According to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, the volume of Austrian investment in the Ukrainian economy was estimated at \$ 2.1 million (2014) in almost complete absence of their growth after 2012. The main articles of Ukrainian merchandise exports to Australia are fertilizers, vessels, equipment to nuclear energy etc. Instead, Ukraine imports mineral fuels, petroleum products, ores, machinery and products of machine building.

230-year history of Australia gives reason to think about what are the causes and circumstances provided convincing success of this medium for the potential of the country that has gone from peripheral colonies and places of mass exile to a strong regional power that defends its national interests and conducting a successful policy their provision. An

important role, obviously, was played by the very circumstances of the colonization of the Australian continent, which contributed to the formation of specific mentality among migrants, awareness of the unique role of the Australian colonies in the nearby civilizational space of Asia. For a long time, at least until the Japanese expansion in Asia during the Second World War, Australia's insularity was considered a reliable guarantee of external threats. In the post-war era, during the Cold War, the strategic security alliance with the United States and the system of security agreements with the United Kingdom and individual countries of the region, including New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore, were considered as the main tools for ensuring the security of the country. However, the Australian government soon began to test themselves and the state's role as a regional center of power capable of immediate control "zone of neighborhood" (Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, East Timor, New Zealand and the South Pacific).

The formation of the country's economy played a significant role in agriculture and extraction of raw materials. These industries have created the basis for the development of industry, the financial sector and services, which was promoted by a long-term protectionist policy. A pluralistic political system has been formed in the country, built on the principles of democracy and the representation of various groups of public interests. Due to the reorientation of foreign economic relations to the countries of the Asia-Pacific, which began in the late 1960's, this macro-region accounts for 75% of Australia's foreign trade. Australia's experience suggests that the domination of raw materials in exports does not necessarily mean the secondary status of the economy and its subordination to the interests of more powerful countries, particularly when government circles are concerned about promoting the development of new sectors of raw material processing and high-tech projects. The targeting of the main flows of goods contributes to the Australian business's interest in reduced economic barriers and the overall growth of the economies of the Pacific countries, which stimulates the development of domestic machine building and the expansion of trade in finished products. Arguing Australia's international status in international relations, the government of this country clearly distinguishes economic, political and security interests by finding opportunities for balancing them on the basis of awareness of the priority development goals and the creation of a favorable international climate. Significantly, Australia began to build relations with emerging Asian countries, positioning itself exclusively as a "Western country", but subsequently became the initiator of the establishment of the APEC and the most consistent supporter of the liberalization of trade and investment within the Asia-Pacific region.

So, the secret of Australian success is to a large extent determined by the ability to achieve reliable external security guarantees, to take care of its own defense capabilities and to cooperate with various partners, along with the formation of diversified and mutually beneficial relations with the countries of Asia, America and the Middle East. Under such circumstances, a strategic alliance with the United States is not considered incompatible with the strategic partnership with China, and the provisions of the TTP agreement do not deny the right of Australia to have a free trade area with the People's Republic of China. This country's policy makes it an important player in the regional balance of the Indian Ocean and the Asia-Pacific region, allows it to positively influence the formation of an international climate and forcing its allies and partners to take into account the Australian national interests in making strategic decisions.

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Formation of a foreign policy concept by Ukrainian Central Rada:

From autonomy to independence

Igor Datskiv

Summary

The article deals with the revival of Ukrainian state by the Central Rada during the period of national revolution of 1917-1921 years. There were analyzed the aspect of very complicated problems in developing conceptual bases and main principles of future status of Ukraine before the political lead of the Central Rada, and problems of program realization of state home and foreign policy.

Keywords: The Central Council, Universal, delegates, foreign policy.

Ukraine in the field of international activity has its own historical experience gained during the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence and statehood in 1917-1921. In this connection, the importance of the experience of foreign policy of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the time of the Central Rada, when the first Steps towards developing the foreign policy of Ukraine of the newest time.

The first historiographers of Ukraine's foreign policy were the leaders of the Central Council, leading Ukrainian government officials – M. Hrushevsky, V. Vynnychenko, D. Doroshenko, I. Mazepa and others. Describing the problems of statehood as a whole, they also touch on foreign policy issues. In spite of certain subjectivism, the authors give a general overview of Ukraine's foreign policy, reflecting the views of the then leadership on the choice of orientation, strategy and tactics of the release of the UNR from the world war.

Building Foreign Ministry and consular service have devoted many scientific papers and memoirs historians Ukrainian foreign and domestic historians, former politicians and diplomats UPR. Decades Soviet historiography condemned the Ukrainian Central Rada – the first state self-government body in Ukraine. "Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia" claimed that the Central Council – "counter-revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist organization that operated in Ukraine 1917-1918 ... defending the class interests of the bourgeoisie Ukrainian Central Rada was actually in the same camp with the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government in Russia." Even Gorbachev's perestroika times for conspicuous easing tight censorship and freedom of speech proclamation in 1989 of orthodox concept persisted: "Central Council – counter-revolutionary bourgeois-nationalist at the organization operating in Ukraine in 1917-1918. Created in Kyiv on March 4, 1917, by political parties and organizations of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie "[1, p. 189]. In order to understand this seemingly paradoxical interpretation should analyze the composition of the supreme representative body of Ukraine, in particular on May 6, 1917 in the Council majority were 19 political parties, 17 of them – socialist [2, p. 209-210]. Only during the period of independence of Ukraine there were respected scientific and historical works on the origin, formation and activity of foreign policy departments of the Ukrainian Central Rada.

From the very first days of the Central Council's existence, before her political leadership, she faced extremely difficult problems in developing the conceptual foundations and fundamental principles of the future status of Ukraine and the program for implementing the country's internal and external policies. The main role in solving the topical problems belongs to the head of the National Council M. Hrushevsky. Based on the methodological principles and principles of his own research, he interpreted Ukraine as a separate ethnographic area with a separate history, but at that time the most acceptable was the status of a broad national-territorial autonomy within the Russian federal republic [2, p. 210-211].

