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**FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE**

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# LYUDMYLA D. CHEKALENKO

## Foreign Policy of Ukraine

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*For the future of Ukraine*

*For my children*

### *Acknowledgments*

The author hereby expresses her sincere gratitude to all the people who assisted with the publication of this book and hopes it will contribute to the further development of Ukrainian foreign policy and diplomacy, which establishes Ukraine's present and determines its future.

*“I would like to thank my family, friends and colleagues for all their support. My special thanks for the idea and support of this publication are owed to the person who has always been deeply concerned about the matters of Ukraine – to the well-known economist, great individual and true patriot of Ukraine Mr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn”.*

Lyudmyla D. Chekalenko

## *Foreword*

Ukraine has won its European identity through its heroic actions, history and individuals. The European identity of Ukraine opens doors to the future – a wide range of possibilities for economic development, social and intellectual progress, as well as the strengthening of our positions in the system of international coordinates. European integration, as chosen by Ukraine, is viewed as a key priority of our foreign policy and our strategic goals.

The policies of modern Ukraine are based on the principles of international law, human rights protection, as well as European values of dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, law and solidarity.

The aspiration of Ukraine to be fully integrated into European institutions, as stated in a number of Ukrainian government documents, is construed as a practical support for a stable and unified Europe. It is a strategic task for the Ukrainian state to actively participate in the process of the formation of a European economic and political space, a space of freedom, security and justice.

Professor Lyudmyla D. Chekalenko introduces the readers to her vision of the turbulent events of the history and modern developments of Ukraine, as well as directs their attention to the challenges for Ukrainian security that call forth the European choice of Ukraine.

I have no doubt that this book will be of benefit to all people who care about our future, true patriots of Ukraine, and all those who strive to build the Ukrainian state in order for it to be worthy of its history and its European future.



**Bohdan Hawrylyshyn,**

*Honored Scientist of Ukraine, economic advisor to the Ukrainian government, full member of the Club of Rome, long-time director of Switzerland's International Management Institute*

## *Introduction*

The purpose of writing this book is to provide a self-contained primer on the foreign policy of Ukraine in its historic perspective – from ancient to contemporary times. The design of this work is twofold. In the first place, it is to render knowledge of the Ukrainian foreign policy accessible in the English language to students and professors of higher educational institutions. Secondly, it is to serve as an introduction on the subject matter to all those interested in Ukrainian political history outside of Ukraine.

This book is devoted to the analysis of the formation and development of the foreign policy of Ukraine. It examines the historic stages of this process, as well as the main directions and tasks of the modern Ukrainian state in the field of foreign policy, the mechanisms for the protection of its interests, modes for further development and economic growth.

The goal of Ukraine's foreign policy is to strengthen international peace and stability through the protection of its national interests and security. The basis for this are the principles of international law, such as respect of sovereignty and equality, non-intervention into internal affairs, recognition of territorial integrity and inviolability of borders, development of cooperation, abstention from the use of force, as well as protection of human rights.

The foundational concept of the author's vision of the formation and development of the Ukrainian foreign policy paradigm is based on the historic origins of the Ukrainian state. These roots date back to the Trypillian culture present as early as the 6000-3500 BCE, the Scythian era spanning the 11th century BCE to the 2nd century CE, and the powerful Kyievan Rus that was flourishing in the 9th-12th centuries. Those were the times when the general concept of the place of Ukraine in the world, as well as its identity based on the principals of peaceful coexistence, humanism, tolerance and diplomacy were formed.

The next important historic period is the Ukrainian national renaissance – the Cossack State of the 16th-18th centuries. It laid the foundation for the Ukrainian state that continued to struggle for its independence for several centuries up to the turbulent period between 1917 and the early 1920s, which ended by a complete integration of Ukraine into the Soviet Union. During the Soviet period of 1922-1991, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, deprived of independent foreign policy instruments, still managed to continue its international participation as a member of the United Nations.

Every historic period of the development of the Ukrainian state was marked by a specific position of Ukraine or its regions that existed either independently or within other states. Due to historic reasons, Ukraine was an object rather than a subject of the foreign policy in the above-mentioned time periods when the destiny of the Ukrainian lands depended on other more powerful nations.

On 24 August 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted the Act of Independence of Ukraine that opened a new chapter of the Ukrainian state history. Ukraine gained its sovereignty and started to develop its independent foreign policy in order to assert its worthy place on the international arena.

Currently, Ukraine tries to provide for its state interests through the realization of strategic, political, economic, legal and ideological goals in the complex political and economic conditions of the globalized era. For the last two years, Ukraine has faced the difficult challenge of protecting its territorial integrity in the face of aggression from the neighboring Russian Federation and internal turmoil.

The book is based on a wide range of sources relevant to the political history of Ukraine, such as historic chronicles, archive documents, governmental decrees, as well as wide historiography sources developed by well-known Ukrainian historians, such as M. Hrushevskiy, V. Antonovych, O. Apanovych, M. Braychevskiy, V. Holobutskiy, D. Doroshenko, O. Yefymenko, M. Kotliar, I. Krypyakevych, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, O. Subtelnyi, O. Shulhin, D. Yavornytskyi and many others.

# PART I

## ORIGINS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE

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### *1.1. Origins of the Ukrainian state*

In order to give an answer to the question “what are the origins of the Ukrainian state”, we should turn to our roots – **Trypillian civilization** (c.6000–3000 BCE), which triggered the development of many European and Asian nations. The Trypillian civilization spread throughout Europe and reached as far as the lands of China and India. This civilization planted historic roots of the Ukrainian people into the favorable soil. It was during the Trypillia period that we observe formation of certain features of the ethnographic component of the Ukrainian people which they still possess nowadays. These features include, in particular, sedentary life style, development of farming and certain farming techniques such as use of oxen.

*“And grey smoke was curling up in the air above the clay huts, and spring was meeting with the sun, and the tree of life was growing, and the spirits of the dead were travelling through fire to heaven...,”* the ancient Ukrainian folklore says. And now, one still can observe Ukrainian women covering the floors in their houses with clay and hand-painting their homes using calligraphy and embroidery motifs. When entering a modern Ukrainian residence, one can still find symbolic images of the eternal tree of life [*see photos*]. Hand-made embroidery believed to bear magic protection powers is also still quite common.

Another important time period of the development of the Slavic culture was **the Scythian-Sarmatian Period (beginning of the 8th century BCE)**. We can assume that the first written mentioning of any foreign relations on the territory of the modern Ukraine is attributed to the period of the military campaign of the Persian ruler **Darius I** to the Northern Black Sea region circa 514–512 BCE, as he wanted to conquer the Scythian state. According to the old legends the people of

the Scythian state presented Darius I with a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows [1]. The nomads defeated the Persian army, and the latter had no choice but to go back home. Because of their victory over the Persian army of Darius I the Scythians became known as the invincible people. The above-mentioned events as well as many other Scythian adventures are mentioned by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus. In the 5th century BCE Herodotus was residing in an ancient Greek settlement near the Dniپر-Bug estuary in the city-polis of Olvia (Olbio) and described the events of those times in his famous “Histories of Herodotus” [2].

Gradually the Scythians were driven out by the Sarmatians. There is no doubt that the antic cities of the Northern Black Sea had a great impact on development of both Scythian and Sarmatian cultures. The Greeks and the Romans gave these two nations their technical achievements, in particular in the areas of architecture, arts and crafts, etc. The Slavs were influenced by the Greeks and the Romans as well.

**The Slavs** were one of the main branches of the ancient European population. There are several versions as to their origin and the area where their settlements were located. One of them, the Danube version, was given by Nestor the Chronicler during the Middle Ages. At the same time it should be taken into account that the borders of the settlements of the ancestors of the Slavs (as reflected in the written sources and proved by the archeological findings) changed from the time they had split from the Indo-European community in the 1st century BCE to the early Middle Ages. During the 2nd century BCE the ancestors of the Slavs could have resided in different places. They could have been changing their locations without fully occupying one particular geographic area. Starting from the early Middle Ages, the area occupied by Slavic settlements began to increase intensively, and Slavic ethnos gained a significant position among other cultural communities formed at that time.

**The modern Ukrainians are one of the branches of the historic Slavic culture. The first notes about the Slavs can be found in the works written by the ancient Roman authors. Later in the 2nd century BCE, the Slavs were mentioned in the works written by Plinius Major, Tacit, and Ptolemy. Starting from the 6th century, the Slavs were widely discussed in the works of such Byzantine historians as Jornandes, Procopius of Caesarea, and**

**John of Ephesus.** Jornandes, for instance, opines that the Slavs originate from one root and are known under three different names (i.e. names of tribes): **the Wends, the Antes, and the Sclavinnen.** In other words, at the turn of the Common Era the Slavs were formed as an independent ethnic society which co-existed with the ancient Germans, the Sarmatians, the Thracians, and the Ugro-Finns within the territory of Europe. The name “Slavs” started being used along with “Antes”.

The Slavs together with the Hunns kept moving west. They were losing battles to the nomads but only for a certain period of time. The process of consolidation and self affirmation of the Slavs continued. That process triggered future formation of two powerful political and military unions. Evidence of those events can be found in the 5th century historic artifacts found in the area adjacent to the border between the forest and forest-steppe zones of Eastern Europe. This area can be considered the place of formation of the Eastern European culture as well as the place from where the Slavs started their relocation to the north-eastern, southern and south-eastern areas in the middle of the 1st century BCE during the Great Migration Period. Due to the new conditions, the old names such as the Wends, the Antes gradually disappeared and were replaced with the new names.

The Antes resided mostly along the riverbanks, and their settlements were not very big in size. They were predominantly involved in farming and cattle-breeding. Their cemeteries were similar to the cemeteries found in the Chernyakhiv culture. However, they also had separate cemeteries for the warriors who were buried together with their weapons. The Ants did not reinforce each particular settlement but built common reinforcements for several settlements instead. A well-known Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Braychevskyi credits the Ants for building such famous structures as the Zmiyiv Wall and the Trojan Wall both of which are powerful reinforcements spread for dozens of kilometers along the rivers of Krasna, Stugna, Ros', Trubizh, and Sula. Similar structures were built in the Dniester area and were as high as 10 meters. Archeologists found the biggest amount of things related to the Ants culture in the plain of the Ros' River. They include various bells, pendants, fibulas, brooches, metal badges, etc. which later found their reflection in the Ukrainian artifacts.

There is a great deal of information available regarding social and political way of life of the Antes. Procopius of Caesarea wrote that the Slavs and the Antes were not ruled by a single person. Instead they were under the rule of the people's assembly where all the matters, whether good or bad, were decided jointly. However, if the Antes were facing a common threat, they would have selected a tsar whose authority was accepted by the whole people. Bozh was one of such tsars. In 380 he formed an alliance to fight against the Ostrogothian Kingdom of Vinitar. The Antes lost the battle. Bozh himself, his sons and 70 presbyters were captured and killed. The next Antes leader Mezamir made himself known during the battle with the Avars during the 50s of the 6th century [3].

The political union of the Antes was similar to the structure of the unions in Western Europe such as the ones formed by Charlemagne, the ancient Burgudians, the Visigoths, and the Goths; it was not a very strong union either. Nevertheless, **the union of the Antes was the first known attempt of the ancestors of the Ukrainian people to form a state entity which would have organized military force and where the population would be able to participate in a political life of the state.** The Antes state, which had existed for three centuries from the beginning of the fourth one to the end of the seventh one, was destroyed under the Avar attack.

In the 3rd through 6th centuries the western and southern Slavs resided within a big-size habitat. In the 7th century the name "Antes" was replaced by the name "Slavs" – **Σκλαβηνοί, Sclaveni** [4]. The Slavs marched to the Balkans, crossed the Danube River and attacked the territory of the Byzantine Empire. In order to defend against the Slavs, Byzantium built a fortification along the Danube River north from the Balkan mountain range. But Byzantium was unable to stop the Slavs, and in the years 40-50s of the 6th century the Slavs started forming their settlements in the area beyond the Danube River.

Some of the Slavs decided to settle within the forested areas of the modern regions of Podil, Kyiv, Volyn and Chernihiv. Others moved forward towards the Carpathian Mountains and the Tysa River. The area near the Carpathian Mountains had already been occupied by the ancient proto-Ukrainian tribes.

The fact that the Slavs moved from the south to the north is confirmed by the name of the right-bank tributary of the Dniپر River – the Desna River, “Desna” means “right” in the Slavic language. If the Slavs had been moving from the north to the south, the Desna River would have been on the left and they could not have named it “the one on the right”.

The Slavs settled on the vast territories of the European and Asian continents: from the Adriatic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, from the deserts of the Central Asia to the Baltic Sea. During the early Middle Ages the Slavs resided even in such regions where nowadays one can hardly find any traces of their existence, such as the regions of continental Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, and Spain.

The Slavs occupied Eastern Europe and a part of Central Europe as well as a significant part of the Balkans. Everywhere, the Slavic settlements were in the form of compact communities, but together they formed a unified nation. **The ancient Czech and Polish chronicles** show that the Slavs definitely had ethnical and cultural unity. The chronicler of the Kyiv-Pecherskyi monastery **Nestor** also stated the following in his chronicle entitled “**The Primary Chronicle**”: “*United was the people of the Slavs*”. According to research conducted by various linguists, archeologists, historians and ethnologists, the ancestral homeland of the Slavs was situated in the middle part of Europe, from north to south-east, between the Vistula river and the Dniپر river.

The Slavic tribes of the Polans occupied the modern territory of Kyiv and Kaniv regions, the Drevlans – of Eastern Volyn, and the Severians – of the left bank area of the Dniپر river. Besides those tribes the territory of modern Ukraine was occupied by the Ulich (southern areas along the Dniپر and the Bug river), the Croatians (Subcarpathian and Transcarpathian regions), and the Volynians (Western Volyn). According to **Procopius of Caesarea**, since olden times the Antes and the Scлавinnen had been living by the rule of the people, and that is why they managed all their affairs jointly. They considered the God Perun, the creator of lightening, the sole master of the Universe, and, therefore, they sacrificed oxen and other animals to honor him. When entering a battle, most of the Slavs attacked the

enemy on foot carrying only small shield and spears. They did not wear any suits of armor. Some of them did not wear any cloak or chiton and had only their pants on. All of them were very tall and strong. They were not mean but very clever and smart; they might have appeared simple-minded but they possessed the demeanor of a Hun at the same time. Besides, in ancient times the Antes and the Sclavinnen bore the same name [5, p.52]. Why did different people unite? First of all, they did so, based on their language, way of life, clan system and religion. Connections between lands and tribes were based on federative principles.

The ancient Slavs reached high level of spiritual development. It is known from the written sources that they had buildings of a religious nature such as temples, and those temples were of several types: for example, pole-like buildings with roofs, open temples and closed temples. One of such temples was discovered in 1907 on the Starokyiv Mount in Kyiv by a well-known archeologist Vikentiy Khvoyko (1850-1914). This scientist discovered a pagan temple dated the 8th-9th century, which proved the sacral role of the Starokyiv Mount. The fact that it was the center of the ancient capital was supported by the discovered remnants of the stone palace of the grand prince (the 10th—11th century) decorated with murals and mosaics. Other discoveries included remnants of houses and craftsmen's shops where they had worked with stone, metal and bone. The most famous discoveries included unique foundry moulds and a sanctuary cross. It was among those discoveries that Vikentiy Khvoyko found the brick with the image of a grand trident. The discovery of the center of the ancient Kyiv capital drew a significant response. The Starokyiv Mount was called "the Rus Capitol"; its discovery was compared to the excavation of the Roman Forum [6].

A lot of pagan idols made of wood and stone were found inside and outside the religious buildings and structures. Some of them were discovered in the area near the Dniester River, the most famous of them was **the Zbruch idol called Rod**. The idol was depicted as a tall four-sided pole with different images on each side. Three worlds symbolized the popular ancient way of dividing the universe: there was the Sky or the world of gods, there was the Earth where ordinary people lived, and

there was the Underworld which was the place for those “on whose shoulders the Earth rested”. **This three-dimensional division of the universe was called the world threefold theory.** Besides anthropomorphic idols, the Slavs also worshiped animals, trees, stones, etc.

In the 10th-11th century some geographic names contained hints about the migration of the tribes. Among the names which were kept since those times are the name of the lower area near the Dniپر, “Biloberezhzhya”, and the name of the part of the area near the Black Sea, “Lukomorya”. There was a trade settlement near the Dniپر called Oleshya which was later known as Oleshky. Ukrainian colonies were located in the Crimea, Korsun, near the Cuban and in Fanagoria. “The Primary Chronicle” also contains information about the existence of large Ukrainian settlements in the Black Sea region.

Among all the mentioned Ukrainian tribes, the Polans tribe played the main role. Their main city was Kyiv which was built in a highly populated area (this area had been populated since the Paleolithic era).

## ***1.2. Kyievan Rus and the world***

The visit of the Kyiv prince Kyi to the Byzantine capital Constantinople in 572 can be considered the first known international diplomatic visit in the history of princely Ukraine. The information preserved from that visit relates to the “peace and love” contract of Rus with Byzantium, Varangians and Bulgarians dated the end of the 9th century. **Kyievan Rus entered into its first known contract of “peace and love” with Byzantium in 860 after successful campaign against Constantinople. It served the role of an international acknowledgement of Kyievan Rus and established relations between the two countries.** It also included the condition that Rus allowed Christian missions on its territories; it also allowed the citizens of Rus to be baptized and had provisions regarding providing Byzantium with military assistance.

The evidence of existence of a powerful eastern Slavic country in the Dniپر region can be supported by the importance of the above-mentioned campaign against Constantinople. Testimonies from various sources state

that in the morning on **June 18, 860** over 200 vessels with military personnel under the command of **Kyiv princes Askold and Dir** attacked the bay of Constantinople. The attack was so sudden for the Byzantines that the coastguard did not have time to put the massive chain over the water as they usually did to protect the bay and to prevent any vessels from entering it.

The Byzantine government led by the emperor Michael III had to pay a contribution to the commander of the Kyievan Rus army, Kyiv princes Askold, so that he stopped the siege and returned home. It was the first time when Kyievan principdom of the mid 9th century, i.e. the Old Rus state started its fight against Byzantium for superiority in the Black Sea, South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia.

Many centuries have passed since then. But even nowadays those events show high level of development of the eastern Slavs' state which is called "Rus" or "Russian land" in the old Rus literature sources, and "Kyievan" or "Ancient Rus" by historians. This state belonged to the most culturally, economically and politically developed states in the Middle Ages. A vast area from the Black Sea to the White Sea, from the Carpathian Mountains to the Volga River was where the courageous Rus people lived.

**The oldest name of the land of the Russian people is "Rus".** That was the name the people used to call themselves since they established a state; and that's how foreigners were calling them. The name "Rus" became a national name and "was ours for quite some time," as a historian D. Doroshenko ironically says. Foreign sources started using the term "Rus" in the 8th century to identify the settlements of southern proto-Ukrainians which were mostly the Polans and the Severians tribes. Later the term "Rus" became common among Byzantine and Arabic writers. There are several hypotheses as to the origin of the term itself. In 949 Constantine Porphyrogenitus called the Dniپر rapids "Russian" and "Slavic". M. Hrushevskyi in his researches refers to Scandinavian sagas where the Varangians had never been associated with Rus; and Rus had been a foreign land to them.

Apparently the term "Rus" is of a local origin. Arabic writers knew of Rus: "the Russians ("the Rus people") are a Slavic tribe". They also mentioned a country of Rus: "The Pechenegs are to the East of it, the

Danube River – to the South, the Slavs – to the West, and the desert is to the North”. The name “Rus” is also confirmed by the toponymy of Ukraine: the Dniپر River tributary is the Ros’ River, the tributary of the Ros’ River is the Rosava River, the tribute of the Oskol River is the Ros’ River, there is a river in Volyn called Roska, etc. Later the term “Rus” was predominantly used in reference to the Kyiv principedom. “To go to Rus” meant to go to Kyiv land (according to the Novgorod chronicle dated 1149 and 1165 and the Suzdal chronicle dated 1180). “Yuriy, Volodymyr’s son, is travelling from Suzdal to Rus and will arrive in Kyiv” (Ipatiev chronicle referring to the events of 1155).

After that, the term “Rus” was adopted by Moscow princes and historians of the tsarist time created the necessary ideological grounds of the common history speaking about the passage from the legendary city of Kyiv to Moscow, which have formed “the great cradle of three brothers” (of Russian, Ukrainian and Belarussian peoples). Thus, the ancient history of Ukraine was twisted and sank into oblivion, while the whole world was provided with one history only – the history written by Moscow writers in compliance with tsar’s orders. That history was translated and studied all over the world. Although it is evident that such a stereotype should be eliminated and historic truth should be restored, it is not an easy task.

**Starting from the middle of the 17th century another name was widely used along with the name “Rus”. It was the name which previously had only a geographical meaning and defined the bordering lands. The name was “Ukraine”. For the first time it was mentioned in a chronicle in 1187.**

Unfortunately, the original ancient Ukrainian chronicles did not stand the test of time, and only copies or revisions are available nowadays. These copies were not made in Ukraine. They were mainly made in Moscow. The oldest chronicles are the Lavrentiy Chronicle named after the monk Lavrentiy who re-wrote it in 1377 for the Suzdal tsar Dmytro, Costantin’s son, and the Ipatiev chronicle named after the Ipatiev monastery in the city of Kostroma where the chronicle was discovered. The latter was created approximately during the first quarter of the 15th century (according to D. Doroshenko) [5]. Kyievan Rus is mentioned in both sources.

During the 1st century CE the Slavic tribes that resided in the forest-steppe and steppe regions between the Western Bug River, the Dniper River and its tributaries, and the Danube River actively participated in the international relations. There are several historic episodes related to their battles against the Goths in the 3rd-4th centuries, their alliance with the Hunns in the 4th-5th centuries, as well as their participation in the Great Migration Period when the Antes and the Sclavinnen pressed the Byzantine Empire by settling on its territory. During the Great Migration Period the leaders of the Slavic tribes negotiated, entered into agreements and formed tribe unions.

According to M. Hrushevskyi, the beginning of the state life of Ukraine is dated the 7th-8th centuries and connected with the development of commerce: commercial caravans required armed protection, and only certain entities were able to arrange such protection. Commercial towns started having their own military leaders who were mostly princes with their armed forces. Maintenance of armed forces required significant expenses which could have been covered during the times of war through the spoils of war. Development of commerce stimulated the state life. The Scandinavians called the “Varangians” were sometimes the members of the armed forces.

The chronicles tell stories about Kyiv princes who founded the city of Kyiv – Kyi, Shchek, Khoryv, and their sister Lybid. It is known that Kyi and his large army had a campaign against Constantinople and that he was greatly respected by the Byzantine leader. Kyi also successfully fought against the Volga and Kama Bulgarians and founded the city of Kyievets on the Danube River.

**For the first time the information about participation of the ancient Rus people in international events in the end of the 8th–beginning of the 9th century can be found in the following sources: the Life of Stephen of Surozh and the Life of George of Amastris.**

The first one is dedicated to the campaigns against the Byzantines in the Crimean area, invasion of the city of Surozh (Sudak) and signing of a peace treaty. According to that treaty, Prince Bravlyn who was in charge of the army was supposed to return all the pillage he appropriated from the churches in the cities of Korsun and Kerch, to get

his troops out of the cities and to return all the prisoners of war. A similar peace treaty was signed after the campaign against a Paflagonian city of Amastris. The treaty of Amastris is one of the first official agreements between Ancient Rus and Greece.

**A number of documents confirm the existence of an ancient Ukrainian state:** for instance, a note in the Bethian chronicle of 839 where Bishop Porudensius mentioned the Rhos tribes. Deacon Ioann from Venice mentions the siege of Constantinople in 860 by Rus people calling the Rus army the “Varangian tribes”. Hereby, one should also mention the notes of various Arabic writers and travelers such as Fergani, Ibn Rostekh, Hardizi, Ibn Pholdan, Ibrahim ben Yakub, Masudi, etc. Liutprand of Cremona from Italy also mentions Rus, and Simon Logophet counts the Rus people as the Francs or Western Europeans when describing the attack on Constantinople in 941. One should also pay attention to the names of the participants of the campaign who signed the treaty as stated in the chronicle: Ryurik, Truver, Sinus, Oleg, Igor, Yakun, Askold, Svineld, Rogned, Asmund, Pharlaph, etc. – all these names are of Scandinavian origin. The archeological findings dated the 10th century point towards existence of large Varangian colonies in the Baltic area and south of it as well as near Putyvl of Kursk region of the modern Russian Federation (ancient Rus land); and also in the areas of modern Chernihiv, Volyn, Poltava and Dnipropetrovsk regions of Ukraine. Near Chernihiv the archeologists found about 80 ancient graves. The objects of Swedish origin prove that those were the graves of Varangians warriors – Vikings.

According to the data provided by the famous Ukrainian historian M. Braychevskiy, in the middle of the 9th century a strong proto-state entity led by Prince Askold became the center of international politics. The scientist proves that in 852-853 the army of Rus upon the request of the Sanarians (at that time Kakhetia, Eastern Georgia) participated in battles against the Arabs from the Trans-Caucasian region. There is an interesting mentioning that the Varangians were so awful with the extortions they demanded from the Rus territories that they were soon stripped of their power and in 862 kicked out of Rus.

The process of annexation of other tribes and the process of centralization quickly led to formation and strengthening of Kyievan

Rus. In 864 the armed forces of the princes reached the city of Abeshun in the province of Isfakhan (Iranian province on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea). Those forces were also in Baghdad, the capital of the Arabic Khalifat. Numerous campaigns of Prince Askold against Byzantium in 860, 863, 866, and 874 are also known. The campaigns resulted in contracts and agreements with the Greeks. As it has already been mentioned above, in June of 860 Constantinople was attacked by the army of Rus. In the Nikon chronicle this campaign is also connected to Askold; it is also stated that the prince knew of the situation at the borders of the Byzantine Empire. **As a result of the negotiations, however, the parties signed the “peace and love” treaty near the walls of Constantinople:** the Greeks paid Rus with a lot of gifts. Perhaps it was during those campaigns that Christian priests started their visits to Rus as mentioned by Patriarch Photios I of Constantinople in the local chronicles in 866. The famous Ukrainian historian M. Braychevskyi proved that the first agreements with Byzantium were signed based on the results of Prince Askold’s campaigns in 863 and 874. Authenticity of the documents of the agreement mentioned in “The Primary Chronicle” is proved by the Byzantine diplomatic practices. The agreements with other states were written in two languages: Greek language and Old Rus language. The Greek version was kept in Kyiv and the Rus one was kept in Constantinople; the process of signing of agreements was accompanied by exchange of documents between both parties.

According to the most widely spread version, some of the Varangian konungs (princes) went down along the Dniپر River, seized power and established their own rule. For instance, crowning of **Prince Oleg (882-912)** in Kyiv marked the union between North and South of Rus state. Oleg pronounced the city of Kyiv to be the capital of the newly formed state: „*May Kyiv be a mother of the Rus cities*”. This happened in 882 when Oleg outsmarted and murdered Prince Askold (some sources say he killed Prince Dir too) and then seized Kyiv. As a result of Oleg’s military campaigns new territories and new tribes became parts of Rus from both sides of the Dniپر River, such as the Severians, the Rodymychis, the Dulibs, the Tiverians, the Croatians, etc.

Nowadays there are some Byzantine documents from those times about Oleg's powerful army and his battles against Byzantium. Two thousand vessels transported 40 soldiers and the soldiers on horses moved along the river. The Primary Chronicle provides a description of a new campaign of the army of Rus against Constantinople and the signing of the Rus-Byzantium treaty. Oleg's embassy which consisted of five people conducted the negotiations in the Byzantine capital. The main issue during the negotiations was the homage which was the most important war prize for the army and the subject of negotiations with the empire. **The Treaty of 911 that confirmed all the oral agreements of 907** consisted of two documents (briefs): one brief was verified by the Byzantine Emperor and given to the ambassadors of Rus and another one was verified by the ambassadors and given to the Emperor. According to those documents the liabilities of Rus were paid for with Byzantine gold in the form of homage as well as with other commercial and political fees. For example, in accordance with the 911 treaty Oleg managed to obtain a number of privileges: homage in the amount of 12 hryvnias per person (1 hryvnia equals 1 silver brick of a hexagonal shape with the weight of approx. 200 grams), coverage of all long-term living expenses for the ambassadors of Rus by the Greeks, and the right of free trade in all Byzantine cities provided that the living expenses of the merchants were also fully covered by the Greeks.

It is stated in "**The Chronicles of Rus**" [7] that according to the treaty the Rus and the Greeks were equal and that they were to be held equally responsible for any violations of the treaty. The conditions of the relations included in the treaty could be called a diplomatic etiquette in a modern language.

The treaty was written in two languages – Slavic and ancient Greek. All payments were calculated in Greek currency, which were equal to 327,45 kg of silver. The Slavs traded in copper, wax, and fur, and the Byzantines traded in clothes, pepper, wine, jewelry, etc. According to the sources of literature there were close relations between Rus and Byzantium after the treaty had been signed: the countries acted together against the Arabs from Crete when Rus

ensured participation of its army consisting of 700 soldiers (as stated by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 913–959).

In the 9th–10th centuries the Rus army was involved in other campaigns: for instance, the campaign to the south-eastern shores of the Caspian Sea which played an important role in weakening of the position of the Khazar state. In the end of the 9th century the Pechenegians took over the area of steppes near the Black Sea. In 915 **Prince Igor (912–945)** signed a treaty with them. The Pechenegian precedent played a noticeable role in the foreign affairs; Byzantium took the precedent into account as well. Constantine Porphyrogenitus emphasized, for instance, that the Pechenegians were potential allies of the Byzantine Empire and counterbalanced Rus and the Khazar state.

In 944 the anti-Byzantine coalition was formed. It was led by Rus and included the Pechenegians, the Varangians, the Kryvychis, the Tiverians, etc. The powerful allied army set off towards Constantinople. Emperor Roman acted in a diplomatic way and met the army at the Danube River; he also sent valuable gifts to the Pechenegians hired by Igor. Both sides were interested in peace, and in 944 a new treaty was signed with Byzantium by Prince Igor who was Oleg's successor; this time Byzantium that had practically bought its rights during the last treaty was a lot stricter towards Rus.

The detailed written **document about military alliance between Byzantium and Kyievan Rus of 944** is considered the top of the Old Rus diplomatic practices. However, the conditions of that treaty were less beneficial for Rus than those of the previous one. The treaty said nothing about free trade with Byzantium, there was no mentioning of any homage to be paid to Rus and at the same time it was stated that Rus was responsible for protecting the Byzantine territories in the Crimean area against all the enemies. Rus was responsible for stopping the so-called Black Bulgarians from entering the Greek territories; they were allowed to fish but prohibited from spending winters in the area of the Dniper River. In addition they were prohibited from participating in any affairs of the Korsun land in the Crimea.

One should note that Igor controlled over twenty “high princes of Rus” who collected homage from the local population. Traditionally in November the princes were visiting their lands to collect the tax (called

“*polyuddya*”) from the subordinate tribes, and in April they were returning to Kyiv travelling by water. Then the caravan would take the gathered homage to Constantinople. The Drevlyans became outraged with the double homage, they organized a riot and Igor was killed.

A famous political figure of those times **Princess Olga (945 – 964)** avenged her husband’s death. According to the legends the whole delegation of the Drevlyans invited to Kyiv per Olga’s orders was buried alive, and the Drevlyan capital of Korosten was cunningly set on fire: the Princess took homage from each house in the form of three sparrows and pigeons which then came back to their houses carrying the burning torches. These facts show the traditions of those times and the art of diplomacy. Olga also made a prudent decision about accepting Christian religion. Princess Olga received a warm welcome in Constantinople. In honor of Olga on September 9, 955 the Greeks arranged a formal dinner party including performance by musicians; all the members of the Kyiv delegations (including relatives, interpreters, servants, etc.) were given presents. In order to broaden international relations of Rus, in 959 Princess Olga sent the ambassadors to the German King Otton I.

**Svyatoslav (969–972)** who was the son of Igor and Olga, led a number of successful campaigns. He conquered the country of the Volga Bulgarians together with its capital Bolgar, defeated the Khazars and the Circassians, and strengthened his ruling in Taman (Tmutarakan region). Per request from Byzantium who paid him about 455 kg of gold, he defeated the Danube Bulgarians having conquered 80 cities along the Danube banks. The Byzantines were frightened of how strong Svyatoslav’s power was. So they put the Pechenegs to acting against Kyiv in order to make the prince return from the Balkans. Svyatoslav addressed his army with a prophetic speech: “*Let’s stay strong and let’s not embarrass the Land of Rus, it is better to die than to be taken captive, as the dead do not feel any embarrassment*”[8].

Svyatoslav’s son **Volodymyr the Great (980–1015)** went down in history as a founder of unity of the lands of Rus. In 981 he returned the Cherven cities taken by Polish princes back to Kyievan Rus including the cities of Peremyshl, Belz, Cherven and others; he conquered Korsun (Kherones). In order to centralize all the lands of

Rus he himself was christened and he also christened Rus. He married the Byzantine princess Anna who was the sister of Byzantine emperors Basil and Constantine. Christianization of Rus opened the way to enormous cultural impact: Byzantine craftsmen were building palaces and churches in the cities of Rus, copper statues and religious books were imported from Greek colonies in the Crimea region; various types of art were being developed. In 988 the ambassadors of the Pope Silvester II visited Kyiv and Volodymyr's ambassadors paid a diplomatic visit to the residence of the Pope of Rome. Kyiv was also visited by the ambassadors of the Czech and Ugrian kings as well as of the Polish prince Boleslaw Lesmian.

As Volodymyr realized the importance of matrimonial ties, he arranged marriages of his children to foreigners: his oldest son Svyatopolk married the daughter of the Polish king Boleslaw the Brave, his son Yaroslav married Irene (Ingigerda), the daughter of Swedish king Olaf. His daughter Premyslava became the wife of the Ugrian king Ladislaus and his other daughter became the wife of the Czech king Boleslav the Red. The Polish king Casimir I the Restorer married his other daughter Maria Dobroniega. During Volodymyr's reign Kyiv flourished and became stronger. Over 400 churches were built, the city was home to people from all over the world – the Scandinavians, the Franks, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Danes; commercial relations of Rus were broadened; international relations as well as authority of Rus were strengthening.

The rich with various events princehood of **Yaroslav (1019-1054)** [8] **who was called Wise due to his policies**, went down in history as a period of prosperity and strengthening of Kyievan Rus. Yaroslav increased the territory of Kyievan Rus by adding the Chud (Finnish) lands. He founded the city of Yuriyiv (Tartu) on the territory of modern Estonia. In 1043 a conflict arose between Byzantium and Kyievan Rus caused by the fact that Rus was not happy with the imperialist policy of the emperor. In order to navigate the conflict Yaroslav arranged the campaign against Byzantium. The campaign turned to be a failure: the Greeks burnt a part of the fleet of Rus near Bosporus. At the same time Greek ships near the Dniپر River were defeated. In three years, however, the countries made peace marked

with the marriage between Yaroslav's son Vsevolod and a Byzantine princess. The normal relations with Byzantium were restored and the prisoners were allowed to return home.

A special move which can be considered the move that made the church of Kyievan Rus independent from Constantinople was when in 1051 a famous **church leader and writer Hilarion** (Rus by origin) was elected to Kyiv official bishop's throne by the Rus bishops council. Hilarion wrote in his work entitled "**About law and blessing**" that the land of Rus "*is known and heard of in all four corners of the world*".

**Matrimonial ties or marriage diplomacy** were also widely used to strengthen the positions of Kyievan Rus in the world. Yaroslav himself was married to Irene (Ingigerda), the daughter of the Swedish king Olaf. He arranged the marriage of his eldest son Izyaslav to the sister of the Polish king Casimir III Princess Hertruda. The monarchs considered it an honor to be related to the Great Prince of Kyiv and were settling their daughter with the members of the Kyiv royal family. Yaroslav's sons Vyacheslav and Igor married German princesses: Vyacheslav's wife was the Duchess of Stadt Oda and Igor's wife was the Duchess of Orlamind Kunihunda. Vsevolod married the Greek princess Hanna (Maria in other sources).

The Norwegian prince Harald, who later became king, took Yaroslav's daughter Elizabeth as a wife [9]. Their love story is quite romantic. While living in Kyiv in exile, Harald fell in love with Yaroslav's daughter. However, his marriage proposal was rejected. During his travels around the world Harald, who was not only a warrior but also a scald, wrote a song about his victories. Every two verses of that song were ending with the words addressed to his beloved woman in Kyiv who was far away yet never forgotten. With the help of friends Harald managed to escape from war prison and returned to Kyiv where he received Yaroslav's blessing to marry his daughter. And in 1047 Elizabeth became the queen of Norway.

The Hungarian king Andriy I married Anastasia, the daughter of Yaroslav. Her sister Anna, who was an educated princess and worked as teacher at a school for poor children located in the St. Sophia's cathedral in Kyiv, married the French king Anri I on May 14, 1049 in

the cathedral of the city of Reims in France. After the king's death Anna reigned in France. Having become a king, her son Philippe was signing the documents with his name next to his mother's name until the day she passed away in 1075. His mother's signature was "**Anna of Rus, the Queen of France**". The famous "**Reims Gospel**" which she gifted to the church during her wedding ceremony is still kept in the National Library in Paris. This is the **Gospel** on which French kings have been taken an oath to France for many centuries. Anna founded the St. Vincent monastery in the city of Senlis (40 km from Paris). French chroniclers state that it was the queen's place of residence when she was expecting her first child, son Philippe.

The representatives of many European dynasties forced to live in exile were seeking refuge in the Kyiv court. **The laws of Kyievan Rus were put together by Yaroslav the Wise as a Code of Laws called "The Rus Truth"**, which contained provisions regarding foreigners as well. Hereby, the rights of foreigners were no less protected in comparison with the rights of local people. Being a highly educated person himself, Yaroslav cared about education of the country. In accordance with his orders a school and a library were established as a part of the Cathedral of St. Sophia; they were known all over Europe. The library employed translators who translated many Greek books into the Old Rus language.

Several architectural monuments will forever remain from the era of Yaroslav; among them are the cathedrals of St. Sophia in Kyiv and in Novgorod. In addition to that, the territory of Kyiv significantly increased in Yaroslav's times. A part of the city was fenced with high walls (Yaroslav Walls) with three gates: Lyadskyi Gate, Lvivskyi Gate and the Golden Gate. The Golden Gate served as the main entrance to the city.

During the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, foreign policies of Kyievan Rus encouraged broadening of diplomatic ties and improvement of political contact with a lot of European countries. Kyievan Rus formed and took part in various military and political alliances. **Upon the death of Yaroslav the Wise (1054) the triarchy system was established.** The country was ruled by three of his eldest sons – the princes of Kyiv, Chernihiv and Pereyaslav. As the central

power weakened, international relations of separate princedoms strengthened.

The newly formed country in the eastern part of Europe within a short period of time of only two centuries went through the period of formation and development. The borders of Kyievan Rus were spread from the Caucasus to the Gulf of Finland, from the Volga River to the Carpathian Mountains and all the way to Krakow. As noted by the Russian historian M. Karamzin, ancient Kyiv was decorated with the samples of Byzantine arts and enlivened with presence of foreign merchants and visitors from Greece, Germany, Italy, etc., and thus it was greater than Moscow in many aspects. Kyievan Rus became the desired object and the respected subject in the foreign policies of many countries. Well-known European leaders had to take its strength into consideration. It was certainly the period of prosperity of its diplomacy as well.

Prince **Volodymyr Monomakh (1113-1125)** made an attempt to put together all the lands of Kyievan Rus at the beginning of feudal wars. He succeeded in his attempt and two thirds of the territories were under his reign including the following lands: Kyiv, Volyn, Upper Volga as well as the lands of Turovo-Pinsk, Pereyaslav, Smolensk, Novgorod and Minsk. He was married to an English princess Gita, and his son was married to Christina, the daughter of the king of Sweden. His daughter Yevfimiya was married to Koloman, the king of Hungary. While ruling in Kyievan Rus, Volodymyr Monomakh established the centralized monarch power all over the country and managed to temporarily stop the process of feudal fragmentation.

The next period in the history of Kyievan Rus is marked by feudal wars between the princes, the war with the Komans and the fight for the Kyiv throne. According to the information gathered by Ukrainian historians within the period from 1146 to 1246, 24 princes replaced each other at the Kyiv throne 47 times. It is worth noting that 35 times the period of ruling of one prince lasted less than a year.

One of the examples of the consequences of those infamous feudal wars draws particular attention. The son of prince Yuriy Dolgoruky, Andriy Boholubskyi, was appointed by his father to rule

in the city of Vyshhorod (city in Kyiv region). From there he escaped to the Suzdal land but not without stealing **the Icon of the Mother of God which was revered in Vyshhorod** [*see picture*]. Later the icon made its way to the city of Vladimir and after that it was taken to Moscow where it is currently located under the name of the Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God. Having conquered Kyiv on March 8, 1169, the army of Andriy Boholubskyi robbed the city in the worst possible way. For the whole three days the soldiers were robbing not only residents and their homes, but also monasteries and churches including the Cathedral of St. Sophia. They stole valuable icons, books and even church bells (according to Russian historian M. Karamzin). The Komans used feudal wars to their advantage as well and took their part in robbing of the lands of Kyievan Rus.

Kyiv was gradually losing its power. During the period of feudal wars the state of Kyievan Rus fell into separate parts. Principles of separatism prevailed over desire to form a united state with a centralized government. Kyievan Rus was divided into the lands of Halych, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav, Volyn and Turov-Pinsk.

The first **conflict with the Mongols in May of 1223** was a dramatic episode of the fight of Rus with the steppe nomads. A great battle took place near the river of Kalka not far from modern city of Mariupol. That battle was won by the Mongols. During the meeting of the princes of Rus it was decided to unite forces and to attack the Mongols. Because of lack of coordination, the battle turned out to be a devastating loss.

In 1239 the Mongols came to Ukraine again. They conquered Pereyaslav and Chernihiv, and **on December 6, 1240 after a dreadful siege the Mongols conquered and robbed Kyiv**. According to some sources, the city kept fighting for 10 weeks and 4 days. Thousands of residents of Kyiv died in the losing fight. Almost all residential and commercial buildings, palaces and churches burnt in flames. Out of over 40 cathedrals which Kyiv had had before the attack only 5 or 6 were left, and even those were severely damaged. According to a historian Plano Karpini, only about 200 out of more than 8 thousand households survived. Consequently, the population of the “mother of the cities of Rus” decreased from 50-60 thousand to only two thousand.

Batu Khan (Batyi) went further to Europe. He destroyed Poland, defeated the crusaders of Prussia and the Czech knights. Europe was in the state of panic. The Tatars defeated the Hungarian army, entered Croatia and destroyed Zahreb; they devastated Serbian and Bulgarian territories. The movement of the Mongolian hordes stopped in 1242 when, having received the news of the death of the Great Khan, Batu Khan returned to Asia. The khans established their ruling over the conquered territories. Despite the fact that the princes still preserved some powers, their right to rule had to be approved by a Mongolian khan by giving a prince permission to own land. In return a prince was forced to accept khan's seniority, to provide him with military assistance and to pay homage. According to various sources the Mongols were demanding from all the citizens to pay homage in the amount of one tenth of everything they had. The Mongols were getting their homage through food, property or slaves.

Weakening of Kyiv and immigration of the ruling elite and church leaders had a negative impact on the cultural life of the city. After the death of prince Yaroslav Vsevolod's son the right to the land was transferred to his son Aleksandr (Nevskiy) who was not interested in living in Kyiv and returned to Novgorod. Up until the sixteenth century northern princes lost interest in Kyiv and in Ukraine.

It is impossible to have a good idea of Kyievan Rus without mentioning of **the high level of the commercial life of the state**. Farming, cattle breeding and various crafts were equally developed. 64 types of crafts are described in different sources: for instance, woodworking, pottery, jewellery, etc. The craftsmen manufactured various weapons: arrows, shields, swords, spears, axes, sometimes lined with gold, as well as helmets and suits of armor, etc. The most famous among the gold works are sophisticated pieces of jewelry with enamel. Other than the Kyiv craftsmen only the craftsmen from Georgia and Byzantium knew how to make such jewelry.

**Both internal and foreign trade was developed.** As Kyievan Rus was located on the trade route from the Varangians to the Greeks, it had hundreds of trade connections with the main cities of Western Europe. There were developments in customs service area as well.

Kyievan Rus traded not only with the neighboring countries but also with the Scandinavian countries, Germany and France.

The art of literature, writing, arithmetic and other sciences were also developed in Kyievan Rus. The writings on the walls in different temples are a proof of this fact. Books were being copied and translated. Famous literary works of those times include “The Sermons for children” by Volodymyr Monomakh and “The life and travels of hegumen Danylo of Rus to the Holy Land”. “The Primary Chronicle” (1113) by Nestor the Chronicler, the monk of the Kyiv Pechersk monastery, made it to the present time as well as the Halych-Volyn chronicle which describes the events starting from 1205. The legislation also existed with its main criteria showed in “The Rus Truth” by Yaroslav the Wise.

There is evidence of the higher development of ancient Ukrainian culture and law in comparison with Western Europe: maritime law and diplomacy in particular. A wide range of related issues is discussed in the agreements between Kyievan Rus and Byzantium and agreements of Halych princes with the crusaders of Prussia.

Thus, a powerful and prosperous state of Kyievan Rus flourished on the vast territory from the Carpathian Mountains to the Dniiper River over the period of five centuries. Kyievan Rus was a prominent example of medieval statehood.

### *1.3. Foreign policy of Halych-Volyn State*

Following the break-up of Kyievan Rus into regional entities in the 12th century, the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn inherited its traditions of statehood. Despite the disastrous wars which took place on these territories, the population was growing and its economic potential and economic relations were developing. **In 1199 the kingdoms/principedoms with similar cultural, political and economic relations decided to join together and formed the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn led by the prince of Halych Roman Mstyslav’s son**, who was Volodymyr Monomakh’s descendant and the last representative of the Rostyslavychi dynasty. Prince Roman was the first one in the history of Old Rus state who introduced special title to be used when addressing a royal leader such as “great prince” and “ruler of the whole Rus”.

Prince Roman's foreign policy was active through the period of wars with the Lithuanians and the Komans. He died on his way to Saxony during a sudden battle with the army of Prince Leshko near the city of Zavykhost not far from the Vistula River (1205).

Following Roman's death the boyars' cliques did not let his widow Anna and his minor sons Danylo and Vasyl take power. Instead they welcomed foreign conquerors – the Poles and the Hungarians. In 1214 the Hungarians and their allies declared Koloman, a young Hungarian prince, to be the ruler of the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn. Koloman later married the Polish princess Salomeya.

In 1230 Danylo Roman's son managed to squeeze the Hungarians out of the territory of Halych region. However, he was unable to keep his throne. A new attempt was made in 1233. The Hungarian king Bela accepted the fact that the land of Halych was under the ruling of Chernihiv prince Rostyslav appointed by the boyars. In the end after the long struggle Danylo of Halych succeeded in defeating those cliques of Halych and Peremyshl boyars who were supporting the Hungarian kingdom. In 1238 Danylo was the sole ruler of the whole territory of Halych. He left Volyn to his brother Vasyl who took Danylo's side as to all important affairs. Danylo strengthened his position in the city not long before Baty Khan destroyed Kyiv.

At the beginnings of 40s of the 13th century the Mongol-Tatar invasion became the main threat for the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn. Danylo tried to reduce the threat using a combination of military and diplomatic means. In the end of 30s of the 13th century, Danylo was able to establish peaceful relations with the neighboring countries through arrangement of his son's marriage with the daughter of the Hungarian king Bela IX. Danylo made a lot of efforts to protect the borders of his state against the Mongols. The stone forts and solid-built castles helped to avoid a lot of damage which could have been caused by the Mongols' attacks.

The Kingdom of Halych-Volyn suffered from the Mongol yoke a lot less than other territories. In 1245 Danylo's army won the battle against the Hungarian king and his allies near the city of Yaroslav in the area of the Syan' River. Danylo's internal and foreign policies helped facilitated the growth of his popularity in the

world. The court nobility of many countries considered it an honor to have connections with the head of the Halych-Volyn state.

**In 1254 a significant event occurred in the history of Ukrainian statesmanship: Pope Innocent IX crowned Danylo in the city of Dorogochyn.** This event confirmed that the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn was accepted as a subject of international law and as a part of the Western world. The Pope, however, was unable to provide Danylo with specific assistance in his fight against the Mongols, that's why Danylo's relations with Rome did not lead to a strong union.

At the beginning of the 14th century the Volyn and the Halych principedoms joint together under the leadership of prince Yuriy I, the son of Prince Leo. In 1308—1323 the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn was ruled by Yuriy's sons – Leo II and Andriy. In terms of international relations the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn was aiming at the alliance with the Teutonic Order. Such an alliance was beneficial in two ways. First, it ensured stable trade with the Baltics, and, second, it counterbalanced the pressure from Lithuanians at the northern border. Nowadays there is a document of that time confirming the alliance with the Order and stating that the princes of Halych-Volyn were to provide protection against the Golden Horde.

In 1349, Poland once again invaded the principedoms of Halych – Kholm and Peremyshl. The king of Poland Casimir announced that he was the leader of the Rus Kingdom or Halych. In 1370 the Hungarian kingdom took over the principedom of Halych.

Since 1387 the land of Halych and the western part of Volyn were under the ruling of Poland. The territory between the Dniester River and the Prut River, as well as the territory of the modern Bukovyna became a part of the Moldovan principedom which was formed at that time.

The successors of the King Danylo managed not only to preserve the independence of the state, but also to acquire a number of new lands. However, the constant agonizing struggle with external and internal enemies eventually weakened the Kingdom of Halych-Volyn which was immediately used by its enemies. In the end of the 14th century the state was divided between Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and Moldova.

**Thus, the Kyievan Rus period of development of Ukrainian statesmanship led to the Halych-Volyn period in the 13th century and then into the Lithuanian-Rus-Polish statesmanship of the 14th-16th centuries.**

*“The states of Vladimir and Moscow were neither heirs nor successors of the Kyievan state. They had their own roots, and their relations with the Kyievan state were more similar to the relations between the Roman state and the Gallic provinces than to the succession of two periods in the political and cultural life of France. The Kyievan government did introduce the Great Russian lands to the forms of social and political systems, laws and culture created in Kyiv during its historic existence. However, it is not the definite reason to include Kyievan state into the history of the Great Russian nation. Ethnographic and historic similarities of the Ukrainian-Russian nation and the Great Russian nation should not be the reason to mix them as they lived their own life,”* M. Hrushevskyi wrote [9].

**During the Soviet times these kinds of opinions were ruthlessly criticized by the Russian historians and historiographs. It is still criticized by the Moscow scientists nowadays. Some of them call this concept “the Halych concept”. Such pseudoscientific labels are obviously very far from the objective reality or historic rationale.**

The first sprouts of new approaches to this problem in the history of the Eastern Slavic world have recently started to appear in the Ukrainian historic science. For example, it was suggested to define four separate entities when discussing this historic period. These four entities are Kyievan Rus, the Novgorod Republic, the Russian North and the middle Russian princedoms of the Upper Volga region.

#### ***1.4. Diplomacy of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi***

The Liberation War of the mid 17th century became a milestone in the Ukrainian history because it created opportunities and conditions for formation of the sovereign state. The events were unfolding in February of 1648. The military formations of Cossacs who populated

the areas behind the rapids of the Dniper River called “Zaporizhzhya” started a rebellion against Polish oppression and in the main Cossack fortress Sich proclaimed the military chief from the city of Chyhyryn **Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (1595-1657) to be the Hetman (supreme chief) of the Zaporozhian Army.** The news about the events which took place in Zaporizhzhya was quickly spread all through the Ukrainian territories, and because of it huge number of people decided to join the rebels. Success of the rebellion was ensured through the course of actions taken by the new hetman aimed at spreading rebellion through the regions, attracting the Cossacks to join the rebels, formation of the national army and avoiding unnecessary military conflicts with the Polish army.

The participation of B. Khmelnytskyi in the Cossack-peasant wars in 30s of the 17th century played an important role in his development as a politician. Those wars had an international meaning and triggered public reaction all over Europe. The Cossacks were the point of constant interest for the countries which determined political climate in Europe, namely France, Spain, Sweden and the Vatican. Great success of Cossacks in their liberation fight caused quick growth and improvement of their reputation. The leaders of such European countries as Poland, Sweden, Transylvania and Holland wanted to bring them on their side.

B. Khmelnytskyi who showed quite impressive military and organizational skills during the period of naval campaigns of Cossacks against the Turkish cities as well as during the battles against the Turks near the city of Khotyn under the command of the famous hetman Petro Sahaydachnyi, received the rank of the Chyhyryn military chief and on multiple occasions was a member of the Cossack delegations to the king and the Seim carrying the complaints regarding protection of the rights of the Ukrainian people. During one of those missions the king of Poland Wladyslaw IV sent Khmelnytskyi to France to get Cossacks to join military service to assist in the war against Spain. In the end of the Thirty Years’ War in Europe (1618-1648) the Cossack squad consisting of 2400 volunteers led by B. Khmelnytskyi became part of the French army under the leadership of Prince de Conde and took part in the siege and assault of Dunkirk. Thus, Ukrainian Cossacks contributed to

formation of the Westphalia System of the international relations based on the principle of the sovereignty of states.

Having quieted down the Cossack-peasant rebellions, the Polish nobility strengthened its tyranny and oppression of the Ukrainian people. B. Khmelnytskyi himself became a victim of such policies; he suffered from Polish nobility's harassment, and eventually he and a small group of his like-minded followers went to the Zaporozhian Sich. In December of 1647 the Cossack council supported his call to protest against Polish oppression and to fight for Cossack freedoms and Christian Orthodox religion. Those events marked the beginning of the national liberation war. Huge quantities of people from the rural areas were joining the Sich, and the hetman went to visit the Crimean khan to ask for his support.

Hetman's political plans changed due to the following reasons: war victories achieved in fall and summer of 1648; many Ukrainian territories being freed from Polish ownership (battles near Korsun and Zhovti Vody; and the September victory over the Polish army near Pylyavtsi and Cossacks reaching the borderlands of Lviv and Zamostya. The idea of Cossack autonomy within the Polish kingdom was replaced with the idea of complete defeat of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and formation of Cossacks' own state, the foundation of which had already been laid in the end of 1648 in most of Ukrainian territories. During the period from June to November of 1648 the process of formation of national state entities was completed in the central, southern and eastern regions. At the same time this process was at its active stage in the western territories. The old administrative division was replaced with the new one. B. Khmelnytskyi divided Ukraine into 24 regiments; military and administrative leaders were to be elected at the Cossacks' council meetings according to the old tradition; the Cossack judicial system and judicial procedures were brought in and the national army was formed. According to the agreement with the defeated Poles (who later broke their promises), all the state positions were to be occupied by the Ukrainians, and the Polish army was not allowed in Ukraine. Moreover, the Jesuits were not allowed to open their schools in Kyiv, the Metropolitan of Kyiv was to receive a position in the Polish Senate, and the union was

abolished. The social structure of the population was gradually changing as well.

The Cossacks played the leading role in the process of overturning the Polish reign and formation of Ukrainian state institutions.

The word about the greatness of Cossacks' power was spread among the neighboring countries. The ambassadors from Turkey, Moldova, Walachia as well as Moscow visited Khmelnytskyi in Pereyaslav. The ambassadors of the Polish king gave Khmelnytskyi an official certificate confirming his leading hetman status, a club and a flag. The hetman openly told the ambassadors that he would make all the efforts to free the Ukrainian people from the oppression of the Polish nobility meaning the Ukrainian people including those who resided in Volyn, Halych and Podillya.

Taking into account the consequences of the rural wars, at the beginning of 1649, B. Khmelnytskyi made certain corrections in his political program by assigning the most important role to unification of all ethnic Ukrainian territories into one national state. His program also included acceptance of social achievements of the people and consolidation of the hetman power.

Tight connection between national liberation and social contention were typical for the period when the war began. It was the social contention or social fight that played a highly important role in formation of a new social and economic system of the Ukrainian state by destroying feudal relations. **The farmers wanted to have the same immunities as Cossacks which included personal freedom, land ownership right and personal jurisdiction right.** The social contention led to the peasant war which for the first time in the history of Ukraine spread throughout most of the territories and turned out to be a significant factor in the development of the national revolution. The peasants refused to perform numerous obligations for the benefit of the nobility. The liberation war opened the possibility to give peasants and lower-middle class the same status as Cossacks had as Cossacks had quite a number of rights and privileges at the time. At the same during the years of war the Cossack ruling clique showed its narrow-mindedness when trying to protect its political and material privileges.

The period from 1649 to 1652 was marked with active efforts of the young country made to strengthen its position in the world arena. From the very beginning **the Cossack leaders found themselves in a bad geopolitical situation as the new state had a lot of powerful opponents such as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Crimean khanate, the Ottoman Empire and Moscow state. Under such conditions the main foreign-policy strategy was a multi-vector strategy, i.e. maneuvering between the main enemies and forming alliances with other states.** One can state that in the period of confrontations between different states and political forces in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe B. Khmelnytskyi managed to find the most optimal decisions, to form alliances, and to neutralize enemies. It was his achievement that Ukraine was accepted by the governments of the Crimean khanate, Great Britain, Venice, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Transylvania, Sweden, Austria and other countries. However, the detailed analysis of the situation in the world resulted in a disappointing conclusion that none of the neighboring countries at the time was interested in existence of the independent Ukraine. The situation where Ukraine was getting stronger and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was getting weaker could have ruined the balance of power in Eastern, North-Eastern and Central Europe established upon the end of the Thirty Years' War.

In the content of development of geopolitical processes B. Khmelnytskyi was facing the dilemma of whether he should be one-on-one with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and possibly completely lose his main achievements or to accept the protectorate of one of the powerful countries. At the time those powerful countries were the Ottoman Empire and Russia. Unfortunately, there was no other way out for Ukraine of its tragic geopolitical situation.

Having given the issue a lot of thought, the hetman finally gave the priority to the possibility of taking the protectorate from the Moscow tsar. It was obviously a forced move because the Kamyanets contract between the Polish and the Crimean states dated 1653 which did not include so much as the possibility of preserving the state autonomy status of Cossack Ukraine within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was confronting Ukraine with an accomplished fact of

existence of the political understanding between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Crimean khanat.

Development of the struggle for liberation, evolution of its goals and change of the geopolitical situation in the region had a significant influence on the goals of B. Khmelnytskyi's policies as to relations with Moscow. However, during the whole period of liberation fights it was the relations with the tsarist government that were among the priorities of the hetman administration. In a certain way those relations defined the directions of the foreign policies of Chyhyryn as a whole. Sporadic contacts with the tsarist administration in 1648, the main goal of which was to neutralize military preparations of Russia in connection with the events taking place in the borderland of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, acquired totally different meaning at the beginning of 1649. **Having set the goal to free the Zaporozhian Army from the control of the Polish king, Khmelnytskyi was considering a military alliance with Moscow tsar (together with formation of the Protestant anti-Polish league) as an important condition of the successful fight for the sovereignty of Ukraine.** The hetman's foreign-policy plans failed predominantly because of the 1649 Zboriv fiasco, and the latter caused significant cooldown in the relations with Moscow. The Zboriv contract was not valid as the Seim did not approve it and went even further by rejecting it altogether in December of 1650. The Catholic clergy did not even allow the Silvester (Protopope) Kosov of Kyiv to enter the Senate. The Polish nobility was returning to the Ukrainian territories despite the established border restriction. The Cossack army, which included close to 40 thousand Cossacks, was dispirited, and the people protested against hetman's friendship with the Tatars as the latter continued robbing Ukrainian villages and enslaving women and children despite being an ally of Ukraine.

The hetman was also searching for an alliance with Turkey. In July 1648 the ambassadors of B. Khmelnytskyi came to Istanbul with a proposition to support the alliance between Cossacks and the Tatars offering the city of Kamyanets-Podilskyi as collateral. On October 14, 1648 Khmelnytskyi wrote a new letter to the Turkish sultan asking him

to take Ukraine under the Turkish protectorate. In the end of 1648 the Turkish sultan welcomed the Zaporozhian Army under his protectorate and gave the hetman “the diploma confirming his reign over the Russian kingdom”.

Special attention should be paid to the conditions of the **“Contract between the Turkish sultan, the Zaporozhian Army and the Russian People about the Black Sea trade”** [10] which also defined the conditions of travelling by the Black Sea and other seas as well as of mutual assistance. The contract was renewed by B. Khmelnytskyi in February of 1650 when Poland was trying to involve Cossacks into the war against Turkey, and he took an oath of allegiance to Turkey. By taking such a step the hetman destroyed the Polish-Moscow alliance aimed against Turkey which would have been detrimental for Ukraine. Ukraine was forced to make such a move because despite everlasting antagonism between the Christian and the Muslim worlds Cossacks had to find an ally, even it were a temporary one, so much needed in that difficult lengthy war. At the same time strong independent Ukraine with the access to the Black Sea was dangerous for all of its neighbors. That’s why the Crimean khan betrayed Khmelnytskyi three times during the important battles near the cities of Zborov, Berestechko and Zhvanets.

