

Україна ДИПЛОМАТИЧНА



SCIENTIFIC YEARBOOK

Issue Twelve

Compilers

*Leonid Guberskiy, Pavlo Kryvonos,
Borys Gumenyuk, Anatoliy Denysenko,
Vasyl Turkevych*

Kyiv • 2011

ББК 66.49(4УКР)я5+63.3(4УКР)Оя5

UKRAYINA DYPLOMATYCHNA (Diplomatic Ukraine)

SCIENTIFIC ANNUALLY

Issued since November 2000

THE TWELFTH ISSUE

Founders:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

General Directorate
for Servicing Foreign Representations

Historical Club *Planeta*

*The issue is recommended for publishing by the Scientific Council
of the Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of Ukraine, Protocol No of September 28, 2011 p.*

Publisher:

General Directorate for Servicing Foreign Representations

Chief Editor

Anatoliy Denysenko, PhD (history)

Deputy chief editors:

Borys Humenyuk, Doctor of History,
Vasyl Turkevych, Honored Art Worker of Ukraine
Leonid Schlyar, Doctor of Political Sciences

Executive editor:

Volodymyr Denysenko, Doctor of History

ISBN 966-7522-07-5

EDITORIAL BOARD

Kostyantyn Gryschenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Leonid Guberskiy, Rector of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of Philosophy

Borys Humenyuk, Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine under the MFA of Ukraine, Deputy Chief Editor

Volodymyr Khandogiy, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Volodymyr Yalovyi, Deputy Head of the VR Staff of Ukraine

Oleh Bilorus, Head of the VR Committee of Ukraine for Foreign Affairs, Member of the NAS of Ukraine

Pavlo Kryvonos, Director General of the General Directorate for Servicing Foreign Representations, Publisher

Yuri Kostenko, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China

Yuri Rylach, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine, Chairman of the Union of Diplomats of Ukraine

Anatoliy Denysenko, Chairman of the Historical Club *Planeta*, PhD (History), honored journalist of Ukraine, Chief Editor

Oleksandr Shulga, Head of the State Archives Departments of the MFA of Ukraine

Dmytro Tabachnyk, Minister of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of Ukraine, Doctor of History, professor

Myroslav Romanyuk, Director of the V.Stefanyk National Library of Lviv, corresponding member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of History

Mykola Zhelezniak, Director of the Institute of Encyclopedic Research of the NAS of Ukraine, PhD (philosophy)

Vasyl Kremen, President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, Member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of Philosophy

Oleksiy Onyschenko, Doctor of Philosophy

Sergiy Pyrozhkov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Moldova, Member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of Economy

Viktor Andruschenko, Rector of the M. Dragomanova National Pedagogical University, corresponding member of the NAS of Ukraine, Member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of Philosophy

Petro Talanchuk, President of the Open International University of Human Development *Ukraina*, Member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine

Volodymyr Golovchenko, Head of the Chair at the Institute of International Relations of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Doctor of History

Mykola Kulinich, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Japan, PhD (history)

Petro Kononenko, Director of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport of Ukraine, member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine

Oleksandr Savenko, Director General of the Kyiv State TV and Radio Company, honored journalist of Ukraine

Iryna Voitsehivska, Professor of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Doctor of History

Stepan Vidnyansky, Head of the Department of the Institute of History of the MAD of Ukraine, Doctor of History

Volodymyr Bekh, the First Deputy Rector of the M. Dragomanova National Pedagogical University, Doctor of Philosophy

Sergiy Braga, Chief Editor of the *Uryadovyi Kurier* Paper, honored journalist of Ukraine

Volodymyr Sergiychuk, professor of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Doctor of History

Valeriy Soldatenko, Head of the Institute of the National Memory, corresponding member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of History

Leonid Schklyar, Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Deputy Chief Editor

Ihor Alekseenko, Director General of the Publisher's *Naukova Dumka* of the NAS of Ukraine, PhD (biology), honoured worker of art of Ukraine

Iryna Matyash, assistant of the Minister of Justice of Ukraine, Doctor of History

Vasyi' Kyrylych, Consul-Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Austria, PhD (Political Studies)

Andriy Kudryachenko, Director of the Institute of European Studies of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of History

Rostislav Sossa, Director of the State Scientific-Production Enterprise *Kartografiya*, Doctor of Geography

Volodymyr Borysenko, Head of the Chair of History of the M. Dragomanova National Pedagogical University, Doctor of History

Grygoryi Perepelytsya, Director of the Foreign Policy Institute of the Diplomatic Academy at the MFA of Ukraine, Doctor of Political Sciences

Volodymyr Lozytskyi, Director of the Central State Archive of the Public Associations of Ukraine., PhD (history)

Vasyi Turkevych, honored worker of art of Ukraine, Deputy Chief Editor

Oleksandr Detsyk, Director General of Ukrinform

Petro Chupryna, Director General of the National Opera of Ukraine, corresponding member of the Academy of Arts of Ukraine

Mykhailo Soroka, Head of the Kyiv Organization of the National Union of the Journalists of Ukraine, Deputy Director General of the Ukrinform

Yaroslav Yatskiv, Director of the Main Astronomic Observatory of Ukraine, Member of the NAS of Ukraine

Volodymyr Lavrynenko, Deputy Rector of the M. Dragomanova National Pedagogical University, professor

Viktor Danylenko, corresponding member of the NAS of Ukraine, Doctor of History, Head of the Department at the Institute of History of the NAS of Ukraine

Volodymyr Yatsenkisky, Head of the Department for Communications with Foreign Ukrainians and for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation, acting deputy head of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO

Roksolana Ivanchenko, Head of the Department of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO

Oleh Voloshyn, Director of the Department of the Information Policy of the MFA of Ukraine

Olga Taukach, Chief Editor of the *Zovnishni Spravy* Journal

Oleksandr Dobrzhansky, Dean of the faculty for history, political studies and international relations of the Yu. Fedkovych National University in Chernovtsy, Doctor of History

Andriy Kravets, Head of the State Clerical Department of the President of Ukraine

German Makarenko, Doctor of Philosophy, Conductor of the National Opera of Ukraine, honoured worker of art of Ukraine, Ambassador of Ukrainian Culture

Valerii Kopiika, Director of the Institute of International Relations of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Doctor of Political Science, Professor

Mykola Prodanchuk, Director of the L.I. Medved Institute of Ecohygiene and Toxicology, Doctor of Medicine, professor, corresponding member of the National Academy of Medical Sciences

Kostyantyn Balabanov, Rector of the Mariupol State University, Honored Consul of the Republic of Cyprus in Mariupol, Doctor of Political Sciences, corresponding member of the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine

Viktor Pasak, Deputy Director of the State Enterprise *National Paper-Journal Publishers Kultura*, honored journalist of Ukraine, President of the Association of Friendship 'Ukraine-Cuba'

Viktor Chamara, First secretary of the National Union of journalists of Ukraine, Honored Journalist of Ukraine

Pavlo Hai-Nyzhnyk, Senior research worker of the Institute of the Institute of political and ethnic-national affairs named after I.F Kuras, doctor of History

Vasyl Yurychko, President of the International service "Ukrainian television and broadcasting", Candidate of History, Honored Journalist of Ukraine



**Address of the President of Ukraine
Viktor Yanukovich to Ukrainian Citizens on Occasion
of 20-Year Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine**



**DEAR COMPATRIOTS,
DEAR CITIZENS OF UKRAINE,**

I am honored to congratulate you with 20-years anniversary of Independence!

Today we are celebrating the jubilee of our statehood. We have behind us twenty years of the contemporary history that changed our lives. Prior to that there were hundreds of years of struggle waged by our previous generations for independence.

Centuries-long experience of the Kiev Rus is the actual foundation of our independence. In those glorious times our land was one of the cradles of the Christian civilization and now Ukraine proudly

continues this mission. Our history is inseparably connected with the history of modern Europe.

For centuries the best daughters and sons of Ukraine were striving for its independence based on freedom, humanism and democracy. We gained independence and witnessed the great event — appearance of the state of Ukraine in the world map.

Twenty years of independence were no at all easy time for Ukraine. We experienced the years of romantic elation, crises and populism. However, despite of the events in the country people worked, raised children and hoped for decent life, strong and fair power.

Now all braches of power are united for the common goal, which is renovation of the state and building of successful Ukraine. All depends on every one of us.

Twenty years is a wonderful age for new initiatives and decisive headway. Twenty years is the age of youth and hope. We are welcoming this day with firm belief in our future. We modernize the country and develop economy. We build airports and roads, we open stadiums. We are building the state cherished in hopes of our previous generations.

We are standing on the platform of national pragmatism and primarily advocating the interests of Ukraine and its citizens. Ukraine will be independent in real only with strong economic foundation. Ukrainians will feel really confident when their rights are properly protected. Welfare of every citizen will be stable when the corruption is defeated on all levels. The nation will be strong when all democratic institutions work. These are our main goals.

We may really be proud. We love our country. The Ukrainian people repeatedly demonstrated its tolerance in these years. So let us care for each other because Ukraine is represented by all of us!

I wish long-standing peace and welfare to all of us!

Let live independence of Ukraine!



Viktor Yanukovich in the General UN Assembly made an appeal to the leaders of the world countries to facilitate the destruction and non-proliferation of the nuclear weapons



The President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich is meeting the UN General Secretary Ban Ki-moon



In Warsaw the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich met the President of the European Commission Jose Manuel Barroso and the President of the EU Council Herman Van Rompuy



Ukrainian officials are paying tribute to the victims of Babi Yar



Negotiations of Viktor Yanukovich, Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin went on in an informal setting



The President of Ukraine is viewing final stage of reconstruction of the National Stadium *Olympiysky*



Kostyantyn Gryshchenko,

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

INDEPENDENT UKRAINE. TWENTY YEARS ON THE WORLD ARENA

Diplomacy is born together with the state. Therefore, twenty years of the Ukrainian independence is the double holiday for us, the diplomats. This is the real birthday of the modern Ukrainian foreign policy service and anniversary of its entering the

global domain as a fully legitimate player.

In addition to ceremonial the jubilees have entirely practical function. It is time for two things – to review the mileage behind and to project for the future. Thus, the holiday becomes the benchmark for self-control and an incentive for further steps.

In reviewing the passed twenty years of our foreign policy work we consciously focus on our achievements, first, because we have a holiday and, second, because diplomats should always be positively tuned, but in the first place because our achievements are worth talking about.

First of all, it is a good point to remember how the diplomatic service, this vitally important domain of the sovereign state, developed in the independent Ukraine. We were lucky that the socialist Ukraine used to have its own Ministry of Foreign Affairs, though its functions were very limited. Less than a hundred diplomats worked at the Ministry then, but they were real professionals. They formed the shock brigade that took on its shoulders the

enormous burden of the first independent steps of Ukraine. They also were the core around which the foreign policy service of the new state was quickly formed, though it was still not enough for the young state.

During the first months of its work the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) hired hundreds of specialists in various spheres — foreign language experts, historians, economists, lawyers and other professionals. On their weakness side, they were not familiar with diplomatic specifics, but on their strengths side, in addition to their profound knowledge of the specialized spheres they did not have bureaucratic rigidity but instead displayed creative ‘out-of-the-box’ approach to their assignments. In the most cases weaknesses were removed and strengths consolidated in the course of the work.

I like the following figurative characteristics of the MFA initial period: we were designing the new diplomatic automobile while driving it on full throttle.

The speed was really high almost at the very beginning. After proclaiming independence on August 24, 1991 the international community, including the long-standing opponents of the Soviet Union were straddling the fence in fear of damaging relations with Moscow and opposing the western favorite Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of perestroika.

After the National Referendum on December 1 all doubts were dispelled: Ukraine is an independent state while the Soviet Union is no longer available. For Ukraine it was time for the first big foreign policy triumph — the state was receiving a parade of recognitions. Already on December 2 we were recognized by Poland and Canada and during the next month we were accepted by 75 (!) states including such geopolitical pillars as USA, Russia, China, France, Germany and Great Britain. During the next 1992 we were recognized by another 60 countries of the world.

This triumph for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also meant a lot of specific work with the outcomes that can never be overestimated — the Ukrainian state right after its birth occupied its decent place in the world community.

It should be recognized though, that this success besotted many of us — diplomats, politicians and ordinary citizens. All beginners are somewhat naive — they see the world through pink glass-

es. Some people thought that the whole world has been waiting for Ukraine to release in order to accept us. The road to the future seemed wide and smooth and Europe seemed to be getting prepared to roll out the red carpet for us.

It is not impossible that someone in the pragmatic world also saw us in some pinkly color. It was expected that our powerful economy multiplied by our democratic transformations would soon secure to us a place among the world leaders. We were only expected to take clear steps towards dismantling the old system and implementing consistent reforms.

However, sluggishness of the old system proved to be very strong in the state mechanisms, in the politics, in the socioeconomic relations but, in the first place, in the mentality of many of our compatriots. Now we understand that it could not have been otherwise, but then the disappointment was even greater than the expectations.

Foreign policy is always a continuation of the domestic policy and fully depends on it. It is easy for diplomats if everything goes smoothly in their state. However, only hopeless optimist may call 20 years of our domestic policy smooth and easy.

The stalled reforms, deep economic crises of the 90s, 'cassette' and 'armor' scandals, deeply rooted corruption, and finally the political chaos, which replaced the 'orange' hopes were direct blows to our international image taking our time and energy, restraining our political manoeuvre.

It is universally recognized that diplomacy even in the poor situation within the country is to take care of appearances. Whether you like it or not, the Ukrainian diplomacy was always taking care of appearances.

Talking about the years of foreign policy development in Ukraine one should always remember another large international success — peaceful separation with Russia and other former USSR republics and avoidance of territorial arguments with our neighbors.

Maybe we do not feel this success physically as healthy person does not feel the absence of illness or wound. However, it is only worth remembering the tragedies in Prednistrovie, Karabakh, Abkhazia and Northern Ossetia, horrors of ethnic cleansings in

seemingly safe Yugoslavia to really feel the value of preserving peace and good-neighborly relations.

It is long known that appetite of mighty players is only tempted in the times of empires breakdowns and political dislocations. Ukraine also faced risks and tensions. In the parliaments of some countries open territorial claims to Ukraine were expressed. To my opinion, a period of geopolitical transformation of the states of Central and Eastern Europe passed decently just as it should be with modern civilized nations. Restraint, tolerance and solidarity manifested in those days became a reliable foundation for our current partnership and our joint contribution to consolidation of the united Europe values.

The institution of strategic partnership became an effective tool for strengthening the international positions of Ukraine. It connected Kyiv with the world capitals important for us and created necessary support points in the global geopolitical structure.

The strategic partnership with the United States began as early as 1996. The decisive step towards this was the refusal of Ukraine from its own nuclear weapons. Support from the United States as a major global player is important and essential for us in all respects without exception. This includes democratic reforms and economic modernization, the advanced science and technology as well as assistance in numerous international organizations for the European integration of Ukraine and its cooperation with NATO.

Today I would like to emphasize the following: alliance with Washington offers us additional opportunities for active participation in global processes, particularly in protecting global peace and stability, which in turn greatly enhances the international weight and prestige of Ukraine.

The process of signing the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation in 1997 was, to put it mildly, not an easy task. Tension around Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet of Russia, delineation of border line (this process is currently under completion), division of the USSR foreign property and a number of other controversial issues — all these barriers were to be overcome in order to obtain the desired result.

After conclusion of the Great Treaty our relations at various times experienced tense situations and even long cooling periods. However, both

countries understand the obvious truth: Ukraine and Russia are natural strategic partners. Our peoples want it, our economies demand it as well as stability in the region and across Europe is impossible without it.

Therefore, the first foreign policy step made by President Viktor Yanukovich in 2010 was a decisive return of the Ukrainian-Russian relations to their natural level — the level of strategic partnership

I would like to speak specifically about Poland. Warsaw supported the idea of sovereignty of Ukraine long before August 1991 and was the first in the world to recognize our independence. Therefore, the declaration of strategic partnership in 1994 was a logical and expected step.

Today the Ukrainian-Polish relations can be called ideal in almost all spheres. We especially appreciate the fact that Warsaw is a dedicated and consistent advocate of Ukraine's aspirations for the European integration. The historic reconciliation of the two states and peoples, certainly deserves to become a model for many countries.

The network of strategic partnerships has proved to be effective and we continue to develop it according to the new realities of globalization. This year alone, such new world players such as China and Turkey became the strategic partners of Ukraine.

Equally important along with the establishment of bilateral relations was Ukraine's accession to major international organizations. Again, we inherited an extremely valuable benefit from the Soviet times, which is a membership in the United Nations. This fact from the very beginning of our independence made us a fully legitimate subject of the international community.

We amply employed the benefits of such starting position. At the very beginning Ukraine started a number of multidimensional initiatives in the UN deserving thereby authority and respect. This was manifested by the presidency of Gennady Udovenko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, at the 52nd session of the UN General Assembly in 1997-1998, as well as by a non-permanent membership of Ukraine in the UN Security Council in 2000-2001. Currently, Ukraine is one of the applicants for membership in the UN Security Council for the period 2016-2017

Accession of the independent Ukraine to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (now OSCE) in 1992 was a significant success. We received the right to vote for a wide range of problems relevant for the European continent, and, in fact, made the first step towards the

European integration. Today, Ukraine is preparing to preside at the OSCE in 2013.

Accession in 1995 the Council of Europe, an organization aimed at creating a single European area based on the principles of democracy, rule of law and human rights, was especially important milestone achievement for Ukraine. It was not enough to be located in the geographical center of Europe in order to access the Council. Post-totalitarian Ukraine had to prove its commitment to the basic democratic values and to demonstrate its real achievements in this sphere.

Becoming a member of the Council of Europe, Ukraine became actively involved in establishment of the European civilization values, thus proving its European identity and the right to join the EU one day. Sixteen years passed and now our state performs its honorable and responsible mission — since May to November 2011 Ukraine is presiding at the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. Finally, I hope a long standing monitoring of how we implement our commitments to the CoE will be soon completed and we will start the post-monitoring dialogue.

The way to the membership in the World Trade Organization proved for Ukraine hard and time consuming — we accessed the WTO in 2008 after 13 years of negotiations. This required not only radical internal transformations and manifestation to the world that we moved away from the socialist economy and entered the market economy in real, but also resolution of numerous big and small specific economic problems with each WTO member. Ukrainian diplomacy decently met this challenge.

We pay primary attention to our activities in numerous regional and international organizations and associations such as the CEI, CIS, BSEC, GUAM, the Vysehrad group and others. Various forms of cooperation and partnership in their complex provide for Ukraine a leading role in the political, economic and cultural life of the region

Our diplomacy managed to secure for Ukraine a prominent role on the global stage. Primarily, this means our contribution to the maintenance of international peace and stability, disarmament and nuclear safety.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union we were left with the third in the world's largest nuclear arsenal, which caused serious concern in many world capitals. In this situation, Ukraine proved to be a mature and responsible partner of the international community. In 1994 we voluntarily

renounced from nuclear weapons in exchange for security guarantees and therefore created a very positive global precedent greatly improving the peacekeeping policy. Since then Ukraine is justly considered one of the leaders in the struggle for a nuclear-free future of the mankind. This policy is being pursued these days — in April 2010 in New York, the President Viktor Yanukovich announced about the decision of Ukraine to get rid of stockpiles of highly enriched uranium.

As a country that appeared in the midst of the Chernobyl disaster with no fault of its own, Ukraine is one of the most effective participants in addressing the problem of the so-called ‘peaceful atom’. The International Conference *Twenty Five Years of the Chernobyl Disaster — Safety for the Future* held in Kyiv in April 2011 was an important event in this respect. The accident at the Japanese nuclear power plant *Fukushima-1* is another proof of how vitally important this work is.

During twenty years of its independence Ukraine has pursued a policy of peace-building participating in all the major international activities and missions under the auspices of the UN and NATO. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Angola, Guatemala, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Kuwait, Sierra Leone, Georgia, Iraq, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Timor-Leste form geography of our peacekeeping activities and real or potential Ukrainian impact on the world future.

Modality of relations with NATO was an undoubtedly important factor of the security policy for Ukraine. However, it was also the main stumbling block, both for foreign relations and for the domestic policy. The basic arguments of Euro-Atlantic advocates were as follows: membership in NATO is a guarantee for security of Ukraine and its involvement in building modern Euro-Atlantic security architecture, as well as a powerful auxiliary factor of our European integration.

Arguments of their opponents focused on two main warnings: first, the course for NATO causes persistent problems with such an important and powerful neighbor like Russia, and second, the idea of NATO membership is opposed by an overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian society still perceiving NATO in the light of the Soviet stereotypes.

Over time the need to make adjustments to the Ukrainian Euro-Atlantic policy became evident. The newly elected President of Ukraine

Viktor Yanukovych did this in mid-2010 by passing the Law of Ukraine *On Fundamentals of the Domestic and Foreign Policy* that envisages provision on refusal of Ukraine to access any military alliances. I am convinced that this step was an adequate response to foreign and domestic policy situation providing us with appropriate security and political balance.

The positive effect became evident almost immediately. First, disputes around NATO issue at once ceased and our relations with Moscow were normalized. Excessive nervousness also disappeared in our relations with NATO itself. In this situation our rejection to access NATO did not affect involvement of Ukraine in creation of the security policy on the continent. On the contrary, the ability to conduct constructive dialogue with both the West and the East significantly expanded our opportunities.

Most importantly is that we refused from heated rhetoric, not supported by real actions and chose concrete cooperation with NATO, which is continuous and expanding. As before, Ukraine implements the NATO annual plans, modernizes the Alliance army, participates in the international peacekeeping missions and scientific and technical cooperation, fights against organized crime and terrorism. In short, the real approach produces the real results.

The last topic I would like to highlight is a main topic of the whole foreign policy of Ukraine. This is integration into the European Union. Our foreign policy activities in all spheres are this way or the other subordinate to this strategic goal.

Unlike the Euro-Atlantic integration, the idea of the European integration was initially supported by the majority of Ukrainian people and by all major political forces of the country. This is perhaps the only factor in Ukraine uniting the government and the opposition.

It is independence itself that implied the European civilization choice for Ukraine, the idea of returning to Europe, to which we belong historically, culturally and mentally.

I have already mentioned that in the first years of independence we were somewhat naive in assessing our European perspective. To some extent it was a residual habit of the Soviet times to replace real actions with beautiful declarations. So often, we were, as they say, 'spinning our wheels'. It was not at all easy and quick for our diplomats

to realize a simple truth that Europe assesses us not for loudness of our locomotive whistle but for the speed and direction of our motion.

On the other hand, the European side is not always right either. As it turned out, some EU politicians are inclined to stereotype thinking formed as yearly as in the childhood. Their consciousness or better say the subconscious still sees the European frontier running along the border of the Soviet Union, which disappeared from the map two decades ago. Therefore, their attitude was different to Poland and to Ukraine, to Romania and to Moldova.

The conclusion is simple: one of our tasks is to gradually, but persistently overcome these stereotypes. Time certainly works in favor of Ukraine and its European future. Twenty years of purposeful efforts of the Ukrainian diplomats yielded their results.

A growing number of Western politicians are becoming aware that we were at the very start absolutely sure that the united Europe will never be integral and complete without Ukraine. The European Union badly needs Ukraine with its enormous human, economic, scientific and cultural resources if it wants to maintain its competitiveness and viability in today's and tomorrow's globalized world.

I am convinced that it is now that we see qualitative changes in our relations with the European Union. The current leadership of the country has made substantial and effective adjustments to the European integration policy of Ukraine adding to it the required pragmatism. From rhetoric and slogans, we moved to concrete actions in all areas of integration.

The most important innovation is that the European foreign policy of Ukraine has been finally incorporated into the domestic policy. Yanukovych's political team initiated the large-scale and systemic reforms, which cover all spheres of the Ukrainian society and are implemented according to the standards of the European Union and with its assistance. The ultimate goal of reformation is to transform the post-Soviet Ukraine into a modern European state.

It is with the concrete work that we managed for a short time-frame to restore confidence from Brussels. The notorious 'Ukraine fatigue' was replaced with a new Ukrainian-European synergy and, consequently, the real results. In November last year we received the Action Plan on providing the visa-free regime for the citizens of Ukraine and immediately started a complex and painstaking work of its implementation. The game is worth the candle — we antici-



Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Yang Jiechi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China signed an agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of China on establishment of the Consulate General of Ukraine in Guangzhou

pate that in the medium term the Ukrainians will be able to freely travel across Europe and to feel a true member of the European domain.

At this point in time we achieved a stage of the European integration. By the end of the year the Agreement of Association with the European Union is to be signed to become a part of a deep and comprehensive free trade area. This document will mark the transition from the ‘partnership and cooperation’ to the ‘political association and economic integration’ phase. In other words, there is a platform for gaining full membership in the EU.

So Ukraine is approaching its twenty year anniversary in the new ascendant, new plans, ambitious goals and objectives and, be sure — the Ukrainian diplomacy will properly accomplish its part of the great national work.



Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine took part in the formal opening of the eighth honorary consulate of Ukraine in town Bydgoszcz, Poland



Michal Bayer, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Hungary to Ukraine is handing over to Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine a 60-liter Tokaj piece as a gift to Viktor Yanukovich, the President of Ukraine, on the occasion of the Hungarian presidency completion at the EU Council



**Independent
Ukraine**

Diplomatic recognition of Ukraine*

ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин між Україною та Литовською Республікою

Україна та Литовська Республіка, керуючись базисними принципами своєї міжнародної та внутрішньої політики, які прагнуть створити спільну мирну, безпечну та стабільну Європу, а також з оглядом на свої зобов'язання щодо прийняття Статуту ООН, Хельсінкського Заключного Акту та Паризької Хартії для нової Європи,

виходячи з глибокого взаємного захвату, торговельно-економічної та культурної зв'язки цих країн і наслідки їхньої єдиної єдиної,

зв'язаної розширенням дружніх зв'язків між їх громадянами та народами,

обов'язуючись на повноті виконувати Віденську Конвенцію про дипломатичні зв'язки 1961 року,

оголошують про встановлення дипломатичних відносин та інші виключатимуть представництва на рівні посольств.

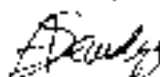
Цей Протокол підписано в двох примірниках, кожен українською та литовською мовами, причому обидва мають однакову силу, і кожен з них є справді після обміну текстами між КСР Сторін

Укладено в м.Вільнюс, 21 жовтня, литовська місяць 1991 року.

За Україну



За Литовську Республіку



* Documents are applied on the original

ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин між
Україною та Угорською Республікою

Україна та Угорська Республіка,

корисним базисом розвитку своїх відносин, що мають істо-
ричну традицію, та переконаннями, що цим вони будуть сприяти на-
пру, безпеці та стабільності в Європі, а також здійсненню цілей
та принципів Статуту ООН, Хельсінкського Заключного Акту та Єв-
ропейської Хартії.

виходячи з прагнення зміцнити багатостороннє систему
політичних, торговельних, економічних та культурних зв'язків
двох країн і надавати їм певної широти та ваги, ру,

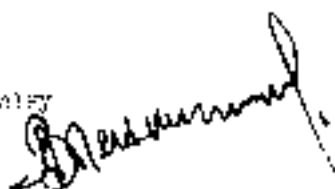
зпочатку розширення дружніх зв'язків між їх громадянами
та народами,

погодилися про встановлення дипломатичних відносин з дні
підписання цього Протоколу і обмін дипломатичними представни-
цями на рівні посольств, в строки, погоджені Сторонами.

На виконання цього представника, відповідним чином ухва-
льовані Україною та Угорською Республікою, підписали цей Про-
токол у двох примірниках, кожен українською та угорською мова-
ми, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

Здійснено в м. Києві, 3 цього грудня місяця
1991 року.

За Україну



За Угорську Республіку

ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною та Республікою Болгарія

Україна та Республіка Болгарія,

керуючись бажанням розвинути свої відносини, що мають історичні традиції, і вважаючи, що їм варто мати миру, безпеки і стабільності в Європі, а також відновлення шляху і принципів Статуту ООН, Декларації Бухарестського Актів і "Панчівської Карти для нової Європи",

підтверджуючи свої зобов'язання по відношенню до своїх громадян і національних меншин, прийнятих у зв'язку з повоєнними,

виходячи з прагнення зміцнювати політичні, торговельні, економічні і культурні зв'язки між двома країнами на основі суверенної рівності,

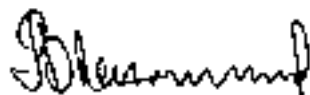
звільнюючи розірвання дружби зв'язки між їх громадянами та народами,

визначаючи відповідні дипломатичні відносини з цих двох країн на основі Протоколу і обидвома дипломатичних представництвами на рівні посольств в столиці, узгоджені сторонами.

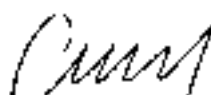
Для здійснення цього уповноважить представників України і Республіки Болгарія; а також цей Протокол у всіх своїх речах, кожний українською і болгарською мовами, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

Закінчено у м. Софії "13" грудня 1991 року.

За Україну



За Республіку Болгарія





ՀԵՅՏՈՒՄԻ
ՏԱՆՄԱՐԿԱԿԱՆԱԿՆԵՐ
ՔՐԵՏԱՐԻ ԳՈՐԾԵՐԻ
ՎԱԿԱՆՔՐԵՏԱՐԻ
ՄԻՆԻՍՏԵՐՍԿՈ
ԿՈՍՏՐԱՆՆԻԿ ԺԵՂ
ՐԵՍՊԱԲԼԻԿԱՆԻ ԱՐՄԵՆԻԱ

№ 886

Միջադարձի արտոնական լուր Բարձրագույն Հանրապետության արտաքին գործերի նախարարին Կոնստանդնուպոլիսից 1992 թվականի օգոստոսի 27-ին, թիվ 2/ՊՎ-10183 08 29.12.92 թվականի տեղեկագրով արձանագրված է:

Միջադարձի արտոնական լուր Բարձրագույն Հանրապետության արտաքին գործերի նախարարին 18 հունվարի 1992 թվականի «Երևանի անվտանգության մասին» թիվ 2/ՊՎ-10183 08 29.12.92 թվականի տեղեկագրով արձանագրված է:

Միջադարձի արտոնական լուր Բարձրագույն Հանրապետության արտաքին գործերի նախարարին 18 հունվարի 1992 թվականի «Երևանի անվտանգության մասին» թիվ 2/ՊՎ-10183 08 29.12.92 թվականի տեղեկագրով արձանագրված է:

Բարձրագույն Հանրապետության արտաքին գործերի նախարարին 18 հունվարի 1992 թվականի «Երևանի անվտանգության մասին» թիվ 2/ՊՎ-10183 08 29.12.92 թվականի տեղեկագրով արձանագրված է:

Министерство иностранных дел Республики Армения походит из того, что данная нота к ноте Министерства иностранных дел Украины от 25.12.91 составляет дополнение об урегулировании дипломатических отношений в полном объеме между Республикой Армения и Украиной.

Министерство пользуется настоящим случаем, чтобы выразить Министерству иностранных дел Украины уверенность в своем самом высоком почтении.

Ереван, 25 декабря 1991 года



МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ
УКРАИНЫ
г. Киев

УКРАЇНА

к 437-10483

Министерство иностранных дел Украины озабочено своим отношением Министерству иностранных дел Республики Армения и, ссылаясь на его ноту от 26 ноября 1991 года, имеет честь сообщить следующее.

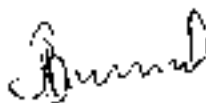
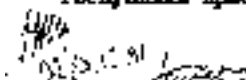
Министерство иностранных дел Украины по поручению Президиума Верховного Совета Украины уполномочено предложить Министерству иностранных дел Республики Армения начать переговоры об установлении с Республикой Армения дипломатических отношений в полном объеме. Украина готова развивать двусторонние отношения с Республикой Армения на основе принципов равноправия, суверенного равенства, невмешательства во внутренние дела, территориальной целостности, нерушимости существующих государственных границ, обеспечения и защиты основных прав и свобод человека, а именно, прав национальных меньшинств. Мы исходим из того, что установление дипломатических отношений будет способствовать дальнейшему развитию и обогащению плодотворного и взаимовыгодного сотрудничества между Украиной и Республикой Армения.

МВД Украины предлагает установить дипломатические отношения между Украиной и Республикой Армения путем обмена нотами /привет логия прилагается/.