Note that at the first general meeting of the Council the concept of its state-building activity was approved: "The Ukrainian Central Rada, as a representative organ of the whole organized Ukrainian people, was tasked with fulfilling the will of the people expressed at the Ukrainian National Congress, namely, the transition of Ukraine's autonomy to Federal democratic Russian republic, with the guarantee of the rights of national minorities living on the territory of Ukraine ". At the same time, the regulations of the work of the Central Rada and its structure were promulgated and approved. In particular, it is determined that, between the convening of general meetings, the highest authorities are the Committee, the Presidium and individual commissions. The total number of the Committee was 33. M. Hrushevsky was elected chairman of the Central Council, his deputies from April 8 – V. Vynnychenko and S. Yefremov. Among the members of the governing body were experienced public-political figures D. Doroshenko, E. Chykalenko, F. Matushevsky, P. Khristyuk, A. Nikovsky, O. Shulgin, V. Prokopovich, S. Shelukhin, etc. [3].

Leading figures M. Hrushevsky and V. Vynnychenko rallied around themselves an elite group of politicians and like-minded people in relation to the strategic concept of state building – Ukraine's comprehension of autonomy within the Russian federal republic, headed by the Provisional Government. This concept was substantiated by the chairman of the Presidium of the Central Council at the All-Ukrainian military congresses, the National Congress, the Congress of Peoples of Russia and other forums. M. Hrushevsky interpreted it as the main desire of the Ukrainian Revolution in the proclamation of June 23 and the Universal of the Central Rada: "Ukrainians in the political affair want to create a broad national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine as a part of the federal republic" [1, p. 114].

The state concept of the leadership of the Central Rada on the autonomy of Ukraine was issued as a leading theme of the discussions at the Ukrainian National Congress 6-8 (19-21) April 1917 in Kyiv with the participation of 900 deputies and delegates of various institutions and organizations of the capital – only 1,500 people. The subject of the reports presented for discussion encouraged the congressional members to unconditionally agree with the decision of the political leadership of Ukraine: "The main reasons for the organization of Ukrainian autonomy" (speaker T. Tkachenko), "The way and the procedure for the actual creation of the autonomy of Ukraine" (I. Kryzhanovsky). Presided at the congress of M. Hrushevsky.

On the first day of the congress, a resolution was passed: "According to historical traditions and contemporary real needs of the Ukrainian people, the congress considers: 1) that only the broad national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine will ensure the needs of our people and all other nationalities living on the Ukrainian soil; 2) that this autonomous system, as well as other autonomous countries of Russia, will have full guarantees in the federal system of Russia; 3) Therefore, the only and appropriate form of state organization the congress considered a federal, democratic republic of n; 4) one of the main principles of Ukrainian autonomy is full protection of the rights of national minorities living in Ukraine" [4].

The ideas of the leaders of the Central Council on the status of Ukraine within the Russian Federation have been found to be practically reproduced in the resolutions of the Congress of Representatives of Peoples and Regions, convened in Kyiv on September 23, 1917, which sought the federal reorganization of Russia. 85 delegates – Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Moldovans, Georgians, Cossacks, Don and Kuban came to the capital of Ukraine from the leading national organizations that recognized the federal principle of the existence of state entities in Russia. The honorary chairman of the congress, Mrs. Hrushevsky, stated in an introductory statement: "We have already come here with confessions of the federal principle. And neither of us had any doubt about the necessity, in the interests of the peoples of Russia, of the immediate transfer of the federal system ... Let there be a new federal republic!" The adopted resolution of the congress "On the federal structure of the Russian republic" identified the main directions of solving national problems of peoples of the Empire: the national liberation, the construction of a democratic society, decentralization of state construction, the transformation of Russia into a federal republic [5, ark. 1-6].

M. Hrushevsky developed the same thesis in the final words: "Ukraine does not go through federation to independence, because state independence does not lie before us, but behind us. We have previously united with Russia as an independent state and never denied their

rights. We recognize the right of peoples to self-determination, up to the separation and formation of their own state, provided that one nation does not oppress another. We called for federalism a few months ago. We must create that "palace of peoples", in which all of us must live freely and well" [6].

Hrushevsky, therefore, believed that the federation with Russia was possible only on the basis of: 1) Russia should identify itself as a democratic republic which rejects imperialism and centralism; 2) equal relations between the partners should be established in the field of defense, trade, etc. ; 3) Ukraine has the right to establish friendly relations with newly established national states, newly established in the territory of the former Russian Empire, primarily neighboring ones; 4) Russia should recognize Ukraine and other republics as independent states. Thus, in accordance with the concept of M. Hrushevsky, Ukraine should occupy an equal place in the circle of European states. Incidentally, by attaching importance to the establishment of diplomatic and other relations with various states, in particular Britain, France, the United States, Germany, M. Hrushevsky warned "not to adapt our lives to any Western model, at least German. The liberation from the forced dependence on Moscow's life should not be interrupted by one dependence on the second, albeit voluntary" [1, p. 155].

Consequently, summarizing M. Hrushevsky's conceptual views on statehood, it should be noted that he substantiated the idea of Ukraine's sovereignty and possible variants of its obtaining in extremely difficult internal and foreign conditions. Of course, to argue that the head of the Central Rada was a distinct stand-of-power from the beginning of the Ukrainian Revolution would be a departure from the historical truth. But history shows that its autonomous-federalist views essentially evolved to the prominent III and IV Universal, in which proclaimed the complete independence of Ukraine and determined the directions of its further state-building.

During 1917, the Central Rada considered the main concept of state-building the autonomy of Ukraine, which, in fact, enjoyed the overwhelming support of society. In our view, thanks to this concept and strategy, the leadership of the Central Rada managed to stand in a rigid diplomatic confrontation with the Provisional Government of Russia, and later – the Bolshevik Sovnarkom. The Central Council managed to take a constructive opposition to the government and not only save itself in the brutal political struggle, but also to achieve certain government concessions. And only a constant reminder and stressing the Ukrainian side that it operates within the slogans of the autonomy of Ukraine within federal Russia did not allow the Provisional Government to resort to the Central Rada, as it did with the Parliament of Finland [7, p. 20].