However, the political realities of 1650s such as another loss sustained by the Poles and another of the Tatars’ betrayals made the government of Ukraine be persistent in its search for powerful and reliable allies in the fight against Poland.

In the middle of complicated intertwinement of international events of that time the Ukrainian-Russian documents regarding **the Treaty of Pereyaslav** had a special meaning. It turned out that during the process of working on that treaty not a single contract or any other legal document was signed; all agreements were oral agreements regarding the fact that the tsar of Moscow would not only confirm the historic rights and traditions of the Ukrainian people, but also “show his mercy to each Ukrainian person”. After Cossacks had taken an oath of allegiance to the Moscow tsar, the hetman administration started preparing the petition to the Moscow tsar Oleksiy Mykhaylovych about confirmation of the rights and privileges of Ukrainian Cossack,

peasants and lower middle class which was called **“Bohdan Khmelnytskyi’s Articles”** [10].

Other articles concerned military property ownership and various expenses: on military courts, clerks, providing military personnel with food as they could not have been involved in farming due to their duties in the army. The articles also contained provisions regarding free relations with foreign countries: the ambassadors were to travel freely. Article 17, in particular, was dedicated to Cossack privileges and provided that Polish kings’ oppression was prohibited.

**On February 17, 1654 the Ukrainian ambassadors left Chyhyryn. They arrived in Moscow on March 12, 1654. The next day the ambassadors were seen by the tsar and the negotiations about the approval of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi’s Articles began. The hetman himself did not go to Moscow explaining his decision with the possibility of warfare. After lengthy discussion of the Articles including several disagreements, on March 19-21, 1654 special negotiations had taken place and after that the tsar and the Boyars’ Duma approved 11 articles and approved the adjusted version of the document which became known in history as “The March Articles”.**

Using separate documents, the Moscow tsar confirmed the rights and freedoms of the Ukrainian people, the Zaporozhian Army, the right to transfer Chyhyryn hetmanship and the rights of the Ukrainian nobility.

Thus, ratification of the Pereyaslav-Moscow treaty in March 1654 became a desperate attempt of the Ukrainian government to continue the process of state formation.

However, from the very beginning Moscow adopted a freestyle interpretation of the treaty and was often breaking its promises and was not fulfilling its obligations. In a situation like that B. Khmelnytskyi himself departs from the provisions of “The March Articles”; he engages into decisive diplomatic activity in order to ensure international rights of Ukraine as well as realization of its independent internal and external policies. He decides to maintain over 60 thousand people in the Zaporozhian Army; he negotiated with Sweden, Hungary, Poland, Austria and Turkey; he expands the borders of Ukraine by

adding the historic Ukrainian territories as well the territories of those people who wanted to join Ukraine.

Later, despite difference in understanding of the conditions of the bilateral relations, despite such contested matters as control over the territories won from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and concept of foreign-policy orientation, B. Khmelnytskyi adopts the flexible policy as to Moscow in an attempt to preserve the military alliance with the tsar and to give this alliance a new meaning, and to also supplement agreements with other countries interested in formation of a coalition.

The analysis of the foreign-policy activity of Ukraine after the Treaty of Pereyaslav was executed in 1654 gives reasons to believe that **the fight against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was still a priority task in the foreign policy of Ukraine**. At the same time two waves of geopolitical re-grouping in Central-Eastern Europe and, in particular, the fact that Crimea took the side of the allies of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as the fact that Sweden declared war against the latter, are creating a new geopolitical reality in the region. Under the new conditions the main means used by the Ukrainian government to achieve the set goals are Ukrainian-Russian aggressive military operations which are taking place in accordance with the Treaty of 1654. At the same time, in order to guarantee security of the Southern borders, diplomatic contacts with the Ottoman Empire and with the kingdoms in the area near the Danube River become more active. The relations with the Crimean khanat are marked mostly by the methods of localized pressure (through Istanbul) and military sieges using the force of the southern army regiments, the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Kalmyks who were at the service of the Moscow tsar.

**Without breaking off the relations with Moscow, in the end of 1656 – beginning of 1657 B. Khmelnytskyi is considering the direction towards military cooperation with Sweden to be one of the priority directions of the foreign policy of Ukraine.** The credo of the foreign policies of B. Khmelnytskyi were most clearly reflected in his petition to the Swedish king dated January 28, 1657: *“There is not a greater concern for us and there is no other matters but taking the most diligent care of friendship with all our neighbors; if we established this*

*friendship then we should maintain and support it, and we have hope for the future then we should do our best to prepare it” [10].*

At the same time there were certain conditions which were in the way. For instance, after Sweden’s military success in the region the Polish nobility voluntarily accepted the protectorate of the Swedish king Carl X Gustav, and, therefore, the value of the Cossack state from the point of view of protecting the interests of the Swedish kingdom was lowered. Besides the Swedes gave Ukraine an ultimatum to limit the area of Cossack influence which in the end led to the Ukrainian army’s departure from Halych region.

The Swedish factor forced Ukraine to renew the alliance with the Crimea. Having executed the agreement with the Crimean khan, **B. Khmelnytskyi made an effort to activate the bi-polar model of the foreign-policy orientation of Ukraine, namely: building of the allied relations with the Crimea along with maintaining the protectorate of the Moscow tsar.** In perspective the hetman was planning to form the anti-Turkish alliance of European countries (to include Ukraine, Russia, and Sweden) in order to ensure international acceptance of the state of Ukraine and was turning the forces of the main subject of geopolitical balance of Central-Eastern Europe away from interference into the Ukrainian matters. Unfortunately, all those plans did not become a reality because of B. Khmelnytskyi’s death in 1657. Even though the hetman did not manage to revive the Kyievan state as it had been at the times of Olga and Svyatoslav, **he succeeded in formation of a Ukrainian autonomy which was a so-to-speak half-state and lasted till 1764.**

The process of formation of Ukrainian statesmanship also included formation of state government entities, namely **diplomatic services.** The Zaporozhian Army did not have any specific entity responsible for the foreign policy issues. General management was in hetman’s hands, and the Military Secretariat became the executive body headed by the general clerk. The most important issues (such as execution of agreements, declaration of wars) were decided by the general council and sometimes by the council of captains. **The council developed the directions of the foreign policy, conditions of agreements and treaties.** The hetman managed the relations with other

countries. The day-to-day work was performed by the General Military Secretariat, the clerks of which were preparing corresponding documents.

**B. Khmelnytskyi himself showed exceptional diplomatic abilities.** Under difficult conditions of practically endless armed hostilities he managed to build the diplomatic service which watched over the events happening in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. Depending on particular needs the hetman was determining the country, the ambassadors, logistic support, the quantity and type of gifts. He engaged in personal discussions with the personnel of the newly-formed embassies and gave the final recommendations and letters with instructions. The hetman controlled diplomatic etiquette and personally welcomed and saw off ambassadors of foreign countries. Starting with B. Khmelnytskyi, all other hetmans handled regular diplomatic correspondence with heads of foreign countries. Almost all rulers of the state of Ukraine during the period from mid 17th-beginning 18th century were known to have diplomatic talent.

The Military Secretariat in accordance with the hetman's orders and under the leadership of the clerk handled foreign correspondence and played the role of diplomatic archive as well as wrote instructions for the embassies. The head of the Secretariat carried out an important protocol function being responsible for meeting the ambassadors and taking them to see the hetman. Chyhyryn was visited by the ambassadors of Russia, Crimea, Poland, Turkey, Moldova, Walachia, Transylvania, Sweden, Austria and other European countries. During the years of liberation wars B. Khmelnytskyi due to his diplomatic talents managed to achieve a very important thing – to paralyze activities of the Polish government aimed at formation of an anti-Ukrainian coalition.

During the time of his reign the hetman headed approximately five meetings of the General Council where the issues of war and peace were discussed. Taking into account that anywhere from 40 to 70 thousand Cossacks attended those meeting, their functions were gradually taken over by the captain councils consisting of the lead captains of Cossack regiments. The main field of activity of the Cossack diplomats in 1648-1657 was gathering of various information about the nature of international relations, internal political conditions

in the countries which were potential allies or opponents, their military forces, etc.

**In general, B. Khmelnytskyi's foreign policies were directed towards building and strengthening of Ukrainian statesmanship of a Western European type; to achieve that goal he used all necessary means, forms and methods of diplomatic activity.** The Cossack diplomatic service which was being formed under difficult conditions of those times prepared the basis for formation of Ukrainian statesmanship.

Thus, the Ukrainian Cossack state Zaporozhian Sich was executing independent foreign policies. The head of the Zaporozhian Sich (ataman) and later hetman exchanged agreements with the heads of the neighboring countries; he also received official documents and petitions from kings and tsars, etc. Hetman of Ukraine B. Khmelnytskyi established and broadened diplomatic relations with Poland, Moscow state, Crimea, Turkey, Pope of Roman and king of Germany, with Hungary, Walachia, Transylvania, Sweden and other countries.

The important and difficult diplomatic tasks given by Khmelnytskyi were performed with dignity and professionalism by his colleagues who were in charge of Ukrainian embassies in different countries. The Cossack state had a pretty high professional level of diplomatic service. A special role was played by the ambassadors who were responsible for protection of state interests under the conditions of absence of stable connections with the Motherland. Among those ambassadors was a Chyhyryn captain **Fedir Veshnyak-Yakubovych (also known as Yakubovskiy)** who was in charge of the first Ukrainian diplomatic delegations to Warsaw (1648) and to Moscow (April-June 1649). Important diplomatic tasks were also performed by a Pryluky, and later Kropyvyn captain **Philon Dzhahalij (Dzhedzhaliy)** who was in charge of a Ukrainian delegation to Istanbul (1648) where he executed a treaty about the alliance with Turkey. A Cossack captain **Demyan Lisovets (Demko Chyhyrinskyi)** was an ambassador in Moldova and Walachia (1654). A talented diplomat, a captain from the city of Bila Tserkva **Ivan Hyrya** was in charge of the diplomatic delegation to Warsaw in the end of 1648. A captain from **Hadyach Kindrat Burlyai (Burlyui, Burliiy)** led the first delegation of the

Zaporozhian Army to the Crimea. In 1646 a captain from the city of Korsun **Maksym Nesterenko** who was a famous military, political and diplomatic figure in 1630s-1650s accompanied Khmelnytskyi on his trip to Warsaw to conduct negotiations with the Polish king Wladislaw IV regarding the war with Turkey and the Cossack campaign to the Black Sea. In December 1649 he led the Ukrainian delegation to Warsaw regarding the ratification of the Zboriv Ukrainian-Polish treaty. A captain from Nizhyn **Ivan Zolotarengo** participated in the delegation sent by B. Khmelnytskyi to Moscow with a request for military assistance in Ukraine's fight against Poland. One should note that the delegations included not only the representatives of the Cossack army, but also the representatives of the lower middle class and the members of the church as well as foreigners among whom were such famous individuals as **Theodoziy Grek and Danyl Oliverberg**. In 1650s Khmelnytskyi awarded Petro Doroshenko, who was in charge of the Pryluky regiment and became Hetman (1665-1676), a rank of "the head clerk" recognizing his extraordinary abilities, and sent him to various countries carrying out important diplomatic tasks. Thus, the Cossack chairmen under Khmelnytskyi's leadership were creating an independent Ukrainian state with aspirations towards Europe [11].

**However, even a high level of diplomacy was unable to compensate unfavorable geopolitical condition of the Ukrainian territories which were eventually annexed by the neighboring countries.**

At the same time in August of 1656 Moscow, having been at a loss because of all the success of the Swedish army, signed a peace treaty with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the city of Vilno and started military operations against Carl X. Having received the news about the change in Moscow's foreign policy course, B. Khmelnytskyi realized how dangerous the change was for realization of the program of unification of the Ukrainian territories and started looking for ways to build an anti-Polish coalition with Sweden and Transylvania. His biggest hope was for success of Ukrainian-Transylvanian campaign against Poland, which, unfortunately, had a tragic ending. The campaign failure meant that the plans of the Ukrainian leader for victory over the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth in a coalition with Sweden and Transylvania were ruined. At the same time the situation inside Ukraine became more difficult as well. As Khmelnytskyi's health was getting weaker, his influence on the situation in the country was lessening. Social tension and fight for power were increasing among different groups of the Cossack leaders. The tsarist government activated its means to limit Ukrainian's autonomous rights. On September 6, 1657 Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi passed away; he passed away at the time which was truly critical for Ukraine.

Ukraine was "knees deep" in an internal fight for power. However, **during the times when Ivan Vygovskyi was hetman, Ukraine did sign an agreement with Sweden, and the latter accepted sovereignty of Ukraine and its borders all the way to the Vistula River.** According to that agreement the former Lithuanian territories of Berest and Novgorod regions became the Ukrainian ones. Ukraine also renewed its alliances with Turkey and the Crimean state.

The most important event during that period of time was signing of **the Hadyach treaty of alliance with Poland** on September 16, 1658. **In accordance with the treaty the three states, Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, were forming a federation of equal countries. According to that treaty Ukraine was called the Great Russian Princedom.** The legislative power belonged to the National Council, and the executive power belonged to the hetman. The princedom had its own currency, fiscal policies, and its own army in the amount of 40 thousand soldiers. The Uniate was cancelled. At that time Ukraine already had two universities, colleges, schools and publishing houses. The treaty's author was a famous diplomat **Yuriy Nemyrych**. Even though the treaty was not realized, it was a significant milestone of the state notion of Ukraine; it was a Ukrainian national program and a great Cossack monument.

Upon B. Khmelnytskyi's death the tsarist government was becoming more and more active in its interfering into the internal matters of the Cossack state. Behind-the-scenes intrigues as to making the Kyiv metropoly subordinate to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch, tsar's orders to maintain Russian military personnel at the cost of hetman's funds, the demands to let the

Russian troops enter the cities of Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Pereyaslav and other cities, and construction of military forts in those cities, tsar's orders to appoint the city chairmen in such cities as Bila Tserkva, Korsun, Nizhyn, Poltava, Chernihiv and Myrgorod, and the order of April 6, 1658 about appointment of a boyar Sheremetyev head of the new Moscow administration in Ukraine, etc., – all those acts had not been included in any of the provisions of the treaty signed in 1654. Such politics Moscow was treated by the Cossack chairmen as breach of duties by the Russian tsar. Hetman I. Vyhovskyi in his manifest, which was made public not long after the Hadyach treaty, stated that *“Moscow is preparing hedge of slavery for us through internal war and through its own weapons without us giving it any reason for that”*.

**The battle of Konotop dated July 8 (June 28), 1659** is the main episode of the military and political confrontation between the Ukrainian government of Hetman I. Vyhovskyi and the Russian tsar's administration. In the fall of 1658 the confrontation transformed into a full-scale Ukrainian-Russian war. The battle was won by the Ukrainian hetman and his 45-thousand army. The consequences of the victory were not only freeing the city of Konotop from the siege, but also making the Russian army retreat beyond the Ukrainian borders. The Konotop victory somewhat decreased the pressure Moscow was delivering upon Ukraine and contributed to formation of the sovereign party among the Cossack chairmen. In time the memories of the battle started being viewed as proof of extraordinary bravery and military talents of the Cossack army; they were viewed as an important stage of the fight of Ukrainian people for independence.

The next hetman after I. Vyhovskyi was an 18 year-old Yuriy, B. Khmelnytskyi's son, who swore allegiance to the Moscow tsar at the second council meeting of Pereyaslav. Two new Pereyaslav constitutions were signed, and both of them significantly cut the Cossacks' rights. However, a year after I. Vyhovskyi and his allies had lost power, **the Cossacks gathered for a Black council meeting in the city of Korsun and officially, using The Holy Book, disowned the alliance with Moscow, and swore allegiance to the Polish king.** Without the Hadyach treaty provisions.

In the 17th century the geopolitical situation around Ukraine was determined by the objective historical reasons. Peace treaties between Russia and Turkey were the reason of radical changes in the relations between the Zaporozhian Sich and the Crimean khanat. It was obvious that Moscow was building its forces, and the Sich with its democratic rules was standing in Russia's way.

**The hetman had signed a treaty with Moscow as a representative of an independent state. It had not been an autonomy. It had been a federation which had existed until 1764.** That was the thinking of Khmelnytskyi, but not the thinking of Moscow. Moscow was trying to gradually turn Ukraine into its province and its citizens – into its slaves. B. Khmelnytskyi is undoubtedly the person to be credited for significant reforms of the social system typical for that time and for legal strengthening of the main provision of the state institutions of that time.

B. Khmelnytskyi was followed by others. The period of hetman reign of Yuriy Khmelnytskyi, Y. Somko, I. Bryukhovetskyi, D. Mnohohrishnyi, P. Doroshenko, M. Khanenko and I. Samoylovych ended with the fall of the city of Chyhyryn in 1678. It was the period when Ukraine was split up and was going through difficult times. An attempt to stabilize the Cossack state on the territories of the left bank of the Dniپر River (under the Russian protectorate) and on the right bank territories was not very successful. On the right bank territories this period lasted almost till 1702, when S. Paliy's riot was stopped. As to the left bank territories, it was over right before the Great Northern was between Russia and Sweden.

### ***1.5. Foreign policy of Ukrainian hetmans in the 17th-18th centuries***

After the Liberation War had ended, Ukraine found itself in a difficult social, economic and political situation. The left bank territories of Ukraine and the Slobozhanshyna region were part of the Russian state and the right bank territories belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in part and to Turkey (under its protectorate) in part. The

southern territories, which had just started being developed, felt the closeness of the Crimean state and the Crimean khan's power. Having been torn into pieces, Ukraine sustained significant material and human losses. Dozens of its cities and towns and hundreds of villages were destroyed, and their citizens were either killed or had to leave their homes under enemy's pressure. However, the Cossack spirit and Ukrainian people's love of freedom remained intact. Gradually the national self-awareness manifested itself in the Ukrainian people more and more. The peasants who had been freed from serfdom and constituted the biggest part of the population (comparatively to the peasants in Russia with its conservative monarchical government) had more chances to develop socially and to nurture unique ethnical features in the fields of art, everyday life and traditions.

Thus, **most of the achievements of the Ukrainian people during the period of nearly twenty years of fighting for national liberation were actually sacrificed in the geopolitical interests of Russia and Poland.**

**Russia continued its dictate in the Ukrainian territories.** Russian tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725) had fought to bring the hetman government of Ukraine under Russian government's control since the very beginning of his reign (1682). He carefully watched all international contacts of the Zaporozhian Sich and senior Cossack representatives of Hetmanschyna and Slobozhanschyna; according to his orders they were strictly prohibited from engaging into any independent negotiations with any foreign ambassadors. The legal authorities went through approval of **"The Kolomak Articles"** many times. When compared to previous similar documents, this document included several entirely new provisions in accordance with which the tsarist power was broadened in the Ukrainian territories which were a part of the Russian state. The hetman of the Left-Bank Ukraine was not allowed to remove the leading officials from their posts, and the leading officials did not have the right to elect the hetman.

On June 25, 1687 one of the most influential activists of the Left-Bank Ukraine Cossack captain **Ivan Mazepa (1687-1708)** was elected hetman. Due to I. Mazepa's political talent the conditions of the Kolomak agreement [5] detrimental for Ukraine remained invalid.

At the same time the reformatory activities of Peter the Great were a huge burden for Ukraine as he was trying to bring the whole Ukraine under the Russian government's control. As a true tyrant, advocate of serfdom and absolute, power he wrote his laws with a whip; and those laws were cruel and fickle as if they were written by a short-tempered petty-tyrant farmer.

The situation where the tsarist power got stronger and the hetman power got weaker occurred after the events connected with **the Great Northern War of 1700-1721**, when a part of the Cossack Army lead by I. Mazepa decided to take the side of the Swedish king Carl XII as Mazepa wanted to be free from the dictate of Moscow and to achieve a more autonomous Hetmanschyna. In 1706 a treaty was signed with Sweden in accordance with which Ukraine remained an independent state, and the Swedish king was to provide Ukraine with assistance. At the same time Mazepa was secretly negotiating with the king of Poland Stanislaw Leszczynski about formation of federation of Ukraine and Poland. Mazepa took all those actions for one single purpose – to be free from Moscow. The period of 1708-1709 was the culmination of Mazepa's political career when he openly protested against the Moscow tsar Peter the Great and tried to form an anti-Moscow coalition with Turkey, Crimea, Moldova, Walachia, Transylvania, the Don Cossacks, the Kuban Cossacks, the Kalmyks, the Bashkirs, and the Kazan Tatars. It was then, in 1708, that Mazepa wrote his **“Manifest to the people of Ukraine”** where he stated: *“We must gather all our military forces and protect our Motherland; we must destroy those enemies who come bringing war... The first countries of Europe vouched for that such as France and Germany”* [5].

I. Mazepa tried to organize a riot against the Moscow government and free Ukraine from Russia. The Russian tsar Peter the Great called I. Mazepa and his associates traitors and ordered to libel them in all possible ways in churches and in front of people all over Russia. The Zaporozhian Cossack with I. Mazepa's help executed the following agreement with the Swedish king: the king was supposed to make peace with the Russian tsar under the conditions that Ukraine and the Zaporozhian area would be free from Moscow's control.

In the morning of June 27 (July 8), 1709 near the city of Poltava there was the final battle between the armies of Peter the Great and Carl XII. Following the battle the Swedish king and the Ukrainian hetman with the remnants of the defeated army had to run to the territory owned by the Turkish sultan. Mazepa had great hopes for the Swedes, but the Poltava battle was final and catastrophic for him. According to M. Hrushevskiy, that catastrophe gave the Russian government not only a firm victory in Eastern Europe, but also a push towards the path of imperialism and new conquests.

In 1708 the tsar appointed hetman of the left-bank territory of Ukraine **Ivan Skoropadskiy (1708 – 1722)**. In 1722 according to tsar's orders the so-called First Little Russian Collegium which was supposed to watch over all the activities performed by the hetman, Cossack captains and other Cossack military commanders, etc. The tsar vetoed the elections of the next hetman all together. Later the position of the acting hetman was given to **Pavlo Polubotok (1722-1724)** who because of his independent views was imprisoned in the Fort of Petropavlovsk where he died in 1724 having endured heavy moral and physical suffering. The Russian tsar pretty much killed the attempt of the Cossack chairmen to defend their political and social rights.

In general, repressions and indifference to lives of ordinary people were typical for the Russian sovereign. The people who suffered the most because of that were those people who were trying to conduct their own independent policy. Tsar's vassals were no better in their cruelty as to the Ukrainian people; for example, Oleksandr Menshykov. It was Menshykov who ordered killing of all the citizens of the **city of Baturyn**, whether young or old, because they had taken Mazepa's side. The hetman capital burnt to the ground.

The Ukrainian people greatly suffered from having to perform compulsory construction labor building Russian cities, forts; military campaigns, etc. The Cossack and the Poles were often sent to Petersburg, Astrakhan and to the Caucasus. The Ukrainian people had to fight in wars in Belarus, Lithuania, and Finland for the interests foreign to them. The people taking part in wars were, of course, the Cossacks who were in good physical health and economically stable, peasants and lower middle class. Only 30 to 60% of those participants

returned home; the rest died because of horrible living conditions, epidemics, injuries, etc.

Such tsarist internal politics led to gradual annihilation of a Ukrainian gene-type (as we are talking about death of dozens of thousands of people). **The fact that the Russian tsar had no tolerance towards the Ukrainian people was proved by liquidation of the Zaporozhian (Old) Sich in 1709.** In the end of the 17th — first quarter of the 18th century certain **limitations imposed by the tsarist government in the economic sphere** also became more numerous. In particular, it was happening more and more often that the local merchants and other people involved in trade business were forbidden from being involved in any overseas trade. Thus, the Russian tsarist government in the person of Peter the Great practically cancelled the Ukrainian free trade. **There was also a lot of pressure put upon the national culture.** Since 1690 a significant number of books printed or published in Ukraine were labeled heretical, and local scientists were bringing more and more of Moscow's distrust on themselves. At the same time Russia was robbing Ukraine of its spiritual heritage. Starting from the 80s of the 17th century the Ukrainian church had been under the control of the Moscow patriarch.

The opposition of different social groups fought against Peter the Great's anti-Ukrainian policies, sometimes openly and sometimes quietly. One of the most famous opposition figures was Mazepa's associate **Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742)** who was elected hetman by the group of Cossacks and Cossack chairmen in immigration on May 5, 1710. On April 16, 1710 the following documents were executed: **the Pact (treaty with a Swedish king) and the Constitution of the rights and freedoms of the Zaporozhian Army** [12].

**The 1710 Constitution** began with the official statement that *"Ukraine on both sides of the Dniper shall be free from foreign rule forever"*. The main statute of the state structure of Ukraine followed. *"Hetman sovereignty"* (as stated in the document) must be limited by the general Council consisting of chairmen, captains and delegates from each regiment. The hetman had to listen to them. Besides it was agreed that the Seim consisting of the chairmen, captains, deputies and delegates from the Zaporozhian Army was to take place three times a

year. State property and assets belonging to the hetman were under strict supervision. There was supposed to be a revision of the territories taken by the Cossack chairmen; and peasants were supposed to be freed from all the extortions.

According to the documents the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was supposed to be under the control of the Byzantine patriarch instead of a Moscow one. The old Ukrainian borders were supposed to be restored. The whole Constitution is full of liberal democratic spirit and that's why it can be put next to the most important documents representing political thoughts of that time in Europe. Even though those plans did not become reality, they played an important role in consciousness of many Ukrainians; they formed an idea about how the state forming process could have developed in Ukraine under different circumstances.

The development of national social thinking was greatly influenced by operation of the first higher educational institution in Ukraine and Russia – **the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy** (since 1701). The Academy, which had been founded in 1632 as a result of joining of the Kyiv monk school with the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, played the leading role in terms of education before the University of Moscow was founded in 1755. At different times the following world-famous figures studied in the Academy: **Pheophan Prokopovych (1681-1736), Hryhoriy Konyskyi (1717-1795), Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794), Yakiv Kozelskyi (1729-circa 1795)** and many others.

From that point **the process of Russia incorporating the state of Ukraine became much quicker.**

In the middle of the century complications in the situation in the world made Empress Elizabeth (1741-1762), the daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I, met some of the requirements of the Cossack chairmen, in particular the ones related to election of a new hetman as of October 16, 1749 Order. When looking for a candidate for hetman, the Cossacks selected **Kyrylo Rozumovskiy (1750-1764)**. On July 24, 1751 the Senate issued an order that the Zaporozhian Sich was to be under the hetman's command.

Starting from the middle of the 1760s the process of total destruction of all autonomous features of Ukraine by the tsarist

government became a lot quicker. In January 1764 in the city of Petersburg Catherine II made K. Rozumovskyi resign as hetman, having threatened him with punishment. With her manifest dated July 28, 1765 the queen eliminated Cossack self-administration in Slobozhanschyna. **“The Manifest about elimination of the Zaporozhian Sich and annexation it to the Novgorod province”** took effect in August 1775 [5].

In accordance with the orders of the Russian queen in 1783 the Ukrainian Cossack army was not independent anymore and was joined with the Russian army. In 1796 the Little Russian province was created on the territory where hetmans had used to reign.

**The right-bank Ukraine** was the name that started being used in scientific circles as to the territories of Volyn, Kyivschyna and Podillya where the Ukrainian people had been living to the west of the Dniper River from the beginning of time. The territorial entities bearing the same names had been parts of the Great Lithuanian Princedom during the period of the 15th-16th centuries. Later when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was formed (1569), those territories were owned by the Polish king. In accordance with the international treaties dated the last quarter of the 17th – beginning of 18th century the legal status of the right-bank Ukraine was constantly changing.

The Cossack republic was divided between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Moscow state and the Ottoman Empire.

However, the actual Ukrainian statesmanship had survived on the territory of Kyiv region, certain parts of Podil and Volyn until 1714. Later the Polish king came to power which he had until the end of the 17th century when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided between the stronger European countries, and the territory of the right-bank Ukraine became a part of the Russian Empire.

The left-bank Ukraine managed to survive as a state entity, but the right-bank Ukraine was unable to deal with the pressure of outside circumstances and turned into ruins of hopes of the Ukrainian people for independence. Ukrainian territorial issue became an international issue, because **the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Moscow state, the Ottoman Empire and its subordinate, Crimean khanat,**

**were trying to prevent formation of a sovereign independent Cossack Ukraine on the geopolitical map of Europe.**

As a result of the Polish-Turkish war (1673-1676) the right-bank Ukrainian territory was conquered and divided between the king and the sultan.

The system of inter-state treaties of 1711-1714 finally determined the legal status of the right-bank Ukraine. When conquering that territory, the foreign countries were establishing their own administrative and territorial structure there.

**Conclusions.** Ukrainian Hetman B. Khmelnytskyi led Ukraine as an independent ruler. B. Khmelnytskyi added the following territories to Ukraine: formerly Polish provinces of Kyiv, Bratslav and Chernihiv. Having broken off the relations with Poland in 1654, B. Khmelnytskyi added the following Belarus territories to Ukraine: Mohyliv, Chausy, Novyi Byhiv, and Homel. That annexation had not only strategic but also economic meaning, because a trade route to the Baltic Sea was going through those territories, and that was the Ukrainian export route.

The peculiarities of leadership during each period of time when a new hetman was elected were solidified with the new contract – the constitution. That is what happened, for instance, with the Hlukhiv articles by A. Mnohohrishnyi (1669), the Konotop articles of Samoylovych (1672), and the Kolomak articles of I. Mazepa (1687). All those documents were based on the articles of Bohdan Khmelnytskyi according to which dependence of Ukraine from Moscow was limited. So, Ukraine had extended internal autonomy including its own leader – hetman, who was elected by the Ukrainian people, and merely a formal agreement was executed with the Moscow government. Ukraine had its own armed forces (army), its own finances, its own constitution and court system, and its own laws. **Until 1686 even the Ukrainian church had not been governed by either Moscow or Constantinople patriarchy.** When a decision needed to be made as to important state matters, the hetman discussed them with and asked for advice from the elders, i.e. general chairmen and captains. The captains were coming to take part in such meetings with the hetman several times a year.

Hetman P. Orlyk suggested such meetings be provided for by law in his constitution. The central administrative body was overseen by the hetman and led by the collegiums of the general chairmen consisting of a clerk, a Cossack ensign, a Cossack yesaul, a Cossack standard-bearer and a judge, and each one of them had his own responsibilities. **The general clerk, among other things, was responsible for keeping up with the international relations and performed the functions of the minister of foreign affairs.** The state attributes or kleynods were the state seal, state flags; the attributes of hetman power were the club and the bunchuk. The administrations of the general Cossack Yesaul (in Turkish language “yasaul” means chief) and the general Cossack standard-bearer performed the most important tasks ordered by the hetman such as being in charge of the army and being ambassadors of Ukraine in other countries. Foreigners called them hetman’s adjutant-generals. The general Cossack standard-bearer also performed ceremonial functions when receiving visitors from foreign countries.

Ukraine maintained active trade relations with Poland, Prussia, Sweden, Austria, Holland and Great Britain as well as Lithuania, Moscow state, Turkey and Moldova. In the second half of the 17th century the people working at the factories manufacturing silk, leather, linen and other goods were hire help, i.e. external workers. Big sums of money were concentrated in the hand of such Cossack chairmen and noble families on the territories of both left-bank Ukraine and right-bank Ukraine as the Apostles, the Halahans, the Skoropadskyis, the Markevyches, the Kondratyevs, the Kvitkas, the Kovalevskyis, etc. Young Ukrainian people were studying in such foreign educational institutions as the Paduan University, Jesuit colleges in Rome, etc.

Foreign travelers who visited Ukraine were amazed by prosperity, high level of development of agriculture, education, publishing industry, arts and crafts, construction industry, etc. Culture, hospitality and amiability of Ukrainian people were especially amazing when compared to life in Moscovia (“Notes” by Paul of Aleppo from Syria). A Danish traveler Yust Yul (1711) was surprised by how prosperous and culturally developed Ukraine was: cleanliness, politeness, picturesque houses and beautiful

landscape reminded him of Denmark. Ukrainians were known and respected all over the world.

Heads of the leading European countries considered it an honor to have Ukraine as their political and military ally. All these facts prove how highly developed the Ukrainian lands. The spirit of Ukrainian people survived long-lasting wars and devastation. It put Ukraine at the time of hetmans ruling next to the leading European countries of that time.

### ***1.6. Foreign policy of the Ukrainian People's Republic***

The World War I of 1914-1918 led to the dissolution of the Russian Empire and appearance of the independent state of Ukraine. The tumultuous events of the national liberation movement of 1917 led to the raise of the Central Council of Ukraine to power. The independent Ukrainian parliament was led by a political figure, a historian and a professor Mykhaylo Hrushevskyi who was in exile at the time. With its First Universals (laws) the Central Council proclaimed the right of Ukrainian people to self government, it formed the executive body of the General Secretariat and legitimized Ukrainian autonomy. With its Third Universal the Central Council proclaimed formation of **Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR)** within the borders of the federative Russia. The Ukrainian government did not manage to make peace with the Bolshevik Russia which started military action against Ukraine in the end of December 1917.

On March 8 (February 23), 1917 in the city Petrograd (the capital of the Russian Empire St. Petersburg had been renamed after the Russian-German war of 1914) the workers started their strike. On March 15 (2) tsar Nicolai II abdicated from the throne. The Duma Committee agreed its actions with the Petrograd Council and the new governing body, the Temporary Government, was formed.

On March 17 (4), 1917 the Council of the Joint Public Organizations was formed in Kyiv.

**The cross-party political group “The Fellowship of Ukrainian Followers” led by M. Hrushevskyi, V. Yefremov and**

**Ye. Chykalenko (1908) formed the All-Ukrainian Council.** On March 17 (4) in Kyiv **the new government called the Central Council of Ukraine** was formed [13]. The Central Council of Ukraine consisted of the representatives of the Fellowship of Ukrainian Followers, the Orthodox Church, progressive Ukrainian socialist democrats as well as cultural and educational, military, student and scientific organizations, unions and entities.

Immediately after the monarchy had been overthrown, the workers' councils started being formed in the industrial centers, and the soldiers' councils started being formed in the military reservations and in the lines. The call to expropriate manufacturing facilities was the most popular idea among the members of those newly-formed entities. In the middle of 1917 there were 252 councils were formed in nine Ukrainian regions, 180 of those councils were formed in Donbas.

The socialist parties of socialist revolutionaries (the Essers) and socialist democrats (the Mensheviks) that had influence on workers' councils and soldiers' councils wanted to form a democratic parliamentary republic. They supported the legitimate Temporary Government.

The representatives of another branch of socialist democrats, the Bolsheviks led by V. Lenin added the following slogan to their calls: "all power to the councils". They were in the way of democratic development of revolutionary processes. Control over the councils and proclamation of the Soviet Republic meant establishment of the political dictatorship of the Bolshevik party. Nationalization of means of manufacturing was the beginning of the dictatorship in economics. The number of Bolsheviks on the territories of Ukraine was growing. The number went from 2 thousand before the revolution to 10 thousand by the end of April 1917. The Bolsheviks organized the squads consisting of workers and soldiers and police force (militia).

The national revolution did not stop. The first statements made by the Central Council and its program were of cultural nature. **M. Hrushevskyi was the first one to introduce the idea of formation of the national territorial autonomy of Ukraine as part of Russia.**

Various political parties had been formed in Ukraine within two months of revolution. The Fellowship of Ukrainian Followers

was the basis of formation of the federal socialist party which had a significant influence on the Central Council despite the fact that it did not consist of a lot of members. The Ukrainian party of socialist revolutionaries was one of the biggest among the national parties. In 1917 the Ukrainian party of socialist democrats led by V. Vynnychenko and S. Petlyura had about 5 thousand members.

**On June 23 (10), 1917 the Central Council issued its Universal I at the congress of the delegates of the Ukrainian divisions of the tsarist army in Kyiv.** The documents included provisions about the right of the Ukrainian people for self government. The Central Council established the executive power body called the General Secretariat led by V. Vynnychenko. The Temporary Government in Russia accepted the Central Council as the main government body of Ukraine. Following such a success the Council issued **Universal II** announcing the formation of the General Secretariat.

Under the crisis conditions the extremist slogans of the Bolshevik party were becoming more and more popular. The number of Bolsheviks in Ukraine reached 33 thousand people. The Kyiv Council of Workers' Deputies was operating in Kyiv. It accepted the Bolshevik revolution.

On November 7 (October 25), 1917 there was an armed riot in Petrograd. The Bolsheviks overthrew the Temporary Government and formed the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) at the Second All-Russian Assembly. The head of the Sovnarkom was Vladimir Lenin.

Under the circumstances of actual dual power in Kyiv **the Central Council issued its Universal III on November 20, 1917; that Universal announced the formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic.** However, the statements made by the Council were too generic which did not help the consolidation of the territories of Ukraine. Being under the influence of the Bolshevik attack, the leaders of the Central Council wanted independence from the Bolshevik dictatorship. **On January 12, 1918 Mykhaylo Hrushevskyi issued Universal IV of the Central Council announcing the sovereignty of the Ukrainian People's Republic.**

The movement aimed at formation of the government bodies of the republic spread all over Ukraine. On January 4, 1918 in the Kyiv hotel “Savoy” on Khreschatyk Street there was a meeting of the members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. **Oleksandr Shulhin (1889-1960), the member of the Ukrainian federal socialist party, was appointed the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine** [14]. Oleksandr Shulhin was the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from December 26, 1917 to January 22, 1918. After that he was a Ukrainian ambassador in Bulgaria, a delegate at the Paris Peace Conference. Having immigrated abroad, he was the head of the Ukrainian Fellowship of the League of Nations Allies. In 1946 he was elected the head of the Ukrainian Academic Fellowship in Paris.

**On December 22, 1917** the Head of the General Secretariat of the People’s Republic of Ukraine V. Vynnychenko and the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs O. Shulhin approved “The Bill about the Formation of the General Secretariat of Foreign Affairs”.

Ukraine proclaimed humane ideas of peace campaign and human rights. **On November 21, 1917 the Ukrainian People’s Republic addressed all the people in the world about making peace.** In its announcement the Central Council suggested the Russian people as well as the allies and the enemy states actively participate in the negotiations.

The Bolsheviks were hostile towards the state formation processes in Ukraine. They viewed it as a real threat to preservation of their power.

The way the situation was developing at the time made the Central Council look for support abroad. **On January 26 (13), 1918 the delegations of the countries of the Quarter Union accepted Ukraine as an independent country.** On February 3 Ukraine and Austro-Hungary executed a separate treaty according to which the Austro-Hungarian government was supposed to divide Halych region into a Ukrainian part and a Polish part and to form a separate crown region. In response Ukraine was supposed to provide Austro-Hungary with 1 million in grain by July 1. Germany also supported the plan of Ukraine to unite its territories.

**On February 9, 1918 the first peace treaty in the history of the World War I was signed in Brest-Lytovsk between the Ukrainian People's Republic and four countries of the German coalition, namely Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.** The borders of Ukraine were defined in accordance with the Western ethnographic borders of Ukrainian settlements. Poland was against such definition and demanded the borders to go along the Bug River so that Holmschyna could remain a Polish territory. Some political circles had ideas of taking the territories of Volyn and Podillya. The Poles announced that they did not accept the Brest Peace Treaty. Following the signing of the treaty, the Ukrainian party was asking to support it with weapons and ammunition to fight against the Soviet Russia.

The issue of the state borders was always on the calendar of the Ukrainian government. The negotiations with the Russian (Bolshevik) representatives turned out to be the most difficult ones. According to Article 6, of the Brest Peace Treaty the government of the Soviet Russia was supposed to take its army off the Ukrainian territory, to accept the Ukrainian People's Republic as a country and to start negotiations about signing a peace treaty and defining state borders with it. The peculiarity was in the fact that quite a big number of Ukrainians resided in such Russian regions as Bryansk region, Orel, Kursk and Voronezh region. The Bolsheviks did not see how they could build socialism in Russia without Ukrainian bread and coal and industrial potential of Donbas. That was one of the reasons why the Soviet Russia invaded Ukraine in January of 1918.

Interference of the countries of the Quarter Union quickly changed the situation in Ukraine: Soviet power was eliminated, the Soviet army was defeated, and the negotiations started on May 23, 1918.

**On June 12, 1918 Ukraine and the Soviet Russia signed the treaty,** and on June 14 the parties started discussing the issue of the borders. Relying on the international practice, the Ukrainian delegation offered to use the ethnographic principles, and the Soviet Russia offered the principle of the people's self-determination. On June

22 the resolution was agreed upon. Ukraine was given 10 districts in Voronezh, Kursk and Orel regions, 4 districts in Chernihiv region and one-third of Don region. Most of all the Bolshevik delegates were worried about the initiative of the Ukrainian party to conduct negotiations with the state of the Great Don Army. The Bolsheviks went from words to actions and sent the Red Army troops to the cross-border regions. It was a catastrophe for Russia to surrender the Donbas territory to Ukraine.

German's weak position strengthened the demands of the Soviet Russia which was actively preparing for the war with Ukraine.

**At the same time the Ukrainian government defined the boarders of Ukraine with Belarus and Crimea.** Using the support of the German government, Ukraine spread its power almost all over the territories. The Crimean government was executing anti-Ukrainian policies as it was pro-Soviet at the time. In response the Ukrainian government ceased railway and sea communications with the Crimea as well as trade relations. Such actions attracted Germany's attention as it was risking to be left without any food provisions. Pressure from Germany and firm position of Ukraine contributed to the agreement (Kyiv, September 1918) about the Crimean peninsula becoming a part of Ukraine as an autonomous territory.

However, the riot of the Directory against hetman P. Skoropadskyi (November 1918) ruined the plans of annexation of the Crimea. In April 1919 the Crimea was back under the Soviet power, and the Soviet Republic of Crimea was formed as a part of the Bolshevik Russia.

The People's Republic of Moldova was formed in 1917 **on the territory of Bessarabia which historically belonged to Ukraine** [15]. On March 3, 1918 the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic sent a note of protest to the governments of Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. On April 13, 1918 the Ukrainian government issued "A Manifest to the Romanian Government" where it criticized annexation of Bessarabia. The government of P. Skoropadskyi took determined actions to prohibit export of Ukrainian goods to Romania and Bessarabia and enacted economic sanctions against those two countries.

In November 1918 the Romanian army invaded the Ukrainian territories of the Northern Bukovina and Khotynschyna.

The Bolshevik government in its turn led by V. Lenin started active fight for the territory of Bessarabia: the Romanian gold reserve kept in Moscow was arrested, and the diplomatic relations with Romania was broken off.

The victory of the Red (Soviet) Army in Kyiv led by general M. Muravyov made the Romanians come to terms with the Soviets as to the issue of Bessarabia. However, the attack of the Denikin's army against Ukraine and Moscow destroyed Russian plans as to Bessarabia. Thus, the issue of Bessarabia was delayed for Russia until 1940 and for Ukraine – until 1990s.

Therefore, at the beginning of the XX century Ukraine did not manage to obtain independence and to unite all its territories – Predunavya, Khotynschyna, Northern Bukovina, and Bessarabia. On November 12, 1918 the peace treaty was signed between Germany and the Entente countries which meant the end of World War I.

On November 14, 1918 the Ukrainian parties formed the Directory in order to overthrow the regime of hetman P. Skoropadskyi and to renew the Ukrainian People's Republic. **The head of the Directory was Volodymyr Vynnychenko, and Symon Petlyura was in charge of the army.** Within several weeks the whole Ukraine was under control of the Directory. The neighbors of Ukraine did not expect anything like that. The Entente countries planned to invade Ukraine using 12-15 military regiments and to conquer Kyiv and Kharkiv. In November the army led by S. Petlyura had a battle with the opposition of the Polish army led by Yozef Pilsudski. The Red Army of Lev Trotsky surrounded Ukraine from the north and from the east, and the White Army of A. Denikin surrounded it from the South.

Defeat in World War I caused disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and formation of independent countries. On October 18, 1918 the Ukrainian National Council was formed in Lviv. On November 1, 1918 the Ukrainian army conquered Lviv. On November 13, 1918 the Western Ukrainian Republic was officially announced. Yevhen Petrushevych became its president and Kost Levytskyi became the head of the State Secretariat.

On November 22, 1918 the Polish and Romanian armies attacked **the Western Ukrainian Republic**. The government first relocated to Ternopil, and in the end of December it relocated to Stanislav (now Ivano-Frankivsk).

Those were difficult times, and it was decided to unite the country of Ukraine: **the Act of reunion between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian Republic was issued on January 22, 1919**. The Declaration of reunion was approved by the Legislative Assembly consisting of the representatives of all the regions of Ukraine.

The threat from Poland still existed as well. Poland did accept its eastern boarder defined in December 1919 and verified by **“The Declarations about temporary eastern borders of Poland”** [15]. The boarders were defined using the principle “national state on national territory”. The extremist political groups were trying to renew Poland as it used to be in 1772 using Ukrainian and Belarus territories. Having had the Entente's support, in April-September 1919 the Polish army invaded a part of Ukraine, namely Eastern Halychyna and Western Volyn; they also conquered the whole territory of Belarus.

One should remember that at the beginning of January the Soviet Russia started its military campaign against the Ukrainian People's Republic, and on February 5 it took over Kyiv. At first the Directory stayed in the city of Vynnytsya, and then it relocated to the city of Zhmerynka, and later to the city of Proskurov and the city of Rivne. S. Petlyura and other leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic immigrated at the beginning of May.

**The territories where a lot of Ukrainians were still residing turned out to be outside the Ukrainian boarders: cross-border regions of Homel, Bryansk, Kursk, Voronezh as well as the Don and the Northern Caucasus.**

In 1920 a number of councils of Russian regions stated they would like to be a part of the country of Ukraine, namely Kursk region, Putyvl, Novoskol, Belgorod district, etc. The registration of population in the Russian cross-border regions proved that there was a large number of Ukrainians there. In the following years the central government falsified the registration results by nationality. As a result

in 1925 Ukraine lost the territories with the population of nearly 429 thousand people. In 1927 over 2 million Ukrainians were residing on the Russian territory: in Kursk and Voronezh regions, and in the Northern Caucasus region.

**The Ukrainian-Polish border.** A Polish issue was quite particular as well. The Poles used the Directory as a buffer country between Poland and the Soviet Russia.

Head of the Polish government Yozef Pilsudski asked S. Petlyura for help. S. Petlyura accepted Poland's terms. **The Treaty of Warsaw was signed in April 1920. Yozef Pilsudski's government decided not to extend the Polish territories as Poland used to be when it had still been the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and accepted the Ukrainian People's Republic.** I.e., Poland obtained Ukrainian territories as a reward for accepting the independent Ukraine and for providing military support. The Ukrainian people and Ukrainian political parties were not happy about S. Petlyura's treaty and stood against it.

On April 25, 1920 the Poles started their attack along the 500-kilometer front using the forces of three armies totaling 150 thousand soldiers. 15 thousand soldiers of S. Petlyura were moving together with the Poles, and on May 6 they took over Kyiv.

However, the counter attack of the Red Army led by M. Tukhachevskiy made the Poles to accept "**The Declarations about temporary eastern borders of Poland**". Danger of losing state rights obtained in 1918 united all population of Poland. France hurried to help Poland by sending its troops as well. M. Tukhachevskiy stopped the army 23 kilometers from Warsaw. However, within 10 day period they were pushed behind the Bug River. **The peace treaty** signed in October sealed agreement of the Soviet government to leave Western Ukraine and Western Belarus within the Polish borders.

On July 12, 1920 the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain Lord Curzon offered Moscow the peace treaty conditions according to which the border between Poland and Soviet republics was to go along "the Curzon line". That line was the same as borderline of ethnical Ukrainian territory. The Soviets were ready to give Poland all the Ukrainian territories it wanted as long as in return Poland stopped

supporting S. Petlyura's government. The borders suggested by Poland were accepted by Russia without any questions. On March 18, 1921 the peace treaty was signed, and over 162 thousand square kilometers of Ukrainian territories with the population over 11 million people happened to be under control of Poland.

However, in twenty-five years in September 1939 the Red Army crossed the Polish border and invaded the territory of Ukraine. In November 1939 Western Ukraine became a part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The border between the USSR and Germany was defined in accordance with "the Curzon line".

**Conclusions.** Ukraine was a subject of international relations during the period of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1920) and enjoyed relative political independence in 1918-1923. It lost that status in 1922 when it became part of the USSR.

The Ukrainian issue was decided through division of the Ukrainian territories between several countries, formation of negative image of Ukraine and Ukrainians, as well as destruction of any signs of Ukrainian independence. There are the following factors of international pressure which must be mentioned: a military factor – occupation and division of the Ukrainian territories, a political-demographic factor – banning Ukraine from solving its own problems, and, finally, artificial elimination of the Ukrainian population.

### ***1.7. Role of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union***

The First World War radically changed the political system and international relations. As a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires new states have appeared on the political map of Europe, including Ukraine. Within a short period of Ukrainian revolution 1917-1920 Ukraine experienced several stages and acquired various forms of statehood. Ukrainian Soviet Republic consolidated its grip on Ukrainian lands and became part of the Soviet Union (USSR).

Soviet Ukraine joined it on principles of "**The Socialist Federation**". The essence of this concept was not disclosed, but the program of Lenin's Bolshevik party adopted in March 1919, indicated that the **Federate Soviet Union is a transitional form to complete unity**.

Ukraine became a Soviet republic and became a member of "**the great experiment**". The market economy has been prohibited and replaced by production without trade. The land promised to the peasants has been taken from them and the peasants have been forced into collective farms. This was called a collectivization of agriculture.

In response to Lenin's policy of "**military communism**" peasant resistance wave has swept across the country. **Otaman Zelenyi** (Danylo Terpylo), the member of the party of social democrats (independent), became one of the first in opposition to the government from mid-May 1919. He did everything possible to spread the actions of his nearly twelve thousand member army to the left bank of the Dniper, Pereyaslav, Uman and Zolotonosha [16].

Subunits of Nestor Makhno, who were called Father by his village atamans acted in Katerynoslav region, near Gulyaypole. Makhno united under his leadership the like rebel troops in Poltava, Kharkiv and Kherson regions and came into contact with Russian anarchists, who became the ideologues of its movement. The bulk of the troops were local farmers.

Makhno fought well against Denikin's army and he partially supported the soviet power, but firmly opposed anarchism of commissars and agrarian policy. Only in August 1921 the Bolsheviks defeated the Makhnovists and Makhno himself escaped to Romania. Makhno villages in Gulyaypole region has been deported to Siberia by Bolsheviks.

The biggest revolt in May 1919 was led by one of the greatest Ukrainian generals of times of 1918-1919 National Revolution, winner of "invincible" Entente, one of the founders of the twentieth century Haydamachchyna, **Chief of Kherson and Tavria Ataman Matviy Grygoriev** (real name Nikifor Servetnyk). At the end of 1918 Grygoriev united around himself a rebel force; a single village Verbylyuzhka gave Ataman more than 4,000 fighters. His glory became

known all over the Kherson steppe ... "*You have to beat Entente beat the Bolsheviks, beat the white and red enemies*", called on Grygoriev [16].

Being disappointed in the Directory, Ataman Grygoriev – already under red flags – began a campaign against the Entente. On March 10 after heavy battles, he freed Kherson, and on March 12 he freed Mykolayiv... On April 6 Grygoriev had already been in Odessa. "Invincible" Entente was cast into the sea. On May 7, 1919 The Universal of the Chief Ataman of Kherson and Tavria "To the Ukrainian people" was proclaimed in Yelyzavetgrad: "The people of Ukraine! Exhausted people! The Communes, the Emergency committee and commissars from Moscow are violently imposed upon you by the Moscow land and the land where the Christ had been crucified. The people of Ukraine! Take the power in your hands ... Down with Emergency committee! All power to the Soviets, but not parties. Long live the power of the people of Ukraine! Fight and you will win!.." [16].

Ukrainian people enthusiastically responded to the call to overthrow the hated yoke of the Moscow commune. Within a short time Katerynoslav, Cherkassy, Mykolayiv, Kherson, Kremenchug, Znamyanka and Bobrynska stations, Chyhyryn and other cities and railway stations have been released. Matviy Grygoriev reported Symon Petlyura on the establishment of eighteen hundred small rebel units numbering 15 thousand Cossacks.

**Petro Fedorovych Bolbochan** (October 5, 1883 - June 28, 1919) was a known military leader whose fate reflected in itself all the ambiguity and tragedy of Ukrainian movement of that time, contradictions in understanding the future of Ukraine. In April 1918 military subunit of the Separate Zaporozhian Army Corps of UNR, supplied with all kinds of weapons, made a successful Crimean campaign. The Bolsheviks, running away from Ukraine, furiously wrote about "a dangerous enemy," "reactionary, old regime General Bolbochan". 50 thousand rubles had been promised for his head.

The attack of the Zaporozhian Army was impossible to restrain. On April 6 they raised Ukrainian flag over Kharkiv. The flag of the regiment contained the following inscription around the trident: "*With*

*firm faith in an ultimate victory, primarily Ukraine and for Ukraine".* They had their regimental oath as well.

**Kholodnyi Yar. Chyhyryn.** In 1919-1922 the whole Ukraine has turned into one huge rebel region. The inhabitants of the land were intended to liberate the entire Ukraine from Russian occupation. Kholodnyi Yar is one of the brightest pages of the liberation struggle in Ukraine. It is a living example of how people of a small number, but who are strong in spirit can successfully deal with a much stronger enemy. Kholodnyi Yar soldiers fought bravely and skillfully [32]. If the entire Ukraine fought this way in 1917-1920 we would have no need to rebuild our country now. It is clear that there was no so-called "civil war" in Ukraine which actually happened in Russia. Ukrainian People's Republic fought against an external aggressor - Red Russia and its numerous mercenaries.

**Conclusions. The main cause of another Ukrainian drama was the absence of authoritative political centre of Ukrainian statehood** with a clear purpose, with its own ideology, its own politics, its own values, names, with mature national elite. Ukrainian intellectuals while being dependent on what they would say in Moscow only pretended that it had been building Ukrainian state. The lack of solid national government in Kyiv led to the fact that the atamans were unsure searching for authorities somewhere else and eventually betrayed their homeland. No wonder that Makhno, Kovtun, Shinkar and others, being deprived of a strong political centre, became hostages and eventually victims of Russian political culture, communist-socialism.

Ukrainian peasants perceived the Germans as invaders. The farmers could be understood: it was them who had to feed the huge German army. Besides the Germans who came as allies saw anarchy and chaos in Ukraine and therefore began to establish their own order. Since the Central Council did not fulfill its commitments on food supply to allies, the Germans had to conduct requisitions to feed their army. There another history of Ukraine begins, the history of Soviet Ukraine, the history of terror.

**Foreign policy aspects of the Ukrainian SSR.** On December 30, 1922 the treaty has been signed. **Soviet republics delegated foreign**

**policy functions to the central leadership, Moscow, by signing a treaty of alliance on the establishment of the USSR in 1922.** These steps legalized dominance of Soviet Russia over the other republics. The then Soviet Ukraine has been deprived of the right for independent foreign relations.

For Ukraine 30-40s of 20th century were a stage of strengthening the totalitarian repressive regime that had absolute control over all spheres of public life.

### ***1.8. Process of reunification of Ukrainian lands***

On August 23, 1939 the Soviet Union and Germany under the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement divided the spheres of influence in Europe. The Second World War was unleashed on September 1, 1939 when Germany attacked Poland.

On September 17, 1939 the USSR Red Army crossed the Polish border. On July 1, 1940 Soviet Union army entered the territory of Bessarabia, which in 1924 was part of the USSR as autonomy. USSR Supreme Council created Moldavian SSR, annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to Ukraine.

**On June 22, 1941 Nazi Germany invaded the USSR without declaring war.** In the occupied territories the Germans introduced the occupation regime and created their own administrative authority, Ukrainian lands had been divided into two parts; a number of regions had been given to Romania. Colonization of Ukrainian lands began.

Independent Ukraine has been proclaimed in Lviv and **on June 30, 1941 Ukrainian government led by Yaroslav Stetsko** has been created, and on July 5 it had been dispersed by occupiers. Widespread activity in the occupied territories had been deployed by UPA. In summer 1943 its leaders concluded a nonaggression pact with the Main Command Team of the Hungarian army which had been extended to all parts of Hungary in Ukraine. In November a new treaty had been signed in Budapest. A similar treaty had been signed with the Romanian government. In October 1944 Transcarpathian Ukraine has been liberated by the Soviet army.

**Ukrainian-Czechoslovak border.** After the First World War Paris Peace Conference (January 1919 - January 1920) enshrined the right of Czechoslovakia for the western part of the Transcarpathian Ukraine to the Uzh River. In February 1920 the Transcarpathian Ukraine had been integrated into Czechoslovak state called Carpathian Ruthenia. On November 22, 1938 the Czechoslovak Republic parliament officially recognized the autonomous government of Carpathian Ukraine headed by **Augustyn Voloshyn** [17].

An ethnic Ukrainian territory has been divided into three parts: Western - Presov Region (22% of the territory) has been ceded to Slovakia; Central – Khust, Uzhhorod and Berehove districts (70% of the territory) called Carpathian Ruthenia has acquired administrative autonomy; Eastern – Sighetu Marmatiei with the surrounding area (8% of the territory) has remained a part of Romania.

**Subcarpathian Ukraine.** On March 15, 1939 the Seim of Carpathian Ukraine proclaimed the state independence of Carpathian Ukraine, adopted a constitution, defined the name, "Carpathian Ukraine", government (presidential republic), the state language (Ukrainian), blue and yellow flag, emblem and anthem "The glory and the freedom of Ukraine has not yet died" and defined the boundaries. The history of the young state was interrupted by an attack of Hungary. The army of Carpathian Ukraine (Carpathian Sich), having 10 thousand of people, led an unequal struggle. Five thousand of Carpathian warriors were killed. In March 1939 Carpathian Ukraine ceased to exist.

On June 29, 1945 the governments of the USSR and Czechoslovakia signed an agreement on Transcarpathian Ukraine. Within Transcarpathian Ukraine Transcarpathian region was formed and the legislation of Ukrainian SSR were introduced.

**Ukrainian-Romanian border.** According to the doctrine of building a "Great Romania", in 1918-1919 Romania annexed the lands of Ukraine, as mentioned in previous chapters. These were ethnic Ukrainian territories of Khotyn, Ismail, Ackerman districts of the former Bessarabia province. After the war, Romania recognized the

right of Ukraine to Northern Bukovyna, Khotyn district and the Western Black Sea region which was enshrined by the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947. The line of the Soviet-Romanian state border had been determined by a special protocol dated 1949.

**The borders with Poland.** After the liberation of the Polish lands from the Nazi occupiers a Polish pro-communist government had been created in Lyublin: the Polish Committee of National Liberation. On September 9, 1944 the former USSR and the Committee signed an agreement on evacuation of the Ukrainian population from Poland and of Polish citizens from the territory of Ukraine. Ukrainian ethnic lands Lemkivschyna, Nadsyannya, Kholmschyna and Pidlyashya (about 700 thousand Ukrainians) beyond the Curzon Line ended up within the part of Poland. On the territory of the western regions of Ukraine many Poles lived who moved to Poland.

The next stage of resettlement lasted from September 1945 to July 1946; however, Ukrainian population that lived here originally did not seek to leave their homes and farms. Polish leadership has used its army for this departure. For this operation three divisions of infantry were used. The peaceful population has undergone significant losses: in Piskorovychi village. 720 people were killed; villages were completely destroyed and burned.

The third stage (April 1947) went down in history under the notorious name of "**The Vistula Operation**" [18]. Ukrainian population had been forcibly and violently evicted from its ancestral lands. "The Vistula Operation" had been carried out with lightning speed: on April 28, 1947 six Polish divisions (20 thousand of soldiers and officers of the regular armed forces of Poland) at 4 am invaded in Ukrainians' homes and people were taken by freight cars to remote areas of Poland. Overall, about 150 thousand of people had been deported. The most dangerous Ukrainians had been casted into prisons and concentration camp Yaworzno (Auschwitz) in Krakow region, restored by pro-Stalin Polish leadership. The first to get into a concentration camp were doctors, teachers, priests (Greek Catholics and Orthodox) and peasants.

Among the four thousand of prisoners there were a lot of women, children and elderly people.

After the eviction of people the Polish government began to destroy religious monuments and architecture. In the district of Lublin 130 monuments of church architecture had been destroyed, in Polissya and Holm - 120, in Lemkivschyna - 150. In terms of international law the above events can be defined as genocide against Ukrainian people. The Soviet Union by order of Joseph Stalin gave Poland Ukrainian areas of 480 sq. km. Kholmshcyna, Nadsyannya, Pidlyashya, Lemkivschyna ended up outside the borders of Ukraine where more than 700 thousand of Ukrainians lived.