Министерство надеется получить сведения, чтобы возобновить МВД Республики Армения ускорения в своем весьма высоком уважении.

Киев, "25" декабря 1991 года.

Министерству иностранных дел
Республики Армения



УКРАЇНА

А.С./92 10.745

Міністерство Закордонних Справ України завідує своєю посаду Міністерству Закордонних Справ Держави Ізраїль і, посилаючись на його ноту від 19 грудня 1991 року, має честь інформувати, що Міністерство виконало згоду звільнити двом офіційного потенціалом дипломатичних відносин між Україною і Державою Ізраїль 25 грудня 1991 року – дату одержання консульської ноти.

Міністерство виконало надію, що потенціалом Дипломатичних відносин між двома державами будуть своїм наслідком особливий розвиток українсько-ізраїльських відносин і сприятиме зміцненню міжнародного співробітництва на засадах загальнолюдських норм міжнародного права.

Міністерство Закордонних Справ користується нагодою, щоб відповісти Міністерству Закордонних Справ Держави Ізраїль задоволення в своїй власній особі познат.

Київ, 26 грудня 1991 року

Міністерство Закордонних Справ
Держави Ізраїль

[Signature]
26.12.91

[Signature]

П Р А В І Л А Т Р У К Р А Ї Н И

Доле Провосторителству
Вану Джордану Вану,
Президентова Слоуча 1992
Статя Америка

" 3 " април 1992 року

м.Львів

Центральному Банку України,

Нагороджено: Першого року мені було дуже приємно одержати
Вашого листа від 26 грудня 1991 року, в якому наголошено на
важливіше значення Громадянського Духу в Америці державної
самостійності України.

Мі особисто значить як символічний Гід провадженні реформати
між нашими діями державної самостійності в повному повному.

Хочу би також щоб подякувати Вам за владженні слова
поверти і довести до нас зображення, які в повному відображенні
можуть на себе Громадянський Дух і самостійність державної
самостійності повністю.

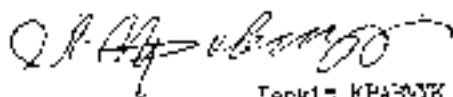
Україно! Сподіваюся Український Дух до якого кожного
людя в роки у вас відноситься. Навіщо згодом в Ровні, що на
ваше діло призначено, що розбудовано біля наріжного та безпечного
місту.

В зв'язку з цим вказав би, що впродовж Києві найбільш
важко повину подякувати на вашому зображенні державної самостійності
наше Радикальне Громадянство. Сподіваюся, що всі ці слова вказу
на матимемо знову самостійний шлях практичного вирішення
питань розбудови, про які Ви згадуєте у своєму листі від 26
грудня 1991 року.

Інакше, по області часом в змочу доглядати Вам призначено
особи, які буде рекомендовано першим Президентом України в Слоучах
Статях Америки.

Користуючись цією нагодою, хочу подякувати Вам, пане Президенте,
і в Вашій особі всім громадянам США подякувати усіх, благоденствую
щому і миру в Україні році.

З глибокою повагою,



Ледек КРАВЧУК

ПРОТОКОЛ

про взаємостановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Республікою Індія

Уряд України і Уряд Республіки Індія,

зачекавши погодженості зі сторони дружби і співробітництва
між обома країнами,

пунктується на принципах взаємної поваги до суверенітету
і рівності, невтручання у внутрішні справи один одного,
доцільності цілей і принципів Статуту Організації
Об'єднаних Націй,

беручи до уваги намір на підтримання міжнародного миру і
безпеки,

домовилися встановити дипломатичні відносини з дня
підписання цього Протоколу між двома країнами відповідно
до положень Віденської конвенції про дипломатичні відно-
сини від 24 квітня 1961 року і обмінялися дипломатичними
представництвами на рівні посольств.

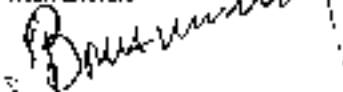
Відкрито у Києві "17" січня 1992 року у двох
примірниках, кожен у двох екземплярах на англійській мові.
Принцип подібності мають відповідну силу. Звітият текст на
хінді цього Протоколу буде згодом надіслано Уряду України.

При підписанні прийняв місце відповідної території
тексту.

За Уряд України

Міністр Закордонних
Справ

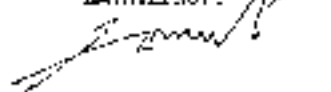
А.М. Зленко



За Уряд Республіки
Індія

Секретар у закордонних
Справах

В.Н. Дівогіт



СПІЛНА ДЕКЛАРАЦІЯ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Канадою

Уряд України і Уряд Канади,

вернувшись Декларацією про відносини між Україною і Канадою,
яку підписали міністри закордонних справ двох країн 22 вересня
1991 року в Оттаві,

виходячи із взаємного наміру розвивати і поглиблювати
історично зв'язки між їхніми народами,

припускаючи, що в основу розвитку відносин, двостороннього
спіробітництва між ними будуть покладені зацільовані норми
міжнародного права, принцип рівності держав, взаємної поваги і
довіри, право народів на самовизначення, суверенітету і незалеж-
ності, територіальної цілісності і недоторканості державних,
в тому числі внутрішніх справ, одна одної.

звонили в тому, що такі відносини між ними відновлятимуть
бажання їх народів, сприятимуть позитивному розвитку європей-
ського процесу і міжнародного співробітництва в цілому.

Після укладення в Україні і Канаді прихилили і змінили
Статуту ООН, Декларації Хельсінкського Заключного Акту Ради в
Співпраці і співробітництва в Європі та її наступних документів, а
також прихилили Паризьку Хартію для нової Європи,

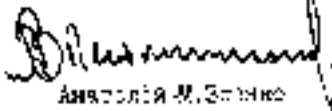
цим самим:

проголосувать взаємну згоду встановити дипломатичні відносини в повному обсязі, які набиратимуть чинності з моменту підписання цієї Декларації.


Добов'язуються розпочати найближчим часом переговори щодо відкриття послів і посольств, а також усіх інших питань, необхідних для встановлення і здійснення дружніх відносин між ними.

Здійняно в м. Києві 27 січня 1992 року в двох примірниках, кожен українською, англійською і французькою мовами, причому всі пакети мають однакову силу.

За Уряд України


Анатолія М. Зеленко
міністр закордонних справ

За Уряд Канади


Барбара Макдугалл
міністр закордонних справ

СПІЛЬНЕ КОМУНІКЕ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Королівством Іспанія

Україна і Королівство Іспанія погодилися встановити, починаючи з цієї дати, дипломатичні відносини і у можливо короткі строки здійснити акредитацію послів.

Україна і Королівство Іспанія висловлюють наміри розвивати відносини між ними в дусі дружби і співробітництва, що базуються на принципах взаємної поваги, суверенітету, рівності і невтручання у внутрішні справи один одного.

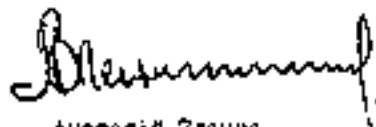
Обидві держави усвідомлюють свою відповідальність за підтримання миру в Європі і в усьому світі. Словені рішучості проводити в життя положення і принципи Статуту Організації Об'єднаних Націй, вони також висловлюють прагнення сприяти розвитку міжнародного співтовариства на основі поваги принципів миру і міжнародного права і поновлюють свої зобов'язання виконувати положення Хельсінкського Заключного Акта і Паризької Хартії для нової Європи.

Україна і Королівство Іспанія впевнені в тому, що є широкі можливості для співробітництва в галузі політики, економіки,

культури і в інших різних галузях для взаємовигідних відносин і докладення зусиль з метою сприяння створенню стабільної і процвітаючої Європи.

Прага, 30 січня 1992 року.

За Україну



Анатолій Зленко

Міністр закордонних справ

За Королівство Іспанія



Франсіско Фернандес Ордоньес

Міністр закордонних справ

І Р О Т О К О Л

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Австрійською Республікою

Україна і Австрійська Республіка,

звручених надзвичайно сприятливим розвитком делових відносин та розробленими в результаті, взаємочинній та вільно і добровільно прийнятими домовками,

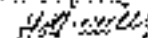
згодилися, що ці відносини і співробітництво будуть ґрунтуватися на принципах Організації Об'єднаних Націй і Конференції з безпеки і співробітництва в Європі,

що згодилися також, що усі ці двосторонні відносини будуть ґрунтуватися через посольство на рівні візи і принципів міжнародного права.

звизнали також, що будуть уважно розглядати з широким інтересом і увагою питання дипломатичних представництв на рівні посольств.

Здійснив в Києві " 24 " січня 1990 року у своїх примірниках, копій українською та німецькою мовами, друковану обидва сторони цього протоколу, який:

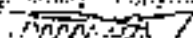
За Україну:



Леонід Марченко

Міністр історичних та культурних зв'язків
України з зарубіжними державами

За Австрійську Республіку:



Dr. Michael Eder

Секретаріат, Канцелярія

СІЛЬНЕ НОМІНАЛЕ

Про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Чеською і Словацькою
Федеративною Республікою

Україна і Чеська і Словацька Федеративна Республіка,

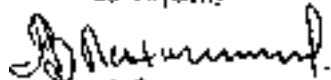
керуючись взаємним бажанням розвивати відносини партнерства і співробітництва між двома країнами в політичній, торговельно-економічній та інших галузях, вирішили встановити дипломатичні відносини з дати надання цього Сільного комюніке і об'єктивні дипломатичні представництва на рівні посольств.

Сторони домовились розвивати їх відносини на основі принципів рівності, взаємної поваги до суверенітету, незалежності і територіальної цілісності та невтручання у внутрішні справи одна одної у відповідності з Статутом ООН.

Обидві Сторони визнали, що встановлення дипломатичних відносин між Україною і Чеською і Словацькою Федеративною Республікою відповідає інтересам обох держав і сприятиме зміцненню міжнародного співробітництва і загальної миру.

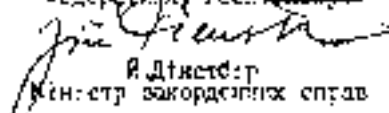
Здійснено в Празі: "30 січня 1992 року" у двох примірниках, копією українською і чеською мовами, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

За Україну:



А. Зеленко
Міністр закордонних справ

За Чеську і Словацьку
Федеративну Республіку



Я. Dienstler
Міністр закордонних справ

П Р О Т О К О Л
про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною та Латвійською Республікою

Україна і Латвійська Республіка,

керуючись загальними принципами своєї зовнішньої та внутрішньої політики, по яким вони виступають за мир, безпеку та стабільність в Європі, а також одержання шляху до приєднання Статуту ООН, демократичного Західного акту до "контракту Європи" для нової Європи,

включаючи з притриманням принципів політичних, торговельних, економічних та культурних зв'язків між Україною і надавати їм новий якість,

заспокоєно розширенням дружніх зв'язків між їх громадянами та народами,

підтверджуючи своє повсякчасне прагнення до свободи людини, включаючи права національних меншин,

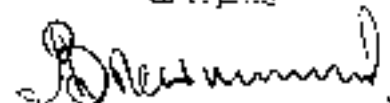
самоукладом на загальних "Білемських" конференціях про дипломатичні зв'язки 1967 року,

вирішили встановити дипломатичні відносини з днів підписання цього Протоколу і обмінятися дипломатичними представництвами на рівні посольств в столицях, узгоджені Сторонами.

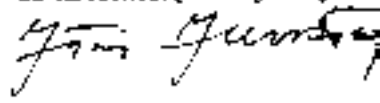
Цей Протокол підписано в двох примірниках, кожен українською і латвійською мовою, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

Складено у м. Києві "16" вересня 1992 року.

За Україну



За Латвійською Республікою



ПРОТОКОЛ

ПРО ВСТАНОВЛЕННЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЧНИХ ВІДНОСИН МІЖ УКРАЇНОЮ І РОСІЙСЬКОЮ ФЕДЕРАЦІЄЮ

Україна і Російська Федерація,

керовуючись бажанням розвивати свої відносини і будучи впевнені, що цим вони будуть сприяти миру, безпеці та стабільності в Європі, а також здійсненню цілей та принципів Статуту ООН, кельдінського Західного акту, Паризької Хартії для Чистої Європи та інших документів НБСЕ,

враховуючи Договір між УРСР та РРФСР від 19 листопада 1990 року,

бажаючи зміцнювати політичні, торговельні, економічні та культурні зв'язки обох країн і надавати їм нової якості,

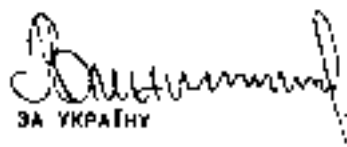
прагнучи до розширення дружніх зв'язків між їх громадянами та народами,

базуючись на положеннях Віденської конвенції про дипломатичні відносини 1961 року,

погодилися встановити дипломатичні відносини та обмінятися дипломатичними представництвами на рівні Посольств.

Цей Протокол набрав чинності у день його підписання.

Здійснено у м. Мінську 14 лютого 1992 року в двох примірниках, одиний українською та російською мовами, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.


ЗА УКРАЇНУ


ЗА РОСІЙСЬКУ ФЕДЕРАЦІЮ



М І Н І С Т Р
З А К О Р Д О Н Н И Х С П Р А В У К Р А І Н И

Київ, " 31 " березня 1992 року

Ваше Превосходительство!

Я вдячний Вам за тепле листів з сердечними словами і побажаннями на адресу народу України.

Мені приємно відзначити, що наші відносини з Ісламською Республікою Пакистан, яка серед перших країн світу визнала незалежність України, неухильно і врівняно просуваються вперед.

Згоден з Вами, що встановлення між нашими державами дипломатичних відносин в повному обсязі добре прислужиться справі подальшої розбудовки міждержавних і гуманітарних контактів України з Ісламською Республікою Пакистан в усіх галузях і сферах людської діяльності. Ми вважаємо вам лист від 16 березня 1992 року датовим їх встановленням.

Користуючись цією нагодою, хотів би побажати Вам, Ваше Превосходительство, щ в Вашій особі усього народу Ісламської Республіки Пакистан щастя, процвітання і миру!

Із щирою повагою,


Анатолій М. Зеленко

Вашо Превосходительству
Пану Мухаммад Сіддік
Хан Кяюку,
Державному міністру
зкордонних справ
Ісламської Республіки
Пакистан,

Ісламабад

ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною та Ашїрською Народною Демократичною Республікою

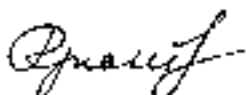
Україна та Ашїрська Народна Демократична Республіка,
врутаючи обов'язним прагненням розвинути відносини партнер-
ство і співробітництва в усіх галузях, вирішили встановити
дипломатичні відносини між ними на рівні посольств з дати
підписання цього Протоколу.

Відносини між Україною та Ашїрською Народною Демократич-
ною Республікою будуватимуться на засадах взаємної поваги
суверенітету і невтручання у внутрішні справи обох держав, а
також на принципах рівності і взаємної вигоди відповідно до
положень Статуту ООН.

Україна та Ашїрська Народна Демократична Республіка
заявляють про своє рішення встановити і розвинути плідне
співробітництво в усіх галузях, що сприятиме зміцненню від-
носин між обома державами і традиційних дружніх зв'язків між
їх народами.

Здійснено у м.Москва "20" серпня 1992 року у двох
примірниках, кожен українською та арабською мовами, при
цьому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

ЗА УКРАЇНУ



ЗА АШІРСЬКУ

НАРОДНУ ДЕМОКРАТИЧНУ РЕСПУБЛІКУ



ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Туркменістаном

Україна і Туркменістан,

керуючись прагненнями розвивати відносини дружби і взаємозабезпеченого співробітництва,

прагнучи сприяти змиренню миру, міжнародної безпеки і стабільності, а також здійсненню цілей і принципів Статуту ООН, Хельсінкського Заключного Акту, Ларнської Конвенції про нову Європу та інших документів ОБСЄ,

бажачи зміцнити політичні, торговельні, економічні і культурні зв'язки двох країн і надавати їм нову якість,

прагнучи до розширення дружніх зв'язків між їх громадянами і народами,

виходячи з положень Віденської конвенції про дипломатичні відносини 1961 року,

потокнувшись встановити дипломатичні відносини і обмінятися дипломатичними представництвами на рівні посольств.

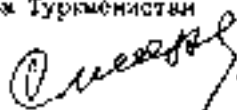
Цей протокол набуває чинності в день підписання.

Здійснено в м. Ашгабаті " 10 " жовтня 1992 р. в двох примірниках, кожний українською та туркменською мовами, при цьому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

За Україну



За Туркменістан



ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Республікою Узбекистан

Україна і Республіка Узбекистан,

керуючись прагненням розвивати свої відносини,

будучи переконані, що тим вони будуть сприяти миру, безпеці і стабільності, а також здійсненню цілей та принципів Статуту ООН, Хельсінкського Заключного акту, Паризької хартії для нової Європи та інших документів НРЄ,

бажаючи зміцнювати політичні, торговельні, економічні зв'язки двох країн і надавати їм нову якість,

прагнучи до розширення дружніх зв'язків між їх громадянами і народами,

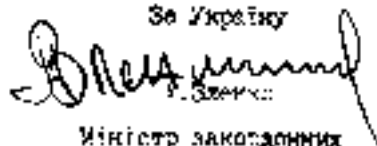
бажувачи на попередніх Віденській конвенції про дипломатичні відносини 1961 року,

погодилися встановити дипломатичні відносини і обмінюватися дипломатичними представництвами на рівні посольств.

Цей Протокол вступає в силу в день підписання.

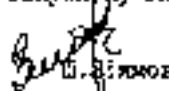
Здійснено в м. Києві "25" березня 1992 року у двох примірниках, кожен українською та узбецькою мовами, при цьому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

За Україну



Міністр закордонних
справ

За Республіку Узбекистан



Перший заступник міністра
закордонних справ

ШЕСТИМ.

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Турецькою Республікою

Україна і Турецька Республіка,

зважаючи на такі уважливості взаємні відносини в політичній, економічній, культурній та інших сферах на благо обох їхніх народів,

наслідком чого з'ясувалося, що Україна, виходячи з Статуту Організації Об'єднаних Націй, Хельсінкському Заключному Акті, Паризькій Хартії для нової Європи та інших документах, приєднався до процесу НВСР,

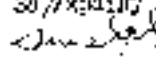
ураховуючи їхні спільні інтереси і поділяючи відповідальність за побудову нової Європи, об'єднуючи прагнення демократії і верховенства закону,

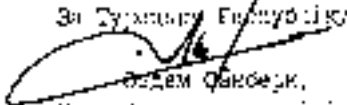
спільно розуміючи підтримувати добросусідські традиції дружби і співробітництва, що зміцнюють обидві країни і їх народи урядом історії,

підтверджуючи їхні зобов'язання поважати незалежність, територіальну цілісність і суверенну рівність одна одній з урахуванням від відлучення у відносинах з Туреччиною, що належать до їх внутрішньої компетенції,

вирішили встановити дипломатичні відносини з дати підписання цього Протоколу у відповідності з Віденською Конвенцією про Консульські зносини 1961 року і обмінятися дипломатичними представництвами на рівні посольств.

Складено в Стамбулі: " 3 " червня 1992 року у двох примірниках, кожен українською і турецькою мовами, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

За Україну

Валерій Луценко,
Посол України
в Турецькій Республіці

За Турецьку Республіку

Недім Санчак,
Перший заступник міністра
закордонних справ

П Р О Т О К О Л
ПРО ВСТАНОВЛЕННЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЧНИХ ВІДНОСИН МІЖ
УКРАЇНОЮ І АРГЕНТИНСЬКОЮ РЕСПУБЛІКОЮ

Україна і Аргентинська Республіка, керуючись обов'язним прагненням розвивати відносини дружби і співробітництва між обома країнами в політичній, торговельно-економічній та інших галузях, вирішили встановити дипломатичні відносини з дати підписання цього Протоколу і обмінятися дипломатичними представництвами на рівні посольств.

Обидві Сторони досягли згоди розвивати відносини між собою на основі принципів рівності держав, взаємної поваги, самовизначення, суверенітету і незалежності, територіальної цілісності і недоторкання у внутрішній справі одна одної відповідно до Статуту ООН.

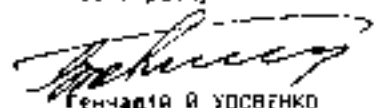
Обидві Сторони обіцяють, що встановлення дипломатичних відносин між Україною і Аргентинською Республікою відповідає інтересам обох держав, не направлене проти третіх країн і буде сприяти зміцненню міжнародного співробітництва і загального миру.

Обидві сторони погодилися ґрунтувати дипломатичні відносини на основі Віденської конвенції про дипломатичні зв'язки від 18 квітня 1961 року, статтями якої є Україна і Аргентинська Республіка.

Для здійснення цього угодженої представники України і Аргентинської Республіки підписали цей Протокол у двох примірниках, кожен українською і іспанською мовами, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

Складено у м.ч.м. Лорку + 6 + січня 1992 року

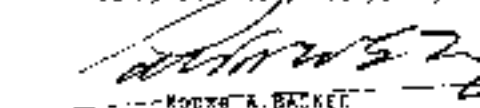
За України



Геннадія Я. УШЕНКО

Надзвичайний і Повноважний
Посол
Постійний Представник
України при Організації
Об'єднаних Націй

За Аргентинську Республіку



Хорхе А. ВАСКЕС

Надзвичайний і Повноважний
Посол
Постійний Представник
Аргентини
при Організації Об'єднаних
Націй

ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин

України і Французької Республіки.

керуючись взаємним бажанням розвинути і розширити відносини і співробітництво в політичній, економічній, культурній, гуманітарній та інших галузях.

вирішів зобов'язатися, що випливають із міжнародного права, зокрема, Статуту Організації Об'єднаних Націй, і згідно з зобов'язаннями, підписаними в рамках Народи і безпеки і співробітництва в Європі, зокрема, в Хельсінкському Заключному Акті і Паризькій Хартії для нової Європи.

договорились встановити дипломатичні відносини і об'єктивні дипломатичними представництвами на рівні посольств у відповідності з Віденським Конвенцією про дипломатичні зносини від 18 квітня 1961 року.

Україна і Французька Республіка шпегнені, що встановлення дипломатичних відносин між ними, відповідно до їх національних інтересів, буде сприяти зміцненню міжнародного співробітництва і загальному миру.

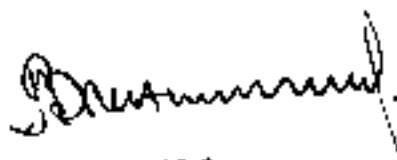
Складено в Києві 24 січня 1992 року у двох примірниках, кожна українською та французькою мовами, причому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

За Україну

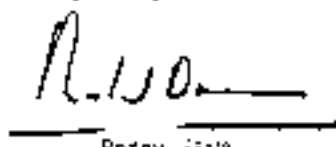
За Французьку Республіку

Міністр закордонних справ

Державний міністр,
Міністр закордонних справ



Анатолія Зленко



Ролан Дюма

ПРОТОКОЛ

про встановлення дипломатичних відносин
між Україною і Федеративною Республікою Нігерія

Уряди України та Федеративної Республіки Нігерія, зорученні принципами, проголошеними Статутом Організації Об'єднаних Націй, і бажаючи розвивати стосунки дружби і взаємовигідного співробітництва між Україною та Федеративною Республікою Нігерія, вирішили встановити дипломатичні відносини між їми як державами на рівні посольств, починаючи з дати підписання цього Протоколу.

Здійснено у м. Москві "10" грудня 1992 року в двох примірниках українською та англійською мовами, при цьому обидва тексти мають однакову силу.

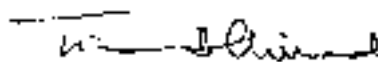
За Україну



ВОЛОДЫМИР ЮРХАНОВИЧ

За Федеративну

Республіку Нігерія



ДАІЕРІН ЛАДА ЧІХАРЕ

СОВМЕСТНОЕ КОМПЮТЕРНОЕ
ОБ УСТАНОВЛЕНИИ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ
МЕЖДУ УКРАИНОЙ И КИТАЙСКОЙ НАРОДНОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКОЙ

В соответствии с интересами и чаяниями народов двух стран Правительство Украины и Правительство Китайской Народной Республики решили установить дипломатические отношения на Украине посольства с 4 января 1992 года.

Правительство Украины и Китайской Народной Республики согласилось развивать отношения дружбы и сотрудничества между двумя странами на основе принципов мирного сосуществования, взаимного уважения суверенитета и территориальной целостности, взаимного некасадения, невмешательства во внутренние дела друг друга, равенства, взаимной выгоды, а также мирного урегулирования споров.

Правительство Украины признает позицию Китайской Народной Республики о сохранении территориальной целостности Китая, установит и будет поддерживать отношения только с правительством Китайской Народной Республики, являющимся единственным законным правительством Китая.

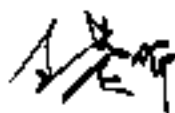
Правительство Китайской Народной Республики уважает территориальную целостность Украины.

Правительства двух стран едины в том, чтобы на основе равенства и взаимной выгоды и в соответствии с общепризнанными нормами международного права оказывать все необходимые поддержку и возможности представителям другой Стороны при выполнении ими своих обязанностей.

Составлено в Китае 4 января 1992 года



За Правительство
Украины



За Правительство
Китайской Народной Республики



Oleksandr Shulga

Head of the State Archives Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Born in 1949 in Brest. In 1976 graduated from the faculty of international relations of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the faculty of international relations, information assistant and translator of French. In 2009 finished international course of the upgrading faculty at the Diplomatic Academy of the RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since 1995 he has been working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

FOREIGN POLICY OF INDEPENDENT UKRAINE. SUMMING-UP THE TWENTY-YEAR PERIOD

The Ukrainian diplomacy for twenty years of independence has evolved from recognition of Ukraine as an independent state and establishment of the diplomatic relations with foreign countries to creation of a system of diplomatic service that is capable to effectively protect the national interests in foreign relations.

At present Ukraine maintains diplomatic relations with over 190 countries.

The activities of the Ukrainian diplomatic service has always been aimed at finding mutually acceptable compromises on complex issues of the international relations, the formation of favorable external conditions for sustainable development in all spheres of life.

History of the diplomatic service of Ukraine has many achievements. Over twenty years of independence it has become possible to settle important issues of bilateral and multilateral international relations or transform them into a constructive dialogue. We laid the foundations of mutually beneficial relations with neighbors,

with leading countries of the world and with other countries and international organizations interested in cooperation with Ukraine.

The most significant achievements, undoubtedly, include recognition of Ukraine as a legitimate subject of international relations, formalization of the state border and expansion of geographic, political and economic interests of Ukraine, maintenance and development of good neighborly relations with the countries of the region, creating a positive international image of the state.

The priorities of the Ukrainian foreign policy course have not undergone significant changes for twenty years of independence, although the emphasis on some areas of activity varied during some periods of history.

The basic foreign policy goals were identified at the beginning of the Ukrainian statehood. In particular, a number of fundamentally important documents, which consolidated the foreign policy objectives and principles of their achievement, were adopted in the early 90s.

Thus, in the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine of July 16, 1991, "Ukraine has officially declared its intention to become a permanently neutral state in the future which does not participate in military units and follows the three non-nuclear principles: not to use, produce and acquire nuclear weapons".

This document among other declared objectives and principles include the following:

"The Ukrainian SSR, as an international law subject, maintains direct relations with other states, enters into agreements with them, exchanges diplomatic, consular and trade representatives, and participates in the activity of international organizations to the full extent necessary for effective guarantees of the Republic's national interests in political, economic, ecological, informational, scholarly, technical, cultural, and sports spheres. The Ukrainian SSR acts as an equal participant in international affairs, actively promotes the reinforcement of general peace and international security, and directly participates in the general European process and European structures.

The Ukrainian SSR recognizes the prevalence of general human values over class values and the priority of generally accepted standards of international law over the standards of the domestic law".

Maintaining mutually beneficial partnerships with neighboring countries, leading states was and remains to be one of the foreign policy priorities. Strengthening of integration ties in the region contributes to peace and stability

In 1993, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Decree *On Main Directions of the Foreign Policy of Ukraine*, which for years specified further policy priorities of our state

Based on the consistent observance of universally recognized norms of the international law, the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and other international documents, Ukraine pursues its foreign policy on the following principles: open foreign policy and cooperation with all stakeholders without depending on individual states or groups of states, development of its bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries and international organizations on the principles of voluntariness, mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit, non-intervention in internal affairs; renunciation of war as a solution to international disputes, refraining from the threat or use of force in resolving any international disputes and their peaceful settlement, renunciation of territorial claims to neighbouring states and non-recognition of territorial claims from other countries to its territory, firm observance of international standards in the sphere of human rights, taking appropriate measures for preserving identity of foreign Ukrainians according to the norms of the international law, observance of the principle of indivisibility of international peace and international security, priority of universal norms of the international law over the legal norms of the national legislation; foreign policy pursuance on the basis of fundamental human values and denunciation of double standard in the international relations; non-deployment of armed forces of other countries in the Ukrainian territory and the Ukrainian troops in the territory of other states without their express agreement, unless application of international sanctions under the UN Charter, taking non-forcible sanctions according to the international legal norms only in cases of international violations damaging Ukraine, use of the armed forces of Ukraine only in the event of aggression or other military claims to the territorial integrity and inviolability of the state frontiers or for implementation of international commitments.

Based on these principles, Ukraine had an opportunity to pursue an active, flexible and balanced foreign policy. Its main speci-

fied areas include development of bilateral interstate relations, enhanced participation in the European regional cooperation, collaboration with the CIS member states, active involvement in the UN and other international organizations and maintaining contacts with the Ukrainian Diaspora.

In compliance with the Constitution of Ukraine (Article 18) “The objectives of the Ukrainian foreign policy of Ukraine are to safeguard its national interests and security by maintaining peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation with members of the international community in compliance with commonly recognized principles and norms of international law”.

Renewed fundamentals of the foreign policy are specified in the law of Ukraine *On Fundamental of Domestic and Foreign Policy* of July 1, 2010.

The major bases of the foreign policy (art. 11) include, among other things, ensure Ukraine’s national interests and security by maintaining mutually beneficial cooperation with members of the international community in compliance with commonly recognized principles and norms of international law; through diplomatic and other means envisioned by international law achieve protection of Ukraine’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of state borders, its political, economic, energy and other interests; use international potential to establish and develop Ukraine as a sovereign, independent, democratic, social and legal state, its sustainable economic development; create favorable external environment for development of the Ukrainian nation, its economic potential, historical awareness, national dignity of the Ukrainians, and ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious identity of Ukrainian citizens regardless of their nationality; consolidate Ukraine’s leading positions in the system of international relations, reinforce the state’s international weight; promote global peace, participate in comprehensive political dialogue to enhance mutual confidence between states, overcome traditional and new security threats; maintain Ukraine’s non-block policy which means Ukraine’s refusal to participate in any military and political alliances, prioritize participation in improvement and development of the European collective security system, continue constructive partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other military and political blocks on all issues of mutual interest; contribute to efforts of enhancing the role of

international law in international relations, ensure observance and implementation of current and development of new principles and norms of the international law; prevent conflicts in regions bordering on Ukraine and settle apparent conflicts; protect rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens and legal entities abroad; create favorable conditions to satisfy national, cultural and linguistic needs of Ukrainians residing outside Ukraine, maintain strong ties with them; ensure Ukraine's integration into European political, economic, legal space with the final goal of achieving membership in European Union.

SAFE ENVIRONMENT, TODAY'S CHALLENGES AND THREATS

Taking into consideration the dynamic nature of political, economic, social and other changes occurring across the globe as well as trends influencing development of the global and regional security, new challenges and threats, Ukraine strongly believes that its national security can be ensured only in tight partnership with the international community by promoting mutual confidence and strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Today, quite often the foreign policy objectives are implemented under conditions when traditional threats are aggravated and new threats and challenges evolve; such threats and challenges include:

Lingering political instability, conflict situations and unsolved disputes in the region as well as "frozen conflicts", including those next to Ukrainian borders.

Interference of external forces into internal affairs of Ukraine, including support of radical political parties (movements) and individual population groups distinguished by certain ethnic, linguistic and religious features; providing dual citizenship, exercising economic pressure and other destructive actions designed to gradually undermine the foundations of the Ukrainian statehood, in particular at compact residence of ethnic groups, which under certain conditions may lead to interference into the Ukrainian internal affairs.