It should not be forgotten that Ukraine was subordinated to the Provisional Government Southwest and Romanian Fronts with a total of about two million soldiers, as well as administrative structures – the organs of the Russian center. To eliminate the Ukrainian Central Rada, especially in the first months of its existence, they could do without any effort, as happened in Finland. Another factor justifying far from the radical tactics of the Central Council in the field of state-building was the orientation towards the Entente, to which Russia belonged. M. Hrushevsky did not conceal his sympathies and in every way hesitated from accusations of pro-German sentiment, stating that neither he nor his entourage was Germanophile.

The Bolshevik coup on October 25, 1917 in Petrograd, should have encouraged the Central Rada to review the old concepts of state-building. However, not recognizing the Bolshevik regime that came to power in Russia, in proclaiming Universal Universities on the formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic it was noted: "Without separating from the Russian Republic and preserving its unity, we will firmly stand in our land, to help our forces help ourselves all over Russia, so that the whole of the Russian Federation became a federation of equal and free peoples" [1, p. 184-187].

Consequently, autonomy, in contrast to its completely negative evaluation by Ivan Lysiak-Rudnitsky, was based on the idea of V. Verstyuk, along with self-sustainability, as one of the options for comprehension of the same result – the construction of the Ukrainian state. It was under the influence of external and internal circumstances that the leadership of the Central Council could resort to more moderate and cautious actions. But the general logic of the irreversibility of the process inevitably led to the proclamation of independence, as it happened on January 22, 1918, with the announcement of IV Universal. At the same time, as M. Hrushevsky emphasized, this act meant "the end of the Moscow orientation." Unfortunately, Mr. Verstyuk thinks: "Having managed to enchant the independence of Ukraine, the leaders of the Central Council were unprepared for real state building ..., were not prepared to fight for Power at any price and against such force as the Bolsheviks ... did not find effective counter-Bolshevik arguments, with the exception of the invitation of the Germans to Ukraine. "However, the author pays tribute to the Central Rada and rightly allocates to her in the history of the national The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people as a worthy place for an independent sovereign state [8, p. 23-24]

In general, we pay tribute to the Ukrainian Central Rada because in the history of the national liberation struggles of the Ukrainian people for an independent sovereign state, it justly took a worthy place. With all the miscalculations and defeats of the first stage of the Ukrainian revolution, it should be noted that it was in the days of the Central Rada that, for the first time in many centuries, the people received the right to be called a modern political nation, and Ukraine entered the world community as a separate independent state.

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Kost' Matsievich – scientist-agronomist and diplomat

Valeriy Vlasenko

SUMMARY

The article is devoted Kost' Adrianovich Matsievich (1873–1942). Based on previously unknown archival documents and materials was considered his diplomatic activity during the Ukrainian revolution of 1917–1921 and in the interwar period. The work of the head of the diplomatic emergency mission of the UPR in Romania and the Ukrainian Embassy in Bulgaria as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UPR was analysed.

Keywords: Bulgaria, diplomacy, emigration, Kost' Adrianovich Matsievich, diplomatic emergency mission, Romania, the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Among the diplomats period Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 Kost' Adrianovich Matsievich (1873-1942) has respectable place. He is professor of several Ukrainian and foreign higher schools, active national liberation movement of the early twentieth century, Member of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Government of the UPR, one of the leading figures of interwar political exile in Europe. His name as a social theorist and practitioner of Agriculture, one of the ideologues of the organizational and production direction of economic thought (along with B. Brutskusom, A. Chuprov, A. Chayanov, P. de Wuyst and A. Bizzozzero) was known not only in Russia and Ukraine, but also in Europe, its activity as a diplomat, until recently, remained largely unknown.

Despite the great scientific achievements, active public-political and editorial-publishing activities, scientific publications about K.Matsievich little. There are only brief biographical essays in reference encyclopedias and individual intelligence about individual episodes of his professional, educational, scientific, public and political activities [1]. Little information on the work of a scientist at the Foreign Ministry of the UPR.

K. Makievich was born on May 18, 1873 in the village Deremezna Vasylkiv count of Kiev province (now – Obukhov district, Kyiv region) in the family priest. After the Novooleksandriyskoho Institute of Agriculture and Forestry in Pulawy (today – Poland) worked agronomist by profession in various positions in the Kiev, Poltava, Kharkiv and Saratov provinces. He took part in all-Russian and local agricultural cooperative and eat, was editor of periodicals "farmers", "Yuzhnorusskaya selskohozyaystvennaya newspaper", "agronomically Journal" and the book "cooperation and agronomics," a member of the local Ukrainian community and professional organizations, published a number of monographs And reference books, was published in capital and foreign professional journals. For participation in the revolution of 1905-1907. Spent 2.5 years in prison Vassilkovskaya where incidentally learned English and Italian, who later helped him in diplomatic work. From 1915 he lived in St. Petersburg, where he taught a number of courses in two agricultural high schools, led by the Economic Department of the All- Zemsky Union participated in the Free

Economic Society, belonged to the leadership of the League of agrarian reform. In the capital maintained friendly relations with members of the Ukrainian community, Ukrainian diplomats future P. Stebnytsky, M. Slavinsky and O. Lototsky.

Shortly after the February Revolution, Kost' Adrianovich returned to Ukraine. In early April 1917, he was elected a member of the URC Central Committee (later – the PPSU) and was seconded to the Ukrainian Central Rada (URC) and its Small Council. From September 1917 he was a fellow (deputy) general secretary of land affairs, the author of the project of agrarian reform on the basis of an individual labor economy with the preservation of private land ownership. December 19, 1917, because of the rejection of the UCR, his project resigned. He worked at the Kyiv provincial zemstvo, was Deputy Chairman (S. Petliura) of the All-Ukrainian Zemsky Union, editor of the "Bulletin of Public Agronomy" and the journal "Ukrainian Cooperation", Professor of Commercial and Polytechnic Institutes in Kyiv.