### ***1.9. Ukrainian Soviet Republic in the United Nations***

After the World War II, two opposing ideological camps had been formed in the political arena, a bipolar system of international relations had been formed as well, which became known under the name of the Yalta-Potsdam. The two superpowers (the USSR and the United States) have formed global organization, the United Nations, which had to be replaced the failed League of Nations. After breaking the Nazi machine most of the people believed the advantages of the socialist system and communist ideology, in the possibility to stop the bloodshed and to strengthen peace and actively contribute to the formation of new communities.

In early 1942, 26 countries signed the Washington Declaration, where they have developed a global strategy to prevent disasters in the future. The Declaration promoted association of anti-Hitler coalition in one organization. The latter had to implement the democratic principles of the post-war order. The initiators of the organization were the leading states of an anti-Hitler coalition: the USSR, the USA, and the UK.

It should be noted that the international situation, the struggle for greater influence in the UN because of the increased number of pro-Soviet votes forced the Soviet government to give more rights to union republics, including Ukraine and Belarus. In 1944, the USSR adopted constitutional acts, such as the Law of the USSR dated February 1, 1944 "On granting Union republics powers in the field of foreign relations..." To increase its votes the USSR was trying to have the largest possible number of votes at the UN.

In 1944, the government of the Soviet Union has put forward a proposal for the inclusion of the former Soviet republics to the international organization. The proposal was categorically denied by the Western countries, particularly the US, which appealed to the lack of legal basis for foreign policy of the Soviet republics. Then, the Soviet leadership decided to give the Union republics conventional signs of independence. The USSR Supreme Soviet on February 1, 1944 has adopted a law, which has confirmed international and legal subjectivity of republics, which became the legal basis for their direct participation in international life. Based on the decisions the USSR Supreme Soviet appropriate amendments have been made to Articles 14, 18, 60 of the Constitution of the USSR. The law has provided to the Union republics an opportunity to establish direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements with them. **On March 4, 1944, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR has adopted the Law "On establishment of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the UkrSSR"**. Appropriate amendments have been made to Articles 15, 19, 30, 43, 45 and 48 of the Constitution of the UkrSSR. Oleksandr Korniychuk has been appointed as the head of People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR; Korniychuk was a famous writer, dramatist, who initiated the establishment of wide diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the world. The structure of the Commissariat of the Ukrainian SSR supposed to have ten departments. One of them had to work with neighboring states – Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia; the second had to deal with the US and UK, the third one - with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece and Turkey, the fourth - with Germany. It was also planned to create a protocol, law, consular and other units. In summer 1944 the unit consisted of 40 workers who performed assignments of the Union – the Commissariat and the Government of the republic. In July 1944 according to the direct order of Joseph Stalin O. Korniychuk was replaced by experienced Bolshevik, Comintern activist Dmitriy Manuil'skiy.

The statement on a legal personality of the Ukrainian SSR had a positive response in the international community. During 1945-1948 the Czechoslovak Republic President E. Benes, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Yugoslavia, Marshal J. Broz-Tito, the Polish

government delegation headed by the Prime Minister, a delegation of deputies of the Legislative National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic, a delegation of the US Republican Party, a delegation of the Grand National Assembly of Bulgaria, President of Hungary T. Zoltan and Hungarian government delegation and others have visited Ukraine.

Ukrainian delegation headed by D. Manuilskyi participated in the writing of the UN Charter. The Ukrainian delegation included the following leading scientists: Vice-President of the UkrSSR Academy of Sciences Academician O. Palladin, Rector of the Kyiv University Professor V. Bondarchuk, director of the Institute of History of the Ukrainian SSR Professor M. Petrovskyi. D. Manuilskyi has headed the Commission of the First Committee of the conference which prepared the text of the preamble and the first section of the UN Charter "Purposes and Principles". O. Palladin participated in the committee that considered the membership of states in the UN. V. Bondarchuk and M. Petrovskyi became members of the committees that determined the powers of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. Ukrainian delegation has made many proposals to the UN Charter, consolidating its democratic principles and the relevant amendments to many decisions of the organization. Ukrainian SSR became a member of many UN bodies including the Commission on Human Rights, the World Health Organization (1946), the International Labour Organization (1954), UNESCO (1954), Economic Commission for Europe (1956), IAEA (1957).

A bright page of Ukrainian international life of that period was the work of **UNRRA** (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) [19]. On November 9, 1943 in the Washington City 44 states signed an agreement establishing UNRRA. UNRRA Fund consists of contributions from member countries, the territory of which has not undergone occupation. The payments amounted to 1.2 % of national income. The help of UNRRA has been provided irrevocably, without compensation and interest. USSR has been released from contributions to the UNRRA.

Under the agreement for help dated December 18, 1945 UNRRA has provided Ukraine with goods, equipment and medicines worth 189

million dollars. UNRRA has created in Ukraine its mission headed by Colonel M. McDuffy, which arrived in Kyiv on March 20, 1946. The first ship with the goods arrived to Odessa in November 1945. Cargoes were also provided to Mykolayiv, Novorossiysk, Poti, Leningrad, Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Klaipeda. Goods purchased with funds of UNRRA had been coming from 15 countries: USA, UK and Canada - mostly seeds, canned food, dried fish, equipment for factories producing penicillin; from India - jute and pepper; from African countries - cocoa; from Argentina - butter, linseed oil; from Australia - tea, lead, clover seed, woolen goods and blankets. The main headquarters had been located in Kyiv (on Lenin Street, now Bohdan Khmelnytskyi Street), Americans, Canadians, British and Ukrainians were employed there.

American journalists made a film about the activities of UNRRA titled "Russians, whom no one knew". The books about the help of UNRRA have been published as well. On June 30, 1948 UNRRA activities in Ukraine had to be over. As of April 1, 1948 211 domestic and foreign vessels delivered to Ukraine goods worth 189.3 million dollars. Preferably, these were food: it was accounted for 2 dollars 83 cents per capita of Ukraine from these food supplies. There were many and industrial goods as well. Raw materials and equipment had been received: nonferrous metals, miner electric locomotives, 26 power plants, steam engines etc. Since the beginning of the Cold War accusations on Soviet policy have appeared in the American press. It seemed that Ukrainian SSR had been resending to third countries agricultural machinery received from UNRRA. The mission finished its work and ceased to exist. **The help to the Ukrainian republic of other countries through UNRRA is a special page of international solidarity and cooperation among the peoples an Antihitlerite coalition.**

Progressive organizations of Ukrainian Diaspora in the USA and Canada also helped Ukraine. Canadian Ukrainians Society has collected half a million dollars during the war, has sent gifts to orphans. A quarter of a million dollars has been collected by American Ukrainians League. Help used to come from Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina, where there were more than 50 Ukrainian organizations.

A particular responsibility to the Ukrainian republic has been put through membership in the structures of the UN, in which the Soviet Union was not involved, namely in the Committee of the Implementation of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Special UN Committee Against Apartheid.

The international community did not remain indifferent to the Chernobyl tragedy: at the 45th session of the United Nations (1990), 126 countries adopted a resolution on international cooperation to overcome the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

Ukrainian SSR contributions to the budgets of international organizations in 1986 amounted to 17.6 million US dollars and 1.05 million rubles. From this amount 11 million dollars was received by the United Nations, 2.07 million dollars – by UNESCO, 1.6 million dollars – by ILO, 1.6 million – by IAEA.

For comparison, in 2011 Ukraine has paid about 11 million Euros for membership in 28 international organizations; 10 million US dollars for membership in 11 international organizations; 2.5 million Swiss francs for membership in 12 international organizations; 244 million hryvnias for membership in 5 international organizations; 124 thousand Canadian dollars for membership in one international organization; 25 thousand English pounds for membership in one international organization; 95 thousand Canadian dollars for membership in two international organizations.

It is whether information about the remaining 8 international organizations in which Ukraine gained full membership is non-existent or participation in these organizations does not require membership fees.

The important direction of foreign policy of the Ukrainian SSR was its participation in international and contractual relations that had been enshrined in Article 74 of the Constitution of the USSR. Ukrainian SSR used its right to conclude international agreements.

Being a successor of the Ukrainian SSR modern Ukraine has to fulfill international obligations.

Besides participation in international treaties, Ukrainian SSR had actively used the right of embassy. The Republic had its permanent representations at the United Nations in New York, at the UN Office

and other International Organizations in Geneva and also at UNESCO in Paris. Ten consulates of foreign countries have been functioning in the territory of the UkrSSR: in Kyiv – General Consulates of Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Mongolia, as well as representative office of the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba; in Odessa – General Consulates of India, Cuba and Bulgaria.

In 1976-1980 US diplomats visited Kyiv. They had to open Consulate General of the USA; however, in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the US leadership has implemented the said initiative. Experience gained in diplomatic missions has been used by the MFA of Ukraine in its future activities.

## PART II

# FORMATION OF THE INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE

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### *2.1. Foundations and principles of the foreign policy of Ukraine*

Ukraine is a sovereign European state that leads its foreign policy basing on the international law. The postulates of Ukrainian policy are equity, sovereign equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, recognition of territorial integrity and inviolability of existing borders.

Ukraine has determined the **priorities of its foreign policy**: protection of state sovereignty; territorial integrity and inviolability of state borders, prevention of interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine; ensuring the development of the economic potential of Ukraine and obtaining a high place in the international division of labor by it; protection of Ukrainian citizens abroad; creating a positive information image of Ukraine.

The basic principles of national security are defined by the **Law of Ukraine "On the Foundations of National Security of Ukraine"** dated June 19, 2003. In accordance with paragraph 17 of Article 92 of the Constitution of Ukraine it is the protection of vital interests of a man and citizen, society and state, according to which sustainable development of society, early detection, prevention and neutralization of real and potential threats to national interests are provided. At the same time government policy in foreign policy (Art. 8) is aimed at creating favorable foreign political conditions for progressive economic and social development of Ukraine.

The principles, upon which Ukraine implements its foreign policy, are based on respect for the universally recognized norms and principles of international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki

Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe and other OSCE documents.

In the **Fundamental Law of Ukraine (Constitution)** a person is protected above all. “**A person, his/her life and health, honor and dignity, inviolability and security are recognized in Ukraine as the highest social values**” (Art. 3) and the national interest is to protect the citizen, society and state [20].

The **Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine** approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on July 16, 1990 was the first document that defined the main directions, goals and objectives of the foreign policy of Ukraine [21]. This Declaration proclaimed the inalienable right of the Ukrainian nation to economic independence, environmental safety; inviolability of the territory of the USSR (Art. V); the right to a share in union wealth: in particular, in the union gemstone and hard currency stocks and gold reserves, which are also created through the efforts of people of the Republic (Art. VI); the right to satisfaction of national and cultural needs of Ukrainians living outside the Republic (Art. VIII). The Declaration proclaimed Ukraine's intention to adhere to the three non-nuclear principles: not to accept, not to produce and not to acquire nuclear weapons (Art. IX). International legal personality of Ukraine is established by the Art. X, which enshrines the right to direct relations with other countries through the conclusion of treaties, exchange of diplomatic, consular and trade representatives, the establishment of diplomatic and other institutions. Article X recognizes the priority of universally recognized norms of international law over national law. The Declaration on its initial stage of development was the basis for the Constitution, laws of Ukraine and determined the position of the Republic in the conclusion of international treaties.

On August 24, 1991 the extraordinary session of the Verkhovna Rada has adopted the **Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine** [22]. Independence and creation of an independent Ukrainian state (Ukraine) has been proclaimed on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination stipulated by the UN Charter and other international legal documents.

The foundations of the foreign policy of the state are defined in "**Basic Directions of Ukraine's Foreign Policy**" approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on July 2, 1993. They identified the interests of Ukraine on the international arena and its foreign policy objectives, the principles of its foreign policy concept.

The main directions of the foreign policy of Ukraine have been listed: the development of bilateral relations with neighboring countries; development of relations with Western European countries and with the European international structures. The problems of relations with the CIS countries are considered in a separate part.

**In the government documents of Ukraine European integration direction is crucial, and an orientation to promotion in European institutes is considered as a priority.**

**Foreign policy objectives are:**

- updating foreign policy and security policy of Ukraine according to modern threats and challenges;
- reforming state bodies in the national security and defense area, which would correspond to the European orientation of Ukraine;
- establishment of Ukraine as a contributor to regional stability and security, including enhancing international cooperation on conflict settlement and peacekeeping;
- responsibility for peace and security of the European region.

**Regional cooperation** is considered within the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), participation in the EU program "Eastern Partnership", the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the North Atlantic Assembly of NATO, the Council of Europe (CoE) and other European organizations.

To the **subregional direction** the Black Sea economic cooperation within the BSEC and participation in the Danube Commission, extensive contacts on the Mediterranean direction, the course of cooperation within the Central European Initiative (CEI), close contact with the Visegrad Group, North Council and the Council of Baltic Sea States, cooperation within Euroregion etc. belong.

The **European direction** is a priority of Ukraine's foreign policy, the implementation of which is to ensure national security. The Decree of the President of Ukraine dated June 11, 1998 approved the Strategy of integration of Ukraine into the European Union [23]. The document defines the basic directions of cooperation of Ukraine with the EU.

**The Law of Ukraine "On the Foundations of National Security of Ukraine" (June 17, 2003)** [24]. singled out the main tasks of the state in foreign policy, namely the creation of an enabling environment for progressive economic and social development of Ukraine; prevention of interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine and prevention of attacks on its sovereignty and territorial integrity by other states; participation in activities on combating international organized criminal groups and terrorism etc. **The Law of Ukraine "On the Foundations of Domestic and Foreign Policy" (July 20, 2010)** refers to Ukraine's integration into European political, economic and legal space.

## ***2.2. Process of formation of the foreign policy of Ukraine***

Foreign policy issues have been gradually resolved through the recognition of the Ukrainian state in the world, concluding intergovernmental agreements on bilateral relations, protection of borders, respect for the sovereignty, economic and cultural cooperation etc. To acquire international subjectivity of Ukraine wide recognition **de jure by other states was necessary, i.e. legal recognition with all the international and legal consequences.**

An active work on dissemination of information about the Declaration of Independence of Ukraine has been made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. The historical reference date of founding and building the foreign policy office became December 22, 1917, when the Ukrainian People's Republic began laying its difficult independent path in world politics. We remind that on December 22, 1917 the General Secretariat in international affairs began operating, headed by Oleksandr Yakovych Shulhin (1889-1960) who was the first Foreign Minister of Ukraine. To commemorate this event **on December 22 Ukraine celebrates the Diplomat Day** [25].

In the autumn of 1959 in New York at the anniversary meeting O. Shulhin said: *“The forty millionth Ukrainian people strive for statehood, independence, collegiality is invincible. **Worldwide states founded on the basis of violence and enslavement always disappear eventually. The USSR will disappear as well. This is a matter of time; it is a law of history ...** The time will come and our real government and a new delegation in New York will be established in Kyiv. Everything goes, everything passes, but the Ukrainian people remain, because this nation it an autochthon in its land; it is the people that knew great misery and great glory. Fate sometimes drove it to the ground, but as good bread after the rainit always rose up and remained itself. Everything goes, everything passes, but the Ukrainian people remain: hardworking, capable, heroic and immortal people”* [14].

In the early 1990s, our country's independence has been admitted by more than 130 countries, and 106 countries have established diplomatic relations. **Ukraine as an independent sovereign state now is recognized by more than 170 countries and 171 of them established diplomatic relations with Ukraine** (see Table). Gradually the department of foreign policy began its establishment. The diplomatic corps in Ukraine has nearly 2,500 employees, including more than 1,214 professional diplomats. In 1996 the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine has been founded, which prepares hundreds of highly qualified specialists [26].

Ukraine has over one hundred foreign diplomatic institutions. The ambassadors of 53 states perform their functions concurrently.

***List of countries which acknowledged Ukraine as an independent country and established diplomatic relations with it***

	State	Acknowledgement	Establishment of diplomatic relations
1.	Commonwealth of Australia	26.12.1991	26.12.1991
2.	Republic of Austria	15.01.1992	24.01.1992

3.	Republic of Azerbaijan	06.02.1992	06.02.1992
4.	Republic of Albania	04.01.1992	18.01.1993
5.	People's Democratic Republic of Algeria	27.12.1991	20.08.1992
6.	Antigua and Barbuda	27.01.1993	17.03.1993
7.	Principality of Andorra	19.04.1996	19.04.0996
8.	Republic of Angola	30.09.1994	30.09.1994
9.	Argentine Republic	05.12.1991	06.01.1992
10.	Islamic State of Afghanistan	24.12.1991	17.04.1995
11.	Commonwealth of the Bahamas	27.09.2003	27.09.2003
12.	People's Republic of Bangladesh	29.12.1991	24.02.1992
13.	Barbados	13.04.1993	14.04.1993
14.	Kingdom of Bahrain	05.01.1992	20.07.1992
15.	Belize	01.10.1999	01.10.1999
16.	Kingdom of Belgium	31.12.1991	10.03.1992
17.	Republic of Benin	09.01.1992	10.04.1992
18.	Republic of Belarus	27.12.1991	27.12.1991
19.	Republic of Bulgaria	05.12.1991	13.12.1991
20.	Republic of Bolivia	05.12.1991	08.02.1992
21.	Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina	20.04.1992	20.12.1995
22.	Republic of Botswana	11.02.1992	14.01.1994
23.	Federative Republic of Brazil	26.12.1991	11.02.1992
24.	Sultanate of Brunei-Darussalam	03.10.1997	03.10.1997
25.	Burkina Faso	16.01.1992	06.02.1992
26.	Republic of Burundi	06.01.1992	22.02.1993
27.	Republic of Vanuatu	29.09.1999	29.09.1999
28.	Vatican State	08.02.1992	08.02.1992
29.	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Island	31.12.1991	10.01.1992
30.	Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	09.01.1992	29.09.1993
31.	Socialist Republic of Vietnam	27.12.1991	23.01.1992

32.	Republic of Armenia	25.12.1991	25.12.1991
33.	Gabonese Republic	10.01.1992	01.09.1993
34.	Corporate Republic of Guyana	08.01.1992	15.11.2001
35.	Republic of Gambia	02.07.1999	02.07.1999
36.	Republic of Ghana	22.04.1992	17.06.1992
37.	Republic of Guatemala	26.10.1992	12.01.1993
38.	Republic of Guinea	10.01.1992	04.04.1992
39.	Republic of Guinea-Bissau	03.02.2003	
40.	Republic of Equatorial Guinea	17.01.1992	18.05.1992
41.	Republic of Honduras	17.09.2002	17.09.2002
42.	Hellenic Republic	31.12.1991	15.01.1992
43.	Georgia	12.12.1991	21.07.1992
44.	Kingdom of Denmark	31.12.1991	12.02.1992
45.	Republic of Dzhibuti	06.01.1992	
46.	Dominican Republic	21.09.2000	21.09.2000
47.	Republic of Ecuador	02.01.1992	27.04.1993
48.	State of Eritrea	20.12.1993	20.12.1993
49.	Republic of Estonia	06.12.1991	03.01.1992
50.	Federative Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	02.01.1992	01.04.1993
51.	Arab Republic of Egypt	03.01.1992	25.01.1992
52.	Republic of Yemen	05.01.1992	21.04.1992
53.	Republic of Zambia	30.12.1991	22.04.1993
54.	Republic of Zimbabwe	09.03.1992	25.04.1992
55.	State of Israel	25.12.1991	26.12.1991
56.	Republic of India	26.12.1991	17.01.1992
57.	Republic of Indonesia	28.12.1991	11.06.1992
58.	Republic of Iraq	01.01.1992	16.12.1992
59.	Islamic Republic of Iran	25.12.1991	22.01.1992
60.	Ireland	31.12.1991	01.04.1992
61.	Republic of Iceland	19.01.1992	30.03.1992
62.	Kingdom of Spain	31.12.1991	30.01.1992
63.	Italian Republic	28.12.1991	29.01.1992
64.	Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	28.12.1991	19.04.1992

65.	Republic of Cabo-Verde	16.01.1992	25.03.1992
66.	Republic of Kazakhstan	23.12.1991	23.12.1991
67.	Kingdom of Cambodia	27.12.1991	23.04.1992
68.	Republic of Cameroon	17.06.1992	14.10.1993
69.	Canada	02.12.1991	21.01.1992
70.	State of Qatar	13.04.1993	13.04.1993
71.	Republic of Kenya	06.05.1993	06.05.1993
72.	Kyrgyz Republic	20.12.1991	19.09.1992
73.	People's Republic of China	27.12.1991	04.01.1992
74.	Republic of Cyprus	27.12.1991	19.02.1992
75.	Republic of Colombia	27.05.1992	18.08.1992
76.	Union of the Comoros	07.06.1993	23.07.1993
77.	Republic of the Congo	25.03.1992	03.06.1999
78.	Democratic Republic of the Congo	13.04.1999	13.04.1999
79.	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	26.12.1991	09.01.1992
80.	Republic of Korea	30.12.1991	10.02.1992
81.	Republic of Costa-Rica	23.12.1991	09.06.1992
82.	Republic Cote d'Ivoire	20.10.1992	20.10.1992
83.	Republic of Cuba	06.12.1991	12.03.1992
84.	State of Kuwait	18.04.1993	18.04.1933
85.	Lao People's Democratic Republic	02.01.1992	17.09.1992
86.	Republic of Latvia	04.12.1991	12.02.1992
87.	Kingdom of Lesotho	24.01.1992	01.06.2000
88.	Republic of Lithuania	04.12.1991	21.11.1992
89.	Republic of Liberia	24.09.1998	24.09.1998
90.	Lebanese Republic	30.12.1991	14.12.1992
91.	Great Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya	24.12.1991	17.03.1992
92.	Principality of Liechtenstein	23.12.1991	06.02.1992
93.	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	31.12.1991	01.07.1992
94.	Republic of Mauritius	08.06.1992	01.10.1992
95.	Islamic Republic of Mauritania	30.09.1992	30.09.1992

96.	Republic of Madagascar	04.03.1992	10.06.1993
97.	Republic of Macedonia	23.07.1993	20.04.1995
98.	Republic of Malawi	22.12.1998	22.12.1998
99.	Malaysia	31.12.1991	03.03.1992
100.	Republic of Mali	05.01.1992	05.11.1992
101.	Republic of Maldives	24.05.1993	17.08.1993
102.	Republic of Malta	05.03.1992	05.03.1992
103.	Kingdom of Morocco	30.12.1991	23.06.1992
104.	Republic of Marshall Islands	22.12.1995	22.12.1995
105.	United Mexican States	25.12.1991	14.01.1992
106.	Micronesia	17.09.1999	17.09.1999
107.	Republic of Mozambique	17.03.1992	19.08.1993
108.	Republic of Moldova	27.12.1991	10.03.1992
109.	Mongolia	24.12.1991	21.01.1992
110.	Republic of the Union Myanmar	19.01.1999	21.01.1999
111.	Republic of Namibia	30.12.1991	05.02.1992
112.	Kingdom of Nepal	03.01.1992	15.01.1993
113.	Republic of Niger	01.10.1999	01.10.1999
114.	Federative Republic of Nigeria	11.03.1992	10.12.1992
115.	Kingdom of Netherlands	31.12.1991	01.04.1992
116.	Republic of Nicaragua	30.11.1992	30.11.1992
117.	Federative Republic of Germany	26.12.1991	17.01.1992
118.	New Zealand	27.02.1992	03.03.1992
119.	Kingdom of Norway	24.01.1991	05.02.1992
120.	United Arab Emirates	20.01.1992	15.10.1992
121.	Sultanate of Oman	28.12.1991	19.05.1992
122.	State of Palestine	02.01.1992	
123.	Islamic Republic of Pakistan	31.12.1991	16.03.1992
124.	Republic of Panama	01.01.1992	21.05.1993
125.	Republic of Paraguay	01.04.1992	26.02.1993
126.	Republic of Peru	26.12.1991	07.05.1992
127.	Republic of South Africa	14.02.1992	16.03.1992

128.	Republic of Poland	02.12.1991	04.01.1992
129.	Portuguese Republic	07.01.1992	27.01.1992
130.	Russian Federation	05.12.1991	14.02.1992
131.	Republic of Rwanda	07.02.1992	08.09.1993
132.	Romania	08.01.1992	01.02.1992
133.	Republic of El Salvador	25.10.1992	14.04.1999
134.	Republic of San Marino	30.10.1995	30.10.1995
135.	San Tome e Principe	16.04.1998	16.04.1989
136.	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	15.04.1993	15.04.1993
137.	Kingdom of Swaziland	13.05.1998	13.05.1998
138.	Republic of Seychelles	30.09.1994	30.09.1994
139.	Republic of Senegal	02.06.1992	25.11.1992
140.	United Republic of Yugoslavia (1992)	15.04.1994	15.04.1994
141.	Republic of Singapore	03.01.1992	31.03.1992
142.	Syrian Arab Republic	28.12.1991	31.03.1992
143.	Slovak Republic	08.12.1991	30.01.1993
144.	Republic of Slovenia	11.12.1991	10.03.1992
145.	United States of America	25.12.1991	03.02.1992
146.	Republic of Sudan	25.04.1992	04.06.1992
147.	Republic of Sierra Leone	21.12.1991	20.05.1999
148.	Republic of Tajikistan	25.12.1991	24.04.1992
149.	Kingdom of Thailand	26.12.1991	06.05.1992
150.	United Republic of Tanzania	08.06.1992	03.07.1992
151.	Democratic Republic of Timor- Leste	27.09.2003	
152.	Togolese Republic	10.11.1993	01.09.1999
153.	Trinidad and Tobago	27.09.1999	27.09.1999
154.	Tunisian Republic	25.12.1991	24.06.1992
155.	Republic of Turkey	16.12.1991	03.02.1992
156.	Turkmenistan	20.12.1991	10.10.1992
157.	Republic of Uganda	13.02.1992	07.09.1994
158.	Hungary	03.12.1991	03.12.1991
159.	Republic of Uzbekistan	04.01.1992	14.08.1992

160.	Eastern Republic of Uruguay	26.12.1991	18.05.1992
161.	Republic of Philippines	22.01.1992	12.03.1992
162.	Republic of Finland	30.12.1991	26.02.1992
163.	French Republic	27.12.1991	24.01.1992
164.	Republic of Croatia	05.12.1991	18.02.1992
165.	Central African Republic	14.06.1995	14.06.1995
166.	Republic of Chad	10.01.1993	27.07.1993
167.	Czech Republic	08.12.1991	30.01.1992
168.	Republic of Chile	09.01.1992	28.01.1992
169.	Swiss Confederation	23.12.1991	06.02.1992
170.	Kingdom of Sweden	19.12.1991	13.01.1992
171.	Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	12.02.1992	12.02.1992
172.	Montenegro	15.06.2006	22.08.2006
173.	Jamaica	15.01.1992	07.07.1992
174.	Japan	28.12.1991	26.01.1992

From the proclamation of the sovereignty of Ukraine a marathon its international recognition has began. Poland was the first to recognize Ukraine: President of independent Poland Lech Walesa on December 2, 1991 sent to the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk congratulations on winning independence.

Canada also claims to be one of the first states that recognized Ukraine, but the difference in time zones did not give an opportunity to deliver an official recognition on time. The then Consul General of Canada in Kyiv Nestor Hayovskiy who was appointed to this position immediately after the proclamation by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the Act of Independence on August 24, 1991 has told about the Ukraine's recognition by Canada. N. Hayovskiy noted that since 24 of August and till the referendum dated December 1 some countries competed for the right to accept Ukraine first. On December 2, when the results started coming, Poland outstripped Canada. At 21.00 there was a phone call from Canada: *"We recognize Ukraine as an independent state, entrust to announce it on behalf of the Canadian government. The documents will arrive soon"*. N. Hayovskiy called

back urgently to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Zlenko and the Minister called to L. Kravchuk. The statement of the Canadian Government has been read in English to the first President of Ukraine. Everybody listened to its standing. A. Zlenko translated it. It was about midnight. That is why we say that Canada officially recognized Ukraine on December 2. The following ceremonies took place according to the diplomatic etiquette: at the Mariinskyi Palace - in the presence of officials. In any case, Canada was the first Western country to recognize Ukraine as an independent state [1, p.133].

### ***2.3. Functions of the foreign policy of Ukraine***

In 1993 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ordered the Cabinet of Ministers, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomatic and consular offices of Ukraine to be guided by the “Basic directions of the foreign policy of Ukraine”. The determining document and source for the formation and development of foreign policy of Ukraine is the **Constitution** dated June 28, 1996.

**The Fundamental Law stipulates the main parameters of a sovereign, independent, democratic Ukraine, whose territory is indivisible and inviolable, the validity of international treaties of Ukraine, single citizenship and statehood of the Ukrainian language.**

According to the Constitution of Ukraine [20] (Art. 85) **the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has the following powers:** "On the Foundation of Domestic and foreign policy" (It. 5); confirming decisions on granting by Ukraine loans and economic assistance to foreign states and international organizations, as well as of the receipt by Ukraine from foreign states, banks and international financial organizations of loans not envisaged by the State Budget of Ukraine; control over their use (It. 14); decisions approval on providing military assistance to other states, on sending units of the Armed Forces of Ukraine to another state or on admitting units of armed forces of other states to the territory of Ukraine (It. 23); provision in the statutory term an agreement to be bound by international treaties of Ukraine; organization of and control over the implementation of adopted

decisions on these issues" (Art. 32). Ukrainian parliament has interparliamentary contacts.

**The President of Ukraine** is the guarantor of state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine, compliance with the Constitution of Ukraine, the rights and freedoms of citizens. According to the Constitution of Ukraine the President of Ukraine is a Head of State and acts on its behalf (It. 102). The President of Ukraine acts as a guarantor of the Constitution to ensure the domestic and foreign policy interests. Art. 106 contains a list of specific powers of the President of Ukraine in the implementation of foreign relations.

Thus the President appeals with messages to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the internal and external situation of the state, represents it in international relations, administers the foreign policy, conducts negotiations and concludes international treaties, makes decisions on the recognition of foreign powers, appoints and dismisses heads of diplomatic missions of Ukraine, accepts credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives of foreign states, provides the highest diplomatic ranks etc.

In accordance with It. 1, Art. 116 of the Constitution of Ukraine the **Cabinet of Ministers** of Ukraine ensures the state sovereignty and economic independence of Ukraine, the implementation of domestic and foreign policy, the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, acts of the President of Ukraine. The government and its head not only develop the main directions of the foreign policy and make appropriate proposals for consideration of the Parliament and the President, but also themselves organize and control the implementation of the adopted decisions on these issues.

The direct administration of foreign policy actions and diplomatic services of the government is carried out through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the head of which the government provides direct orders and controls their execution. The Minister of Foreign Affairs carries out the daily operational activities in the field of external relations of the state. The Minister of Foreign Affairs may represent state and government at the UN General Assembly, Security Council etc.

Current affairs of the foreign policy are directly addressed to the **Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine**: it protects the interests of the

state, natural and legal persons abroad, submits for consideration to the Head of State and the government documents on foreign policy, sends directives and provides guidance to diplomatic representations and consular offices abroad, directs and controls their activity. It also maintains contacts with representatives of foreign states in its country. Provides training to the diplomatic personnel.

In accordance with the objectives of the Ministry its structure has been formed: the management of the Ministry and its secretariats, its press office, a group the Ambassadors at Large and the group of main advisers, general inspection, departments, administration: territorial (regional), functional, administrative and financial, foreign representative offices in Ukraine.

**The Council of exporters at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.** In order to properly implement national foreign policy and foreign economic priorities, facilitating the entry of Ukrainian exporters to foreign markets, protection of economic and trade interests abroad and attracting foreign direct investment in April 2013 at the MFA of Ukraine the Council of exporters and investors of Ukraine has been established, composed of more than 80 leading Ukrainian enterprises and companies (metalworking, engineering, chemical, agro-industrial and service sectors).

The personal composition of the Council is approved by the Chairman of the Council, who is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. During its activity the Council has proven itself as an effective platform supporting dialogue between the Foreign Ministry and Ukrainian business. From the Ukrainian companies (members of the Council) the Foreign Ministry has already received over 150 specific applications for the support abroad. Currently an entry of nearly 60 companies to new markets in 40 countries of Asia, South America, Africa and the Middle East is under consideration

**Ukraine's foreign political activity is based on a broad legal basis.** The state is involved in numerous bilateral and multilateral international treaties that affect many issues. According to Art. 9 of the Constitution current **international treaties** ratified by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine are part of the national law.

Concluded and duly ratified by Ukraine international treaties apply in the manner provided for in national legislation. The principles of the mechanism of action of international acts in the territory of

Ukraine, as well as their place in the hierarchy of legal documents of the state are enshrined in the Laws of Ukraine "**On the Effect of International Agreements in the Territory of Ukraine**" dated December 10, 1991 and "**On International Agreements of Ukraine**" dated June 29, 2004. Ukraine faithfully complies with its obligations under the norms of international law, stands for other participants of bilateral and multilateral treaties to strictly fulfill their obligations arising from these treaties. In the event of a material breach of the international treaty by other participants, Ukraine may **denounce** such a treaty, i.e. refuse from it.

The legal basis of the international relations of Ukraine is based on many documents of different semantic load, but, unfortunately, not all of them are being executed. The leading provision of the international law is that treaties shall comply with: **Pacta sunt servanda** (although there are cases of non-compliance with the treaties in international practice). Ensuring implementation of treaties and control over this process are assigned to the various international commissions that exist within international structures and organizations (in the UN, OSCE, Council of Europe etc.), which may protect the interests of the subject of international law of any state, including Ukraine.

## PART III

### MODERN FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES

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#### *3.1. Territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders*

**Ukrainian-Russian border.** Securing state borders is the important aspect of foreign policy of present-day Ukraine. It should be also noted that the borders with Ukraine's western neighbors (Poland, Hungary, the then Czechoslovakia and Romania) were established and practically settled during the Soviet period, while the issue of borders between post-Soviet countries needed to be finalized and resolved in the independent Ukrainian state.

The border between Russia and Ukraine was establishing according to administrative dividing boundary between the then Ukrainian SSR and Russian SFSR which was not checked in some areas, so the issue of border management has to be resolved again. The position of Ukraine was that all its borders had equal legal status. The border with the Russian Federation with length of 2292 km was finally taken under Ukrainian protection only in January 1993. However, its real status is still different from that of western borders of Ukrainian state – former western borders of the USSR. **Delimitation and demarcation** of Russian-Ukrainian border were significantly delayed. In 1998-1999 the land-use boundaries of economic entities were demarcated only in general in Ukrainian and Russian border areas. Moreover, the problem was compounded by the fact that border delimitation was not entrenched in Primary Treaty on Friendship, Partnership and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and Ukraine dated 31 May 1997, as the heads of states discarded this issue from the main text for further consideration and entrenchment as a separate agreement. Delay from Ukraine with border demarcation deferred the settlement process indefinitely, and this became the basis for various groundless claims from Russia and, finally, led to direct interference into Ukraine's internal affairs, infringement upon Ukrainian territory and annexation of the Crimea.

In 1990 the bilateral relationship became particularly strained due to territorial claims on the Crimea and the city of Sevastopol from Russia. In 1992 and 1993 the Russian State Duma (the lower house of Parliament) adopted the appropriate documents: the Resolution and Statement on the Crimea concerned the illegal transfer of the Crimean peninsula to Ukraine in 1954. Russian legislature substantiated claims on the Crimea by denial of legal reunification of the Crimea and Ukraine, i.e. the hypothesis for transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine by gift for the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of reunification of Russia and Ukraine as well as by the fact that the Crimea peninsula was inhabited mainly by the Russians resettled in the time of the Russian Empire and USSR, and for this reason they had the right to self-determination.

It is to be recalled that the Crimea became the part of the Russian Empire as a result of Russian-Turkish Wars. After the overthrow of Russian tsarism on 13 December 1917 the Crimean Tatar Kurultai proclaimed separation of the Crimea from Russia. At the same time, the actual government of the Crimea supported the union with Ukraine (UPR), understanding the significance of maintaining historical, economic and cultural relations with it. According to traditional Soviet policy, in 1921 the Bolshevik government of Russia overthrew the government of Crimean Tatar Republic and established the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as a part of the Russian Federation. In 1945 the Crimean autonomy was eliminated and instead of this there was established the Crimean region with much reduced population due to deportation of Crimean Tatars, Germans, Greeks and others in 1944.

In early post-war years the economy of the peninsula became increasingly dependent on Ukraine, as it supplied raw materials, in particular, for metallurgical production (iron and steel works Azovstal). Ukraine supplied to the Crimea food products and, above all, bread. In 1950 the Crimean industry reached only 81% of pre-war level. Agricultural sector was suffering from lack of farm labor and water. The attempts to resettle inhabitants of Voronezh, Kursk and Ryazan regions of Russia to the Crimea had failed (people came back to Russia finding living conditions harsh). The population and local authorities increasingly expressed desire to join Ukraine.

After having carefully examined the issue, the Council of Ministers of Russian SFSR came to the conclusion that it would be expedient to transfer the Crimean region to Ukraine and approached to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Russian SFSR with this proposal and the Presidium, in its turn, - to Ukrainian government. This issue was considered in joint meeting of representatives from Crimean and Sevastopol Councils of Workers' Deputies. On the basis of all taken decisions, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Russian SFSR adopted resolution, which declared the expediency of transferring Crimean region to the composition of Ukrainian SSR. Later the document was submitted to the Supreme Council of USSR. Its Presidium reviewed the appeal "On submitting the issue of transferring Crimean region to the composition of Ukrainian SSR to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Russian SFSR" and stated that "for geographic and economic reasons the transfer of Crimean region to the composition of Ukrainian SSR is expedient and meets the joint interests of Soviet state". On 26 April 1954 the Supreme Council of USSR adopted the appropriate law. Therefore, the transfer of the Crimea was initiated by the Russian Federation. None of these documents mention the transfer of the Crimea to Ukraine by gift for the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of reunification. This decision also doesn't coincide chronologically with the anniversary date [27].

Ukraine has provided a lot of funds for economic potential of the peninsula: in 1950-1990 this amount came to more than 30,765 million karbovanetz. Industrial production had increased; well-being of the population had improved. Thanks to the Dniper river water, the North Crimean Channel is still irrigating the Crimean land. Improvement in the Crimea's economic situation, political aspirations for European integration and independent development of our state stimulated the Russian government to raise other territorial claims against Ukraine, consider the Crimea as coins to exchange in its geostrategic aspirations. As a result of anti-Ukrainian propaganda by Russian mass media, the particular part of Russian and Crimean population brought up by Soviet ideology (former military men, honorary servants, veterans, party officials, etc) was thankful to the Soviet government for the permission to settle on fertile Crimean land and appropriate financial assistance.

They considered the Crimea and the city of Sevastopol to be Russian and demanded to defend at any cost staying of Russian Black Sea Navy in the Crimea, i.e. on the sovereign territory of foreign state.

In response to the statements of the Russian Parliament regarding the Crimea and Sevastopol, **Ukraine filed a request with the United Nations Security Council seeking international protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity.** Following appropriate procedures, on 26 July 1993 the United Nations Security Council supported Ukraine, affirmed inadmissibility of such actions from Russia in international affairs and gave permission to Ukraine to seek the assistance of the United Nations Security Council if such territorial claims from Russia were to be repeated. After appropriate diplomatic notes of apologies by Russian Ministry of External Affairs and confession of errors by President Boris Yeltsin the incident was supposed to be closed.

At the same time, the official act “**Strategic course of Russia with member states of the CIS**” dated 14 September 1995 stated Russia’s new vision of its role in post-Soviet space and declared the territory of Commonwealth countries to be the space of Russian strategic interests, which it intended to protect.

On 15 March 1996 the State Duma of Russia demanded to **revoke Belovezhsk agreement on collapse of the Soviet Union** (dated 8 December 1991) and **establishment of CIS.** It adopted two documents “On deepening integration of nations unified in USSR and cancellation of resolution adopted by the Supreme Council of the RSFSR dated 12 December 1991” and “On legal force of results of USSR referendum dated 17 March 1991 regarding preservation of USSR integrity for the Russian Federation – Russia”. These documents declared illegitimate of denunciation of a treaty establishing Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 and conclusion of agreement on the establishment of CIS. Belovezhsk agreements were declared as having no force or effect.

However, as Belovezhsk agreements were at the time ratified by Russian Parliament, the deputies of the lower house **were not entitled to denounce the abovementioned documents** without the consent of the upper house of Parliament of the Russian Federation and

presidential approval. The case was dismissed only following the intervention of Russian President threatening to dissolve the Parliament. According to the then President of Russia, such decisions were an attempt not only to harm CIS, but also to eliminate Russian statehood, and it is considered to be betrayal of Russian Federation's state interests

Specific milestone in relations between Ukraine and Russia was the **Treaty on Friendship, Partnership and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and Ukraine dated 31 May 1997** [28]. De jure recognition by the parties of each other's territorial integrity and inviolability of borders separated them was one of the most important aspects of the document. However, Russia agreed to recognize this document only on condition that Russian Black Sea Fleet would stay within the territory of Ukraine. Russian conditions were included in three agreements on Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation, the signing of which without proper consent of Ukrainian Parliament caused a lot of problems resulting in threat to Ukrainian national security.

Determination of the state border line with a description of its origin and mapping (delimitation of the land border between the countries) has been completed in 2002 and fixed on January 23, 2003 with the corresponding document. This **Agreement between Russia and Ukraine on the state border** has been signed in a compromise solution: with the removal of articles on the Azov and Black Seas. Russia avoids the accepted international practice on division of water area of the Azov Sea. On September 29, 2003 Russia began conquest the **Island of Kosa Tuzla**: it has started active construction of the dam, which had to connect the island with the Russian territory, Taman peninsula.

Ukraine regarded these events as an encroachment on its territorial integrity. Ukraine relied on the provisions of international legal norms regarding the prohibition of any construction work in the area of outstanding border issues. A tough stance of our country forced the Russian side to stop construction.

Russia's policy is clearly aimed at addressing not only the geopolitical problems and energy problems: near the Azov Sea over a hundred promising oil and gas deposits have been found.

However the Kerch Strait is a transport corridor, through which annually around 8500 vehicles pass. The payment for passage of Russian ships through Ukrainian channel is annually 15-16 million. Thus Russia's policy in this region is also explained by the attempts to take ownership of the Kerch-Yenikalsk Strait, which belongs to Ukraine. The President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma said that the actions of the Russian side are unfriendly and do not meet the principles of strategic partnership. These events brought the attention of the international community which was undesirable for Russia.

The Treaty on borders has been ratified by parliaments of Ukraine and Russia in a package with other documents synchronously on April 20, 2004. By this document Russia has effectively banned the entry to the Sea of Azov for ships of other countries. Yet the final demarcation of the sea border has not been implemented: the question of delimitation of the Azov and Black Seas and the Kerch Strait is still pending.

The border problem causes other problems: from Russia to territory of Ukraine illegal migrants enter who move to Western Europe. The matter is complicated by the fact that Russia is obliged to be responsible for the foreigners who are ended up staying in its territory. Russia violated these commitments.

Russia's constant attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine complicate Ukrainian-Russian dialogue. Russia supported actions of anti-Ukrainian government officials in office who tried to divide the Ukrainian state. The representatives of the Russian presidential administration, Russian parliamentarians and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov back in 2003 supported the declaration of so-called "Independent republics" in the territory of Ukraine with their future accession to Russia.

**In 2014 Russia, ignoring the principles of the international law, basic treaties, taken commitments to respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of Ukraine, started a war against Ukraine [29].**

First strike was inflicted on the Ukrainian Crimea. There has been a painstaking preparatory work through the media and Russian organizations. Hundreds of Russian soldiers have been transported illegally to Crimea – so called 'green men' with full military ammunition, who seized strategic sites.

The political crisis in Ukraine, the events around Maidan, where blood was shed, where against defenseless people the criminal government has enforced special units, snipers, trained and armed in the RF, have accelerated long prepared operation. Crimean revolution used the moment of the absence of government in Ukraine, the first persons' state treason, silent witnessing the events by the West, declared independence from Ukraine and joining Russia. Ukrainian government was helpless: the criminal president fled the country, the government and parliament of the pro-presidential Party of Regions did not make a decision, the army was at the last stage of destruction.

**There was no one to protect the territorial integrity of Ukraine.** Everything happened quite fast: from November 2013 to March 2014 Maidan fought for a democratic Ukraine, and the Russian parliament on March 1, 2014 at 17:20 voted by both chambers for the introduction of Russian troops in the territory of Ukraine and Crimea in particular. This step sanctioned the occupation of the territory of a sovereign state.

On March 11, 2014 Russia announced that it has recognized and supported the independence of the Crimea and its annexation to Russia. By the "results" of pseudo-referendum dated March 16, 2014 on the inclusion to Russia the Crimea has been declared independent and sovereign state with a republican form of government.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine called the declaration of independence of Crimea unconstitutional.

**On March 18, 2014** Vladimir Putin, representatives of the self-proclaimed Republic of Crimea signed so called "Agreement on the Adoption of the Crimea to Russia." On March 21, 2014 this agreement has been ratified by the Parliament of the Russian Federation. **On April 11, 2014 the Republic of Crimea and federal city Sevastopol had been included in the list of subjects of the Russian Constitution.**

**The status of Crimea as occupied territory within Ukraine is defined by the Law of Ukraine "On the Rights and Freedoms of Citizens and Legal Regime in the Temporarily Occupied Territory of Ukraine" No. 4473-1 dated April 15, 2014 [29].**

It is worth reminding that the right to self-determination cannot be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would

lead to partition or to partial or complete violation of the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent states.

Russia defiantly considers lawful the adoption by the Crimean parliament of the declaration of independence.

The question is why neither the Russian president, nor the government, nor the Russian Foreign Ministry did recognize in this case the rights of the Chechen Republic (Ichkeria) for the independent will expression and the fight for independence since the early 1990s? And they try to build the Chechen State according to the Russian scenario.

It should also be noted that in the preamble to the Crimean document on "independence" it has been pretentiously "taken into account the confirmation by the UN International Court on Kosovo on July 22, 2010 of the fact that the unilateral declaration of independence by the part of the state does not violate any international law".

Ukraine considers the declaration of independence of Crimea unconstitutional. Ukraine severely blames Russia for seizure (annexation) of the Crimea.

Russia uses a double standard and contradicts itself. Its position on Kosovo, the incident to which it refers is based on the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice about the unilateral declaration of Kosovo's declaration of independence. However, in a written Statement of the Russian Federation to the International Court of Justice on the case of Kosovo it is stated that "the right to self-determination cannot be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would lead to partition or to partial or complete violation of the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent states".

Therefore, Russia does not recognize Kosovo's independence, but insisted on "the independence of Crimea". This virtual recognition has been necessary for the occupation and annexation of Crimea to Russia.

Ukraine's Ministry for Foreign Affairs in a statement dated March 11, 2014 named the decision to declare independence, adopted by the Supreme Council of Crimea, "unconstitutional, illegal and legally baseless". The declaration of independence of Crimea violates the national legislation of Ukraine and provisions of international instruments.

Ukraine strongly condemns the direct intervention of the Russian Federation in the internal affairs of our country. The actions of the Russian side directly contradict fundamental international principles and generally accepted norms of international relations.

The Russian Federation has concentrated on the border with Ukraine nearly 50,000 military servicemen, 160 tanks and warplanes, which are gradually moving to the Ukrainian territory.

An undeclared war is being waged by Russia in the Ukrainian Donbas, where military units of the Russian army entered that try to deprive a part of Ukrainian lands. The war is conducted with active armed forces of Russia, the first of which were military men of the 45th guard's regiment of airborne troops "Kupyanka 1" of Russia, stationed near Moscow. Russian saboteurs in Slovyansk are commanded by an officer of special operations of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces.

In Ukraine, the contractors paid by Russia are called separatists and a struggle for Ukrainian land is defined as an anti-terrorist operation (ATO).

The Russian leadership provides bandit formations with military equipment, food etc. On August 8, 2014 a huge number of trucks from Russia have been moving to Ukrainian territory. Russia stated that this "assistance" is agreed with the Red Cross. The management of the Red Cross denied the statement of the Russian Federation about permission of movement of the column with goods.

The President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko assembled operational headquarters, held emergency talks with the leaders of the world. By way of diplomatic work the provocation has been stopped.

Let us remind that the introduction of peacekeepers is possible only with the approval of the Security Council. Otherwise it would be nothing else but invaders.

The invaders fire on fortifications of Ukrainian army from the hardware "Grad" and other weapons; as a result not only military men are dying, but also civilians. Thousands of refugees are moving from Donbas to other Ukrainian territories.

However, **there is a deep belief in the power of the Ukrainian people which with their own efforts creates an army**

**that morally and financially supports our patriots on the fronts of an undeclared war.**

Certain hope in this difficult situation some diplomatic steps to reconciliation and cease-fire is given, enshrined in the Declaration of the four heads of states. The President of Ukraine, President of the French Republic, President of the Russian Federation and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany have approved a **Complex of measures of the Minsk agreements adopted on February 12, 2015**. The parties agreed on a ceasefire, the withdrawal of troops, on further consideration of complex issues of eastern regions of Ukraine through negotiations.

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**Problematic issues in relations with Romania.** The media campaign on "historical rights" of Romania to some Ukrainian lands have been strengthened by the Romanian side after the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the emergence of independent Ukraine. On June 24, 1991 the Romanian Parliament adopted the "Declaration of the Parliament of Romania against Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences for the country" which was an appeal to the president, the government and all political forces to return the Romanian land, annexed as a result of this pact. The document requires returning South Bessarabia, the county of Hertz and Northern Bukovina to Romania, which are Ukrainian territories.

In response, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in the Statement dated July 5, 1991 regarded such actions of the Romanian side as nomination of territorial claims to Ukraine that is contrary to the recognized principles of international law, the spirit and letter of Helsinki.

The Declaration on the referendum in Ukraine of the Romanian Parliament dated November 28, 1991 announced the above mentioned territory "Romanian lands". The statement called for the governments of other countries not to recognize these Ukrainian territories. The Declaration on the referendum in Ukraine of the Romanian Parliament dated November 28, 1991 announced the above mentioned territory "Romanian lands". The statement called for the governments of other countries not to recognize these territories as Ukrainian ones. In a

similar statement of the Government of Romania those provisions have been specified.

Ukrainian position in defending territorial interests is based on the provisions of the Soviet-Romanian agreement of 1961, which actually refers to the Ukrainian-Romanian border in its present condition.

Consistently implementing its own strategy during 1993-1995 Romania sent to the MFA of Ukraine several diplomatic notes, which unilaterally in violation of international law and the relevant procedure declared as being invalid the Treaty on the regime of Soviet-Romanian state border of 1961 and the Protocol on clarifying the route of the Soviet-Romanian state border of 1948, which determined the line of Ukrainian-Romanian border.

In November-December 1995 Ukrainian-Romanian relations deteriorated due to new statements of the Romanian side about belonging of an island Zmiiny (Sherpilor) declared by Romanians as cliff. There are oil and gas on the shelf of the island: according to estimates, a third of Ukrainian reserves of oil and a quarter of undiscovered gas reserves. However, in 1996 Romanians built a platform on the island shelf and develop great industrial field "Levada" producing oil.

Romanian side tried not to sign an interstate treaty on the recognition from Ukraine and cooperation. However, issue of NATO membership has forced the Romanian side to conclude this document. We remind that a candidate country for membership in NATO can not expect preferential treatment in the case of territorial claims to other states.

**On June 2, 1997 the Treaty on the relations of good neighborliness and cooperation between Romania and Ukraine** has been signed (Constanza City). On June 17, 2003 (Chernovtsy City) presidents signed a **Treaty on the treatment of Ukrainian-Romanian state border, cooperation and mutual assistance on border issues** with withdrawal of controversial articles. In parallel, negotiations regarding the delimitation of the continental shelf and exclusive maritime economic zone in the Black Sea have been held.

In 2004 Romania appealed to the International Court of Justice with a claim to Ukraine on the delimitation of the continental shelf and exclusive economic zones in the Black Sea. On February 3, 2009 the

International Court of Justice made a final decision: it recognized Zmiiny Island as an island which belongs to Ukraine. The Court divided the continental shelf, giving most of the surface to Romania.

**We shall note that Ukraine helped Romania to take its place in the leading European structures (NATO and the EU), pending adequate relevant policy of the Romanian side to our country.**

Another demarche of the Romanian side was associated with the channel "Danube - Black Sea", whose construction in May 2004 has been launched by Ukraine. Romania appealed to international authorities to protest against deepening by Ukraine the channel, claiming that it could cause an environmental disaster.

The reason for fear of official Bucharest is not an environmental altruism, but possible loss of the monopoly on the passage of ships from the Danube to the Black Sea. Ukrainian ships annually pay about 2 million USD for passage through Romanian channels. In response Ukraine also announced about the negative anthropogenic activity of Romania in the Danube Delta. In the confrontation to the Romanian policy Ukraine involves the mechanism of bilateral relations with other countries, interested in a cheaper Ukrainian path, and international structures. Gradually the controversial issue of the channel "Danube-Black Sea" has evolved from a political to an economic.

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**Delimitation of the state border between Ukraine and Moldova** has also been problematic. This is understandable: Moldova borders with Romania, which put forward territorial claims to the Ukrainian state; has complicated relations with the Transnistrian republic inhabited by Ukrainians. According to Soviet documents in 1940 between the former republics the border has been established under which Moldova had no access to the sea. With the declaration of independence of the two countries between Ukraine and Moldova misunderstanding evolved both due to geographical changes in the mouth of the river Prut and due to building by Moldova a large-scale oil terminal near the border without the consent of Ukraine.

On March 1, 1995 the Government of Moldova gave effect to the Treaty on cooperation on border issues, allowing beginning work on

delimitation and demarcation of the state border. After lengthy negotiations, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on March 2, 1998 approved the Directive on delimitation of the state border with the Republic of Moldova.

The bilateral **Treaty on the state border with the Republic of Moldova** has been signed on August 18, 1999 and ratified by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on April 6, 2000. The Moldovan port at the insistence of the Republic of Moldova has also partially covered the territory of Ukraine, which had been passed in the long-term lease.

Thus, thanks to Ukrainian "geopolitical goodness" Moldova received a part of Ukrainian land, of which 430 meters is a river shore, and has got an access to Danube River. In the area of Giurgiulesti settlement Moldova has built an oil terminal.

Due to this today Moldova has Danube port, suitable for river and sea vessels. Giurgiulesti International Free Port (GIFP) is a single point of sea / river transshipment of Moldova, as well as regional logistics node on the border with the EU. The entire territory of Giurgiulesti of 120 hectares is a free economic zone until 2030; more than 30 residents are registered there.

Thus, thanks to Ukraine Moldova got an access to the Danube coast, becoming a sea power.

### ***3.2. International guarantees of the non-nuclear status***

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine inherited the third largest nuclear weapons arsenal in the world after Russia and the United States. However, in January 1994 in the tripartite statement Kyiv confirmed the decision for complete disarmament. This was the decision of Ukraine and this was also the vision of global nuclear leaders who in one way or another pressed on our country.

In 1994 Ukraine joined the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) as a non-nuclear state and by transferring all of its nuclear warheads to Russia for liquidation by 1996 it finally became free of nuclear capability.

**Ukraine has had a nuclear arsenal, consisting of approximately 1,900 strategic nuclear warheads and 2,500 units of tactical nuclear weapons.** The arsenal included intercontinental

ballistic missiles 130 units, each with six warheads (SS-19), and 46 units with ten warheads, with a range of up to 11,000 km (SS-24) and 25 units of strategic bombers-missile carriers Tu-95MS. This aircraft is the fastest propeller aircraft in the world.

Ukraine has had 19 supersonic strategic bombers-missile carriers Tu-160, which is the most powerful combat aircraft in the world. It also has had 1,080 units of nuclear cruise missiles "air - ground" of long range; several hundred units of tactical nuclear weapons.

On June 2, 1996 Ukraine has officially lost its nuclear status. In 1999 8 Tu-160 planes and 3 Tu-95MS planes has been exchanged by Ukraine for the gas debt to Russia. Nine Tu-160 planes and 21 Tu-95MS planes have been destroyed, one more aircraft of this type remains in the museum (Poltava town).

On July 31, 1991 the **Parliament of Ukraine, considering the situation around Ukraine, adopted a special Resolution on the Ratification of the Treaty between the USSR and the USA on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.** The Resolution put forward specific requirements of the Parliament of Ukraine on the conditions the transfer of nuclear weapons.

The governments of nuclear states have done fierce pressure on Ukraine. On September 3, 1993 the presidents of Ukraine and Russia agreed on the elimination of all nuclear weapons located in Ukraine. **On January 14, 1994 in Moscow Boris Yeltsin, Bill Clinton and Leonid Kravchuk have signed a tripartite statement of the Presidents of Russia, US and Ukraine,** which confirmed the process of deactivation of strategic forces in Ukraine.

The presidents agreed on the compensation to Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus for highly enriched uranium in nuclear warheads. B. Yeltsin and B. Clinton informed L. Kravchuk that Russia and the US are ready to provide security assurances to Ukraine once the START-1 Treaty enters into force and Ukraine becomes a State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). President B. Clinton reaffirmed the US commitment to provide technical and financial assistance for dismantling of nuclear forces and preservation of nuclear materials.

By the end of 1998 all the nuclear weapons in Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus have already transferred to Russia.

**Thus, the path of Ukraine to the non-nuclear status was rather difficult and lengthy.** After the collapse of the Soviet Union the world's attention has been focused on the issue of nuclear weapons remained in Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Ukraine. Since Ukraine declared independence, many resolutions and statements of the Ukrainian Parliament have repeatedly stated that in future Ukraine will become a non-nuclear state.

Ukraine has agreed to transfer all tactical and strategic nuclear weapons to the CIS Joint Command, but has not recognized it a property of any other country, including Russia.

Thus, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has agreed to ratify the anti-nuclear treaties only subject to the performance of the relevant Ukrainian warnings.

**The following warnings may draw our attention:**

- real estate, strategic and tactical nuclear forces, including nuclear warheads located in the territory of Ukraine, has been announced the property of Ukraine (Item 1);
- Ukraine, which became the owner of the nuclear weapons of the former USSR, performs administrative management of strategic nuclear forces (Item 3);
- Ukraine shall gradually eliminate nuclear weapons under the conditions of obtaining reliable guarantees of national security;
- the Guarantees shall provide that the nuclear weapon states shall commit themselves not to use nuclear weapons against Ukraine, not to use conventional armed forces and not to use the threat of force, to respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of borders of Ukraine, to refrain from any economic pressure (Item 5);
- compensation conditions also apply to tactical nuclear weapons, which have been removed from Ukraine to Russia in 1992 (Item 10);
- the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine recommended the President of Ukraine to approve the schedule of the elimination of strategic offensive arms and to ensure control of its implementation (Item 12).

The young Ukrainian democracy has proven that it is able to make a significant contribution to European and global security by reducing the world reserve of nuclear weapons. This step of Ukraine has also helped to maintain the current world order, which is based on the UN Charter, and the structure of the UN Security Council. The international community has perceived Ukrainian security contribution positively, which, in particular, demonstrates Ukraine's participation in the Great Seven + 6 on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons in South Asia and so on.

As mentioned above, on **January 14, 1994 in Moscow B. Yeltsin, B. Clinton and L. Kravchuk in the Trilateral Statement by the Presidents of Russia, USA and Ukraine have confirmed the process of deactivation of strategic forces in the territory of Ukraine.**

The Presidents have decided on simultaneous actions on withdrawal of nuclear warheads from Ukraine with the provision compensation to Ukraine in the form of fuel assemblies for nuclear power plants.

**Russia and the US promised that they:**

- once the START-1 Treaty enters into force, Ukraine shall confirm its obligations under the CSCE Final Act principles of respect for independence and sovereignty and the existing borders;
- **shall reaffirm their commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force** against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state and that none of their armed forces shall never be used, except in self-defense under the UN Charter;
- shall confirm to Ukraine their obligations under the principles of the CSCE Final Act to **refrain from economic coercion**;
- shall confirm their commitment to **seek immediate Security Council actions to provide assistance to Ukraine** as a state party to the NPT that is not a nuclear-weapon state, **if Ukraine becomes a victim of an act of aggression** or an object of a threat of aggression involving nuclear weapons.

President B. Clinton reaffirmed the US commitment to provide technical and financial assistance for secure and reliable dismantling of nuclear forces and preservation of nuclear material (within the Nunn-Lugar program at least 175 million US dollars has been appropriated for this).

Within six months, Russia had to provide for nuclear power plants of Ukraine about 100 tons of uranium, and Ukraine had to export to the territory of Russia 200 nuclear warheads of missiles. Russia and the US shall contribute to the development and approval by the IAEA of a treaty on setting the entire nuclear activity of Ukraine under IAEA guarantees.