Exacerbation of international competition for the access to energy resources, control over their transportation routes and processing capacities;

Permanently high threat level of uncontrolled WMD and dual-use technology proliferation caused by certain countries' efforts to

become nuclear states. High threat level can be generated by terrorist organizations taking hold of mass destruction weapons, its vehicles and nuclear, radioactive, chemical and biological substances posing threats of both regional and global nature.

Strengthening of informational and propaganda pressure on Ukraine;

Increasing threat of cyber attacks and sabotage targeting management capacities in security and defense areas.

Evolution and exacerbation of regional separatism, ethnic and religious confrontations, manifestations of national egoism etc. For our state threat can emerge as a product of ultra-nationalism and separatism in separate regions, through appearance of political parties and movements whose agendas and concrete actions create a real risk of state's secession.

Amplification of terrorism and extremism threats that may eventually transcend Ukrainian national borders; international piracy against ships with Ukrainian citizens aboard.

Increase of organized trans-national crime (illegal trade of weapons, ammunition, explosive materials, human and drug trafficking, contraband, illegal migration, corruption, financial and economic delinquency etc).

Increasing threat of mass natural cataclysms, including through human intervention into the earth ecosystem, technogenic and technological disasters.

KEY FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES

Key foreign policy objective is to create external conditions favorable for implementation of national interests and tasks related to Ukraine's development, its assertion as an influential regional state, increase of its impact in globalized world, including by means of:

Creating external conditions to strengthen Ukraine's independence, national sovereignty, economic self-sufficiency and preservation of the territorial integrity;

Building safe international environment around Ukraine, facilitating reinforcement of comprehensive security system in European and transatlantic space, developing relations and cooperation in global and regional dimensions;

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine made the presentation of the photo-exhibition “The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)”

Authors of the project: Olexandr Shulga, Head of Department of the state archives of the MFA of Ukraine, Viktor Voitovych, Ambassador of the special missions of the MFA of Ukraine



Participants of the first summit of the foreign institutions leaders

Illustrations applied according to the author's chronology.

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



At the summit of the UNESCO General conference: M. Makarevych, Head of the Commission for UNESCO in Ukraine and Yuriy Kochubey, the ambassador, 1992



M. Markevych, the first vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Federico Mayor, General director of UNESCO

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Yuriy Kochubei during the commitment of diplomatic credentials to President of France F. Mitteran, Paris, 1993



Ambassador of Ukraine to Estonia P. Kiryakov and President of Estonia Arnold Ryuitel. Tea drinking at President's. Tallinn, February, 2006

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)

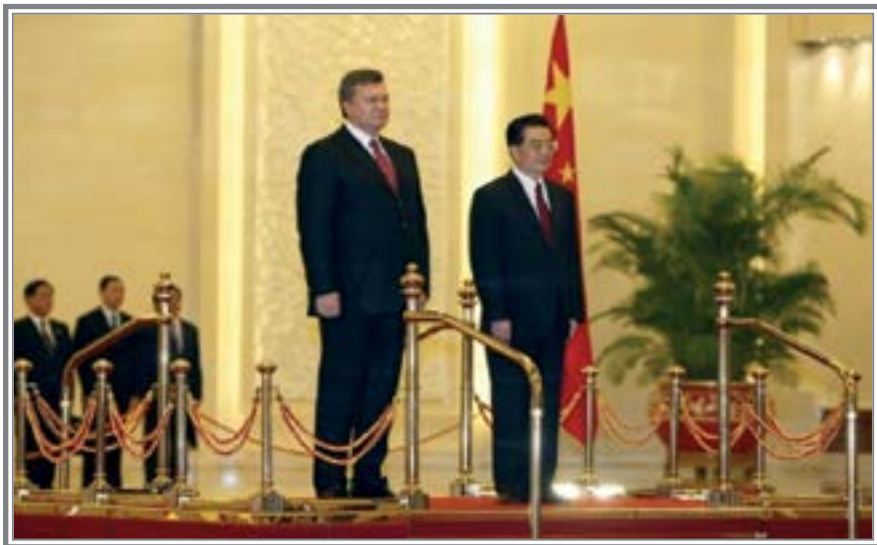


Meeting of Ambassador of Ukraine to Switzerland O. Slipchenko with Supreme pontiff Ioan Pavlo II, 1998



Ambassador of Ukraine to Greece B. Kornienko and President of Greece Republic Konstantinos Karamanlis. Affine, 1993

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



State visit of President of Ukraine Victor Yanukovich to The People's Republic of China.
President of Ukraine with President of China Hu Jintao. September, 1-5, 2010



Official visit of the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich to France.
In the photo: Presidents of two countries. October, 7-8, 2010

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Working visit of the Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich to Brussels (Belgium) for taking part in the XIV Summit Ukraine-EU. From the left to the right: Head of the CE H. van Rompey, President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich, Head of the Euro committee Zh. Barrozu. November, 22, 2010



Annual summit of the International economic forum in Davos. President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich with Head of the CE Gi Mun, January, 27–28, 2011

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Representatives of the Embassy of Ukraine to Korea and organization «Korean Friends of Love» at the residence of Ambassador of Ukraine to RK. Author: T. Pylypenko



President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich and President of USA B. Obama during the working visit to USA. April, 11-14, 2010

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



First President of Republic of Moldova Mircha Snegur is making a speech at the reception devoted to the third anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine. Kishinev, Embassy of Ukraine to Moldova, August, 24, 1994



S. Borovyk, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to Algeria presented diplomatic credentials to President of Algeria A. Buteflicci

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Delegation from Chernivetska Oblast (region) to Karytania headed by I. Gnatyshyn. Austria, 1995



Ambassador of Ukraine in Greece B. Korniyenko and President of Greece Konstantinos Karamanlis.
Athens, 1993

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Meeting of A. Zlenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Yuriy Sergeyev, State Secretary of the MFA with veterans of Great Patriotic War, 2001



The first graduates of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine (1996–1998).
V. Voitovych is making a congratulation speech, 1998

The continuation of the photo-exhibition is on p.83

Facilitating stable international position of Ukraine, increasing its international reputation, forming positive image as a reliable and predictable partner;

Ensuring Ukraine's integration into European political, economic, legal and security space with final goal of acquiring membership in the European Union by entering the Association Agreement, creating the free trade zone with the European Union, gradual introduction into Ukraine four basic freedoms (free movement of goods, capitals, services and people) to achieve complete integration into the EU Common Market, institution by EU the visa free travel regime for Ukrainian citizens;

Protecting rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens and legal entities abroad;

Ensuring coordination and effectiveness of public authorities responsible for implementation of foreign policies; improving their professionalism and analytical potential; enhancing quality of material and human resources.

In domain of bilateral relations:

Developing Ukrainian-Russian strategic partnership on the basis of peer-to-peer dialogue, pragmatism and transparency;

Using mechanisms of strategic partnership with the United States of America to promote mutually beneficial cooperation in all areas;

Developing harmonious and mutually beneficial relations with neighbor countries; asserting Ukraine's role of an influential regional state;

Promoting dynamic development of relations with partner states;

Strengthening cooperation and relations with countries featuring highest growth rates in Asia, Africa and Latin America;

Building partnership relations with the People's Republic of China.

In domain of global and regional security:

Reinforcing Ukraine's positions in the United Nations and UN international organizations, such as OSCE and European Council by increasing its impact on decision-taking process through voting or by entering into managerial bodies (EC in 2011, OSCE in 2013,

UN SC in 2016–2017), ensuring representation in organization secretariats;

By taking part in multilateral efforts to reinforce economic and ecological security, with an objective of achieving primarily the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) that have been outlined in the United Nations Millennium Declaration;

Supporting international peace and security, preventing new conflicts, settling crises and thwarting threats at early stages by continuing participation in international peace missions, multilateral efforts to prevent proliferation of the mass destruction weapons, terrorism, transnational organized crime, human and drug trafficking and other international security challenges;

Playing an active role in the process of improving European security and increasing the efficiency of OSCE activities; supporting initiatives on reinforcement of mechanisms that create additional international and legal guarantees of state security in Euro-Atlantic space;

Extending constructive partnership between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and continuing efforts to build relations with NATO to satisfy Ukraine's national interests and needs of improving and developing the Euro-Atlantic security system;

Enhancing Ukraine's role in settlement of "frozen conflicts", primarily the Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict and in post-conflict regional development;

Confirming security guarantees for our state on bilateral and multilateral levels;

Completing negotiations and legislative process on delineating Ukrainian state borders.

In economic domain:

By increasing competitiveness and investment attractiveness of the national economy;

By using WTO mechanisms to promote and protect Ukraine's economic interests;

By building favorable trade and investment regimes, including through economically substantiated free trade agreements with key partners;

By expanding the system of assistance to national exporters, including through mechanisms of the state financial support to export activities performed by national producers;

By strengthening measures of thwarting trans-border threats of ecological nature posed to Ukraine by its neighbor states.

The priority of objectives set forth for diplomatic services is determined by taking into account political and security situation around the globe, its forecasted evolution and apparent trends. Such objectives dictate for Ukraine the following actions:

In short and medium term:

Complete negotiations and legislative process on delineating Ukrainian state borders;

Reinforce Ukraine's positions in the United Nations and its bodies, including through active participation in UN reforms and UN sponsored peacekeeping operations;

Boost up activities to reinforce the OSCE role in provision of regional security guarantees;

Enter into new base agreement and create a free trade zone with the European Union;

Continue constructive partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;

Facilitate settlement of 'frozen conflicts' primarily in neighbor regions;

Develop and implement governmental target programs of building a positive international image of Ukraine;

Improve the export control system and mechanisms regulating trade with defense and dual use products and technologies on international markets;

Facilitate international recognition of the Ukraine-sponsored Danube river — Black Sea deep-water shipping lane.

On permanent basis:

Create external conditions to strengthen state independence, sovereignty, economic self-sufficiency and preservation of the territorial integrity;

Monitor and analyze informational space to detect any informational materials of subversive nature or posing a threat to informational security of Ukraine;

Create around Ukraine a secure international environment, facilitate reinforcement of collective security systems on European and transatlantic space, develop relations and cooperation in global and regional dimensions;

Facilitate cooperation in defense area as an efficient tool of preventing new or emerging military conflicts in the framework of Ukraine's security and defense policy;

Foil any attempts made by other states to interfere into the Ukraine's internal affairs or violate its national sovereignty and territorial integrity;

Ensure Ukraine's equal participation in pan-European and regional collective security systems;

Ensure Ukraine's integration into European political, economic, legal space with the final goal of achieving membership in European Union;

Develop Ukrainian-Russian strategic partnership on the basis of pragmatism and transparency, mutually beneficial cooperation and collaboration as key conditions to guarantee national and regional security;

Develop harmonious and mutually beneficial and neighborly relations with other countries in the region;

Extend active cooperation with USA and Canada, European Union countries, other European countries and leading nations across the globe;

Strengthen on bilateral level security guarantees provided to our state;

Eliminate and prevent threats in area of energy security.

NUCLEAR-FREE STATUS

The Ukraine's nuclear-free and its independence have been proclaimed in the Declaration of State Sovereignty.

This document specifies that "Ukrainian RSR states its intention of becoming in future a neutral state which does not participate in military blocks and observes three non-nuclear principles: not accept, not produce and not acquire nuclear weapons".

Ukraine's position with regard to its nuclear status was determined in the Verkhovna Rada statement of non-nuclear status dat-

ed 24 November 1991 and Resolution on additional measures to ensure Ukraine's non-nuclear status dated 9 April 1992.

Ukraine's voluntary decision to renounce the nuclear weapons became an important step in further development of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament that increased confidence of its international partners and facilitated obtaining security guarantees from nuclear states.

The last nuclear warhead left the Ukrainian territory in July 1996.

In its VRU Resolution *On main foreign policy priorities of Ukraine* dated 1993 the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed that in its external policies Ukraine was a stalwart supporter of nuclear disarmament who would exclude from the panoply of its foreign policy tools a threat of using nuclear weapons and corroborated its intention of becoming a non-nuclear state in future.

Notwithstanding the fact that in early 90-s certain Ukrainian politicians opposed the idea of complete refusal from nuclear weapons this step met positive support on international arena, helped Ukraine to create a positive image and facilitated its recognition by the world community.

Continuing its new foreign policy course Ukraine joined on 16 November 1994 the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and signed on 5 December 1994 the Budapest memorandum, under which Great Britain, Russia and USA provided their security guarantees to our state in exchange for refusal from the nuclear weapons.

Today, one of the most important foreign policy objectives for Ukraine remains to obtain extended deterrence and security guarantees security from nuclear states under the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (TNPW): Great Britain, China, Russia, USA and France as stipulated by the Budapest memorandum of 5 December 1994.

Drafting a legally binding document that would lay down clear-cut legal mechanisms of implementing these guarantees remains a complex and as yet unaccomplished task although certain results have already been obtained. The countries who signed the Budapest memorandum: RF, USA, Great Britain have confirmed status-quo of security guarantees that have been extended to Ukraine (joint statement by RF and USA on 04.12.2009, joint statement by

Ukraine and USA Presidents on 12.04.2010; response from Prime-Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in form of a response letter to the letter from President of Ukraine dated 05.01.2010). The security guarantees to Ukraine as a non-nuclear state have also been conformed by the People's Republic of China.

**Ukraine in the system of international relations:
Cooperation between Ukraine and international/ regional
organizations, strategic partners in the context of ensuring
national and regional security**

Place and role of Ukraine in the modern system of international relations is determined the efficiency of its interaction with international and regional organizations and by level of bilateral relations with the countries who are interested in developing mutually beneficial cooperation.

The key role in addressing issues of international security is undoubtedly played by the United Nations. UN main principles are and will be the basis on which Ukraine formulates and implements its security policy.

Further rapprochement between Ukraine and EC, in particular conclusion of the Association Agreement facilitates the process of democratic transformations in the country and conforms with its political and economic interests in global and regional dimensions.

Membership of Ukraine in OSCE where Ukraine will be a Chair in 2013 is considered by our country not only as a chance of extending its own zone of stability and security but also as an opportunity to take an active part in strengthening continental security.

Membership of Ukraine in the World Trade Organization (WTO) became an important step of furthering trade relations with foreign partners

For the purpose of realizing mutual interests Ukraine will continue its efforts of promoting the Organization for democracy and economic development (GUAM) composed of Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova and completing its transformation into a full-fledged international regional institution.

In its foreign policy, Ukraine observes the principle according to which each state has the right to ensure its national security by way of integration into such security structures, which in opinion of its citizens most fully satisfy their state interests in this regard and ensure national and regional security of their members; this is Ukraine's position to creation and functioning of such organizations as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and others. In its relations with these organizations Ukraine prioritizes conformity of their goals, principles and tasks to the national interests of our state.

By taking part in CIS activities Ukraine considers the Commonwealth as an international consultation and negotiation mechanism that is designed to solve mutual problems, predominantly of economic nature in the post-Soviet space.

Our country signed virtually of treaties, conventional and agreements related to weapons control and WMD non-proliferation, missile technologies and dual use commodities as well as ban or restriction of conventional weapons.

In some issues we set example to the world community: Ukraine, the third world state in terms of the nuclear weapons potential has voluntarily refused of these weapons and recently came up with initiatives of refusing to accommodate in our national territory or use highly enriched uranium.

Ukraine provides all possible assistance to international inspections and supervision missions on its territory and takes and active part in performance of verification activities.

We consider bilateral cooperation between the states-strategic partners, some other states and closest neighbors as inalienable part of our efforts to strengthen global and regional security. For Ukraine such states include the United States of America, Russian Federation, Republic of Poland, China, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Republic of Lithuania, Great Britain, Republic of Belarus, Moldova, Federal Republic of Brazil etc. Such partnership conforms with political, economic interests, mutual historical development, culture and considerable potential of addressing existing issues related to strengthening the national security guarantees. This partnership stipulates cooperation with:

the United States of America, a developed democracy and one of the world economic leaders, important factor of the global security, the state, relations with which are developed in accordance with publicly declared principle of strategic partnership on key foreign policy priorities; the country which consistently supports independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine;

the Russian Federation, friendly relations and constructive cooperation with which is a necessary and important factor of achieving Ukraine's security goals. Partnership with Russia is built on pragmatism and transparency, mutually beneficial cooperation and collaboration as key conditions of ensuring national and regional security;

Relations with the Western European countries are characterized by high level of mutual understanding between the parties, including on the issue of Ukraine's Eurointegration course and development of cooperation in political, economic, military and cultural areas;

Countries of the Central and Eastern Europe, who consistently provide practical assistance to our country in implementation of its Euro integration endeavors. Relations between our countries are based on sharing the same vision of security problems, on joint European values and regional interests;

Republic of Belarus and Republic of Moldova, the neighbor states, with which we have a lot of common historical and cultural heritage and a considerable potential of developing bilateral relations;

Countries of Central and Southern Asia and Asian-Pacific region, such as Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and China, potential market for Ukrainian commodities and promising source of investments and credits.

Latin America counties such as Republic of Brazil, with whom Ukraine has a joint space project and similar vision of important international problems.

Contractual basis of Ukraine's state borders

The contractual basis of finalizing state borders is one of the key foreign policy priorities for Ukraine. Implementation of this objective ensures sovereignty and legality of our state on international

arena, guarantees its inviolability and territorial integrity. The legally established state border is one of basic premises for promoting stability in political, economic and military/ defense relations with neighbor states.

The overall length of Ukraine's state border reaches almost 7 thousand kilometers, including 5637 km on land and 1355 km in the sea. Ukraine borders on seven countries: Russian Federation, Republic of Moldova, Republic of Belarus, Romania, Republic of Poland, Republic of Hungary, Slovak Republic.

These days the entire contractual process of establishing state borders (political recognition of territorial sovereignty, delimitation, survey and redemarcation) is completed throughout the entire length of the former Soviet border.

Since Ukraine inherited already delimited and demarcated line of the state border with the Republic of Poland, Slovak Republic, Hungarian Republic and Romania it concluded with these countries corresponding bilateral agreements on the state border regime. Based on these agreements our countries have set up bilateral commissions which periodically verify the state border line. First of such verifications have already been completed on the Polish, Slovak and Hungarian stretches of the Ukrainian state border. Presently, Ukraine jointly with Romania is in process of verifying mutual border.

Ukraine continues intensive negotiations with Russia, Moldova and Belarus to achieve contractual finalization of its state borders with these countries.

Medium term objectives of Ukraine in terms of contractual establishment of its state borders include:

Initiate and complete delineating the land stretch of state border with RF;

Complete delimitation of Azov and Black Seas and the Kerch Strait, conclude state border agreements for Azov Sea and Kerch Strait and agreements on delimitation of territorial seas, delineation of exclusive (sea) economic zones and continental shelf in Black Sea;

Complete delimitation of Ukraine-Moldova state border;

Ensure exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty between Ukraine and Republic of Belarus on state border dated 12

May 1997; commence and complete delimitation of the state border between Ukraine and Republic of Belarus.

Conclude treaties on state border regime, cooperation and mutual assistance in border issues with Russia, Moldova and Belarus;

Determine junctions points for continental shelf and exclusive economic zones between Ukraine, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey in the Black Sea;

Long-term objectives of Ukraine in terms of contractual establishment of its state borders include:

Improve the system of contractual settlements in areas of integrated border administration, border protection; adapt state border legislation to that of European Union; introduce European standards into border, customs and other varieties of controls;

Ensure protection of Ukraine's security, territorial integrity and inviolability within the limits of existing legally established state border.

Ukrainian-Russian relations: principal conclusion of twenty-year development

Although diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Russian Federation were formally established in February 1992 they have been commenced in period when both countries have not yet been independent states but member republics of the USSR. Even at that time Ukraine perceived Russian Federation as an independent sovereign state and subject of international relations. These provisions have been clearly stated in the first interstate document: Treaty between UkrSSR and RSSR dated 19 November 1990 where each party recognized another one as a sovereign state and undertook to withhold from any actions that might damage sovereignty of another party.

As independent state Ukraine from the very start has been trying to position itself in its relations with Russia primarily as a subject of international relations, and treat Russian Federation as such by building with this country good neighborly inter-state relations.

However the tone of these relations and the approaches to Russia's role and place in the Ukrainian official policies changed at different historical periods. These relations have been formalized in Ukraine's laws and legislation that have been enacted and imple-

mented in period of formation (1990 to 1998) and transformation (1999 to 2009).

By March 2011, the parties have signed almost 400 bilateral documents: almost 280 on inter-state and inter-governmental levels and the rest on inter-departmental level.

The most important are bilateral documents: Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership (dated 31.05.1997), agreements on status and conditions of the RF BSF stationing in territory of Ukraine, on parameters of RF BSF division and on financial settlements related to division of BSF and RF BSF stationing in the territory of Ukraine (dated 28.05.97), Treaty on Ukrainian-Russian state border (dated 28.01.03), Treaty on cooperation in use of Azov Sea and Kerch Strait (dated 24.12.03), Program of inter-regional and border cooperation till 2010 and measures of its implementation (dated 24.10.06), Program of economic cooperation between Ukraine and the Russian Federation for 2008–2010 (dated 22.06.07), Program of Ukrainian-Russian cooperation in peaceful space research for 2007–2011 (dated 31.05.06), Agreement on procedures applicable to crossing the Ukrainian-Russian state border by residents of border regions in Ukraine and Russian Federation (dated 21.04.06), Agreement on visa-free travel regime for Ukraine and RF citizens (dated 16.01.97) and Protocol on introducing amendments to this Agreement (dated 30.10.04) under which citizens of both states are authorized to cross Ukrainian-Russian border by submitting their internal passports and are dispensed of registration in another country for the period of 90 days since their entry into this country; Re-admission agreement (dated 22.12.06), Agreement on issues of stationing the Black Sea Fleet in territory of Ukraine (dated 21.04.10) and on coordination of inspections in locations of the Black Sea Fleet stationing in territory of Ukraine (dated 26.11.10), Agreement on delimitation of Ukrainian-Russian state border (dated 17.05.10), Program of inter-regional and border cooperation between Ukraine and RF for 2011–2016 (dated 04.10.10).

The modern phase of Ukrainian-Russian relations deserves special attention.

The objective assessment of achieved results shows that over the years our relations have changed and both parties learned to take steps toward each other. And, what is more important, these ef-

forts to achieve in-depth cooperation that have started in 2010 are gaining momentum by the day and more and more players (regions, state institutions, enterprises, science and research centers) from both sides express their willingness to cooperate.

Compared to previous years both parties have reexamined their priorities in foreign policy and external economy.

Our economic cooperation with RF has grown considerably. In 2010 as compared to 2009 the general volume of mutual trade in commodities and services went up 1.6 times and equaled 41.4 billion USA dollars. Today, the Russian share of Ukrainian trade balance reached the record for the last decade 32% and Ukraine ranks 5th among all foreign states in RF external trade.

Both countries deepen their integration in nuclear, agricultural and aircraft construction industries, cooperation in rocket and space area, telecommunications, shipbuilding, transportation and agricultural machine-building and in other high-tech and knowledge-intensive branches. They implement a score of large-scale infrastructure projects on arrangement of international transportation corridors; and have set up the High Level Task-Force to coordinate their economic integration.

Ukraine and Russia have jointly outlined the principal tasks in trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, including such tasks as drafting the long-term comprehensive Program of Economic Cooperation up to year 2020 ; looking for ways to improve trading regime and implement the project on setting up the joint venture between NJSC Naftogas of Ukraine and LLC Gasprom, build the nuclear fuel plant, arrange mass production of aircraft An-140, An-148, An-158, An-70, An-124 Ruslan, expand rocket launching services by using Ukrainian missile carrier Zenit and Dnipro.

Significantly, most of the citizens in both countries (67% of Ukrainians and 60% of Russians according to survey made by the Kyiv International Sociology Institute and Levada-Center) support the idea of expanding relations between their independent and friendly states.

In fact, 2010 was a year when the two countries built the new model of strategic partnership that is designed to deideologize political relations, depolitize economic cooperation and demithologize the humanitarian component by focusing on ways to satisfy concrete interests of both countries and their citizens.

An important actor of Ukrainian-Russian relations is the inter-regional and cross-border cooperation in almost all areas of bilateral relations: trade, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and humanitarian. The unquestionable advantage of such collaboration is that it is intense, prompt and effective: any idea, solution or project, which would have to go through a lengthy process of governmental studies, negotiations and authorizations if implemented on the state level take by far lesser time if introduced on regional level.

Similar to all other components of strategic partnership between Ukraine and RF the dynamics of inter-regional component has gained a noticeable momentum in 2010. A considerable boost in developing the relations between regions in both countries has been given by a set of actions taken by businessmen and governments of Ukrainian and Russian regions.

On 21 April 2010, Presidents of Ukraine and Russia met in Ukrainian Kharkiv with leaders of border regions on both sides and on 4 November 2010 in Russian Gelendzhik launched the First Ukraine-Russia Inter-Regional Economic Forum. The Forum resulted in signing the Inter-Regional and Cross-Border Cooperation Program between Ukraine and Russian Federation for 2011–2016, that envisage joint actions and projects in various areas of inter-regional cooperation: human health, education, science, culture, ecology and economy.

Along with the state-sponsored actions the considerable role is played also by the so-called “cluster” inter-regional forums. One of the most evident examples is the Ukrainian-Russian Cooperation Forum that was held 29 September 2010 in Ekaterinburg under the auspices of the Ukrainian Ministry of Regional Development and Construction and Plenipotentiary Envoy of the Russian Federation President in Ural Federal District. This event evoked high interest from political and business circles in both countries and confirmed its efficiency as an important mechanism of strengthening direct economic ties. The Forum led to signing nine cooperation agreements between Ukrainian and Russian regions and a number of agreements on intentions and cooperation between Ukrainian and Russian companies.

It is expected that a significant contribution into boosting up inter-regional cooperation ties will be made through restoring the

bilateral inter-regional structure: the Permanent Council of Ukraine and RF Region Leaders “Commonwealth of Regions”.

One of the most fruitful forms of the cross-border cooperation is the format of collaboration between Euro regions. Today, along the Ukrainian-Russian border there are four efficiently operating euroregions: *Slobozhanshchina* (Kharkiv and Belgorod Oblasts), *Dnipro* (Chernihiv, Bryansk and Gomel (Belarus) Oblasts), *Yaroslavna* (Sumy and Kursk Oblasts) and created in 2010 *Donbas* (Lugansk, Donetsk and Rostov Oblasts).

The cultural and humanitarian cooperation is another important dimension of strategic partnership. Major factors that advance its development include the activities of the Sub-Committee on Issues of Humanitarian Cooperation at the Ukrainian-Russian State Commission, signing the Cooperation Program between Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Ukraine and Russian Ministry of Culture for 2010–2014 and agreement concluded between the Ukrainian Ministry of Education and Culture and Russian Ministry of Education and Science on first priorities in development of scientific and educational cooperation for 2010–2012.

Alleviation of tension in political dialogue and its subsequent fast acceleration contributed, among other things, to joint celebration of the 65th anniversary of Victory in Great Patriotic War, joint Saint-Petersburg-Moscow-Kyiv auto-travel with participation of both leaders, celebration of A.P. Chekhov 150th anniversary, agreement about joint celebration the 200th anniversary of T.G. Shevchenko in 2014.

The Ukrainian cultural presence and popularization of the Ukrainian spiritual heritage is strengthened through cultural and arts events held in Russia, including in the National Cultural Center of Ukraine in Moscow.

Another cultural institution widely sponsored and supported by Ukraine is the Library of Ukrainian Literature in Moscow. The book stock of this institution has significantly grown over the recent years due to private and public donations from Ukrainians, including from the Ukrainian President V. Yanukovich.

Considerable cooperation uplift between the countries was also observed in area of education. The concrete short-term tasks include holding the Education and Science Days of Ukraine in RF in 2011 and the Education and Science Days of the RF in Ukraine

in 2012. Both countries make active efforts to promote cooperation between their highest educational institutions. A positive environment that has been created in bilateral relations constitutes a favorable basis for promoting Ukrainian studies in Russia and expanding the scope of the RF academic institutions that include them into their curricula.

Both parties continue studying the practical aspects of broadcasting Ukrainian channels on Russian TV

An approximately three million Ukrainian minority in Russia and equally strong Russian minority in Ukraine are the important factor of bilateral dialogue between the countries. Opposite to some other states where Ukrainians constitute an ethnic minority in Russia our compatriots are on equal footing with the title nations in terms of their political engagement: they are widely present in Russian government, science, academics, business environment, arts.

Over 100 civic organizations of Ukrainians in Russia perform their activities pursuant to Russian laws and their statutes. In this way Russian Ukrainians want to take advantage of their constitutional right to have their cultural and educational needs satisfied and therefore focus their activities primarily on support and development of Ukrainian culture and preservation of Ukrainian language.

At the same time full-fledged Ukrainian schools in Moscow and other Russian cities remain to be a problem. Today the Russian authorities are apparently much more inclined to address this issue.

Another important item in the list of the strategic partnership between Ukraine and Russian Federation is the coordination of their actions on international arena.

Regular discussions on topical items of bilateral agenda and international issues between Ukrainian and Russian Ministries of Foreign Affairs constitute a significant prerequisite of searching for and working out coordinated approaches. The foundation for these efforts is laid down by annual Coordination Plans between Ministries of Foreign Affairs of both countries (the respective 2011 document was signed on 26 November 2010 at the fourth session of Ukraine-Russia Inter-State Commission).

Another priority in coordination of foreign policy efforts between our countries is cooperation in the framework of interna-

tional organizations, such as UN, OSCE, European Council and within other multilateral formats. By combining their forces our states strive to overcome new challenges and prevent new threats, reinforce the fight against terrorism, piracy, illegal drug trafficking and transnational organized crime, laundering illegal income, human trafficking.

Ukraine and Russia have similar approaches to the concept of modern security architecture in Europe and act jointly in this direction. An active dialogue between our states is maintained on security issues in the framework of OSCE. Since it has already been decided that Ukraine in 2013 would take the chair in this organization and taking into account its intention of achieving the established foreign policy objectives Ukraine has already started to hold working consultations with its international partners, including with Russia on measures it has to take to get prepared to this important mission. Constructive cooperation between our states will be a significant factor of ensuring security and stability in Euro-Atlantic region.

A separate item in the agenda of Ukraine- Russia international cooperation is the Trans-Dniester ethnic conflict, where our countries as guarantors bear a special responsibility for making progress in a peace-seeking process.

Thanks to alleviation of political tension in bilateral relations we can now approach the issues that have been considered before as sensitive and problematic. These issues include the practical aspects of temporary stationing of the RF Black Sea Fleet in the territory of Ukraine, delineation of Azov and Black Seas, delimitation of the Ukrainian-Russian land state border etc.

A quicker pace of negotiation processes on these subjects gives rise to substantiated hope of having them properly addressed. For example, the Agreement between Ukraine and Russian Federation on stationing of the RF Black Sea Fleet in the territory of Ukraine signed 21 April 2010 not only stabilized the social situation in the Crimean Peninsula and helped to promote the overall negotiation process on RF BSF but also produced a positive impact on the overall atmosphere of Ukrainian-Russian relations.

A positive example of efficient cooperation was set by signing the Protocol on provision of information about overall number of RF BSF personnel and main armaments located in the territory of

Ukraine (20 November 2010) and Agreement on coordination of efforts to perform inspections of RF BSF stations in the territory of Ukraine under multilateral international documents in the area of disarmament and confidence-building measures (26 November 2010).

Indisputable evidence of the intent to promote constructive and mutually respectful strategic relations and the basis of implementing the promising economic projects could be a successful completion of negotiations on delimitation of Azov and Black Seas and the Kerch Strait that have started in 1996 and on which unfortunately the parties could not find as yet a mutually beneficial consensus. However, according to the world practices the issue of delimitating sea spaces is one of the most difficult in international law and the negotiation process on this issue is quite protracted.

In 2010, Ukraine and Russia concluded a respective agreement and set off a practical process of Ukrainian-Russian state border delimitation. It became another proof that the new atmosphere in the inter-state dialogue contributes to achieving results on crucial issues of the bilateral agenda that have been considered for a long time as totally irredeemable.

Undoubtedly, the development of inter-state relations on basis of constructiveness, mutual understanding and respect satisfies the fundamental national interests of Ukraine and the Russian Federation.