K. Matsievich's diplomatic activities began in December 1917, when the General Secretariat and the Mala Rada decided to join the negotiations of the Central Powers and Soviet Russia in Brest-Litovsk. On December 11, a government delegation consisting of V. Golubovych, M. Levytsky, M. Lyubinsky, K. Matsievich, M. Porscha, O. Sevryuk and others was formed for negotiations with representatives of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Germany and Turkey. A skilled specialist in the field of economy and cooperation Kost Adrianovich was responsible for the preparation of the economic component of the peace treaty. This side of the treaty was better for the UNR than expected on the eve of negotiations.

After signing the Brest Peace before the Government of the UPR, there arose several foreign-policy problems: on the one hand, to establish trade relations with the Central Powers, on the other – to achieve an agreement with Soviet Russia. In their implementation also participated K. Makievich. First, he was a member of a special commission on trade with the Central Powers, established by the Government of the UPR on March 14, 1918 [2]. In the end, on April 23 the same year, an agreement on commodity exchanges was signed. Secondly, the same day in Kyiv negotiations began on the peace between the UPR and Russia, as foreseen by the treaty between the Central Powers and Soviet Russia of March 3, 1918. The composition of the political commission of the Ukrainian delegation headed by S. Sheluchin was O. Shulgin (Head), D. Dontsov, M. and O. Levytsky, O. Lototsky, V. Prokopovich, V. Sadovsky, P. Stebnitsky and K. Matsievich. The contract was signed on June, 12 the same year [3].

During the period of the Ukrainian State, Kost' Adrianovich was a member of the Ukrainian National Union's (UNU) opposition government to the Hetmanate Government, which created the Directorate. During the uprising against the hetman, at the insistence of V. Vynnychenko and S. Petliura, a special delegation of the UNS was held in the Romanian city of Iasi, consisting of O. Kovalenko, A. Margolin, V. Prokopovich, Y. Sokolovsky and I. Feshchenko-Chopivsky. K. Makievich led him. The main goal of the delegation was to familiarize the representatives of the Entente countries with the main directions of the political course of the UNS. In his memoirs, Kost' Adrianovich recalled that the delegation should: "1) demand that Entente not interfere in our struggle with the Hetmanate Government; 2) declare that Ukraine seeks recognition of its full State Independence; 3) that the representatives of Ukraine be admitted to the World Conference ". Negotiations took place in Iasi and Bucharest, in particular with Romanian officials. Their positive result was

that Romania committed itself not to interfere with the internal affairs of the UPR and to support the recognition of Ukraine's independence at the international conference in Paris [4]. At the end of January – in early February 1919, the Directory involved K. Matsievich in the diplomatic mission of A. Margolin, who led in Odessa, and then in Birzul (from 1935 – Kotovsk, now Podolsk, Odesa region) Ukrainian-Entente talks. Kost' Adrianovich insisted on a tougher course on Soviet Russia in order to suspend the offensive of the Red Army.

The knowledge of several European languages, the experience of negotiating with foreign partners, and the authority among the leadership of the PPSF contributed to the fact that on February 13, 1919, K. Matsievich was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the UPR in the office of S. Ostapenko. He was delegated to the Government by the leadership of the Socialist-Federalist Party.

The professor led the foreign policy department in a complex period for the UNR. The Entente countries did not recognize the independence of the UPR, southern Ukraine landed French troops, there was a threat from the A. Denikin Volunteer Army, the war with Soviet Russia continued, and so on. The Government of the UPR persistently sought allies to fight the Bolsheviks. The main attention was paid to establishing relations with the countries of the Entente and Poland. First, at the end of February 1919, K. Matsievich filed a note to the French command, according to which at the time of the war with the Bolsheviks of the UPR, he agreed to the patronage of France in the military, diplomatic, political, financial, economic and judicial branches. At the insistence of the French side, the UNR was obliged to cooperate with the Volunteer Army in the fight against the Bolsheviks. But because of France's demand to subordinate the Army of the UPR and the Armed Forces of the South of Russia to a single command led by A. Denikin, negotiations with K. Matsievich with the French military command were stopped [5]

Secondly, on behalf of the Chairman of the Directory of the UPR K. Matsievich sent to Poland Colonel B. Kurdynovskoho. May 24, 1919 in Warsaw, Colonel signed with Polish Foreign Minister J. Paderewski agreement under which the UPR renounced claims to Eastern Galicia and Volhynia and Poland recognized the UPR and pledged to help the troops in the war against the Bolsheviks in terms of military conventions, which was to be concluded later. Subsequently, the Directorate refused the document, arguing that B. Kurdynovskyy had no right to sign the document. The Polish side, in the opinion of Ivan Mazepa, took advantage in its favor of the failed mandate of K. Matsievich to conduct negotiations [6].

The collapse of the pro-Antarctic foreign policy led to the resignation of the government of S. Ostapenko on April 9, 1919, although K. Matsievich performed his duties as an interim governor of the MFA until April 25. His diplomatic experience was used by the next government. In June 1919 Kost Adrianovich led the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission (UDM) of the UPR in Romania. During its existence (until 1923), under the direction of K. Makievich, worked I. Feshchenko-Chopivsky (advisor), L. Gerken, M. Lyubimsky (secretaries), F. Butkevich, P. Mamchur (Attaché), O. Kravets, P. Kolomak (government officials), L. Chopivsky, D. Mayer-Michalsky (head of the press office), General V. Zelinsky (military advisor), members of the military section: Lt. Gen. S. Delvig (head), Colonel D. Antonchuk (advisor), choruses V. Trepke (secretary) and O. Trepke, centuries M. Datsky, O. Dolinyuk, F. Emelyanov and Ya. Tchaikovsky, as well as Rear Admiral M. Ostrogradsky [7].