As a result of partially implemented promises of nuclear countries, on February 3, 1994 the **Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine** adopted the Resolution on the implementation of parliamentary recommendations (warnings) about the nuclear weapons of the President and Government of Ukraine in which it **withdrew the warnings** and requested the Government of Ukraine to exchange ratification instruments on the intergovernmental treaties.

Written guarantees to Ukraine to prevent nuclear powers threats had been received during the Budapest summit of OSCE (5 December 1994) as a memorandum, **signed by the US, Russia, Britain, France and later by China. However, this document is not legally binding. The mechanism of implementation of these guarantees has still not been developed.**

This situation allows the Russian Federation to threaten Ukraine, infringe our territorial integrity, seize the Crimea because Ukraine has no reliable international protection, and its own armed forces were not ready to confront the invaders. Thus, the provisions on security assurances to Ukrainian state require further elaboration and approval at the highest level since, as practice has shown, these guarantees have appeared empty.

Set forth below is the text of the Memorandum and information about the reaction of the US to Ukraine's appeal to the US President for help in connection with the aggression of Russia in 2014.

**Memorandum on Security Assurances  
in connection with Ukraine's accession  
to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

Budapest, 5 December 1994

The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

Welcoming the accession of Ukraine to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear-weapon State,

Taking into account the commitment of Ukraine to eliminate all nuclear weapons from its territory within a specified period of time,

Noting the changes in the world-wide security situation, including the end of the Cold War, which have brought about conditions for deep reductions in nuclear forces.

Confirm the following:

1. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to respect the Independence and Sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine.
2. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defense or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.
3. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm their commitment to Ukraine, in accordance with the principles of the CSCE Final Act, to refrain from economic coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by Ukraine of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.
4. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm

their commitment to seek immediate United Nations Security Council action to provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used.

5. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirm, in the case of the Ukraine, their commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear weapon state.

6. The United States of America, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will consult in the event a situation arises which raises a question concerning these commitments.

This Memorandum will become applicable upon signature.

Signed in four copies having equal validity in the English, Russian and Ukrainian languages.

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In 2015 the American media published an article in response to the Ukrainians' call for help: *Don't Panic! The Budapest Memorandum Does Not Require US and UK to Defend Ukraine* by Julian Ku [30].

Lots of reports, including those from the new Ukrainian government at a meeting of the UN Security Council, suggest that Russian military forces have crossed into Ukraine. This has caused a mild panic on Wall Street and some typically overwrought press reporting from; just to give an example, Britain's Daily Mail.

A treaty signed in 1994 by the US and Britain could pull both countries into a war to protect Ukraine if Putin's troops intervene.

Bill Clinton, John Major, Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kuchma – the then-rulers of the USA, UK, Russia and Ukraine – agreed to the

Budapest Memorandum as part of the denuclearization of former Soviet republics after the dissolution of the Soviet Union

Technically it means that if Russia has invaded Ukraine then it would be difficult for the US and Britain to avoid going to war.

Uh...no it doesn't. At least not from my reading of it. It might be a good idea for the US to stand up for Ukraine's territorial integrity, and it is true that the Budapest Memorandum commits Russia to respect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity (I thought Russia's president wanted to respect international law?). The UN Charter does that anyway. The Memorandum does not in any way obligate any country to intervene in order to guarantee Ukraine's territorial integrity.

In other words, it is not a security guarantee, like the kind that the US has with Japan. It is also not a formal treaty which, at least under US law, would have more binding impact. So relax, American doves, it's 2014, not 1914. **International agreements will not lead us blindly to war (sorry, Ukraine!).**

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According to the article, the US is not obliged to defend Ukraine in case there is a threat on the part of other countries. Article writer is reassuring the Americans: *"Don't panic! We don't owe anything to Ukraine. Sorry, Ukraine!"*[30]

Therefore, Russia's aggressive actions entailed lack of obligations to defend Ukraine: encroachment upon Crimea Peninsula and Sevastopol city in 1991 and 1993, Tuzla spit in 2003, and annexation of Crimea in 2014, conduct of war in the Eastern Ukraine.

Thus, **Ukraine was left alone with the aggressor, and has no safety guarantees in case of a nuclear peril.**

We believe that imposition of economic and political sanctions against Russia by the European countries and the USA is a positive step to protect the sovereignty of Ukraine.

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**Foreign military formations have been present on the territory of Ukraine.** Collapse of the USSR raised an issue on the fate and fortune of the Black Sea Fleet. Russia attempted to keep it to itself in the Ukrainian territory. To that end Russia blackmailed Ukraine and demanded that Ukraine ratified the permissions for the

Russian Black Sea Fleet to remain in Crimea in exchange for recognition of Ukraine's sovereignty, which was reinforced by a bilateral Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership between Ukraine and Russian Federation (RF) (1997).

Stay of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in the Ukrainian territory was a menacing occurrence. Pursuant to the bilateral Treaty between RF and Ukraine date June 09, 1995, the parties have agreed that the fleet is to be split on a 50%-50% ratio (art.3).

On October 16, 1996 the Russian State Duma unilaterally terminated the fleet splitting. The parties approved three documents: **Agreement on the status and conditions of the Russian Black Sea Fleet stay in the Ukrainian territory dated May 28, 1997, Agreement on parameters of Black Sea Fleet division dated May 28, 1997.** This document stipulated that Russia retained several objects: 31 military centers, Hvardiyske airfield, "Yalta" military health resort, 830 communications facilities, and 1001 high-frequency communication facilities, 2436 propellant storage depots at Mamut station etc.

The third document was the **Agreement on mutual settlements associated with the division of the Black Sea Fleet and presence of the Russian BSF in the Ukrainian territory**, where Russia promised to compensate Ukraine for the cost of the obtained ships in the amount of 526 509 million USD to cover the Ukrainian debt. Military base for deployment of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol was leased to Russia for the term of 20 years, and the rent payable by Russia was the redemption of Ukraine's debt for energy sources that amounted about 4 billion USD. Ukrainian government headed by V. Yanukovich, the President, extended the lease of the RF BSF up to year 2042, by entering into the Kharkiv Agreements with Russia, which have been cancelled. Therefore, almost all the bilateral agreements with Russia on the fleet were aimed at gradual seizure of Crimea and partitioning of Ukraine. All of those contained provisions that defended interests of Russia, not those of Ukraine.

The undeclared war of Russia against Ukraine spurred the Ukrainian government to build up and strengthen the country's military

forces, and put new foreign policy tasks on the agenda. Protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity in deed rather than word became the priorities of the foreign policy of Ukraine which is struggling for its right of being an independent state - subject of international law.

### ***3.3. Appropriation of Ukrainian cultural, historic and material heritage by Russia***

Open issues of the former USSR properties, including the nuclear complex, division of currency and gold reserves, foreign real estate, restitution of the historical values, etc. require persistent work of governmental structures, in particular the foreign policy department. Alongside with all other former Soviet republics, Ukraine is a legal successor of USSR and disclaims any preferences and exclusions of this principle for any of the newly established countries in these territories. National Committee for Restitution of Historical Values established in 1992 is working on such issues.

After abolition of the Cossacks Army in 1775, attributes of the Ukrainian power were removed into the imperial Russia: regalia of the Zaporozhian Sich, library, things, in particular - an begemmed bandura of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, collections of Pylyp Orlyk, the Gospels of Ivan Polubotko, personal belongings of famous Ukrainian philosopher Petro Mohyla, precious materials found in the archaeological dig of multiple tumuli of the Scythian culture, among which are the Chortomlyk tumulus in Dnipropetrovsk region (material archaeological finds dated back to the 4th century BCE), Solokha tumulus in Zaporizhzhya region (11th century BCE), gold- and silverware treasures dated 10th-12th century (25 kg) found in Poltava region; field-marshal's baton of Count Rumiantsev-Zadunayskyi bestowed by him to the Uspenskyi Cathedral of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and many others.

Ancient Greek mosaics, including the Dmytro Salunskyi mosaic panel, and other frescos from the St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral ruined at Stalin's order in the 1930's, were also taken out of Ukraine. Only in 1950 116 gold and silver exhibits were removed from the Lviv Historical Museum (about 12 kg). In 1991 antique coins and

jewellery from a treasure found in Cherkassy region were removed into Russia, along with many other valuables.

Restitution of the historical valuables into their homeland was a specific issue considered by the post-Soviet states. Those were mentioned in the resolutions of the regular CIS summit in Minsk (February 14, 1992) and in the articles of a joint agreement (1996). Commonwealth countries relied on the provisions of resolutions of the UN General Assembly concerning restitution of cultural valuables to their countries of origin, and on the Convention dated November 14, 1970 on the prohibition and prevention of import, export, and transfer of title for cultural valuables.

**Agreement on restitution of cultural and historical valuables to their countries of origin** was signed by all Commonwealth countries on February 14, 1992 [31]. A special committee of experts was set up; it was intended that these experts would be given an opportunity to explore the stocks of public museums, libraries and archives of the Commonwealth countries. However, Ukrainian specialists were not offered such an opportunity, nor were allowed into the Russian depositories. On May 20, 1992 Russian State Duma unilaterally denounced the Minsk Agreement on restitution of historical valuables to the countries of origin.

**Foreign properties.** According to the Dagomys Agreement dated June 23, 1993 (Dagomys cape, Crimea) between Russia and Ukraine on further development of relations, and Yalta Agreement between Ukraine and RF dated August 03, 1992 on effectuation of rights to foreign properties of the former USSR, both countries paraphrased an agreement on transference of foreign property items to Ukraine from 36 countries on June 23, 1993; however, this number was gradually reduced by the Russia.

The situation with the so-called “zero option” of former USSR’s property distribution remains quite complicated. According to the **Agreement on legal succession of the national debt and assets of the former USSR dated December 04, 1991, Ukraine owns a part of 16.37%** (or 12.1 billion USD, 7.8 billion transferable rubles (used for settlements with the USSR instead of USD), 42.1 tons of gold, and foreign property for the amount of 600 billion rubles).

In the end of 1991, liabilities of the former Union were estimated at 93.7 billion USD, and assets – at 110.1 billion USD, deposits in the Bank of Foreign Economic Activity amounted about 700 million USD. According to the reports attached to the agreement, the USSR's foreign debt amounted 81 billion USD; assets: foreign property – 3.5 billion rubles (at the book value); debts of developing countries – 74 billion USD; debts of former socialist republics – 47.9 billion transferable rubles; gold – 259 tons. **Along with other items, in total all that amounted about 400 billion USD.**

At the same time, the amount of debts was also announced: nearly 100 billion USD. We should remind that Ukraine was ready to undertake payment of 16.37% of the Union's debts: 13.5 billion USD and 2.8 billion transferable rubles. However, Russia had not informed the Ukrainian Side of the available Soviet immovable properties abroad.

Due to constant pressure of the Western countries, Ukraine once gave up its firm position on the issue of foreign property of the former USSR. So, in autumn 1992 Ukraine signed an agreement on delegation of powers in debt management to Russia. On February 08, 1993 Russia published a decree of President B. Yeltsin “On public property of the former Soviet Union abroad”, and thus unilaterally misappropriated all rights to foreign immovable property.

Therefore, this infringement of international legal rules cancelled all previous agreements on distribution of property of the former USSR.

**Ukrainian Parliament did not ratify the agreement on the “zero option” dated December 09, 1994, since it elided the Ukrainian national interests.** Upon request of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, this Agreement could only enter into force under certain conditions: Russia had to repay the debt of the USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Activity to the Ukrainian residents. **As a reminder: in the early 1990's all contributions of the Ukrainian citizens in the USSR Savings Bank were transferred to the Russian Bank of Foreign Economic Activity (Moscow), and the leading Soviet enterprises were released of the Union control to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation.**

All the abovementioned requirements to USSR's property are contained in the Regulation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine dated February 19, 1997 "The procedure of ratification of agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on settlement of legal succession issues of public debts and assets of the former USSR". In accordance with this document, the Russian Side has to provide copious information on the book value of USSR's foreign property, confirmed by the findings of international audit, and balance statement of the State Bank of USSR, USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Activity, and information on the volume of gold reserve and Diamond Treasury of the former USSR.

There are certain issues associated with assigning to Ukraine the permanent establishment of the former Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Moscow, where the Ukrainian Embassy in Russia is currently located, and the building of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre in the Russian capital.

### ***3.4. Protection of Ukrainian citizens abroad***

A large community of Ukrainian labor migration has formed a unique type of new man-migrant worker, has demanded international legal regulation in the area of rights defense for domestic workers abroad.

It should be noted that migration relations of the state are unfavorable. Thus since 1994, the external migration has been characterized by a persistent negative balance that is on the average of 106 thousand people. Depopulation and migration outflow were among the reasons for decline in the population of Ukraine, which was reduced from 51.584 million in 1990 to 45.49 million in 2013. Due to the economic crisis, rising unemployment, trips abroad for earnings have become a mean of survival for many Ukrainian families. According to the estimates, the quantity of Ukrainians, residing abroad, reaches 3 million people a year.

Ukrainians are working in the UK, France, USA, Canada, Germany, Turkey, Portugal, Sweden, Poland and other countries. The flow of migrant workers from Ukraine is quite large. As for the number

of Ukrainians, going abroad in search of work, the Russian Federation is the first in the list: the Ukrainians, who have arrived there, amounted 30% from the total of foreign workers. Ukrainian workers usually remain for a permanent residence there. In 2003, the quantity of Ukrainian migrant workers in Russia amounted about 1 million people (during a peak season – over 3 million), and in Moscow – over 100 thousand people. The migrants often have problems related to the failure to observe the conditions of recruitment, registration, wages and lack of social protection.

Multilevel economic potential of Ukraine and Russia, simplified border-crossing regime, lack of visas, as well as the policy promoting and attracting the employment of cheap labor - all of this strengthens the migration process. Due to a number of factors, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians are working within the Russian territory outside of law: Russian employers are not interested in the official registration of workers. As a result, 90% of labor migrants are working under the informal economy. Ukrainian migrant workers turn to the embassies of Ukraine in search of defense of their rights.

The next issue related to regulation of citizens' rights defense to be solved means the compliance with the provisions of Ukrainian-Russian Consular Convention on the defense of the rights of individuals and legal entities of Ukraine and the Russian Federation, conclusion of a bilateral agreement on guarantees of the rights of citizens of Ukraine, working within the Far North regions and equivalent zones, concerning pension security for such a category of people, and the effectiveness of the bilateral intergovernmental agreement on readmission.

**Policy of defence of the compatriots of the Russian Federation abroad and the position of Ukraine.** The problem covering the so-called “Russian factor” or Russian world is especially dangerous. It is also the distribution of Russian literature in Ukraine, the presence of Russian educational and cultural institutions; Russian and pro-Russian media, gradually invading Ukrainian information space, etc. In 1929, Ukraine was populated by 3 million Russians, in 1959 – 7 million, in 1989 – 11.4 million or 22% of population. Over the past decade, 4 million people arrived to Ukraine from Russia.

Not only ethnic Russians, who found themselves outside the Russian state, but also citizens of different nationalities living within the territory of the USSR Russia considers as its compatriots. This situation can be characterized by the declaration of the State Duma of the Russian Federation “On the Russian people's right to self-determination, sovereignty throughout Russia and reunion in one state” where **the entire post-Soviet space is called the territory of Russia**”.

In 1994, Russian Parliament created the Committee on Russians abroad, approved by the concept of state policy regarding the compatriots. Since 1995, the federal budget has been refilled with funds for supporting the compatriots abroad. **It should be noted that the Institute of Russian Citizenship is correlated with the principle of continuity, i.e. the continuity of Russian statehood.** For the purposes of support the compatriots special laws are adopted and considerable funds are provided. The new law of Russia on the citizenship has facilitated a lot the procedure for getting the Russian citizen status: it is foreseen that Russian population will increase by 20-25 million people. With a view to future employment, Russia increased the quota for free education in Russian universities for students from the CIS. According to Russian statistics, about 10 thousand Ukrainians annually arrive to study in Russia (among them only 2 thousand pay for their study).

This policy is dictated by demographic problems in Russia and a significant reduction of the population.

**In parallel, the Russian leadership is hardly working for the spread and consolidation of Russian language in Ukraine as the state one.** This situation brings disharmony in inter-ethnic relations of risk regions, which are the eastern regions of Ukraine, where the language problem becomes a collateral damage during the parliamentary and president elections, etc.

**Foreign Ukrainians.** Following international obligations related to the insurance of the rights of national minorities in its country, Ukraine relies on an adequate policy regarding the compliance with the rights of 12 million ethnic Ukrainians abroad, including natives in their own land. Ukraine tries to protect foreign Ukrainians in every way.

In 1996, the Government of Ukraine adopted the **State Program** related to **Ukrainian Diaspora**, supporting ethnic Ukrainians abroad.

In 2004, the Ukrainian Parliament (the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine) adopted the **law "On Legal Status of Foreign Ukrainians"** [32]. The law defined the legal status of foreign Ukrainians, allowed their entry and stay in Ukraine. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine issues special certificates to the foreign Ukrainians.

According to the latest census, the population of the Ukrainian state has decreased by nearly six million people. Given that according to the official data the world population covers 18-20 million ethnic Ukrainians (official statistics shows 12 million people), including in Russia, Canada, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Brazil, Poland, Argentina, Australia, etc., it is hoped that this law would facilitate the resolution of issues regarding further choice of their place of residence.

### ***3.5. Formation of the positive international image of Ukraine***

International information protection of the state covers the following: study of the informational situation within the state interests of Ukraine; search for mechanism of influence on this situation in order to support a positive image; implementation of the foreign policy initiatives of Ukraine; prejudice of hostile informational actions against Ukraine, etc.

Ukrainian diplomacy to spread and popularize the achievements of the country, its history, culture and state of development of education and science widely uses the rostrum of international organizations. Thus, with support of UNESCO there was published and distributed an "Anthology of Ukrainian poetry" (1993) in Spanish, catalog of "100 films of Ukrainian cinema" (1995) in Ukrainian and English, there was celebrated 100-anniversary since the birth of O. Dovzhenko, as well as 400-years anniversary since the birth of B. Khmelnytskyi, 400-anniversary since the birth of Petro Mohyla, 100-anniversary since the birth of the Ukrainian pioneer of space technology Yuriy Kondratyuk (O. Sharhey), and others.

**Information dependence and blocking within the framework of USSR caused considerable losses to Ukraine.** The information space of Ukraine remains under constant attention of foreign countries, primarily of the Russian Federation.

To allow Ukraine enter the world informational space, besides improving the economic situation a proper legal base had to be created. Tasks and directions of informational policy are laid down in **State programs providing positive international image of Ukraine**, the main author of which is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. The main goal of the programs consist of implementation of systemic measures aimed at improving Ukraine's image in the world, coordination of actions of the executive authorities and public organizations in the field of providing positive image, creation of state informational resources that would meet international standards.

Much attention is paid to explaining the foreign policy priorities of Ukraine, informing the foreign public, government and businesses structures on the positive changes in the country, foreign information agencies are involved into the cooperation. Ukrainian foreign diplomatic representative offices obtain information and advertisement materials about Ukraine in foreign languages, including "Kyiv Weekly" newspaper and "Welcome to Ukraine" magazine in English. However, there is still high percentage of biased information about Ukraine.

In order to improve the effectiveness of information security Ukraine should be informatively represented abroad, extend broadcasting in foreign countries, implement programs of television broadcasting in foreign languages, create a cellular network, strengthen the staff of diplomatic representative offices, improve logistical base of information services, join the international system of information exchange.

**Conclusions.** The international legal status of Ukraine put on the agenda a number of problems of national importance. The most important among them are the issues of strengthening the sovereignty and territorial integrity, and provision of national interests. Ukraine has already solved a number of problems related to security. However, it is facing new challenges that require unity of the whole Ukrainian society, creation of strong armed forces, clear foreign policy strategy of European integration and its implementation, as well as overcoming of the economic crisis.

# PART IV

## BILATERAL RELATIONS

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### *4.1. Relations with the neighboring EU States [1]*

When independence of Ukraine had been proclaimed, Ukraine started active development of collaborating relations with the countries of the Central and the Eastern Europe as well as with the leading countries of the world. The countries of the Central and Eastern Europe play a special role in development of foreign policies of Ukraine for several reasons.

These countries are connected due to common ethnic factor, historic memories, and economic interests. Most of the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe support Ukraine's aspiration to be integrated within the European community.

**The Republic of Poland.** The relations between Ukraine and Poland have great strategic importance if one assesses their strength and range. We are talking about a wide range of partnership and support given to Ukraine in the most complicated political situations. **On December 2, 1991** the President of Poland Lech Walesa was the first to congratulate Ukraine with its independence and acknowledged Ukraine as a sovereign state. On January 4, 1992 Ukraine and Poland established diplomatic relations. Besides the Embassy of Ukraine in Warsaw there are also General Consulates of Ukraine in the cities of Krakow, Gdansk, and Lublin.

The contractual platform of Ukrainian-Polish relations consists of 127 international contracts. On May 18, 1992 Ukraine and Poland signed a **Treaty about neighborliness, friendly relations and cooperation**. That Treaty was signed during the first visit of the President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk to Poland (May 18-19, 1992). As a result of the visit of the President of Poland Lech Walesa to Ukraine (May 24-25, 1993) **the Consultancy Committee of the Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland** was founded. The committee of

presidents constitutes a unique form of cooperation between the leaders of the friendly countries. The committee deals with the hot issues of the bilateral relations.

A number of documents aimed at improvement of bilateral cooperation were also signed during **the visit of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko to Poland on December 17, 2014**. The Ukrainian-Polish cooperation includes economic and investment activities, security and defense, energy security, interregional and border-straddling cooperation, cooperation in the areas of agriculture, education, strengthening of communication between people, etc.

**Poland supports Ukraine in its decision to join the following international organizations:** the Central European Initiative and the *Višegrad* Group (B4). For instance, the countries of the region work together as to the matters of environmental protection of the Carpathian Mountains acting in compliance with the Carpathian Convention “Environment for Europe” (signed on May 22, 2003).

At the beginning of the 1920s **Jozef Pilsudski**, the head of the Polish state, voiced his thought that **“independent Poland can not exist without independent Ukraine”** [1, p.182], and the phrase became pretty much a motto for political partnership and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Even at the highest political levels Poland does not merely act in its own interests, but in Polish-Ukrainian interests. The people of Poland have a clear understanding as to how important Ukraine is in terms of the issues of Polish national security. Poland has pretty much assumed responsibility for assisting Ukraine to become a member of the EU and NATO.

At the same time there negative historic stereotypes in the relations between the two countries. The presidents of Ukraine and Poland, however, found the answers to a number of complicated questions of our common past. Those answers were confirmed in the statements **“About understanding and unity” (May 20, 1997)** and **“About peace – during the 60-year anniversary of the tragic events in Volyn” (July 11, 2003)** [1, p.183]. These documents include provisions about forgiving each other for historic tragedies in the fates of both Ukrainian and Polish people: Operation Vistula 1947 and the

events which had taken place in Volyn in 1943. However, from time to time some political forces in Poland still come back to the above-mentioned events. For instance, on June 20, 2013 the Polish Senate described the events of the Volyn tragedy of 1943 as “ethnic cleansing with genocide features”.

The threat coming from Russia in 2014 and the war against Ukraine attracted the attention of Polish people and made them realize that it is necessary to support Ukraine.

**The Polish-Ukrainian Trade and Economic Cooperation Committee** coordinates bilateral economic cooperation. The volume of trade is stable: Poland has the third place as to export and the second place as to import among the EU countries. In January-September 2014 export of Ukrainian goods to \$2079.7 million which constituted 5.0% of Ukrainian export as a whole. The volume of service trade had a 15.7% increase comparing to the results of 2012.

There were 500 joint ventures in Ukraine. In January 1993 the contract was signed regarding stimulation and protection of investments. Consequently, Polish investments into the economy of Ukraine increased. Almost half of the Polish investments are realized in the Lviv region (Yavoriv Special Economic Zone). Polish financial group Credit Bank has entered the market of Ukraine. Poland is also interested in the economy of Kharkiv region. Joint projects are in progress at such large manufacturing enterprises as “Electrotyazhmash”, JST “Turboatom”, etc. Cooperation is being developed with 50 plus Polish enterprises in Zaporizhzhya.

At the same time the Ukrainian auto manufacturer “AvtoZaZ” is investing into construction of a manufacturing facility in Warsaw.

Both Sides pay their special attention to the oil consortium, and to the issue of the Odessa-Brody oil pipeline to the cities of Plotsk and Gdansk. The parties established a joint military regiment (1997) to participate in international peacekeeping and humanitarian mission. According to the law of Ukrainian “About participation of Ukraine in international peacekeeping missions” in July 2000 the Ukrainian-Polish regiment was sent to Kosovo (former Yugoslavia) to ensure that the parties performed their responsibilities in accordance with the peace treaties

One of the best examples of cooperation between military personnel is participation of Ukrainian peacekeepers and construction worker (over 1600 men) in restoration mission in Iraq, where the Ukrainian participants acted as a part of British-Polish stabilization forces. The aspects of military participation were described in the provisions of **the Memorandum of understanding** according to which the fifth motorized brigade of the Armed Forces of Ukraine going to Iraq was under the command of the international South – Center division (July 30, 2003). On May 18, 2010 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine passed the law “About approval given by the President of Ukraine for armed forces of other states to enter the territory of Ukraine in 2010 to participate in the international military training exercises”. By doing so, Ukraine gave its military personnel an opportunity to acquire technical skills in the NATO format; and Poland was an active participant of those exercises as well.

On September 22, 2014 **the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the governments of Lithuania and Poland signed a Treaty regarding formation of the joint Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian brigade**; in November 2014 the 10<sup>th</sup> round of training of the managing staff of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and of the Headquarters of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in the structural divisions of the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Poland, etc.

Interregional cooperation is in progress as well. The goal of participation of the countries in European regions is development of bilateral border-straddling (trans-border) cooperation. The Bug Region was one of the first ones formed (September 29, 1995). Its participants were four Polish provinces (Lublin, Helm, Zamoszcz, and Tarnobrzeg) and Volyn region of Ukraine. The European Union actively supports interregional cooperation as well viewing it as means of ensuring stability around the EU and preventing possible foreign threats.

Ukraine and Poland signed a **treaty regarding academic accreditation of education certificates and diplomas and academic degrees** as well as cooperation in the area of informatization; the countries agreed to renew cooperation of the presidential consultancy committees, etc. Scientific and technological cooperation between the countries is actively developing as well. In accordance with **the Joint**

**Ukrainian-Polish Program of Scientific and Technological Cooperation** ratified in 1997, which currently include over 150 joint projects, the following areas were defined as the priority areas: manufacturing technologies, environmental protection, agricultural technologies, physics and mathematics, information technologies and communications, electronics, medicine and health care, etc. Poland is very much interested in development of cooperation with Ukrainian partners using the potential of the National Information Center founded in Ukraine on August 1, 2003 to ensure cooperation with the EU in the areas of science and technologies. In order to stimulate scientific and technological cooperation between Ukraine and Poland the following steps were taken: the complex programs were launched as part of the Year of Poland in Ukraine (2004) and the Year of Ukraine in Poland (2005), international scientific research INTAS programs were launched as well as Inco-Copernicus, EUREKA, CERN, “Science for peace”, etc. Poland actively supports European integration intentions of Ukraine. In response to Polish initiatives as to Ukraine a number of special programs related to cooperation with Ukraine were developed together with the EU in accordance with the Wider Europe concept (2002) and later the Eastern Partnership (2008) [1].

**Poland has always actively supported the path towards European integration undertaken by Ukraine.** In 2013-2015 Poland arranged a number of scientific and business events such as the Eastern Economic Forum “Lub-Invest” (Lublin, Poland) attended by the representative from Volyn, Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zhitomir, Rivne and Donetsk regions of Ukraine.

In July 2013 the countries made a plan for their cooperation for the period of 2013-2015. Ukraine views development of relations with the Republic of Poland as strategic partnership which will contribute to European security. The reality demands close cooperation from both countries, and this cooperation will guarantee their security in both regional and subregional environment. Poland will continue protecting Ukrainian interests in the EU and NATO. Poland made it clear that its position is that Ukraine should be a member of the EU and NATO under the condition that certain requirements are met.

**Poland also took an active position as to protection of Ukrainian sovereignty from Russian aggression.** And the reason for such a position is not only the unhealed historic wounds suffered from by the Polish society due to three divisions of Poland by the imperial Russia, extension of the country of the geographic map of Europe, liquidation of patriotic forces under the leadership of legendary Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the Smolensk tragedy involving death of famous Polish leaders the reasons of which have not been uncovered yet, etc.

Polish politics of protection as to Ukraine can also be explained by its foreign political interests as it is Poland that took an opportunity and assumed responsibility for realization of the Eastern vector of the EU foreign politics together with the Kingdom of Sweden.

A special place among the important partner of Ukraine is occupied by **Hungary** [1]. Hungary was one of the first among other countries to recognize sovereignty of Ukraine on December 3, 1991. On December 23, 1991 the countries established diplomatic relations, and shortly after that the corresponding embassies were opened. Diplomatic entities: The Embassy of Ukraine in Hungary (city of Budapest), the General Consulate of Ukraine in the city of Niredgaza; the Embassy of Hungary in Ukraine (city of Kyiv); the General Consulate of Hungary in Uzhgorod, and the Consulate of Hungary in Berehove.

On December 6, 1991 Ukraine and Hungary signed a **Treaty about neighborliness, friendly relations and cooperation** which **came in force on June 16, 1993**. That important document became the first inter-state treaty which sovereign Ukraine signed with a foreign state. Currently the number of bilateral documents signed by Ukraine and Hungary is well over 70.

The key issues of bilateral relations are trade and economic partnership, protection of rights of ethnic minorities, etc. Corresponding inter-governmental committees have been formed as well.

The countries are gradually solving the existing problems. One of the more difficult problems was Hungary's proposition to establish a monument in Ukraine to commemorate the Hungarians who in 897 had reached the **Veretski pass in the Carpathian Mountains**. The people

of **Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine** did not approve that initiative due to the fact that the soldiers of the Carpathian Sich of **Transcarpathian (Zakarpatska) Ukraine** had been fighting against Hungarian fascists in those territories. The issue was resolved through diplomatic means. With the approval of the Embassy of Hungary in Ukraine the corresponding monument was installed near the Tomb of Askold by the Dniپر River.

Ukraine, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia established a multinational engineer battalion Tysa. Trade and economic cooperation between the two countries has been actively developing as well: according to trade turnover Hungary takes the second place among the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe; the first place belongs to Poland.

**Trade dynamics has been constantly increasing:** if in 1992 the marker was at \$259 million, in 2013 the total trade turnover between Ukraine and Hungary constituted 2 milliards 683 million USD. Ukraine exports semi-finished steel products, cables, electrical equipment, timber, mineral raw material, energy products, etc. Ukraine imports medications, oil and oil products, electrical equipment, transportation equipment, etc. In 2013 Hungary invested \$678.6 million in Ukraine, and Ukraine invested \$4.1 million in Hungary. Ukrainian regions of Vinnitsa, Donetsk, Transcarpathian, Ivano-Frankivsk, Luhansk and Cherkassy cooperate with corresponding Hungarian regions.

**Ukrainian population in Hungary is quite numerous:** 5633 Ukrainians as well as 3323 Russins. They are united in the following civil organizations: the Hungarian Organization of Ukrainian Culture, the Hungarian Organization of Ukrainian Intelligentsia, as well as the State Self-Government of Ukrainians in Hungary. Approximately **156.6 thousand Hungarians reside in Ukraine**; most of them reside in Zakarpattya. Ukraine has the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Ukraine, the Organization of Hungarian Culture in Zakarpattya as well as 13 entities of the Hungarian minority. In 2007 Ukraine and Hungary developed new improved ways of border-crossing. Hungary supports Hungarians in Ukraine: for instance, they are given special preference such as passport inserts, extended stays in accordance with the Schengen visa, etc.

The relations of Ukraine with **the Republic of Slovakia** have been developing as part of Czech-Slovakian cooperation. Starting from January 1, 1993 they have been developing with the Republic of Slovakia which was formed as a result of separation from Czechoslovakia. Ukraine acknowledged the Republic of Slovakia. The two countries established their diplomatic relations on January 30, 1993. The capitals of the countries (Kyiv and Bratislava) have the corresponding embassies; also the consulates are located in Uzhgorod and Pryashov. The countries have signed 89 bilateral documents, and Slovakia is interested in development of Slovakian-Ukrainian relations.

On June 29, 1993 Ukraine and Slovakia signed a **Treaty about neighborliness, friendly relations and cooperation**. In October 1998 the countries signed a Treaty regarding common borders.

Slovakia belongs to the group of the countries with the biggest volume of Ukrainian export. In 2013 the total trade turnover constituted \$1416.216 million. Ukrainian positive balance reached \$89.306 million. With the support of Slovakia Ukraine actively participates in the summits of the leaders of the states of the Central Europe as well as the joint NATO programs. In 1997 both countries introduced its candidates for the position of the head of the 52<sup>nd</sup> session of the General UN Assembly as well as to be elected as a member of the UN Defense Council for the period of 2000-2001. However, the countries agreed that Slovakia would suggest its candidate for the next term.

The total number of **Ukrainians residing in Slovakia** is about 7.5 thousand people or 0.1% of the population. Active civil organizations include the Ukrainian-Rusyns Union (4 thousand members), Slovakian-Ukrainian Organization (in Bratislava); The Slovakian Union of Ukrainian Writers; T. Shevchenko's Scientific Union; Association of Ukrainians in Slovakia, youth organization called Plast, etc.

**The Republic of Bulgaria** plays an important role in foreign interests of Ukraine. On December 5, 1991 the government of Bulgaria officially acknowledged Ukraine as an independent state, and on December 13 the countries established their diplomatic relations. Ukraine and Bulgaria signed a **Treaty about neighborliness, friendly**

**relations and cooperation** on October 9, 1992. The contractual platform of cooperation constitutes 89 bilateral documents.

Both being the Black Sea states, Ukraine and Bulgaria develop cooperation through realization of the Danube strategy of the EU as well as through projects of the Central European Initiative. Bulgaria is of opinion that establishment of the free trade zone between Ukraine and the EU will stimulate the dynamics of trade and economic relations between the countries.

Bulgaria is the main foreign economic partner of Ukraine in the Balkans. Taking in account both products and services, the total trade turnover constituted \$897.4 million. The balance of foreign trade with Bulgaria was positive. The main export groups are ferrous metals (68.4%), energy materials (12.7%), and railway locomotives (3.2%). Import constituted \$300.9 million. The main import groups are pharmaceutical products (245.9%), nuclear reactors (13.6%), and energy materials (11.9%) [33].

In Ukraine there are close to 200 enterprises involving Bulgarian capital and 67 affiliates of Bulgarian companies. 63 Ukrainian companies have affiliates in Bulgaria, including such companies as “Aerosvit”, “Ukrainian Danube Steamship Line”, etc. In addition to that Bulgaria has 81 enterprises involving Ukrainian capital. There is interregional cooperation between the regions of Ukraine and Bulgaria; eight corresponding treaties have been signed; and they involve scientific and technical, trade and economic and cultural areas.

**Bulgaria has been supporting Ukraine in its fight for sovereignty.** The President of Bulgaria Rosen Plevneliev has called Russia an aggressive and nationalist state. According to Plevneliev, Putin should change his vision of international politics, and military cooperation between Bulgaria and Russia costs Bulgaria too much and contains risk of corruption. Bulgaria supported Ukraine in becoming a member of the WTO (June 2004, Geneva).

**Romania** acknowledged independence of Ukraine on January 8, 1992. Diplomatic entities: the Embassy of Ukraine in Romania, the General Consulate of Ukraine in the city of Suchava, the Embassy of Romania in Ukraine, the General Consulate of Romania

in the city of Odessa, and the General Consulate of Romania in the city of Chernivtsi. In September 1992 the first official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine to Romania took place. During that visit the countries signed **the consulate convention and a Treaty about cooperation in the areas of culture, science and education.**

The countries have signed over 50 bilateral contracts and treaties. One of the latest ones is the Treaty between the governments about strengthening of means of trust and security (ratified on September 4, 2014). Another latest example is the Treaty about border movement and transportation (October 2, 2014). Ukraine and Romania have an active Joint Ukrainian-Romanian Presidential Committee; the Joint committee regarding economic, manufacturing, scientific and technical cooperation; and the Committee on protection of the rights of ethnic minorities.

In 2013 **the trade economic turnover** constituted \$1455.2 million. Export: ferrous metals (19.8%), ores (18.9%), timber (14.4%), footwear (8.5%), and electrical equipment (7.9%). Import: energy materials (37.7 %), transportation (10.2%), and timber (8.7%).

The countries cooperate in the fields of science and technologies (the Treaty about cooperation in the fields of science and technologies dated 29.03.1996; the Treaty about scientific cooperation between the National Scientific Academy of Ukraine and the Romanian Academy dated 03.12.1996; as well as the Treaty between the governments about economic, manufacturing, scientific and technical cooperation dated 30.10.2007).

The new program of cooperation in the fields of science and technologies was signed on 19.06.2013 and covered such areas as healthcare, agriculture and food administration, new materials, nanotechnologies, biological technologies, information technologies and laser physics.

Romania has taken an active position as to bringing ethnic Romanians back to their motherland (mainly from the Ukrainian territory of Bukovyna). The process is outside of the legal field because the Constitution of Ukraine approved only single citizenship, and no dual citizenship is provided for.

There are 51700 of ethnic Ukrainians residing in Romania; mainly in the provinces of Maramuresh, Timish, Suchava, and Karash-Severin. Since 2009 Romania has had a National Forum of Ukrainians in Romania. The Embassy of Ukraine in Romania includes the Cultural Information center which was officially opened in 2007. Together the countries are fighting against contraband and illegal immigration. Military personnel of the countries cooperate within the framework of the multinational engineer battalion TYSA.

Romania follows the course of consequential politics as to supporting Ukraine in its fight for sovereignty and territorial integrity. Romania criticizes annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation and Russian aggression in the eastern parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine as well as the fact that Moscow supports such terrorist organizations as DNR and LNR (joint statement of February 17, 2015).

**Cooperation of Ukraine with the Baltic countries** stimulates realization of political and economic goals of Ukraine in the Northern Europe. Ukraine acknowledged independent Latvia on August 26, 1991, and Latvia acknowledged independent Ukraine on December 4, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on December 12, 1992. There is the Embassy of Ukraine in Riga, and there is the Embassy of Latvia in Kyiv.

The countries have signed about 100 various contracts and treaties, among which there is a **Treaty about amity and cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Latvia (November 22, 1995)**. Besides the embassies there is a Ukrainian-Latvia Committee on the issues regarding economic, manufacturing and scientific and technological cooperation. Ukraine congratulated Latvia when it became a member of the European Union. The parliaments of both countries have been working together. On March 13, 2008 the Latvian Sayem (Parliament) passed the Declaration about **the conscious genocide of the Ukrainian people during the Holodomor**. Latvia (city of Yurmala) provided treatment for the Ukrainians injured during the ATO in the Eastern part of Ukraine.

Positive dynamics is observed in trading relations. The countries have agreed to expand their cooperation in financial sector, to improve investments within the framework of business forum (2013). Special attention is paid to European integration of Ukraine.

**Ukrainians in Latvia** numbers about 53 thousand people. The state supports their identity and culture. Ukrainian literature is studied in the Latvian university. The Riga Ukrainian secondary school (1991) is financed from the state budget of the Republic of Latvia. Teaching is performed in two languages – in correlation of 60% in Latvian and 40% in Ukrainian. The Ukrainian information center operates from 2004 in the city of Riga.

The Congress of Ukrainians in Latvia in association of volunteers from Sweden and Latvia has collected relief consignments for Ukraine for the amount of about Euro 55 thousand. On December 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the cargo from Stockholm – medications, properties etc. has arrived to the marine port of Riga and further - to Dnipropetrovsk.

**The Republic of Estonia** has recognized Ukraine on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 1991, and in January 1992 diplomatic relations were established. **Treaty of amity and cooperation between Ukraine and the Estonian Republic** was entered into on May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1992 (city of Tallinn). Joint striving in political, economic, social and other spheres bring Ukraine and Estonia together. Official Tallinn highly evaluates the role of Ukraine in providing stability and safety in Europe, in realization of EU initiative Eastern Partnership.

Estonia provides financial support for carrying out projects of technical assistance, actively stands for European integration of Ukraine. The Intergovernmental commission on economic, industrial and scientific and technical cooperation has started working from October 2010.

In the context of the dialogue between Ukraine and EU on the matters of visa and migration scheme Estonia holds on tight to the provisions of the **Treaty between Ukraine and EU about simplification of visa processing**. Active cooperation in the sphere of education and culture covers higher educational establishments. Students of the Diplomatic academy of Ukraine as desired study at the

Diplomatic academy of the MFA of Estonia with the financial assistance from the side of EU, in particular Sweden.

The general public of Estonia, the government agencies, actively supports Ukraine in protection of sovereignty and integrity in its struggle against Russian occupants. From the beginning of 2014 the Ministry of foreign affairs of Estonia has provided about Euro 1 million to support Ukraine, in October 2014 the government of Estonia has given to Ukraine food products (Euro 80 thousand). Estonia supports Ukraine in the world organizations. Such policy contributes to general European integration, Ukraine coming together with the Baltic countries.

The independent **Republic of Lithuania** was recognized by Ukraine on August 26<sup>th</sup>, 1991, on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1991 the Parliament of the Lithuanian Republic recognized Ukraine. Diplomatic relations are established on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania in Ukraine was opened in August 1992. The Embassy of Ukraine in the Lithuanian Republic – in August 1993.

The countries have entered into the interstate **Treaty about amity and cooperation** in the course of the visit to Kyiv of the President of Lithuania A. Brazauskas on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1995. On May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2008 the Presidents of Ukraine and Lithuania have signed the Joint declaration about strategic partnership. On February 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013 the Roadmap on development of strategic relations development was signed. On November 24<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the President of Lithuania – D. Gribauskaite took part in the meeting of the Council of Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Lithuania. On December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 in the European information center of the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania presentation of the Program of activity of the Government of Ukraine took place.

**Lithuania traditionally is the largest trading partner of Ukraine among the Baltic countries:** the volume of trading goods and services has made USD 1,358 billion. This is the peak index of goods turnover for the total history of cooperation. The key items of Ukrainian export to Lithuania: products of agricultural and industrial complex and foods industry (33, 3%); machines and equipment (19, 3%); wood and products of it (9, 1%), ferrous metals (8, 8%); chemical

industry products (10, 3%). Poland (18, 7%), Russia (14, 0%) and Germany (9, 2%) are the basic competitors of Ukraine at the Lithuanian market of metal products.

In the structure of services export the leading place belongs to transport services (71, 5%), business services (8, 4%), and services on repair and technical maintenance (6, 6%) and in the sphere of telecommunications (4, 6%).

The key import items: energy materials – oil and petroleum products (79, 7%); machines and equipment (5, 6%); chemical industry products (5, 8%); products of agricultural and industrial complex and foods industry (2, 9%). **Gasoline and diesel fuel from Lithuania have standards of EURO-5 and EURO-6 and are the goods of strategic purpose for the Ukrainian market,** as petroleum products of such quality are not produced in Ukraine. Cooperation in the defense sphere is being developing: on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 the governments of Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland have signed the Treaty about creation of joint Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian work team.

The Baltic countries actively support the democratic transformations in Ukraine: the Baltic countries defended and keep defending preservation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine, disapprove the Russian interference into the internal affairs of the Ukrainian state.

**The Czech Republic** has officially recognized the state independence of Ukraine on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1993. The Embassy of Ukraine in the Czech Republic, the Embassy of the Czech Republic in Ukraine, the Consular department in the city of Brno, the General consular departments of the Czech Republic in the city of Donetsk (dissolved) and the city of Lviv are operating. The number of effective documents makes 56.

**The goods turnover between Ukraine and the Czech Republic** made USD 1655, 7 million.

Let us note that the majority of citizens of the Czech Republic share the sovereign strivings of Ukraine and the position of the

President M. Zeman draw the indignation of many Czech politicians and public men. In the Czech Republic mass protest movements took place against the politics of Prague as to the Ukrainian issue with the demand to the President of the country to resign. **To support the Ukrainian population the Czech citizens on December 10th, 2014 have sent to Ukraine 6 cargo trucks with warm clothes, footwear, hygienic aids and construction materials [34].**

**There are 54 thousand of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic** (0, 5% of the populations of the country), as well as over 110 thousand of Ukrainian citizens. There are several organizations of Ukrainians: the Ukrainian initiative in the Czech Republic, the Association of Ukrainians and supporters of Ukraine, the Union of Ukrainian women of the Czech Republic “Ruta”, “Dzherelo” and “Svoboda”.

Relations with the countries of ex-Yugoslavia are strengthening. Diplomatic relations were established between Ukraine and the Republic of **Serbia (RS)** on April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1994. Embassies are opened. 69 documents are entered into. Volumes of trading goods and services made USD 186, 9 million, but the balance negative for Ukraine reached USD 6, 1 million.

The total number of **Diaspora**: 14 thousand of Rusyns, 5 thousand of Ukrainians, who are united into the National council of Ukrainians and the National council of Rusyns. The Union of Rusyns-Ukrainians of Serbia, the Society of Ukrainian language, literature and cultures named after T. Shevchenko «Prosvita» etc. are operating.

On December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1991 the Skupshtina **of the Republic of Slovenia** has recognized the state independence of Ukraine. The Diplomatic relations are established on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1992. By January 2014 the Ukrainian-Slovenian contractual legal base consists of 23 documents.

The total volume of mutual trading of goods and services increased and made USD 230, 4 million. The positive balance for Ukraine made USD 15, 9 million. Attraction of investments into the economics of Ukraine reached USD 33, 6 million.

The Ukrainians in Slovenia work as scientists, doctors, sportsmen. In Slovenia there are functioning the society of Ukrainians

“Karpaty”, the union of Ukrainian nationals “Yednist” and the Ukrainian-Slovenian cultural society “Berehynia”.

**The Republic of Croatia and Ukraine have established** diplomatic relations on February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Croatia (RC) and the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Ukraine are operating. **The contractual legal base consists of 27 documents.** The volumes of trading goods and services made USD 67, 1 million. The balance for Ukraine is positive and makes USD 1, 9 million. There are 3, 7 thousand of Ukrainians in the country.

On June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2006 the Parliament of **the Republic of Montenegro (RM)** has approved the Declaration of independence of the Republic of Montenegro. The diplomatic relations between Ukraine of RM were established on August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2006. The diplomatic and consular representative offices of Ukraine are: the Embassy of Ukraine in Montenegro, the Honorary consulate of Ukraine in the city of Budva (opened on 14.03.2013). The diplomatic and consular representative offices of Montenegro are: the Honorary consulate of Montenegro in Ukraine in Kyiv was opened on 05.12.2013. The number of effective bilateral documents accounts to 40.

The priority spheres of cooperation are tourism, construction, development of infrastructure, transport, medical and pharmaceutical industry, agriculture, food industry. With the purpose of activating cooperation there were a number of bilateral documents signed.

**The Diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Macedonia (RM)** were established on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1995. The diplomatic establishments: the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Macedonia, the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Ukraine. The number of effective documents for bilateral cooperation makes 39. In Ukraine there are 14 companies registered with Macedonian investments, four of them are joint ventures.

Recognition by **the Republic of Cyprus** of Ukraine took place on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1991. Establishment of diplomatic relations – on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The diplomatic establishments are: the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Cyprus, the Embassy of the Republic of

Cyprus in Ukraine. The contractual legal base accounts for 20 effective documents.

The total volume of trading goods and services made USD 992,332 million. The volume of export of Ukrainian services to Cyprus made USD 312,519 million (90, 7% as compared to the same period of 2012). The volumes of import of services from Cyprus made USD 550,717 million (85, 3% as compared to the same period of 2012). The total number of officially registered Ukrainians makes 3, 5 thousand persons. In the Republic of Cyprus there are no officially registered societies or unions of Ukrainians.

**The Hellenic Republic** has recognized Ukraine on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1991. On January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1992 the Protocol about establishment of diplomatic relations was signed. In May 1992 Ukraine opened the Honorary consulate in Greece, and in June 1993 – the Embassy. In 2004 the General consulate of Ukraine in the city of Thessalonica was opened. There are three honorary consulates of Ukraine operating in the cities of Piraeus, Patras and at the island Crete. The contractual legal base consists of 44 documents.

From the beginning of 2013 there was increase of volumes of mutual trade observed: USD 352, 5 million. The balance of trading goods is positive for Ukraine (USD +18, 9 million.). Investments from Greece made USD 335, 3 million. The Greek banking establishments: Piraeus Bank, EFG Eurobank Ergasias and Alfa Bank are operating at the financial market of Ukraine. In Greece there reside over 30 thousand of Ukrainian citizens. 5 unions of Ukrainians are registered and functioning, Ukrainian Sunday schools are operating. A powerful center of Ukrainian heritage in Greece is the community of Saint Nicolas of the Most Holy Trinity Cathedral (Creek-Catholic Church) in the city of Athens.

#### ***4.2. Leading world powers in the Ukrainian policy***

**The European Union is one of the key trade partners of Ukraine** [1]. The turnover of goods and services made 31, 6%, or USD 37 040, 4 million. Export of goods and services to EU countries makes USD 14 629, 3 million or 26, 3%. The volume of import from EU

countries was USD 22 411, 1 million or 36, 4% from the total volume of import to Ukraine. In bilateral trade negative balance remains which makes USD 7 781, 8 million.

**Ukrainian export** goes to Poland (15, 1%), Italy (14, 1%), Germany (10, 0%), Hungary (9, 8%) and Netherlands (6, 0%). Import: from FRG (26, 1%), Poland (15, 0%), Italy (7, 6%), France (6, 7%) and Hungary (5, 1%). Ukraine supplies: ferrous metals (24, 8%), ores, slack and cinder (10, 6%), electric machines and equipment (9, 2%), grain crops (9, 1%), seeds and fruits of oil plants (6, 5%). **Import from EU countries:** boilers, machines, apparatus and mechanical devices (12, 6%), land transport vehicles, except for railway (10, 9%), energy materials; oil and its distilled products (10, 3%), pharmaceutical products (8, 3%), electric machines and equipment (7, 1%), polymeric materials, plastics (6, 9%).

Foreign **investors** invested USD 3722, 0 million. The key investor countries are: Cyprus, Germany, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Austria, Great Britain, Virgin Isles (British), France, Switzerland and Italy.

**Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)** is the leading partner of Ukraine among the EU countries. Modern Ukrainian and German relations are being built prudently and bottom-line. The interest of Germany in links with Ukraine was purely economic, though from 2014 a geopolitical aspect is being observed. For Ukraine it is the experience of economic and state transformations, practice of demutualization of business development, social orientation of economics, introduction of scientific and technical solutions, achievements in rehabilitation etc.

FRG is the first country in the world, which had its consulate in Kyiv from 1989, and one of the first recognized Ukraine as a sovereign country December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations are established from January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1992. **The Declaration about basic relations between Ukraine and FRG** was entered into during the visit to Kyiv of the Federal Chancellor of Germany Helmut Kohl on June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1993. **The Treaty about development of cooperation in the sphere of**

**economics, industry, science and engineering** is the basic document of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of economics.

Modern Ukrainian-German relations are being developed at a powerful legal foundation. The contractual legal basis for relations between Ukraine and FRG consists of 83 documents.

In 1995 the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma visited Germany, and in 1996 for the second time the Federal Chancellor H. Kohl visited Kyiv. The leaders of the countries have introduced a new form of interstate communication – **political consultations at the highest level**. The parties have agreed about cooperation in aviation building, banking sphere, in the investment direction. Ukraine transferred to Germany 211 ancient engravings – works by Dürer from the collection of the Dresden gallery, which came to be in the territory of Ukraine during the World War Two. This step of Ukraine as to the level of gift has no analogues in international practice. The Federal Chancellor H. Kohl was awarded an honorable title of the Doctor of Kyiv National University named after Taras Shevchenko.

Ukraine was involved to political and economic projects, for example, cooperation of Ukraine, Poland and Germany within the framework of the **Weimar Triangle**. **These are** trilateral consulting meetings of political personalities of FRG, France and Poland, who in 1997 unanimously supported the offer as to attracting Ukraine to cooperation.

**As to the volume of goods turnover** Germany is traditionally a leader among the leading European countries: in 2012 the volume made USD 9, 42 billion. In 2013 the volume of bilateral trade of goods between Ukraine and Germany made 7, 8 billion. Germany ranks second after Cyprus as regards investments, the volume of which made USD 6194, 8 million. 84, 4% of German investments (over USD 5, 4 billion) are directed to industry. Ukraine invested about USD million into the economics of FRG.

The Ukrainian-German Group of high level on the matters of economic cooperation is actively operating. At the same time outflow of German banking capital was observed. In spite of the complicated situation in the Ukrainian economics, Germany has preserved its interest as to cooperation with Ukraine. This is evidenced, in particular,

by opening in the capital city of Ukraine of representative offices of four major German banks, the Bureau of the delegate of German economics and the representative of the Bureau of the society of external trade information.

But in line with the wide spectrum of bilateral relations **FRG has given to cooperation with Ukraine the status of priority partnership, rather than strategic, whereupon our country depended.** A negative feature for perspectives for cooperation of Ukraine and FRG was activation of Russian and German relations and achievement of agreements in 2005 about construction of the North European Gas Pipeline through the Baltic Sea bypassing Ukraine.

**Germany denounces the policy of Russia concerning Ukraine, it has initiated a number of European sanctions against the occupier** [35]. The German party gives humanitarian aids to Ukraine to support our country in opposing military aggression of Russia: only in October 2014 there were dozens of tons of humanitarian aid given. On July 18<sup>th</sup> 2014 the German Chancellor Angela Merkel appealed to the French government to refrain from supplying military technologies to Russia (Mistrals building contract). Germany sees in such contracts a treat to its personal safety and a treat for the total Europe.

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**Development of relations of Ukraine and the French Republic** has peculiar features. France recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1991, and on January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1992 in Kyiv there was Protocol about establishment of diplomatic relations signed. The General consulate of France, which was functioning in Kyiv from 1990, was transformed into the Embassy. Diplomatic establishments: the Embassy of Ukraine in France, the Consulate of Ukraine in Marseille, the Embassy of the French Republic in Ukraine.

**The Treaty about common understanding and cooperation** was signed on June 16-17<sup>th</sup>, 1992. On January 30–31<sup>st</sup>, 1997 the official visit of the President of Ukraine to France took place; O September 2–4<sup>th</sup>, 1998 the state visit of the President of France Jacques Chirac to Ukraine took place. The Presidents of Ukraine and France – Viktor Yushchenko and Jacques Chirac – have met several times in 2005. As

the result of this France supported providing to Ukraine the status of the market economy country. On November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2013 the President of Ukraine has met the President of France François Hollande within the framework of Summit of Eastern partnership (city of Vilnius).

The scheme of consulting of MFA of both countries started actively performing since 2011. At the same time the political dialogue with the French Side is developing irregularly, which is explained by traditional prevailing of the Russian vector in French external political interests. At the same time, the French Side has taken into account aggression of Russia against Ukraine. It has taken into account the tragedy of Malaysian passenger aircraft, destroyed by the Russian BUK missile system over Donetsk region. It has refused from the order of Russia for «Mistrals», notwithstanding essential expendable consequences. Ukraine greeted such position of France, which supported the scheme of sanctions against Russia in response to interference of Moscow into Ukrainian external affairs and occupation of Crimea.

Interstate structures of high level are operating: the Ukrainian and French commission on economic cooperation, the Ukrainian and French commission on cultural and scientific and technical cooperation, the Ukrainian and French committee on scientific and technological cooperation etc. Interparliamentary dialogue is being developed.

France has arranged international assistance to Ukraine with the consequences of humanitarian tragedy of Chernobyl disaster. France provided assistance for rehabilitation of children from Chernobyl area. Starting from 1990 about 200 children came to France every year. Together with Germany France arranged financial assistance for realization of project «Ukryttia».

In French capital city the Center of international trade of Ukraine was opened. Special attention was paid by the French Side to the fact of signing by Ukraine of the **Charter of Paris for a new Europe** within the framework of OSCE.

It is worth reminding that the official Paris has rather modestly perceived disappearance of the USSR and creation of CIS. The key problems that bothered the French Side were nuclear weapon. In the

existing situation France preferred Russia as the successor of the USSR. France provided to Ukraine in December 1994 guarantees (together with guarantees of Russia, the USA, the Great Britain and China) in the form of the Declaration of guarantees for the national safety of Ukraine.

**Cooperation of military** is being developed within the framework of peace-making functions under the auspices of the United Nations. The military agencies have entered into **the Treaty about cooperation in the sphere of weapon and military equipment**. On February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1996 the Ministers of defense of Ukraine and France have signed the **Treaty about conditions of military cooperation in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia** within the framework of collective peace-making forces IFOR.

At the same time the economic cooperation is at the low level. In 2014 the external trading turnover between Ukraine and France made USD 1542, 0 million. Ukraine exports goods of food industry (26, 8%), inorganic chemistry products (16, 1%), fats and oils of animal or plant origin (16, 0%), seeds and fruits of oil plants (12, 9%) and grain crops (6, 4%). As to the volumes of investments France ranks eighth, and the volume of investments makes USD 1, 8 billion. Ukrainian investments to France made USD 172, 9 thousand. About 300 joint ventures are operating in Ukraine [35].

France opens supermarkets (Bri-Castor and Carrefour), introduces systems for supply and purification of water (Stero), constructs hotels, automobile roads and takes part (Framatom, EDF, Campenon, Bernard, Bouygues) in development of nuclear energy of Ukraine. Interaction in agricultural sector acquires special perspective nature (corn, production of dairy products President), aeronautical engineering. The government of Ukraine and the European defense air-space company EADS have entered into the Treaty about strategic cooperation.

At the same time France, protecting its own market, in every possible tries to stand against the Ukrainian competitors: in 2002 it was namely France that initiated introduction by the European commission of quotas for import of grain crops from Ukraine; it did not support Ukrainian project about creation of the aircraft «AN-70». French

farmers see a threat to their own interests from the side of Ukrainian oil, sugar, grain etc.

Ukraine and France develop wide cooperation in humanitarian level. They cooperate under the UNESCO program “A human and biosphere”. Good traditions belonged to links of the public of the two countries: steady contacts were maintained by 40 related cities of Ukraine and France, such as Kyiv – Toulouse, Kharkiv – Lille, Odessa – Marseille etc. Intensive contacts were carried out in the cultural sphere. In Kyiv the French cultural center is opened. In 1995 the Treaty about cultural, scientific and technical cooperation was signed.

Ukraine and the French Republic as the two great European states are able to fix bilateral mutually beneficial cooperation. Together with this, France perceives the statements of Ukraine as to the membership in the EU very carefully. However, France still remains an attractive Ukrainian partner, taking into accounts its primary role in the European integration process.

Bilateral relations of Ukraine and **Great Britain** are the important constituent of European stability. Great Britain has recognized the independent Ukraine on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The Ambassador of Great Britain in Ukraine Mr. Simon Nicholas Peter Hemans stressed that *“independence of Ukraine is needed not only for Great Britain, but for Europe on the whole. Ukraine has become the new participant of the European club of free and democratic states. Independent, democratic, nuclear-free Ukraine is one guarantee for European safety”*[1, p.231].

In the Joint Declaration between Ukraine and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1992) it is stated that the Countries respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of each other, that the United Kingdom welcomes the intention of Ukraine as regards the soonest joining the Treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapon 1968 as a nuclear-free state. The Parliament of the country one of the first in EU has ratified **the Treaty about partnership and cooperation between Ukraine and EU** (June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1995).

At the same time certain prejudice from the side of the official circles of the United Kingdom concerning Ukraine was observed during the first years of relations development. The British leaders insisted on closing Chernobyl NPP before 2000 on conditions, stipulated in the **Memorandum of understanding between the government of Ukraine and the governments of the Big seven countries and the Commission of the European communities (CEC)** as regards closing of the Chernobyl NPP.

Among rather regular contacts of high level let us remind of: January 28<sup>th</sup>, 2011 – the meeting of President of Ukraine with the Prime Minister of Great Britain David Cameron within the framework of the World economic forum in Davos; July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2012 – the meetings of the Prime Minister of Ukraine with Queen Elizabeth II in London; July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2013 – the meeting of President of Ukraine with prince Michael of Kent within the framework of project for flight of aircrafts of the British Fan Club of old aviation «Air Squadron» to Ukraine; September 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013 – the meetings of the Prime Minister with the Minister of State in the matter of Europe of the Foreign office – David Lidington within the framework of the working visit to Ukraine etc. Meetings of high officials of the countries have become regular from 2014.