The past 20 years show that confrontation or mutual claims not only interfere with the process of developing strategic relations and are a priori detrimental but also undermine the country's position in international arena and negatively affect its internal processes. Under such circumstances no party can consider itself victorious.

Ukraine–USA: Major Milestones of Developing Strategic Relations in 1991–2011

The USA is the most powerful state on the globe in economic, technological and, last but not least, military sense and in the context of its political and cultural impact on the rest of the world. Development of relations with the United States can be compared with implementation of an important project, which is large-scale and sometimes urgent or even complex but in any case promising. In case of Ukraine, its participation in this project is all the more

essential if the list of achieved results includes our mutual experience.

The USA recognized independent Ukraine on 25 December 1991. This decision was preceded by the US Senate Resolution taken on 20 November with respective appeal to the President H. W. Bush. Diplomatic relations between our countries were established on 3 January 1992.

On 5–11 May 1992, in the course of his first official visit to USA President of Ukraine L.M. Kravchuk laid the political and contractual basis for development of inter-state relations built on principles of confidence, equal and democratic partnership.

The Ukraine's refusal from nuclear weapons inherited from the Soviet Union and its decision to join the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear state became an important stage in history of independent Ukraine positioning it as a responsible and predictable partner, of USA among other countries.

1995 was a year when bilateral relations between our countries came to the stage of permanent dialogue and extended cooperation. Ukraine started to receive financial and technical aid from United States. The military units of both countries for the first time were engaged in joint exercise under the NATO's Partnership for Peace program. During the state visit of the US President B. Clinton to Ukraine on 11–12 May 1995 the parties signed the Joint Declaration where the USA stated its willingness to support the process of democratic and market transformations in Ukraine and recognized Ukraine as a country of transitional economy. One of most significant moments in this visit was the statement made by the US State Secretary W. Christopher where he admitted that Ukraine was a critically important state in the context of its influence on situation in the region, its dimensions and geographic location, which render it one of most significant elements of the European security. According to the chief American diplomat, the existence of independent, non-nuclear, reformed Ukraine plays a major role in success of reforms in other new independent states.

In 1996, the U.S.-Ukrainian interstate cooperation commission (Kuchma-Gore commission) was set up. By the end of the same year, its committees held sessions to discuss foreign policy, security and economic issues. On 4 September, the US House of Representatives adopted resolution on support of Ukraine's inde-

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The first visit of President of Ukraine L. Kravchuk to Great Britain. Reception at Lord Mayor's of London. February, 1993



Working visit President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich to the Russia. In the picture: V. Yanukovich and President of Russia D. Medvediev. August, 11, 2011

Continuation of the photo-exhibition. The Beginning on p. 55

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. Hryshchenko to the children's medical center "TARARA", December, 2010



Ambassador of Ukraine in Cuba T. Sayenko a wreath to the monument to Taras Shevchenko in Gavana

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)

“Visit to the Queen”. March, 30, 2011. Ambassador of Ukraine to the Netherlands Olexandr Gorin presented diplomatic credentials to Her Mightiness the Queen of the Netherlands Beatrix



Summit of Ambassadors of Ukraine to EU countries-members. Brussels, April, 11, 2011



The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Olexandr Kupchynshyn was appointed the Permanent representative of Ukraine in UNESCO, July, 15, 2010



Vice-Minister of Foreign affairs of Ukraine P. Klimkin during the presentation of the official logotype of Ukraine at the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The opening of the memory broad on the wall of the building where Emperor Olexandr II signed the Emskiy edict to ban the Ukrainian language. June, 22, 2009



I. Dirosh, Ambassador of Ukraine in Switzerland presented diplomatic credentials to President of Switzerland Paskal Kushpen, May, 29, 2008

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The staff of the Ukrainian Embassy in USA and Diaspora representatives near the monument to Taras Shevchenko



Ambassador of Ukraine to USA O. Mocyk with astronaut Ukrainian by birth G. Stefanyshyna-Pifer.
Author: Volodymyr Kravcov

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. Hryshchenko with State secretary of USA H. Clinton. The third summit of the Ukrainian-American Commission of the strategically partnership. Washington, February, 15, 2011



Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. Hryshchenko (2003–2005, 2010–2011)

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



**Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Ukraine (March-December 2007)**



**The rewarding of I. Bobyń , Chief of the organization “Ukraine” in the Myunhen with the order
“For services” III degree**

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The ceremony of the opening of the memorable sign at the museum-complex “ACWTF”
(Акмолинский лагерь жён изменников Родины)



Summit of the Permanent Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.
Meeting in the Verhovna Rada, Kyiv, May, 2011

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The first vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine in the helicopter ME-8 during working trip to Odessa, June, 2011



Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. Hryshchenko visited Zmiinyi island during working trip to Odessa

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Metropolitan Volodymyr bestowed V. Majko, vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine with the order of Ukrainian Orthodox Church



Volodymyr Ogryzko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2007–2009)

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Meeting of the I. Dir, Ambassador of Ukraine to Switzerland with President of the UEFA Michel Platini



Petro Poroshenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2009–2010)

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The opening of the Honorary Consulate in Grats (Austria). Andriy Berezhnyi, Ambassador, Drashko Achimivych, Honorary Consul.



The opening of the first memorable sign devoted to the victims of Holodomor ("man-made Great Famine"), November, 22, 2008

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



President of Ukraine with President of Latvia opened the Embassy of Latvia in Ukraine



Borys Tarasuyk, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (1998–2000, 2005–2007)

The ending of the photo-exhibition on 114 p.

pendence. Since that time the USA has asserted itself as a leading foreign investor to our country (with 20% of the overall direct foreign investments).

On 14–16 May 1997, during the working visit of Ukrainian President to USA the first plenary session of the U.S.-Ukrainian interstate cooperation Kuchma-Gore commission was convened. Creation of the Ukrainian “caucus” in the US Congress and establishment of first ties with the California National Guard (which over time became an efficient coordinator and partner in providing practical assistance to the Ukrainian Armed Forces) have contributed to further evolution of bilateral relations.

Over 2001–2004, the Ukraine-USA relations had to face new challenges and opportunities. In his speech made in June 2001 during visit to Poland the newly elected US President George W. Bush said that “the Europe we are building must include Ukraine”.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 became a starting point for a new phase in the bilateral partnership. Ukraine’s resolute denunciation of terrorists in the first hours after tragic events and its decision to join the international anti-terrorist coalition have played a decisive role in shaping the format of our subsequent bilateral relations. Ukraine was one of 9 countries who were directly informed by US President administration about the commencement of USA and Great Britain military operation in Afghanistan on November, 7.

Initiated by the President of Ukraine and adopted by the Verkhovna Rada decision about dispatching the radiation and chemical protection battalion to Kuwait and later the Ukrainian Armed Forces brigade to the peacekeeping corps in Iraq have reconfirmed the Ukraine’s position as an ally to USA and international community in fight against terrorism and convinced Washington of the important role that our country plays in global processes. Significant demonstration of this awareness was the USA resolution to support territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine in a situation around Kosa Tuzla Island.

The next page in the history of Ukrainian-American cooperation was period from 2005 to 2009. The joint declaration made by Ukrainian and US Presidents on 4 April 2005 locked in the strategic format of bilateral partnership that later was formally recorded in the bilateral “Road Map” (2008) and the United States-Ukraine

Charter on Strategic Partnership (2008). Over these years, the contractual and legislative basis of the Ukrainian-American cooperation was supplemented with such significant international contractual documents as cooperation agreements in trade and investment, science and technology, peaceful space research, on strategic task of corruption abatement in public sector and bilateral protocol on access to commodity and service markets.

These were the years when USA took strong steps to support Ukraine's economic development and market economy. On 23 January 2006, The United States acknowledging the Ukrainian government efforts to protect intellectual property assigned to our country status of a member to Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), abolished trade sanctions and changed the Ukraine's status in accordance to the US trade laws. Under the GSP program Ukraine gained the opportunity of freely exporting to USA 3400 types of commodities without having to pay 1 to 16% duty.

In February 2006, USA recognized Ukraine as a market economy which was beneficent for Ukrainian companies trading with the United States, primarily from perspective of antidumping measures.

In March 2006, the US Senate abolished the Jackson-Wenick amendment towards Ukraine which prevented it from receiving US state credits and introduced discriminatory fees and charges on Ukrainian imports into USA.

On 16 May 2008, supported by a number of countries, including by USA Ukraine became the 152nd member of the World Trade Organization.

In December 2009, Ukraine resumed the operations of the US Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) which had the record of earmarking over 254 million US dollars to finance and insure 21 different projects in Ukraine ranging from manufacture and construction to energy sector and financial services.

The Ukrainian party appreciated the United States' recognition of Great Famine (Holodomor) in Ukraine in 1932–1933 and US President George W. Bush decision to sign the law under which the monument to Holodomor victims had to be erected in the District of Columbia.

After inauguration of Barack Obama Administration in 2009 followed by the US Vice-President Joe Biden's visit to Ukraine (in July) the Ukrainian-American relations entered into a new

phase. The parties decided to set up the U.S.-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission (SPC) that held its kick-off meeting in December of the same year.

In 2010, both houses of the US Congress took respective resolutions where they stressed “substantial progress made by the Ukrainian people in strengthening democratic institutions based on results of the second round of presidential elections on 7 February 2010” and confirmed “readiness to cooperate with the Government of Ukraine and promote bilateral relations in the framework of the U.S.-Ukraine Strategic Partnership Commission”.

In his inauguration speech President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich proclaimed that development of strategic partnership between Ukraine and USA (along with European Union and Russian Federation) is the key priority of the Ukrainian foreign policy,.

The new leadership of both countries started an active political dialogue between Ukraine and USA. On 11–14 April, V.F. Yanukovich paid a working visit to USA during which he participated in the Nuclear Security Summit and met with the US President Barack Obama. The USA agreed to support and assist Ukraine on crucial for our state issues: resumption of work with IMF, fighting the effects of the global financial crisis, implementation of system reforms, specifically in energy sector, strengthening bilateral partnership on principles laid down in the United States-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership, intensification of inter-state mechanisms under coordinating role of the Strategic Partnership Commission

These and other issues important for the Ukrainian party were recorded in the joint declaration of the Presidents; in particular they included common interests and values shared by Ukraine and USA, such as democracy, economic freedom, security, territorial integrity, energy security, cooperation in defense area, supremacy of law, human contacts; unique contribution of our state in the cause of nuclear disarmament; US readiness to provide necessary technical and financial aid to Ukrainian efforts toward conversion of the nuclear research laboratories to low-enriched nuclear fuel; strengthening cooperation in peaceful nuclear energy projects, including supporting Ukraine in constructing nuclear research facilities and its efforts to diversify nuclear fuel supply sources for the Ukrainian nuclear energy sector; continuing mutual work associated with the

nuclear security, including measures of enhancing safety at the destroyed Chernobyl nuclear reactor.

The document stated the Ukraine's resolution to dispose of the high enriched uranium stocks by the next Nuclear Security Summit and its intention to remove considerable amount of this stock by the end of 2010 (on 31 December 2010, the White House Office of the Press Secretary published the US President Barack Obama statement that greeted the Ukrainian President V.F. Yanukovich on removing another lot of high enriched uranium from Ukraine). It should be noted that the United States provides all necessary technical and financial assistance to support our efforts of converting the civil nuclear research facilities to the low-enriched nuclear fuel.

Strategic nature of the Ukrainian-American relations was confirmed during the official visit to Ukraine paid by the US State Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton on 2–3 July 2010 when she met with the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich. Hillary Clinton jointly with the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs K.I. Gryshchenko co-chaired the second session of the Strategic Partnership Commission and held with him negotiation (which resulted in agreement to extend the SPC agenda and the Joint Statement).

In his speech at the December 2010 meeting of Ukrainian Ambassadors V.F. Yanukovich set out major priorities in Ukraine's relations with the USA: non-proliferation of MDW, trade and investments, democracy and human rights, tapping on American experience in ways of negotiating important for state and society reforms. According to representatives of the US government these priorities are also shared by the United States.

One of the most important elements that shape the Ukrainian-U.S. relations these days is the United States-Ukraine Charter on Strategic Partnership, which remains to be the key bilateral political document reflecting inalterable priorities for both countries.

The Strategic Partnership Commission is the principal Ukrainian-American inter-state body; its sessions are chaired by the heads of respective foreign policy departments, and its activity is directed at implementation of the Charter.

The key directions of the Ukraine and USA cooperation satisfy the internal and external interests of Ukraine and strengthen its

positions of a sovereign European state with market economy and civic society.

Ukraine also receives from USA a substantial support in promoting Ukrainian interests across the world and in our relations with other states and international organizations. The Obama Administration supports the Ukraine's policy course to European integration and respects the choice of our state to have a non-block status. Supporting the practical cooperation between Ukraine and Alliance the American party contributes to implementation of the Annual National Programs, which is important for reforming the Ukrainian Armed Forces in conformity with the highest world standards. In 2010, the USA supported the Ukrainian candidacy as the OSCE Chair in 2013. The Obama Administration welcomes the Ukraine's endeavors to restore good neighborly relations with Russia and to strengthen regional security, specifically in energy sector.

The US Administration has confirmed its obligations under Budapest memorandum to provide security guarantees to our state after expiration of the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT). Greeting this position Ukraine still would like to obtain strong security guarantees from all interested parties.

Ukraine and USA are partners in promoting security in the broadest sense of this word who efficiently collaborate in the area of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The decision of Ukraine to get rid of its third in the world nuclear potential was unique. Ukraine has asserted itself as an active participant of the Global Threat Reduction Initiative (GTRI). Not less important was the decision voiced by President V.F. Yanukovich in Washington during his April 2010 visit to gradually remove from Ukraine (by the end of 2012) all available stocks of high enriched uranium. This step was positively assessed by the Nuclear Security Summit, first of all by the American party.

Position of Ukraine regarding further reduction of existing nuclear weapons and suspension of the new weapons research, reinforcement of non-proliferation regime, its concrete steps toward creating a world free of nuclear weapons is greatly appreciated by the world community. In preamble of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Measures for the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms dat-

ed 8 April 2010 Ukraine was mentioned as one of the states who made a considerable contribution in the “cause of nuclear disarmament” and played a significant role in “strengthening international peace and security”.

Ukraine and the USA closely cooperate on predominant majority of other crucial international issues, specifically fight against global climatic changes, spread of pandemic illnesses and struggle against international terrorism. The USA has highly evaluated Ukraine’s participation in international peacekeeping and stabilization measures, in particular that our country is the only non-NA-TO member who participates in all Alliance-led operations: in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo and the Mediterranean region. Bilateral cooperation in exchange for information on money laundering and financial terrorism is facilitated by the Memorandum of Understanding between the State Committee for Financial Monitoring of Ukraine and the United States Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, Bureau of the Department of the Treasury

The other areas where the USA provides considerable assistance to Ukraine include implementation of market reforms and development of a free market economy. The assistance programs have been streamlined since 1993 on bilateral level through the system of grants from various charitable funds and international financial institutions. The USA also facilitates the American private businesses that are willing to enter the Ukrainian market and jointly with our state develop the technical aid programs designed to accelerate reforms. An important role in these efforts is played by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) that supervises in Ukraine the projects ranging from securing credit loans, creating favorable business climate, to construction of transparent and reliable financial system and development of capital markets.

The USA is the biggest donor of technical aid to Ukraine, including under the Chernobyl NPP accident elimination project where its contribution equals almost 250 million US dollars. The overall scope of financial assistance rendered to Ukraine since 1992 exceeds 3 billion US dollars, which is more that the overall extent of similar aid from other donor countries combined. According to the U.S. State Department, the USA has earmarked 124.4 million US dollars for technical aid programs to Ukrainian in 2011.

The trade and economic collaboration with the most powerful economic country in the world is an important factor in development of the Ukrainian economy and attraction of foreign investments. As the global world crisis wears off the commercial exchange between our countries starts to exhibit positive dynamics. In 2010 this figure grew by 76% as compared with the previous year and equaled 2,426 million US dollars. The export of Ukrainian goods to the USA went up 21% and reached 1,082 million US dollars. The import of the U.S. commodities into Ukraine grew up by 51% to 1,344 million US dollars. It appears though that these volumes fall short of the existing potential.

By 1 January 2011, the Ukrainian economy has received \$1.218 billion worth of U.S. investments, or 2.7% of all FI (by this index the USA ranks the tenth). The United States are most interested in such sectors as external trade, food industry, financial services, metallurgy and metal working, chemical industry, construction and communications. There are 1545 enterprises with the U.S. capital register in Ukraine and the USA has high hopes of successful economic reforms in Ukraine that would create a more attractive investment climate.

Also, the United States plays a leading role in streamlining financial funds from donor countries to implement in Ukraine projects in the framework of the «Great Eight» initiative «Global Partnership against proliferation of arms and weapons of mass destruction». Both countries continue to implement the provisions of the bilateral Biosafety Agreement. The USA is the main donor to Ukraine under the NATO's Partnership for Peace Trust Fund, whose primary objective is to help Ukraine dispose missiles, ammunition, missile fuel components, light weapons and small-arms and to implement the provisions of Memorandum on assistance in elimination and demilitarization of missile complexes 9K72.

Equally significant is the U.S. assistance in modernization of the Ukrainian nuclear and energy industry, primarily through combination of U.S. investments and technologies and the Ukrainian potential. Further cooperation in the area of nuclear security is inseparable from Ukraine's success in eliminating consequences of the ChNPP accident, including conversion of the Object Shelter into an ecologically safe system. The USA has joined the «Great Eight» efforts on taking necessary steps for completion of last phases in

ChNPP stabilization and safety project and keeps taking a pro-active position in accumulation of financial funds from donor countries.

Scientific cooperation between our states that with time becomes all the more important facilitates strengthening of Ukraine's scientific and technological potential. In this area, the countries implement concrete projects; extend relations between scientific and technological institutions; exchange experience, information and technologies. These activities are made possible mostly through joint work of the U.S. Civilian Research & Development Foundation (CRDF) and the Ukrainian Scientific and Technological Center whose main objective is to launch new and assist existing scientific research in Ukraine.

The space rocket industry is key in U.S.-Ukraine high-tech cooperation. A successful example is the realization of Taurus-2 project. It is expected that the carrier rocket carrying this name will become a main vehicle to bring the U.S. Government cargoes into orbit. Another component is the cooperation between the Ukrainian state enterprise KB Pivdenne and the American Honeywell to build the Ukrainian satellite Sich 2M.

Equally, the USA is the leading partner of Ukraine in the area of human health, including on issues of fighting HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, avian and pandemic flu; the countries work together on programs of providing medical aid to Ukrainian children and severely ill persons by using the state-of-the-art U.S. medical technologies; Ukraine is the recipient of large-scale medical equipment supplies financed through American state and private loans. In the second half of 2009, the USA provided considerable help to Ukraine in overcoming the pandemic flu and virus H1N1.

Among other areas of collaboration it is worth mentioning the deep sea survey at the Crimean Peninsula shoreline of the Black Sea and lifting from the sea bottom, conservation and restoration cultural artifacts for their future exhibition across Ukraine (conducted jointly by the University of Rhode Island – Graduate School of Oceanography and the Ukrainian NAS Institute of Archeology); flood forecast and protection, water resource management, studies of possible climatic changes' impact on the Black Sea region (performed jointly by the U.S. and Ukrainian national academies of science).

Just as fruitful is the Ukraine-U.S. military cooperation, a component of practical interface between the Ukrainian Armed Forces and the North-Atlantic security structures. Principal efforts in this area are focused on applying the U.S. DoD capacities to advance defense reform in Ukraine, upgrading the Joint Rapid Reaction Forces of the national AF, development and modernization of military ranges, increasing financial support to military aid programs; augmenting the general level of coordination between defense departments of both countries; conducting joint military exercises and operations against international terrorism. Today, the Ukrainian AF participates in 7 aid programs sponsored by the U.S. Government. One of the priorities in the military coordination is training of the Ukrainian information protection specialists, including from cyber attacks and in ecological area.

Principal tasks of Ukraine-U.S. cooperation in cultural and humanitarian area is to preserve and popularize language, culture and traditions of Ukrainians residing in the United States; extend ties with the US-based Ukrainian civic organizations; promote constructive dialogue between Ukraine and U.S. Ukrainian community on issues that constitute Ukrainian political interests on American continent; to continue efforts on building in Washington the monument to Holodomor victims of 1932–1933, and to restore the T.G. Shevchenko monument.

The pace of potential bilateral cooperation to a considerable extent depends on intensity of inter-regional and inter-personal relations. Today, 23 Ukrainian cities already have their American twins. All in all, 48 Ukrainian cities and towns cooperate in one way or another with the U.S. cities and towns through mutual cultural, educational, business, professional and technical exchanges and programs.

The Obama Administration emphasizes the inalterable U.S. position regarding its guarantees of Ukrainian sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders. The USA positively assesses and supports implementation of proposed by Ukrainian President V.F. Yanukovich systematic internal reforms, including those that aim at strengthening democracy and supremacy of law in Ukraine.

Relations between Ukraine and the EU: main conclusions of 20-year cooperation

Since their commencement in 1991 the relations between Ukraine and the European Union have undergone a significant evolution. These changes reflect the gradual recognition of Ukrainians as a European nation and European Union's awareness of how important is its cooperation with our country for promoting stability and security on the continent.

The Ukraine officially declared its course for European integration on legislative level in 1993 in the Main Foreign Policy Priorities approved by Verkhovna Rada.

As the Partnership and Co-operation Agreement (PCA) entered into effect in 1998, the country started to enforce the integration processes and institutionalize relations between Ukraine and EU. In particular, the Council on issues of cooperation between Ukraine and the EU was set up, co-chaired by the Prime-Minister of Ukraine. The EU cooperation subdivisions were incorporated into all Ukrainian public authorities. On 11 June 1998, the President of Ukraine issued Resolution that approved the Strategy of Ukraine's integration into the European Union, which proclaimed that Eurointegration was to become a civilization target for the future national development: "European integration will contribute ... to further formation of the Ukrainian nation as a full-body member in the family of European nations".

A considerable positive impact on development of Ukraine-EU relations was produced by EU 2004 expansion when the European Union accepted new member states — close neighbors and traditional partners of Ukraine — who are interested in further rapprochement between Ukraine and EU.

Since 2005, Ukraine considerably increased level of cooperation with the EU in the area of joint security and defense policy and joint foreign and security policy. For example, Ukraine started increasingly to take advantage of its right to side with EU statements and declarations on regional problems and international issues. These days the rate of Ukraine's joining the EU statements equals almost 87%.

A good indicator of the Ukraine-EU cooperation in the area of foreign policy and security is Ukraine's participation in EU crisis

management interventions. Since 2002, our state became a member of European Union Police Missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Macedonia (2004–2005). The legal basis for this cooperation was laid on 13 June 2005 when both parties signed the Agreement on participation in European Union crisis management operations and the Agreement on procedures of security concerning the exchange of limited access information.

On 21 February 2005, the Ukraine–EU action plan was signed; it became a practical tool to implement the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) initiated by the EU in 2004 where the parties set out priorities of their bilateral cooperation with the final goal of Ukraine’s rapprochement with the EU. At the same time Ukraine was always unambiguously told that ENP cannot be regarded as an alternative to expansion policy.

At a symbolic event in relations between Kyiv and Brussels, the XII Ukraine–EU Summit held 9 September 2008 in Paris the parties admitted that Ukraine shares with the EU countries common history and values. By the end of the Summit Ukrainian and EU leaders agreed to conclude at some point in future an Association Agreement that would provide Ukrainian with practical methods of transition from “partnership and cooperation” principles to “political association and economic integration”. It should be noted that such agreements have been concluded in the past between the European Union and the Central and Eastern European countries before they became full-fledged EU members.

The launch in February 2008 of the EU-Ukraine visa dialogue examining the conditions for visa-free travel of Ukrainian citizens to the EU as a long-term perspective was an important step toward further strengthening of relations with the European Union in migration area and on issue of guaranteeing to the Ukrainian citizens their freedom of movement.

The quality changes in EU-Ukraine relations took place in 2010. Clear realization by Ukraine’s leadership that the essence of European integration lies primarily in a set of systematic internal reforms and smooth coordination between Verkhovna Rada and the Government contributed to bringing the dialogue with the EU institutions to an unprecedented high level. In this context, the adoption in summer 2010 of the Law of Ukraine “On Guidelines of Internal and Foreign Policies”, which established the prospective

EU membership as one of major foreign policy priorities was very important.

Ukraine began taking practical steps toward European Union through implementation of systematic reforms by meeting its obligations to the EU. Over a relatively short span of time the country enacted the long-awaited legislature that has been left unattended for several previous years. These were the laws of Ukraine on state procurement, gas market, protection of personal data, ratification of European Council conventions (on protection of personal data, fight against human trafficking). In this manner Ukrainian managed to unblock the rapprochement process with the EU on some key directions.

The high dynamics of the Ukraine-EU relations facilitated bringing to the final stage negotiations between the two parties on conclusion of Association Agreement. First of all, these were talks about the Agreement where it goes about the prospect of creating an intensive and large free trade zone (FTZ). The parties came to understanding on general philosophy of the future FTZ as a tool of Ukraine's integration into the EU internal market. According to both parties' estimates, the current pace of FTZ negotiations and respective Ukrainian reforms allows to conclude that the completion of negotiations about Association Agreement can be expected as early as in 2011.

Last year became critical in the 'visa-free' dialogue between Ukraine and the EU. The Action Plan on visa liberalization given to Ukraine at the Ukraine-EU Summit on 22 November 2010 was made possible due to Ukraine's reforms in migration and visa area and opened up new vistas for future introduction of visa-free regime to Ukrainian citizens traveling to the European Union.

The trade and economic ties with the EU countries also progress at fast rate. In 2010, the commodity trade turnover between Ukraine and the EU grew up by 29%, and reached 29 billion Euro. It is quite noteworthy that the increase of trade with the EU countries occurs against the background of lingering financial and economic crisis in Europe.

One of memorable events in 2010 was the European Union decision on appropriating Ukraine a 610 million Euros macrofinancial aid package to facilitate its economic stabilization.

The vigorous dialogue between the parties allowed to transfer into practical phase realization of projects related to modernization of the Ukrainian gas transit system, in conformity with agreements concluded at the Ukraine–EU Joint International Investment Conference (23 March 2009 in Brussels).

Under the Ukraine-EU Agreement on financial assistance in area of public transportation and environmental protection Ukraine will receive from the EU 65 million Euros for implementation of Ukraine’s transportation strategy and 35 million Euros to achieve objectives set out in the State Environmental Policy Strategy Through 2020.

Agreement on opening Representation Office of the European Investment Bank (EIB) in Ukraine signed on 15 June 2010 is an evidence of a more aggressive Ukraine’s sectoral integration into the EU.

The Protocol on granting Ukraine the access to EU programs signed at the Fourteenth Summit Ukraine–EU laid a legislative foundation for the access of our state to the EU programs, including those that are designed for the EU member candidates.

Ukraine’s key short-term priorities in its relations with the EU include completion of negotiations on Association Agreement, including creation of an intensive and large free trade zone, implementation of the Action Plan on visa liberalization and stage-by-stage economic and sectoral integration.

Ukraine-NATO relations, main conclusions of 20-year cooperation

The contacts between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) commenced right after declaration of Ukraine’s independence in 1991.

On 20 December 1991, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), the first after the end of the East-West confrontation official institution specifically designed to promote partnership relations between NATO and Central and Eastern countries, was created. Ukraine became an official member of NACC in March 1992. In the framework of NACC our state was given an opportunity to conduct with the Alliance member and partner countries a multi-

lateral political dialogue on a wide range of international security issues and to develop its ties with NATO.

In May 1992, Ukraine acquired the status of the associated member to NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

In 1994, NATO launched the Partnership for Peace (PFP) program and invited all NACC members to join.

In 1997, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) was established that replaced NACC and expanded its scope; EAPC paved the way to a more profound and energetic partnership between Ukraine and NATO. Ukraine became one of the EAPC co-founders.

On 9 July 1997, Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization signed the Special Partnership Charter, which corroborated the Alliance's support of the Ukrainian sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, its democratic development, economic prosperity and its status of a non-nuclear state. This Charter along with the Declaration on amendments signed in August 2009 remains to be the basic documents underpinning the Ukraine-NATO relations.

To implement the Charter, the unique cooperation body, the Ukraine-NATO Commission (UNC) was set up; over time Commission became an efficient mechanism of holding consultations on security issues, setting out priorities and performing evaluation of relations between our country and the Alliance.

On 10 November 1997, the Ukraine-NATO Commission held its first (inauguration) session at ambassador level. On 16-17 December 1997, the UNC held its first session at the minister of foreign affairs level. On 12 June 1998, the UNC held its first session at the defense minister level at the NATO head-quarters in Brussels. The first UNC session at top level was held on 24 April 1999.

To implement the Special Partnership Charter, the Ukraine-NATO Joint Working Groups (JWG) were established. Their objective was to ensure planning and coordination of mutual measures in the framework of practical (branch) cooperation between Ukraine and NATO. At present, there are five Joint Working Groups: on military reform issues; on defense and technical cooperation; on cooperation in science and environment issues; on planning emergency actions of civil nature and on economic security issues.

In 1997, Ukraine opened its diplomatic mission at NATO Headquarters and the NATO Documentation and Information Center in Kyiv, followed by the NATO Liaison Office two years later.

Pursuant to the Special Partnership Charter Ukraine set up in November 2000 the Joint Monitoring Group at the Verkhovna Rada and NATO Parliamentary Assembly that was reorganized in March 2003 into the Ukraine-NATO Inter-Parliament Council. This structure exercises control over implementation of the NATO-Ukraine relations strategy.

At the UNC session in Prague (November 2002) the parties approved the Ukraine-NATO Action Plan (AP), under which Ukraine started to implement the annual Ukraine-NATO Target Plans (TP). Our country has made a considerable progress on its path to achieving high development standards and performing internal reforms with the Alliance assistance. At the NATO Bucharest Summit (2–4 April 2008) NATO introduced its “open doors” policy to our country.

Since 2009, the Annual National Ukraine-NATO Cooperation Programs (ANP) became a major practical tool of NATO-assisted reforms in Ukraine. The decision on introduction of these programs was adopted at the session of the NATO Council held at the level of ministers of foreign affairs on 2–3 December 2008.

On 1 July 2010 the Ukrainian Parliament, Verkhovna Rada, enacted the Law of Ukraine “On Guidelines of Internal and Foreign Policy” where Ukraine stated its intention as a non-block state to continue constructive partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Having covered a lengthy path in development of its relations with NATO Ukraine has asserted itself as a special NATO partner capable of making a considerable contribution into supporting international peace and security. Constructive partnership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization remains one of the Ukraine’s security policy priorities. It is directed at taking joint efforts to overcome traditional and emerging challenges and threats and achieving by Ukraine the leading standards in economic development and defense.

The constructive partnership between Ukraine and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is facilitated by active political contacts and by activities of the Ukraine–NATO commission.

On 23 September 2010 Ukrainian President V.F. Yanukovich met with the NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen at the 65th session the UN General Assembly. On 24 February 2011, the NATO Secretary General paid an official visit to Ukraine.

The permanent delegation of the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada takes part in measures organized by the NATO Parliamentary Assembly; the Ukraine-NATO Inter-Parliament Council regularly holds its sessions.

To ensure a steady progress in Ukraine-NATO relations, the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich approved in 2010 the decision on setting up the Commission for Ukraine’s Partnership with the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization. The principal goal of this Commission is to ensure internal coordination of Ukraine-NATO partnership on all issues of mutual interest.

The Commission for Ukraine’s Partnership chaired by the Minister of Foreign Affairs is an advisory body with the President of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is assigned a leading role in coordinating cooperation with the Alliance. It comprises five national coordinators on issues of Ukraine-NATO partnership in such areas as: foreign policy and economy; defense and military issues; resources (financial funds); security; legal issues.

Ukraine remains the only partner of the Alliance participating in all main current peacekeeping missions under the NATO command.

Ukrainian peacekeepers participate in the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF), NATO Training Mission – Iraq (NTM-I), in Kosovo Force (KFOR). Ukraine also participates in NATO-led anti-terrorist operation “Active Endeavour” in the Mediterranean Sea etc.

**DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS OF UKRAINE
WITH ASIA LEADING STATES FOR THE 20-YEAR- PERIOD**

**Relations with India in Political,
Trade and Economic areas**

The Republic of India recognized state independence of Ukraine on December 26, 1991.

The Protocol on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Ukraine and India and the Protocol on Establishment of Consular Relations between the two countries were signed on January 17, 1992 in Kiev.

Legal framework of the Ukraine-India cooperation was established in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Ukraine and India signed in 1992.

The contractual legal framework of the Ukrainian-Indian relations includes 16 bilateral agreements in political, trade and economic, scientific and technical and cultural spheres.

Since establishment of the diplomatic relations between Ukraine and India a number of visits has taken place:

– the President of Ukraine L. G. Kravchuk made an official visit to India on March 25–29, 1992;

– the Minister of Defense of India Mr. Sharad Pawar visited Ukraine on October 14–17, 1992;

– The President of the Republic of India Mr. Sh. D. Sharma made a return visit to Ukraine on July 13–16, 1993;

– The delegation of Ukrainian scientists led by B. E. Paton, the President of NAS of Ukraine visited India at the beginning of April 1994;

– Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. M. Zlenko made official visit to India on April 18–21, 1994,.

– Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine G. J. Udovenko participated in 12th Conference of Non-Alignment Movement Member States in Delhi on April 4–8, 1997;

– V. A. Yushchenko, the Head of the National Bank of Ukraine led the NBU delegation during visit to India on November 22–26, 1999;

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



G. Udovenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs with
General Secretary UN Kofi Annan



The monument "Ukrainian Madonna" on the
territory of the concentration camp Mauthausen,
Austria. Author: I. Samchenko

The ending of the photo-exhibition. The beginning on pp.55, 83

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)

Ambassador of Mexico to Ukraine Bernis Rendon Talavera presented diplomatic credentials to President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, September, 17, 2009



Yu. Vitrenko visited one of the "peace and justice" centers in Gbarnga, Liberia, as a member of the UN peace-building Commission

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



Mykola Azarov at the meeting of the Council of CIS Heads Governments in Minsk, 2011



Ambassador of Ukraine to Greece V. Shkurov with the Special Olympics games participants in Athens, June, 2011

The Ukrainian diplomacy in the period of the Independence of Ukraine (1991-2011)



The first Minister of foreign Affairs of the Independent Ukraine, Anatoliy Zlenko (1990–1994, 2000–2003)



The delegations of Ukraine and Greece are planting the snowball-tree in Athens. March, 2010

– The delegation of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Ukraine led by Vice-President V. P. Yanovskii was in India on March 5–12, 2000 for signing the Agreement on Foundation of the Joint Business Council and for holding its first constituent meeting.

– State Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the Lower House of Parliament of India O. Abdulla was in Ukraine on the official visit on November 30 – December 3, 2001,.

– The official visit of the President of Republic of India Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam to Ukraine on June 1–4, 2005 became the major event of recent years in the Ukraine-India relations. Following the results of negotiations, the Presidents of Ukraine and India agreed about the further intensification of bilateral contacts in the different areas.

– The Head of the VR Committee on Foreign Affairs, head of ‘Ukraine – India’ parliamentary friendship group O. G. Belorus visited India on March 25–29, 2008.

– On February 11–15, 2009, the city of Bangalore hosted prestigious international air show ‘AeroIndia-2009’. V. S. Novitskii, Minister of the Industrial Policy, the head of the Ukrainian delegation, held meetings with the Minister of Defense, State Minister of Defense and Air Force Commander of India. During the meetings, the parties discussed issues of further development of bilateral cooperation in the area of aviation.

– On August 31 – September 5, 2009, the Commander of Air Forces of India, Air Chief Marshal P. V. Naik, made an official visit to Ukraine. It was his first foreign visit after appointment to the position.

– On September 18–22, 2010, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs V.A. Majko visited India for participation in the Eighth Round of political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and India.

– On October 19, 2010 and February 9–12, 2011, the Commander-in-Chief of Air Forces of Ukraine Lieutenant-General S. I. Onishchenko made two working visits to India (as the head of the Ukrainian delegation participating in the space salon ‘AeroIndia-2011 during his second visit).

Since 1994, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and India conducted a series of political consultations at the level of the

deputy ministers with the first round taking place the same year in Kiev.

Inter-parliamentary relations

In October 1995, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine formed the deputy group for inter-parliamentary communications with India. In 2008, the Verkhovna Rada of new convocation created the succeeding deputy group led by the People's Deputy of Ukraine O.G. Belorus. Currently the group consists of 21 People's Deputies of Ukraine.

In turn, the Parliament of Indian also created a group for inter-parliamentary communications with Ukraine, which consists of 18 MPs.

The Ukraine-India trade and economic cooperation

The Ukraine-India economic cooperation began at the Soviet era progressing mainly in the field of production and supply of difficult equipment for the majority of the enterprises in Indian metallurgical sector. In the Soviet times, these deliveries were performed through corresponding allied foreign trade organizations, which retained their positions in India after 1991 and attempted to continue supply of the Ukrainian equipment to Indian market, usually, without specifying its country of origin. «Turboatom» LLC was the first Ukrainian enterprise independently entering the market of India, which in 2002 completed the first Ukraine-India contract for 38 million US dollars on supply of the power equipment.

Ukraine traditionally exported to India mainly metallurgical complex and mechanical engineering goods. Stable growth of the metallurgical goods export became possible owing to beneficial for Ukraine antidumping investigation concerning the stock steel import to India with simultaneous imposing antidumping duties on the similar commodities of competitors — manufacturers from Russia and China.

The structure of Ukrainian import from India featured predominantly in medical supplies, plastic and linoleum, tea, woolen clothes, tobacco, ores and minerals, transport equipment, etc.

Following the results of 2010, the sales turnover between Ukraine and India grew more than ten times and reached 2.107 billion US dollars. The Ukrainian export totaled 1.426 billion US dollars, and import from India – 680.7 million US dollars. Ukraine's positive trade balance reached 745,4 million US dollars.

By export volume, India is our largest market in Asia.

According to the Ukrainian Bureau of Statistics, direct foreign investments from India in the Ukrainian economy in 2010 constituted 18.8 million US dollars. Almost 65 % of the Indian investments registered in the Odessa area, 1 to 2 million US dollars are invested in Crimea, Lviv and Kharkiv areas and Kiev.

According to the Indian statistics, amount of Indian investments into economy of Ukraine constitutes 114 million US dollars. At the same time, *ArcelorMittal* company (owned by Indian businessman L. Mittal) is just about the largest investor into the Ukrainian economy as in 2005 it acquired the state enterprise *Krivoriizhstal* for 4.8 billion US dollars.

Among the Ukrainian companies, which actively work in the Indian market, the known companies *Azovmash* LLC, *NKMZ* LLC and the Interpipe Industrial Group participate in tenders for supply of the metallurgical equipment on the regular basis. «DAK» OJSC of Drogobych conducts active work on creation of the joint venture and launching manufacturing of truck mounted cranes in the territory of India.

The following Ukrainian companies co-operate with their Indian partners in the energy area: *Ukrinterenergo* (with *Sun Overseas* Company), *Ukrhydromech* OJSC (the partner – *Om Metals & Minerals Ltd*), *Vazhmashimpeks*, *Kharkivenergoremont* JSC (repair and servicing of the power equipment), *Zorja-Mashproekt* OJSC (the agreement was signed with the Indian company *Kirloskar* about cooperation in introduction of the gas-compressor complexes of the Ukrainian manufacture). *Turboatom* OJSC (Kharkov) occupies notable position in the local power market.

Signing the contract on 15.03.2010 between *Zaporizhtransformator* OJSC and Indian company *Crompton Greaves Limited* amounting to almost 40 million US dollars became a substantial success.

Spetstehnoeksport DGZP, «ANTK O.K. Antonov» SE, and «Civil Aviation 410 Plant» SE are involved in realization of the contract on repair and modernization of 105 Indian AN-32 planes.

According to the contract, starting from 31.12.2009 and through 2010 *MootorSich* OJSC supplied 18 aircraft engines to India.

Relations of Ukraine with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in political and trade and economic spheres

The Ukraine-Pakistan relations started long before official recognition of independence of Ukraine by Pakistan (on December 31, 1991) and establishment of diplomatic relations (on March 16, 1992). Their history dates back to the former USSR when in the 70s the Soviet specialists with overwhelming majority of Ukrainians among them assisted Pakistan in development of key sectors of industry and national economy. It was at that time when the specialists of two countries constructed Karachi metallurgical complex, which still is the largest in Pakistan, a number of powerful hydroelectric power stations in the Pakistan areas of Tarbela, Kalabagh, and established local pool of agricultural machinery and lorries, which were manufactured at the Ukrainian enterprises.

The Embassy of Pakistan to Ukraine began its activity in October 1997 in Kiev, and the Embassy of Ukraine started functioning in the capital of Pakistan – the city of Islamabad – in January 1998.

Twenty years in development of the relations between Ukraine and Pakistan may be characterized as the dynamic process underlain by traditionally high level of mutual understanding in political, military and technical, trade and economic spheres, effective cooperation within the framework of international organizations, shared intent of the parties to expand and deepen the prospective mutually beneficial relations.

The first noticeable economic contracts between Pakistan and independent Ukraine were concluded in military and technical sphere in 1996. The well known multi-million tank contract is one of them. It provided Pakistan with the most modern armour, and Ukrainian enterprises – with prospective long-term orders.

Over two decades, the political dialogue between Ukraine and Pakistan progresses on the regular basis. It gained special momentum owing to the meetings of presidents of Ukraine and Pakistan within the framework of the United Nations GA sessions (1993, 1997, 2003); negotiations of prime ministers of two countries within the framework of the world economic forum (Davos, 2008); vis-

it to Ukraine of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan (1994); exchange of visits of Ministers of Defense of two countries (1995, 2006). Constant political consultations are convened within the framework of current arrangements between foreign policy departments, which next round took place in Islamabad in June, 2010 at the level of Deputy Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

The inter-regional and inter-branch cooperation processes become more intensive and establish a basis for direct contacts among business community of Ukraine and Pakistan in various spheres of economy, transport, utilize mineral resources, develop agriculture, etc.

For the purpose of intensifying the two-way communications in November, 2009 the Ukrainian-Pakistan Information Center opened its doors in Karachi. The Center united representatives of the local authorities, administration of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pakistan, the Sindh province and business people interested in further development of cooperation with Ukraine.

Initiatives on establishing the twin-city relations between the largest commercial and industrial, cultural centers of two countries as well as between 'economic sea gates' of Ukraine and Pakistan — the cities of Odessa and Karachi are worth mentioning.

Considering the international standing of Ukraine, Pakistan counts on support of its initiatives in the fight against terrorist threats, situation settlement in Afghanistan, and strengthening of trust building efforts in the South-Asia region.

The considerable potential of cooperation between the two countries unfolds in the agrarian sector, textile and pharmaceutical spheres.

In turn, Ukraine became one of the prime exporters of grain and vegetable oil in the local market, known among the Pakistan agrarians by its agricultural products and agricultural purpose equipment.

Interest and readiness of the parties for escalating the mutually beneficial economic cooperation are proved by practical activities and trading indicators. In particular, over twenty years of mutual cooperation annual volumes of the Ukraine-Pakistan trade in civil spheres reached 200 million US dollars, having grown over this period ten times with considerable positive balance for the benefit of Ukraine.

Being known as the reliable international partner, Ukraine stands ready to respond and give the necessary assistance in the time of ordeal, which Pakistan passed in 2005 and 2010 after destructive earthquake and shattering flooding causing the death toll and leaving homeless thousands of Pakistanis. Contribution of the Ukrainian physicians to liquidation of consequences of elemental disasters in Pakistan is distinguished by separate awards of the Pakistan government, Ukrainian humanitarian aid targeted the most in need inhabitants of the destroyed Pakistan settlements where the local population continues to keep warm memoirs of representatives of Ukraine.

At the same time, the parties face urgent tasks with regard to establishing more favorable conditions for escalating the mutually beneficial cooperation.

There is a considerable bilateral potential to be realized in the sphere of science and development of medical technologies, sharing experience between scientific and medical institutions of two countries on how to use modern methods of diagnostics, treat dangerous diseases and apply advanced medical technologies. The growing number of students from Pakistan in higher schools of Ukraine is one of the manifestations of the specified sphere potential. Almost 200 young Pakistanis are every year educated in Ukraine and more than half of them study at the Ukrainian medical universities.

Convenient geographical location, developed system of transport communications allow Ukraine actively developing foreign economic relations with Pakistan, including joint participating in the international projects on reconstruction of Afghanistan, building regional systems of natural gas and oil pipelines, and constructing transport infrastructure. Cooperation of the Ukrainian hi-tech manufacturers with the Pakistan partners permits expanding geography of the Ukrainian export, entering the new commodity and services markets, including the markets of the Muslim, countries which maintain traditionally close mutual relations with Pakistan.

Evident development of cooperation between the Muslim states, among which Pakistan was the first to master nuclear technologies, a developed system of the regional political and economic organizations (Economic Cooperation Organization in Asia (ECO), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Asian Development Bank, etc.) provide Ukraine with an opportunity to

expand its presence in the international markets while widening fruitful cooperation with Pakistan.

Pakistan considers Ukraine as an active participant of the international processes, the perspective partner in mutually beneficial bilateral trade and economic cooperation. It is interested in the Ukrainian high technologies in metallurgy areas, mechanical engineering, power, military and technical production, and agricultural industry. All of the above should become a corner stone for further development and intensification of the Ukraine-Pakistan cooperation as mutually interested partners in developing convenient trading routes and communications among the countries of Europe and Asia.

Relations of Ukraine with the People's Republic of China in Political, Trade and Economic Areas

The People's Republic of China recognized independence of Ukraine on December 27, 1991, and on January 4, 1992 two states established the diplomatic relations.

Regular exchange of the visits proves a high profile of mutual relations development at the high and highest levels. In the autumn of 1992 the President of Ukraine L. G. Kravchuk visited China for the first time.

In 1993, Vice-Premier of the State Council, the PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Tsian Tsichen arrived in Ukraine.

Brand new stage of mutual relations began with the first official visit of the Head of the PRC Jiang Zemin to Ukraine on September 6–8, 1994. The Parties highly appreciated the progress achieved in the mutual relations and specified directions of further bilateral cooperation.

In 1994, China extended to Ukraine nuclear safety guarantees in connection with refusal of Ukraine from nuclear weapons and joining NPT as the non-nuclear state (on December 4, 1994 the PRC made public the corresponding Statement of its Government).

Approach of official Beijing implies that China shall under no conditions use nuclear weapons and not threaten by its use against the non-nuclear states or non-nuclear zones. The above position also applies to Ukraine.

The President of Ukraine L.D. Kuchma's visit to China in December 1995 had great impact on further development of mutual relations as it resulted in conclusion of the Joint (Peking) Declaration on development and deepening of friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and the People's Republic of China.

The exchange of official visits by the Prime Minister of the PRC State Council to Ukraine (on June 22–25, 1995) and the Prime Minister of Ukraine to the PRC (on December 21–25, 1997) was very fruitful.

In December 2000, the session of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted recommendations on broadening cooperation between Ukraine and China, whose implementation started after the second visit of the leader of the PRC China Jiang Zemin to Ukraine (July 2001). The Joint Declaration on Friendship and Broad Cooperation in the 21st century signed by heads of the two states emphasized a no-limit nature of the nuclear safety guarantees provided to Ukraine.

This position was confirmed in January 2002 during visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A.M. Zlenko to the People's Republic of China and in November 2002 during the official visit of the President of Ukraine L.D. Kuchma to China. The parties agreed to initiate activities on conclusion of the large-scale political friendship and cooperation treaty.

In April 2003, within the framework of official visit to the People's Republic of China, L.D. Kuchma held a working meeting with the newly elected Head of the Peoples Republic of China Hu Jintao, during which the parties discussed the strategic basis for widening cooperation and interaction between Ukraine and the PRC. The President of Ukraine became the first European leader meeting the newly elected head of the Peoples Republic of China.

Quite active cooperation between the highest legislative bodies of the two countries is a special feature of the Ukrainian-Chinese political dialogue.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the National People's Congress created groups of friendship that are actively functioning.

Heads of the Ukrainian parliament visited China in 1993, 2002, 2005, and 2007. In 1996 and 2000, heads of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress paid Ukraine a return visit.

Regular political dialogue is also ensured by the contacts of the heads of foreign policy departments and consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of Ukraine and the PRC at a level of ministers and deputy ministers.

Ukraine and China place special emphasis on interaction within the framework of international organizations. There are many issues, upon which positions of the parties are similar or coincide: counteraction to a hegemonism and policy of force in the international relations, nuclear disarmament, reform of the United Nations system, fight against international crime and terrorism, etc. Two countries support each other in their work at the United Nations committees and commissions. Active electoral cooperation during voting in the executive bodies of international organizations is a vivid example of such activity.

Essential intensification of political dialogue with China at the high and highest levels has been observed since the beginning of 2010. After April meeting of the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich with the PRC leader Hu Jintao within the framework of the Nuclear Safety Summit in Washington, the ministers of foreign affairs of the two states exchanged visits (in May Yang Jiechi visited Ukraine, and in July — K.I. Grishchenko accomplished visit to the People's Republic of China).

Still, official visit of the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich (on September 2–5, 2010) to China is of key importance.

Arrangements reached during the visit, in particular, concerning maintenance of intensive interstate political dialogue on the highest level, continuation of active work on fleshing up bilateral strategic cooperation for the purpose of establishing strategic partnership relations between two countries as well as increasing the level of the Ukraine-China Intergovernmental commission for trade and economic affairs to the Commission for cooperation (at the level of vice-premier ministers of the governments) commemorated essential break through in development of the Ukraine-China cooperation and established necessary preconditions for deepening of all complex of relations between Ukraine and the Peoples Republic of China.

Among the basic documents signed within the framework of the Ukrainian-Chinese summit, there are good reasons to note the Joint statement of Ukraine and the Peoples Republic of China concerning

comprehensive increase of level of the Ukrainian-Chinese friendship and cooperation relations and the Main directions of development of the Ukrainian-Chinese relations for 2010–2012.

Upon the invitation by the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovych, Heads of the Peoples Republic of China Hu Zintao paid the official visit to Ukraine on June 18 – 20, 2011.

The special emphasis during negotiations was made upon the pressing need of fleshing up the Ukraine-China relations with the concrete pragmatic content, regular effective utilization of the cooperation potential in the most prospective spheres, including infrastructural building, agricultural industry, aircraft construction, alternative power sources, space area, high and newest technologies.

Heads of the states appreciated progress in direction of realization of the arrangement concerning bringing annual volume of bilateral trade to 10 billion US dollars, having expressed confidence that in the nearest future this indicator reaches 20 billion US dollars. As this work unfolds, joint realization of the large-scale projects in infrastructure, transport, telecommunication, agrarian, power supply and other areas with attraction of direct Chinese investments as well as on the terms of leasing or concession shall be of vital importance.

The parties also supported promising idea of establishing joint ventures in Ukraine and the PRC, first of all, in high technology area with a high share of the added value with further re-export of commodities to the third countries.

The parties emphasized appropriateness in developing active cooperation in the banking sphere, establishing close business relations among the central, leading state and commercial banks of the two countries, in particular, by opening of their branches and representative offices in both countries.

Two leaders highly appreciated creation in April, 2011 of the Commission on Cooperation between Ukraine and the PRC headed by the vice-premier ministers of the governments as a decisive coordination mechanism of bilateral cooperation in all basic spheres as well as inception of work of the Ukrainian-Chinese Business Council.

The heads of the states exchanged their opinions on prospects of developing trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine, China, and the Russian Federation in a tripartite format, which

may imply joint participation in the large-scale projects in oil and gas, transport, power, aviation building and other spheres.

Following the results of their meetings, the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich and the head of China Hu Zintao signed the Joint Declaration on an Establishment and Development of the Strategic Partnership Relations between Ukraine and the Peoples Republic of China.

In the presence of Heads of the states, the parties have signed:

1. The agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Peoples Republic of China about providing to the Government of Ukraine free assistance.

2. The Protocol between the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine and the Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China on periodic exchange of the tentative list of the export-import commodities for the bilateral trade.

3. The Memorandum of mutual understanding in the power supply sphere between the Ministry of Energy and Coal Industry of Ukraine and the State Administration of Power Economy of the People's Republic of China.

4. The credit contract between Ex-Im Bank of China and the State Enterprise *Directorate on construction and management of the national project 'Air express train' and other infrastructural objects in the Kiev region.*

During the meeting the PRC Head and the Prime Minister of Ukraine conducted comprehensive and frank exchange of opinions on practical implementation of the bilateral trade and economic cooperation.

Development of the Ukrainian-Chinese inter-parliamentary cooperation was the main leitmotif of conversation of the Chinese leader with the head of the Ukrainian Parliament.

On June 18, 2011, within the framework of the official visit of the PRC Head Hu Zintao to Ukraine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. I. Grishchenko met with the PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Yang Jiechi in Yalta.

During conversation the parties discussed a wide range of issues pertaining to bilateral cooperation in the primary directions and prospects of interaction of Ukraine and China within the framework of the international organizations. Heads of the Ministries

of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the People's Republic of China shared their views with regard to some issues of the international and regional significance, in particular, that pertain to situation in the regions of the Middle East and North Africa.

K. I. Grishchenko emphasized that visit of the PRC Head of the Peoples Republic of Cina to Ukraine is of utmost importance as it commemorates transition of the Ukrainian-Chinese relations to a brand new level of interaction.

Following the results of the meeting, the parties signed Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the PRC Government on organization of Consulate General of Ukraine in the town of Guangzhou.

On June 20, the first Vice-prime Minister of Ukraine – the Minister of economic development and trade together with the co-chairman of the Intergovernmental commission on cooperation between Ukraine and the PRC A. P. Klyuyev convened a meeting with a member of the PRC State Council (in the status of the vice-prime minister) Dai Bingo. In the course of the meeting the parties have signed:

1. Memorandum of mutual understanding between the State agency for the science, innovations and information of Ukraine and the Ministry of science and technology of the Peoples Republic of China with regard to granting support in creation of the Ukraine-China Institute of welding named after E. O. Paton.

2. Cooperation agreement between the Ivano-Frankovsk regional state administration, the Chinese state corporation *Yuhuan Engineering* and *Kitpred* enterprise with the foreign investment for reconstruction of the potash factory in Kalush.

3. Framework agreement on investment cooperation about creation of the innovation and industrial manufacturing base in the Odessa oblast.

4. Framework agreement between Industrial and Commerce Bank of China, the Chinese National Corporation of the Machine Industry and General Contracts (CMCEC) and the Ukrainian OJSC *Ubinvest*» to finance the *Ukrainian Livestock Production Base* project.

5. Agreement between OJSC *Greentech Energy* and the CMCEC on implementation of the project in the sphere of solar power.

6. Cooperation agreement between the State Enterprise *Crimean Generating Systems* and Chinese National Corporation of Industrial Mechanical Engineering CINOMACH on implementation of the heat and power plant construction project in Shcholkino (the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine).

7. Agreement between OJS *Lisichanskvugillia* and the Scientific and Technological Company *Tiandi* about performing the drivage, technical re-equipment and modernization of D. F. Melnikova mine (OJSC *Lisichanskvugillia*).

Trade and economic relations of Ukraine and the PRC are one of the major components of the whole complex of bilateral relations. Complementary nature of economy of both countries, on the one hand, supply Chinese products to the Ukrainian market and, on the other hand, provide the Ukrainian high technologies for development of certain Chinese industries, such as space-rocket, aviation, ship-building, power supply, etc.

As Ukraine pursues the balanced policy with regard to the USA, EU and Russian Federation, it searches now for 'the third pivot' in the Asia Pacific region, which may become China with its rapidly increasing international authority.

Soon after establishment of diplomatic relations China took a leading position among the largest trading partners of Ukraine.

Tendency of growing trade volumes between Ukraine and the PRC was interrupted only twice for almost twenty-year period because of the financial crises: South-Asian (1998) and global (2009).

Since 2000, a tendency of considerable intensification of trade and economic relations between Ukraine and China is observed. It is characterized by extremely high bilateral sales turnover volume growth rate: according to the Ukrainian statistics, its trade volume in 2010 constituted almost 6.02 billion US dollars, having increased almost 5 times in comparison with 1997 figures.

In a context of intensive development of trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine and the People's Republic of China and implementation of policy towards reaching the level of strategic partnership in the medium-term prospect, official visit of the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich to China was the major event of 2010. During the visit the parties at their highest level outlined prospects for increasing turnover between the countries to 10 billion US dollars during 2011–2012 and participation of the Chinese

corporations and financial institutions in development of economic potential of Ukraine.

This visit successfully resulted in signing 22 bilateral documents, which confirmed arrangements of the parties with regard to economic cooperation in the field of space research and its use for peaceful purposes, in coal-mining, oil and gas and agricultural areas, in the sphere of air transportation, cooperation and attracting foreign investments, in banking sphere, development of solar power supply; implementation of *Organization of Railway Communication 'Kiev – Borispol International Airport'* project, combined heat and power plant construction project in Shcholokino (the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine), the project on supply of the grain elevators and auxiliary equipment for them, etc.

For the purpose of establishing conditions for bringing of the trade and economic relations between the countries to strategic level, during the visit parties agreed upon the important decision with regard to creation of the intergovernmental commission on cooperation between Ukraine and the PRC headed by the vice-prime ministers.

Following the results of presidential visit, the parties created a new powerful platform for business community of Ukraine and China, signed the Agreement on creation of business council between CCI of Ukraine and the Chinese committee of assistance to international trade.

Over the recent years, considerable activity of business circles of Ukraine and China was observed. Ukraine is going to become continuous 'working platform' for the influential corporations, such as the Chinese company of industrial mechanical engineering, Chinese international machine-building company, Chinese state corporation of mechanical engineering and complex contracts, Road&Bridge Corporation, COVEC, Sinohydro, Development Bank of China, Eximbank of China and other companies. As far as Ukraine is concerned, most active companies in China are *Energoatom* NAEK, *Ukragrolizing* NAK, *Ukravto*, *Antonov* SE, *Naftogaz Ukraina* NAK, state enterprise '*Borispil*' international airport, *Ukrmontazhspetsbud* corporation, Association of Ukraine-China cooperation, the Ukrainian National Committee of International Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

On May 1 – October 31, 2010, the Ukrainian national exhibition at the World's fair in Shanghai «Expo-2010» for the first time in its history was presented in the separate pavilion. At the official opening ceremony Ukraine was represented by the Ambassador of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China J. V. Kostenko. Day of Ukraine on August 24, 2010 and visit of the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovych as heading the representative official delegation of Ukraine were the highlights of the national pavilion activities. According to assessment of the head of the Ukrainian pavilion, over 3,5 million persons visited pavilion of Ukraine during work of Expo-2010.

The contract and legal framework of the Ukraine-China relations accounts for over 170 documents of interstate, intergovernmental, and inter-branch level, among which more than 50 regulate cooperation in the trade and economic sphere.

Relations of Ukraine with Japan in Political and Trade and Economic Sphere

Japan recognized independence of Ukraine on December 28, 1991 and established diplomatic relations with our country on January 26, 1992.

Visits at the highest and high levels became the most considerable events of the mutual relations.

On March 22–25, 1995 the President of Ukraine L. D. Kuchma made an official visit to Japan, which established a political basis for cooperation between the two countries, and its prime result was signing of the Joint Statement between Ukraine and Japan.

Basis of the contractual and legal framework for mutual relations was established by signing of exchange letters by heads of foreign policy departments of both countries with regard to legal succession by Ukraine of a series of contracts concluded between the former USSR and Japan.

On July 19–24, 2005, the President of Ukraine V.A. Yushchenko made an official visit to Japan, which brought the whole complex of bilateral Ukraine-Japan relations up to the brand new partner level. Following the results of negotiations, the President of Ukraine and the Prime Minister of Japan signed the Joint Statement for new partnership in 21st century. In addition, during the visit par-

ties signed Bilateral Protocol on access to the commodity and services markets between Ukraine and Japan within the framework of Ukraine's WTO accession, the Memorandum of mutual understanding between the Japanese International Cooperation Bank and Ukreximbank with regard to opening of the credit facility in the amount of 50 million US dollars for development of Ukraine-Japan trade in the private sector.

On March 25–26, 2009, the Prime Minister of Ukraine Yu. V. Tymoshenko arrived in Japan on a working visit. During the visit heads of the governments made the Joint Statement following the results of negotiations. They also signed the Memorandum of Mutual Understanding between the State EXIM Bank of Ukraine and the Japanese Agency of Export and Investment Insurance (NEXI) with regard to insurance of Japanese export to Ukraine.

On January 18–21, 2011, upon invitation of the Japanese government, the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovych arrived in Japan on official visit establishing thereby the brand new preconditions for intensification and expansion of the bilateral cooperation envisaged by the parties in the outcome joint document. The Joint Statement signed during the visit with regard to Ukraine-Japan global partnership became the basic document of mutual relations at the present stage, which specifies cooperation priorities between Ukraine and Japan and the program for implementation of priorities in the nearest and medium-term perspective. It is the first document in the history of the Ukrainian diplomacy, which defines a level of bilateral cooperation as the 'global partnership'.

An important result of the visit was signing of the Credit Agreement between the State EXIM Bank of Ukraine and Japanese Bank of International Cooperation on providing the credit in the amount of 8 billion Japanese yen (100 million US dollars for facilitating export of goods and services to Japan and supporting economic development in Ukraine.

In the context of keeping stable political dialogue active cooperation developed between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

On June 30 – July 1, 1996, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan Yu. Ikeda made an official visit to Ukraine.

On May 18–20, 1997, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine G. J. Udovenko made an official visit to Japan, during which the parties signed Memorandum on Creation of the Japanese Center in

Ukraine. In March 1998, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine G. J. Udovenko visited Tokyo as a Chairman of 52nd General Assembly of the United Nations.

On August 31 – September 2, 2003, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan Y. Kawaguchi paid a visit to Ukraine, during which the parties signed Joint Communiqué between Ukraine and Japan.

Within the framework of visit of the President of Ukraine V. A. Yushchenko to Japan in July 2005, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine B. I. Tarasyuk and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan N. Matimura discussed the current issues of bilateral relations.

On June 30 – July 1, 2006, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan T. Aso arrived in Ukraine on official visit. During the visit, the first (constituent) meeting of Ukrainian-Japanese Cooperation Committee at a level of ministers of foreign affairs was convened. Following the results of meeting, the parties signed Memorandum on operation of the Ukrainian-Japanese Cooperation Committee at a level of ministers of foreign affairs.

In 2006, the parties initiated mechanism for conducting the political consultations at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs devoted exclusively to current international issues and global and regional safety.

On March 24–26, 2008, the second meeting of the Ukrainian-Japanese Cooperation Committee at a level of ministers of foreign affairs in Tokyo was convened under the chairmanship of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Japan V. S. Ogryzko and M. Komura. The Joint Statement signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine V. S. Ogryzko and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan M. Komura was the main result of this visit.

In January and February 2010, during the international events in London and Munich, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine P. O. Poroshenko held the meetings with state secretaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan T. Fukuyama and K. Takemasu.

During visit of the President of Ukraine V. F. Yanukovych to Japan in January 2011, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. I. Grishchenko conducted negotiations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan S. Maehara.

Mutual relations between the two countries develop new forms of co-operation, sphere of interests is expanding, cooperation mechanisms are being established and improved.

Dialogue at the level of parliament heads of two countries started in 1997 when D. Saito, President of Chamber of Advisers to the Parliament of Japan arrived in Ukraine on official visit.

On May 26–29, 2003, Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine V. G. Litvin made an official visit to Japan.

Japan is traditionally among the first five primary foreign trade partners of Ukraine in the South Pacific region.

Trade volume between Ukraine and Japan continuously grew until 2008. In 2001 to 2008, the sales turnover increased almost by 12.5 times, having reached 2.9 billion US dollars that became the largest indicator for the whole history of mutual relations. However, high growth rate of the bilateral sales turnover occurred owing predominantly to rapid increase of import of the Japanese goods to Ukraine (especially in 2006–2008), namely, motor cars and accessories, at the same time Ukrainian export to Japan tended to insignificant growth. This situation resulted in increase of negative balance for Ukraine in 2008 to 2670.3 million US dollars.