As head of the NDM of the UPR in Romania, K.Matsievich carried out a number of important foreign policy measures. In August 1919 in Bucharest, he and S. Delvig negotiated with General Attacker of France in Romania General Petten and the representative of the Denikin Army General O.Gerua on joint actions of the UPR Army and the Volunteer Army against the Bolsheviks. But once again, because of the negative attitude towards Ukrainian statehood and the requirement to subordinate the Ukrainian army to a single command headed by A. Denikin, these talks did not give positive results.

K.Matsievich contributed to the rapid transport of medical and sanitary assistance from Romania to the territory of Romania, procurement of weapons and ammunition in Romania for the Army of the UPR [6].

In October 1920, in Bucharest, talks between the delegations of the UPR and P. Wrangel on the establishment of a single anti-Bolshevik front took place. Ukrainian side was represented by K. Matsievich, S.Delvig and M.Ostrogradsky, Russian – O. Gerua and S.Poklevskyy-Kozell. In this Ukrainian Government Decision UPR guided diplomats on 27 September 1920, which stated: "Regarding the new infor recognize possible to make with General Wrangel military convention with political guarantees, namely the condition of recognition by the government of General Wrangel independence of Ukrainian People's Republic and Her modern government ". At the same time, Ukraine-Russia talks with the same agenda in Warsaw took place. October 26 (November 8) in Warsaw during the meeting of the Military Mission in Poland UPR General B. Zelinsky representative P. Wrangel P.Mahrov Russian general said the willingness of his government to recognize the independence of the UPR time to final resolution of this matter Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

EBM UPR led by K. Matsievich cared Ukrainian military and civilians in November 1920 went to Romania and were interned in camps in Brasov, Fagaras, Oradea Mare and other cities. In March 1921, there were about 1180 Ukrainian soldiers in the camps [7]. The mission provided taboryan Ukrainian press and books, along with cultural and educational camp council launched the journal "Behind bars" literacy courses for illiterate Cossack and general courses in teaching three foreign languages (German, Romanian, French), cultural and educational circles and so on.

Correspondence of K. Matsievich with the Head of the Directory of the UPR in the first half of the 20's. XX centuries proves the diplomat's good knowledge of the events on the continent. The international situation in Europe, the activity of the foreign policy department of the UNR and its representations in Poland and Romania, the political situation and the situation of Ukrainian emigration in Romania [8] were discussed.

The diplomatic mission had its own printed matter – the bulletin of the Press Bureau of the UPR in Romania. On his pages were published articles (reports) of K. Matsievich. The Ukrainian diplomatic mission formally acted until September 1923, and then on a voluntary basis. On the eve of the liquidation of NDM in Romania, K. Matsievich initiated the creation of emigrant public, economic and cultural-educational organizations. In the years 1922-1923, the Branch of the Ukrainian Society (supporters) of the League of Nations (FUTLN) and the Public-Assistance Committee, which united almost all-Ukrainian emigration in this country, were launched. K. Matsievich was the head of these organizations.

At the end of 1920-1921, Kost' Adrianovich was at the same time the manager of the affairs of the Ukrainian embassy in Bulgaria. In March 1921, he made a visit to this country. He had official meetings with the prime minister and at the same time Foreign Minister A. Stambolysky, Chairman of the People's Assembly A. Botev and the head of the Foreign Ministry S. Radiev. According to the Ukrainian diplomat, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria "firmly and firmly recognizes our right to statehood and independence in the modern attitude towards us of Russians of all intellectuals and parties" [7].

Despite the fact that in the spring of 1925, Kost' Adrianovich moved to Czechoslovakia, he remained the head of the NDM, was a representative of the Government of the UPR in Romania, every year he visited this country several times. Repeatedly met with the leaders and members of the government O. Averescu, K. Arzhetoyan, I. Bretian, O. Vida-Voevoda, Yu. Maniu, D. Popovich, D. Takie-Ionescu, deputies of the Parliament, ambassadors of Bulgaria, Poland, France in Romania And was published in the Romanian press. On October 2, 1928, Bucharest met Marshal Yu. Pilsudski during his visit to Romania.

Kost' Adrianovich been active conversation with the President of UPR Directory A. Livytskiy and members of the government of UNR in exile V. Prokopovich, J. Tokarzhevskiy-Karashevychem and O. Shulgin on the implementation of foreign policy activity. He participated in conferences Ukrainian diplomats in August 1928 in Paris and November 1929 in Prague, leaders UPR meeting in March 1929 in Warsaw. In the 1928-1930 biennium. Romania, on behalf of the Government and the President of the UNR Directory, held talks with the Foreign Ministers of Finance and Mironescu G. Popovici, representative of the Romanian League of Nations on financing Titulescu N. EBM UPR and Ukrainian emigration, relocation assistance from Bulgaria Romania and Yugoslavia Ukrainian emigrants to form a military force in case of hostilities with the Soviet Union. With operational correspondence Soviet intelligence indicated that in 1929 Karl was Matsievich candidate for foreign minister UPR [9].

Kost Adrianovich has repeatedly discussed the Ukrainian issue with journalists from foreign publications. So, in August 1928 in Romania, the correspondent of the English editions "Daily Express" and "Evening Standard" V. Smits interviewed K. Makievich. It was about "the most important and actual aspects of the Ukrainian problem". On December 15, 1937, the influential Romanian newspaper "Curentul" (No. 3548) published an interview with K. Matsievich. The title stated that "the Ukrainian case is an international matter".

In exile K. Makievich actively engaged in political activities. He headed the Foreign Office of the Ukrainian radical-democratic party, the Ukrainian Republican-Democratic Club in Prague, and was a member of the Ukrainian General Emigration Council, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Statehood, serving as a secret parliament. The multifaceted socio-political, scientific and educational activities of a scientist-agronomist and diplomat Kost' Matsievich, his creative heritage, in particular the work of analytical and prognostic nature concerning Ukraine, need further research and dissemination.