**From the beginning of Russian aggression against Ukraine the United Kingdom was in militant action for our country. Expansionist policy and respective actions of Russia concerning Ukraine has excited deep indignation in the British top government echelons.** In this context the official London has realized a number of sanctions in unilateral and plurilateral formats. Great Britain provides active assistance to Ukraine in International organizations: UN, OSCE, NATO, CE, EU and UNESCO.

In 2013 the goods turnover increased by 14% and made USD 2, 6 billion. Export grew by 2%, import of goods and services increased by 21%. Over 9 months of 2014 the volume of bilateral trade reduced by 23 % and made USD 2 billion. The balance of bilateral trade of goods for Ukraine is negative – USD 114 million. As to the **volumes of investments** (01.09.2014), having come from 133 countries of the world to the economics of Ukraine, Great Britain ranks 6<sup>th</sup> – USD 2,3 billion (4,8 % from the total).

**Military cooperation:** the British Side has highly evaluated the role of military peace-makers of Ukraine in the structure of UN forces in peaceful regulation of Bosnia crisis and in Iraq. The Ministry of defense of Great Britain gives significant moneys for training of Ukrainian officers in higher educational establishments of the country (the Queen's college of defensive sciences, foreign languages course in Beaconsfield). In Ukraine the British Council is actively operating, as well as library of English literature etc. Links of twin-cities are being developed, which are already nine in Ukraine.

The perspectives of development of Ukrainian-British cooperation may be forecasted in investments into the Ukrainian economics, joint participation in peace-making efforts of UN etc.

**The Kingdom of Belgium** has recognized Ukraine on December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The interstate **Treaty about mutual understanding and cooperation between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Belgium, the French society of Belgium, the Flemish society, the German-speaking society, the Walloon region and the Region of Brussels – the capital city of Belgium** is the legal base for relations, which entered into force on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 2000. The Parliaments of both countries are in cooperation [36].

The contractual legal base for bilateral cooperation accounts for about 30 interstate, interagency and interregional agreements.

The Ukrainian-Belgian cooperation is realized within the framework of the Roadmap of bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Belgium, its Societies and Regions, which is developed for several years.

**Political dialogue at the highest level** was started on July 7-8<sup>th</sup>, 1992, during the visit of President of Ukraine – Leonid Kravchuk to Belgium in June 1995. Negotiations took place of the President of Ukraine – Leonid Kuchma with the King of Belgians Albert II. On October 15–16<sup>th</sup>, 2009 the first official visit of the President of Ukraine in the history of bilateral relations – Viktor Yushchenko to the Kingdom of Belgium, where the Ukrainian leader of state held negotiations with the King of Belgians Albert II, the leader of the

government of Belgium – Herman Van Rompuy, with the parliamentarians.

In Antwerp there was also Memorandum of cooperation signed between the Odessa and the Antwerp ports. In 2011 the Belgian government delegation took part in events, dedicated to the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Chernobyl disaster, in particular, in the operation of the Kyiv summit on the matters of safe and innovative using nuclear energy.

In Municipality Ixelles (city of Brussels) the President of Ukraine has ceremonially opened a memorial tablet in the honor of the first diplomatic establishment of Ukraine in Brussels – the Extraordinary diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Belgium and Netherlands (1919–1923). The Embassy of Ukraine in the Kingdom of Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg (concurrently) on December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2014, on the occasion of the Day of employees of a diplomatic service of Ukraine in Brussels have traditionally honored the memory of the first Ukrainian diplomatic establishment in the Kingdom of Belgium.

The political dialogue at the level of the leaders of MFA of both countries contributes to adjustment of cooperation, understanding and release of tension from acute problems.

**Belgium actively supports the course of Ukraine towards EU, the position of our country on regional safety.** In 2010 consultations started in the format of Benelux-Ukraine (Ministers of foreign affairs of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg + Ukraine).

Economic cooperation is being developed rather actively: under the results of 2014 export of Ukrainian goods to Belgium increased as compared to 2013 by 22, 5%, and made USD 352, 32 million. The positive balance of trade of services reached USD 16, 73 million.

Ukraine exports grain crops; seeds and fruits of oil plants, mineral fuels; oil and petroleum products; inorganic chemistry products; ferrous metals; clothes; wood and products of it. Ukraine imports medications, plastics, land transport vehicles, nuclear reactors, boilers, electric machines, beverages.

The Belgians in Ukraine invest moneys into industry – 65 % (food – 32 %) and machine building – 6,3 %; operations with real

estate, providing services to entrepreneurs – 16%; trade – 12 %; activity of transport and communications – 4,5 %; agriculture, hunting – 3 %. The majority of Belgian investments into Ukrainian economics come through the third countries (company «SUN InBev-Ukraine»).

### **Belgian companies in Ukraine:**

➤ Company Vatra-Schreder, incorporated in 1990, is the oldest company of the country in Ukraine. It has a plant in Ternopil (about 100 employees), produces lighting devices.

➤ Company Bosal Group of Belgium is one of the leading companies in the world on production of automobile exhaust systems.

➤ Company Ahlers (Ahlers Logistic and Maritime Services) is engaged in logistic procurement.

➤ Company Magic is located in Kharkiv. Trading of pharmaceutical goods.

➤ French-Belgian-Netherland banking insurance group BNP-Paribas Fortis.

➤ ING Bank the representative office in Kyiv, as the result of crisis phenomena in 2008 the bank has made a decision about winding up its activity in Ukraine.

➤ Melexis – producer of semiconductor integrated schemes for automobile and household equipment. Company in Ukraine “Magie-Ukraine”.

➤ Company OJSC Periprotect, installation of lighting equipment (stadium in the city of Dnipropetrovsk for EURO 2012).

➤ Company Quadrox – production of video surveillance systems (supermarkets, fuelling stations).

➤ “SUN InBev-Ukraine” is the undisputed leader at the beer market. In Ukraine the company unites three brewing companies: Chernihiv (“Desna”), Kharkiv (“Rohan”) and Mykolaiv (“Yantar”).

**Perspective investment projects:** a modern terminal and the center of logistics (about Euro 30 million). LLC “Molochnyy dim 1” in Pavlograd (Dnipropetrovsk region.), LLC “Molochnyy dim 2” in Hnivan (Vinnytsia region) and LLC “Sakura” (Dnipropetrovsk).

Practice of operating of the Ukrainian diplomats in the economic sphere confirms that offers as to export of Ukrainian products are often

not enough worked out. The significant meaning in export work belongs to advertising of the national products, in particular at the exhibitions.

In advance of Euro-2012 special attention of diplomatic representative offices of Ukraine was concentrated at attracting foreign establishments, entrepreneur structures to realization of projects within the framework of preparation of Ukraine to the European football.

Within the framework of development of **technical assistance** to Ukraine at the example of Belgium the important meaning belongs to development of joint projects, to be financed by the government of Flemish region. As the result of active work of the Embassy of Ukraine approval for financing was obtained by 6 projects of the total value of Euro 432 thousand (2009). Significant attention was paid to the development of cooperation in the sphere of energy, in particular, renewable energy sources: wind-power plants, solar batteries; heat producing technologies (Belgian company “Shecco”), cooperation in the sphere of nuclear energy. Belgium confirmed about providing moneys to Chernobyl fund of Ukraine, in the total amount of Euro 1 million 194 thousand.

**Military cooperation, scientific and technical cooperation** are being developed. Let us remind that the Ukrainian researches take part in holding scientific researches jointly with the European Union: from 1991 48 specialists from Ukraine have obtained grants (second position after Russia among the countries of the post Soviet territory). Cooperation in cultural and humanitarian sphere is developed too.

**Ukrainians in Belgium.** Under the official data there reside about 4, 5 thousand persons, who have Ukrainian citizenship. The majority of them live in such cities: Ghent, Liege and Brussels. From 1966 in Ardennes there was the Ukrainian center Frankopole created [36].

**Ukraine – the Kingdom of Spain.** The Government of the Kingdom of Spain has recognized Ukraine as the independent state on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1992 by way of signing in Prague of the joint communiqué. In August 1992 in Kyiv the permanent diplomatic

representative mission of the Kingdom of Spain in Ukraine started operating. During the visit of the Minister of foreign affairs of Spain Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez to Ukraine on April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1992, the countries have signed **the memorandum of consultations between the Governments of the two countries**. On February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1994, the Minister of foreign affairs A. Zlenko with the delegation of Ukrainian entrepreneurs has visited Spain. The King of Spain J. Carlos, the leader of the government of Spain F. Gonzales and others had held negotiations with the Ukrainian Minister. The Embassy of Ukraine in Madrid was opened in June 1995. The state visit to Spain of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma on October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996 has become an important event of bilateral relations. As the result of the visit a number of documents were signed: **the Treaty of amity and cooperation between Ukraine and Spain, the Treaty about economic and industrial cooperation, the Treaty about air connection, the Treaty about cooperation in the sphere of science, education and culture, the Treaty about social procurement of the citizens**.

The King of Spain Juan Carlos confirmed support by Spain of the Ukrainian integration to EU, as well as he positively evaluated signing on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1994 by the Presidents of Ukraine, the USA and Russia of the trilateral statement, under which Ukraine refused from its nuclear weapon. On November 6-7<sup>th</sup>, 2001 the Minister of foreign affairs of Spain assured the Ukrainian leadership that Spain will “take maximum efforts for the purpose of political and economic approach of Ukraine with the European structures”.

**The Parliaments of both countries actively cooperate:** in March 2007 the Group of amity with Ukraine was created in the Congress of deputies of Spain on the occasion of 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the tragedy the memory of Holodomor victims in Ukraine in 1932–1933 was honored. In 2009 Ukrainian and Spanish political consultation took place in Kyiv.

Spain was the leader in EU in the first semi year of 2010. On January 11<sup>th</sup> the respective negotiations about the European course of our country were held by the then Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine P. Poroshenko in Madrid. On September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the President of

Ukraine P. Poroshenko held negotiations with the Leader of the Government of Spain M. Rajoy within the framework of Summit of NATO in Wales (city of Newport, Great Britain).

**The contractual legal base for bilateral relations** accounts 29 effective documents, of which 9 are interstate, 9 intergovernmental and 11 interdepartmental. Among the most important documents: about maritime navigation; the Memorandum about mutual understanding, about the freedom of movement, on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1994; the Protocol about cooperation between the Ministry of defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of defense of the Kingdom of Spain, on October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1996. Within the framework of this document of the Ministry of defense of both countries annual consultations are held within the framework of the Joint Ukrainian and Spanish commission on the matters of bilateral military cooperation; the Treaty about cooperation in the sphere of education and culture, on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1997; the Treaty between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Spain about air communication, on April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1997; **the Treaty about amity and cooperation between Ukraine and Spain, on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1997**; the Treaty about regulation of labor migration flows, on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2011. The Treaty between the National institute of aerospace technologies of Spain and the State space agency of Ukraine about cooperation in the sphere of space activity, on April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

Positive tendencies **of trade and economic cooperation** are preserved: the volume of bilateral trade of goods over January-September 2014 made USD 1,3 billion, i.e. increased by 5, 6% as compared to the same period of 2013. The positive balance for Ukraine grew up to USD 380, 6 million. Over January-September 2014 the volume of mutual trade of services made USD 49,7 million (reduced by 11, 7%).

**Key commodities positions of export:** grain crops (63% of the total volume), fats and oils (14, 5%), seeds and fruits of oil plants (8, 2%). This way, export of Ukraine includes grain, products of ferrous metals, products of inorganic chemistry, fuel, natural leather, mineral products, wood, fertilizers etc. **Key commodities positions of import:** land transport vehicles (11, 9%), fruits and nuts (11, 5%), medications (9, 2%), boilers, machines (6, 1%).

As of December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2013 the volume of direct investments from Spain into the economics of Ukraine made USD 68, 2 million. Spain ranks 35 among the investors of Ukraine (0, 1%).

Cooperation of regions is widely developed: Cherkassy, Ternopil regions of Ukraine. Spanish transport and energy companies – Necso, Instalaciones Inabensa S.A., NEW IBEREX, EREDA Energías Renovables y Desarrollos Alternativos, EPTISA S.L., INDRA Sistemas, S.A. – carry out projects jointly with Ukraine.

The activity of Spanish charitable organizations: AFAN, city of Madrid; Association Ucraina 2000, city of Valencia; Association Chernobyl, city of Bilbao; CREAM, city of Ciudad Real is the vivid example of humanitarian cooperation. Every year about 1000 Ukrainian children from Chernobyl area are rehabilitated at their assistance in Spain.

**Ukraine – the Republic of Italy.** On December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1991, Italy has recognized the independence of Ukraine. The diplomatic relations were established on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1992, and in March 1992 – the Embassy of the Republic of Italy in Ukraine was opened. At the same time the general amorphous nature and indefiniteness of the policy of the West concerning Ukraine for a long time did not permit the possibility of working out the grounded concept of relations of Ukraine and Italy.

From the time of establishment of diplomatic relations the Presidents of Ukraine several times visited Italy with official visits: in April 1993, in May 1995, in November 2002, in October 2008, in September and October 2013 etc.

On October 16–17<sup>th</sup>, 2014, the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko performed a working visit to the Republic of Italy (city of Milan). The President of Italy Oscar Scalfaro visited Ukraine in October 1996 with the state visit and in 1999 – with the working visit. **The Treaty of amity and cooperation** between the countries was signed in May 1995. Pursuant to the documents the Ukrainian-Italian council on economic, industrial and financial cooperation started operating.

The contractual legal basis for relations was supplemented by a number of documents: about cooperation in the space, energy and machine building spheres; in the sphere of education, culture and science etc.

The official visit of the Head of the Council of Ministers of Italy Romano Prodi took place in 1997. The Head of the council of Ministers of Italy Silvio Berlusconi took part in the Summit “Ukraine-EU” (city of Kyiv) in October 2003 etc.

Among the important documents let us remind of the Treaty about military and technical cooperation dated 24.07.2007, between the Ministries of defense about cooperation within the framework of international forces of promoting security on the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan dated 07.08.2013; the Memorandum about cooperation on the matters of climate changes within the framework of the Kyoto Protocol dated 18.09.2009; the Treaty about trading navigation; the Treaty in the sphere of tourism, the Treaty about exchange of technical information and cooperation in the sphere of nuclear safety dated 13.11.2013. The Ministries of internal affairs of the countries cooperate in the matters of struggling the crime, drug business; the Ministry of transport – in the sphere of passenger and cargo transportations. Military cooperation has widened.

In the parliaments of both countries Associations of amity are created “Ukraine-Italy” and “Italy-Ukraine”. Italy has opened a number of credit facilities for Ukraine.

**Italy is an important partner of Ukraine in political sphere.** During the leadership of Italy in the European Union in 2003 EU has given to our country the status of a neighbor, approved the large-scale plan “Wider Europe” etc.

However, at the background of deepening of the cooperation of Italy with Russia, which is explained by the energy dependence of Italy, relations with Ukraine had restrained: the Italian leadership did not give to Ukraine any chances as to the future acquisition of membership in EU.

The Republic of Italy is the active partner of Ukraine in trading: it regularly belonged to the first fifth under the volumes of goods turnover. The goods turnover between the countries exceeded in 2012

USD 3, 9 billion. In 2014 p. the goods turnover reduced. Italy ranked third, being behind Germany and Poland.

Export to Italy — products of plant origin, products of food industry, mineral products, leather, textile, consumer goods. Import to Ukraine: wood, cutlery, machines, equipment, mechanisms, (refrigerators, freezers etc.).

Under the data of the State statistics committee of Ukraine Italy **invested into the economics of Ukraine** USD 1101, 2 million, which makes 2, 1% from the total volume of foreign investments (01.04.2014). Under the volumes of investments Italy ranks 10<sup>th</sup>. The number of joint ventures has increased significantly: from 150 to 433. Three companies with Italian capital are operating in Ukraine (in Mykolayiv, Odessa, Chernivtsi, Sumy, Zakarpattya, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Kharkiv and Poltava regions). Italian manufacturing companies – Duferco, Danieli, Interpipe, Antonio Merloni S.p.A., Gruppo Campari; insurance companies – Assicurazioni Generali, Generali Garant, banking groups – Unicredit Group, IntesaSanPaolo – are successfully working at the Ukrainian market.

The countries are interested in cooperation in space industry, within the framework of European navigation programs Galileo, Ethnos, in electric energy, automobile building, in the sphere of education, culture and science (the National academy of sciences of Ukraine, the Kyiv national university named after Taras Shevchenko, the National technical university KPI and others).

Due to the active civil position of **Ukrainians in Italy** (in the country over 50 Ukrainian public organizations are operating) Ukraine actively expands its positive image, holds Days of Ukraine in Rome, the Festival of Ukrainian people's folk art "Hilka kalyny", celebrating Shevchenko days in Rome and Mother's day with the participation of Ukrainian collectives of folk art etc. Protection of rights of Ukrainian labor migrants are secured by joint documents, such as, the Consular convention between Ukraine and the Republic of Italy (01.11.2006). Ukrainian public organizations in Italy protect the rights of laborers [1].

**Ukraine – the Kingdom of Sweden.** Political, diplomatic relations of the countries at the level of development mutual respect

and support have gone far from purely official. The Kingdom of Sweden has recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The contractual legal base of the relations consists of 22 effective documents. **The Kingdom of Sweden insistently supports Ukraine at its way to European integration**; finances a number of programs for education of Ukrainian officers and students in Swedish higher educational establishments. Due to efforts of Sweden the Ukrainian European way was supported by the European parliament of EU. In December 2008 Sweden and Poland initiated a new project of EU concerning Ukraine and other European countries East Partnership.

Sweden actively supported the Treaty of Ukraine with EU about association: the political part of the Treaty was signed on March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2014, and the Economic part of the Treaty was signed on June 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

The countries carry out military cooperation in the sphere of regulation of crisis situations, participation in peace-making operations, reformation of military forces and environmental safety. – The Government of Sweden initiated and financed the program of Initiative of North European countries and Baltic countries on cooperation with Ukraine in the sphere of security.

Namely Sweden and Poland for a long time did not give their consent for construction through the Baltic Sea of gas pipeline of Russia North flow, realization of which causes harm to the ecology of Baltic countries and the interests of Ukraine. Namely Sweden and Poland initiated the EU program East Partnership, in which Ukraine was provided with the leading role.

**Sweden declaimed the occupational policy of Russia towards Ukraine.** At persuasion of Sweden, the leadership of Russia tries to disarm Ukraine, to cross out the sovereignty and even the territorial integrity of the state, in order to make Ukraine a one more governorship of Russia. EU on the whole and Sweden in particular declaimed annexation of Crimea by Russia and inclusion of the peninsular into the structure of Russia. Responsibility for the current European crisis the system of security at the persuasion of Sweden, belongs to the Russian leadership. EU and in particular Sweden stated that **Russia has really**

**violated the international law and the fundamental principles of peace and safety in Europe.** *“It is important that we all understood this. We will never tolerate implementation of military aggression for changes of European borders”*, – stated the Prime-Minister of Sweden Fredrik Reinfeldt and the Minister of foreign affairs of Sweden Carl Bildt [38]. The actions of Russia, at the persuasion of the Swedish Side, will have distinct consequences. EU cancelled the Summit EU-Russia. The member-states of EU supported introduction by the progressive society of economic sanctions against Russia.

In response Russia implemented a famous maneuver of display of force: the Russian secret submarine supposedly was wrecked in the adjacent waters of Sweden. This provocation is directed at the fact that partially distracts attention of the world society from Russian aggressive actions on Donbas.

The Government of Sweden accepted a new strategy of Swedish aid of development of East Europe for the period of 2014–2020, which significantly is concentrated at Ukraine. The amount of support makes about Euro 175 million and covers three key approaches: (1) Strengthening of democracy, respect of human rights and developed state with the supremacy of statute law; (2) Improvement of environment, reduction of influence at the climate and increase of resistance concerning influence at the climate and increase of resistance concerning influence at the environment; (3) Deepening of economic integration of Ukraine with EU and development of market economics.

**Trading and economic cooperation.** Under the data of the State statistics service of Ukraine over 9 months 2013 the volumes of trade made USD 542 million. The structure of Ukrainian export changes: the range of goods widens, the interest of raw materials reduces and the ready products increase. Basic export of Ukraine: ferrous metals — 22, 3 %, textile products — 19, 3 %, wood and products of wood — 9, 0 %, agricultural products – 5, 7 %. In the structure if import the leading role belongs to: paper and cardboard — 23, 7 %, electric machines and equipment — 18, 7 %; boilers, machines, apparatus and mechanical devices — 12, 5 %, agricultural products — 4, 9%.

Swedish investments into the economics of Ukraine make 4, 1% of the total amount – the eighth among the investors (2013 – USD 432,

6 million). The Swedish invest money into the energy industry (renewable energy. Sweden processes over 94% of its waste, the part of which is even exported), into telecommunication sphere, environment protection, nuclear security etc.

**Ukrainian society in Sweden** is the most numerous in this North Country. Under the Swedish data in the country there reside 5, 8 thousand persons of Ukrainian origin, including 3180 citizens of Ukraine, 8 associations of Ukrainian are operating. Days of Ukraine are held, Ukrainian vechornitsi, Shevchenko parties, lectures and seminars on history, Days of Ukrainian cinema and poetry. Several scientific projects are realized by scientists – historians of both countries.

**2011 in the history of Ukrainian-Swedish relations** was marked by an important event: on June 29<sup>th</sup> in the city of Kristianstad a memorial tablet was opened, dedicated to the prominent Ukrainian – Hetman Pylyp Orlyk – the author of the Constitution, which was recognized the first democratic Constitution in the territory of Europe. This memorial tablet is the gift of Ukraine to the Swedish city, in which Hetman P. Orlyk lived in 1716–1719. The opening was dedicated to the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Constitution of P.Orlyk and the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the modern Constitution of Ukraine. On the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Sofia Cathedral of Kyiv in the Historical Swedish museum of the city of Sigtun there was exhibition opened “The Sofia of Kyiv: milestones of history”.

In all diplomatic representative offices of Ukraine **the Day of independence of Ukraine is solemnly celebrated**. In the Swedish capital city this holiday takes place in the premise of the legendary Stockholm Concert Hall, where the annual ceremonies of awarding Nobel laureates take place.

**The Kingdom of Denmark** actively supports Ukraine in its struggle for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity. On October 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014 in the Embassy of Denmark in Ukraine (Kyiv) the Ambassador Mrs. Merete Yuhl has officially given to the representatives of the Air forces of Ukraine 15 innovative air GPS navigators 695 Atlantic with the wishes of performance of safe global flights.

High level of mutual understanding and interaction, dynamic development of cooperation are inherent to the relations between Ukraine and Denmark.

On March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1996 the countries have signed **the Declaration about principles and basis for cooperation and partnership between Ukraine and the Kingdom of Denmark**, which became the start of wide cooperation of the countries. On 24.08.1996 the Memorandum about mutual understanding on military matters was signed and is effective.

Among the latest documents the following are entered into: the Technical treaty between the Ministry of defense of Ukraine and the Operative Air Command of Armed Forces of the Kingdom of Denmark concerning performance of operation “Pivnichnyy Sokil (Nord Falcon) –2014” (30.12.2013); the Treaty about simplification of visa execution (10.11.2014); the Treaty about development and cooperation within the framework of “Ukrainian-Danish energy center” (19.12.2014).

**Trading and economic relations** between Ukraine and Denmark are characterized by high level of cooperation and dynamics of business contacts, significant potential and continuous growth of volumes of trade and investments during the period of 2000–2011.

Goods turnover between the countries increased six times: under the results of 2013 it made USD 600 million. In January-September 2014 the volumes of trade made USD 398 million. Export from Ukraine: textile – 33, 8 %, furniture – 12 %; non-precious metals – 7 %; machines and equipment – 6, 8 %. Import: nuclear reactors, boilers, machines – 22 %; pharmaceutical products – 15 %; meat – 4, 5 %.

Over the last years active entrance of Danish companies to the Ukrainian market is observed. Construction in Kyiv of hotel Radisson SAS, opening of trading centers and offices of leading Danish companies (Grundfos, Danfos, DLH, Bang&Olufsen, United Textile Group). From the large Danish TNC the interest to Ukraine is expressed by the world leader on container shipments A.P. Moller Maersk, which has offices in Kyiv, Odessa and Ilyichivsk, and pharmaceutical giant Novo Nordisk. Company Carlsberg is the largest Danish investor in Ukraine. It produces famous beer and occupies one third of the market of these products in Ukraine.

In 2002–2014 31 conferences are held for business circles of Denmark.

In Denmark the Ukrainian societies are operating: the Danish-Ukrainian Society (from 1992); the Ukrainian Greek Catholic society in Denmark, the Ukrainian youth organization “Lastivka” (Swallow).

**Swiss Confederation** has recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations are established on February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The Embassy of Switzerland in Ukraine was opened in July 1992; The Embassy of Ukraine in Switzerland – in February 1993. Over the years of recognition relations are adjusted in political, trade and economical, scientific and technical, educational, cultural, military and other spheres, the due contractual legal base for cooperation is formed, within the framework of the respective projects significant financial and technical aid from the Swiss party is obtained etc.

The official visit of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma to Switzerland took place on March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1996, On January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1997 the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine Gennadiy Udovenko started consultations on the matters of policy of security and neutrality (in the city of Berne in 1997, in 2002 – in Ukraine, and in 2003 – in Switzerland). In May 2009 the official visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko to Switzerland took place. On December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2009 the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine P. Poroshenko took part in the ceremony of opening the monument to the Ukrainian writer Mykola Gogol in the city of Veve. On April 19<sup>th</sup>, 2011 the President of Switzerland M. Calmy-Rey visited Kyiv within the framework of events to the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Chernobyl disaster.

Interparliamentary cooperation is developed successfully, which is confirmed by the exchange of visits of parliamentary delegation (1992, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2010, and 2013). **The Memorandum of interparliamentary cooperation** between Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the National Council of Swiss Confederation was signed in June 2011.

Trading and economic cooperation is one of the priority approaches of cooperation. **The Treaty of free trade between**

**Ukraine and EFTA** (Switzerland, Norway, Iceland, and Lichtenstein) is effective from June 2012. In 2013 the total turnover of goods and services grew by 48 % and made USD 2,528 billion. In the structure of Ukrainian export the following prevailed: precious and semi precious stones– 43 %; flying apparatus – 15 %; grain crops – 7, 2 %; petroleum products – 5,7 %; paper, cardboard and products of it – 4,3 %; wood – 4 %. In the structure of import to Ukraine: pearls – 32, 5 %; pharmaceutical products – 18 %; nuclear reactors, boilers or machines – 14, 8 %; food products – 4, 5 %.

Growth of volumes of bilateral trade of services in 2013 is marked positively, that the Volumes of services increased by the peak 76% and made USD 1,399 billion. In 2013 under the volumes of trade Switzerland ranked third after Great Britain and Cyprus, and its share made 13%.

Realization of the Treaty about free trade also positively influenced the level of investment cooperation. Investments from Switzerland to Ukraine grow every year. **Unlike investors from several other countries Swiss entrepreneurs over the years of independence of Ukraine did not withdraw their investments, but only increased them.** As of 31.12.2013 Switzerland invested into the economics of Ukraine USD 1,325 billion, which makes 2, 3 % from the total amount of foreign investments into Ukraine. Under these indices Switzerland ranks 9<sup>th</sup>. The largest volumes are invested into industry – 31 %; operations with real estate, engineering and providing services to entrepreneurs –25 %; processing industry – 11 %; production of food products – 9 %.

Let us remind that Switzerland is one of the most developed countries of the world with stable economics. That is why the country is attractive for investments. Cities Zurich and Geneva are large business centers. Here the European offices of many transnational corporations are located. The market of Switzerland is far from being the largest in Europe, but in this country many international traders are registered, as well as intermediaries. In the country the world leaders in the spheres of pharmacy production of fertilizers, luxury products etc. are operating. In cooperation with such companies, as well as representatives of small and medium business Ukrainian enterprises

have the possibility to adjust mutually beneficial cooperation. The volume of investments from Ukraine into Switzerland (2014) made USD 5, 83 million, which makes about 0, 1 % of all Ukrainian investments in the world.

Modern **Ukrainian society in Switzerland** is not numerous and numbers about 140 persons. Among the famous personalities let us name the daughter of famous political personality Pavlo Skoropadskyi – Olena Ott-Skoropadska, the Honorary Consul of Ukraine in Geneva Bohdan Hawrylyshyn. **The world known scientist and economist, patron and public figure Bohdan Hawrylyshyn** takes a special place among the Ukrainian people in Switzerland [39].

The important partner of Ukraine in strengthening the regional stability is **the Republic of Turkey (RT)**. Upon recognition on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1991 of the independence of Ukraine, on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1992 the countries have entered into the **Treaty of amity and cooperation between Ukraine and Turkey** as well as other documents. On November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1991 consular relations were established and on February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1992 – diplomatic relation.

**The contractual legal base consists of 105 effective documents.** *On January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 during the official visit of the Prime Minister of Turkey R.T. Erdoğan to Ukraine the Joint Declaration about creation of the Strategic Council of high level was signed between Ukraine and Turkey*, which stipulated establishment of strategic partnership between the countries.

**Interstate contacts regularly take place at all levels: presidential, governmental, parliamentary, and diplomatic. Let us remind of some of them:** in 1991 President of Turkey Turgut Özal visited Ukraine, in 1992 President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk visited Turkey, in May-June 1994 President S. Demirel. In November 1996 the official visit to Turkey of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma took place, and in May 1998 the President of RT S. Demirel officially visited Ukraine for the second time. The Presidents have marked the level of development of Ukrainian-Turkish relations as constructive partnership.

On April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014 in Ankara the meeting of P. Poroshenko with the leadership of Turkey took place during awarding of the People's deputy of Ukraine M. Dzemilev with the Order of the Republic of Turkey. On September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the meeting of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko with the President of the Republic of Turkey *R. T. Erdoğan* took place during the Summit of NATO in the city of Newport (the Great Britain). The Turkish party states that it defends the open door policy of NATO and supports Ukraine in its joining the Alliance. The Ministers of foreign affairs P. Klimkin and A. Davutoğlu have marked the high level of strategic partnership between Ukraine and Turkey, they have established the plans of further political contacts. The Turkish party **unconditionally supports the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Ukraine.**

Turkey is one of the most important trading partners of Ukraine, with which **our country traditionally has the most positive balance.** Over 10 months of 2014 the total goods turnover made USD 3 billion 992 million. Positive balance for Ukraine made USD 1 billion 986, 6 million. The volume of Turkish investments into Ukraine in 2014 made USD 202, 9 million – 0, 4% of the total volume. In the territory of Ukraine about 600 companies operate with Turkish capital.

Cooperation between Ukraine and Turkey is being developed quite rush. The Strategic council of high level is functioning actively. Within the framework of this council the group of strategic planning at the level of Ministers of foreign affairs is operating. Also the Intergovernmental commission on trading and economic cooperation is created. Besides, Business council is operating, within the framework of which meetings of representatives of business take place. Ukraine takes an important place in the economic plans of Turkey. Ukraine has expressed its readiness to provide assistance in development of passenger interregional aircraft at the basis of aircrafts AN-148, AN-158. Also, Ukraine is ready to take part in realization of projects for modernization of infrastructure of Turkey etc.

The countries actively cooperate in the energy sphere: in January 2011 **The Memorandum about mutual understanding in the sphere of energy** was signed. The Side's plan to carry out programs of export of electric energy, gas cooperation, the National project LNG-terminal

and other perspective projects. The representatives of the Turkish Side expressed their gratitude for the fact that during the period of extreme cold Ukraine, at the request of Turkey, provided it with additional volumes of gas from its own storage facilities. The Minister of energy and natural resources has stressed: *«First of all I would like to thank that you helped us, having provided additional volumes of gas from your storage facilities. During extremely cold weather you rescued us. It is clear that such steps and such approaches can be never forgotten. Every country has its unique possibilities, and joint using such unique possibilities will permit us create the synergy»*[1, p.277].

**Interregional cooperation** is carried out by 27 pairs of administrative and territorial units of Ukraine and Turkey. This way, Kyiv and Ankara exchange their experience and information in the spheres of municipal economy, planning and construction, health care, protection of cultural heritage, interact within the framework of Association of capital cities of Black Sea region and International pedagogical club of European capital cities.

An important element in relations is cooperation of central districts of the capital cities – Podilsky and Dankaya, Solomyansky district of the city of Kyiv and the city administration of district Bakirköy of the city of Istanbul (January 2003), companies Biopharma, plant No. 410 of civil aviation, CJSC Arma-Kaplan, PC Kyivprylad with a number of companies of the city of Ankara, Kharkiv region with province Izmir and cities of Gaziantep and Ankara. A perspective direction is cooperation of the Black sea province Zongulgak and Kherson region.

For cooperation a contractual legal base is formed: in 2007 the framework agreement entered into force **the Treaty on research and usage of space**, and in September 2009 – **the Treaty on cooperation in the sphere of science and technologies**. Respective establishments of Ukraine and RT carry out joint scientific researches in the sphere of information technologies, microelectronics, and physics of semiconductors, materials studies, energy and ecology of the Black sea. Certain joint projects are carried out multilaterally – within the framework of the Seventh and the Eighth programs of EU, as well as at the line of BSEC.

Realization of a large scale program for development of aerospace complex is one of the priority approaches of the long-term program of the Turkish Government «Goals – 2023», dedicated to the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of formation of the Republic. **The Turkish party considers Ukraine as a perspective partner in aerospace sphere taking into account technological and intellectual potential of our country.** One of the important goals of the Turkey is obtaining Ukrainian technologies. In 2007–2008 joint works were performed by DKB Pivdenne – a company of defense and industrial complex of Turkey ROKETSAN A.Ş. in development of the model of a rocket motor (contract amount – USD 0, 5 million). In 2007–2010 two projects were successfully realized of Ukroboronprom and the Turkish companies ROKETSAN A.Ş. and DORMAK in the sphere of development and start-up of a space apparatus, as well as creation of a rocket complex at the basis of a ballistic rocket (the amount of contracts fulfilled made USD 0,3 million). In 2011 a satellite PACAT was placed into orbit made by Turkey: start-up was carried out by the company Kosmotrans with the use of the carrier rocket «Dnipro». An important and large-scale direction of interaction in space sphere is the project for creation of the Center for start-up of carrier rockets for land base (space airfield) for placing into orbit of Turkish military and civil satellites. The Ukrainian Side will procure creation of rocket and the respective technological equipment, and the Turkish Side – construction of the space airfield.

Ukrainian-Turkish contacts continue **in the sphere of aviation construction:** cooperation of Turkish companies Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI) and Turkish Airlines Technic Inc. with the SC Antonov within the framework of the Turkish program for creation of a regional aircraft.

The Ukrainian-Turkish International laboratory of high technologies (city of Gebze) is the active mechanism of uniting the potential of scientists of both countries. The results of developments of the Laboratory may be used for creation of body armors of new generation, devices for detecting people in obstructions after earthquakes; X-rays; medications etc.

Joint scientific developments are performed in the sphere of information technologies, microelectronics, physics of semiconductors, materials studies, energy and ecology of the Black sea. The Institute of radio physics and electronics of NAS of Ukraine cooperates with the Dokuz Eylül University; The Institute of chemistry of surface – with the Bilkent University; the Institute of zoology – with the Mustafa Kemal University; The Institute of colloid chemistry and water chemistry – with the Ege University; the Institute of physics – with the Yüzüncü University; The Institute of biology of South seas – with the Sinop University etc. Within the framework of BSEC the parties are cooperating under the priority directions: seismology, protection of natural environment, biodiversity of the Black sea, ecologically clear energy, water purification etc.

The NAS of Ukraine and the Ministry of education and science together with the Council on the matters of scientific and technical researchers of Turkey (TUBITAK) realize joint scientific and research projects, in particular, in the sphere of environment protection. The parties annually mutually provide 5 grants to the citizens of the partner-country for education in the National HEE. Besides, Turkey, within the framework of realization of its programs on preparation of personnel for the countries of the Turkic world, starting from 1992 annually provides over 50 grants for training of the citizens of Ukraine – the Crimean Tatars and Meskhetian Turks.

The countries cooperate in the sphere of culture. In Turkey concerts of Ukrainian dancing and chorus teams and musicians are held, exhibitions of artists, broadcasting of programs at the Turkish TV, dedicated to Ukrainian culture etc. On September 9–15<sup>th</sup>, 2013 the Days of Ukrainian culture in Turkey took place, where performed the National honored academic dance ensemble of Ukraine named after Pavlo Virskyi, exhibitions of holograms of the “Scythian gold” and “Amber mosaics took place”.

**In Turkey, there are about 20 thousand of Ukrainians**, who reside or temporarily live in its territory. In May 2008 the Ukrainian cultural society in Istanbul was created, and in June 2009 — the organization “Ukrainian family” in Antalya. The International lyceum named after T. Shevchenko is operating, where both – Ukrainians and

representatives of other nationalities study, who expressed their wish to obtain a Ukrainian qualification degree in a state-approved format.

Let us state that the future of relations of Ukraine with Turkey is determined by cooperation of the Turkish country with RF. Russia actively constructs gas pipelines, by which the Russian gas is transmitted to/through the Turkey to Europe. This way Russia provides 60% of gas needs of the Turkey. And Turkey tries to be the leader of the energy transit to the West.

### *The USA and Canada*

The determining factor for preservation of the sovereignty of Ukraine, a stable world and regional condition and progressive promotion of Ukraine is cooperation with *the United States of America*. The USA protects Ukraine in its opposition to Russian aggressors not only through international legal mechanisms, as well as through introduction of unilateral economic sanctions. On September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the USA have added to the list of the sanctioned establishments: the Savings Bank of Russia, Transneft, Surgutneftegaz, Gazpromneft, Lukoil, Gazprom, as well as five defense and highly technological state corporations, in particular Rostekhnologii.

Let us present short summary about the level of bilateral cooperation: recognition of Ukraine from the side of the USA – on December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1991. Establishment of diplomatic relations took place on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1992. Diplomatic establishments: the Embassy of Ukraine in the USA, General Consulates of Ukraine in New-York, San-Francisco and Chicago, the Embassy of the USA in Ukraine. The number of effective documents makes 138. Together with establishment of diplomatic relations the links between the states were developing rather actively, though contradictory. Notwithstanding rather intensive bilateral contact during 1992, the United States detected insufficient understanding of the new political realities, which had arisen in Europe after breakup of the Soviet Union. **For the American administration it was inertness of perception of relations with Ukraine inherent, mainly because of the relations with Russia.** At the same time pro-Russia circles in Washington perceived nuclear

Ukraine as a potential nuclear threat to Russia itself, about which they over-persuaded the USA, considering the Ukrainian nationhood a temporary phenomenon. The USA directly blocked political and economic contacts with Ukraine until ratification by it of the Treaty about offensive disarmament, the Lisbon Protocol and joining the Treaty about non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Certain changes concerning recognition of Ukraine were made not by American politicians, but by politicians – congressmen of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the USA, whose visit to Ukraine took place in April 1993. At their opinion Ukraine was worth considering as a separate sovereign state, which striving to independence was to be supported from the side of the USA. One of the first followers of revising the American concept as regards Ukraine was the special councilor of the Secretary of State of the USA in relations with new independent states S. Talbott. He considered that in relations with Ukraine it was needed to move the center of mass from the problems of nuclear disarmament to the wide circle of matters of cooperation, to develop relations with the USA – Ukraine independently from relations with Russia [40].

During his visit to Kyiv (1993) the next Secretary of State of the USA W. Christopher offered to Ukraine to join the NATO program Partnership for Peace, which may be considered as a tactic means for providing security of countries of Central and East Europe. The meeting in Moscow on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1994 of the Presidents of the USA, Russia and Ukraine on the matters of nuclear disarmament ended in signing the **Trilateral statement**. Upon ratification by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of respective documents cooperation with IMF expanded, as well as with the International financial corporation, the EBRD and EU. So, development of Ukrainian-American relations was a positive consequence of global decisions of Ukraine as regards refusal from Nuclear weapons.

AN important political result of the visit of the President of Ukraine to the USA (November 19–23<sup>rd</sup>, 1994) was signing of the **Charter of Ukrainian-American partnership, amity and cooperation**, as well as entering into of 14 documents. A large political success of diplomacy was **creation of Ukrainian-American interstate**

**commission** Kuchma – Gore in September 1996. The Commission proved itself as a practical mechanism for realization of the principles of strategic partnership and permanent dialogue on a wide circle of bilateral and multilateral matters, which are of mutual interest.

This way in Ukrainian-American relations during 1990-2013 there were either stages of approach observed (when the question was about possible strategic partnership), and periods of spacing (when in Washington the possibility of implementing sanctions against Ukraine were discussed). Though Washington provided political support to the movement for independence and democracy in Ukraine, though the leading partner of the USA in this region still remained Russia. This circumstance determined the policy as regards other countries of post-Soviet territory. Of course, USA and other Western countries were afraid that breakup of the USSR would lead to destabilization of the situation. This position was distinctly determined by the President of the USA **G. Bush** during his visit to Kyiv in 1991, when he stated **that the USA will support the freedom in Ukraine, but not independence from the USSR**. Separatist tendencies in USSR of that time were called by the President of the USA **“self-defeating nationalism”**. Just three weeks after that Ukraine proclaimed its independence.

The most important directions in cooperation of the two countries at the beginning of the millennium were concentrated at stabilization of the situation in Iraq, holding transparent parliament elections in 2006, support from the side of the USA of entrance by Ukraine to NATO and WTO, matters of expanding democratic transformations in Ukraine etc. In the economic sphere **the Protocol about access to markets of goods and services** was signed, **Ukraine was provided a status of a country with market economy, the Congress of the USA cancelled the “Jackson–Vanik” amendment adopted during the times of the cold war against the USSR** etc.

One of the priorities of the USA is support of strivings of Ukrainians to reach energy independence. American companies ExxonMobil and Chevron are very interested in operation at the Ukrainian energy market, and at the opinion of the Ambassador of the

USA in Ukraine, they have to bring innovation technologies, know-how and American money into the Ukrainian energy sector.

Ukraine and the USA have agreed about supply of nuclear fuel for atomic power plants of the American company Westinghouse, which has successfully passed the expertise in Ukraine. After this Rosatom has lost the monopoly at the Ukrainian market of nuclear fuel. The Agreement between «Energoatom» and the Swedish subdivision of Westinghouse Electric Sweden AB as to supply of nuclear fuel for Ukrainian APS dated April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2014 is effective; the parties have agreed to prolong it for 5 years – till 2020. However, cooperation with Westinghouse assumes further usage of Russian fuel, as pursuant to the above-mentioned Agreement American fuel installations will be loaded only for two energy units of the South-Ukrainian APS and for one block of Zaporizhzhya APS. The rest 12 reactors will still operate at the Russian fuel.

One of the important approaches of Ukrainian-American cooperation is creation of the interstate body of high level, which at the proposal of Ukraine is established as the commission on the matters of strategic partnership. The strategic format of bilateral relations was formalized in the **Charter of Ukraine-USA about strategic partnership** dated December 20<sup>th</sup>, 2008. The parties plan to work closely over modernization of Ukrainian gas transportation infrastructure, diversification and safety of Ukrainian sources of nuclear fuel, which will reduce the dependence of Ukraine on other foreign suppliers. The American party is interested in the issue of shale gas production in the territory of Ukraine.

For the development of the **Roadmap of priorities of Ukrainian-American cooperation** Ukraine and the USA started a bilateral group on the matters of energy. Pursuant to the Declaration of Summit USA-EU dated June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2008 the countries deepen the trilateral dialogue with EU as regards strengthened energy safety.

**Active dialogue Ukraine-USA** is certified by a number of contacts during the following years, among which let us recollect the visit to Ukraine on November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2013 of the assistant of the Secretary of State on the matters of Europe and Asia V. Nuland; On December 5<sup>th</sup>, 2013 – the visit to Ukraine of V. Nuland for taking part in the

Ministerial meeting of OSCE in Kyiv. On February 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 – the meeting within the framework of the Munich conference on the matters of safety etc.

On September 17-18<sup>th</sup>, 2014 during the working visit of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko to the USA negotiations with B. Obama took place. The Presidents have discussed the issues of safety, economics, financial cooperation, energy. **The President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko has stated the importance of support by the USA in opposition to aggression of Russia against Ukraine.** During the meeting it was agreed that Ukraine will receive additional assistance to USD 240 million which are already received and USD 1 billion of financial guarantees. The USA will expand the assistance to Ukraine in the economic sphere and in resolving the matters of security, and will further support the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine.

**Bilateral structures if high level are operating.** The key Ukrainian-American interstate body if a bilateral Commission for strategic partnership (CSP), headed by the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine and the Secretary of State of the USA. CSP coordinates the activity of six inter-industry mechanisms, the competence of which includes the matters of political dialogue and supremacy of law, non-distribution and export control, energy and nuclear security, science and technologies, trade and investments, as well as defense. The dialogue in trading and economic sphere is held by the bilateral Council on the matters of trade and investments.

**Trading and economic cooperation.** In 2013 the total goods turnover between Ukraine and the USA made USD 2 752, 8 million. The specific gravity of the Ukrainian export consists of: No. 28 (non-organic chemistry products), No. 72 (cast iron and steel), No. 73 (cast iron and steel products) and No. 27 (energy materials). Under the volumes of direct investments to Ukraine the USA rank twelfth. As of 01.10.2013 there were USD 985, 8 million of American investments attracted to Ukraine, which makes 1, 7% of the total volume. In 2014 the total goods turnover between the USA and Ukraine reduced and made USD 1753, 7 million.

President of the USA B. Obama, other politicians actively supported Ukraine in its struggle for the state sovereignty,

independence and territorial integrity. **Namely the USA started the campaign on introducing political and economic sanctions against Russia, which holds undeclared war against the sovereign state Ukraine (2014).** Namely the USA started the dialogue with the Russian leadership with the purpose of peaceful resolution of the problem and overcoming the crisis. The Secretary of State of the USA assured the Ukrainian Side that aggression of Russia against Ukraine *is not just violation of all international laws, but also extremely dangerous actions, which will lead to international isolation and strengthened sanctions.* American sanctions against Russia have expanded to the National agency of USA on aeronautics and space research (NASA), though this prohibition does not concern exploitation of the International Space Station (ISS). The American aero-space agency NASA declared that it stops cooperation with Russia in protest to the policy of RF as to Crimea. The USA have also terminated issuing licenses for military products to Russia (in 2013 the USA exported to Russia explosives and laser devices for the total amount of USD 1, 5 billion).

**Canada** was the first of the developed countries has recognized the independent Ukraine on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established on January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1992. On a parity basis Embassies and Consulates of both countries operate. Political contacts at the highest level started from the visit to Canada of L. Kravchuk on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1991. The first official visit of the leader of the foreign state to Ukraine was arrival of the governor general R.G. Gnatyshyn (September 28<sup>th</sup> – October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1992). On September 16-17<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the visit to Canada of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko took place. Contacts at the level of external political industries and parliaments are regular.

The contractual legal base consists of 50 effective documents. In July 1992 Canada and Ukraine signed **the Declaration about economic cooperation.** The key document is also **the Joint Declaration about special partnership** (Kyiv, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1994) and **the Treaty on trading and commercial relations.** This way, bilateral relations between Ukraine and Canada were raise to the level of special partnership, under which both countries provided each other the status

of the greatest assistance. A special role in development of links between the countries was played by **the Treaty of amity and cooperation** dated October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1994. A bilateral Commission on the matters of trading and economic cooperation was created.

Over the first semi year of 2014 as compared to the respective period of 2013 the volume of bilateral **trade of goods and services** between Ukraine and Canada reduced and made USD 184 million. **Basic items of the Ukrainian export:** hard coal, anthracite (26,7 %); fertilizers (16,9 %), ferrous metals products (17,6 %); tanning extracts (6 %); parts of machines and equipment, mechanical appliances (4,9 %), ferrous metals (3,8 %); cuprum and products of it (3,2 %); toys (2,5 %); ceramic products (2,1 %); grain crops (1,9 %). In the first semi year of 2014 the amount of bilateral trade of services between Ukraine and Canada made USD 62 million. The balance of trade of services is positive and made USD 20 million. More than USD 91, 7 million of Canadian **investments** were attracted to Ukraine, which makes 0, 2 % of the total amount.

Among the international problems, which present joint interest, there outstand such as peace-making activity and development of mechanism of preventive diplomacy; reformation of UN system, in particular UN Security Council, as well as social and economic structures of the Organization. With the Canadian party various variants of certain practical aid to Ukraine are worked out. As the result, a number of perspective bilateral projects were started.

Ukraine and Canada are linked not only by joint valuables and interests, but also the historical, cultural and family relations. In Canada there reside over 1, 2 million persons of Ukrainian origin, who took much effort for creation of the modern Canada. At the same time Ukrainians of Canada give their respect and sacredly protect their national roots.

**Canada supported Ukraine in its opposition to the aggressor.** The Canadian vessel MSC Eloise arrived to Odessa port on January 10<sup>th</sup>, 2015 with humanitarian cargo for the Ukrainian army – military winter uniform and other aid of non-lethal nature from the government of Canada for the Armed Forces of Ukraine. To Ukraine three vessels are sent with Canadian humanitarian aid, namely – 54 maritime

containers in which there are – 67 thousand pairs of shoes and 27 thousand of warm coats and trousers. Besides, the Canadians sent to Ukraine an aircraft with mobile hospitals.

The Ministry of defense of Ukraine and the Ministry of national defense of Canada signed on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2014 **the Declaration of intentions**. At the same time on December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the leader of Canadian government Stephen Harper declared about introduction of additional economic sanctions and prohibition to arrive for 20 Russian and Ukrainian persons, as well as about new restrictions of export to Russia of technologies for exploration and extraction of oil. S. Harper assured the President of Ukraine in Canadian support of Ukraine, in particular by way of providing military aid, as well as he stressed the importance of the recently signed declaration of intentions concerning military cooperation between the countries [40].

**Conclusions.** Bilateral relations of Ukraine with other countries have been established according to similar schemes: recognition of Ukraine as a sovereign state, establishment of diplomatic relations, opening embassies and consulates, signing basic treaties, further expanding contractual legal base, development of political, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, as well as cooperation in the sphere of culture, and finally, expanding and deepening the sphere of trading and economic cooperation. The schemes are rather similar, however, the course of development and the means of development of bilateral relations are differential. The levels of political, economic, humanitarian and cultural cooperation also differ. Analyzing the bilateral relations, it is to come to the conclusion that strategic relations were built by Ukraine with the USA, the Republic of Poland and Georgia.

Among the most important Western partners, Germany, Sweden and Baltic countries can be distinguished. Let us state that Germany ranks first under the trading and economic turnover among the EU states. In 2013 the key share of Ukrainian goods export was directed to Poland (15, 1%), Italy (14, 1%), Germany (10, 0%), Hungary (9, 8%) and Netherlands (6, 0%). At the same time, the largest number of goods was brought from FRG (26, 1%), Poland (15, 0%), Italy (7, 6%) and

France (6, 7%). FRG is one of the first most active investors into Ukrainian industry.

### ***4.3. Russia and “new independent states” in the Ukrainian foreign policy [1]***

**Ukrainian-Russian relations.** Ukraine and Russia are leading countries of the European and post-Soviet space. In 2014 Russia started undeclared war against Ukraine, occupied the Crimea, and tries to capture also other territory of Ukraine. **Russia has crossed all agreements, violated all norms of the international law and is the aggressor against Ukraine.**

In the history of bilateral relations there were different stages of cooling down and activation of cooperation, however nobody could even assume that the “strategic partner of Ukraine”, which this country called itself, the Russian Federation would start aggressive war against the Ukrainian state.

On May 31<sup>st</sup>, 1997 (Kyiv) with great difficulties Ukraine managed to sign with Russia **the Treaty of amity, cooperation and partnership between Ukraine and RF.**

The key provisions of the document are legal recognition by the parties of the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ratified the documents on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1998, the State Duma – on December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1998, and the supreme chamber of the Russian parliament Council of the Federation – on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 1999. Russia blackmailed Ukraine; it did not ratify the Treaty until Ukraine ratifies the Black Sea treaty in favor of Russia.

Failure to observe the basic interstate treaty is a pure and aggressive challenge not only for Ukraine but to the whole civilized world.

Cooperation of Ukraine and the Russian Federation relied upon the serious **contractual legal base:** as of 2014 – 373 documents, which are to regulate the wide circle of matters of bilateral cooperation. The President V. Yanukovich, betraying the interests of the Ukrainian people, in 2010 prolonged presence in the Crimea of the military Black

Sea fleet of Russia for 25 years, though no referendum on this issue was held. The ruling Party of regions voted “for” – 236 deputies, and 212 deputies boycotted the voting. In 2014 this document was denounced by Ukraine. **It is necessary to state that in conditions of aggressive occupational actions by Russia all contractual bases with RF are not objective.**

In 1990-ies diplomatic and consular structures in both countries were developed, which relied upon bilateral recognition (December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1991) and establishment of diplomatic relations (February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1992). General consulates of Ukraine were operating in Saint-Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Nizhniy Novgorod, Rostov-on-Don and Novossibirsk. Russia opened General Consulates in Lviv, Kharkiv, the Honorary consulate of Russia in the city of Chernihiv. General consulates of RF were operating also in Donetsk, Odessa and Simferopol.

The Russian Federation was an important partner in trading with Ukraine: its share in trading with Ukraine during a long time fluctuated within 45 %, and Ukraine ranked first under the volumes of goods turnover with Russia among all CIS countries. Such high indices were connected with the growth of prices for energy sources, which were again introduced by Russia. This way, **the goods turnover in monetary equivalent growth not at the cost of deepening cooperation, but as the result of increase of Ukrainian import of energy sources.**

The trading balance was formed not in favor of Ukraine: over January-April 2014 the volumes of external trade made USD 10 billion 823, 3 million. The amount of direct investments from Ukraine to the Russian Federation as of 01.04.2014 made USD 392, 6 million or 5, 9 % of the total amount of investments of Ukraine.

External trade of Russia with the countries of the European Union made 48, 8% of goods turnover. With CIS countries – 14,1%. **Russia gradually grew the goods turnover with EU, however reduced it with CIS countries. Russia depends on supplies from Ukraine.** The energy dependence of Ukraine and Russia is mutual: through the territory of Ukraine transit roads to Europe are laid. Russia intensively creates alternative ways of export of energy resources with the purpose of refusal from Ukrainian transit. If through the Ukrainian

gas transmission network 90% of all gas export of Russia to Europe passed, now this index has significantly reduced.

**Atomic energy.** The National industry satisfies 15% of the needs of nuclear-energy complex of Ukraine, and equipment, materials, facilities are supplied from other countries. The Russian “Concern TVEL” annually supplied to Ukraine nuclear materials for the total amount of USD 200—250 million. At the same time 20 % of uranium raw materials, coming to Russia, are extracted in Ukraine (45% in Kazakhstan, 10 % in Uzbekistan), and after its concentration, returned back to Ukraine as the fuel. **For the strategic interests of Ukraine this would be good to have alternative sources of nuclear fuel supply.**

Traditionally Ukraine and Russia cooperated in **space and military sphere**: together the countries produced engines AI-222; aircrafts Yak-130 i AN-148, helicopters Mi-8/Mi-171.

In the spheres of science and technologies the countries relied upon the Treaty about cooperation between the Russian academy of sciences and the National academy of sciences of Ukraine (July 1992) and the Treaty about scientific cooperation between the Siberian department of the Russian academy of sciences and the National academy of sciences of Ukraine (July 1998). Between the federations of Russia and the regions of Ukraine there were more than 250 agreements on cooperation entered into.

Promotion to the Russian market of Ukrainian confectionary and dairy products was observed. Joint areas of free trade were functioning (Euroregions), like Polissya (Briansk, Gomel, Chernihiv regions), Donbas — cooperation within the triangle Donetsk — Rostov — Mariupol (Donetsk and Luhansk regions and the Krasnodar territory), Slobozhanshchina (Belgorod and Kharkiv regions).

Today the bilateral relations of Ukraine with Russia have to fulfill the following requirements:

- cessation of hostilities against Ukraine,
- returning the occupied territory,
- recovery of material and moral losses,
- recognition of sovereign principles, non-interference into the internal affairs;

- respect to the choice of partners (concerning third countries);
- recognition of external political and external economic orientation;
- parity in making decisions etc.

At the same time, **in conditions of war with Russia against Ukraine, occupation of the Crimea, performing the military operation on the East of Ukraine, is cooperation with the invader possible at all?** [1].

Our country will have to seek various means of opposing and mechanisms of punishing the aggressor.

Ukraine gives the priority essence to development of long-term relations with the neighboring counties.

**Relations of Ukraine with the Republic of Belarus** are reasoned by the cultural affinity, absence of territorial claims, common border, tight economic links. The diplomatic relations between the counties were established on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1991, ambassadors were appointed, who exchanges credential letters, and embassies are opened. Bilateral relations for the certain time were regulated by the Treaty of amity and cooperation dated December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1990. On June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1995 during the visit of the President of Ukraine to Belarus a new **Treaty of amity and cooperation** was signed. On June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2013 the Treaty between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus about the state border was ratified (dated May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1997, city of Kyiv).

In 2005 the contractual legal base for Ukrainian-Belarusian relations consisted of 205 treaties. Among them – on the matters of trading and economic cooperation, communication and transport communication, military and technical interaction. Provisions of the Treaty on visa-free trips of citizens formalize the right of the citizens of Ukraine to be present in Belarus for 90 days.

From April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1996 **the Interstate Ukrainian-Belarusian commission** on the matters of trading and economic cooperation started operating. The parties regularly discuss the matters of bilateral cooperation on environment protection, liquidation of consequences of the accident at ChNPP. Special attention is paid to

the problems of West Polissya, protection of unique ecological system of Shatsky lakes.

Notwithstanding participation of Belarus in the Customs Union of RF, Kazakhstan and Belarus from 2010, the volumes of bilateral cooperation with Ukraine grew steadily. **The goods turnover between Ukraine and Belarus in 2011** as compared to 2010 increased by 38, 5 %, having made USD 5, 01 billion. Over three quarters of 2014 the goods turnover with RB made USD 4, 6 billion and grew by USD 32, 69 million or 0, 72 %.

The negative factor that influences the bilateral relations is joining by Belarus to the Customs Union, as well as joint state of Belarus and Russia (from December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1996), which is transformed into the Union state of Russian Federation and Republic of Belarus (1999).

Ukraine attracted the Belarusian party to active cooperation. However, these steps turned out to be insufficient. Notwithstanding the difficulties of bilateral relations Ukrainian state assists Belarus to withdraw from the international isolation, positive image of the neighbor in UN, OSCE and other organizations.

At the same time, the position of leadership of RB concerning occupation by Russia of the Crimea, concerning the Customs Union testifies to double standards: the Belarusian leadership not always unconditionally takes lead from the policy of RF.

**Ukraine and Moldova** are reliable partners in protection of the sovereignty and indivisibility of their territories, in moving towards the European integration. The countries at all levels jointly work out the variants of opposition to new challenges that have arisen. During the official visit to Moldova on November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko has held negotiations with residents of Moldova N. Timofti and of Poland B. Komorowski about **Eurointegration goals of the countries – members of East partnership**. On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine P. Klimkin negotiated the actual matters of bilateral cooperation, **interaction of Ukraine and Moldova in the sphere of regional security**: continuation of negotiation process on Trans-Dniester regulation in the

format «5+2» (the Republic of Moldova, the Trans-Dniester Moldavian Republic (TMR), Ukraine, EU, the USA, Russia).

On December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1991 Moldova recognized the independent Ukraine. The countries established diplomatic relations on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Moldova (March 1993) and the Embassy of the Republic of Moldova in Ukraine (July 1993) started their operation which contributed to adjustments of tight contacts.

Significant number of Ukrainian live in Moldova – over 600 thousand persons and over 250 thousand Moldavians live in Ukraine in Odessa, Zakarpattya and Chernigiv region etc.

**Cooperation of Ukraine and Moldova covers the matter of general European orientation:** creation of near-border infrastructure, demarcation of state borders, bilateral cooperation etc. This and other are negotiated within the framework of trilateral consultations on the issues of near-border and customs cooperation: Ukraine – the European Union – the Republic of Moldova.

Cooperating of the countries relies upon the ramified contractual base. The Interstate **Treaty of good neighborly relations, amity and cooperation**, signed on October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1992, was ratified only in 1996. The reason for prevarication with recognition of an important document was the **territorial** matter: the part of the border, which the Moldavian party considered disputed. Finally, Ukraine transferred into the long-term lease to the Republic of Moldova several dozens of kilometers of its own territory in the district of the territory Giurgiulești. This way, **Ukraine provided to Moldova the possibility to resolve geostrategic and economic matters – to get the access to the sea, to become a maritime state.**

**Volumes of trade with Moldova** also increased. Over 2013 the external trading turnover of goods and services between Ukraine and Moldova reached USD 1109, 0 million.