In 2009–2010, the world financial crisis caused falling of a bilateral sales turnover volume, especially on the import side. Sharp decline in import volume against insignificant reduction of export figures led to considerable reducing of the negative balance indicator (in 2009, the negative balance constituted 408.3 million US dollars, in 2010 – 696.97 million US dollars).

Traditional basis in the bilateral trade is almost 90 % of Japanese import of motor vehicles and high-tech equipment. Structure of the Ukrainian export over the recent years includes predominantly ferrous metals, aluminum and items made of aluminum, plant products (corn, barley, wheat), minerals and chemicals. The items of Ukrainian export to Japan include dried milk and items made of titanium.

As at the end of 2010, Ukraine registered 24 enterprises with the Japanese capital. Since 2001, the volume of direct investments from Japan to Ukraine increased 45 times (from 2.88 to 130.74 million US dollars).

Among powerful Japanese business structures presented in Ukraine, it is worth mentioning the representative offices of the Japan leading trading houses: *Sumitomo*, *Itochu*, *Mitsui*, *Marubeni*, *Mitsubishi*, *Sojitz*, trade missions of the motor-car manufacturers: *Isuzu*, *Nissan Motors*, *Honda Motors*, *Subaru-Ukraine*, *Toyota* and the industrial and production company «Mitsubishi Heavy Industries».

Ukrainian industrial and trading holding *Bohdan* and Japanese corporations *Isuzu* and *Sojitz* developed successful cooperation in manufacturing *Bogdan* medium-size buses and *Isuzu-Elf* trucks in Lutsk and Cherkassy regions.

Implementation of the projects in accordance with the green investments schemes (GIS) and joint implementation (JI) under the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention is one of the most promising areas of investment cooperation between Ukraine and Japan.

On July 14, 2008, the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Japan signed in Kiev the Memorandum about cooperation in implementation of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol that established a foundation for further negotiations on the cap-and-trade emissions trading, the so-called 'Assigned Amount Unit' (AAU) for GIS.

On March 18, 2009, the National Agency of Ecological Investments of Ukraine and the Organization for Development of New Types of Energy and Industrial Technologies of Japan concluded the AAU Purchase Agreement for Green Investment Scheme for the total amount of 300 million Euro. As a result of this Agreement implementation, the Japanese government transferred to the state budget of Ukraine in June 2009 and July 2010 investments in the amount of 300 million Euro for implementation of the projects facilitating direct or indirect reduction of harmful emission of greenhouse gases in the power supply, housing and communal services, coal mining sphere, natural gas transportation system and other spheres. In addition, three Japanese electric companies purchased in Ukraine the AAU for the amount of 140 million Euro in 2009. Moreover, Japanese companies implemented in Ukraine four 'general implementation' projects within the framework of the Kyoto protocol implementation.

Ukraine and Japan attained substantial advance in institutional building of economic cooperation. So, starting from 2007 Ukraine is represented in the Business Federation *Keidanren*, the most influential economic organization of Japan in a separate committee, which since July 2008 is headed by G. Oka, head of one of the leading Japanese commercial and industrial corporations *Sumitomo*. Since 2008, joint meetings of Coordination Council for Economic Cooperation with Japan under the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine and Committee on business cooperation with Ukraine *Keidanren* have been convened on a regular basis.

Cooperation in the crediting and financial sphere as developed in three prime directions is an important element of economic cooperation with Japan: 1) new soft loans and grants within the framework of the Official Assistance for Developments (OAD) program of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA); 2) export credits of Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC); 3) the financial assistance within the framework of cooperation with the international financial organizations.

On 29 March 2005, the parties signed constituent agreements on attracting new intergovernmental credit for implementation of the first OAD project – Reconstruction of International Airport *Borispil*. In accordance with the agreement, the government of Japan provided to the government of Ukraine a credit in the amount of 19 billion yen (almost 173 million US dollars) for 30 years, out of which first 10 years are grace period (for 1,5 % interest rate). In 2009, builders started construction of new passenger terminal ‘A’, which should be completed prior to the Euro-2012 championship.

In addition, starting from 1997 Ukraine regularly receives the technical assistance from the government of Japan within the framework of OAD program in the form of grants aimed towards development of cultural initiatives in Ukraine, assistance for implementation of small projects, remedying the consequences of the natural disasters; attraction of Japanese experts-advisers, training of the Ukrainian specialists in Japan, seminars about nuclear safety, project and non-project cooperation, etc. Priorities of the Japanese party are development of culture and arts, education, environment protection, health care as well as support of economic reforms, de-

velopment of banking and financial sector, re-structuring of an industrial policy. Since establishment of diplomatic relations, the total amount of technical assistance (grants) within the framework of OAD program has constituted over 150 million US dollars.

The considerable potential of cooperation development in the crediting and financial sphere is realized on the basis of the international financing schemes by Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) and large scale joint projects. In December 1995, Ukraine and EXIM Bank of Japan signed two agreements with regard to provision of the export (commodity) credit in the amount equivalent to 150 million US dollars and the consolidated credit in the amount equivalent to 50 million US dollars.

In 2005, JBIC approved its resolution about opening of the new line of credit to OJSC *Ukreximbank* and specifying limit in the amount of 28.5 million US dollars. During the visit of the President of Ukraine to Japan on January 18–21, 2011, JBIC and *Ukreximbank* signed the new credit agreement for a total amount of 80 billion yen (approximately 100 million US dollars) for shipment of the Japanese industrial equipment.

Cooperation with the government of Japan with attraction of the international financial organizations was of great importance under conditions of the world crisis. According to the Ministry of Finance of Japan, Ukraine received the third tranche of IMF (3,3 billion US dollars) at the expense of initiative contribution by the government of Japan in the amount of 100 billion US dollars to the IMF fund in February 2009 for support of the countries, suffering most of all from the world crisis aftermaths.

Results of 20-year-old mutual relations of Ukraine with Poland

Bringing the relations with the Republic of Poland up to the level of strategic partnership became one of the most considerable achievements of domestic diplomacy since acquiring independence by the Ukrainian state.

As far back as in the joint declaration of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Poland of 1994 the parties recognized that “existence of independent Ukraine has a strategic significance for Poland and is the essential factor, which facilitates independence

of Poland in the same way as existence of independent Poland has strategic significance for Ukraine”.

This mutual conscious choice urged both parties not only to all-round intensification of cooperation, but also to necessity of final overcoming of negative historical stereotypes in perception of Ukrainians and Poles, which existed at that time in the societies of both countries.

As early as in the Joint Statement of Presidents of Ukraine and Republic of Poland *Towards Consent and Unification* of May 21, 1997 the parties stated that “Ukraine and Poland are the sovereign states, good neighbors, strategic partners” and our states will make efforts so that “the consciousness of young Ukrainians and Poles are not burdened by memoirs on the tragic periods of common history. Let following generations live in the joint European house, which reserves no space for prejudice”.

Specifics of the Ukraine-Poland strategic partnership consists in the fact that its value, possibilities and interests expressively expand beyond the framework of bilateral dimensions. Today its durability is caused by common nature of positions of both states with regard to key issues of supporting safety and stability in Europe, comprehension of exclusive value of dynamic development in mutual relations for implementation of an effective policy of rapprochement among EU and its eastern neighbors.

Regarding the major practical results of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation reached by now, there are good reasons to distinguish:

1. Achievement of classic political dialogue at the highest level, which is more intense in comparison with other foreign partners of our country. Due to this fact, Ukraine and Poland have no essential contradictions in opinions upon key issues of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

2. Development and active work of the branched out network of continuous institutional mechanisms of bilateral cooperation, mutual aspiration of the parties to ongoing improvement of existing and search for new formats of cooperation.

3. Creation of comprehensive network of regulatory legal framework in all aspects of bilateral cooperation, which today account for 125 international contracts, as well as over 450 bilateral arrangements among subjects of the administrative and territorial structure of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland.

4. Bringing cooperation between Kiev and Warsaw in the field of the European integration (especially, after Poland accession to EU on May 1, 2004) to the unprecedented level in comparison with other European partners of Ukraine. Poland not only provides support to our state in the political dialogue with EU, but also actively renders the essential technical and financial assistance to Ukraine, institutional help within the framework of European integration programs implementation.

5. Initiating by Poland (together with Sweden) the 'Eastern Partnership Initiative, which clearly distinguishes a region of the Eastern Europe and, first of all, Ukraine under implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy and, in case of its effective implementation, can provide to our country additional resources for accomplishment of the social and economic reforms and EU integration plans.

6. Bringing the level of trade cooperation with Republic of Poland among the top trading partners of Ukraine within the countries of Central and East Europe and the fourth position among all countries of the world. Suchwise, external bilateral commodity trade volume in 2010 increased by 35.2 % from the level of 2009 and constituted 4.57 billion US dollars that allows reaching soon pre-crisis level of sales turnover, which in 2008 totaled more than 5 billion US dollars.

7. Unprecedented, among the Ukrainian partners in EU, convergence of the investments, which volume (almost 1 billion US dollars from each party) is quite significant for both countries that traditionally are not investors. In this case, as at January 1, 2011, the total amount of Ukrainian direct investments abroad did not exceed 7 billion US dollars.

8. An active and sustainable position of Warsaw in the issue of liberalization of visa regime between Ukraine and EU, which ultimately facilitated adoption of the corresponding Action Plan during the summit Ukraine – EU in Brussels in the autumn of 2010. In this context, it is necessary to remember signing of the Intergovernmental Agreement on rules of the local border traffic dated March 28, 2008, as well as reduction by the Polish Party on March 1, 2011 of the payment amount for national visas to our citizens by 40 % – from 35 to 20 Euro (the most favorable conditions among the post-Soviet territory countries).

9. Victory of the joint application of Ukraine and Poland in competition for hosting cup final of the European football championship Euro-2012, which opened a way to realization of the large-scale infrastructural and humanitarian projects in our countries, intensification of investment cooperation with foreign partners. In addition, it is impossible to overestimate image significance of Euro-2012 championship as an opportunity to globally promote traditions, culture and history of the Ukrainian people and country.

10. The maximum simplification since December, 1st, 2010 of procedure of temporary employment of citizens of Ukraine in the Republic Poland which has great value considering certain complexity of a social and economic situation in Ukraine at the given stage.

11. Development of a wide network of the joint Ukrainian-Polish projects directed towards active cooperation between educational and scientific institutions of Ukraine and Poland, youth exchange between the two countries. In addition to the corresponding currently implemented programs of Schuman Fund, PITA, PAUCI, the program *Polish-Ukrainian youth exchange* is successfully under way.

12. Non-admission of destructive influences of the radical organizations activity in both countries upon the character and essence of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, which demanded considerable diplomatic and professional efforts, joint work of historians, political scientists, representatives of public organizations. Convening the joint ceremonies with participation of Presidents of Ukraine and Republic of Poland on paying the tribute to the memory of victims of the Volyn tragedy in Ukrainian village Pavlivka on July 11, 2003 and opening the memorial to the Ukrainian victims in Polish village Pavlokoma in 2006 marked a milestone in this way. Special attention in this context is paid to the work of a public Forum of Ukrainian-Polish partnership begun on February 25, 2011 under patronage of heads of foreign policy departments of both countries.

Recognizing obvious achievements of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, it is necessary to notice that over the last decades, expectations of both parties with regard to the substance of the strategic partnership have endured certain transformation. The Polish vision of the further relations development with Ukraine loses emotions dominating during the first years of development of interstate relations and becomes more and more realistic.

Official visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovych to the Republic of Poland on February 3–4, 2011, which confirmed commitment of both parties to further development of real strategic partnership, became the convincing proof of the Ukrainian-Polish relations reaching the brand new pragmatic level at the beginning of new decade. Visit displayed real commitment and readiness of the Polish party at the highest political level to be the active and consistent partner of Ukraine in all aspects of interaction with EU, first of all, during presidency of Poland in the European Union in the second half of 2011. It also fostered further intensification of an economic component of the bilateral partnership.

Main objective of the parties today is to take an ample advantage of opportunities for bilateral cooperation for constant economic growth and overcoming actual threats in the sphere of international safety. The successful experience gained over the previous years proves prospects for the further development of strategic partnership of Ukraine and Poland.

Achieved sizeable results of the Ukrainian-Polish strategic partnership shall further grow owing to consolidation of efforts of the parties in the priority decisions, namely:

1. Intensification of interaction, utilization of Warsaw influences within the framework of the Visegrád Group, Weimar Triangle and European Union for successful completion of negotiations with EU concerning agreement on association and free trade area creation, as well as practical implementation of the Action Plan on visa regime liberalization between Ukraine and the European Union.

2. Intensification of the dialogue directed towards developing of joint approaches and action plans in the sphere of power safety (preserving and strengthening of positions of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland as key energy transit countries in the region) and the European security.

3. Expansion of bilateral trading and investment cooperation; tunneling the future investments from Poland into domestic high-tech areas in the first place, production with a high share of the added value.

4. Comprehensive resolution of the issues pertaining to functioning of the joint border, which in 2010 only served almost 13 million persons and more than 5 million vehicles in both directions. As this takes place, there are urgent issues to be resolved including devel-

opment of the corresponding border infrastructure, introduction of the joint border guard and customs control and construction of the additional check points, extension of application of the Agreement on joint local border traffic.

5. Further work in the sphere of international reconciliation and consolidation, in particular, by way of effective utilization of opportunities provided by newly established public forum of the Ukrainian-Polish partnership.

6. Utilization of the powerful potential of inter-regional cooperation, implementation of joint projects in the framework of Euro regions and corresponding programs of trans-border cooperation with the European Commission.

First twenty years of mutual relations between Ukraine and Poland as the independent states deserve to be called a success story.

Relations of Ukraine with the Republic of Hungary. Results of twenty year relations, problems and prospects for development of mutual relations

Among important partners of Ukraine the Republic of Hungary occupies a strategic place.

On December 6, 1991, the Basic Treaty was signed laying the grounds for good neighborhood and cooperation between Ukraine and Hungary. The Treaty became effective on June 16, 1993. This important document was the first interstate treaty, which sovereign Ukraine concluded with other foreign state. As of today, Ukraine and Hungary signed 76 bilateral documents.

Bilateral Ukrainian-Hungarian relations have stable positive nature and escaped problems, which may not be resolved in a friendly and good neighborhood manner. Political dialogue is characterized by intensity and constructivism as well as by orientation towards concrete results. Official Budapest continuously supports European integration aspirations of Ukraine.

In practice, the key directions of mutual relations are trade and economic cooperation, border cooperation and ensuring the rights of national minorities. The corresponding intergovernmental Ukraine-Hungary commission was established in order to realize those priorities.

By the sales turnover, Hungary for a long time occupied the second position among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (after Poland). Dynamics of trade continuously increased: in 1992 this indicator totaled 259 million US dollars and in 2008 it exceeded 3 billion dollars. Under the impact of the world financial crisis, the sales turnover in 2009 decreased almost by half, but in 2010 growth tendency developed and following the results of the year the volume of mutual trade exceeded 2 billion US dollars.

Ukraine traditionally imports medical products, equipment and mechanisms for machine-building, products of the electronic industry, textile materials and items, agricultural commodities, polymeric materials, vehicles, etc. It exports the equipment for nuclear station in Paks, other items of mechanical engineering, chemical products, wooden items, basic metals and steel profiles, plant products, construction materials, etc. Over the previous years, the condition of investment cooperation considerably improved. There are many Hungarian enterprises operating in the territory of Ukraine, among them the sizeable share is occupied by the pharmaceutical, construction, machine engineering industry enterprises. Hungarian OTP Bank is a significant investor into Ukraine as it started its activity in 2006 in the country. Among the Ukrainian investors in Hungary, most prominent is Corporation *Industrial Union of Donbas*, which in 2004 acquired the largest enterprise in Hungary *Dunaferr*, metallurgical industrial complex.

The countries effectively develop inter-regional cooperation. Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, Zakarpatie, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lugansk, Cherkassy oblasts cooperate with the corresponding Hungarian regions. Among the regions, where Hungary delivers its commodities, the first position is occupied by Zakarpatie. Considerable work is conducted with regard to development of international border crossings, in particular, Tisa border crossing, reconstruction of Kyiv-Chop highway, development of the project on creation of joint industrial park in the adjacent border territories, initiated construction of a highway round the city of Beregovo for opening of one more border check point for the heavy trucks.

Important issue in the mutual relations is modernization and more effective utilization of an infrastructure potential between the two countries, first of all the main railway junction at Zagon-Chop, further development of the fifth Pan-European transportation corridor. Development of cooperation in the transportation sphere is

interesting for many countries that accommodate the fifth transportation corridor as well as for Hungary and Ukraine. This issue is also important in view of a possibility to connect the eastern part of the fifth transportation corridor with the Trans-Siberian highway. In March 2006, the parties signed in Kiev the Agreement on the connection points of the fifth European transportation corridor routes in its Hungary-Ukrainian section.

Ukraine and Hungary actively participate in implementation of the Program of border cooperation within the scope of European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument for Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine in 2007–2013 financed by the European Commission as a part of the European neighborhood policy. The program is developed jointly by the participating countries and aimed towards adoption of certain measures, which will lead to more intensive social and to economic cooperation between regions of Ukraine and corresponding EU member countries with shared border. On September 28, 2010, representative office of the Program Joint Technical Secretariat opened its doors in Uzhhorod.

The Intergovernmental Agreement on local border traffic signed on September 18, 2007 in Uzhhorod strengthened trans-border communications and minimized negative consequences of Hungary's joining Schengen zone. There are good reasons to mention that Hungary became the first country, with which Ukraine entered into such agreement.

Formation of the relevant infrastructure for fighting against catastrophic floods tending to happen more frequently in Zakarpatye area and border regions of Hungary is a pressing problem requiring joint resolution. Nowadays the countries jointly resist rough climate change: the Hungarian party financed creation of automated information-measuring system Tisa for prevention of flood consequences while Ukraine provided the required technical assistance to Hungary.

Ukraine and Hungary actively develop relations in the humanitarian sphere, in particular, in culture and arts, eternalize the memory of victims of world wars and reprisals.

Considerable work is performed on ensuring the rights of national minorities in two countries. In particular, Commission for ensuring the rights of national minorities operates for almost two decades working on the basis established in the Declaration about princi-

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine made the presentation of the photo-exhibition “The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations ”

Authors of the project: Olexandr Shulga, Head of Department of the state archives of the MFA of Ukraine, Viktor Voitovych, Ambassador of the special missions of the MFA of Ukraine



The official celebration of the Shevchenko's days by the Ukrainian delegation near Taras Shevchenko monument (Argentina). March, 2010

Illustrations applied according to the author's chronology

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Instead of the traffic lights”. Iraq.
S. Goropaha



“Eternal Memory” – The first
Ukrainian cemetery in Canada.
Author: Consul General of Ukraine
to Toronto Olexandr Danyleiko

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Sunset”. Iraq. S. Goropaha



“Welcome to the house”. The village of the Ukrainian heredity, the original house of the Ukrainian settlers.
Author: Consul General of Ukraine to Toronto Olexandr Danyleiko

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



"How to get to the Second Avenue". Hafford town. The only town in Canada, where road signs are duplicated in English. Author: Consul General of Ukraine to Toronto Olexandr Danyleiko



"Know and Do". Iraq. S. Goropaha

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



Congratulations on the 20th anniversary of the Independence, Ukraine!". Niagara Falls.
Author: Consul General of Ukraine to Toronto
Olexandr Danyleiko



Finish of the Ukrainian team at the rally
"Dakar-2011" (January, 2011). O. Pryhodko

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Everybody, Dance now” during the “Day of Ukraine” in Geren castle in Holland. April, 2010



Monument dressed in the Ukrainian traditional suite (Brussels, August, 24, 2010)

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



The Ukrainian dancers are making show in Slovakia



“Ukraine is an Antarctic country!”. The illustration was presented by the workers of the Antarctic station “Academician Vernadskyi” to the Embassy of Ukraine in Argentina

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



V. Mishalov gave the concert devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Bandura-players choir named after T. Shevchenko in Argentina. July, 2011



Embassy of Ukraine to USA, Washington. Author: V. Kravcov

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Inhabitants”. Author: S. Goropaha



Japanese ballet dancers are dancing the Ukrainian gopak during the visit of Ukrainian President V. Yanukovich to Japan. January, 2011

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



The celebration of the 65th anniversary of the discharging prisoners from the concentration camp of Dahau, Bavaria



"Hospitality in the Sahara desert". Author: Ivan Segeda

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



People give natural beauty of the Dunaj's river back, Serbia. Author: N. Markevych



“On the border-line”. Author: R. Fufalko

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



Charmed by Ukraine

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



The national Greece dancing group at the Embassy of Ukraine to Greece



“The Hudson Bay in New York”, Yuriy Tyrkus

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations

The Ukrainian people in Brazil Keep their native culture and traditions



...and the traditional Ukrainian art (children of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Brazil)



The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



**"Sorochynskij Yarmarok" (Workers of Embassy of Ukraine in USA took part in the New year show),
December, 2010**

ples of cooperation between USSR and the Republic of Hungary towards ensuring the rights of national minorities dated May 31, 1991. In order to implement the ideas outlined in the Declaration, The town Beregovo in Zakarpacie oblast opened a Hungarian professional theatre (1993). The government developed branched out network of national Hungarian schools and libraries in places of compact residing of the Hungarian minority and introduced the simplified procedures for crossing the border with Hungary, opened new check points. In order to meet the Ukrainian national minority needs, the government of Hungary opened in Budapest the weekend school and library of the Ukrainian books; it also finances activities of the Ukrainian cultural society.

Results of 20 year mutual relations of Ukraine with Romania

The history of centuries-old Ukrainian-Romanian mutual relations comes up from the hoary antiquity and is saturated with examples of the cultural and spiritual mutual enrichment of two na-

tions, establishment of dynastic marriages between princely courts and exchange of outstanding spiritual and educational persons.

Since Cossack days, Ukraine maintained ambassadorial relations with Moldova and Walachia. Exchange of diplomatic representative missions took place also between the Ukrainian National Republic and Romania. In 1918–1921, the Ukrainian mission functioned in Yassy and in due course in Bucharest, which was consequently headed by A. Galip, G. Galagan, V. Dashkevich-Gorbatsky and K. Matsievych, while generals K. Koanda and K. Kontsesku served as representatives of the Romanian government in Kiev.

On January 8, 1992, Romania recognized the state independence of Ukraine, and on February 1, 1992, two countries established the diplomatic relations. The Embassy of Ukraine to Romania started its activity on September 24, 1992 and since 2007 it includes the Cultural and Information Center of Ukraine. In December 2001, the Consulate General of Ukraine opened its doors in the city of Suceava. The Embassy of Romania to Ukraine was transformed from the Consulate General of Romania in Kiev right after diplomatic relations establishment. Ukraine has two Consulate General of Romania functioning in Chernovtsy and Odessa.

Romania occupies an important place in the foreign policy of Ukraine, which is predetermined by existence of the joint border (613.8 km), considerable potential of trade and economic relations and trans-border cooperation, presence of national minority of the other party in both countries, membership of Romania in the EU and NATO and active positions of both countries in the region. At the same time, Ukrainian-Romanian relations bear a number of problems, including ones inherited from the past that concern the national interests of the parties.

At the stage of forming the Ukrainian-Romanian relations, there were attempts to appeal to the so-called ‘historical right’ in a territorial context. However, in 1997 the parties concluded the Treaty on good neighborhood and cooperation, which confirmed the existing borders delimitation. In due course, the so-called ‘territorial issue’ was definitively removed from the agenda of mutual relations: in 2003 the parties concluded the Border Regime Agreement concerning cooperation and mutual help on border issues, and in 2009 the International Court of the United Nations adopted the decision with regard to delimitation of a continental shelf and exclusive economic zones of Ukraine and Romania in the Black Sea.

Over the last 20 years, the Ukrainian-Romanian relations experienced both revival of bilateral political dialogue, and shifting accents of foreign policy of the parties towards other directions. At the same time, development of interstate relations between Ukraine and Romania gravitated, in general, towards forming the basis of good neighborhood and mutually beneficial partnership.

As of today, the Ukrainian-Romanian relations include nine visits at the level of heads of the states, two – at the level of heads of the governments, three – at the level of heads of parliaments and ten – at the level of ministers of foreign affairs.

Institutional basis of the mutual relations architecture is represented by the Joint Ukrainian-Romanian Presidential Commission. The Commission structure includes following functioning bodies: Committee on Security, European, Euro-Atlantic and Regional Cooperation, which includes a panel for settlement of Dnister problems; Committee for cooperation in the sphere of culture, education, national minorities and public information, which comprises a panel for national minorities; Committee for protection of environment and sustainable development, which encloses the subcommittee on economic issues.

In addition to the mentioned Presidential Commission, the parties also created the Ukrainian-Romanian joint commission for economic, industrial, scientific and technical cooperation, the intergovernmental mixed Ukrainian-Romanian border commission, Mixed Ukrainian-Romanian intergovernmental commission for ensuring the rights of persons belonging to national minorities.

The primary documents of the current contractual and legal framework include:

- The Treaty on good neighborhood and cooperation between Ukraine and Romania, signed in Constance on June 2, 1997.

- The agreement between Ukraine and Romania about a regime of the Ukrainian-Romanian border, cooperation and mutual assistance on the border issues signed in Chernovtsy on June 17, 2003.

As of January 2011, Ukraine and Romania concluded over 20 documents at the interstate and intergovernmental level and 25 more interdepartmental documents, which regulate the whole range of bilateral cooperation.

Currently Ukraine and Romania are involved in negotiating 17 more draft bilateral contracts and agreements in various spheres.

In November 2010, the heads of foreign policy departments of two countries signed the Plan for consultations on the bilateral and international problems between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania for 2010–2011.

Trade and economic relations between Ukraine and Romania develop in a dynamic manner. According to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, in 2010 the sales turnover between Ukraine and Romania constituted 1 billion 388 million US dollars, out of which 720 million US dollars fell for export and 706.7 million US dollars – for import. As compared to the similar period of previous year, the sales turnover increased by 75.4 %, out of which export – by 121.8 %, import – by 39.8 %. The positive tendency continued in 2011 as well. As this takes place, Ukrainian export demonstrates priority growth rate, which level during the beginning months of the year almost two times exceeds those indicators for the similar period a year before.

At the same time, Ukrainian-Romanian relations still face a number of problem issues, both inherited and acquired.

Especially sensitive is a problem of ensuring the rights and needs of the corresponding national minorities (Ukrainian and Romanian) in both countries.

Ukrainian state fully meets the requirements of native Romanians in the sphere of education, culture, religions, radio and TV broadcasting, publishing of the native books, textbooks and periodicals.

In cooperation with the Romanian party in this sphere the most pressing issue still is a necessity for the Romanian side to take additional measures in order to preserve national identity by native Ukrainians in Romania, which are rapidly losing it because Ukrainian schools are not available and there is neither religious service conducted in Ukrainian, nor radio and TV programs in Ukrainian are in place etc.

Ukrainian party hopes that the joint Ukrainian-Romanian monitoring of a condition of ensuring the rights of native Romanians in Ukraine and Ukrainians – in Romania, which is conducted with participation of the OSCE and the Council of Europe, will pro-

duce upon its completion a comprehensive situational assessment of these minorities status and propose specific steps for ensuring the cultural and educational, religious and information requirements of Ukrainians in Romania.

Though Ukraine fulfils requirements of the international conventions on protection of the trans-border environment in connection with restoration of navigable waterway 'Danube river – Black Sea', the Romanian party continues to claim the expedience of this project implementation by Ukraine, referring to it presumable environmental threat. At the same time, the Romanian party still has not determined their position with regard to Ukrainian proposal of 2008 about conducting the joint monitoring of environment both in Ukrainian and Romanian parts of the Danube delta.

Meanwhile, Ukrainian deep-water navigable waterway proved its competitiveness and economic appeal for international carriers evidenced by the number of ship passage through the waterway (1413 in 2009), whereas only 1081 vessels passed Sulinski channel (Romania) during the same year. The similar situation with vessel passages for the benefit of Ukrainian waterway continued into 2010.

Similar strategic orientation of Ukraine and Romania in strengthening stability, security and cooperation in region and on the continent in general, membership and active position in the authoritative international organizations form the solid foundation for development of modern relations between the two states on the basis of the European democratic values.

Results of 20 year mutual relations of Ukraine with Republic of Bulgaria

The Republic of Bulgaria recognized independence of Ukraine on December 5, 1991. Diplomatic relations were established on December 13, 1991. Treaty on friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and Bulgaria dated October 5, 1992 underlies the interstate cooperation of the two countries.

Relations between the countries develop in the spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and support. In 1998, Ukraine and Bulgaria signed the Declaration on further development and deepening cooperation between two countries, in which the parties con-

firmed their intention to develop cooperation and strategic partnership.

Bulgaria occupies an important place in view of the interests of Ukraine in the region of Southeast Europe and Black Sea owing to its geopolitical position, membership in the NATO and EU, and similarity of interests in the Black Sea and Danube region. Kiev and Sofia are connected by ethnic, language and religious likeness. Ukraine accommodates the largest Bulgarian Diaspora in the world.

The countries actively develop bilateral cooperation in the political sphere. So, Vice-President of Bulgaria A. Marin came to Ukraine in 2010 to participate in the inauguration ceremony of the President of Ukraine V. F. Yanukovich; heads of two counties, V. F. Yanukovich and G. Pirvanov, had bilateral meeting within the framework of the OSCE Summit.

Inter-parliamentary cooperation between two countries is characterized by a high level of interaction. In September 2010, the Head of National Assembly of Bulgaria T. Tsacheva made an official visit to Ukraine. In turn, Deputy Head of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine M. Tomenko and delegation of Verkhovna Rada Committee for health care stayed in Bulgaria on working visits.

Bulgaria displays constructive and consistent support of the European integration policy of Ukraine and cooperation of our country with NATO. The Ukrainian-Bulgarian relations demonstrate mutual support in cooperation with the international and regional organizations (the United Nations, OSCE, CE, PACE, CEI, OBSEC).

Interaction in numerous spheres of bilateral cooperation is regulated by specific agreements (there are 90 at present) in political, trade and economic, scientific and technical, military, cultural and humanitarian and other spheres. At the same time, the parties continuously work towards further development of the contractual and legal framework. During 2010, Ukraine and Bulgaria signed 8 bilateral documents.

Trade and economic sphere is a priority in relations between Ukraine and Bulgaria. In 2001, the total sales turnover constituted 363.7 million US dollars, in 2008 it reached a record indicator — approximately 1.3 billion US dollars. Unfortunately, the world financial and economic crisis, which caused industrial production

recession, had a negative impact on volumes of the Ukrainian-Bulgarian sales turnover.

In 2010, the Ukrainian export of commodities to Bulgaria constituted 450.9 million US dollars, import to Ukraine – 217.9 million US dollars. Thus, the total sales turnover between the two countries (commodities) in 2010 constituted 668.8 million US dollars (increase by 22.2 % in comparison with 2009).

Positive foreign trade balance by results of 2010 constituted 232.9 million US dollars for Ukraine and is actually the largest (except Italy) positive balance of Ukraine in its trade with the individual country of Europe.

In the end of 2010, a company *Prista Oil* expressed its intention to implement in Ukraine the second large investment project on creation of the national system for collection of the waste industrial lubricant oils with their further processing. According to the pre-design technical and economic calculations, at the first stage the company plans to perform the investment in the amount of 65 million US dollars, on the second – up to 130 million US dollars. Implementation of the investment project will allow creating 50 new jobs for highly skilled workers and additional 200 jobs in the system of collecting the waste lubricant oils.

On October 12, 2010, the factory constructed by Bulgarian JSC *KAOLIN* was officially opened in Oleshnja (Chernihiv oblast). The company extracts and enriches quartz sand further used as raw material for production of glass and construction materials. The total cost of the investment of the Bulgarian firm constituted 15 million US dollars.

The mentioned Bulgarian company plans to implement a new project in Ukraine providing at the first stage the investment of 1 million US dollars for exploitation of quartz sand deposit *Burjakivske* (Zaporizhzhya oblast) with further construction a factory in Orehiv (Zaporizhzhya oblast) at the second stage of the investment project.