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Belarusian Renaissance Humanism and traditions of the Ukrainian and European identity of the Renaissance: Francis Skoryna's political and diplomatic views

Vyacheslav Tsivatyy

Summary

The political, diplomatic and literary working of the famous contemporary of the Renaissance – Francisk Skorina, because his practical experience and literary and poetic heritage had not lost their relevance to this day, and his name and work closely to bind Belarus and Ukraine through the centuries and millennium of the European history is analyzed at the article. Francisk Skorina is a guide of ideas of Renaissance humanism in Belarus. Attention is focused on the national peculiarities of Belarus diplomacy and foreign policy. Which has a long historical tradition and stages of institutional development.

Keywords: diplomacy, institutionalization, humanism, the Renaissance, Francisk Skorina, Belarus, Ukraine.

At the turn of the Middle Ages and the early New Age, there is an objectively determined process of initiating the institutional design of foreign policy and diplomatic services of the leading European states. Accordingly, the original question of the relation and priority of the

concepts appears: "Europe", "identity", "humanism", "foreign policy" and "diplomacy", "war" and "peace", etc. This problem is also connected with assessments of contemporaries of various state-legal forms and types of government, institutional political processes, characteristics of reality and the creation of ideals in covering the tasks and practical activities of the authorities, models of diplomacy, institutes of diplomacy, humanistic traditions, diplomatic tools, etc. [1, with. 26-31].

Every nation has the right to be proud of its cultural heritage and talented people. Among the brightest and most significant representatives of the Belarusian culture of the Renaissance is the personality of Francis Skoryna. He entered our history as a first-time printer and scientist, educator and humanist, politician and diplomat, intrologator, poet and physician, botanist and astronomer. Man of exceptionally broad erudition, the meaning of his activities Francis Skoryna saw in the service of the people. He sought to involve his compatriots in the achievements of universal human culture and did it through books.

In order to perpetuate the memory of a great educator on the initiative of the public, it was proposed and supported at the state level – the announcement in Belarus by 2017 of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Belarusian book printing, and in fact, the year of Francis Skoryna. And in the same year, until the 500th anniversary of the Belarusian printing industry, it is planned to complete the publication of "The Book Heritage of Francis Skoryna" ("The Knight Legacy of Francis Scarin") in 20 volumes. It was August 6, 1517 in Prague, Francis Skaryna was printed "Psalter".

The great Belarusian educator, translator, artist-graphic artist, Belarusian printer and diplomat – Francis Skoryna is one of the founders of Cyrillic book printing. Accurate information about the date of birth of Skaryna was not found. It is known that an enlightener was born in Polotsk about 1490 in the family of the wealthy Polotsk merchant Luka, who traveled with the Czech Republic, with Moscow Rus, with the Polish and German lands. From his parents his son took love to his native Polotsk. His Polotsk origin with perseverance and perseverance emphasized in his publications: "Exposing Dr. Francis Skorinin son of the glorious city Polatsk" [2]. Francis (Frantisek) died Lukich Skorina not later than 1551 in Prague.

Not one century has passed since then. Time has permanently erased from the memory of generations many facts from the biography of the Belarusian printer. The mystery arises at the very beginning of the life story of Skorina: the unknown exact date of his birth, but recently in the scientific literature, the year of his birth is more often called 1486. This date was calculated by the results of an analysis of his publication, often found in his books in the form of a small graceful engraving with the image of the solar disk and the crescent on it. Researchers believe that the first printer depicted the "death of the Sun" (solar eclipse), thus denoting the day of its birth (in the homeland of Skaryna, the solar eclipse was observed on March 6, 1486).

Francisk received his initial education at home, where he learned to read and write, and then attended a school at a Catholic church in Polotsk. In 1504 Skorina began studying at the University of Krakow on the faculty of "free arts" or philosophy, in 1506 received a bachelor's degree in philosophy. Perhaps at the same university in a few years he achieved a master's degree, gaining knowledge in the field of medical sciences. This allowed Francis

Skorin in 1512 to successfully pass extramural examinations to a doctorate degree in "medical sciences" at the University of Padua in Italy.

In the records of the University of Padua in 1512 it is written: "The son of the deceased Mr. Luke Skaryna from Polotsk proved to be so commendable and wonderful during a severe trial that he received the unanimous approval of all present scientists." Still in one of the halls of this educational institution, where there are portraits of famous men of European science, emanating from his walls, hanging a portrait of an outstanding Belarusian work of the Italian master [3].

Skoryna's worldview was formed on the basis of the experience and knowledge that he derived from his native Belarus and on the basis of familiarity with the culture of the Western European Renaissance. The economic and socio-political life of Belarus and Ukraine of the time contributed to the spread of humanistic views among the urban population, preparing the ground for the inclusion of these lands in the pan-European cultural and ideological movements. At that time, it was impossible to completely depart from the traditions of medieval ideology, and yet in many respects Skaryna became a precursor to the Belarusian-Lithuanian reformation, consciously speaking for raising the educational level of his native people.

Franzisk Skoryna began publishing activity with the support of Belarusian merchants from Polotsk and Vilna Bogdan Onkonov, Yuri Advernyk and others. He ordered the printing equipment, began translating and commenting on the books of the Bible. The enlightened and business Belarus has laid the institutional beginnings for the Belarusian and East Slavic book publishing. It was in Prague that the first book appeared, which Skoryna devoted to "people to join in good will" – "Psalter", in the preface to which it is reported: "I, Francis Skoryna, son of glorious Polotsk, doctor of medicine, ordered the psyche of the Psalter to press Russian In words, and in Slovenian language ". It came out in August of 1517. The printing house, founded by F. Skorina in Vilnius in 1522, is the first in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In this typography the first book was printed in the Old Believarian language.

Francis Skoryna was one of the most highly distinguished distinguished figures of his time: he graduated from two universities (Krakow and Padua), he owned several languages (besides his native Belarusian he knew Lithuanian, Polish, Italian, German, Greek, and Latin). He traveled a lot, his business trips were long and distant: he visited many European countries, visited not a dozen cities with educational, political-diplomatic and trade missions.