**The Trans-Dniester problem** is the constituent part of the integrity of the country. Let us remind that in the territory of Moldova the Gagauz Republic appeared on August 19<sup>th</sup>, 1990 and the Trans-Dniester Moldavian Republic (TMR) on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1990. The newly created formations hold insistent struggle for their

autonomy. The constitution of the state, which became effective on August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1994, proclaimed Moldova a sovereign and indivisible state. At the same time constitutional basis for political regulation of conflicts are created, connected with arising in the territory of Moldova of self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic and TMR. These territorial autonomies have the right for self-establishment in case of change of the state status of Moldova, for example in case of its annexation to Romania.

Among other problems which can cause instability in the region is obtaining double citizenship (in this process the active position is taken by Russia and Romania).

After the civil war at the beginning of 1990-ies of Moldova and the Trans-Dniester republic, as the result of which dozens of peaceful populations died, Ukraine joined the peace-making process, trying to protect the rights of Ukrainian population. **Our country pursuant to its obligations under the Helsinki document and the norms of the international law has taken the principal position of unconditional respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova.** The position of Ukraine is in the fact that political regulation of the conflict has to stipulate providing to the Trans-Dniester of administrative and territorial autonomy in the structure of RM. The population of the Trans-Dniester is to be guaranteed the possibility to resolve their destiny by way of democratic will-expressing in case of change of the international and legal status of the Republic of Moldova.

In September 2001 Ukraine offered a certain mechanism for unblocking the complicated matter, and the Moldavian party initiated introduction at the Ukrainian-Moldavian border of international monitoring. With this purpose from September 2005 OSCE mission, located under the consent of Ukraine in the city of Odessa, started working. However, the countries of the conflict and the guarantor states did not yet manage to work out the effective mechanism for regulation of the Trans-Dniester problem: the obstacle for this is presence in the territory of Trans-Dniester of Russian troops.

The reasons for periodical distancing in relations are in striving of Moldova to play the role of the leader in the region. In Moldavian mass

media anti-Ukrainian campaign opens from time to time: in particular it is stressed on discrepancies between Chisinau and Kyiv concerning the matters of realization of European-Asian oil transportation corridor. Moldova tries to load with oil the territory Giurgiulești, which it constructed at the section of the Ukrainian border, given to Moldova for use. Moldova tries to weaken the significance of Ukrainian ports in cities Reni and Illyichivsk, to reduce their attractiveness in the eyes of oil exporters.

At the same time the Trans-Dniester leadership adjusts contacts with Ukraine. At the end of April 2004 **the intermediaries from Russia, Ukraine and OSCE have managed to unblock the negotiation process** and on December 14—15<sup>th</sup>, 2004 in the city of Vienna a special meeting took place concerning Trans-Dniester regulation. This way, Ukraine protects the indivisibleness of territories and borders, established after World War II. At the same time it may not stay aside the events of failure to observe the international treaties as regards protection of the rights of Ukrainian ethnic minority in the Republic of Moldova.

**The Republic of Azerbaijan (RA)** as the oil-extracting country with great economic potential has all chances to become an important economic partner of our country in resolving the matters of energy procurement. The diplomatic relations of Ukraine and Azerbaijan were established on February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The interstate **Treaty of amity and cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Azerbaijan** was signed on December 9<sup>th</sup>, 1992 during the official visit to Ukraine of the President of Azerbaijan. The diplomatic representative office of Ukraine in Baku was opened on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1996. The Embassy of Azerbaijan in Ukraine functions from March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1997.

**The contractual legal base** of bilateral relations, which consist of 126 documents, was expanding by attracting third countries, as, for example, Islamic Republic of Iran, which was caused by the problem of search of alternative sources for energy supply (gas from Iran). This way, on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1992 in Kyiv a trilateral agreement about construction of gas pipeline Iran – West Europe was signed (the project

is not effective). With signing in December 1996 (city of Odessa) of the agreement between Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Georgia and opening of ferry connection Odessa-Poti, cooperation of Ukraine and RA activated. However, Azerbaijan did not manage to provide with oil the pipeline Odessa-Brody (Plock – Gdansk).

Basic items of Ukrainian export are the products of metallurgical industry – 43, 6%; agricultural and industrial complex – 24, 4%; machine building – 14, 0% and chemical industry – 8, 6%. Import: chemical industry goods – 33, 7%; fuel and energy complex – 25, 5% and agricultural and industrial complex – 23, 9%. **The balance of bilateral trade for Ukraine is positive – USD 698, 59 million.**

External political positions of Ukraine and Azerbaijan from many issues coincide. Ukraine appreciates the independent nature of the Caucasus partner, its careful treatment of creating any supranational structures, in particular in CIS, creation of one-sided unions, denouncement of interference of Russia into the internal affairs of Ukraine and disrespect of the sovereignty.

**The Ukrainian society in Azerbaijan** accounts 21, 5 thousand persons. In the republic of Azerbaijan there operate two national cultural organizations of Ukrainians abroad: «The Ukrainian society in Azerbaijan named after T. G. Shevchenko» from 1997 and «The Ukrainian congress of Azerbaijan» from 2012.

Development of partnership relations with RA is facilitated by the weighted position of Ukraine in the matter of regulation of the conflict around *Nagornyi Karabakh*. Ukraine offered to Azerbaijan its peace-making contingent to the area of conflict with Armenia. For resolving of the problem of refugees it was offered to use the consultative and operative assistance of OSCE with the participation of Ukraine. Expanding of cooperation in the humanitarian sphere aims at providing spiritual needs of the Ukrainian society in Azerbaijan and the informational exchange between the countries.

**Ukraine and the Republic of Georgia** actively develop wide partnership. Let us remind of the fact that the two Republics have

entered into the interstate Treaty of amity and cooperation on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1918 yet, and opened diplomatic representative offices in the capital cities.

**On December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1991 the Republic of Georgia recognized the state sovereignty**, the state independence and the territorial integrity of modern Ukraine. The diplomatic establishments: the Embassy of Ukraine in Georgia (05.04.1994), the Consular agency of Ukraine in the city of Batumi, the Embassy of Georgia in Ukraine (19.08.1994). External political agencies of Ukraine and Georgia on a regular basis hold consultations on various issues of regional and bilateral agenda.

The contractual legal base includes over 130 documents, among them – **the Treaty of amity, cooperation and mutual assistance between Ukraine and the Republic of Georgia** (April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1993). Comprehensive cooperation of Ukraine and Georgia meets the strategic interests of Ukraine. Through Georgia Ukraine is able to resolve acute matters of diversification of sources for oil and gas supply, to expand the spheres of cooperation with Azerbaijan and Armenia, the countries of Asian region.

Cooperation with Ukraine meets the economic and political interests of Georgia: industrial and agricultural complex of Ukraine satisfies the essential need of the country in products of ferrous metallurgy, light and foods industry. The countries also provide assistance in complicated issues of security: the Ukrainian party helps Georgia in cases of trading wars of Russia. Significant assistance was given by the Government of Ukraine to Georgia during the Abkhazian conflict: helicopters of Ukrainian Armed Air Forces moved out 7634 refugees, delivered 500 tons of products, medications, clothes, fuel. Transport aircrafts of Ukraine from Cologne (Germany) to Tbilisi there were over 50 tons of humanitarian aid moved. Public societies of Ukraine also provided aid to those who suffered with articles of daily necessity.

Let us remind that Azerbaijan came to aid the Georgian partners, having provided fuel under reduced prices, when Russia via Gazprom RF has deprived Georgia of the heating during the coldest frosty winter.

**Trading and economic cooperation.** In January-November 2013 the bilateral goods turnover reduced and made USD 668, 2 million. Positive balance in favor of Ukraine made USD 312 million.

For increase of goods flows at the ferry crossing Illyichivsk-Poti-Batumi in 2000 there was a Ukrainian-Georgian agreement signed about reduction of transport tariffs. In search of alternative energy sources Georgia under the agreement of 1997 purchases from Ukraine wind electric power plants, produced in Pavlodar and Dnipropetrovsk.

Ukraine supplied to Georgia equipment for objects of metallurgical industry, drilling facilities for wells, air energy equipment, as well as trolley-buses, tramway wagons, electro locomotives and buses. Traditionally Georgia purchases Ukrainian sugar, grain crops, spirits, vegetable oil. Ukraine — cognac spirits, wines, citrus fruits, tea, mineral waters. Cooperation of the states in creation of optic fiber communication network from China to West Europe is developed.

Georgia and Ukraine are the countries with weighty scientific potential. The countries actively cooperate in scientific developments in BSEC, the International center of Black Sea researches in Athens, the Working group on scientific technical cooperation, the Permanent academic committee of BSEC; they jointly work in the International center of water problems and the International center of technologies transfer of BSEC. Scientists from 1993 jointly work within the framework of the International association of the Academy of sciences (IAAS).

Ukraine and Georgia defend integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic security, political and economic structures. As the result of war of Russia against Georgia (events in the South Ossetia) Georgia has withdrawn from CIS in August 2008.

The total number of **Ukrainian society in Georgia** made 7 thousand persons (0, 2% from the total number of the population). 10 Ukrainian public organizations are operating: the Association of Ukrainian residents of Georgia; the Association of Ukrainians of Kvemo-Kartli region named after Lesia Ukrainka; the Ukrainian cultural and educational society “Druzhba”; the International cultural-charitable and scientific-educational association of Ukrainian society of

Georgia “Dnipro”; the Georgian-Ukrainian cultural-educational organization “Golden Fleece”; Georgian-Ukrainian cultural-educational organization “Yednist”; the Union of Ukrainian teachers of Georgia “Osvityany”; the association of Ukrainians of Georgia “Rushnyk”, the House of Georgian-Ukrainian press and book, the Ukrainian women council in Georgia.

**Strategic cooperation of the two countries is confirmed both – in economic and in political measurement.** In connection with the events in Ukraine 2004 (the Orange revolution), the President of Georgia M. Saakashvili one of the first from the foreign leaders recognized the constitutional nature of the choice of the Ukrainian people. 2005 was announced the year of Georgia in Ukraine. The leaders of the countries signed **the Declaration about strategic cooperation.** In August 2005 the Presidents signed the **Statement of intentions to create the union of states of Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian region.**

Georgia considers Ukraine as a regional leader in the matters of economics, security and policy. Kyiv, at the opinion of the Georgian colleagues, is the loco of European integration. Ukraine in its time was also invited to join the group of countries Friends of the General Secretary of UN  as regards Georgia. This specific form of assisting in resolving problems are usually introduced by UN  in complicated cases of long conflicts. Except Ukraine the members of the group are the USA, FRG, France, Great Britain and RF. With the assistance of the group Georgia counted upon gradual replacement of Russian peace-making troops with the international military contingent under the leadership of UN  (blue helmets). However, the problem was still made more complicated because of the fact that at the beginning of 1990 the CIS countries transferred to Russia the functions of a peace-maker.

Russian peace-makers were brought to the area of conflict in 1994 under the decision of CIS countries. 86 Russian died, and in 2008 – about 100 persons. Expansionist activity of RF strengthened, which provided to the citizens of Georgia – Abkhaz and Ossetia Russian citizenship: almost 80% of residents of self-proclaimed Republics have Russian passports. The Russian parliament, in violation of the norms f

international law after the war of August 2008, have annexed Abkhazia and South Ossetia to Russia.

**International measures on protection of the sovereignty of Georgia are not effective: Russia continues performing the policy of dividing the country.** Ukraine denounces any interference into the internal affairs of the sovereign Georgia.

In similar situation Ukraine found itself in spring – summer 2014 as the result of occupation by Russia of the Crimea and holding war in the Ukrainian Eastern regions.

The Ukrainian-Georgian relations are being developed pursuant to the needs and possibilities of the two countries. Ukraine and Georgia in conditions of opposing the external threat and occupation of the part of territories remain the important regional partners.

The beginning for the **Ukrainian-Armenian** cooperation was put by establishment on December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1991 of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Armenia. The Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Armenia started operating in Yerevan in September 1996 the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia in Ukraine was opened in January 1993. The contractual legal base accounts for 74 documents. In May 1992 The MFA of Armenia has given for consideration of Ukraine the drafts of the interstate **Treaty of amity and cooperation, as well as the Treaty about cultural cooperation**, which were soon signed.

Over 2012 the total external trading turnover between Ukraine and the Republic of Armenia (goods and services) made USD 225, 73 million. Over January-October 2013 this number reached USD 174, 15 million. **The balance for Ukraine was positive.**

Ukraine is interested in normalization of Armenian-Azerbaijani relations, aggravated as the result of Nagorny Karabakh problem. Deepening of cooperation of Ukraine with Azerbaijan is taken negatively in Armenia. Let us remind that **Armenia has supported the pro-Russian policy in the war of RF against Ukraine.**

In the Transcaucasian region Ukraine observes the traditional policy of balances relations with each of the Transcaucasia countries, first of all it relates to Armenia and Azerbaijan. Under the trilateral

negotiations in 2004 and in 2013 perspectives for interaction of Ukraine and Armenia have arisen in providing gas supply from Iran with the help of Turkey.

In accordance with the population census in Armenia there live 1633 of ethnic Ukrainians, and under the unofficial data – about 3 thousand. The Ministry of justice of the Republic of Armenia has registered the Federation of Ukrainians of Armenia “Ukraine”.

**Ukraine – the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK).** Cooperation of the two countries has constructive nature. On December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1991 Ukraine recognized RK as the independent state. Kazakhstan recognized Ukraine on December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1991; on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1992 diplomatic relations were established. On May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1994 (in Almaty), and from January 2001 (in Astana) the Embassy of Ukraine is functioning. In December 1994 in Kyiv the Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan started working. On February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1991 there was **the Treaty of amity and cooperation between the then Ukraine and KazSSR entered into**, and the first official visit to Kazakhstan of the President of Ukraine was performed in September 1995.

Pursuant to the inventory of the contractual legal base between Ukraine and Kazakhstan 56 documents are effective, among which the key is the **Treaty of amity and cooperation** dated January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1994. Among the documents besides the basic treaty the important if the **Program of economic integration** of Ukraine and Kazakhstan in the sphere of heavy industry for 1994-2000, which stipulated creation of new interstate structures – association Titan, consortium on development of bauxites, equipment for welding etc. Deep links united Ukraine and Kazakhstan in the rocket and space industry: in the territory of Kazakhstan one of the best space airdromes Baikonur is situated. An important step in expanding the relations was signing of the **Declaration of deepening the cooperation** and treaties about cooperation in the spheres of space exploration, development of oil and gas industry. With the support of Kazakhstan **Ukraine was admitted as the supervisor to the Meeting on interaction and measures of trust in Asia.**

At the same time Kazakhstan has joined the Customs Union of Russia and Belarus – refused from ratification of the Treaty between the governments of Ukraine and RK about free trade. There is a problem of mutual settlements of Kazakh companies (the Kazakh party has the debt to the Novokramatorsk plant in the amount of RUB 43 billion of that time).

Kazakhstan needs deliveries from Ukraine of products of processing spheres of agricultural industrial complex, products of chemical industry, equipment, products of ferrous metallurgy, electrical machines, railway transport, land transport vehicles, construction assembled structures etc. From Kazakhstan asbestos, mica, mineral fuel, cotton, cuprum and products of it, grain etc. is imported. Ukraine offers to take part in development of extraction of oil and gas at the continental shield of Caspian region, in construction of pipelines, oil processing plants. The Ukrainian interests are also connected with the Kazakhstan oil. In Kazakhstan about 34 million tons of oil a year is extracted, which is exported by oil pipelines in the territory of Russia.

Among the problems of cooperation of CIS countries there is competition in some industries of production, in particular in steel industry, where the members of the Union are competitors at the world sales markets. Special aggravation in this sphere competition possibilities of Ukraine and Kazakhstan have acquired unlike the Russian.

Open, as compared to other countries of the areas, external policy, stability have attracted to Kazakhstan many famous foreign companies: Agip, Atlantic Richfield, British petroleum, Chevron, CS First Boston, Mobil, USX — U.S. Steel, ABB. Such orientation to foreign investments has given its positive results – additional earnings to the state treasure of the country, blocked in steppe area.

On June 7<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the visit of the Prime Minister of RK to Ukraine took place for participation in the ceremony of inauguration of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko. On August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014 the Presidents of Ukraine and Kazakhstan took part in consultations in the format EU–Ukraine – “Eurasian triple” (city of Minsk).  December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 under the results of visit of the President of Kazakhstan

N. Nazarbaev to Ukraine it was agreed about activation of cooperation in the energy, machine building, aviation building, space industries and in military technical sphere.

In the bilateral cooperation of Ukraine with Kazakhstan there are also negative tendencies — gradual weakening of economic links. Notwithstanding wide possibilities of Ukraine, its share in the total goods turnover of Kazakhstan fluctuates within 4%. At the same time the Kazakh leader promoted the Customs Union with Russia and Belarus as the alternative to EU. Finally the idea as to filling with oil of the pipeline Odessa-Brody became the history.

In the difficult for Ukraine time of struggle for the independence in 2014 the Kazakhstan party offered Ukraine to preserve and multiply the accrued potential of bilateral cooperation. As regards the occupational policy of Russia in Ukraine, **the President N. Nazarbaev considers it unacceptable to interfere by other countries into the internal affairs of sovereign countries.**

Unconditional influence on development of Ukrainian-Kazakh relations belongs to the **ethnic factor**: in Kazakhstan there live over 900 thousand of Ukrainians, 37 % of which recognized Ukrainian language as native. From 1989 in Almaty there operates the Ukrainian cultural center, the Ukrainian newspaper “Ukrainian news” is published, the Ukrainian lyceum operates, as well as the library of Ukrainian books.

Together with this the Ukrainian of Kazakhstan account for the aid of Ukraine, which gives school books, fiction books etc. The Ukrainian of Kazakhstan have conducted the Days of culture of Ukraine in Kazakhstan and Days of culture of Kazakhstan in Ukraine, they took part in celebration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of foundation of the Shevchenko Fund. It is worth mentioning that recently strengthening of emigration of Ukrainians to Kazakhstan is observed.

Special attention is paid by Ukraine to the **Republic of Turkmenistan**, as a number of strategic leverages is put into them, in particular alternative sources of gas supply.

The principles of activity at the international arena were announced by the leadership of Turkmenistan as the positive neutrality,

non-interference into the internal affairs of other countries and equal mutually beneficial partnership. On December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1995 the General Assembly of UN adopted a Resolution about **permanent neutrality of Turkmenistan**. The key external political and trading partner of Turkmenistan traditionally is Russia.

The active position of multi-vector nature is supported by a number of agreements and treaties, in particular **the Treaty of further development of interstate relations with Ukraine**. The diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Turkmenistan were started on October 10<sup>th</sup>, 1992 during the visit of the President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk to Ashgabat. At the same time there was **the Treaty of amity and cooperation** between the countries entered into. Bilateral relations of the countries in 2014 were marked by active political contacts at the highest level: February 4–5<sup>th</sup>, 2014 in Ashgabat under the results of negotiations there was the Program of cooperation between the Ministries of foreign affairs signed for 2014–2015 and others.

Cooperation of Ukraine and Turkmenistan in the **energetic sphere** from the middle of 1990-ies was regulated by the Treaty of cooperation in the sphere of energy and industry for 1996—1997. Under the agreement the Ukrainian companies were to take part in realization of a number of projects, among which: construction of electric power transmission lines (EPTL), electric substation «Seidi», repair of energy equipment of Mari GRES etc.

The next step in development of Ukrainian-Turkmen cooperation was attracting to it of the Iran party. **The Memorandum of trilateral cooperation** between Ukraine, Turkmenistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran was entered into in April 1995. The way out of the difficult condition as regards payments for gas was found in supply of Ukrainian products to Iran at the cost of the part of supplies of Turkmen gas to Ukraine.

Turkmenistan is one of the countries of the largest import to Ukraine, which as of the end of 1990 made USD 750 million, and in 2005 — USD 3,49 billion. Let us remind that 97% of Ukrainian import consists of natural gas, oil chemical products, almost two thirds of export are food products and land transport vehicles.

Turkmen gas comes to Ukraine as transit via Uzbekistan, Russia and Kazakhstan. With strengthening of political and economic positions of Russia the matter of supply of gas to Ukraine from the Asian region became more difficult: **the Russian Gazprom purchases the Turkmen gas, as well as the Uzbek and Kazakh gas at the border and then performs its resale to Ukraine at its own prices.**

The key items of export to Turkmenistan: products of metallurgy, agricultural industrial products, machine building, chemical, as well as furniture. To Ukraine wool, textile, oil-processing products were brought. Under the indices of the first semi year of 2014 the trading economic turnover made USD 218, 8 million. The balance is positive—USD +209, 8 million.

The Turkmen party is interested in expanding cooperation with Ukraine. The contractual legal base relies upon 124 documents. Attracting Ukrainian experts to survey works in gas-bearing regions, seismological researches attract this Asian state etc.

The perspective approaches of cooperation of Ukraine and Turkmenistan are considered sales of Ukrainian pipes (Khartsyzsk pipe plant), gas-compressor units (Oil-processing plant named after Frunze, Motor-Sich, Zorya), as well as realization of programs on capital repair and reconstruction of gas transportation system of Turkmenistan. Seismological research has shown high perspective of this region, where drilling of wells by depth 3800—4500 m will be performed by experienced Ukrainian professionals.

**The Republic of Uzbekistan (RUz) supports the integrity and independence of Ukraine, does not recognize the Crimea as the part of Russia.** This was stated, in particular **in the Statement about the situation in Ukraine and the Crimean issue** dated March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014 of the Ministry of foreign affairs of Uzbekistan. The power of the Republic states also about its strong and unchangeable observation of the norms of international law on the basis of principles of UN Statute.

The diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Uzbekistan are established on August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1992. During the visit of the President of

Uzbekistan I. Karimov to Kyiv on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1992 there was **the Treaty about basic interstate relations, amity and cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Uzbekistan** entered into. **The Program of interaction between the external political agencies for 2014–2015** was signed. The contractual legal base for cooperation consists of 86 effective documents.

The Uzbek party is interested in Ukrainian supplies of aviation technologies, cargo transportations, military and technical products, food products, in particular sugar. **The Declaration about basic trends of economic cooperation** (1994) contributed to development of cooperation, as well as the treaty about military and technical cooperation.

Ukraine receives gas from Uzbekistan: Gazprom supplies to the Ukrainian market except for 53 billion cub.m of its gas, more 10 billion cub.m of Uzbek gas. Unfortunately, Russia has established monopolistic, increased tariffs for transit of Central Asian energy resources to third countries.

Rather low is **trading and economic turnover** between the countries. Over January-July 2014 the turnover of goods and services made USD 241, 81 million. In Ukraine nine companies were operating with the Uzbek capital, six of them are joint ventures.

Traditionally between the countries **military cooperation is being developed from 1994** – supply of weapons, military property, spare parts, providing services of military purpose, as well as performing contracts about capital repair and production of various kinds of military equipment (tanks T-72, T-64, machines BREM-1, BREM-2, TRM-U) etc.

Ukraine exports to Uzbekistan sugar, confectionary products, meat and byproducts, tobacco, ferrous metals products, products of machine building, products of chemical and oil chemical industry. From Uzbekistan to Ukraine light industry products (cotton fiber, textiles), products of chemical and oil chemical industry (oil and petroleum products, was oil), non-ferrous metals (cuprum and products of it, zinc, unprocessed aluminum), as well as products of agricultural industrial complex (including tobacco and products of it) were brought.

However, the intensive development of bilateral links was prevented by disagreement of settlements over the past years; deficiency in supply to Ukrainian partners in 1990-ies of was cotton etc.

**In the Republic of Uzbekistan reside 86 854 of ethnic Ukrainians and about 40 thousand of Crimean Tatars, under the official data.** With the assistance of the Ukrainian under agreement of S. Mansurov-Kovrigenko there was a Ukrainian cultural center «Batkivshchyna» organized, which held cultural educational work on popularization of inheritance of the Ukrainian culture. Now in the Republic there are six Ukrainian cultural societies operating.

On December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2014 in the Embassy of Ukraine in Uzbekistan the Certificate of foreign Ukrainians to citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan were handed. Foreign Ukrainians are not just residents of Tashkent, but also of other cities of Uzbekistan, having found them in Uzbekistan mainly for the reason of evacuation during World War II. Taking into account the objective reasons, now departure of Ukrainians to Ukraine and Russia is in progress.

The diplomatic relations between Ukraine and **the Republic of Tajikistan** were established on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The interests of Ukraine in the Republic of Tajikistan starting from December 2010 are represented by the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Uzbekistan. The total number of signed contractual legal documents between Ukraine and RT is 78. The key document is the **Treaty of amity and cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Tajikistan** (dated 2001). The official contacts are supported practically at all levels of state power. On December 15–16<sup>th</sup>, 2011 the official visit of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan Ye. Rakhmon to Ukraine took place, the Ukrainian-Tajik business forum is held etc. **The Treaty between the Trading and industrial chambers of both countries about creation of the Common business council** is signed.

Under the data of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine in January-October 2011 **the external trading turnover of goods and services** between Ukraine and Tajikistan made USD 66,75 million. The

balance for Ukraine is positive. The key items of export to the Republic of Tajikistan are products of agricultural industrial complex – 39, 5%; machine building – 27, 2%; wood processing industry – 8, 4% and others. The key items of import to Ukraine were the metallurgical products – 57, 0%; light industry products – 25, 8 %; agricultural industrial complex – 16, 7%.

As of 01.10.2011 there is no investment cooperation between Ukraine and RT. Low indices of cooperation are explained by the continuous external and internal instability of the countries.

Scientific and technical cooperation is governed by **the Treaty of technical and scientific cooperation** dated July 6<sup>th</sup>, 2001. The Treaty stipulates interaction of the Ministries, academies of science, HEE in the sphere of natural, technical and humanitarian sciences.

Ukraine and the Republic of Tajikistan give an important essence to interregional cooperation of Dnipropetrovsk and Sogdia regions, Kharkiv and Khatlon regions etc.

**Kyrgyzstan in the policy of Ukraine.** Political dialogue between the countries is carried out both at the highest level, and at the level of Ministries and agencies. In 2011 meetings are held at the level of Ministries of foreign affairs, in parliaments of Ukraine and the Kyrgyz Republic the deputies groups on interparliamentary links are formed. In October 2013 under the results of negotiations the agreement if reached about support by the Kyrgyz party of the candidate of Ukraine for the position of the non-permanent member of SC UN for the period of 2016–2017, as well as support by the Kyrgyz party of the Ukrainian nomination Petrykivsky painting to the representative list of UNESCO.

The countries have signed 80 interstate documents about cooperation, of them the effective are 47. **The Treaty of amity and cooperation** between Ukraine and the Kyrgyz Republic is entered into on 19.06.1996, it became effective on 24.12.2001.

Among other the most important effective documents: the Treaty of cooperation of MFA of both countries, the Treaty of air communication, the Treaty of development of economic cooperation dated 19.06.1996, the Treaty of military and technical cooperation, the Treaty of simplified order for changing the citizenship by the citizens of Ukraine and the citizens of Kyrgyzstan.

**Trading and economic cooperation is being developed.** In 2011 the goods turnover exceeded USD 100 million. The key items of export to Kyrgyzstan – products of agricultural complex – 54, 5%, machine building – 13, 3%, chemical – 8, 1%, metallurgical industry – 4,1%. The key items of import to Ukraine – products of agricultural industrial complex – 49, 3%, machine building – 38, 1%, light industry – 11, 1%.

**Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan are the members of WTO,** they have bilateral mode of free trade without restrictions. Ukrainian producers take part in bids as to realization of perspective economic projects. An important event for deepening the cooperation became opening in August 2011 of the aviation flight Kyiv-Bishkek-Kyiv by the Ukrainian airlines.

**Bilateral relations of Ukraine with Asian countries of post-Soviet territory,** taking into account the economic mutual dependence are very important for our country. At the same time, with aggravation of old political problems and arising of new complications the perspectives of cooperation become rather problematic. One of the reasons is geographical distance of the region, absence of common border, competition of the states.

Among the problems of internal instability of the region we see historical consequences of the Soviet past: the states were never built under the national feature. The problem of the Fergana valley is existence of Uzbek exclaves in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The territorial problems exist between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. In 2001 visa regime was introduced between the neighbors, which prevented from prenewal of the Great Silk Road, which was laid in this territory. Projects TRACECA also remain problematic. Uzbekistan unilaterally started strengthening the border, having fenced with barbed wire and mined 70 % of borderland. There are problems with transport connection in Kyrgyzstan, where the Tajik population is connected with the continent just by the only way. Border disputes of the Central Asian region countries, the territorial disputes do not contribute to development of stable relations of these countries with other stated, in particular, development of cooperation with Ukraine [41].

#### ***4.4. Cooperation of Ukraine with the countries of Latin America, Asian-Pacific region and Africa [1]***

**Argentine Republic** recognized Ukraine on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations are operating: the Embassy of Ukraine in the Argentine Republic, the Honorary Consulates of Ukraine in provinces Misiones, Chako and Formosa, in Rio de La Plata and Buenos Aires province; the Embassy of Argentine Republic in Ukraine.

Special significance for development of relations was given by the state visit to Argentine of the President of Ukraine in 1995. Under the results of negotiations of the Ministers of foreign affairs G. Udovenko and G. di Tella **the Common statement was signed** (1996), in which the Ukrainian party expressed its *gratitude for approval of twelve projects for cooperation with Ukraine within the framework of the Argentine fund of horizontal cooperation*. The reached arrangements have put the basis for development of the political dialogue, the contractual legal base of the relations, determined the key approaches of cooperation at the bilateral and multilateral levels. In June 1998 President of Argentine K. Menem performed the official visit to Ukraine, **the Treaty of amicable relations and cooperation** was signed. The interparliamentary cooperation also plays an importance role in development of amicable relations. From 2002 in Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine the deputy's group on Interparliamentary links appeared, which structure was renewed in March 2013 after the last parliamentary elections.

The contractual legal base of the cooperation consists of 46 effective treaties. The necessary legislative field is provided for development of bilateral cooperation. The interstate Ukrainian-Argentine commission on the matters of trading and economic cooperation aims at assisting in deepening the cooperation between the countries.

The total volume of mutual trade of goods between the countries in 2013 made USD 129, 2 million. The negative balance for Ukraine makes USD 107, 2 million.

**In Argentine, under the expert evaluations, there live about 250–300 thousand of ethnic Ukrainians.** With the cultural societies «Prosvita», «Vidrodzennia» there operate Saturday schools, where Ukrainian studies disciplines are taught. Also, Ukrainian language courses are taught in the National University of Misiones province, the Ukrainian cultural society “August 27<sup>th</sup>” in the city of Posadas of Misiones province, the Honorary Consulates of Ukraine in provinces Misiones and Chako (Formosa), in the National North-East University (UNNE) in the city of Resistencia and its branches in the cities of San-Bernardo and Las-Breñas of Chako province. Numerous Ukrainian Diaspora actively supports Ukraine in Argentine, which in 2007 celebrated the 100th anniversary from the time of coming by the first Ukrainian frontier men.

**Federative Republic of Brazil** recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 26th, 1991, and on February 11th, 1992 diplomatic relations were established. **Diplomatic establishment operate:** the Embassy of Ukraine in the Federative Republic of Brazil, the General Consulate of Ukraine in the city of San-Paulo, the Consulate of Ukraine in the city of Curitiba, the Embassy of Federative republic of Brazil in Ukraine. Among the **contacts at the highest level:** **October 20–22<sup>nd</sup>, 2003** – the official visit of the President of Ukraine to Federative Republic of Brazil; On December 1-2<sup>nd</sup>, 2009 – the state visit of the President of Federative Republic of Brazil L.I. Lula da Silva to Ukraine; on October 23–25<sup>th</sup>, 2011 – the state visit of the President of Ukraine to Brazil etc.

The Joint Ukrainian-Brazilian interstate commission on trading and economic cooperation is operating, *the sixth session of which took place on November 8<sup>th</sup>, 2013 in the city of Brasilia.* **The number of effective documents makes 52**, of which let us mention **the Treaty of amicable relations and cooperation** (October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1995); the interstate **Treaty about trading and economic cooperation** (September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1996); **the Treaty about long-term cooperation in using the carrier-rocket Cyclone-4 at the startup center Alcantara** (September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2004) etc.

Over 2013 the total volume of mutual trade of goods between Ukraine and Brazil reduced as compared to the previous year by 28, 2 % and made USD 661, 4 million. The negative balance for Ukraine in trade of goods made USD 263, 8 million. In the export of Ukrainian products prevail fertilizers (53, 1%); ferrous metals (13, 5 %); energy materials (11, 1 %); ferrous metals products (4, 5 %); caoutchouc and rubber (3, 7 %); pharmaceutical products (3, 1 %). The key items of export from Brazil are: *meat and food byproducts* (47 %); tobacco (14, 6 %); coffee (10, 4%); ferroalloys (5, 8 %).

Bilateral trade of services in 2013 reduced and made USD 5, 5 million. From them export of Ukrainian services made USD 3 million and import of services from Brazil – USD 2, 5 million (increase by 7,2 %). **Positive balance for Ukraine in trade of services** made USD 0, 5 million. In the economics of Ukraine there are no direct investments from Brazil.

The most important sphere of Ukrainian-Brazilian cooperation is **realization of the joint space project Cyclone-4 – Alcântara (Centro de Lançamento de Alcântara — CLA, Brazil)**, on which it is already spent USD 1 billion. The rates of creation of Brazil space port for the reason of events in Ukraine get slower. The government of Brazil recognizes that the terms of construction may be changed taking into account the military tension in Eastern Europe. Construction is carried out by the international consortium Alcântara Cyclone Space (ACS). The Treaty between the countries is signed in 2003, negotiations as regards construction of the space port were also held with the USA. Brazil chose Ukraine, as our country if not only the successor of space technologies, but also one of the world leaders in the space industry.

CR Cyclone is used from 1969 and has rather significant success. 226 startups were performed, of which only six unsuccessful. Production of CR is performed by the group of 16 companies, assembly of rockets Cyclone-4 is carried out in Dnipropetrovsk. The space port is located at the peninsula Sao-Luis and because of the proximity to the equator startups of CR from Alcântara need less fuel, than startups from the Cape Canaveral (USA) and Baikonur (Kazakhstan). Another bilateral perspective project of cooperation is the project of the

Ukrainian company Indar and the Brazilian pharmaceutical company Fiocruz/Farmanguinhos (city of Rio de Janeiro) on **production in Brazil of insulin under the Ukrainian technology** [1].

The Republic of Cuba recognized Ukraine on December 6th, 1991. The diplomatic relations were established by the countries on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1992. Diplomatic establishments function: the Embassy of Ukraine in the city of Havana (September 1993), the General Consulate of Cuba in Ukraine has acquired the status of the Embassy (1992). The key contacts at the highest level: 2000 – the working visit of the President of Ukraine to Cuba; October 20–23<sup>rd</sup>, 2011 during the state visit of the President of Ukraine negotiations are held with the Head of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Cuba Raul Castro and the leader of the Cuban revolution Fidel Castro, six bilateral documents are signed, business forum is held with the participation of the representative delegation of Ukraine. Contacts of external political agencies have become rather regular: 1995, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2010, 2011; interparliamentary cooperation is being developed. In the National Assembly of the people's power of the Republic of Cuba the Group of amity Cuba – Ukraine is operating.

**The number of effective bilateral documents makes 61**, of which the most important is the Treaty between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Cuba about assistance and mutual defense of investments (became effective on 04.12.1996); the Treaty about trading and economic cooperation (effective since 11.08.1999).

**The volumes of trade of goods between Ukraine and Cuba in 2013 made USD 139, 4 million and increased by 4, 5 times as compared to 2012. The balance positive for Ukraine made USD +136, 2 million. The balance positive for Ukraine in trade of services made USD 223, 5 thousand. The volumes of direct foreign investments into the economics of Ukraine from Cuba made USD 2, 1 million. (As of the beginning of 2013 – USD 421, 5 thousand). The largest volumes of investments have come to the sphere of healthcare, pharmaceutical industry. No Ukrainian investments to the economics of Cuba are registered.**

The key approach of Ukrainian-Cuban cultural and humanitarian cooperation remains curing and rehabilitation of children from Ukraine, who have suffered as the result of the Chernobyl disaster. The treatment **Program “Children of Chernobyl”** was directly initiated from 1990 by the then Head of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Cuba Fidel Castro. **Rehabilitation in Cuba in the famous treatment center Tarara – city of Miracle (*Spanish: Ciudad-Milagros*) was undergone by 24 thousand of Ukrainian children**, who suffered as the result of the Chernobyl disaster. With gratitude to the Cuban people the Ukrainian society appealed on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ukrainian-Cuban cooperation as regards realization of programs on treatment and rehabilitation of Chernobyl children, to the effect of which it is states in the respective Order of the President of Ukraine No. 93/2010.

In November 2011 the Cuban party informed about termination of providing services free of charge. At this time the MES of Ukraine coordinates with the Cuban party the conditions for renewal of the program of treatment of the Ukrainian children at the commercial basis.

**The United Mexican States** recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 25th, 1991, and the diplomatic relations were established on January 14th, 1992. The Embassy of Ukraine in Mexico was opened from 1999, and the Embassy of Mexico in Ukraine – in 2005. The first state visit to Mexico of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma took place on September 24–26th, 1997. On June 19–20th, 2005 – the state visit to Ukraine of the President of Mexico Vicente Fox Quesada.

The states have created the Ukrainian-Mexican Interstate Commission (UMIC), the first meeting of which took place in November 2007 in the city of Mexico. In 2010–2012 no meetings of UMIC were held. The contractual legal base of relations counts for 22 effective documents, which cover the wide spectrum of industries of Ukrainian-Mexican cooperation – trading and economic, scientific and technical, humanitarian etc. There are 15 drafts of bilateral documents on the consideration of the parties.

Mexico takes one of the leading places among the trading partners of Ukraine in Latin America and the Caribbean basin. Bilateral relations between Ukraine and Mexico in the economic sphere are governed by the provisions of **the Treaty about trading and economic cooperation**, which entered into force on December 19<sup>th</sup>, 2004. Over 2013 the volume of bilateral trade of goods made USD 240, 3 million with **the positive balance for Ukraine** of USD 16, 7 million. The base for Ukrainian export consists of nitrogen fertilizers (62%) and products of metallurgical industry (30%). The key items of import from Mexico: light cars – 17%, devices for medicine – 8%, ethyl spirits – 4, 6 %, telephone apparatus – 3, 9 %, vaccines – 3, 7 % and medications – 3, 4%.

The volumes of **trade of services** in 2013 have somewhat reduced as compared to the similar period of 2012 and made USD 819 thousand. Cooperation in the humanitarian sphere relies upon the respective **Treaty** between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Mexico dated 25.09.1997. The existing contractual legal base permits developing and deepening all approaches of bilateral cooperation.

The major event in the sphere of cultural and humanitarian cooperation in 2012–2013 was participation of Ukraine in the Fair of cultures of friendly countries, which was held in Mexico. In 2013 the Ukrainian stand was visited by over 2 million persons. Each year the Embassy of Ukraine in Mexico organizes a photo exhibition “Ukraine in my heart”. Together with foundation “Mexico – Ukraine” a number of cultural events are held.

A separate approach of development of humanitarian cooperation is scientific exchange between Ukraine and Mexico, which last from the middle of 1990-ies. Great support in realization of these projects is provided by the National Council on the matters of science: over 50 Ukrainian scientists and teachers work in the leading Mexican Universities and research centers. Joint projects are initiated between the National Polytechnic Institute of Mexico and the National aerospace University of Ukraine named after M.Ye. Zhukovsky «Kharkiv Aviation University». Interregional cooperation of Ukraine and Mexico is developed.

**The Republic of Paraguay** recognized the independence of Ukraine on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1992. The diplomatic relations are established on February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1993. Diplomatic establishments are operating: the Embassy of Ukraine in Argentina, which is operating in Paraguay concurrently; the Honorary Consulate of Ukraine in Paraguay, the Embassy of Paraguay in Austria: in Ukraine concurrently, the Honorary Consulate of Paraguay in Ukraine.

In February 2008 the Minister of foreign affairs of Paraguay R. Ramirez for the first time in the history of Ukrainian-Paraguayan relations visited Ukraine with the official visit. On April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2012 **the Treaty of amicable relations and cooperation between Ukraine and the republic of Paraguay** was signed.

The contractual legal base of Ukrainian-Paraguayan relations consists of eight documents. Among the most important: the Protocol about establishment of diplomatic relations, the Intergovernmental treaty about cancellation of visas and the Treaty about trading and economic cooperation. In 2013 the total volume of mutual trade of goods between Ukraine and Paraguay made USD 1186 thousand. The positive balance for Ukraine in trade of goods made in 2013 USD 692 thousand.

**The Republic of Peru** recognized the independence of Ukraine on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The diplomatic relations are established on May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1992. In September 1993 the Ambassador of Peru in the Russian Federation A. Le Caros de Cossio handed to the President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk the credentials as the first Ambassador of Peru in Ukraine concurrently. The Embassy of Ukraine in Peru was opened in October 2003. In May 2000 the activity of the Honorary Consulate of Peru in Ukraine was started.

Currently, there are 25 documents of Ukrainian-Peruvian cooperation. The key of them: the Protocol on establishment of diplomatic relations (May 7<sup>th</sup>, 1992); the Treaty of amicable relations and cooperation (June 8<sup>th</sup>, 2006); the Treaty on mutual recognition of qualification and scientific degrees certificates (July 16<sup>th</sup>, 2004); the Treaty on cancellation of visas for citizens, who use diplomatic, official and special passports (March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2005); the

Trading and economic treaty (November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2005); the Framework agreement concerning cooperation in the sphere of space activity (May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2011); the Treaty on military and technical cooperation (January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

**Interregional contacts are being developed.** In October 2005 the Mayor of the city of Lima - Luis Castaneda visited Kyiv. In June 2007 during the presence in Peru the delegation of Boryspil city council there was signed **the Treaty about cooperation** between the city of Boryspil and the Peruvian city Callao. In February 2010 Lima was visited by the delegation of Kyiv city council: as the result there was signed **the Twinning arrangement** between the capital cities of the countries about development of bilateral cooperation.

In 2013 the goods turnover between Ukraine and Peru made USD 34,55 million. **Positive balance for Ukraine in external trade** was made of USD 17,4 million. The basis of Ukrainian export was made by turboreactive and turboprop engines and other gas turbines, parts of flying apparatus etc. The key goods of import from Peru are sea fish and crabs, light industry products and agricultural products (including coffee, spices and food additives).

**The Eastern Republic of Uruguay** recognized the independent Ukraine on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1991. The Diplomatic relations were established on May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1992. Diplomatic establishments: the Embassy of Ukraine in Argentine (in Uruguay concurrently), the Honorary Consulate of Ukraine in Uruguay, the Embassy of Uruguay in Poland (in Ukraine concurrently), the Honorary Consulate of Uruguay in Ukraine.

On April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2012 the official visit of the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine to Uruguay took place, as the result there was signed **the Treaty of amicable relations and cooperation between Ukraine and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay**. In 2013 the total volume of mutual trade of goods made USD 12, 97 million. The negative balance of trade of goods for Ukraine made USD 12, 6 million.

**The Republic of Chile.** Recognition of the independence of Ukraine: January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1992. Establishment of diplomatic relations:

January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1992. Diplomatic establishments: the Embassy of Ukraine in Argentine (in Chile concurrently), the Honorary Consulate of Ukraine in Chile, the Embassy of Chile in Russia (in Ukraine concurrently), the honorary Consulate of Chile in Ukraine.

The official visit to the Republic of Chile in October 1995 of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma had special essence for development of Ukrainian-Chilean cooperation, in the course of which the priority approaches of bilateral cooperation were established, bases for development of Ukrainian-Chilean relations in various spheres were put, and the first bilateral documents were signed. On June 6–7<sup>th</sup>, 2011 in the capital city of Chile - Santiago the first meeting of the Governmental Ukrainian-Chilean commission on the matters of trading and economic cooperation took place. On September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2011 within the framework of the 66<sup>th</sup> session of UNGA in the city of New-York the Ministers of foreign affairs held negotiations on a wide circle of issues.

The contractual legal base for Ukrainian-Chilean relations counts for 18 bilateral documents, the most important of which is the Interstate **Treaty about trading and economic cooperation**, the interstate **Treaty about mutual assistance and protection of investments**, the interstate **Treaty about cooperation in the sphere of culture, education, science**.

The total volume of mutual trade of goods between Ukraine and Chile made USD 93, 76 million. (In 2012 – USD 66, 5 million). The negative balance for Ukraine in trade of goods made in 2013 USD 91, 3 million.

**The Asian-Pacific Countries (APAC countries)** from the point of view of development of the national industry, export of innovative technologies, scientific cooperation present great interest for Ukraine. In the region, which is called the region of XXI century, resides more than a half of the mankind, over 50 % of goods of the world are produced, and 40 % of the volume of the world trade is concentrated. The region provides a half of all world investments. APAC plays a more and more noticeable role in the global policy. A struggle is held between the powerful countries of

the world for the domination in the region. The economical success of Japan, China, the Republic of Korea, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Australia, and Malaysia deserve attention: experience of these countries may be used by Ukraine too. One of the main factors of external political and external trading strategy of Ukraine is balanced development of links with the countries of the region. Between the APAC countries and Ukraine cooperation is being developed in attracting investments for reconstruction and re-equipment of the national companies, in aviation construction, development of space, and liquidation of consequences of ChNPP disaster. APAC countries express their interest to Ukrainian metallurgy, machine building, military and technical products. Attracting of Ukraine to such associations as the Asian-Pacific economic cooperation (APEC), the Association of states of South-Eastern Asia (ASSEA) and others may be perspective.

Under the evaluations of experts, for the majority of the countries of the region a rush economical development and strengthening of political influence in global measurement is forecasted. The leading countries of the region: PRC – a permanent member of SC UN, the largest state under the populations and the second economics of the world. Japan – the third economics of the world, Indonesia – the largest Muslim country, the Asian tigers – Singapore and the Republic of Korea.

The relations of Ukraine with APAC at the modern stage acquire new features of pragmatic multidimensional cooperation. During 2010–2013 the political dialogue activated at all levels, new principles of trading and economic interaction were formed, as well as the contractual legal base of the relations expanded. Exchange of visits of the highest and high level with China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Mongolia, Brunei Darussalam.

**Economic cooperation of Ukraine with APAC** is characterized by the steady growth of volumes of goods turnover. The largest trading partners in the region are China, Japan and the Republic of Korea. Taking into account transformation of some countries of APAC into

exporters of capital, investment cooperation of Ukraine with the states of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia is gradually developing. The greatest interest is expressed by the Asian investors to the agrarian sector, infrastructure construction, energy and energy saving etc. Taking into account the world leadership of the region in development of innovative information and telecommunication technologies, a perspective direction of cooperation of Ukraine with APAC countries is the sphere of science and technologies.

In 2011 the **Ukrainian-Indian** political dialogue at the high level was renovated. The visit to India of the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine took place; the visit of the President of Ukraine to this country was prepared. Under the results of the Kyiv summit on security and innovation usage of nuclear energy the Indian party announced about the decision to provide USD 1 million on realization of Chernobyl projects. The **Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Indian commission** activated its work, visits at the level of managers of legislative power bodies and the national security bodies became more frequent. Constructive cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of India within the framework of UN continue etc.

Ukraine carries out one of the important approaches of external political strategy of our country concerning gradual development of **relations with the Middle East and African countries**, which present the interest, first of all, as the perspective trading and economic partners. Recently the political dialogue with the Middle East countries is activated for the purpose of formation of the contractual base, oriented at attracting, in particular, of powerful capital of the Persian Gulf monarchies for investment in Ukraine. A number of events of high level with Qatar, Saudi Arabia and UAE took place, which is observed for the first time in the history of bilateral relations.

Recently intensive exchange of visits of the Middle East region took place: 7 – at the level of the leaders of the countries (Jordan, Israel, Qatar, Syria), 2 – at the level of the leaders of the Governments (Israel, Lebanon), 15 – at the level of the Ministers for foreign affairs (Israel, Lebanon, Qatar, Kuwait, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan).

Increase of the volumes of bilateral trade almost with all countries of the Middle East and expanding of its nomenclature has become a tendency.

The work on removal of trading and visa obstacles with the countries of Middle East is going on as regards entering into agreements about free trade with Lebanon and Israel, cancellation of visa mode, which were successfully realized in 2011 with Israel. As the result of aggravation of the political situation in the Arabic world some slowing down of political contacts of Ukraine with the region was observed.

The Ukrainian state continued developing constant dialogue with the **North-African countries** – Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia. The MFA of Ukraine carries out work on renovation of mutually beneficial cooperation with Libya. After the appearance of the new African country in 2011 – the Republic of South Sudan – Ukraine has recognized its independence.

For the purpose of further development of arrangements, reached with Libya and Egypt in 2010, the MFA jointly with the Ministry of agrarian policy and food of Ukraine provided inclusion of our country to the list of the official suppliers of grains to the Arabic Republic of Egypt.

A special place in the Ukrainian policy belongs to **Peoples Republic of China (PRC)**, which recognized the independent Ukraine on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1991, and the diplomatic relations are established on January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1992, at the same time the Embassy of PRC in Ukraine was opened. The General Consulate of Ukraine in Shanghai was opened in 2001. From 2006 in the city of Odessa the General Consulate of PRC is functioning. Between Ukraine and China 287 documents are entered into (2013): 172 documents of the major list and 115 – of the additional list (Protocols of interstate commissions/sub-commissions, contracts of preparation of military officers etc.).

**On December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1994 the Government of PRC proclaimed its statement about providing to Ukraine guarantees of security as to the non-nuclear state.** Between Ukraine and PRC relations of strategic partnership are declared, which is formalized in the **Common**

**declaration on establishment and development of relations of strategic partnership** between Ukraine and PRC, signed on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011 under the results of the state visit of the Leader of PRC Hu Jintao to Ukraine. Except for the named document the important one is **the Treaty of amity and cooperation** between Ukraine and PRC, the Common Declaration of Ukraine and PRC about further deepening the relations of strategic partnership and the program of development of relations of strategic partnership between Ukraine and PRC for 2014–2018. Political documents are signed on December 5<sup>th</sup>, 2013, aimed at deepening the developing the strategic, amicable links between our countries.

China and Ukraine cooperate in the matters of security and mutual aid. The Ukrainian Government was one of the first, who provided to China its aid on time for liquidation of the consequences of the earthquake in May 2008. At the same time China provided financial aid to residents of Western regions of Ukraine, who suffered from the flood. Special attention is ad by the Governments to cooperation in international organizations.

On October 31<sup>st</sup>, 1992 the Interstate commission on the matters of trading and economic cooperation was created, from 2011 – **the Commission of cooperation**. Within its framework specialized sub-commissions are formed (including on scientific and technical cooperation, on the matters of cooperation in space sphere). In 2012 the parties approved the Program of scientific and technical cooperation for 2013–2014. In the **space sphere** the program of cooperation in the sphere of research and usage of the space for peaceful purposes for 2011–2015 was finished. The sub-commission **in the sphere of education** takes care of scientific cooperation, scientific exchange, and cooperation of HEE of both countries. In 2013 the number of state grants, provided by the one party to the students of the other party, was increased four times: up to 100. Besides, in Ukraine there function 5 Confucius Institutes, in which Chinese language and literature are studied: in Luhansk, Kyiv, Kharkiv National Universities, the South-Ukrainian National Pedagogical University and the Kyiv National Linguistic University. The sub-commission on the matters of cooperation **in the sphere of**

**medicine** mainly studies the possibilities of cooperation in the sphere of traditional Chinese medicine. In Ukraine treatment and diagnostic Center of traditional Chinese medicine is formed. In 2013 **the Memorandum of understanding** between the State service of Ukraine for medications and the State Administration of PRC on control of foods products and medications was signed.

**Interregional cooperation** is actively being developed, which relies upon 77 contractual papers: region – province (16), city – city (28), region – city (2), city – province (1). The following cities and regions are especially interested in cooperation with PRC: Zaporizhzhya, Luhansk, Kyiv, AR Crimea, cities of Kyiv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Mariupol, Mykolaiv etc. For example, the Treaty about cooperation was entered into by the Sumska region and province Guizhou, city of Yichang (province Hubei) and city of Zaporizhzhya, city of Dezhou (Shandong) and city of Mykolaiv etc.

**Trading and economic cooperation** between Ukraine and PRC is governed by the Treaty about trading and economic cooperation (1992), pursuant to which it is established the mode of the greatest assistance as regards collection of duties for export and import goods of both countries, taxes and other internal charges. The general state of trade is characterized by renovation of pre-crisis indices, steady growth with preservation of the tendency towards essential prevailing of import from PRC over supplies of the Ukrainian products. The total goods turnover between Ukraine and PRC increased and made USD 10, 63 billion. The negative balance of Ukraine in trade with PRC over 2013 made USD 5, 17 billion.

The key commodities items of the Ukrainian export were: mineral products (iron, titanium, zirconium ores), 67%; fats and oils of animal or vegetable origin, the share increased almost up to 14%; machines, equipment and mechanisms (mainly, gas turbines), the share of which made practically 10%. In the structure of the Chinese import the basic were: machines, equipment and mechanisms – 36 %, non-precious metals and products of them – 12%, textile and textile products – 10%, footwear, head-wear, umbrellas – 9%, plastics and rubber – 7%.

It is worth mentioning that **in the structure of trade turnover significant misbalance is observed**: import of Chinese goods practically three times exceeds the Ukrainian export to China. Therewith, if Chinese import to Ukraine is balanced (practically all goods groups are presented equally), the Ukrainian export to PRC is raw materials (ores, slugs, raw materials for metallurgy). **The reasons** of such situation is geographical distance, which makes it difficult to deliver some goods groups, to adjust own production of products with China, which traditionally makes the basis of the Ukrainian export (products of ferrous and chemical metallurgy, which at its time provided positive balance in trade with PRC). At the opinion of the Chinese experts, the key restricting factor of Ukrainian export is high value of Ukrainian technological products and its qualitative lacking behind the similar products of the major world producers.

**Investment cooperation** still does not correspond with the possibilities of China and the needs of Ukraine. Increase of import volumes from PRC is not accompanied by the activation of investment cooperation (0, 48 % in the total volume of attracted direct foreign investments); the Ukrainian investments to PRC are also practically absent. As of 01.01.2014 the amount of attracted investments to Ukraine from China made USD p 20, 3 million. The priority of investment projects belongs to industry (42, 7% from the total amount; sphere of trade (19, 0 %); agriculture, forestry and fishery (9, 8 %). As of 01.01.2014 the total amount of investments from Ukraine to China made USD 916, 0 thousand; in 2013 the Ukrainian investments were not attracted.

A positive example of cooperation is **Chinese-Ukrainian technological park**, which operates in the spheres of pharmaceutics and machine building: in the city of Jinan (province Shandong), in the city of Harbin (province Heilongjiang) and in the city of Shanghai. In 2003 the Ukrainian-Chinese center of welding and related technologies was opened, the Treaty about creation of which was signed between the Institute of electric welding named after Ye. Paton of the NAS of Ukraine, the Harbin Institute of welding and the Heilongjiang center of scientific and technical cooperation of Ukraine and PRC. In February

2011 in the city of Shanghai the new Ukrainian-Chinese technological park was opened, in which five specialized bases on the matters of sea sciences and technologies, biomedicine, new materials, aerospace, new energy sources will operate etc.

A number of joint affairs were carried out by the counters in the sphere of culture. The process of implementing **of the Memorandum between the tourist agencies** of the countries is going on about group tourist trips of Chinese citizens to Ukraine, signed on December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013 [1].

**Japan** established the diplomatic relations with Ukraine on January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1992, and from the following year opened the Embassy in Kyiv. In response, in September 1994 in Tokyo the embassy of Ukraine started working. The Ukrainian state supported the candidate of Japan to the position of the non-permanent member of the Security Council UNO.

From establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Japan there were entered into 39 interstate, intergovernmental and interagency treaties. Under the principles of legal succession and with the mutual consent of the parties Ukraine and Japan also recognize bilateral contractual legal documents and arrangements, which had been entered into and reached between Japan and the former USSR.

Having suffered from the nuclear disaster during World War II in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese deeply realize the problems of the citizens of Ukraine, who suffered from radiation, the difficulties with liquidation of the consequences of Chernobyl NPP disaster, and takes active part in providing financial and technical and humanitarian aid with medications and equipment. For this purpose in Japan in the city of Nagoya there was a special center created – **the Fund for aid of Chernobyl victims**, the project for helping children is effective etc.

In 2011 the Japanese party, having expressed its interest to using the Ukrainian experience in overcoming the consequences of Chernobyl disaster, initiated signing the intergovernmental bilateral document on cooperation between Ukraine and Japan in the sphere of nuclear safety. On April 18<sup>th</sup>, 2012 the interstate **Treaty on**

**cooperation** in the sphere of improvement of post-accident reaction to extraordinary situations at nuclear power plants was signed and ratified by the Law of Ukraine No. 4669-VI dated 27.04.12, which entered into force on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

Ukraine and Japan have signed **the Memorandum of cooperation in the sphere of energy** (August 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014), which stipulates realization of the joint project on modernization of the national heating power stations with the use of Japanese equipment and increase of their energy efficiency. Equipment of coal electric power stations in Ukraine will be replaced by the highly effective Japanese equipment.

Constructive and longstanding cooperation within the framework of Program “Official aid to development” lasts for 17 years. In 2014 the Government of Japan made a decision about large-scale aid to Ukraine – about USD 1, 5 billion. In the same year on July 10<sup>th</sup> the interstate **Treaty on providing grant assistance** for purchase of medical equipment was signed (for USD 3 million) etc. Japan also joined the preparation of the Plan for reconstruction and renovation of the country for 2014–2016, which contains the short- and medium-term priorities of economic development, oriented at renewal and development of production at the new technological base and creation of workplaces, balancing of payment balance and providing of macroeconomic stability.

On August 24<sup>th</sup>, 2005 the startup of carrier-rocket Dnipro was carried out from Baikonur with two Japanese space apparatus. The owner of the two satellites and the customer of the startup was the Japanese airspace agency (JAXA). Satellite OICETS (Optical Inter-orbit Communication Engineering Satellite, weight 570 kg) was made by the company NEC Toshiba Space System, which has experimental equipment of laser connection onboard. Another satellite INDEX (Innovative technology Demonstration Experiment, weight 70 kg) was made in the Institute of space and astronautics, subdivision JAXA. The apparatus is assigned for scientific research of the near Earth environment of polar glow. The startup services were provided by the International company Kosmotras, the founders of which are the Ukrainian companies DKB Pivdenne, Pivdenmashzavod and Khartron.

Both parties consider as perspective joint projecting and exploitation of micro/nanosatellites, expanding of Ukrainian-Japanese cooperation in the sphere of space activity. On October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010 during the aerospace salon Aviasvit–XXI **the Memorandum of intentions** was signed concerning realization of the joint project as regards projecting and exploitation of micro/nanosatellites. On March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013 in Tokyo **the Treaty of cooperation** was signed between the international center of space law with the Institute of the state and law named after V. M. Koretsky of the NAS of Ukraine and the Keio Advance Research Center for Space Law. **Over 30 establishments of the NAS of Ukraine** performs joint scientific projects. Multifaceted programs of research are performed of medical consequences of Chernobyl NPP disaster by the Nagasaki University, the Institute of studying diseases, related to explosion of the nuclear bomb, and the National center of radiation medicine of the AMS, the Institute of endocrinology named after V. Komisarenko of the NAS of Ukraine.

**Cooperation in the sphere of education** between our countries is established by two programs of the Governments of Japan, oriented at providing financial assistance to Ukrainian students, post-graduate students, teachers and researchers, who strive to improve the knowledge of Japanese or to study the experience in the specific industry. In particular, like in the previous years, in 2013. The Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technologies of Japan successfully introduced the programs on studying and improvement of Japanese language for students of 2nd–4th years of Ukrainian higher educational institutions, as well as programs of practicing of post-graduates and specialists of various approaches. Every year in the Tokyo University the meeting of the Association of Ukrainists of Japan takes place, the head of which in 2012 the professor of the International University of Heisei Mrs. M. Suedzava was elected [1].

The ruling and business circles of the **Republic of Korea (RK)** provide to Ukraine the priority place after Russia among the perspective partners. Ukraine from its side weightily treats the Korean

matter, performs policy of support of civilized resolving of Korean problem and further evolutional uniting of RK and DPRK.

The Republic of Korea was among the first countries that recognized the independence of Ukraine in December of 1991, and on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1992 the **Communiqué about establishment of diplomatic relations** was signed, in which the intentions of the countries were fixed concerning development of large-scale cooperation. Pursuant to the reached arrangements, from November 1992 in Kyiv the Embassy of the Republic of Korea is operating, and in October 1997 in Seoul the Embassy of Ukraine started its activity.