Now Ukraine registered 200 enterprises with Bulgarian capital and 67 representative offices of Bulgarian companies. In turn, Bulgaria hosts 63 representative offices of the Ukrainian enterprises, firms and companies, in particular, *Aerosvit*, Ukrainian Danube shipping company and others. In addition, there are 81 joint ventures with Ukrainian investments. There was a negative tendency

in 2009 when representative offices of *Ukrferri* and *Ukrzaliznytsja* companies in Varna were closed due to falling of cargo transportation volume and lack of financing that reduces level of the Ukrainian presence in the Bulgarian market.

Intensification of the mentioned direction of bilateral cooperation needs to be considered as an opportunity to create in the territory of Bulgaria joint ventures for production of Ukrainian commodities (large metallurgical industrial complex PROMET-STEEL, owned by the company METINVEST with Ukrainian capital successfully operates in Burgas; the Ukrainian-Bulgarian joint venture EVIFRUSICH (M. Frunze SPE and MOTOR-SICH are Ukrainian companies in this JV) initiated supply of goods for modernization of gas-compressor stations *Kardam* and *Lozenets* in Bulgaria under the 30 million Euro contract; similar work is initiated with KRAZ and *Bogdan* companies; promotion of high-tech products of the Ukrainian aviation exporters to the market of the country (AN-148 middle class aircraft poses certain interest for the Bulgarian and Balkan markets), the ship-building industry, mechanical engineering, military and industrial complex enterprises; cooperation in agrarian sector (opportunity to purchase grain).

Kirovograd scientific and production association *Radii* successfully completed basic stage of 5 and 6 block safety system modernization at the nuclear power plant *Kozlodui* under the 67.7 million Euro contract in 2010 using the Ukrainian equipment which evidences a real opportunity for growing high-tech commodity export to Bulgaria.

In November 2010, delegation of the Krjukovskii wagon-building factory held in Sofia negotiations with the relevant Bulgarian entities concerning the tender announced by the Sofia underground on purchase of 18 railcars for new underground line using the EU funds in compliance with the Operational program *Transport* (approximate amount of purchase is 35–40 million Euro).

On December 6–7, 2010, the Ukrainian-Bulgarian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation gathered for its 6th session in Kiev. For various reasons the Commission did not hold its session for about 7 years. During this meeting, the parties discussed bilateral cooperation in the areas of economy, power, trade, tourism, standardization and metrology, incentives for business and investment cooperation. Implementation of the Commission deci-

sions permits to considerably intensify the bilateral cooperation in all spheres.

Military and technical cooperation between the countries is directed towards an exchange of opinions in reforming the armed forces and defense system in general.

Inter-regional interaction is continuously intensified. A number regions (9) and cities (almost 30) in Ukraine and Bulgaria signed agreements on cooperation and establishment of twin-city relations facilitating direct contacts, improved trade and economic interaction, more active interpersonal contacts, broader cooperation in the sphere of education, sciences, culture, tourism and in the local self-government area.

Cultural and humanitarian interaction between Ukraine and Bulgaria is traditionally very active. The mentioned direction is characterized by holding joint cultural events, participation of both parties in exhibitions, concerts and festivals organized in the territory of two countries; establishment and development of communications between educational institutions of two countries, in particular, at regional level; intensification of the scientific exchange between teachers and students; organization and conducting conferences and seminars with participation of representatives of both countries; signing of new agreements between universities; organization of events to celebrate outstanding dates in the history and culture of the two nations.

The Ukrainian minority in Bulgaria accounts for 5000 persons. According to the population census of 2001, 204.6 thousand ethnic Bulgarians registered themselves in the territory of Ukraine the majority compactly residing in Odessa and Zaporizhzhja oblasts.

Five officially registered societies and associations of Ukrainians function in Bulgaria: Bulgarian-Ukrainian foundation *Maty-Ukraina* (Sofia), Bulgarian-Ukrainian society *Chernomorje* (Varna), society *Diaspora-Ukraine* (Silistra), society *Dobrudja-Ukraine* (Dobrich), society *Ukrainian House* (Burgas).

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



The monument of Anna Yaroslavivna — the Queen of France, Sunlis



“Hookah men”. S. Zhurbenko, Ambassador of Ukraine to Syria

The ending of the photo-exhibition. The beginning on p. 146

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Our people is everywhere”. Football players from the Krao tribe. I. Tumasov



“Sunrise”. Morocco. A. Yanevskyi

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Idyll”, L. Mishchenko, AU to France



“Movement is life”. L. Mishchenko, AU to France

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“Every window has its own world”. Myroslava Shcherbatyuk, Director of the First territorial department of MFA of Ukraine



“Alpine lake”. Myroslava Shcherbatyuk

The Ukrainian diplomats, look on the world through their illustrations



“The West is in the East”. Yu. Gorohovska, AU to Japan



Italy, Como lake. A. Kornuh

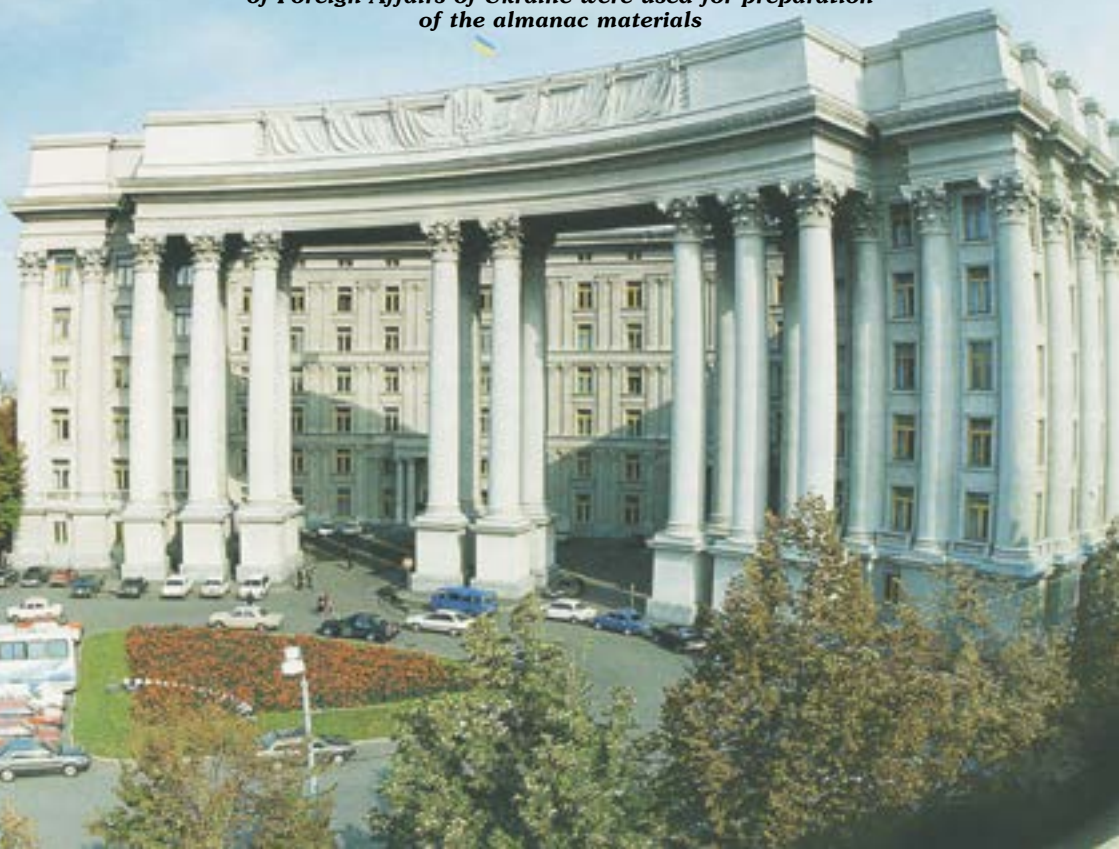


Diplomatic corps of Ukraine

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of Ukraine in the foreign countries

**Biographic information is presented as of September 1, 2011.
Data about possible changes in composition of the heads
of diplomatic missions along with their biographic data
will be provided in the next issues of the almanac.**

***Data of the Department of the State Protocol of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine were used for preparation
of the almanac materials***



Australia

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary: Oleksandr Mischenko (2004–2005)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since March 2007**

Valentyn Adomaitis



Born on February 23, 1953 in the City of Kyiv.

In 1978 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv specializing in Romance and Germanic languages and literature, philologist.

Married, has a daughter. High proficiency in English, moderate proficiency in French.

01.1972–09.1972 — electric car operator at the electric car repair plant in Kyiv.

1974–1977 — escort interpreter of English at the Kyiv Association of the USSR State Committee on International Tourism (seasonal work along with University study).

1979–1982 — senior resource man at the section of international sport events and reception of foreign delegations of the Department of Sport Events Organization at the State Committee on Physical Culture and Sport at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR.

1982–1985 — engineer and interpreter at the Commercial and Legal Department of the Soviet Construction and Mounting Organization “Tyazhpromeksport” in t. Adjaokuta, Nigeria. 1985–1992 — administrative assistant, senior administrative assistant, specialist, deputy head of the Department for Asia, Africa and Latin America countries at the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries.

1992–1993 — the first secretary, advisor, acting head of the Department of the Asian and APAC countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — political advisor at the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of India.

1994–1998 — deputy head of the Third Territorial Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (Asian, African and APAC countries).

1998–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of India.

2001–2004 — President of the Corporation “Etalon” in Kyiv. Director of the Department on Foreign Relations at the CJSC “Etalon-Grupa” in Kyiv.

2004–2005 — director of the “Berch Contracting Inc.” Company office in Ukraine. Director’s advisor at the state foreign economic firm “Ukrinmach”.

2005–2007 — director of the First Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Ambassador-at-large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

The Republic of Austria

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine: Volodymyr Ohryzko (1999–2005); Volodymyr Yelchenko (2005–2008); Yevhen Chornobryvko (2008–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2010**

Andrii Bereznyi



Born on December 4, 1958 in the City of Kyiv. Graduated from the Military Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Army (Moscow, 1989), Kyiv Higher Air Defence Missile Engineering School (Kyiv, 1981), course on trading policy at the George Town University in Washington.

1976–1992 — service in the USSR Military Forces.

1992–1995 — expert, economist, head of the unit, deputy head of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of Ukraine.

1994–1997 — head of the Department for Multilateral Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade of Ukraine, executive secretary of the WTO Accession Interdepartmental Committee.

1998–1998 — deputy director of the CJSC “Legal Firm Specter and Partners”.

1998–1999 — head of the Department of Foreign Economic Relations of the National Stock Company Naftogaz Ukrainy.

1999–2000 — director of the CJSC National Gas Company, Kyiv.

2000–2003 — head of TEM at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Switzerland Confederation.

2003–2006 — Deputy Minister of Economy of Ukraine.

2007–2007 — advisor of the OJSC Machine-Building Plant Fakel, Kyiv.

2007–2008 — director of the Company LTD Torgovy Dim PROMFININVEST, Kyiv.

2008–2009 — corporate management and control director of the CJSC Ukrainian Mobile Communication (MTC Ukraine).

2009–2010 — development director of the Company LTD Association of Exporters and Importers.

2009–2010 — pro bono assistant of the people’s deputy of Ukraine, advisor of the President of the National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce.

The Republic of Azerbaijan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Borys Alekseenko (1999–2004); Stepan Volkovetsky (2006–2008);
Borys Klymchuk (2008–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since February 2011**

Oleksandr Mischenko



Born on August, 1964 in town Tuapse of the Krasnodar krai in the Russian Federation.

Graduated from (1) the Donetsk Higher Military-Political School (1985) and trained as an officer with higher military and political background, teacher of history and social science and (2) the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv (1995) specializing in law. Finished post-graduation course of the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv (1999), PhD (law).

Proficient in English, Polish and Turkish.

Married, has a daughter.

Awards: Medal of Valour for Protection of the State Frontier of Ukraine (2001), Badge of Merit of the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Ukraine (1999), Certificate of Honor of the Council of the National Security and Defense of Ukraine (December 2010).

1981–1985 — attendee of the Donetsk Higher Military-Political School.

1985–1989 — service in the USSR Military Forces.

1989–1993 — head of the Department of International Relations at the Ivan Franko State University of Lviv.

1993–1994 — the second secretary of the Consular Directorate of the Ministry of External Affairs of Ukraine

1994–1995 — the first secretary of the Consular Directorate of the Ministry of External Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1996 — counselor of the Consular Directorate of the Ministry of External Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–1996 — acting head of the department, head of the department of the Consular Directorate of the Ministry of External Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–2000 — acting consul general, consul general of Ukraine in Istanbul.

2000–2001 — deputy head of the Consular Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — Consul Ambassador, temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland.

2002–2003 — Ambassador-at-large of the Department of Ambassadors-at-Large and Principal Counsellors of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — Consul Ambassador, temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine in Australia.

2004–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Australia

2005–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Turkey.

2008–2011 — director of the Fourth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Algerian People's Democratic Republic

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Mykhailo Dashkevych (1999–2004); Serhii Borovyk (2004–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2009**

Valerii Kirdoda



Born on January 6, 1961 in village Hel'myaziv of Zolotonosha raion, Cherkassy oblast.

1983 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, international lawyer, information officer and interpreter of French.

Married, has two sons.

1983–1984 — engineer of the Ukr.SSR State Committee on Supplies.

1984–1989 — interpreter, head of the deanery unit for working with foreign students at the Taras Shevchenko

National University of Kyiv .

1990–1991 — the third secretary of the Consular Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1991–1993 — the third and second secretary of the personnel department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Kingdom of Belgium.

1996–2001 — head of the Protocol Sector at the Office of the Prime-Minister of Ukraine at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

2001–2005 — the first secretary on consular issues at the Embassy of Ukraine in the Kingdom of Morocco.

2006–2008 — counselor at the Department of Staff Training and Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2008–2009 — head of the Department of Staff Training and Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Argentine Republic

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Oleksandr Maidannik (2001–2004); Oleksandr Nikonenko (2004–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since April 2008**

Oleksandr Taranenko



Born on November 24, 1947, Kyiv.

In 1969 graduated from the Central University of the Republic of Cuba, in 1970 — the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, in 1988 — the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Proficient in English and Spanish. Married, has two sons.

1973–1992 — various diplomatic assignments from attaché to the head of the State Protocol Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1979–1984 — the P-V level employee of the UN Secretariat, UN General Secretary Office, New York, first deputy head of the UN Protocol.

1992–1994 — deputy head of the Department for Foreign Relations at the Kyiv City State Administration.

1994–1995 — chief counselor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Kyiv.

1995–1997 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Cuba.

1997–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Spain with concurrent accreditation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Principality of Andorra.

2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Mexican States.

2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Guatemala with concurrent accreditation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Panama.

2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Costa Rica (concurrent accreditation).

2006–2007 — Ambassador-at-large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2008 — director of the EU Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Kingdom of Belgium

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodymyr Khandohii (2000–2006); Yaroslav Koval' (2006–2008);
Yevhen Bersheda (2008–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
from July, 2010**

Ihor Dolhov



Born on June 6, 1957 in the town Slavuta, Khmelnytskaya oblast. In 1980 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, philologist, lecturer, PhD (philology).

1974–1975 — technician at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR.

1975–1980 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University. 1980–1992 — assistant at the Chair of the Russian as a second language at the Taras Shevchenko National University. 1992–1993 — the first secretary of the Department for Information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — the counselor of the Department for Information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, assistant counselor of the Secretariat of the Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine. 1994–1997 — the counselor, minister-counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Finland. 1997 — acting deputy head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1997–2000 — the deputy head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — the deputy head of the Main Department of Foreign Policy of the Presidential Administration of Ukraine. 2001–2002 — the director of the Department on Policy and Security, head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2002–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Turkey. 2004–2006 — the Deputy Minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine. 2006–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Federative Republic of Germany. 2008–2009 — the head of the Main Service of Foreign Policy at the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the Information Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2010 — Ambassador-at-large at the Department for Operational Information Response of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2010 — Ambassador-at-large at the Department for Coordination of the Euro-Atlantic Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

07.2010 till now — the head of the Mission of Ukraine to the UN with concurrent accreditation.

The Republic of Belarus

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Anatolii Dron' (1998–2003); Petro Shapoval (2003–2007);
Ihor Likhovyi (2007–2010); Roman Bezsmertnyi (2010–20110)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2011**

Viktor Tikhonov



Born on March 5, 1949 in vil. Schetove, Anratsitovskiy raion, Lugansk oblast. Graduated from the Machine-Building Institute in Voroshylovograd specialising in industrial accounting, economist (1978); the Lugansk Institute of Internal Affairs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine specializing in law enforcement, lawyer (1999); PhD (law) (2004); assistant professor.

Married, has a son and two daughters.

Awards: Certificate of Honour of the Central Election Commission (2006), Certificate of Honour of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2004), the Order of Merit of the First Class (2002), Certificate of Honour of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2001), the Order of Merit of the Second Class (1999), the Order of Merit of the Third Class (1997), honoured economist of Ukraine (2004).

1965–1969 — mechanic apprentice, turner of the October Revolution Locomotive Plant in Lugansk.

1969–1971 — service in the army.

1971 — construction electrician of the assembly shop at the October Revolution Locomotive Plant in Lugansk.

1971–1976 — chief engineer-technologist of the October Revolution Locomotive Plant in Lugansk.

1976–1979 — head of the bureau for planning and economy, head of the bureau for labour organization, salary and production economy of the assembly shop at the October Revolution Locomotive Plant in Lugansk.

1979–1986 — deputy head, head of the section for labour and salary, head of the department of labour and salary the October Revolution Locomotive Plant in Lugansk.

1986–1990 — head of the Trade Union Committee, secretary of the Party Committee of the Production Association Voroshylovgradteplovozbud.

1990–1991 — the first secretary of the Lugansk Communist Party Executive Committee.

1991–1992 — the first deputy director general of the Lugansk State Commodity and Raw Material Company.

1992–1995 — director of economy, director general of the Lugansk Clothing Company Style.

1995–1998 — the first deputy head of the Lugansk Oblast State Administration.

1998–2006 — speaker of the Lugansk oblast Council of the 23rd and 24th convocations

2006–2007 — MP at the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 5th convocation.

2007–2009 — MP at the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 6th convocation.

2010 — Vice Prime-Minister of Ukraine

2010–2011 — Vice Prime-Minister of Ukraine, minister of regional development, construction , housing and public utilities of Ukraine

The Republic of Bulgaria

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
V'yacheslav Pokhvalsky (1999–2004); Yuryi Rylach (2004–2007);
Viktor Kalnik (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2011**

Mykola Baltazhi



Born on April 27, 1956 in the village Petrovske, Tarutinsky raion, Odessa oblast.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1979), specialist on foreign relations, research-translator of German and Bulgarian, PhD (history).

Proficient in Bulgarian, German and English. Married and has a daughter.

1973–1974 — art director of the House of Culture in village Petrivske, Tarutinsky raion, Odessa oblast.

1974–1979 — student of the faculty of international relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1979–1982 — post-graduate of the Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1982–1992 — junior research worker, senior research worker of the Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1992–1993 — senior research worker at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv.

1993–1997 — the first secretary at the position of the counselor, counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Lithuania.

1997–1999 — head of the Department for Political Analysis and International Information of the Main Department on Foreign Policy at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine.

1999–2000 — the deputy head of the Third Territorial Department, the head of the Section for the CEE countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2006 — counselor, consul ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Germany.

2005–2006 — temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Germany.

2006–2007 — the deputy director of the Department, head of the section on cooperation in the sphere of politics, security and defense at the EU Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2008 — the deputy director of the Department, head of the section on cooperation in the sphere of politics, security and defense at the EU Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2008–2008 — consul-ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Slovenia.

2008–2008 — the deputy director of the Department, head of the section on cooperation in the sphere of politics, security and defense at the EU Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2008–2011 — consul-ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Germany.

The Federative Republic of Brazil

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Yurii Bohaevs'kii (2001–2006); Volodymyr Lakomov (2007–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since July 2010**

Ihor Hrushko



Born on October 19, 1952 in the village Kurchitsia, Novohrad-Volynskii raion, Zhytomyr oblast. In 1975 he graduated the faculty of Romance and Germanic philology at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, researcher-translator of the Spanish and English languages.

1970–1975 — student of the faculty of Romance and Germanic philology at the the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, information officer and interpreter of the Spanish and English languages. 1975–1977 — military interpreter, the Republic of Cuba. 1977–1980 — chief editor of the State Radio and Television Committee of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1980–1983 — military interpreter, the Republic of Cuba. 1983–1991 — chief editor of the State Radio and Television Committee of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1991–1994 — observer, head of the section of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine newspaper *Holos Ukrainy*, Kyiv.

1994–1995 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Russian Federation. 1995–1999 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Russian Federation. 1999–1999 — acting head of the Information Department, head of the Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1999–2001 — head of the Press Service, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2001–2003 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Argentina.

2003–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Peru. 2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Columbia with concurrent accreditation.

2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Ecuador with concurrent accreditation.

2006–2007 — Ambassador at large on the position of the director of the Second Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2010 — director of the Second Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Vatican

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:

Nina Koval'ska (2000–2004); Grihorii Khoruzhii (2004–2007)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since March 2007**

Tetyana Izhevsk



Born on November 19, 1956 in town Pryluky, Chernihiv oblast. In 1978 she graduated the faculty of the Romance and the Germanic philology at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. PhD (philology) (1986), assistant professor. Proficient in English, French and Italian. Married, has a daughter. 1978–1979 — interpreter at the Institute of Thermodynamics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. 1979–1981 — engineer-interpreter at the Kyiv Research Institute of Radio-Measuring Devices. 1981–1986 — chief laboratory assistant, teacher, intern-researcher at the State

Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, Kyiv. 1986–1987 — post-graduate at the State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. 1986–1990 — teacher at the chair of practical English, senior lecturer at the chair of lexicology and stylistics of the State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. 1990–1993 — chief lecturer, senior assistant professor, head of the English Language Courses at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1993–1996 — stayed in the Swiss Confederation because of long-term mission of her husband (coordinator at the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the Department of UN and other international organizations on preparation of the World Conference on Women). 1997 — head of the Department for Coordination of Programs for Bilateral Cultural Cooperation at the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1997–1998 — acting head of the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1998–2001 — head of the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1998–2000 — member of the Supervisory Board for Cultural Cooperation of the European Council. 2001–2003 — stayed in the Kingdom of Belgium because of long-term mission of her husband. 2003–2005 — head of the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2004 — till now — deputy head of the National Commission on Ukraine for UNESCO. 2004 — till now — representative of Ukraine at the Council of Europe Committee on Male and Female Equality.

2005–2007 — director of the Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

March 3 2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine at Sovereign Military Order of Malta with concurrent accreditation.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodymyr Vasylenko (1998–2002); Ihor Mityukov (2002–2006);
Ihor Kharchenko (2006–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2010**

Volodymyr Khandohii



Born on February 21, 1953 in the city of Cherkassy. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1975), specialist on international relations, researcher-translator of the English language.

1970–1971 — student of the faculty of foreign languages of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1971–1975 — student of the faculty of international relations and international law of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1975–1976 — interpreter of English at the construction of the metallurgical plant by the All-Union Association Tyazhpromexport, Karachi, Pakistan.

1976–1979 — attaché, the third secretary of the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1979–1983 — attaché of the Permanent Mission of the Ukr.SSR at the UN, the City of New York, USA.

1983–1984 — the second secretary of the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1984–1985 — the second secretary of the Department of International Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1985–1988 — the first secretary of the General Secretariat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1988–1992 — the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of the USSR at the UN, the City of New York, USA.

02.1992–12.1992 — counselor of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the UN, the City of New York, USA.

1992–1994 — deputy permanent representative, acting permanent representative of Ukraine at the UN, the City of New York, USA.

1994–1995 — head of the Department of International Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Kyiv.

1995–1998 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Canada, representative of Ukraine at the International Organization of the Civil Aviation (IKAO).

01.2000–05.2000 — Ambassador-at-large of the group of ambassadors at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium and the head of the Mission of Ukraine at NATO with concurrent accreditation.

2000–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Netherlands with concurrent accreditation.

2000–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg with concurrent accreditation.

2000–2002 — permanent representative of Ukraine at the Organization on Prohibition of Chemical Weapon.

2005–2006 — director of the NATO Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2006–2007 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2010 — First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

08.2010 — till now — permanent representative of Ukraine at the International Marine Organization (IMO).

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine: Rostislav Belodid (1999–2003); Pavlo Sultans'kii (2003–2008); Ivan Dovhanych (2008–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since July 2010**

Oleksii Shovkopyas



Born on February 11, 1956 in village Svyachenivka, Dvorichanskii raion, Kharkiv oblast. Graduated from the State University of Kharkiv (1981), philologist, teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature; the Ya. Mudryi National Academy of Law (1999), lawyer.

1973–1974 — cadet of the Higher Military Aviation School of Pilots in Chernihiv. 1974–1975 — battle commander at the military unit 65386, town Horodnia, Chernihiv oblast. 1975–1976 — student of the preparation course at the State University of Kharkiv. 1976–1981 — student of the State University of Kharkiv. 1981–1986 — correspondent of the

newspaper *Leninska Zmina*, Kharkiv. 1986–1989 — editor of the Publishers' *Znanie*, Moscow. 1989–1991 — chief editor of APN (Agency of News Press), Moscow. 1991–1992 — deputy head of the Information Department of the USSR Embassy to Sri Lanka, the city of Colombo. 1992–1994 — teacher of English, deputy dean of the State Economy University of Kharkiv.

1994–1996 — leading specialist of the Expert-Protocol Department of the Committee on International Economic Relations at the Kharkiv Oblast Executive Committee. 1996–1997 — deputy head of the Department of Europe and America at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1997–2000 — counselor at the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Turkey. 2000–2001 — Vice President of the State Enterprise *Krymska Kompania Rozvytku Investitzii* (The Crimean Company for Development of Investments). 2001–2002 — deputy head of the Department of UN and other international organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2003 — acting head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2003–2004 — head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2004 — Ambassador-at-large YIP of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2004–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Macedonia.

2005–2008 — was on diplomatic service.

2008–2010 — Ambassador-at-large at the Department of International Sector Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Armenia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine: Oleksandr Bozhko (1996–2001); Volodymyr Tyaglo (2002–2005); Oleksandr Bozhko (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2009**

Ivan Kukhta



Born on July 15, 1958 in the village Velika Tur'ia, Dolinsky raion, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1987), teacher of philosophy; the Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2001), master of foreign policy and diplomacy. Advanced training, upgrading (including abroad): 03.2009 — seminar of public administration and local governance at the Institute of Advanced Training of the National Academy of Public Administration; 11.2009 — the Ukrainian-Polish seminar on assessment of positions for public administration (Main Department of Civil Service of Ukraine).

1973–1977 — student of the chemical-technological college in Kalush, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. 1977–1978 — turner of the Kremenchuk plant for technical carbon. 1978–1980 — service in the Army. 1980–1981 — turner of the Kremenchuk plant for technical carbon. 1982–1985 — Instructor, head of the organizational department of the Yalta City Young Communist League Committee.

1985–1989 — head of the organizational department of the Yalta City Executive Committee. 1989–1990 — instructor of the Yalta City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. 1990–1994 — consultant, head of the Department for International Relations of the Yalta City Executive Committee.

1994–1999 — consul of the Consulate General of Ukraine in Tyumen'.

1999–2001 — student of the Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2001–2003 — the third, the first secretary, counselor, deputy head of the Consular Department, head of the Department of Migration and Visa Policy and European Integration of the Consular Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2003–2007 — counselor on consular issues of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Russian Federation. 2007 — acting deputy director of the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2008 — deputy director of the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2008 — deputy director of the Staff Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2009 — acting director of the Staff Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Gabonese Republic

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since February 2007**

Serhii Mishustin



Born on August 29, 1946 in Kyiv.

In 1971 he graduated the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv specializing in interpretation, information and teaching of French.

Also proficient in English.

Married, has two children.

Awarded the Certificate of Merit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2001) and the Badge of Merit of the Third Class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2004).

1968–1969 — interpreter of French of the group of specialists in the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

1971–1973 — interpreter of French of the group of specialists in Congo, Brazzaville.

1974–1979–1984–1992 — chief and leading inspector at the Department of foreign students, post-graduates, trainees and foreign relations of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukr.SSR.

1979–1983 — international officer at the Human Resource Office of the UN Secretariat (the City of New York) from Ukrainian contingent.

1992–1995 — head of sector, department and different structural units at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1999 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium.

2002–2007 — counselor, Consul Ambassador of the same Embassy.

2005–2006 — temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine in the Kingdom of Belgium.

The Republic of Guinea

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since February 2008**

Andrii Zaietz



Born on October 27, 1971 in Uzhhorod.

In 1993 he graduated from the faculty of Romance-Germanic philology of the State University of Uzhhorod.

1993–1995 — teacher of Chaslivetska secondary school in the Uzhhorod raion of Zakarpatska oblast.

1995–1998 — translator-consultant, attaché, the third secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Hungarian Republic.

1998–2000 — the second secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2003 — the second and first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium.

2003–2004 — consul of the Consulate General of Ukraine in Nyiregyhaza (the Hungarian Republic).

2004–2005 — head of the Department for Planning and Analysis of the Consular Service at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — deputy director of the Department of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2006–2008 — director of the Department of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Hellenic Republic

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2010**

Volodymyr Shkurov



Born on April 12, 1958 in Kyiv. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1984), philologist, teacher of the Russian language and literature, teacher of Modern Greek. PhD (philosophy).

1976–1979 — service in the USSR Navy.

1979–1984 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1984–1986 — teacher of the secondary school No 217, Kyiv.

1986–1989 — research worker at the Institute of Linguistics of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv.

1989–1992 — study at the post graduation course of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Georgia, Tbilisi.

1992–1995 — junior research at the Institute of Linguistics of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv..

1995–1996 — first secretary of the Western European Counties Section at the Department of Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–2000 — first secretary, counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Hellenic Republic.

2000–2001 — chief counselor of the Main Department of Foreign Policy at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine.

2001–2003 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Hellenic Republic.

2003–2005 — consul general of Ukraine to Salonika.

2006–2009 — deputy director of the department, head of the Section for National Minorities and Confessions of the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the State of Israel, representative of Ukraine at the National Palestine Administration.

Georgia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Stepan Volkovetsky (1998–2003); Mykola Spys (2003–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2009**

Vasyl' Tsybenko



Born on January 8, 1950 in the Cherkassy oblast. In 1972 graduated from the Road Transport Institute of Kyiv.

Married, has two daughters.

His professional activities began with the position of the engineer of the Uman' motor enterprise.

1979–1994 — worked at the party, representation and executive power bodies of the Cherkassy oblast.

1994 — elected to the position of the speaker of the Cherkassy Oblast Council of People's Deputies.

1995–1999 — head of the Cherkassy Oblast State Administration.

1999–2000 — head of the Main Department for Control over Implementation of the Presidential Decrees at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — deputy, the first Deputy Minister of Transport of Ukraine.

2001–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Kazakhstan.

2005–2006 — the first Deputy Minister of Transport and Communications of Ukraine.

The Kingdom of Denmark

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Mikhailo Skuratovsky



Born on February 25, 1953 in Kyiv. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1975), interpreter, translator-consultant, teacher of English and French.

1976–1977 — interpreter at the Kyiv Zonal Research and Engineering Institute of Standard and Experimental Design of Residential and Civil Buildings.

1977–1979 — hourly teacher of English, senior laboratory assistant of the chair of foreign languages of the natural science faculties of the M. Gorky State Pedagogical Institute of Kyiv.

1979–1982 — service in the Army, the Republic of Zambia.

1982–1991 — head of listening laboratory, senior teacher of English and French at the M. Gorky State Pedagogical Institute of Kyiv.

1991–1993 — chief editor, stage director of the Ukrkontsert, Kyiv.

1993–1999 — senior counselor, head of the Section for Official Correspondence and Translations of the Protocol Service of the President of Ukraine.

1999–2000 — counselor of Ukraine at the Office of UN and other international organizations in Geneva.

2000–2004 — permanent representative of Ukraine at the Office of UN and other international organizations in Geneva.

2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the RSA.

2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republics of Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Madagascar and Botswana with concurrent accreditation.

2006–2007 — Ambassador-at-large at the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2010. — director of the Department of Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (member of the College of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine).