For incomplete three years Skorina has printed in the Prague printing house 23 illustrated (decorated with a multitude of xylographic prints, initials and screensavers) of the book of the Bible translated into the Old Believarian language (entitled "The Russian Bible, posted by Doctor Francis Skorina from the glorious city of Polotsk, God to the people and people of the Commonwealth To good teaching ") They had prepositions and comments reflecting Scorin's religious, philosophical, political, diplomatic, and educational views. When he published the Bible, he directed work, corrected the set, took in Germany a scarce paper with watermarks [4].

The language that Francis Skoryna published in his books was based on the Church Slavonic, but with a large number of Belarusian words, and therefore was clearer to the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Scorin Bible violated the rules that existed when rewriting church books – containing texts from the publisher and even engravings with his image. This is the only case in the history of the Bible publication in Eastern Europe. Because of the prohibition of self-translation of the Bible, the Catholic and Orthodox churches did not recognize the books of Skoryna. The Belarusian translation of the Bible, made by Skoryna, was ahead of time by the German translation of Martin Luther.

After long distress, the printer in the early 1520s decided to settle in Vilna. Here he chose the bride – his compatriot, founded a printing house in the house of the elder Vilna burgher Yakub Babich. The print edition of The Small Traveler Book was printed for merchants and all those who have had to go on a journey for weeks so that the traveler could paint long hours in the wagon and evenings in the courtyard. Skoryna made several acrostices for this book, counted the dates of sunshine and lunar eclipses. Following her Skoryna published the "Apostle" – the act and the message of the holy Apostles.

Belarusian printing started immediately at European level. Skoryna's Renaissance publications are high quality prints, characteristic artistic, engraving and ornamental decorations, fonts and other components of European publishing aesthetics and craftsmanship [5]. In the 1520s and early 1530s, Skoryna served as the secretary and physician of the Bishop of Wales, John, and in 1529 he traveled to Königsberg at the invitation of Prussian Duke, Albrecht Hohenzollern, apparently for medical purposes in connection with the epidemic. A number of researchers supports the hypothesis of visiting Scorina Moscow in order to disseminate their publications. The overall complication of political, political, diplomatic, financial, ethno-confessional conditions made it impossible for him to continue publishing in Vilno. In the mid-1530s, he accepted the invitation of the Czech King Ferdinand I to the position of royal physician and gardener in the newly opened botanical garden in the royal castle of Hradcany. Researchers believe that under the Czech royal court Francis Skorin was known and appreciated since he was involved in the diplomatic mission of Zhigimont First. Scorin's Royal Advisor could work as a homeopathist, prepare her own herbal medicine from botanical garden plants and treat them crowned persons. The exact date of death and the place of burial are unknown, most researchers support the version that he died about 1551, because in early 1552 his son Simeon received the privilege of the Czech King Ferdinand I to inherit the property of the late Doctor Francis Rou of Polotsk.

The beginning of Franciscan Skorin's Belarusian book printing was the culmination of his spiritual activity, the most vivid and expressive prologue of the Belarusian Renaissance. In the printed book, he saw the inexhaustible possibilities of spiritual enlightenment of the people, the upbringing of high Christian moral and civic qualities, active interaction with European culture. The activities of Francis Skarina had a tremendous influence on the development of book printing and writing in Belarus, throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and other East-Slavic countries. His books had a beneficial effect on the development of the Belarusian literary language.

Francis Skoryna, a scientist and educator, was not only a son of a new age, but also, above all, an outstanding son of his homeland. Skoryna's worldview had the idea of a moral

improvement of society and man by the humanists. He was the first in the history of Belarusian public opinion to take the courage to connect the consciousness of his countrymen with the universal human treasury of moral values, European identity, defending the principles of peace and resolving interstate contradictions peacefully, through negotiations.

Humanistic and political-diplomatic views of F. Skaryna testify to him as a peacemaker, patriot, humanist and educator: "And every person needs honor, there is a mirror of our lives, spiritual medicine, comfort to all vague, most of all, they are the essence of the misfortunes. And in infirmity, the hope is true" [6]. F. Skorina is the initiator of the new notion of patriotism as love and honor to his Fatherland. From the patriotic position, the following words are perceived: "Let the beasts from the birth begin to walk in the wilderness, they know their holes; Birds flying in the air know their nests; Fish floating on the sea and in the rivers, they hear their whirlwinds; Bees and the like hide their beehives – the same people and where they were born and fed up, to that place have great affection." Humanist Skorina left his moral will in the lines containing the wisdom of human life and the relationship of people: "The birth of a law is the most adhered to: to do the rest to all that is most pleasing to others from all, not to do the same together with others, which you do not want yourself from Other mother This law is born in the heart of every human being."

All preface and epilogue of "Bible" Skorina, where he reveals the deep meaning of biblical provided, imbued with concern for the rational ordering of society, balanced world order with the rules of international relations, education rights, the establishment of a decent life on earth and so on. Mindedness and richness of personality Skorina puts it on par with such outstanding people of the Renaissance as Leonardo da Vinci, Jan Amos Kamensky, Raphael and Belarusian culture in the field where he worked in a number of European culture. Also recently appeared information that Francis Skaryna was attached to European diplomatic practice. It is believed that Skoryna had the experience of a part of a diplomatic mission in the capital of Denmark Copenhagen and then – and Vienna.

Books of Francis Skoryna influenced not only the development of the spiritual culture of Belarus, but also stimulated the emergence of printing in the Muscovite state, distributed in numerous manuscripts. In Belarus, the memory of a great first-class printer is honored. Many streets in Belarus, as well as the Gomel State University, bear their name. One of the monuments to the visitor is located in the capital of Belarus next to the entrance to the new National Library. To his 500th anniversary a film-opera "Francis Skoryna" was created. The Law of the Republic of Belarus "On State Awards of the Republic of Belarus" in 2004 established the Order and Medal of Francis Skoryna. The Order of Francis Skoryna is awarded for significant progress in the field of national-state renaissance, outstanding studies of the history of Belarus, achievements in the field of national language, literature, art, publishing, cultural and educational activities, propagation of the cultural heritage of the Belarusian people; For the special merits of humanitarian, charitable work and citizens' rights, mercy and other noble acts. The honors of science, education and culture are honored with the medal by Francis Skoryna for outstanding achievements in professional activities, a significant personal contribution to the development and enhancement of the spiritual and intellectual potential, cultural heritage of the Belarusian people [7].