A number of institutional mechanisms, playing the important role in deepening bilateral relations, in particular, the Interstate Ukrainian-Korean commission on the matters of trading and economic cooperation, the Joint committee on scientific and technical cooperation, the Joint committee on the matters of cooperation in using the space area for peaceful purposes, the Joint commission on cooperation in the sphere of defense industry and material and technical procurement, adjustment of the mechanism of political consultations between the external political agencies of both countries.

As the result of the first state visit to the Republic of Korea in December 1996, the **Declaration about principles of relations and cooperation** was signed, as well as the **Treaty of mutual assistance and protection of investments, the Treaty about aviation connection**. In the exclusion area of ChNPP on the basis of the Center of international scientific researches during three years the joint Ukrainian-Korean project was performed on the problems of rehabilitation of urbanized territories and development of new means of deactivation of lands and constructions. A perspective approach of cooperation is development of sensors and devices for measurement of radioactivity, which are needed for the systems of radiation security of NPP and radiation control. The Korean party expresses also the interest to cooperation with Ukrainian partners in such perspective and traditionally highly developed in Ukraine spheres of science as aviation, heating technologies, materials studies, nuclear energy and nuclear security, optics.

Special interest RK expresses to import of Ukrainian agricultural products: the Korean party increases the volume of investments into the agrarian sector of Ukraine. The **goods turnover between the countries increases**: in 2012 this index reached USD 215 million, which is several times more than the indices of 2011. From the 5, 5 million tons of wheat exported by Ukraine, almost 1 million tons were sent to Korea.

In the educational sphere successfully cooperate the Kyiv National University named after T. Shevchenko, the National Technical University Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, the National Aviation University and the Korean University, the Scientific and Technical University of the city of Gwangju, the aviation Universities of the cities Hankook and Incheon. With the assistance of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Ukraine and the Diplomatic academy with the MFA of Ukraine a common collective monograph was published “Geopolitical transformations in Eurasia: the view from Kyiv and Seoul”. In RK there was created the Association of Korean-Ukrainian amity, to the structure of which famous members of the National Assembly belonged, ministers, diplomats, representatives of political, industrial, financial circles, leaders of large corporations, scientists, public figures of culture and sports.

**Vietnam.** The contractual basis of the relations was founded not long after Vietnam had acknowledged independence of Ukraine (December 27, 1991). The relations started with the parties signing the Protocol about foundation of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (it was signed in Kyiv on January 23, 1992). As of January 2011 there were **37 bilateral documents** signed between the two countries. The most substantial contractual basis was formed in such areas trade-and-economic as well as scientific-and-technical cooperation; educational and cultural cooperation; any matters of a consulate nature; and military-an-technical cooperation. However, some of these documents constitute only intent of cooperation, because the issue of the parties fulfilling their obligations under the bilateral contracts that’s already been signed currently has more priority.

The following documents should be mentioned separately among the main Ukrainian-Vietnamese documents currently in force: the Treaty about principles of relations and cooperation between Ukraine and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; the Consulate convention between Ukraine and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; the Treaty between the government of Ukraine and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam about trade-and-economic cooperation; the Treaty between the government of Ukraine and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam about formation of the Intergovernment Ukrainian-Vietnamese committee on trade-and-economic and scientific-technical cooperation; the Protocol about cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; the Treaty between the Ministry of Science and Education of Ukraine and the Ministry of Science and Education of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam about cooperation in the field of education; the Treaty between the government of Ukraine and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam about cooperation in the military-technical field.

According to the data of the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, as of 01.01.2013 the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was on the 64<sup>th</sup> place among the countries that were importing Ukrainian goods. The main Ukrainian export goods are 72 ferrous metals - \$43,519 USD (35%), electrical equipment – 25,935 USD (21%), nuclear reactors, tanks, cars – \$11,142 USD (9%), seeds and fruits of oil yielding plants – \$8,477 USD (7%), cereal crops – \$8151 USD (7%), means of public transportation except railway transportation – \$5994 USD (5%).

Ukrainian and Vietnamese specialists have been working together since 2008 in the field of surveying, mining and processing of titanium raw materials („Ukrhimproject”, the State Titanium Research and Design Institute). This process is coordinated by the Ukrainian-Vietnamese Technology Center. The representatives of the Vietnamese national coal and mineral corporation (Vinacomin) have stressed high level of professionalism and competitiveness of Ukrainian technical and commercial offers and possibilities. Let us not forget that nowadays **54% of all the metal titanium**

**manufactured in the world is serviced using Ukrainian technologies.**

Ukrainian factories repair aircraft engines for the air force and naval forces of Vietnam as well as armored vehicles. Besides a lot of Vietnamese students get education in Ukraine. Vietnam has a lot of perspectives for Ukraine in terms of exporting Ukrainian goods. And the Vietnamese party in its turn is interested in quality Ukrainian goods, maintenance documentation, technological documentation, etc. At the same time Vietnam is interested in purchasing Ukrainian weapons as well as in modernization of its military equipment. In September 2010 Ukraine and Vietnam agreed upon the plan of their military and technical cooperation for the period of 2011 – 2015. Hereby, one should note that Ukraine is interested in close cooperation with the South-Asian countries, including Vietnam, and is discussing with Vietnam a possibility of creating a free trade zone.

**The State of Israel** acknowledged independence of Ukraine on December 25, 1991. On December 26, 1991 the countries established their diplomatic relations. The Embassy of Ukraine in Tel Aviv has been working since October 1992, and the Embassy of Israel in Kyiv has been working since 1993. L. Kravchuk's visit to Israel was the first visit of the president of Ukraine to Israel. Starting from 1994 the following entities are working in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and in the Israeli Knesset: "Ukraine-Israel" and "Israel-Ukraine" parliamentary associations of friendship. Political, economic and humanitarian contacts have been developing pretty intensively which to a certain extent can be explained with the presence of a large Ukrainian expatriate in Israel which includes over 500 people who formed close to thirty communities of Jewish people who are natives of Ukraine.

The visit of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma to Israel in 1996 was the foundation of the bilateral political dialogue between the two countries at the highest level. The **"Joint declaration about development of interrelations, partnership and cooperation between Ukraine and Israel"** was signed. In 2001 the President of Israel Moshe Katsav visited Ukraine. And in November 2007 the President of Ukraine V. Yushchenko visited Israel.

Since 2010 political relations between Ukraine and Israel has noticeably become a lot more active. A number of foreign policy initiatives on the order of business of Ukrainian-Israeli relations have been realized. The official visit of the President of Israel Shimon Peres to Ukraine took place on November 23–26, 2010. The contacts were renewed at the level of the heads of the governments and foreign relations administrations. The Israeli delegation led by the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Lieberman took part in the events dedicated to honoring the memory of the people who had died during the tragic events in Babi Yar 70 years ago. On October 22–23, 2014 during the visit to Israel the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine P. Klimkin conducted a series of meetings and negotiations aimed to make Ukrainian-Israeli cooperation more active. In particular, Ukraine and Israel signed **the Treaty about visa-free regime** which came into effect on February 9, 2011.

**Trade and economic cooperation** has been developing as well, and there were several years when the volume of this cooperation was over 1 million dollars. Despite the fact that during 9 months of 2014 which was a crisis year the volume of foreign trade turnover decreased by 12, 3% in comparison with 2013, it still constituted 811, 2 million dollars. At the same time a positive for Ukraine balance from trading goods and services constituted 237 million dollars.

The main goods exported from Ukraine to Israel are as follows: grain crops (41, 5 %); ferrous metals (30, 6 %); waste products of food processing industry (11, 2 %); products of flour-milling industry (2, 1 %); seeds and fruits of oil yielding plants (1, 8 %) and fertilizers (1, 8%). The goods which are imported from Israel to Ukraine include mineral fuel, oil (61, 6 %); chemical products (9, 4%); different types of plastic (5, 8 %); duty free goods (3, 5%); pharmaceutical products (2, 2 %) fruits and vegetables (1, 8 %). As of 2014 the volume of direct Israeli investments into the economy of Ukraine constituted 39, 5 million dollars, which is 0, 1% of total volume of investments. The eighth meeting of the Intergovernment Ukrainian-Israeli committee on trade and economic cooperation took place on November 27, 2013 (in the city of Jerusalem), and the corresponding Protocol was signed.

It is necessary to stress the fact that **the State of Israel fully supports Ukraine in its struggle for territorial integrity and sovereignty.**

Summarizing all the above-mentioned facts, one should note that Ukrainian economic entities are gradually moving towards **the markets of the Middle East, Africa, Asia and South America** turning Ukraine into one of the main transportation and communication crossroads as well as the important center of oil and gas trade routes.

Ukraine continues working with the African countries south of Zakhara aiming at development of the political dialogue, active cooperation in international organizations as well as search of new economic partners and new markets for Ukrainian manufacturers. The Program of cooperation with African countries for the period of 2010 – 2012 approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine in May 2010 became the important complex document outlining the direction taken by Ukraine in cooperation with African countries. To realize the plans ministers of the following countries visited Ukraine: the Republic of the Congo (2009 and 2010), Equatorial Guinea (2010), Gabon and Senegal (2011). There has been certain activization in relations and economic dialogue with such countries as Senegal, Morocco, Equatorial Guinea, Algeria, the South African Republic, etc.

Ukraine participates in peace-keeping operations conducted by the UN in several African countries such as Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, and the Republic of the Congo. The world community saw real value in the level of professionalism of Ukrainian military pilots who had assisted in regulating of the post-election crisis in Cote d'Ivoire in 2011.

# PART V

## UKRAINE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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### *5.1. Universal international organizations*

**The United Nations Organization (UN)** [1]. As part of its foreign policies, Ukraine is a member of several international organizations which work on acting against world threats in terms of security, peace, environments, economics, demographics, etc. The world security system with Ukraine as its part is based on the work of the United Nations which is acknowledged to be the main entity in the universal configuration of acting against world threats.

**2014: the world is facing a new threat.** The threat was brought by the Russian Federation which had started war against Ukraine. December 14, 2014 marked 40 years since the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the resolution called “Definition of Aggression” (3314 (XXIX)). Approval of that document became a significant event in common efforts of the members of the UN aimed at ensuring that the goals and principles of the UN Statute were being followed.

Unfortunately, nowadays the whole democratic world witnessed Russia breaking that Resolution as well as other major international treaties. The actions of the Russian Federation towards Ukraine being one of the founding states of the UN, invasion of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (Ukraine) as well as direct and indirect military intervention in the eastern part of Ukraine fall under the definition of aggression in accordance with paragraphs a), b), c), d), e) i g), Article 3 of the addendum to UN General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX). The Russian Federation performed an act of aggression against a sovereign state. Hereby, one must remember that Russia is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and, therefore, bears specific responsibility for keeping world peace. **According to the above –**

**mentioned UN General Assembly Resolution, an aggression is a crime against international peace, and aggression gives rise to international responsibility.**

Ukraine thanked international community for continuous support which was proved by the adoption of the UN General Assembly Resolution entitled “Territorial Integrity of Ukraine” (68/262) on March 27, 2014.

**On July 17, 2014 the whole world was shocked because of another tragedy:** the Malaysia Airlines aircraft, Boeing 777, was shot down near the city of Torez, Donetsk Oblast. The tragedy took away the lives of all the passengers and the crew members – 298 people total. The UN Security Council honored the memory of those who was killed during that catastrophe with moment of silence. According to the information of the American and German intelligence the aircraft was shot down by Russian separatists who used a Russian rocket complex “Buk”. Based on the number of victims this Boeing 777 catastrophe has become the biggest one in the XXI century after the 9/11 terrorist attack against the United States.

The representatives of the Russian Federation in the UN tried to shift the blame for the tragedy on Ukraine. At the time the members of Russian opposition using pro-Putin media showed who shot down that Boeing 777. The video proves that the blame is on the gunmen of the “Self-proclaimed republics” who reported to their Russian owners about the shoot-down of a Ukrainian military aircraft as they thought it was. The Boeing catastrophe caused a new wave of international sanctions against Russia.

**A real battle of diplomats started within the UN to let the world community know the truth. Yuri Sergeyev, a permanent representative of Ukraine in the UN,** stated that *his country has to fight against well-armed military infiltrators and Russian troops.* **Permanent Representative of the US:** *we support stable and peaceful Ukraine, and we are not satisfied with temporary cease-fire. Separatists are still being recruited on the territory of Russia continues.* **Permanent Representative of the US:** *the gunmen were boasting about shooting the aircraft down, however later all the videos disappeared. Everybody was shocked by the fact that the aircraft was shot down, that*

*there was an infant among those who died, we express our condolences..., it must be investigated.*

**Ukrainian diplomats used the UN platform to inform the whole world about Russia's aggressive actions** as well as to address all the people in the world and ask for support and assistance. On March 22, 2014, in particular, **Pavlo Klimkin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine**, introduces international community to the situation in the eastern part of Ukraine. He also stressed the importance of a peaceful plan of resolution of the situation in Donbas as proposed by the President of Ukraine mentioning in particular that *the main condition necessary to reach security and stability in the region has always been full and complete withdrawal of Russian troops and mercenaries from the region.* In New York the Minister shared information **about Russia's expansionist policy as to Ukraine**: on September 23, 2014 he have personal interviews to Sky News Arabia, Al Jazeera World, Fox News USA, Voice of America, RTVI and took part in the "TSN-Tyzhden" program of Ukrainian "1+1" TV channel. Minister P. Klimkin also stressed the situation in the Crimea which had been invaded by Russia and where the rights of the Crimean Tatars have being violated because of Russian military presence [42].

This issue has become particularly important since the UN decided to conduct the Permanent Forum of Indigenous Peoples which the delegation of the Crimean Tatars headed by M. Dzhemilev is supposed to participate in as well. On January 20, 2015 **Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the UN Yuriy Sergeyev** demonstrated the evidence of Russian military presence in Eastern Ukraine. He noted that *"we show these materials in order to draw attention to direct support given to terrorists in Donbas region, and to prove the fact that Moscow takes part in destabilization of the situation in Ukraine. These facts are obvious. These are dangerous facts. They are dangerous not only for Ukraine but also for the whole Europe in general"* [42]. The participants of the military activities on terrorists' side and the leaders of terrorist organizations are citizens of the Russian Federation. The Permanent Representative of Ukraine emphasized that the Russian criminal laws prohibit such participation in the event it does not meet

Russia's interests. Nowadays, however, Russia uses these criminals in a war against Ukraine; so far, Russia has not prosecuted a single person for participating in military activities in Ukraine.

**Permanent Representative of the US** Samantha Power blamed Russia for aggression and **called V. Putin's propositions a plan of invasion of Ukraine**: *"Putin wants to legalize presence of Russian military forces in Eastern Ukraine. We do not need new treaties. However, we must comply with the existing treaties"*.

**The fight for integrity and independence of Ukraine continues.**

**Leading international organizations officially acknowledged presence of Russian military forces in Ukraine and demand their immediate removal.**

**Permanent Representative of the Republic of Chad**: we are in favor of conducting transparent international investigation involving international experts. **Permanent Representative of Nigeria**: we are expressing our condolences to all the countries and the families of the deceased. It seems that all that has happened is an apocalypse; it is the end of the world. **Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom**: the UN Security Council must demand that separatists cease hostility and find peaceful ways to act. **Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom**: we expect that Russia will condemn actions of armed rebels. **Argentina**: it is important to follow the principle of non-intervention into the internal affairs of Ukraine; all parties must follow the international law provisions. **France**: the situation in Ukraine is getting worse; two Ukrainian aircrafts (besides the Boeing) were shot down in the Ukrainian airspace. **France**: our priority is to end escalation and to support the decision to cease fire; separatists must stop their activities.

**Representative of the Russian Federation in the UN deny participation of Russia in the military activities in Eastern Ukraine.** They also deny that in winter of 2014 Russian tank forces and other types of military forces crossed the Ukrainian state border and entered the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Pro-Russian and Russian military personnel, having been surrounded by the Ukrainian army in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, destroyed Ukrainian cities and

villages; the infrastructure was completely destroyed as well, many banks and stores were robbed. The local population was in the state of complete despair. And even those who perhaps shared somewhat compromising position as to invaders have now realized what it means to live under the conditions of terror when Ukraine is invaded by foreigners. The number of those wounded and killed keeps growing rapidly: according to the statement made by President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko, from the beginning of the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) in Donetsk and Luhansk regions as of December 7, 2014 **one thousand 252 Ukrainian soldiers have died and approximately three thousand soldiers have been wounded** while protecting Ukraine. In general, **taking into account the whole unannounced front spread by the Russian Federation, the Russian government and the Russian president, Ukraine has lost over two thousand soldiers and officers.** As of July 9, 2014 the number of refugees in Ukraine reached 80000 people, and 84% of the refugees are from Eastern Ukraine.

**Over one thousand of the “loads 200” from Ukraine have been counted in Russia. The question is: what were these young men, being a part of the Russian military forces, doing in the sovereign country of Ukraine?**

The United Nations General Assembly Resolution entitled “Territorial Integrity of Ukraine” was adopted on March 27, 2014. During the 68<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly the countries that are members of the UN voted for this Resolution, and **100 of them voted for it, 11 – against it, and 58 countries chose the non-of-the-above position.**

The meeting of the UN General Assembly was called specifically in order to review the issue of military invasion of Ukraine by Russia, and, in particular, invasion of the Crimean Peninsula. The authors of this statement were Germany, Canada, Costa Rica, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. Later the following countries joint as co-authors: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Georgia, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Norway and other countries. 58 countries including China decided not

to vote. Hereby, **the Representative of China state that his country is against escalation of confrontation**. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine informed society about pressure and threats Russia was attempting to use against the countries that were members of the UN: *“We have all the reasons to talk about pressure which Russia used against a number of countries during voting. Many countries did not fall under such pressure and did not vote against the resolution. This proves once again the obvious fact that Russia is currently in a state of international isolation”* [42].

Various media sources also announced that Russia applied mass pressure on a number of Eastern European and Asian countries in attempt to make them vote against invalidity of the Crimean referendum, and that Moscow even threatened Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and several other countries with sanctions in the event they support the UN General Assembly Resolution.

Despite the statement made by the Russian government that Russia has nothing to do with the terrorists acting in Eastern Ukraine, there is significant proof and evidence that Moscow **not only supports them financially, but also provides them with weapons** while these terrorist groups continue terrorizing local population, killing civilians and Ukrainian soldiers. Moreover, Moscow **directly interferes into internal affairs of Ukraine using Russian military forces whose intentions are to invade the territory of Ukraine**.

**On January 24, 2015 the Russian heavy artillery, including “Grad” and “Uragan” rocket systems, attacked the city of Mariupol**, where dozens of civilians died and hundreds of people were wounded. It was a heinous crime against Peace; it is a threat to the whole world.

The President of Ukraine, the Ukrainian government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine addressed the UN Security Council, the EU Council and all the people and countries of the world with a plea to help stop aggression of the Russian military forces against Ukraine, the military forces which are significantly better equipped and outnumber Ukrainian military forces.

**UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon condemned the attack against the city of Mariupol** and stated that the leaders of the Donbas territorial army had violated the terms of the Minsk agreements. He

also stated that the rockets were aimed at civilian districts, which is a violation of international humanitarian laws.

**Information of the OSCE.** *“Examination and analysis of the shell craters showed that the latter were caused by the “Grad” missiles and “Uragan” rocket systems”.* The “Grad” missiles were shot in the north-eastern direction (19 km from Olimpiyskaya Street), and the “Uragan” missiles were shot in the eastern direction (15 km from Olimpiyskaya Street). These streets are under control of the so-called “Donetsk People’s Republic”, - this is what is stated in the report by the Special Monitoring Committee of the OSCE.

However, **Russia as a member of the UN Security Council having the “veto” right, blocked the actions of the UN Security Council as to acceptance of the statement regarding the attack on the city of Mariupol.**

Then **Latvia** called out for an emergency meeting of the EU Council because of the attack of the city of Mariupol.

**Question:** why does Ukraine refer to the United Nations, to its highest body which is the UN Security Council seeking protection of its sovereignty? This issue as well as the work done by Ukrainian diplomats will be discussed below.

Based on the principles of legal succession, having proclaimed its independence, Ukraine has taken its place among the sovereign countries that are full-fledged members of the UN. The declaration about sovereignty of Ukraine, the text of which was disseminated as an official UN document in 1990, defined the growing interest towards Ukraine and gave rise to broadening of cooperation between Ukraine and other countries.

**Ukraine is a participant in most universal international agreements with the Secretary-General of the UN as their custodian.** In the course of its activities within the UN Ukraine has been elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council four times (1948-1949, 1984-1985, 2000-2001, 2016–2017), a member of Economic and Social Council – six times (in particular during the period of 2010-2012), and twice Ukraine was elected a member of the UN Human Rights Council (2006-2008, 2008-2011). Ukraine was nominated to be a member of the UN Human Rights Council for

the period of 2018-2020 and a member of the UN Economic and Social Council for the period of 2019-2021 (for the sixth time Ukraine was elected into the Economic and Social Council in 2010-2012).

To show how broad the activity of Ukraine within the UN is, it is worth noting that only in 2013 Ukraine was a member of a number of the following governing bodies and specialized entities of the UN system: the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) (2010-2014), the UN Commission for Social Development (2012-2015), the UN Committee on Narcotic Drugs (2012-2015), the Contributions Committee (2013-2015), UN Women – the Executive Council on Gender Equality and Women Rights (2011-2013), the Committee on Information (2013-2014), the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) (2010-2013), the Administrative Council and the Universal Postal Union (2013-2016), the program and executive committees of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). The Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the UN was elected the Head of the Sixth Committee (legal issues) of the 67<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly (2012-2013), Ukraine was governing the Assembly of the International Maritime Organization; the representative of Ukraine is member of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (2011-2021).

The representatives of Ukraine also worked in the governing bodies of the UN Development Program and the UN Population Fund (UNFPA/UNOPS executive council), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF executive council), the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO executive council), the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO executive council), the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO Council), the World Food Program of the UN (WFP executive council).

Ukraine participates in activities of the UN Economic Commission for Europe aimed at strengthening of regional cooperation in the fields of energy, transportation, ecology and economic integration. This Commission is one of the main sources of technological assistance for Ukraine in the above fields. For the periods of 2002–2003 and 2007–2008 the Permanent Representative

of Ukraine in the European department of the United Nations in the city of Geneva was elected the Deputy Head of the above-mentioned Commission. The Representative of Ukraine worked in the UN Committee on Narcotic Drugs in 2002-2005. The representatives of Ukraine work in the Bureau of the following UN committees: the committee on environment and the committee on energy and natural resources.

**Ukraine made a significant contribution into the UN activity:** the program entitled “21<sup>st</sup> Century Without Nuclear Weapons” was proposed; the activity of the UN in the area of peace-keeping was strengthened; signing of an international convention regarding protection of the UN personnel and reformation of the UN structure have been promoted, etc.

At the same time having significant experience of working within the UN, on multiple occasions Ukraine had to address the UN asking for international support to ensure protection of its territorial integrity. It occurred with respect to the issue with the Crimea in 1992; the issue with the city of Sevastopol in 1993; the issue of the attempt of Russia to invade the Kosa Tuzla island in 2003; Russian invasion of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014; and attempts made by Russia to invade the eastern regions of Ukraine in 2014 – 2015. The recent **events occurred in Donetsk and Luhansk regions are military interference into the internal affairs of Ukraine by the Russian Federation. In fact, it is a war against Ukraine on the Ukrainian territory.**

Taking into account national security interests, Ukraine has been actively participating in formation of the system of international security and stability since 1992 taking part in **the UN peacekeeping operations**. The center of coordination of peacekeeping operations and the specialized training center for peacekeeping forces were formed in the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. In 1994 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine made a decision to increase presence of Ukraine in the UN peacekeeping forces from 600 to 1200 people. In the end of 1990s there were over 1500 Ukrainian peacekeepers participating in the UN peacekeeping missions. Geography of their locations includes Afghanistan, Bosnia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Georgia, Ethiopia and

Eritrea, Kosovo, Liberia, Lebanon, Eastern Timor, Sierra Leone, etc. Due to folding of peacekeeping activities and closing of the UN Mission in Sierra Leone Ukrainian peacekeepers returned home in December 2004 – January 2005.

In May 2003 the UN Security Council addressed the members of the UN calling for assisting Iraq in rebuilding of the country and forming the conditions of security and stability, including military involvement. **Ukraine joint the UN peacekeeping activities aimed at solving the Iraqi crisis:** starting from January 2004 Ukraine acted as an intermediary regarding the issues of formation of the transitional government in Iraq. In Iraq Ukrainian peacekeepers (over 1600 people) acted as part of international peacekeeping forces in accordance with the UN mandate under Polish and British command.

Starting from July 1992, based on the level of its participation in the UN peacekeeping operation, Ukraine is the first one among the European countries and is in top 10 countries contributing to the UN peacekeeping missions. 1132 Ukrainian military personnel were involved in the Yugoslavian region alone, including 550 people in two battalions each, 9 people in police and 10 people performing monitoring functions, etc. Participation of Ukraine in the UN peacekeeping missions is codified: on June 16 2005 Ukraine passed **the law “Ukraine’s participation in the UN peacekeeping activities”**.

It is calculated that within all the years of existence of the UN more than 100 soldiers died and several thousand were wounded during the peacekeeping operations. However, none of the criminals who were responsible for death of peacekeepers were prosecuted. That’s why Ukraine initiated development of the **International Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel**. The main goal of this proposition is to protect all the participants of the UN peacekeeping operations and to honor the memory of the deceased. By taking part in regulation of international conflicts, by providing necessary assistance to weak countries to ensure their development (for example, through increased participation in the UN peacekeeping operations in Africa), **Ukraine proves humanitarian principles of its foreign policies.**

**Because of UN support the world community provided Ukraine with significant humanitarian aid** necessary to save the wounded during the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO) in Donetsk and Luhansk regions in 2014 – 2015. Ukraine received several tranches of humanitarian aid from the World Health Organization including 300000 dozes of antitoxin (first aid for the wounded) for the total sum of over 325 thousand UAH. The UN agency which deals with refugees together with the Ukrainian International Airlines arranged shipment of high tech materials necessary to perform emergency repairs of the damaged buildings in Eastern Ukraine. Ukraine has also received various humanitarian aids – from first aid kits to renovation of the whole towns and villages after gunfire attacks.

Here is a perfect example. According to the Memorandum about cooperation between the municipal council of the city of Kyiv and the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) as of September 17, 2014 Ukraine received 1, 3 million UAH to give direct financial assistance to the citizens of Ukraine. According to incomplete information as of September 2014 there were 295 thousand refugees from the military regions in Ukraine; besides almost 5 million people still reside in dangerous military areas.

Ukraine supports international anti-terrorists activities. It was **Ukraine that offered to pronounce September 11 to be the World Anti Terrorism Day** and to form an international entity which would be responsible for coordination of the efforts made by the UN members to fight terrorism. Ukraine follows the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Ukraine joined the UN Convention on Refugees.

As to the amount of contributions to the UN budget Ukraine occupies the 11<sup>th</sup> place: due to economic situation the rate of its contribution is lowered from 1, 87 to 1, and 09% of the GNP.

During the 69<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly (September 2014) Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine P. Klimkin took part in the ceremony of signing of **the Arms Trade Treaty**. This multi-faced treaty

approved by the UN General Assembly on April 2, 2013 is aimed at lowering of risks of unsanctioned distribution of arms in illegal ways.

Ukraine as one of the founding members of the UN actively participates in the major UN programs such as the UN Environment Program, the UN Development Program, the UN World Food Program, the UN Children's Fund, the UN Population Fund, and the UN Center for Human Settlements, etc.

The most important form of practical cooperation of Ukraine within **the UN Environment Program (UNEP)** is realization of specific projects and participation in various environmental programs. Ukraine participates in development and realization of the UNEP regional plans (protection of the Black Sea), mechanisms aimed at environmental impact assessment (IAIA) for the CIS countries, in improvement of environment protection legislation; Ukraine also follows provision of a number of conventions: about biological diversity; on international trade in endangered species (CITES); on the conservation of migratory species of wild animals, etc.

Within **the UN Development Program (UNDP)** a number of projects are being realized, and among them there is a project regarding assessment of post-Chernobyl situation in Ukraine. Based on the results of the program a new strategy has been developed to assist the population that suffered from the Chernobyl catastrophe; special funds are budgeted for realization of this strategy (60-70 million dollars for Russia, Belarus and Ukraine). With the help from the UNDP Ukraine initiated realization of the National Doctrine of Youth Policy which will meet the requirements of young people and intentions of Ukraine to unite with the European community.

Demographic problems are the center of attention of **the UN Population Fund (UNFPA)**. The issue of decrease of population which presents a threat to security of many countries is the question of present interest for Ukraine as well because since 1989 the population of Ukraine has decreased by several million people. The UNFPA is meant to promote improvement of national health, increased life expectancy, decrease of mortality rate especially among man of active working age, and to stimulate strengthening of family values and birth rate.

Since 1958 Ukraine has been participating in the activities of **the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)** which deals with priority tasks in the areas of children's protection and development. This organization cooperates with Ukraine in accordance with special programs which certain funds are budgeted for. First of all, it includes disease prevention among children; also AIDS prevention and providing assistance to AIDS-infected children; protection of children and prevention of cruel treatment; conducting educational reforms; educating people about children's rights; providing assistance to orphans and disabled children, etc.

The UNICEF has several projects planned for the future. Among them is formation of a special children's hospital in Chernihiv for the children who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl tragedy. The UN Children's Fund also plans to spend money to fight drug addiction and alcoholism among young adults.

**The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)** plays a special role in the system of peaceful coexistence of people. Ukraine cooperates with this organization regarding not only nuclear projects, but also regarding issues of liquidating consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe. Ukraine spoke against location of nuclear weapons on the territories of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and for development of additional security guarantees for the countries that are not participating in the structures of collective defense, and Ukraine is among such countries.

Unfortunately, the leading nuclear nations refuse to conduct any negotiations regarding nuclear disarmament. Thus, nuclear danger is a threat for Ukraine because nuclear nations have not developed any corresponding mechanism of protection in the event of nuclear conflict.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) conducted its research entitled "Measuring Poverty" in Ukraine. The results of researching 1, 1 of working people (32%) showed that in Ukraine 79% of population live below the poverty line. Standards of living of this category of Ukrainian population are very low; people do not have means to satisfy their requirement as to healthcare, living arrangements, clothing, etc.

**This problem has become even more essential because of a war of Russia against Ukraine.**

As part of realization of an international program entitled **“Prevention and liquidation of child labor in Ukraine”** in 2001 in Donetsk, Vinnitsa, Kyiv and Kherson regions assistance was given to 1205 socially unprotected children. In May 2004 Ukraine started implementation of the ILO project **“Prevention of child trafficking for the purposes of labor and sexual exploitation in the Balkans and in Ukraine”**. The priority directions of the program entitled **“Dignity of Labor in Ukraine”** are support of equal opportunities for men and women and moving Ukrainian labor laws closer to European standards. **The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)** gave Ukraine a grant in the amount of 1, 2 million dollars so that Ukraine could realize such projects as formation of an information system, equipping of laboratories controlling quality of agricultural goods in accordance with world requirements and creation of an environmental program for biodiesel.

Cooperation between Ukraine and **the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)** has also been growing. Ukraine has working committees on the program entitled “Man and biosphere” as well as on the programs in the fields of bioethics, scientific and technical information, etc. With the help of the UNESCO information technology departments have been formed and more than 30 Ukrainian schools joint the UNESCO project of associated schools. In 2000-2002 Ukraine received over 400 thousand dollars from UNESCO to develop science and information technologies; also over 10 million dollars were utilized within the program entitled “UNESCO-Chernobyl”.

The activity of the National committee of Ukraine as to “Man and biosphere” program distinguished itself by the fact that the Shatsky National Nature Park was included into the UNESCO world heritage national parks. Also Ukraine, Belarus and Poland proposed a joint project in the field of environment and hydrology of Western Polissya region, and this project was approved and accepted by the UNESCO.

Ukraine also proposed to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> birthday of Ukrainian scientist, cultural activist and public person Ivan Horbachevskiy, the 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of Ukrainian choreograph and ballet

master Serzh Lifar and astronomer Sergiy Vsehsvyatskyi. With the help from UNESCO various international children festivals are being conducted in the international children center “Artek”.

**Chernobyl and world community.** The Chernobyl catastrophe and the issues of dealing with its consequences became a significant environmental even of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; it also became a challenge for security and safety of all mankind. Ukraine will forever remember that tragic date of April 26, 1986 when the explosion occurred at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant located 130 km from Kyiv. As a result of the explosion the active zone of the reactor in block 4 of the plant was destroyed. Total area of agricultural land which was affected by the explosion constituted 3, 5 million hectares, including 3, 1 million hectares of farm land. Radioactive elements contaminated more than 1, 5 million hectares of forest land in Ukraine. Some regions of Russia and Belarus were affected as well.

**The Chernobyl catastrophe is a planetary catastrophe of a century which does not have any world analogues.** The tragedy took lives of hundreds of people; a lot of people were injured and became disabled; it also had terrible environmental consequences and caused deep social shock. The economic aspect of the tragedy is also complicated. The calculations show that liquidation of the consequences of the accident in three countries only (Belarus, Russia and Ukraine) through 2015 required 300 billion dollars. The cost of complete liquidation of the consequences of this accident is a lot higher than the cost of all nuclear power plants in the world plus the cost of all the power produced by them.

The world community reacted to the Chernobyl events rather quickly. The UN was the first organization to respond. It provided the most important help. In 1986 in Vienna the UN arranged special consultations of its organizations dealing with the issues of nuclear power, healthcare, food – the UNFAO, the IAEA, the WHO, etc. In the fall of 1986 the UN approved the following important international documents: the Convention on early notification of a nuclear accident and the Convention on assistance in the case of a nuclear accident.

Until 1990 the Soviet government had been hiding the information about the consequences of the catastrophe. Only after

Ukraine had adopted its Declaration on Sovereignty, the 45<sup>th</sup> session of the UN General Assembly (September 1990) appointed the UN Coordinator as to liquidation of the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe and developed a corresponding action plan. The following directions were given priority: healthcare, relocation, economic rehabilitation of contaminated territories, social and psychological rehabilitation of people, food and agricultural monitoring, environmental cleaning. The resolutions of the General Assembly provided for formation of a special Chernobyl program.

At the same time the leading international entities were careful in expressing their attitude towards Chernobyl as they did not want to see Ukraine as a nuclear nation with nuclear weapons because the reactor of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant was the only one producing activated uranium. Let's remember that out of 57 similar reactors 29 were located on the territory of Eastern Europe. The world community was demanding to shut the Chernobyl plant down.

**Ukraine fulfilled its obligations: in 2002 the Chernobyl nuclear power plant was shut down.** However, it gave Ukraine new problems in the area of ensuring safety of the shut-down reactor.

**The IAEA** tries to deal with the consequence of the Chernobyl tragedy. In 1989 this organization started working on realization of the project regarding assessment of impact of the consequences of the accident on people's health and environment. In 1990 in Vienna the representatives of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine together with the IAEA signed the agreement about conducting international researched in the "Pripyat" scientific center. The IAEA helped found the Chernobyl center of radiation research.

UNESCO actively supported the suffered regions: in 1991 UNESCO developed the Chernobyl program which included construction of school in new territories, training of new employees, analysis of social and economic consequences of the accident and preservation of cultural assets. "Chernobyl" program developed by UNESCO included 70 projects total. On January 9, 1991 in Paris UNESCO and the USSR signed the agreement about realization of the program to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

UNESCO's call was answered by well-known representatives of intelligentsia of western countries such as Pierre Cardin, Mireille Mathieu, Marina Vlady, Mathias, Salvatore Adamo, etc. The Chernobyl Fund was founded and the charity event "**One Million for Chernobyl Children**" was conducted; assistance was given to found rehabilitation centers abroad. The World Health Organization supported creation of a radiological center in Kyiv where different cytological projects are being realized: i.e. oncology, hematology, immunology, etc. The UN Environment Program (UNEP) deals with environmental issues of Chernobyl [1].

Ukraine faces the following Chernobyl related issues: healthcare and providing medical assistance to those who suffered from the accident, social and economic rehabilitation of the affected territories which have the status of Chernobyl territories, and ensuring safety of the closed reactor. At the same time Ukraine is still suffering from lack of technologies necessary to deactivate contaminated territories as well as from improper location and distribution of productive forces in connection with the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. The condition of the protective sarcophagus built in 1986 is a subject of special concern.

**Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** [1]. The OSCE carries special responsibility for security and stability in Europe. The process of multilateral European cooperation in the field of security was started in Helsinki in 1975 where post-war borders of the countries were finalized. Ukraine became a member of the OSCE on January 30, 1992 when the President of Ukraine signed the Helsinki Final Act. Ukraine promotes increase of the role and effectiveness of the Helsinki process in strengthening of security in the region whether we are talking about political, military, economic, people, environment or any other indicators.

In September 1997 the OSCE offered the CIS countries to review the issue of developing **a cooperative security platform** in Europe as well as of interconnection of various bodies and institutions. During the OSCE summit in Istanbul in 1999 **Ukraine suggested creating an ethnic research center** under the supervision of a High Commissioner

as to national minorities. This center would identify and research the reasons of potential conflicts and determine the actions necessary to eliminate these conflicts.

Cooperation with the OSCE includes monitoring of parliamentary and presidential elections; keeping the OSCE informed about the internal situation in Ukraine; development of economic and social democratic transformations, legal reform; ensuring that Ukraine plays an active role as a mediator in regulating the Pridnestrovsky conflict; participation in the OSCE missions, in particular in Macedonia, Kosovo, Georgia, Tajikistan and Croatia. One of the OSCE projects Ukraine participates in is fulfillment of the obligations as to security and safety: protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms as important factors of stability and safety of the world as a whole and Ukraine itself in particular.

Ukraine takes part in development of the OSCE strategy in the fields of economics and environment protection which was adopted by the OSCE Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (December 2, 2003, the city of Maastricht (the Netherlands).

The representatives of Ukraine actively participate in development of corresponding solutions and recommendations of the OSCE: in particular, in the 11<sup>th</sup> OSCE Economic Forum (Prague, May 20-23, 2003) on “Trafficking in Human Beings, Drugs, Small Arms and Light Weapons: National and International Economic Impact”; and in the OSCE Conference on Globalization (Vienna, July 3-4, 2003), etc.

Ukraine took upon itself a special task when it was the head of the OSCE in 2013. The state which is the head of the OSCE plays an important role: it suggests the order of business and leads the process of political dialogue between the participants. Such a state carries out management of the OSCE. When Ukraine was in charge of the OSCE, several responsible missions were planned and conceptual filling of OSCE strategy and tactics was among them.

The issue of OSCE involvement became particularly important during the war of Russia against Ukraine. The OSCE representatives, acting through special committees (over 1500 people total), were present in the areas of the Anti-Terrorist

Operation invaded by Russian mercenaries in Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Those representatives were involving in the missions of monitoring cease-fire process, etc.

At the same time it should be mentioned that the OSCE showed **complete inability to straighten up the Russian aggressor** who violated territorial integrity of sovereign Ukraine. At the present time the Russian delegation in the OSCE uses all possible means to stall decision making process as to removal of Russian military forces from the territory of Ukraine and interferes with peacekeeping process.

One of the important elements of the regional security system is activity of **the Council of Europe** which is an established and the most represented political intergovernmental organization in Europe. The Council of Europe was formed in 1949 with the purpose to protect human rights, to strengthen democratic institutions and to facilitate formation of united European community taking into account peculiarities of each one of national cultures.

Ukraine announced its intention to join the **Council of Europe** on July 14, 1992. Ukraine was actively supported by the representatives of the United Kingdom, Lithuania, Hungary, Estonia, Germany, Moldova and Poland (the representatives of Austria and the Netherlands abstained). On September 1995 the information center of the European Council was opened in Kyiv. **The official ceremony commemorating the fact that Ukraine joined the Council of Europe took place on November 9, 1995 in the Council of Europe office (in the city of Strasbourg, France).** The Law of Ukraine on joining the **Council of Europe** Statute was given to the Secretary General of the **Council of Europe** to keep and corresponding protocol was signed. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine signed the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and Protocol No. 11 which provides for implementation of a particular control mechanism founded by the Convention. The fact that Ukraine joined the Council of Europe became another factor of acknowledgment of European democratic Ukraine, the country that gradually goes through democratic transformations. As of today Ukraine has met

the key demands of the Council of Europe; in particular death penalty was abolished in Ukraine.

The Council of Europe is an institution which, first and foremost, deals with protection of human rights. Having become a member of this organization, Ukraine took an obligation to follow the path of protecting democratic values. Out of 194 documents of the Council of Europe approximately 50 documents were ratified by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. However, these protective documents will not help if the citizens of Ukraine do not learn to protect their right. The process has already started: more and more often the citizens of Ukraine address the European Human Rights Court concerning protection of their rights. This Court reviewed 13 claims filed by Ukrainian citizens in 2004 alone; and in 2005 that number grew up to 36 claims.

Strengthening of stability on the European continent was definitely influenced by **the Visegrad Group (V4)**. In the 1990s several regional groups were formed in the CEE as a result of the objective reaction to dissolution of Soviet groups such as the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The Visegrad Group was one of the first organizations formed after that dissolution. It was formed in 1991 and included Poland, then Czechoslovakia and Hungary. As a result of the split of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia the V4 took the quadrangle format. The main tasks of the new organization were deformation of post Socialist structure, cooperation in the military field and development of joint foreign policy criteria as to Euro-Atlantic organizations. Formation of a free trade zone which was confirmed by means of signing a special agreement became a necessary stage of development of the V4 countries. The Visegrad Group was not formed as an alternative to the European integration. On the contrary, its participants constantly emphasized that their union is a transitional step in preparation to the EU membership. The union of the V4 countries performed its strategic task of a transitional period: the four countries became the NATO members; they also became the rightful members of the European Union.

Ukraine and the V4 countries assign important meaning to development to interregional and cross-border cooperation which is considered to be a component of the Europe-wide process. We are talking about the need to develop corresponding near-border infrastructure, including technical modernization of the border-crossing areas at the borders between Ukraine and Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, development of economic cooperation in near-border regions of Ukraine and the V4 countries as well as development of social contacts. The members of the V4 together with Ukraine are looking into possibilities of including Ukraine into European and Euro-Atlantic integration, into perspectives of cooperation in the field of transportation and energy. Another point of interest for Ukraine is the matter of liberalization of visa requirements to enter the V4 countries. Signing of the bilateral protocols regarding access to markets of goods and services with Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia became one of the specific examples of support of Ukraine's Euro-integration intentions. One of the main elements of cooperation is implementation by Ukraine and the V4 of the simplified visa regime. In time Ukraine, Poland and Hungary made an unprecedented decision about asymmetrical politics – visa-free travelling for their citizens and charge-free visas for the citizens of Ukraine. Common task of all the participants is development of the Fifth (Trieste-Budapest-Uzhhorod-Kyiv) and the Third (Berlin-Wroclaw-Lviv-Kyiv) Pan-European transport corridors as well as participation of the companies of the V4 countries in realization of Ukrainian energy projects.

Due to acquiring EU membership starting from May 1, 2004 the V4 countries approved the fact the Visegrad Group will continue its existence; they determined that **the next goal of the four countries is ensuring that Ukraine gets proper assistance to become a member of the EU**. Cooperation between Ukraine and the V4 will continue to be based upon joint foreign policy goals. Therefore, favorable opportunities will be formed for continuing development of good neighborly relations and wide-scope cooperation on the multilateral basis.

## *5.2. Regional, transregional and subregional organizations [1]*

### **European Union (EU)**

Nowadays European integration of Ukraine is definitely a question of interest [1]. Ukraine identifies itself with developed European societies and aspires to take a central stabilizing place in the region. Pro-European choice is a key determinant of the foreign policy of Ukraine. Its prospective were discussed in the Resolutions issued by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine entitled “Realization of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine in Foreign Relations” (dated December 25, 1990) and “On the Key Direction of the Foreign Policy of Ukraine” (dated July 2, 1993). The President of Ukraine declared Ukraine’s intentions to become a member of the EU on June 14, 1994 in the city of Luxembourg when signing **the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between Ukraine and the EU** which came into force on March 1, 1998. European priorities are confirmed in **the Strategy of Ukrainian Integration with the European Union** adopted on June 11, 1998 and in **the Program of Ukrainian Integration with the European Union** adopted on September 14, 2000 that became the main tools in Ukraine’s preparation for integration. Ukraine and the European Union signed **the Association Agreement** which was ratified in September 2000.

Ukraine’s cooperation with the EU has been growing gradually: there has been an affiliate of the European Commission open in Kyiv (October 1993) that has gained the status of the embassy since 2012. There is a Ukrainian affiliate by the European Commission in Brussels (July 1995); Ukraine and the EU conducted negotiations as to manufacturing cooperation and trade relations (1994); **the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement** was signed on November 14, 1994 and came into force on March 1, 1998. Ukraine was acknowledged as a country with transitional economy at the EU Summit in Florence (July 1996); the EU Council adopted the Action Plan (December 6, 1996) where the key directions of cooperation with Ukraine were identified;

the first EU Ukraine Summit took place (September 5, 1997). **The Common Strategy of the EU on Ukraine** signed in the city of Helsinki (1999) defined the priority directions in the policies of the EU member countries and the EU institutions for the period of four years; Ukraine obtained the status of an EU neighbor country (2003), and **the Eastern Partnership Program** was suggested in 2007.

Ukraine took measures to strengthen institutional capacities of the state executive bodies in realization of European integration policies. The Ministry of Economics of Ukraine was transformed into the Ministry of Economy and European Integration; also a new position of the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on European integration. Ukraine also founded the State Council on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration headed by the President of Ukraine. The President of Ukraine is also in charge of the National Council on Adaptation of Ukrainian Legislation to the EU; another organization was created as a part of the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine – the Interdepartmental Coordination Council on adaptation of Ukrainian legislation to the EU laws.

**EU Ukraine political dialogue** happens in the form of yearly consultations at the highest level: EU Ukraine summits, meetings of the Cooperation and Partnership Council, EU Ukraine regular consultation at the level of ministers of foreign affairs and political directors of the ministries of foreign affairs. Starting from 2000 Ukraine has been participating in the meetings of the EU Political and Security Committee at the level of experts on joint foreign and security policies.

Formation of contractual legal basis of cooperation became a significant factor in a political dialogue between the EU and Ukraine with its main document entitled “The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement”. The Agreement was signed in 1994 and ratified in 1998. The Agreement meant that the relations between the EU and Ukraine went on a whole new level. The Agreement became the legal basis for multilateral cooperation in commercial, social and legal fields. The Agreement was to be in force for 10 years. After that it was automatically renewed and was in force until 2014 as the parties did not agree upon any other conditions (paragraph 101).

The market economy principle is the determining principle in the Agreement. Its purpose is to include Ukraine into the legal framework of the European market and GATT/WTO. **The Agreement includes 17 separate areas of cooperation with the EU** where rules and regulations were adopted in accordance with the EU requirements: customs legislation, banking, accounting and taxation, employment and labor, financial services, etc. At the same time the Agreement included the provision that the parties were to agree upon foreign affairs and activities, including cooperation in terms of security, constant political dialogue, etc.

The Agreement was supplemented with previous agreements regarding different fields of cooperation. The following agreements were among them: the Textile Trade Agreement (May 5, 1993), the Agreement on the Contact Group on Coal and Steel (June 8, 1994). The Agreement between the European Coal and Steel Community and the Ukrainian government on trade in steel products (July 15, 1997), the INOGATE international energy cooperation program on formation of the basis of international cooperation as to providing the countries of Western Europe with energy products (July 22, 1999), the Agreement between the Euratom and Ukraine in the field of controlled thermonuclear fusion (July 23, 1999), the Agreement on cooperation in the field of nuclear security (July 23, 1999), the Agreement on quota free textile trade for the period of 2001 – 2004 (December 2000), etc. At the same time it is necessary to note that the field agreements which regulated textile and steel trade resulted in limiting Ukraine export to the EU through adoption of certain quotas.

**EU-Ukraine partnership dialogue.** Every year there are over 80 official meetings and consultations taking place between the EU and Ukraine at the highest political and expert level. The fact that in 2000 the EU made a decision to acknowledge Ukraine as a country with transitional economy became an important event that gave Ukraine additional preferences as to development of cooperation with European and international entities. At the same time the EU member countries opted out to watch and wait when it comes to investing into Ukrainian economy. They explained that they took such a position due lack of good investment climate in Ukraine.

**Ukrainian integration with the EU was announced to be the key foreign policy priority** and was identified as the strategic purpose of Ukraine in the government program of 2000. The government program entitled “Reforms for prosperity” calculated through 2007 defined the following goals for Ukraine: formation of the basis for membership in the EU and formation of pro-European majority in the society of Ukraine. The following stages of Ukraine’s journey towards the EU were identified: becoming a member of the WTO, realization of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, formation of the free trade zone, associative cooperation with the EU, etc. The last form of cooperation could be realized using the example of a European partnership agreement that was proposed for Turkey, Maghreb and the Middle East in the 1970s. However, the European party insisted on removing from the agreement the provisions about guaranteed future membership in the EU.

The following intermediate documents for the EU and Ukraine were developed by the European Commission: “European Neighborhood – Enlargement: New Structure of Relations with Eastern and Southern Neighbors” dated March 11, 2003 and “**The Basis of New Neighborhood Instruments**” dated July 1, 2003. The main purpose of the neighborhood program is to preserve stability at the EU borders and to prevent any new threats that can come from the Ukrainian territories. The documents also include the EU proposition to create a zone of prosperity and good neighboring relations, a so-called circle of friends, together with neighboring countries within the next ten years.

At the same time the EU took a responsibility to provide Ukraine with financial and technical assistance so that it could equip its border areas and create proper border infrastructure at the western Ukrainian border in order to prevent illegal uncontrolled immigration. Within the period from 2004 to 2006 the EU gave Ukraine 225 million EUR to implement the above-mentioned program. Ukraine was also offered to take part in the following neighborhood programs: cooperation of Ukraine, Poland and Belarus; cooperation of Hungary, Slovakia and Ukraine as well as cooperation of Ukraine with the Central and Eastern European countries. The Three-Year Action Plan of the neighborhood

politics between the EU and Ukraine was signed on February 21, 2005. In March 2007 the EU and Ukraine started negotiations as to a new and expanded cooperation agreement. The negotiations took place during the official meetings in three separate groups dedicated to i) political dialogue, foreign and security policies; ii) justice, freedom and security; and iii) economic and sectoral cooperation.

The key direction beyond the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement is cooperation between the EU and Ukraine in the field of European defense and security policies. In June 2002 during the EU summit in the city of Seville **the Mechanism of consultations and cooperation with Ukraine in the field of crisis management** was adopted, thus, opening wide possibilities of involving Ukraine in participation in peacekeeping operation conducted under the EU leadership. The proof can be seen in formation of joint Ukrainian-Polish, Azerbaijan-Georgian-Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Hungarian squadrons which take part in various peacekeeping operations and joint training courses. Ukrainian law enforcement officers were invited to participate in the EU police missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2002) and Macedonia (2003). A significant role in strengthening of the legal basis of such cooperation was played by the Agreement on Ukrainian participation in the EU crisis management operations as well as on security measures regarding exchange of information. The negotiations about the agreement regarding the EU utilizing Ukrainian aviation and transport resources for the purposes of completing the European Security and Defense Policy tasks are in progress.

Let's remember that the neighborhood program coincides with the European model of concentric circles which was proposed by the then Prime Minister of France E. Balladur at the beginning of 1990s. That model provided for formation of different zones of cooperation with different depth of integration around the consolidated EU core: the EU is the core of the integration process, the second and the third circles are the countries of the European Economic Area (EEA) and the countries that are candidates for EU membership, and a wider circle is all European countries including new independent countries.

On December 1, 2005 (Kyiv) at the summit Ukraine and the EU signed **the Memorandum on cooperation in the field of**

**energy**. This document also includes provision about monitoring of the active Ukrainian nuclear power plants and about implementation of the EU energy legislation. Taking into account Ukraine's experience in the field of global satellite orientation technology, the EU and Ukraine signed **the agreement to enhance, facilitate and encourage the cooperation in Civil Global Navigation Satellite System "GALILEO"**. It is interesting to note that the EU signed similar documents with China and Israel. Beside the above-mentioned memorandum the EU and Ukraine signed **the agreement on cooperation in the field of civil aviation** which allows European airline to arrange flights between the EU countries and Ukraine.

The EU and Ukraine agreed upon the program regarding arrangement of the borders along the perimeter of the Ukrainian territory in order to prevent illegal migration. Since 2004 the parties have been engaged in negotiations about signing **the agreement of re-admission** of those people who are illegally residing on the territories of the parties to the agreement. As the Ukrainian party insisted, the re-admission document was signed after the same document had been signed with Russia because Ukraine is suffering from significant losses due to the money spent on identification and support of illegal immigrants who have been coming to Ukraine from the Russian territory. Signing of **the agreement on simplified visa regime** between the EU and Ukraine (2007) was also a sign that certain progress was achieved.

Ukraine was interested in the European Council decision (June 1920, 2008) made regarding implementation of proposition made by Poland and Sweden – **the Eastern Partnership Program**.

At the same time **the strategic question for Ukraine as a European state in accordance with article 49 of the Agreement on the EU is confirmation of Ukraine's right for the EU membership in future**. The Eastern partnership does not seal European prospective of the EU partner countries either. At the same time, the Eastern partnership showed Ukrainian leadership in the process of European integration. The Eastern partnership drew a distinct line between European neighbors of the EU and neighbors of the Europe as a

continent (Northern Africa and Middle East) that even from a generic point of view do not have any right to apply for the EU membership.

The next document of the European Commission “**A New Response to a Changing Neighborhood**” dated May 25, 2011 also included the provision about article 49 of the agreement about the EU, namely the right to apply for the EU membership. The provisions of the documents confirmed special attention of the partner countries to the issues of democracy, human rights, rule of law and fundamental freedoms.

A new document was developed to replace the EU-Ukraine Action Plan. That document was **an EU-Ukraine Association Agenda**. The document was a new practical instrument in the EU-Ukraine relations which came into force on November 24, 2009. Practical realization of the documents was supposed to ensure transition from partnership and cooperation to political association and economic integration. The EU-Ukraine Association started the mechanism of associative relations that provided for extended dialogue in all areas of cooperation as well as greater involvement of the EU in the process of getting Ukraine closer to the European societies.

**Since 2008 Ukraine has started preparation for signing of the Association Agreement** which should have happened at the EU summit in the city of Vilnius on November 29, 2013.

The President of Ukraine issued a Decree on immediate measures as to European integration No.127/2013 dated March 12, 2013 enacting the decisions of the Ukrainian Security and Defense Council dated March 12, 2013 “About immediate measures as to European integration of Ukraine”. According to that document **the government** was ordered to notify the European Union on a monthly basis about the measures taken by Ukraine to ensure signing of the Association Agreement and to invent the mechanism of involving Brussels’ assistance necessary to ensure implementation of the Agreement.

Hereby, **the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine** was ordered to conduct preparation of the EU-Ukraine agreement on making changes to the agreement on simplification of visa regime (N0015), to make suggestions as to participation of Ukraine in the EU training mission in Mali, etc. On February 21, 2013 the

**Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine** agreed the content of the announcement “About realization of Ukraine’s European integration intentions and about signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU”.

Here, one should be reminded of the fact that the total sum of macro financial assistance, which the EU was ready to give to Ukraine, constituted 11,175 billion EUR.

On November 28-29, 2013 the Third Summit of the Eastern Partnership took place in Vilnius. The heads of 28 member countries of the EU and 5 countries of the Eastern Partnership participated in it including the delegation from Ukraine. In **Vilnius** the then President of Ukraine **V. Yanukovich sabotaged the signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement**.

**Ukraine erupted with the Euromaidan!** By giving his criminal orders, with the help of police batons V. Yanukovich first tried to disperse protesting students and then the citizens who came out to streets and squares. Military units of the head of the country opened fire. Blood was shed. The president together with his minions fled the country and is still hiding in Russia. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine took power and abolished criminal laws about limitation of civic freedoms.

**Ukrainian Euromaidan was supported by the countries all over the world.** Demonstrations were organized in more than 50 cities all over the world to show solidarity with the Euromaidan and to honor those who died during the warfare in Kyiv. Ukrainian expatriate communities, tourists and citizens of different countries participated in the demonstrations.

Lithuania called out to the EU to use sanctions against Ukrainian government. The Europeans are threatening Yanukovich with the Hague Tribunal. **The political assembly of the European People’s Party (EPP)** is the strongest political force in Europe, and it named the president personally responsible for the events which had taken place in Ukraine. In EPP’s opinion **such events are inhumane treatment of people and must be viewed as crimes and as violation of fundamental rights**. The party’s resolution also includes the call to free all political prisoners and to rehabilitate them. At the same time the resolution states that freedom should be given not only to those who participated in manifestations since November 21, but also Yulia Timoshenko who was in prison at the time.

The former president of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus demanded that the EU gave more active support to democracy in Ukraine (January 28, 2014); at the same time he emphasized that Russia would not forget about its imperial goals and that it would not simply leave Ukraine alone. The events that followed were definite proof of those statements.

Evaluating the events which took place in Ukraine in 2013-2014, one must note that the key issues and the reason of the Euromaidan were desires of Ukrainian people to have dignified life, wealth, education, and their own culture and human values.

What did the citizens of Ukraine have before the Euromaidan? Banditry, corruption, lack of faith, unpunished criminality... European course of development could have guaranteed democracy and cleansing of the progressive developed and talented Ukrainian civilization. Eurasian mentality and standards of living are unacceptable for Ukraine; they were brought from outside and forced upon Ukraine by first the Russian and later the Soviet empire. However, the pro-Russian forces, oligarch clans connected to Moscow and the Russian government itself saw European integration of Ukraine as their geopolitical loss, loss of fertile Ukrainian lands and hard-working Ukrainian people.

The Moscow Kremlin views fight for Ukraine as fight for the part of the Russian empire. Because **without Ukraine there will be no Russia and those in the Kremlin understand it very well.** Unfortunately, Moscow did not develop any other options but for starting a war against seedlings of democracy in the Ukrainian lands. First, Russia invaded the Crimea and now it is trying to invade the eastern territories of Ukraine. Hereby, Russian politicians did not take into account that on the contrary to Russia Ukraine has been living in the conditions of dignity, democracy, equality, brotherhood, freedom, cooperation for 25 years – Ukraine has been living with the European values. A new generation of Ukrainian citizens has been brought up on these values. Yes, we admit that we were unable to deal with all the difficulties, however, this is our own business, and nobody has the right to trench upon our sovereignty and independence!

During these difficult times of aggression and war Ukrainian diplomats took the lion's share of work necessary to strengthen

democracy. Ukrainian diplomats assumed responsibility for moving Ukraine in the European direction. Signing of **the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement** became the corner stone of diplomatic work.

The Association Agreement is based upon the principles of political association and economic integration and includes provisions about creation of in-depth and full-scale free trade zones (FTZ). Ukraine views the Association Agreement as an important step on the way towards the next stage which is signing of the agreement about entering the EU. After the Agreement had been signed the process of ratification started. That process required ratification of the Agreement by all member countries of the EU in accordance with the internal procedures as well as consent of the European Parliament. Important achievements of Ukraine in implementation of social, economic and political reforms, approval and implementation of legislation which corresponds to the EU norms and principles facilitated formation of positive background to ensure signing and further ratification of the Association Agreement.

The document consists of the following chapters: “Recitals, general goals and principles”, “Political dialogue”, “Justice, freedom and security”, “Economic and sectoral cooperation”, “In-depth and full-scale free trade zone”, “General, institutional and ending provisions”.

Chapter “Recitals, general goals and principles” shows the basis of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, in particular acknowledgement of Ukraine’s European choice and European intentions by the EU and acknowledgement of Ukraine as a European country that shares with the EU history and values as well as the purposes of the Agreement. Chapter “Political dialogue and reforms, political association, cooperation and conversion in the field of foreign affairs and security policies” includes provisions realization of which should encourage development and strengthening of political dialogue in various areas. The key goal of political dialogue is creation of political association between Ukraine and the EU as well as broadening of international stability and security. Chapter “Justice, freedom and security” talks about directions of cooperation in corresponding areas. Establishment of the rule of law and strengthening of corresponding institutions is an important goal of cooperation.