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, in the early days of the New Age, Belarusian national printing appeared, which quickly reached a high level, and became a factor in the revival of Belarusian culture. This was of great significance for Ukraine as well. At that time, the cultural life of the Belarusian and Ukrainian peoples in many respects was a single process. The economic development of the Belarusian and Ukrainian lands, the strengthening of the economic position of the Orthodox burghers – are factors that have contributed to the revitalization of the townspeople in the realm of culture. However, it is no accident that the Belarusian environment was first more active. The political situation of the Orthodox in such cities as Polotsk or Vilnius was much better than in Lviv. At that time, the development of Belarusian culture was also promoted by the state status of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which at that time still remained the Lithuanian-Byelorussian-Ukrainian state not only according to the population structure, but also, to a certain extent, for the cultural-political orientation.

In the publications of F. Skaryna, perhaps the most interesting for modern readers, numerous prepositions are partially translated from the Latin language (from the well-known medieval comments of Nicolas Lyran), and partly written independently. They clearly reflect the educational positions of the author [8]. Researchers have long noticed in the writings of Francis Skoryna attempts of versification. The publisher came from an understanding of the verse nature of the printed biblical texts. In the preface to the "Psalter," he wrote: "I have divided the psalms into verses, according to the way that they divide into the young nations." And in the preface to the "Bible" it is specified that "The Psalter" contains "kafism twelve, psalms of a hundred and fifty, poems or sunglasses two thousand and six hundred." Francis Skoryna was aware of the rhythm of the work, and the singers "sings" in his understanding corresponded to read "poems". Verseled passages from the "Bible" of Skorin are based on the basis of the inherent Biblical poetics of the parallelism of the members or the combination of this principle with the syllabic. The Czech explorer František Sokolov pointed to the Polish (perhaps Czech-related) prototype of the verse "Decalogue" in which Francis Skoryna consistently rhymes the lines. She also gives an example of poetic text: a list of sections of the book Levit (1519). This text, based on the appropriate place of the Czech "Venice" "Bible" in 1506, qualifies as a non-dimensional, non-secular poem bound to a finite rhyme. However, in this case we can talk about rhymed prose.

In Ukraine remained libraries 34 copies of publications Skoryna (if you count the biblical books as separate editions): eighteen in the National Museum in Lviv (16 books of the Bible, "Psalm," "Book of Hours"), nine at the National Library. Vernadsky / 100 / Kiev seven – in the Odessa State Scientific Library, five – in the Transcarpathian state museum in Uzhgorod, one – in the Lviv Scientific Library. V. Stefanyk of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The proof of the high evaluation of F. Skaryna's editions by Ukrainian readers is their numerous manuscripts. Thus, in 1543, Parfen from Kobrin and Pynst's Oldies rewrote the Welsh "Psalter", which, in the language of a number of Ukrainianisms, was unusual. In the library of the Przemysl Greek-Catholic Chapter, there were three lists of "Apostle" Skoryna, in the collection of AS. Petrushevych – a list of "Torah" in the collection Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow skorynynskyh preserved copy of the Bible books of Stetsyha – obviously farmer – gave the church in the village. Monasteries The artistic decoration is marked by a census of the "Apostle" Skoryna, carried out in 1593-1594 in the village.

Teslugov in Volhynia by pop Hermogen, "a relative of Torchin, nickname Tikhonnia Yatskovich" [9].

Among the manuscript copies of the "Bible" of Scorin, the researchers attracted the attention of the researchers, commissioned by Vasyl Zhugaevich from the city of Yaroslav the Zion in the Przemysl land of the Russian Voivodeship. It contains dated 1568 census of four biblical books (Job, Parables, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom) and a collection of other materials, some of which propagate the book as a source of wisdom. In the language of the scorinic books there is more here than in their printed text, southern Slavs, which fully corresponds to the traditions of contemporary Ukrainian writing. In the headlines, prefaces, and afterword, where it is said that books were ordered by Scorin, instead of his name appears "in medical sciences, Dr. Vasiliy Zhugaevich," or "Zhugaev son of Yaroslavl", who wrote these books "to write off". Probably, Zhugaevich – the same bachelor Vasko from Yaroslav, who hired to write the books of Dean Yatskaya Makushku from Strya, and Makushka in 1562 pledged to come to Yaroslav and there mentioned books to write and finish.

Despite the fact that we have repeatedly noted the commonality of the cultural development of Ukraine and Belarus, Francis Skoryna, first of all, belongs to the Belarusian culture. Obviously, he is more a publisher than a printer. His ties with Ukraine remained sporadic, though, undoubtedly, his publications were oriented to all "Russian" readers. The printing of the Tyapinsky bilingual "Gospel" testified that the initiative of Skaryna and Budnyky found not only supporters but also followers. However, the activities of Tyapinsky was limited in scope, so she could not have a significant impact on the cultural life of the Belarusian and Ukrainian lands [10, p. 612; 11, p. 9-20]. So, we have the pleasure to state that Francis Skoryna is a Belarusian first-teacher, founder of East European book publishing, humanist, politician and diplomat. It was he, the first eastern Slavs in 1517, to publish a printed book in all its meaningful versatility and decorative beauty. As a publisher and publisher, Francis Skoryna is also a well-known figure in Belarusian culture of the Renaissance. His talent manifested itself in many areas of activity: he is known as a translator, writer, philosopher, humanist, theologian, physician, botanist, political and public figure. Over 520 copies of F. Skoryna's books have been discovered in book and museum collections of Belarus, Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, the USA, Ukraine, and the Czech Republic.

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