**EU-Ukraine in-depth and full-scale free trade zone** is an integral part of the Association Agreement. It provides for liberalization of trade in both goods and services, liberalization of transit of capital and, to a certain point, transit of labor force. The above-mentioned free trade zone has a distinctive feature which is a complex program of adaptation of regulations in the fields related to trade to corresponding EU standards. This will allow for the most part to get rid of non-tariff (technical) trade obstacles and to ensure free access to the internal EU market for Ukrainian exporters, as well as access to Ukrainian market for European exporters. Chapter “European and sectoral cooperation” includes provisions about conditions, modalities and timeframes of harmonization of the Ukrainian legislation and the EU legislation, etc. 28 sections of this chapter of the Agreement provide for corresponding measures in such fields as energy, transportation, environment protection, manufacturing, agriculture, etc. Chapter “Financial cooperation” describes the mechanism of Ukraine obtaining financial assistance from the EU, including assistance in order to facilitate realization of the Association Agreement, monitoring and assessment of its application. In accordance with the provisions of the “General, institutional and ending provisions” chapter it is planned to implement new forms and levels of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU after the Association Agreement comes into force, namely formation of the Council and the Committee on association issues and the Parliamentary committee on association issues.

**EU-Ukraine Association Agreement was simultaneously ratified by the EU and Ukrainian parliaments on September 16, 2014.**

Taking into account military actions against Ukraine, on January 15, 2015 the European Parliament adopted **the Resolution on Ukraine where it condemns Russia’s aggression against Ukraine**. The European Parliament addresses the EU Council to implement tougher sanctions against Ukraine, to give Ukraine lethal weapons. Even though the decision of the European Parliament regarding these issues is not legally binding, it still became an important element of influence on other EU government bodies because the European Parliament is an

integral body of the EU elected during the direct elections, and, thus, **it legally represents more than 500 million citizens of the EU.**

**The European Union is a powerful financial source for Ukraine.** Since 1991 the EU has given Ukraine financial assistance in the amount of approximately two billion Euros. The stated sum was divided between support for private sector and facilitation of economic development, development of transportation and energy infrastructure, increasing security of nuclear power, including measures related to liquidation of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. At the same time investment into Ukrainian economy remains at a lower level, and the tendency of lessening of its volumes remains as well.

Recently **trade and economic cooperation** has been constantly growing. In 2013 the volume of export of goods to the countries of the European Union constituted 27, 1%, to Asian countries — 25, 7%, to African countries — 6, 6%, to the North and South American countries — 3, 9%, to the countries of Australia and Oceania — 0, 1%, to the CIS countries — 35, 9%. The volume of import of goods from the EU countries constituted 35%, the CIS — 34%, Asia — 21, 2%, North and South America — 6, 3%, Africa — 1, 1%, Australia and Oceania — 0, 1%. The most goods were exported to Poland (3, 9%) and Italy (4, 2%). Germany (9, 2%) and Poland (5, 2%) were the leaders in import.

Ukraine exported the goods with low level of processing. Ukraine imported machinery and technological equipment, industrial goods and food products. Low marketability of Ukrainian goods does not attract European countries which has an impact on Ukrainian export. The part of Ukrainian export which fell under anti-dumping investigations grew every year (from 28 % in 1995 to 35 % in 1999). The losses Ukraine suffered as a result of such investigations constituted close to 1, 5 billion dollars in the end of the past decade. A good example of the EU policy as to protection of the internal market was refusal of the leading EU countries to purchase a Ukrainian cargo aircraft AN-70 (2000) despite its obvious advantages of its European analogue both in terms of technical characteristics and cost.

Under the conditions of EU growth **Ukraine considers it prospective to utilize its transit capacities.** Four out of ten

international transport corridors go through the Ukrainian territory; these four corridors are included in to the general European network, and two out of five are included into the Eurasian transport corridors. Ukraine has all the capacities to solve the issue of energy demands of European countries through being involved in reconstruction of gas transportation system, in Eurasian oil transportation corridor project, in utilization of Ukrainian gas storage facilities, in development of alternative power sources, etc.

A special place in cooperation between the EU and Ukraine is taken by the projects implemented in accordance with the **TACIS** program. The following directions were given priority: nuclear safety and environment safety, energy sector restructuring, restructuring of state production facilities, etc. In 2001 – 2003 the technical assistance with its budget of over 50 million EUR was directed at development of civil society, education, support of small businesses, energy sector restructuring, and establishment of a modern banking system and development of Ukrainian social policies.

The most attention in the field of nuclear power was paid to closing of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant which the EU gave Ukraine 500 million EUR for. After the Chernobyl nuclear power plant had been closed, the EU made a decision to give Ukraine a grant in the amount of 65 million EUR to compensate its power deficit. On December 13, 2000 the European Commission approved the line of credit for the Ukrainian national energy generating company “Energoatom” in the amount of 585 million dollars to be spent on additional construction and commissioning of the second block at the Khmelnytsky and the fourth block at the Rovensky nuclear power plants (K2R4 project) that covers approximately 40% of the required amount (total cost of the project is estimated at 1480 million dollars).

**According to the Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) program** (November 2003), the following regions were included: Zakarpattya, Ivano-Franskivsk, Odesa, Lviv, Volyn and Chernivtsi; namely, monitoring of environmental conditions of water resources in Zakarpattya with the assistance of one of the TACIS programs entitled “Trans border

monitoring and assessment of water quality of the Uzh, Latoritsa and Western Bug rivers”.

Different EU instruments have been implemented in Ukraine. For example, such as Twinning, TAIEX, SIGMA. The action plan included 31 Twinning projects (2009 p.), with 9 out of those projects being in the fields of norms and standards, marketability policy, accreditation, space technologies, state financial control, transportation (2 projects), internal affairs, justice and freedom. 10 Twinning projects encompass the fields of customs affairs, finances, energy, statistics, etc.; 6 projects are in the fields of education and communications.

Ukraine and the EU cooperate in the area of development of **the global earth observation system of systems (GEOSS)**. The negotiations have been started as to cooperation in the area of development of the global navigation system of systems (GNSS) and participation of Ukraine in the Galileo program. The European Space Agency is interested in using developed Ukrainian infrastructure to receive and process information from the distant Earth observation satellites.

**The EU supported Ukraine in joining the WTO.** At the same time the EU did not approve of Ukraine signing an agreement about establishment of the Common Economic Space within the CIS borders (2003) and negotiations regarding the Customs Union (2013) considering double integration impossible.

European integration is the main and unchangeable priority for Ukraine which is confirmed in **the Law of Ukraine “On the bases of foreign and internal policies”** (enacted on July 20, 2010) [43].

### **The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**

The Cold War was stopped within a relatively short period of time; new independent states were formed; Germany united; the Warsaw Convention was denounced; Soviet troops left the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, etc. All those events were formalized in the new NATO concept (the Brussels Declaration dated May 30, 1989) according to which NATO was taking more responsibility for stability in the European region. The Rome Declaration (November 1991) known as the declaration on piece and cooperation formalized the

concept of establishment of the European security system through several entities – the EU, the NATO, the OSCE, and the European Council. The NATO strategic concept consists of three pillars: dialogue, cooperation, capacity to defend.

It is not easy to become a member of the NATO. To do so, it is necessary not only to share the fundamental democratic values, but also to reform society and economics, to restructure the army; to become a member of and to obtain certain experience from working in a number of the NATO bodies, etc. **The Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine** (July 9, 1997, city of Madrid) secured cooperation of Ukraine's democratic development, the right of Ukraine to ask the NATO for assistance in the event of any outside threat. The Alliance offered Ukraine **the Partnership for Peace (PfP)** program aimed at strengthening of stability and security in Europe. On February 8, 1994 Ukraine signed the document regarding the PfP. In 1995 Ukraine agreed the individual partnership program with the NATO which included approximately 50 various measures. The PfP program provides for particular preference such as guaranteed national security; restructuring of political and economic sectors; limitation of military potential; equipping of national armies, etc.

Within this program Ukraine was given assistance in equipping the joint Ukrainian-Polish squadron with modern communication and control means; assistance in disposing of CC-24 missiles and strategic bombers; assistance in carrying out military trainings including Ukrainian troops such as "Shield of peace – 95" near Lvov; "Eastern neighbor"; marine military forces training in Crimea entitled "Sea breeze-98, ...2006, ...2007"; trainings entitled "Autumn allies", "Cooperative-partner" near Odessa, "Cossack steppe-97", etc. Identification and maintenance in a proper shape of the forces necessary for participation in the NATO multinational technical force units is an important direction in strengthening of an operative role of the PfP. The state program of cooperation with the NATO became a logical continuation of the PfP program. Yearly goal plans are developed on the basis of the NATO-Ukraine action plan. These goal plans include specific internal measures in Ukraine as well as corresponding joint measures.

The Ukrainian parliament adopted the following corresponding laws: **“About participation of Ukraine in international peacekeeping operations”** dated April 3, 1999 and **“About the order of deployment of the Ukrainian Armed Forces to other countries”** dated March 2, 2000. These documents define the order and the conditions of deployment of the Ukrainian Armed Forces to other countries.

The goal plan for 2005 consisted of approximately 260 measures which covered pretty much all most important areas of society. Ukraine actively participates in cooperation with the NATO: Ukraine joint the coalition on disarmament of Iraq; Ukraine also offered the NATO countries to use Ukrainian aircraft AN-124 “Ruslan” for military cargo transportation missions, etc. Development of relations with the NATO is based on provisions of article 18 of the Constitution of Ukraine which provides for the fact that Ukraine’s foreign policy activities are meant to protect Ukraine’s national interests and to ensure security and safety.

Due to expansion of the NATO Ukraine found itself in a particular geo political situation when the new participants of the NATO are located near the western borders of Ukraine and the participants of the CSTO military block led by Russia are located at the eastern borders of Ukraine whereas Ukraine turned out to be in a dangerous and unsecure situation. A new form of expanded cooperation between the Russian Federation and the NATO within the formula “19+1” was a dangerous challenge for Ukraine.

Besides the bilateral measures the representatives of Ukraine take part in operations of **the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council Security Forum** with the first forum having taken place on May 24-25, 2005 in the city of Are (Sweden).

On January 11, 2008 the President, the Prime Minister and the Head of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine signed a letter addressed to the Secretary General of NATO asking him to review the possibility of supplying Ukraine with **the Membership Action Plan (MAP)** during the NATO summit in April 2008 in Bucharest. However, **the NATO countries are not quite ready to invite Ukraine to join the MAP.**

The 2014 agenda for Ukraine included the question of protecting our country. The government of Ukraine is confident that such protection can be achieved through participation in the NATO programs, cooperation and, as a result, the NATO membership, because the NATO not only helps its members, but also protects them.

**Russia's actions against Ukraine became the main challenge for the NATO.** Secretary General of NATO Jens Stoltenberg emphasized that *Russia was destabilizing the situation in Ukraine and was violating international laws*. The crisis in Ukraine caused by Russia's invasion is the main challenge for the Northern Atlantic security. At the same time, **there will be no NATO soldiers on the territory of Ukraine**. According to the statement made by the Special Representative of NATO Secretary General in the event Russia further continues its invasion of Ukraine, NATO will not provide "strong military support". Instead Secretary General of NATO called out to Russia to stop supporting separatists in the eastern part of Ukraine. "*We are supporting independent sovereign and stable Ukraine. Each and every European country must have the right to choose its path*", – were Stoltenberg's words. Thus, Ukraine should rely on its own military forces.

**CEFTA – Central European Free Trade Association.** The agreement regarding establishment of this organization was signed on December 21, 1992 in Krakow (Poland) between the governments of Poland, Hungary, and then Czechoslovakia. The agreement provided for establishment of a free trade zone between the member countries followed by gradual abolishment of customs barriers. CEFTA does not have its own organization structure. As a part of its operation the heads of governments as well as ministers of foreign affairs and agriculture meet once a year. In 1995 Slovenia joined CEFTA later followed by Romania, Bulgaria and other Baltic countries. Ukraine signed bilateral agreements with all the countries of Central Europe on cooperation, mutual assistance and investment protection, besides Ukraine signed an agreement with Poland on regional cooperation. Ukraine also established intergovernmental committees with Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and Hungary. At the beginning of the new millennium the volume of trade between Ukraine and the CEFTA countries grew

significantly. The legal contractual basis gives the reasons to intensify the process of negotiations with the CEFTA countries. At the same time when a country becomes an EU member, it assumes certain responsibilities and is subject to certain limitations.

**Central European Initiative (CEI)** was formed in 1989 in Budapest under the name of “Quadrangonale” (or “four”) by the group of countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Italy, Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia) for the purpose of development of multifaced cooperation. The organization was supposed to prepare the countries for becoming members of the European Union. After new countries had joined the CEI, in particular Czechoslovakia (1990) and Poland (1991), the name of the organizations changed to “Pentagonale” (five) and “Hexagonale” (six). The organization received its modern name in 1992 after Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Croatia had joined. In 1993 Macedonia, Czech Republic and Slovakia joined the CEI. In 1996 the organization grew due to joining of Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine and Moldova. In 2000 the new Yugoslavia joined the CEI as well. The organization structural bodies of the CEI were formed such as the Parliament Assembly, Executive Secretariat, Project Secretariat and Committee of National Coordinators. The CEI includes 18 working groups; over 100 projects are being developed in specific fields including joint projects with the EU.

**Ukraine has been working with the CEI since 1989.** Ukraine became a member of the CEI with the help of Poland in June 1996. Nowadays Ukraine participates in realization of most of the projects, one of which is construction of a railway road Trieste-Budapest-Kyiv-Moscow. Ukraine pays a lot of attention to participation in working groups of the CEI, in particular those groups dealing with energy issues. Ukraine views the CEI as an important tool of integration with European economic and political space and a tool of strengthening of stability in the region as well good neighbor relations between the countries participating in the CEI.

Participation in development of Euro regions is one of the directions of Ukrainian international cooperation. **Euroregion Bug** (established on September 29, 1995) united four Polish provinces – Lublin, Chelm, Zamoszcz and Tarnobrzeg as well Volyn region of

Ukraine. On May 15, 1998 Podlasky Voivodeship (Poland) and Brest region (Belarus) joined the Euroregion. The purpose of unification is development of bilateral border (trans-border) cooperation. Within the Euroregion various projects have been implemented: on establishment of special environmental area, on establishment of the commercial information center, on development of border crossing zones. The participants of the Euroregion implemented the program entitled “Clean Bug” (1995) dedicated to construction and renovation of the treatment facilities, establishment of preserved areas, etc. Regional cooperation within **the Carpathian Euroregion (CE)** started on February 14, 1993 from establishment of the Carpathian Euroregion Association in the city of Debrecen (Hungary) by the representatives of Poland, Hungary and Ukraine (Zakarpattia, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Chernivtsi regions). Since 1997 five Romanian provinces have also been full members of the regional organization.

The CE Council Secretariat is located in Uzhhorod. From the very beginning the CE was supported by the European Council and the OSCE as well as international financial institutions such as EBRD and IBRD. The main projects of the region are joint scientific researches, organization of international auctions, establishment of the Eastern Carpathian Park, education and support of tourism industry. CE and Euroregion Bug contribute to formation of the transportation and warehousing center “Interport-Kovel” on the territory of Ukraine as well as formation of the free customs zone “Chop-Interport”, etc.

The documents regarding establishment of **Euroregion “Lower Danube”** was signed on September 15, 1998 in the city of Galati by the local government representatives of Romania, Moldova and Ukraine (Odessa region). On September 22, 2002 in Botosani (Romania) the Moldova, Ukrainian and Romanian parties signed the agreement about establishment of **Euroregion “Upper Prut”**; Chernivtsi region of Ukraine was included in it. As to the Program of development of Euroregions approved by the government of Ukraine on April 29, 2002, the main tasks are related to adaptation of Ukrainian legislation on regional cooperation to international requirements.

Analyzing foreign political activities of Ukraine in the CEI region it is necessary to note that Ukraine was mostly active during the first

several years after it had become an independent country. Starting from the middle 1990s the CEI was gradually losing its attractiveness in the eyes of Ukrainian leaders. Political contacts became less frequent, there was certain distance in relations with certain member countries, and economic cooperation was slowing down. As a result starting from May 1, 2004 Ukraine was facing a new Europe [1].

**Economic diplomacy** is gaining a special meaning for Ukraine and is to solve the following problems: minimize the risks of further integration with world economy; establishment of fair international economic system; expansion of Ukrainian export; promote Ukrainian business abroad, act against discrimination of Ukrainian manufacturers and exporters, involvement of foreign capital in priority fields of Ukrainian economics; optimal utilization of Ukrainian properties abroad; servicing of Ukrainian external debts, etc. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine plays a leading role in ensuring protection of Ukrainian interests in terms of foreign politics and foreign policies. One of the key issues for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in terms of economic is promotion of Ukrainian export, strengthening of its positions at the existing markets and conquering of the new markets. Hereby, military technical cooperation and state lobbying of export of Ukrainian manufactured weapons are still the points of special attention.

Membership in **the World Trade Organization (WTO)** undoubtedly has a key meaning for Ukrainian economic policy as a whole, as the WTO develops the system of legal norms and requirements in world trade and controls that they are being complied with. Ukraine started working on becoming a member of the WOT in 1994 during negotiations between the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma and the WTO Director-General R. Ruggiero. After a long process of completing all necessary steps Ukraine became a member of the WTO: in June 2004 in Geneva Ukraine signed the corresponding protocol. The main task of Ukraine as a member of the WTO is preservation of the most influential fields of manufacturing and agriculture through implementation of effective protective measures. According to some evaluations every year Ukraine was losing over 8 billion dollars

because it was not a WTO member and did not have the acknowledged status of the country with market economy.

To prevent negative consequences of threats and challenges Ukraine cooperated with international financial institutions, and **the International Monetary Fund**, which has the status of a special UN entity, takes the leading place among them. Ukraine has been a member of the IMF since 1993. After the Extended Fund Facility program (EFF) had been finished, Ukraine's cooperation with the IMF continues. **The World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development)** is working Ukraine; it finances a number of programs. **The European Bank on Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)** offered Ukraine to open credit lines for implementation of long-term government programs. The key credit directions are energy, construction of railways, agriculture, housing and communal sector, development of small businesses. On December 14, 2004 the EBRD board of directors approved the program of financing for middle, small and micro businesses for the sum of 200 million dollars. In 2005 in comparison with 2004 the volume of financing increased twice up to 500-600 million EUR. In addition to that the EBRD took the responsibility to provide the Chernobyl Shelter Fund with financial resources necessary to finalize construction of a new sarcophagus. Total sum of EBRD investments in Ukraine on 63 projects constitutes 1, 5 billion EUR.

In accordance with the tasks in hand economic diplomacy first and foremost pays its attention to gradual integration of Ukraine into the world economy, to development of strategic partnership with the world financial institutions, to fight against financing of terrorists, etc.

### ***5.3. Ukrainian initiatives: GUAM [1]***

**Organization for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM.** The idea to form the organization was first declared in 1993 (Brussels) at the international conference which took place under the EU leadership and included former USSR republics as participants. The participants of the decided to ensure implementation of the EU program on development of the transport border from Western Europe through

the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus to Central Asia. This transport corridor is a part of a large-scale project of restoring the Great Silk Way. In 1996 Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan signed an agreement on establishment of the Trans-Caucasian transport corridor. On October 10, 1997 during the summit in the city of Strasburg the presidents of the four countries (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova) signed the agreement on formation of the GUAM which was based on the idea of cooperation in military, political and economic fields. In their joint press release the presidents emphasized the need for development of cooperation in order to strengthen security and stability in Europe on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, democracy, rule of law and respect of human rights.

The GUAM countries also added to their joint tasks participation in peace-keeping processes on the territories of the participants of the conflicts including the issue of dealing with armed separatism; active cooperation with NATO as part of its Partnership for Peace program; formation of a joint military squadron from military forces of the GUAM countries. Thus, the GUAM acquired the features of an international organization which played an integral part in development in the Caspian-Black Sea region. On September 16, 1998 the heads of the border forces signed the protocol on cooperation in the fields of protection of the borders, fighting against terrorism and illegal drug trade; and in 1999 in Georgia the GUAM countries conducted joint military maneuvers on (virtual) protection of the oil pipeline Baku-Supsa. The key direction in cooperation of the GUAM countries was sealed in the joint declaration in January 1999 (Washington).

On April 24, 1999 during the anniversary Washington summit of NATO member countries and partner countries of Uzbekistan joint the NATO. Prior to that on February 19, 1998 Ukraine and Uzbekistan signed the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. Also Uzbekistan terminated its participation in the Collective Security Treaty (Tashkent Treaty). Based on the results of the meeting **the Washington announcement** was approved where the following tasks were identified: tasks in the field of security, the need to develop a transport corridor, the need to conduct regular consultations, etc. So, for

a while the countries participating in the GUAM were unable to decide which tasks were the most important for the GUAM: whether it was economic cooperation (the position of Uzbekistan and Moldova) or development of oil transport corridor (the position of Ukraine) or formation the system of national security (Georgia's position). The GUAM reinforced with Uzbekistan became the GUUAM. As to cooperation, Uzbekistan decided upon wait-and-see behavior explaining its doubts with the fact that it was not ready for the tasks in front of the GUUAM members and lack of activity of the organization itself.

**The OSCE summit in Istanbul (1999) encouraged the fact that the de facto recorded decision about removal of Russian troops from the territories of the GUAM countries was included in international agreements.** That fact gave hope that territorial conflicts would be solved. Besides at the summit the decision was also made to implement the Trans-Caspian gas pipeline and to transport Caspian oil along the route Baku-Dzheizhan going around Ukraine. As a result the relations between the partners somewhat cooled off as to oil pipelines.

Signing of the agreement on construction of the Baku-Dzheizhan pipeline lessened Ukraine's hopes for implementation of its own project Odessa-Brody. At the same time Russian diplomats started a massive campaign on neutralization of the GUAM geo economic plans. Russia started implementation of its own alternative gas projects: the Blue Stream, Yamal-Europe, the Northern Stream and the Kazakh transport corridor (the Tengiz oil field in Kazakhstan – Novorossiysk).

In the fall of 2000 during the Millennium summit (New York) Ukraine initiated the process of transforming the GUAM into a regional international organization with strictly defined goals and functions. That decision was confirmed in **the Memorandum and Protocol on Development of Free Trade in the Region** which also included the provisions regarding implementation of the TRACECA projects. Other countries were also interested in GUAM prospective, in particular Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania that were considering the possibility of acting as observers. The United States give the most attention to the GUAM countries because the United States are interested in implementation of new energy projects. Due to the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of

the CIS the US government gave 50 million dollars to the GUAM participants to be spent on fighting terrorism.

After the tragic events in the US on September 21, 2001 the issue of ensuring security and protection of pipelines from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea ports of Georgia became even more important. The GUAM could have become the outpost for the fight against terrorism along the Great Silk Way and the TRACECA transport corridor.

On June 13, 2002 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan announced that Uzbekistan was leaving the GUAM “*due to inexpediency of maintaining further membership*”. Tashkent explained its refusal to participate in the GUAM with absence of progress in activities of the organization. Russia immediately reacted to Uzbekistan’s demarche and reminded Tashkent about return to the Collective Security Treaty.

The summit in Yalta (July 19-20, 2002) was an important stage in the GUAM operation. During that summit the presidents signed **the Declaration on common efforts as to ensuring security and stability** in the region, the Thesis on the Council of the ministers of foreign affairs, the Decision on observer status, and the Final release of the summit. Besides that the following documents were reviewed: The Agreement on establishment of a free trade zone, the Temporary agreement on the GUAM information office, the Agreement on cooperation in actions against terrorism, organized crime and other dangerous crimes, the Protocol on cooperation in the field of culture for 2002-2005 and the Agreement on establishment of the GUAM Business Council. The Coordinator of US Assistance to Europe and Eurasia of the Department of State announced that the US was ready to support the GUAM projects, in particular the projects related to maintenance of the borders and customs offices. At the same time the US (same as in the case with Baku-Dzheihan pipeline) were interested in existence of several oil pipelines in the region.

The dissonance was in the position of the Russian government that was of opinion that any activity of the GUAM without Russia was impossible and that the GUAM would not be able to implement energy projects. Russia views the GUAM activities as a threat to its national

interests due to “NATO and US expansion in the Caspian-Black Sea region”.

The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on the contrary gave a high mark to the organization that *was able to make a valuable contribution into establishment of security and stability in the region. In his opinion, most of the modern threats and challenges do not have borders and that is why cooperation becomes not merely a choice but a necessity.* He confirmed that the UN was ready to continue partnership with the GUAM.

In summary, it is worth noting that strengthening of cooperation between the GUAM countries can encourage solving the problems related to energy and transportation as well as related industry fields of the GUAM member countries. Significant reserves for increase in economic cooperation and development of integration processes are in separate sectors of manufacturing, formation of transportation communications, realization of scientific technical potential, exploration of recreational resources, promotion of international tourism, etc.

At the same time modern realities show that Ukraine does not have any economic profit from cooperation within the GUAM. The GUAM participants are weak economic partners. Statistical data show that in 2000 the GDP of Azerbaijan and Moldova was at the level of 1960s, Georgia – the end of 1980s. Economics of these countries, with the exception of Uzbekistan, completely depends on the help from outside. None of the countries have any influence in international financial institutions. Besides, Ukraine cannot count on significant investments coming from the GUAM countries.

There are negative tendencies in the GUAM space. Each country faces internal conflicts (Abkhazia, Southern Ossetia, Nagornyi Karabakh, Transnistria, Crimea, etc.). The GUAM consists of the countries that have problems with Russia in the military field: the Russian Federation Black Sea Fleet was anchored in Ukraine, there are remnants of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army in Moldova, there are still Russian military bases in Georgia and Azerbaijan, etc. The region is encircled with new and old nuclear countries. A so-to-speak security vacuum was formed in the region and to defeat it one needs joint efforts of all the

countries of the region as well as support of all interested countries and international security organizations.

So, one of the most important directions of cooperation between the GUAM countries is cooperation in the field of security. Despite difference in attitude of the GUAM countries towards making joint decisions as to security issues, the first steps in this direction have already been made. For example, joint meetings of the ministers of defense were conducted in Baku (January, July 1999); the agreement was reached between the leaders of Georgia and Ukraine to appoint national coordinators on cooperation in the military field (May 2003); joint maneuvers were conducted within the Partnership for Peace program; joint projects of military technical cooperation were implemented. One should note that Ukraine was counting on joint efforts as to receiving assistance from the GUAM countries when Ukraine was fighting for its territorial independence. However, in reality, **the countries are not ready yet to act together against an aggressor, especially when Russia is an aggressor.**

Cooperation in the field of consulate issues in accordance with the Convention of the GUAM countries is an important form of cooperation (June 2001). The countries expand cooperation in the humanitarian field: the Women's Forum for the women from the GUAM countries; the Agreement was signed on cooperation in the field of education as well as the Protocol on cooperation in the field of science and technology of the academies of science of the GUAM countries; the Council on tourism was established, etc.

To raise the position of the GUAM in the region the area of the activities of the GUAM was broadened. In 2005 the structure of organization was renewed, it started being called the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM (ODED-GUAM). The future of the GUAM will depend on the positions of the US, the EU, Russia, Turkey, etc. The main burden as to strengthening of the GUAM should be assumed by Ukraine as it is the strongest one of all the GUAM countries.

Besides the opening of the GUAM headquarters in Kyiv, the Counter Terrorism and Organized Crime Center was founded, the formation a free trade zone for the GUAM countries was started.

Within the GUAM the project of the GUAM-US program on modernization of national segments of the Interstate Information Analytical System was implemented. Various programs were started to facilitate involvement of the GUAM countries in energy projects, international transport corridors (such as TRACECA), railroads (from Baku to China). Since 2009 the creative impulse has been given to tourism projects, etc. Another positive aspect is that the projects and the intentions of the GUAM are supported by the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, European subregional organizations such as the CEI and the Visegrad Group.

#### *5.4. Cooperaton with other international organizations*

After the dissolution of the USSR the post-Soviet republics united into **the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. Ukraine refused to sign the CIS Statute, to participate in the Russian military block – Collective Security Treaty (Tashkent Treaty, CST), to be a part of the border troops, etc. The CIS united 12 countries of the former Soviet Union that agreed to cooperate regarding the matters of customs policies, environment protection, humanitarian field and other fields. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia did not join the CIS. During the 1990s the CIS countries went through a serious economic crisis. New independent states formed a number of international entities: the Eurasian Economic Community, the GUAM, the CST Organization, the European Economic Area, the Caucasus Four, the Customs Union, the Organization of Central Asian Cooperation (OCAC), and the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). **All the entities mentioned above turned out to be deficient.**

On December 1, 1991 the All-Ukrainian referendum took place in Ukraine. As a result of the referendum Ukraine was declared an independent state. **On December 8, 1991** in the village of Viskuli in Belavezhskaya Pushcha Head of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Belarus Stanislav Shushkevich, President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin and President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk prepared and signed the Belavezha Accords: **the Declaration of the heads of the countries and the Creation Agreement of the CIS. The Agreement**

**which consisted of 14 articles provided for dissolution of the USSR, appearance of new independent states and creation of a new entity.**

On December 10, 1991 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine approved a special document entitled **“On ratification of the Creation Agreement” with certain limitations**, including the following:

- requirement regarding joined control of nuclear weapons and complete disposition of nuclear weapons;
- adopting agreed policy of social protection and ensuring pensions for military personnel and their families;
- creating coordination institutions within the CIS on equal basis;
- solving disputes through negotiations on the basis of international laws;
- respecting territorial integrity and immunity of the borders of the member countries of the CIS, etc.

Thus, relying on the international laws, **Ukraine was trying to act against the CIS turning into an entity which would be above the states.**

On December 13, 1991 during the summit in Bishkek the presidents of Asian republics of the former USSR declared that they wanted to join the CIS. **On December 21, 1991 in Alma-Ata** they signed **the Declaration (Alma-Ata Declaration)** on joining the CIS; besides Russia, Ukraine and Belarus the CIS was joined by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, as well as Armenia, Moldova, Azerbaijan and later Georgia. The matters of the Agreement on the CIS coordination institutes and of legal succession were discussed, and it was decided that Russia was to replace the USSR as to representation in different international organizations. The countries signed **the Agreement on joined efforts as to nuclear weapons**. All the participating countries agreed that tactical nuclear weapons would be taken out of the territories of nuclear countries, namely Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, to the territory of Russia by July 1, 1992.

During the third summit of the CIS (the city of Minsk, December 30, 1991) – the countries signed **the Agreement on strategic forces, the Agreement on the property of the former USSR located abroad that confirmed the right of Ukraine for 16,34% of all Soviet**

**property in accordance with the contribution received from each republic.** Among other agreements there was the Agreement on liquidation of consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, and **the Agreement on joined efforts in the field of space use and research** that was signed by Ukraine with certain limitations. **Ukraine did NOT sign the Agreement on military forces and border troops.** The Agreement on military forces and border troops confirmed the right of Ukraine to have its own army and to protect its borders using its own border troops and to refuse any attempts made by the head of the joined military forces to control Ukraine military forces.

The fourth and the fifth meetings of the heads of the CIS countries (January 16, 1992 in Moscow and February 14, 1992 in Minsk) had military direction: the participants were reviewing the project of **the Collective Security Treaty** signed on May 15, 1992. The Agreement on military oath in strategic forces was signed (**Ukraine did not sign**), The Agreement on the status of strategic forces (President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk signed that Agreement **with limitations**), the Agreement on legal guarantees for retired military personnel, the Agreement on the joined forces (**Ukraine did not sign**), the decision on the council of defense ministers of the CIS (**Ukraine did not sign**); **the Agreement on returning cultural and historic assets to the countries of their origin.** The issue of protecting the rights of the citizens of the CIS was reviewed by the Consultation Council of the heads of the consulate services of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs on the basis of the provisions of the Minsk Convention on legal assistance and legal relations in civil, family and criminal matters dated 1993. However, the military actions taken by the Russian Federation against Ukraine in 2014 and the increased number of refugees from the front-line territory made it necessary for Ukraine to strengthen the border security.

Having been one of the founders of the CIS, Ukraine did not join either the Statute or other global agreement within the CIS. **Georgia** that had joined the CIS in 1993 did not sign most of the joined documents and left the CIS on January 22, 2010 because of the war started by Russia against Georgia.

Russia's attempts to control the whole CIS territory and its members did not encourage development of the entity. The position of Turkmenistan also proves weakness of the motivation of the Commonwealth. Turkmenistan secured its neutrality.

Russia violated all the agreements: **in 2008 it started the war against Georgia, and in 2014 it started the war against Ukraine.** The fact that Russia invaded the Crimean Peninsula that constitutes the territory of Ukraine, conducting military operations in the eastern part of Ukraine, trade wars, political and economic blackmailing done by the Russian Federation against almost all the member countries of the CIS proves that neither the CIS nor other international organizations can implement the necessary mechanisms to punish the aggressor.

It should be noted that **only some of the agreements within the CIS (approximately 10 agreements) were acknowledged by all of its members**, and that most of the documents were signed selectively, with limitations or with exceptions. Different attitude of the countries towards the CIS and fight for leadership caused two separate centers to be formed within its limits – the Russian center and the Ukrainian center. Russia gathered Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. These countries for the most part support Russian projects: they agreed on creation of the Customs Union (1995) which later was transformed into the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC, 2002). Turkmenistan finally secured its neutrality. Azerbaijan and Moldova ignored most of the decisions: the parliaments of those two countries did not ratify the CIS Creation Agreement. Besides Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova later joined by Uzbekistan gravitated towards those counties that were trying to free themselves from Russia's pressure. The above-mentioned countries supported the Ukrainian project – they formed the GU(U)AM led by Ukraine.

**Nuclear disarmament** became an important event in the history of Ukraine. Most of the citizens of Ukraine did not support the decision made by the government to get rid of nuclear weapons as they viewed it as betrayal of the state interests. They considered it necessary to leave a part of nuclear potential in Ukraine, namely operative tactical nuclear weapons that would be able to protect Ukraine against nuclear blackmail and possible nuclear invasion. One should also note that

when talking about nuclear weapons, not only Russia but also such countries as the US, the UK and France put pressure on Ukraine through the CIS institutes.

Let's not forget that the heads of the countries of the CIS decided **to transfer all their nuclear weapons to the Russian Federation**. Hereby, **the Agreement on joined efforts of the countries of the CIS as to nuclear weapons** (Alma-Ata, December 21, 1991) was one of the first documents. The essence of that document signed by the heads of the nuclear countries S. Shushkevich (Belarus), N. Nazarbayev (Kazakhstan), B. Yeltsin (Russia) and L. Kravchuk (Ukraine) was in the following: **the decision as to use of nuclear weapons (article 4) was to be made by the President of the Russian Federation provided that the rest of the countries that had signed the Agreement agreed with such a decision.**

By July 1, 1992 Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine were supposed **to transport tactical nuclear weapons to the central Russian pre-factory bases** to dismantle those weapons under joined supervision (article 6); Belarus and Ukraine were to join the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as non-nuclear countries and **to sign the agreement on corresponding guarantees with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) (article 5).**

The countries were to follow the position of the “three nos” in their nuclear policies – they would not transfer, manufacture or store nuclear weapons.

During the third summit on December 30, 1991 (Minsk) all the countries signed **the Agreement on strategic nuclear forces**. Article 4 of the document provided for the following: until complete liquidation of nuclear weapons the decision regarding use of nuclear weapons would be made by the President of the Russian Federation if such a decision was agreed with the presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine and after consulting with the heads of other countries of the CIS. Ukraine would participate in the agreement only until the stage when the nuclear weapons were taken away from its territory.

Until the nuclear weapons were completely destroyed, the nuclear weapons located on the territory of Ukraine would be under the supervision of the joined command of the CIS Strategic Forces until the

end of 1994, as to tactical weapons – until July 1, 1992. Thus, the process of liquidation of nuclear weapons on the territories of Belarus and Ukraine was supposed to include participation of Belarus, Ukraine and the Russian Federation under joined supervision of other countries of the CIS.

During the next summit on July 6, 1992 (Moscow) the countries signed **the Decision on participation of the member countries of the CIS in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons** where it was stated that the participating countries, legal successors of the USSR, supported the Russian Federation as to its continuing participation of the former USSR in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a countries that had nuclear weapons. The countries also declared that they were joining the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as the countries that did not have nuclear weapons and that would take necessary measures in accordance with their constitutional practice. The document was signed by the presidents of all the CIS countries except Azerbaijan.

**By May 31, 1996 Ukraine gave Russia both tactical and strategic nuclear weapons, over three thousand units, and declared its non-nuclear status [47].**

**Commercial and economic turnover between Ukraine and the CIS countries was constantly over 40% of the total turnover due to import of energy products. Russia and Turkmenistan were the main suppliers of gas and oil for Ukraine: Russia supplied on average 55% of gas and over 80% of oil, and Turkmenistan supplied 30% of gas. Besides energy products, Ukrainian economy depends on import of nonferrous metals, cars, equipment, tools, chemical fibers, cotton, timber, as well as equipment for various types of manufacturing, etc. Raw materials dominate in Ukrainian export: iron ore, manganese ore, rolled ferrous metal products, etc. At the same time 80% of Ukraine coal export was accounted for by the CIS countries. Ukrainian agricultural complex exported meat, eggs, sugar, sunflower oil, technical oils, potatoes, vegetables, raw materials for food processing industry. The Ukrainian military industrial complex was on the second place in the CIS after Russia. As to volumes of arms trade, Ukraine was in the top ten in the world.**

Significant changes occurred in trade with the CIS countries. The volume of foreign trade was growing until 2011: the role of the CIS countries in the foreign trade of Ukraine increased up to 40%.

In January-September 2014 the foreign trade volume of Ukraine with the CIS countries, both in goods and in services, decreased by 27, 8% in comparison with the previous year and constituted 30 billion 102 million dollars. Russia's part constituted 23, 2%.

**The system of government** of the CIS includes the main bodies, namely the Council of Heads of States and the CIS Heads of Government Council that perform the functions of coordination and legal cooperation. There are also supplemental bodies such as the CIS Council of Foreign Ministers, the Economic Council and the Economic Court that deal with solving various political and economic problems. The decisions of the Council of Heads of States and the CIS Heads of Government Council are made based on consensus. The Collective Security Treaty Organization is a military component of the CIS. The border troops that are supposed to protect the CIS borders are also joined.

The leading role in the structural bodies, in accordance with the decision of the Council of Heads of States dated April 2, 1999, is to be played by each country on a rotating basis for the duration of the term no longer than one year (in an alphabetical order). The preceding and the following leaders are the co-leaders. Such an order must be in accordance with the international practice. However, **during the whole period of the CIS existence the highest bodies of the Commonwealth have been led by Russian presidents.** Such practice was certainly against the agreement as to leading roles. On January 29, 2003 President of Ukraine L. Kuchma was appointed to be the head of the Council of Heads of States of the CIS before his presidential elections; then in 2004 it was V. Putin again.

So, a number of entities were created within the CIS: the Council of Heads of States, the CIS Heads of Government Council, the Economic Court, the Economic Council and the CIS Council of Foreign Ministers starting from September 24, 1993. On April 2, 1999 a new Article was adopted regarding the CIS Council of

Foreign Ministers. The Article ensures cooperation in foreign policy activities of the member countries of the CIS. Ministers A. Zlenko and K. Grishchenko were the heads of the CIS Council of Foreign Ministers for a while. In addition to the above-mentioned entities several other entities were created such as, for example, the CIS Council of Defense Ministers, the Council of Border Troop Commanders, The Executive Committee, and the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS Member Nations (IPA CIS, 1992). **In 1999 Ukraine joined the Assembly.** Peacekeeping activities are one of the most important tasks of the IPA CIS. These activities include peacekeeping operations in conflict regions of the Commonwealth and development of legal basis for gradual implementation of peacekeeping measures.

The Assembly was trying to assist the UN and the OSCE in solving the regional conflict situations, ensuring peace in Nagorny Karabakh, Transnistria, Abkhazia and Tajikistan, namely at the borders with Afghanistan. Work of the IPA CIS resulted in signing of **the Bishkek Protocol** in May 1994. The Bishkek Protocol was a political document that ensured cease-fire in Nagorny Karabakh. In 1999 – 2000 a group of the IPA CIS representative worked in the Northern Caucasus region of the Russian Federation: namely in Chechnya, Ingushetia and Dagestan where they were studying the progress of antiterrorist operations of the Russian federal forces.

The Statute of the CIS (Minsk) dated January 22, 1993 is the most important document. **Ukraine did not sign the Statute of the CIS** because Ukraine viewed it as a threat to Ukraine's independent development due to paragraphs 11 and 12 that were against the Ukrainian laws.

**State interests of Ukraine in the CIS were governed by the need to have access to resources and trade areas as well as by existence of the Ukrainian expatriate community: there are approximately 6, 7 million Ukrainians residing on the territory of the CIS.** Non-effectiveness of operation of the Commonwealth is characterized by increasing number of adopted documents. Close to 600 documents were adopted within the first five years alone (December 1991 – December 1995) during the 17 meetings of the

Council of Heads of States. 261 of those documents were dedicated to economic and social matters, 155 – to military and political matters, and 178 – to organizational and legal matters. **Ukraine signed 442** out of the above-mentioned documents, 60 of them were signed with limitations. 17 out of almost **one thousand five hundred documents** were ratified by all the members of the CIS. Russia's imperial politics towards member countries of the CIS is one of the obstacles here. Taking in consideration Russia's expansionist policy, Ukraine has also been reviewing the issues of cancelling its CIS membership.

It is necessary to acknowledge that because of both subjective and objective reasons Ukraine was unable to counter Russia's political and economic expansion. Not having any reliable partners in the CIS or any reliable lobbyists in Europe or in the US, our country is trying to act against Russian aggressor's military invasion. Ukraine loses the Crimea (since March 2014); there is threat of alienation of other Ukrainian territories, namely Donetsk and Luhansk regions. In connection with everything mentioned above we should emphasize that **a challenge to Ukraine is a challenge to Europe and to the whole world. It is a challenge to the world security. The fact that the European Union, Canada and the US supported Ukraine, the fact that these countries introduced economic sanctions against the Russian Federation as an aggressor and that these countries are asking V. Putin to stop invasion of Ukraine gives certain hope that Ukraine will be able to win this asymmetrical unequal battle under the conditions of having the support of the whole world.**

The fact that the members of the CIS turned out to be incapable in terms of integration and mutual assistance led to the search for other unification models in the post-Soviet region. For instance, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan formed the **Central Asian Economic Commonwealth (CAC)** during the summit in 1997 (Cholpon-Ata, Kyrgyzstan).

Based on the initiative (1994) of the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev on October 10, 2000 (Astana, Kazakhstan) Belarus,

Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan signed **the Agreement on creation of the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC**, the agreement came into force on May 30, 2001). Ukraine, Armenia and Moldova became the observer states of the EurAsEC.

The Kremlin developed a different concept. It was a concept of creation of **the Common Economic Space (CES)** involving the leading countries. The key component was the EU experience, namely the idea to concentrate the efforts around the leading countries of the region which were Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine or the core of the organization, and the other weaker links were to join that core later. **Russian leaders are of opinion that the end result of economic cooperation is establishment of the common currency on the territory of the member countries – the Russian ruble.** On April 20, 2004 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in synchrony with the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation ratified the Agreement on creation of the CES together with the agreement on establishment of the Russian-Ukrainian land frontier. The decisions in the CES were made in accordance with the differential quotas: **Russia has 40% of the votes, Kazakhstan and Belarus – 15% each, and Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan – 7, 5% each.** Russia had 42 representatives in the interparliamentary assembly of the EurAsEC, Belarus and Kazakhstan had 16 representatives each, and Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan had 8 representatives each. Such a structure meant that Russia had obvious advantage when common issues were reviewed and was able to make unilateral decisions in its own favor.

So, the EurAsEC did not happen in accordance with the planned scenario. The members of the EurAsEC did not manage to create a free trade zone: Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan agreed 65% of goods assortment, but Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan agreed only 10%. Russia was not interested in creation of the free trade zone and declared that it had a long list of exceptions and limitations as to the role of its products in the EurAsEC trade volume.

**The Customs Union (CU)** revived by Russia that included Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus started operating in the end of 2011. **The Russian Federation got all the benefits from creation of the**

**customs space as during the decision making process it had the majority of votes – 57%, and Belarus and Kazakhstan only had 21,5% each.** Starting from January 1, 2011 the mechanism of the Customs Union for the third countries was introduced; the limitations on trade with Ukraine and other countries came into force; besides energy wars Russia masterminded the “cheese war”, the “sugar war”, etc. As to Belarus’ “war” with Ukrainian cheese in response to which Ukraine implemented “milk-and-sausage resistance”, that so-called “war” ended with a certain compromise. **Belarus had to settle that difficult issue and to cancel its limitations.** Following the bilateral negotiations in March 2012 Belarus and Ukraine reached an agreement as to limitations and decided upon mutual cancelation of the sanctions as to food products.

Using the remnants of the EurAsEC and the Customs Union, the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Belarus created the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU or EEU). On May 29, 2014 in the city of Astana the countries signed the corresponding agreement which came into force on January 1, 2015. That Union started trade wars with Ukraine.

It should be noted that Russian business ruled the territory of the CIS where the economic environments was familiar, where manufacturing facilities cost no more than a quarter of their real value which was because of constant undervaluation of the companies of the CIS countries as well as because of significant level of corruption. Big Russian corporations had active representation in Ukraine: RUSAL owned the Mykolayiv alumina refinery, and AvtoVAZ controlled the Zaporizhia and Lutsk automobile building plants. Everybody is aware of the situation with oil refineries which belong to Russia for the most part. In order to reach its goals Moscow was introducing various trade wars and sanctions; it was limiting supply of steel piping, fittings, galvanized sidings, starch and sugar; it was also periodically increasing prices of energy products.

In Kazakhstan the Russian capital is represented by Gazprom, Rosneft, Joint Stock Company Inter RAO UES and other companies. Kazakhstan is interested in close integration with the CIS market: 70% of the goods from Kazakhstan go to the CIS countries. Belarus works

quite closely with Russia; however, non-market economy of Belarus is certainly an obstacle for a successful realization of the project.

Search for alternative energy solutions was the basis of creation of **the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)**. Upon the initiative of the Turkish President Turgut Ozal on June 25, 1992 in Istanbul (Turkey) Azerbaijan, Albania, Bulgaria, Armenia, Greece, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine signed the Bosphorus Declaration about the Black Sea economic cooperation. Later the following countries got the observer state status: Poland (1992), Tunisia, Israel, Egypt, Slovakia (1993), Italy, Austria (1995). On February 16, 1993 nine countries: Azerbaijan, Albania, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine signed the Summit **Declaration of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC)** which was joined by Greece in 1995.

The BSEC was created for the purpose of establishment of multifeature cooperation of the countries of the Black Sea Basin in the fields of transportation, telecommunication, environment protection, tourism, trade, agricultural, healthcare. The higher authority of the BSEC is the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The managing body is the BSEC Secretariat (Istanbul). The following entities operate within the BSEC: the Council on International Economic Relations, the Coordination Center for the Exchange of Statistical Data and Economic Information, the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (Thessaloniki, Greece), the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, etc. On May 31, 1994 in the city of Sithonia (Greece) **the BSEC countries and the European Union signed the agreement on political issues in the energy sector.**

Since 1998 Ukraine has been a member of the International Center for Black Sea Studies (Athens). The representatives of Ukraine were included in the Board of Directors of the Center, the Working Group on Science and Technology, the BSEC Scientific Committee. They have also been working in the International Center on Water Research and the International Center for Technology Transfer. Creation of the International Center on Water Studies in December

2001 together with the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine on the basis of the Institute of Colloid and Water Chemistry in Kyiv is a typical example of operation of the International Center for Black Sea Studies. The Institute researches the issue of supplying Ukraine with drinking water.

The representatives of Ukraine are working on realization of various projects in 14 different areas. The countries that are the members of the BSEC are an enormous potential market. The members work on joined projects connected with unification of national energy systems into the common Black Sea circle; on development and integration of regional transportation corridors in the world transportation system; arrangement of fiber optic communication lines; they also develop the environment protection programs. The peculiarity of the BSEC in comparison with other sub-regional organizations is that not commercial but manufacturing cooperation is the center of its attention. This feature is shown in the branch approach to finding solutions for common economic problems of the region.

**Ukraine was leading the BSEC during the period from November 2007 to April 2008.** One of the important events of that period was establishment of partnership between the BSEC and the European Union. The following events took place during that period as well: the first bank forum of the BSEC member states, the first container summit (Odessa), the meeting of the heads of the customs administrations (Kyiv), and the meeting of the ministers of energy of the BSEC member states. As a result the following documents were signed: **the Memorandum of Understanding on Facilitation of Road Transport of Goods in the region, the Memorandum on construction of the Black Sea Fling Highway, the Memorandum on development of the Motorways of the Sea,** etc.

The Higher Education Forum and the Congress of the Heads of Universities of the Black Sea region was conducted in Kyiv on April 2-5, 2008. Joined scientific programs were developed and experience in the area of implementation of innovations and nanotechnologies was obtained.

**Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).** Following **Russia's initiative** Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan signed the Tashkent Treaty on May 15, 1992. Later several other countries joined the Treaty, namely Azerbaijan (September 24, 1993), Georgia (December 9, 1993) and Belarus (December 31, 1993).

Moldova, Turkmenistan and Ukraine did not participate in the Treaty. The Treaty came into force on April 20, 1994. It was registered in the UN Secretariat on November 1, 1995. On April 2, 1999 the participants of the Tashkent Treaty renewed its term for five more years and agreed the provisions on further automatic renewal for the same period. The Collective Security Council was made responsible for coordination of the CST.

It is stated in the statute documents that *the Treaty has an open form and is not directed at creation of a military block. Aggression against any of the participants of the Treaty is viewed as aggression against all the participants; in the event of such aggression all the participants are to provide military assistance to the suffering participant.* **This provision is very similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) provision.**

While the Treaty was in force, several documents were approved. The following documents are the most important: the Collective Security Concept (CSC), the Declaration of the CST member states, the Main directions of military cooperation, the Memorandum on increasing effectiveness of the Treaty and its adaptation to the modern geopolitical situation, the Agreement on the status of creation of collective security forces and measures. In accordance to the above agreement the participants of the Treaty can send their military forces to other member states in the even those member states request it, etc. Azerbaijan, Georgia and Uzbekistan did not agree with that decision and left the CST.

The mechanism of the Treaty was set in motion in 1996, and in 1998-2000 the joined forces helped Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to solve some internal issues. **On May 14, 2002 the CST became the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).** In June 2010 **the Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF)** was formed within the CSTO. The CSTO Secretary General announced that the CRRF would be *the five-party force for a great war.* Besides Russia the

CRRF included Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Belarus and Armenia.

Hereby, we should not forget about **the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council** which was a forum for consultations and cooperation created by the 1997 Founding Act. The Russian Federation and the NATO expanded their cooperation, signed the Declaration “NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality” and during the summit in Rome on May 28, 2002 created **the NATO-Russia Council (NRC)** in the „19+1” format. They also agreed upon cooperation in the CIS region. Nowadays, Russia and the NATO countries cooperate on the equal grounds in the “29” format which replaced the bilateral “NATO+1” format. The NRC includes 28 NATO countries and Russia. NATO Secretary General leads the NRC meetings.

However, **because of Russia’s aggression against Ukraine the NATO stopped active cooperation according to the Russia-NATO plan.**

**The Commonwealth of Belarus and Russia** originated on April 2, 1996. Later the commonwealth became the Union of Russia and Belarus – a corresponding Treaty was signed on April 2, 1997 and the Statute of the State was signed on May 23, 1997. **On December 8, 199 Russia and Belarus announces creation of the Union State and signed a corresponding Treaty.** The newly formed Union State has problems with overcoming the barriers of economic and political unity. The reasons for that are, first of all, unequal geopolitical, economic and social characteristics. The fact that the parties have different views of a union state, of its development, political and economic goals does not make the situation easier either. One can consider different models of economic development of the counties to be another obstacle: during the times of B. Yeltsin Russia had a liberal democratic economic model, during V. Putin’s period Russia has had a liberal market model whereas Belarus had centralized state economy. Russia is the Republic of Belarus’ main partner with 60% of Belarus’ trade volume.

**Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).** The heads of diplomatic and defense bodies of Russia, China, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan signed **the SCO Charter on April 26, 2003** which was the foundation of the organization. Besides the Charter the parties signed close to two dozen other documents in St. Petersburg. The Regional antiterrorist body was formed on June 7, 2002 within the SCO.

The leading Asian countries, such as India, Iran and Pakistan, show a lot of interest towards the SCO. Due to the agreements signed on May 14 and June 7, 2002 cooperation between the CSTO and the SCO acquired a new format as well. **The Treaty on cooperation in terms of security between the SCO and the CSTO** signed in 2007 confirmed partnership intentions of those organizations in Eurasia. One can expect that expansion of the SCO and development of cooperation will strengthen the positions of the Russian Federation in Asia, including with regard to manufacturing and transportation of energy products and, at the same time, will weaken the positions of the US and the NATO.

Considering the fact that the SCO and CSTO participants took responsibility for peace and stability in the Asian region of the CIS (2005) and the fact that Russia and China extended their strategic partnership and cooperation (the Declaration on strategic partnership and the Agreement on cooperation – 2005), one can forecast that cooperation between the SCO and the CSTO will continue its development in the future.

However, in the event of disputes between the Russian Federation and China we might face the situation when these security organizations will duplicate and perhaps even be in the way of each other.

In conclusion one should note that **the following stages can be identified within the process of formation and development of integration models of the new independent states of the post-Soviet region.** *The first stage* (1991-1993) is a transit towards market economy, formation of international organizations that is based upon a number of objective factors: presence of common economic, legal,

military and defense space, common monetary system, common manufacturing mechanisms, etc.

*The next stage* has started since 1994. It is the stage of development of subregional entities during the period of catastrophic downfall in manufacturing, liquidation of giant plants, total privatization, destroyed economic, political and humanitarian connections, transit of member states towards chaotic market. Inability to part in a civilized way caused deep system crises, both internal and external.

Russia's attempts to take control over the post-Soviet space caused wars, bloodshed, and dictate of force. None of the international subregional organizations of the post-Soviet space was able to prove its ability to exist because they did not protect sovereignty of the member states, did not guaranty security and territorial integrity.

Ukraine was quite careful in its treatment towards various new organizations with the CIS. Under the conditions of unannounced ongoing war started by Russia and violation of all agreements and international norms of co-existence our country is reviewing the issue on whether it should even participate in such an organization.

**Thus, the European vector of the foreign policy is the strategic direction of Ukraine's development.** European integration is the way of modernization of economy, involvement of foreign investments and new technologies, and increased competitiveness of domestic manufacturers.

Talking about political aspect, European integration determines modernization of the legal field, democratization of political and institutional systems. Cooperation with the EU gives a chance to move social conditions in Ukraine closer to high European standards, to make standards of living higher, and to take a proper place in the family of European peoples.

**At the same time the process of *formation* of relations with the EU cannot be viewed separately from cooperation with the NATO.** The complex of agreements with the EU and the NATO is a lot more complicated than classic international agreements on

cooperation and includes specific responsibilities of the parties. Impact if the Russian factor is still an important matter as well, where European countries have to coordinate their policies as to Russia and Ukraine.

The way the Europeans treat Ukraine's European integration intentions can be explained by significant resource potential of our country that is capable to become serious competition for a lot of manufacturers of the EU countries (grain crops, sunflower oil, steel products, aerospace technologies, etc.). At the same time the agricultural sector, critical condition of some branches of heavy equipment industry, environmental issues would have determined redistribution of the EU financial flows in Ukraine's favor. 80% of EU expenses are aimed at financing of European agricultural policies and structural assistance.

In terms of security and Ukraine relies on the assistance of the UN – the organization which, based on international standards, should be the guarantor of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. Ukraine is strengthening its presence in the UN peacekeeping operations. Ukraine plays an active role in conducting of the peacekeeping operations under the control of the UN, the OSCE, the EU and the NATO; Ukraine elected its representatives to participate in the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission and offered its aircrafts for the airspace observation mission in that region. Ukraine also participates in various antiterrorist and antipiracy programs, etc.

The following matters are among Ukrainian geopolitical initiatives: creation of the stability axis in the Baltic-Black Sea security space, development of Euroregions, participation in geopolitical triangles (Ukraine-Poland-US), measures as to increasing trust among the countries of the Black Sea region, etc. The movement towards joining the efforts of security organizations in Europe has become a tendency. This approach is realized in practice in the form of cooperation OSCE-EU-European Council-Ukraine.

Ukraine is walking towards European integration; it is measuring positive and negative aspects of extended European

structures and alliances; it is taking into consideration various miscalculations, it is analyzing the situation with foreign policies and is trying to get closer to becoming the security part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union. It is forming tools to influence changes in international relations and is developing its own security system.

## *Conclusion*

Foreign policy of Ukraine has a strong foundation of historic roots and is based on international legal principles. Nowadays Ukraine traverses a difficult path pursuing its own foreign policy in the challenging conditions of external military aggression that has devastating effect on its land and people. Ukraine's foreign policy aims at securing its peaceful and prosperous future, which is possible only in conditions of political and economic stability, further European integration and trans-Atlantic cooperation.

Analysis of Ukraine's foreign policy in historic perspective helps to understand the root causes of the modern problematic issues and facilitates the search for their solutions. The years of Ukraine's sovereignty feature constant development of theoretical background and practical implementation of foreign policy mechanisms. During this period the legislative foundation of the foreign policy was formed in accordance with demands of a new post-bipolar system of international relations. Ukraine's foreign policy determined by national interests is built upon universal and widely accepted components and standards of national security.

National interests form a threefold system combining interests of the state, society and individual citizens. Accordingly, main tasks of Ukraine's foreign policy are to ensure political stability and territorial integrity, merge national economy with the world economic system to stimulate a full-scale economic development, project a positive image of Ukraine as a reliable and predictable international partner, build up a democratic civil society, protect rights and interests of citizens, etc.

Ukraine has opted for European integration, which is the key factor in implementation of its foreign policy. Realization of a European integration vector encourages progressive changes in the internal political field. All major political forces within Ukraine support the European choice. The process of European integration is also supported by the majority of Ukrainian population.

Ukraine faces modern foreign policy challenges, such as inefficacy of international nuclear security guarantees, violation of territorial integrity and unitary status of the state, energy security

threats and similar problems caused by external influence, internal political instability, decrease of population, environmental threats, etc. For this reason, the previous multi-vector foreign policy strategy that was implemented by Ukraine up to the beginning of the new millennium has been changed in favor of deepening cooperation with its strategic partners. Located between the NATO and Russia, Ukraine is dedicated to formation of the area of stability and security in Central and Eastern Europe. This initiative can be viewed as a regional contribution to the formation of a pan-European security system.

Strategic partnership with the United States is a determining factor for preservation of Ukraine's sovereignty. The US supports Ukraine in its struggle against Russian aggression not only through international legal mechanisms but also through implementation of unilateral economic sanctions.

Ukraine's special geopolitical location in the center of the European continent makes it a key factor for provision of the European security. This fact seems to be underestimated by leading European countries that do not give enough attention to putting an end to Russian aggression in Ukraine. They might consider it a "private issue of Ukraine" until their own territory is not touched by Russian bombs. War in Syria was also considered such a "private issue" until Syrian refugees flooded European Union bringing it to the point of humanitarian crisis. It just shows lack of understanding. There are no "private issues" in the globalized world. We are all interdependent. And we all are affected by any of the world happenings through the power of this interdependence. The entire world is ours and so are its problems. Thus, we must all work for the world's peace and stability without neglecting any single corner of it.

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## Note

**ДИПЛОМАТИЧНА АКАДЕМІЯ УКРАЇНИ**  
**МІНІСТЕРСТВО ЗАКОРДОННИХ СПРАВ УКРАЇНИ**

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**Зовнішня політика України:** монографія /Л. Д. Чекаленко/ За науковою концепцією проф. Л. Д. Чекаленко / Відповідальний редактор В. о. Ректора Дипломатичної академії України при Міністерстві закордонних справ України В. Г. Ціватий / англ. / . – Київ, Україна.: «LAT&K», 2016. – 294 с., 8 с.іл.

Р е ц е н з е н т и: д. іст. наук, проф. Михайло В. Кірсенко,  
д. політ. наук, проф. Ірина І. Погорська,  
д. іст. наук, проф. Андрій І. Кудряченко

У монографії автор розкриває проблематику зовнішньої політики України від найдавніших часів до сьогодення. Висвітлюючи історичні етапи становлення української державності, аналізує витоки, принципи і результати зовнішньої політики України, що спирається на засади міжнародного права. Характеризує дво- і багатостороннє співробітництво, окреслює перспективи посування України шляхом європейської інтеграції.

За структурою і змістом книга відповідає навчальним програмам Вищих навчальних закладів України: „Зовнішня політика України”, „Міжнародні відносини і світова політика”, „Історія України”, „Євроінтеграція і політика України”, „Міжнародне право”, „Міжнародні економічні відносини”, „Міжнародна інформація” тощо.

Для викладачів, студентів, аспірантів, політиків, всіх, хто прагне опанувати досвідом минулого, щоби будувати Україну – спроможну стати рівною серед рівних, провідних країн Європи і світу.

Розповсюдження та тиражування без офіційного дозволу видавництва заборонено

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