The Republic of Estonia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Mykola Makarevych (1999–2006); Pavlo Kir'iakov (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since November 2010**

Viktor Kryzhanivs'kyi



Born on December 21, 1961 in Zhytomyr. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1984) specializing in law; post-graduation course of the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR (1987), PhD (law).

Married, has a daughter.

Proficient in English.

Awards: Badge of Merit of the 3rd class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (December 2007), Medal of Merit of the Foreign Intelligence Service (December 2008).

1984–1989 — post-graduate, senior research worker of the Institute of State and Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR (1987).

1990–1990 — chief economist, head of the department of the Ukrintur Association, Kyiv.

1990–1992 — commercial director of joint venture Apolo, Kyiv.

1992–1993 — the second and then the first secretary of the Department on CSCE and Regional Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1995 — acting head of the CSCE Section at the Department on CSCE and Regional Cooperation, head of the at the Department on CSCE and European Regional Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1998 — counselor of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the international organizations in Vienne.

1998–1998 — acting deputy head, deputy head of the Department for European and Transatlantic Integration at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–1999 — acting head, deputy head of the Department for Euro Atlantic Integration at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, head of the section for NATO and the Western European Union.

1999–2000 — deputy head of the Department for Euro Atlantic Integration at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2003 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the international organizations in Vienne.

2003–2005 — deputy head of the Main Foreign Policy Department at the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the UNO.

2006–2007 — acting permanent representative of Ukraine at the UNO.

2007–2008 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the UNO.

2008–2010 — special representative of Ukraine on Pridnestrovie conflict settlement.

2010–2010 — Ambassador-at-large at the position of the Director of the Third Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large at the position of the Director of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large at the position of the Deputy Director of Department (head of the First Western European Section of the Third Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Vladyslav Dem'ianenko (2005–2010)**

**Temporary Charge D'affaires of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Oleksandr Buravchenkov



Born on March 23, 1966 in Vinnitsa. Graduated from the State Pedagogical Institute of Vinnitsa (1997) — teacher of English and German; the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2003), Master of foreign policy. Proficient in English and German.

Married, has a son.

1983–1984 — student of the Vinnitsa technical college No 1. 1984–1984 — driver of the 3rd class, the central city clinical hospital No 4 in Vinnitsa. 1984–1986 — service in the Soviet Army. 1987–1987 — driver of the 3rd class, M. Ostrovskiy State Pedagogical Institute of Vinitisa.

1990–1991 — laboratory assistant of the chair of foreign languages at the M. Pyrogov Medical Institute in Vinnitsa. 1987–1992 — student of the Pedagogical Institute of Vinitisa. 1992–1994 — instructor of the firm Vinintep LTD, Vinnitsa. 1994–1995 — head of the commercial unit at the Vinnitsa Centre of Scientific-Technical and Economic Information.

1995–1996 — specialist of the unit of international and foreign-economic links at the JSC Futbolnyi Klub Niva of Vinnitsa (the city football club).

1996–1998 — interpreter of the Mission of Charity and Mercy of the Jesus Holy Heart of the Roman-Catholic Church in Vinnitsa.

1998–1999 — interpreter of the Roman-Catholic parish of St. Frances.

1999–2002 — chief specialist of the section for links with political parties and public organizations at the Internal Policy Department of the Vinnitsa Oblast State Administration. 2002–2003 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2008 — the second secretary of consular issues of the Embassy of Ukraine in Ethiopia. 2008–2010 — the third secretary at the position of the second secretary of the section on consular support in protection of interests of physical and legal persons of the Consular Support Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — the first secretary on consular issues of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

The Arab Republic of Egypt

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Andrii Veselovs'kyi (2001–2005); Yevhen Mykytenko (2006–2010)

Temporary Charge d'Affaires of Ukraine
since June, 2010

Valerii Hryhorash



Born on August 6, 1965 in the city of Cherkassy.

Graduated from the Military Institute of Foreign Languages (1989); interpreter of English and Arabic; the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (1998); Master of foreign policy.

Proficient in English, Spanish, Portuguese and Arabic.

Married, has two daughters.

1982–1983 — student of the faculty of the Spanish language at the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages.

1983–1984 — service in the Army.

1984–1989 — cadet of the Military Institute of Foreign Languages, Moscow. 1987–1992 — interpreter of Arabic at the group of military advisors in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon. 1992–1993 — the third secretary of the section of the countries of Near and Middle East and Africa at the Department of Bilateral Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — the third and then the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Arab Republic of Egypt. 1996–1996 — the first secretary at the position of the deputy head of the section of the countries of Asia and Pacific Region at the Department of Countries of Asia and Pacific Region and Near and Middle East and Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1996–1998 — student of the Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2004 — consul at the position of the Consul General of the Consulate General of Ukraine in Curitiba (the Federative Republic of Brazil).

2004–2005 — head of the image policy section at the Department of Information Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2005–2005 — head of the Department of Information Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2005 — head of the GUAM section at the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2010 — head of the TEM of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The State of Israel

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Dmytro Markov (1998–2004); Ihor Tymofeev (2005–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
from July 2010**

Hennadii Nadolenko



Born on June 7, 1970 in the urban-type settlement Baryshivka, Kyiv oblast. Graduated from the National Agrarian University (1994), economist of agricultural production; the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (1998), master of foreign policy.

1987–1994 — student of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy (the National Agrarian University).

1988–1989 — service in the Army.

1994–1996 — attaché of the USA and Canada section at the Department of Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–1996 — the third secretary of the section of the Western European countries at the Department of Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–1998 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1998–1998 — the third secretary of the section of economic and administrative issues of the Department of International Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2001 — the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA.

2001–2003 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA.

2003–2004 — senior counselor of the Department of Information Technologies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2004–2004 — acting head of the Department of Information Technologies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2005 — head of the Department of Information Technologies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — deputy head of the Main Information Service, head of the Department for Supporting the President in Implementation of the Constitution Powers in the Information Sphere and Image Policy of the Presidential Secretariat of Ukraine.

2006–2007 — head of the Department of Information Strategies of the Information Service at the Presidential Secretariat of Ukraine.

2007–2010 — head of the Trade-Economic Mission at the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA.

The Republic of India

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Oleh Semenets' (2001–2006); Ihor Polikha (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Oleksandr Shevchenko



Born on February 20, 1961 in the village Poroshkove of Perechinskii raion of the Zakarpatska oblast.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1983) specializing in the international relations, assistant-interpreter of English.

Proficient in English.

Married, has a daughter and a son.

Awards: Certificate of Honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (October 2003).

1977–1978 — apprentice, instrument mechanic of the second rate at the plant Mayak, Kyiv.

1978–1983 — student of the faculty of international relations and international law of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv .

1983–1986 — correspondent of the News from Ukraine paper in Kyiv.

1986–1987 — leader of the lecturers' group at the Kyiv City Executive Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine.

1987–1991 — the second and then the first secretary of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine in the Mins'kii raion in Kyiv.

1991–1992 — chairman of the Association of Youth Organizations of the Mins'kii raion in Kyiv.

1992–1995 — the second and then the first secretary of the Department for Control over Armament and Disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1999 — the second and then the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine in the UN, New York City.

1999–1999 — acting head of the section, head of the section on political issues of UN and its specialized agencies at the Department of International Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1999–2001 — counselor of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine in the UN, New York City.

2002–2002 — acting deputy head, acting head of the Sixth Territorial Department, head of the section of the Near and Middle East at the Department of Bilateral Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2004 — head of the Sixth Territorial Department of Bilateral Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Malaysia.

2005–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste with concurrent accreditation.

2009–2010 — deputy director of the section, head of the section on military-technical cooperation and export control of the Department on Control for Armament and Disarmament of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Indonesia

Temporary Charge d'Affaires since September 2011

Oleksandr Sirenko



Born on November 6, 1966 in Kyiv. Graduated from the Ukrainian M.P. Dragomanov State Pedagogical University (1994), a teacher of history, educator; the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of Ukraine (2003), Masters of Foreign Policy.

Proficient in English. Married, has a daughter.

- electrician apprentice at the Kyiv Production Association Chervonyi Ekskavator.

1984–1985 — service in the army.

1987–1988 — mechanic apprentice at the Fifty-Years of October Kyiv Aviation Association.

1988–1989 — student of the preparatory division of the professional orientation faculty of the Gorky State Pedagogical Institute in Kyiv.

1989–1994 — student of the Ukrainian M.P. Dragomanov State Pedagogical University/

1994–1995 — senior laboratory assistant of the educational department, senior trainer, trainer of the highest category of the Academy of Labour and Social Relations of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine.

1995–1996 — specialist of the Department for receiving and accommodation of refugees at the Ministry of Ukraine for Nationalities, Migration and Cults.

1996–1998 — the third, second and first secretary of the CIS Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

1998–2001 — the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Belarus. 2001 — the first secretary of the section for the Russian Federation of the First Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2001–2003 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the MFA of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — the first secretary of the section of the APR countries at the Fifth First Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2004–2005 — counselor of the section of the APR countries at the Fifth First Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2005–2009 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to Turkmenistan.

2009–2011 — counselor of the diplomatic service inspection section at the General Inspectorate Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2011 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Indonesia

The Islamic Republic of Iran

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Kostyantyn Morozov (2000–2002); Vadym Prymachenko (2002–2004);
Volodymyr Butyaga (2004–2007); Ihor Loginov (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since October 2010**

Oleksandr Samarskii



Born on December 18, 1956 in Odessa. Graduated from the State Pedagogical Institute of Cherkassy (1979); teacher of biology and chemistry, PhD (philosophy).

Proficient in English. Married, has a daughter.

Awards: Certificate of Honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2005).

1979–1980 — teacher of biology of the Balakliivs'ka secondary school No 1, Cherkassy oblast.

1980–1983 — post-graduate of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, Kyiv.

1984–1984 — teacher of the Marxism-Leninism chair of the Cherkassy branch of the Polytechnic Institute of Kyiv, Cherkassy.

1984–1987 — assistant, senior teacher of the chair of philosophy of the Pedagogical Institute of Zhytomyr.

1987–1988 — senior teacher of the Marxism-Leninism chair of the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute branch in town Pereiaslav-Khmel'nitskii, Kyiv oblast .

1998–1990 — head of the department, chief methodologist, senior research worker of the Society Znannia, Kyiv.

1990–1993 — deputy chief editor of the journal Oikumena of the Academy of Science of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — chief research worker of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1994–1994 — deputy chief editor of the journal Skhidnyi Svit of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of Ukraine, Kyiv.

1994–1995 — the first secretary, counselor of the SIC section of the SIC Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1998 — counselor, deputy head of the Political Planning Section of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the MFA of Ukraine.

1997–1998 — work in the OSCE Mission in Nagorny Karabakh.

1998–1998 — head of the Section for Analysis of the Global Development Processes at the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the MFA of Ukraine.

1998–2001 — counselor at the International Organizations Representation in Wien.

2001–2002 — acting deputy director of the Cabinet of Minister.

2002–2002 — head of the Information-Analytical Section at the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the MFA of Ukraine.

2002–2004 — deputy head of the Department — head of the OSCE Section at the Department of the Euro-Atlantic Cooperation of the MFA of Ukraine.

2004–2004 — deputy head of the Department of the Euro-Atlantic Cooperation of the MFA of Ukraine.

2004–2006 — field assistant at the Office of the Personal Representative of the OSCE Head on Conflict (the OSCE Mission in Nagorny Karabakh).

2006–2007 — head of the Department for Information Support and Image Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2007–2007 — acting deputy director of the Department for Information Technologies at the MFO of Ukraine.

2007–2009 — deputy director of the Department for Information Technologies at the MFO of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — deputy director of the Department for Information Policy at the MFO of Ukraine

2010–2010 — acting director of the Department for Information Policy at the MFO of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the Section for Mass Media and Public Relations, the Operative Information Response Section of the Department for Information Policy of the MFO of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — Ambassador-at-large at the position of the deputy director of the Department — head of the Section for the Countries of the Arab Maghreb of the Fifth Territorial Department the MFO of Ukraine.

Ireland

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Yevhen Perelyhin (2004–2008); Borys Bazylevskii (2008–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Serhii Reva



Born on September 13, 1955 in Sevastopol. Graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the Ministry of the Foreign Relations of the USSR (1977) specializing in the international economic relations.

Married, has a daughter and a son. Proficient in English and French. Awards: Certificate of Honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2001), Badge of Merit of the second class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2004).

1978–1978 — inspector of the Sevastopol customs office of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade. 1978–1980 — secretary-assistant of the USSR Consulate General in Constanta (Romania). 1980–1985 — chief secretary-assistant, attaché,

the third secretary of the USSR Embassy in Romania. 1985–1991 — the second secretary of the Departments of International Economic Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr. SSR. 1991–1996 — the second and then the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the UN and other international organizations in Geneva (Switzerland).

1996–1997 — head of the section on economic issues of the UN and its specialized agencies at the Department of International Organization at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1997–1998 — deputy head of the Department of International Organization at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine — head of the section on economic issues of the UN and its specialized agencies.

1998–1999 — acting head of the Department of International Organization at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1999–2000 — head of the Department of International Organization at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2002 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the Council of Europe. 2002–2003 — director of the Department on Policy and Security Issues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2003–2007 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the Council of Europe. 2007–2008 — Ambassador-at-large at the Department of Economic Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2008–2010 — director of the Political Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the section for coordination of the Euro-Atlantic Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

The Kingdom of Spain

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Oleksandr Gnedykh (Temporary Charge d'Affaires, 1995–1997);
Oleksandr Taranenko (1997–2004);
Oleh Vlasenko (Temporary Charge d'Affaires, 2004–2006)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since May 2006

Anatolii Scherba



Born on July 17, 1962 in the village Voikove, Berezanskii raion, Kyiv oblast.

In 1985 he graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the faculty of international relations and international law.

Proficient in Spanish and English.

Married, has a son and a daughter.

Since 1992 he followed diplomacy as a career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1997 — on the positions from the third secretary to the head of the Departments for Armament and Disarmament

at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1997–2000 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the international organizations in the Vienne (Austria), representative of Ukraine in the Joint Advisory Group of Ukraine of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, Open Skies Consultative Committee and the OSCE Forum on cooperation in the sphere of security.

2001–2005 — Representative of Ukraine in the Join Commission of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-1).

2003–2006 — head of the Department on Control for Armament and Military-Technical Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2007 — member of the College of Plenipotentiaries at the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission in Iraq (UNMOVIC).

The Italian Republic

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Borys Hudyma (2000–2005)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2005**

Georhii Chernyavskii



Born on July 31, 1946 in the City of Tashkent (Uzbekistan). In 1970 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the faculty of Romance-Germanic philology, the, researcher-translator of English and French.

Proficient in English, Italian and French.

Awards: Order of Merit of the First Class, four medals, Certificate of Honor of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, orders of the foreign countries. Has Honorary Distinction Honored Worker of Culture of Ukraine.

1970–1972 — service in the Army.

1973–1978 — information officer, chief information officer of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries.

1978–1986 — head of the department, member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries.

1986–1992 — chief information officer, head of the sector of international relations of the Secretariat of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

1992–2005 — deputy head of the Department for State Protocol, head of the Protocol Service of the President of Ukraine, head of the Department for State Protocol and Ceremonial of the President of Ukraine.

01.2005–08.2005 — advisor of the President of Ukraine.

2006 — till now — permanent representative of Ukraine at the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Viktor Nahaichuk (2003–2008); Yurii Mal'ko (2008–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2010**

Sergii Pas'ko



Born on December 22, 1954 in the village Loshniv, Strusivskii raion, Ternopil oblast. Graduated from the Pirohov Medical Institute of Vinnitsa (1978); special clinical residency training (English language training included) at the Bohomolets Medical Institute of Kyiv (1985); the Ukrainian Academy of the State Administration under the President of Ukraine (2001). PhD (Medicine), associate professor, master of state administration. Proficient in English and Arabic.

1972–1978 — student of the Pirohov Medical Institute of Vinnitsa. 1978–1979 — anesthesiologist-resuscitator at the Cherkassy oblast hospital. 1979–1994 — anesthesiologist-resuscitator at the Cherkassy city hospital No 3. 1994–

1998 — people's deputy of Ukraine, secretary of the Committee on the Mother and Child Welfare of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, deputy member of the Permanent Delegation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine at the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe.

1998–2000 — senior consultant-expert of the Department on Links with the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine.

2000–2004 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Syrian Arab Republic.

2004–2005 — deputy head of the Department — head of the section for law making and links with the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the regions of Ukraine. 2005–2006 — deputy head of the section for law making and links with the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine at the Secretariat of the Minister.

2006 — deputy head of the Department for Relations with State Authorities and Coordination of Foreign Relations — head of the section for relations with Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. 2006–2007 — counselor, temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine in the United Arab Emirates. 2007–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Arab Emirates. 2008–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the State of Qatar with concurrent accreditation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Bahrain with concurrent accreditation.

2009–2010 — head of the Relations with State Authorities and Coordination of Foreign Relations.

The Republic of Kazakhstan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Viktor Bohatyr (1993–1999); Yevhen Kartashov (2000–2001);
Vasyl Tshybenko (2001–2005); Mykola Selivon (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Oleh Diomin



Born on August 1, 1947 in village Lopatino, Tula oblast (the Russian Federation)/ Graduated from the Kharkiv Institute of Radioelectronics (1971), engineer in radiophysics; Higher Party School at the Central Committee of the Communist Part of Ukraine (1983); the Institute of Advanced Training at the Ministry of Industry of Ukraine (1999). PhD (economy).

1966–1969 — mechanic at the Kharkiv Tram and Trolleybus Depot.

1969–1971 — secretary of the Young Communist League Committee at the Kharkiv Tram and Trolleybus Depot.

1971–1976 — the second and then the first secretary of the Komintern raion Young Communist League of Ukraine Committee in Kharkiv.

1976–1979 — the second and then the first secretary of the Young Communist League of Ukraine Committee in Kharkiv City. 1979–1986 — the second secretary of the Communist Part of Ukraine Committee of the Komintern raion, Kharkiv.

1986–1988 — the first secretary of the Communist Part of Ukraine Committee of the Komintern raion, Kharkiv.

1988–1991 — the second secretary of the city Communist Party of Ukraine Committee, the secretary of the oblast Communist Party of Ukraine Committee, Kharkiv. 1991–1994 — Vice President of the Corporation Ukrsibinkor, President of the Fund Perspektiva XXI, Kharkiv.

1994–1996 — deputy speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

1996–2000 — acting head, head of the Kharkiv Oblast State Administration.

2000–2005 — the first deputy head of the Presidential Administration of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — deputy head of the Peoples' Democratic Party.

2006–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Russian Federation.

2008–2010 — director of the Institute of Foreign Relations of the Kyiv National Aviation University.

Canada

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Yurii Scherbak (2000–2004); Mykola Maimeskul (2004–2006);
Ihor Ostash (2006–2011)

Temporary Charge d’Affaires since August 2011

Mikhailo Khomenko



Born on December 3, 1977 in Kyiv. Graduated from the Institute of International Relations of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. PhD (Political Studies) (2004)

Proficient in English and Spanish.

1994–1999 — student of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1999–2002 — post-graduate of the Institute of International Relations of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1999–2006 — assistant-counselor of the People’s Deputy of Ukraine I. Ostach.

2004–2006 — assistant professor of the chair of political studies and social technologies at the Kyiv National Aviation University.

2007–2008 — the second secretary of the Department for the Global Development Analysis, the second secretary at the position of the counselor of the GUAM section at the Political Department of the MFA of Ukraine

2008–2009 — the second secretary at the position of the counselor at the Embassy of Ukraine to Canada.

2009–2011 — the first secretary at the position of the counselor at the Embassy of Ukraine to Canada.

The Republic Kenya

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary:
Volodymyr Zabihailo (2003–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since February 2010**

Volodymyr Butyaha



Born in 1949. In 1971 graduated from the State University of Kharkiv specializing in history, teacher of history and social science; in 1983 — the Diplomatic Academy of Kharkiv of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine — international lawyer proficient in Persian.

Proficient in Dari, Farsi, and English.

1993–1996 — the first secretary, the counselor of Embassy of Ukraine to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

1996–1997 — temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

1997–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2000–2001 — the first deputy director of the Ukrainian Research Center of International Security Problems.

2001–2003 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Nigeria.

2003–2006 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2006–2010 — counselor on international cooperation in the system of the central executive power bodies.

The People's Republic of China

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Ihor Lytvyn (1999–2001); Mikhailo Reznik (2001–2004);
Sergii Kamyshv (2004–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since December 2009**

Yurii Kostenko



Born on November 6, 1945 in Kyiv. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1968), historian, expert in international relations, teacher of history and social science with the capacity to teach in the English language.

1963–1968 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1968–1970 — attaché of the section of international organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Kyiv.

1970–1971 — the third secretary of the section of international organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR. 1971–1972 — service in the Army.

1972–1974 — the third and then the second secretary of

the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR.

1974–1975 — assistant of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR.

1975–1981 — the first secretary of the section of international organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR. 1981–1984 — counselor of the section of international organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR.

1984–1985 — executive secretary of the Ukr.SSR Commission for UNESCO of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR. 1985–1988 — member of the college, head of the personnel department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR.

1988–1994 — permanent representative of Ukraine at the international organizations in Vienne. 1992–1994 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Austria. 1994–1997 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Germany. 1997–2001 — Ambassador-at-large, inspector general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2001–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Japan.

2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Philippines with concurrent accreditation. 2006–2008 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. 2008–2009 — acting first Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2009 — till now — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Mongolia with concurrent accreditation.

The Kyrgyz Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Petro Shapoval (2001–2003); Volodymyr Tyahlo (2005–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since January 2008**

Volodymyr Solovei



Born on October 9, 1952 in t. Kremenchuk, Poltava oblast. In 1980 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, journalist. Proficient in German

Married. Has a son and a daughter.

Awards: Certificate of Merit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2002), medal For Labor and Victory (2002), medal of the international academic rating Golden Fortune (2003).

1977–1977 — head of the party office at the Ministry of Food Industry of the Ukr.SSR.

1977–1986 — deputy head of the department, senior inspector of the Kyiv City Council on Tourism and Excursions, deputy head of the department of the Kyiv Republican Council on Tourism and Excursions.

1986–1991 — assistant of the first deputy head of the Ukr.SSR State Committee on Agrarian Industry.

1991–1992 — assistant of the first deputy head of the Minister of Agriculture of Ukraine. 1992–1993 — assistant of the Vice Prime-Minister of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Belarus.

1996–1997 — deputy head of the Department of CIS states of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1997–1998 — acting head of the Department of CIS states of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2000 — head of the Department of Staff and Educational Institutions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2004 — Consul Ambassador, Temporary Charge d’Affaires of Ukraine to the Kyrgyz Republic.

2004–2005 — Consul General of Ukraine in Vladivostok, the Russian Federation.

2005–2008 — head of the Auditing Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large.

The Republic of Cyprus

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Borys Humenyuk (2003–2007)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2008**

Oleksandr Dem'ianyuk



Born on January 5, 1950 in village Dovhalivka, Pohrebyschenskii raion, Vinnitsa oblast. In 1980 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the faculty of international relations and international law; international lawyer, researcher-translator of English. Proficient in Russian, English and French.

Married, has two children.

Awards: medal For Labor and Victory, the 2nd Class Certificate of Honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1968–1970 — service in the Army.

1970–1975 — worker at the Artem Production Association in Kyiv.

1975–1980 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1980–1991 — the third, the second and then the first secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1991–1995 — the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to UNESCO (Paris).

1995–1999 — counselor, head of the section, deputy head of the Department for Cultural Cooperation and Humanitarian Issues of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, deputy head and executive secretary of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO.

1999–2003 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine to UNESCO (Paris).

2003–2005 — consul-ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Tunis, temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the Republic of Tunis.

2005–2008 — Director of the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Korea

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Mikhailo Rezyk (1997–2001); Volodymyr Furkalo (2001–2005);
Yuriy Mushka (2006–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2011**

Vasyl Marmazov



Born on January 20, 1962 in Donetsk. Graduated from the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv specializing in law (1984), PhD (Law), assistant professor.

Proficient in English and French.

Married, has a daughter.

Awards: the Honored Lawyer of Ukraine, Badge of Honor of the 3rd Class of the MFA of Ukraine.

1979–1984 — student of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1984 — probationer-teacher of the law faculty at the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1984–1986 — postgraduate of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1986–1996 — assistant of the chair of the state history and theory of the law faculty at the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1995 — outsource lawyer for the Global Law Firm Linklaters, London, Great Britain.

1995–1996 — outsource researcher for the University of Cambridge, Great Britain.

1996–2000 — assistant professor of the chair of the state history and theory of the law faculty at the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

2000–2003 — doctoral student of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

2001 — lawyer of the Secretariat of the European Court for Human Rights, Strasbourg, France.

2003–2005 — Deputy Minister of Justice of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — President of the Solicitors' Association Juris, Kyiv.

2006–2008 — Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine for liaison with the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and other state authorities.

2008–2010 — Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of Ukraine.

2010–2011 — Deputy Minister of Economy of Ukraine.

The Republic of Cuba

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Viktor Paschuk (2001–2005); Oleksandr Hnedykh (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2009**

Tetyana Saenko



Born on July 26, 1951 in town Druzhkivka. In 1974 graduated from the State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages in Kyiv (the National Linguistic University of Kyiv). Proficient in Spanish, English and Russian.

Married. Has a son and a daughter.

After graduation from the Institute she worked as an information officer and interpreter of Spanish in the Cuban Institute of Oil (Havana).

Since 1983 she works at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. The third, the second and the first secretary of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1990 p. graduated special courses at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris (France).

1994–1998 — the Embassy of Ukraine to the republic of Argentine, Chili, Uruguay and Paraguay with concurrent accreditation

1998–2000 — Department of cultural and humanitarian cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2004 — The Embassy of Ukraine to the United States of Mexico.

2004–2006 — counselor of the Department of cultural and humanitarian cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2006–2009 — appointed as the Consul of Ukraine, head of the Consulate in the City of Malaga (Spain).

The State of Kuwait

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since November 2010**

Volodymyr Tolkach



Born on January 17, 1959 in Kyiv, Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1981), engineer-hydrogeologist; post-graduation course of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1989), PhD (geology, mineralogy); the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (1999), Master of foreign policy.

Proficient in English and Macedonian.

Married, has two daughters.

Awards: Certificate of honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (December 2007), Badge of Honor of the Third Class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (February 2009).

1981–1984 — engineer of the Institute of Geological Sciences of the Ukr.SSR Academy of Sciences, Kyiv.

1984–1986 — engineer of the research section at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1986–1989 — post-graduate of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1989–1993 — junior research worker, assistant of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1993–1994 — head of the dosimeter control unit at the Research and Production Association Pripjat', t. Pripjat'.

1994–1995 — the second secretary of the Russia Section at the CIS Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1996 — the first secretary at the position of the counselor of the Russia Section at the CIS Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–1997 — members of the OSCE Mission in Georgia.

1997–1997 — the first secretary of the Russia Section at the CIS Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1997–1999 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1999–2001 — counselor of the section on CIS issues at the First Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — field assistant of the personal representative of the OSCE acting head in the Nagorny Karabakh.

2001–2004 — counselor, temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the Republic of Macedonia.

2004–2004 — counselor of the OSCE section at the Department of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2005 — counselor at the position of the head of section, head of the OSCE section at the Department of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2009 — head of the OSCE section at UN Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Iraq.

The Republic of Latvia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Viktor Mykhailovskyi (1997–2004); Myron Yankiv (2004–2005);
Raul Chilachava (2005–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2011**

Anatolii Oliinyk



Born on February 8, 1950 in Vinnitsa. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1981); international lawyer, researcher-translator of English.

Proficient in English.

Married, has a daughter and a son.

Awards: Order of Merit of the 3rd class (August 2005), Order of Merit of the 2nd class (February 2010), Certificate of Honor of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (November 2004), Badge of Honor of the 3rd class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (July 2006), Badge of Honor of the 1st class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (December 2007), Certificate of Honor of the National Security Council of Ukraine (December 2010).

1966–1968 — student of the vocational school No 36, t. Bila Tserkva. 1968–1968—serviceman for domestic machinery, Vinnitsa. 1968–1970 — service in the army.

1971–1972 — equipment operator at the dairy plant, serviceman at the plant Remobobuttekhnika, electrician of the municipal department of internal affairs, Vinnitsa.

1972–1973 — hardwood floor layer apprentice at the integrated plant Kyivprombud.

1973–1976 — trainer at the integrated plant Kyivprombud.

1976–1981 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv .

1981–1987—the third, the second secretary of the Personnel Department, the second secretary of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukr. SSR,.

1987–1989—the first secretary of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukr.SSR,.

1989–1992 — the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of UkrSSR at the UN.

1992–1995— Consul General of Ukraine to Chicago (USA).

1995–1997 — deputy head of the Department for International Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

1997–1998 — head of the Regional Office of the Civil Service of the Transition Administration of SAO Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sylvania, Croatia.

1998–2003 — head of the Regional Office of the Civil Service of the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2003–2003 — acting director of the Department for New Challenges and Threats of the MOF of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — director of the Department for New Challenges and Threats of the MOF of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large on Iraq.

2004–2005 — Consul Ambassador, Temporary charge d'affaires, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Iraq.

2005–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Serbia and Montenegro.

2007–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Montenegro on concurrent accreditation.

2006–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Serbia.

2009–2010 — director of the NATO Department at the MFO of Ukraine.

2010–2011 — director of the Department for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation and New Challenges and Threats of the MOF of Ukraine.

The Lithuanian Republic

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Borys Klimchuk (2004–2007), Ihor Prokopchuk (2008–2011)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since May 2011**

Valeriy Zhovtenko



Born on November 19, 1951 in Kirovorad. Graduated from the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute specializing in industrial electronics, engineer (1979); the Ukrainian Academy of Foreign Trade specializing in international economy (2006).

Proficient in English.

Divorced, has two sons.

Awards: Certificate of Honour of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (October 2001), Certificate of the Council of National Security and Defence of Ukraine (December 2010).

1969–1970 — sound record operator of the Cherkassy

Oblast Committee of Radio and TV Broadcasting, Cherkassy.

1970–1972 — service in the Army.

1973–1975 — mechanic of the Cherkassy Plant Fotoprylad.

1974–1983 — engineer, chief engineer, head of the group of the Central Design Bureau Sokil, Cherkassy.

1983–1985 — instructor of the Sosnivsky raion committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Cherkassy oblast.

1985–1986 — instructor of the Cherkassy City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Cherkassy.

1986–1990 — instructor, coordinator of the Cherkassy Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Cherkassy.

1990–1991 — deputy head of the executive committee section of the Cherkassy Oblast People's Deputy Council.

1992–1998 — head of the Cherkassy Oblast Department for Foreign Economic Relations of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade of Ukraine.

1998–2004 — head of the trade mission within the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Latvia.

2003–2004 — temporary charge d'affairs of Ukraine in the Republic of Latvia.

2004 — Ambassador-at-large of the CIR Center of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine for foreign affairs.

2004–2005 — Ambassador-at-large of the Department for Economic Cooperation of the MFO of Ukraine

2005–2006 — counsellor of the Department for Trade Policy and International Economic Organizations of the Department for Economic Cooperation of the MFO of Ukraine.

2006–2010 — deputy director of the Fourth Territorial Department, head of the section for the countries of the South-Eastern Europe of the MOF of Ukraine.

2010–2011 — deputy director of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MOF of Ukraine.

2011 — acting director of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MOF of Ukraine.

The Republic of Lebanon

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Valerii Rylach (2002–2006); Borys Zakharchuk (2006–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2009**

Volodymyr Koval’



Born on February 21, 1946 in village Stadnytsya. Tetiv raion, Kyiv oblast. In 1969 he graduated from the Polytechnic Institute of Lviv; postgraduate course (1975) of the V.I. Ulianov (Lenin) Electrotechnical Institute of St. Petersburg, Russia; Doctor of Engineering, professor.

Married, has a daughter.

1969–1996 — assistant, assistant professor, professor of the National University of Lviv Lvivska Polytechnica.

1993–1994 — visiting professor of the Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, USA.

1979–1980 — visiting research worker of the Carnegie-

Mellon University, Pittsburgh, USA.

1996–2000 — counselor on science and technology, the Embassy of Ukraine to the Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

2000–2002 — head of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in the Syrian Arab Republic.

2006–2007 — Ambassador-at-large of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

2007–2009 — director of the Information Policy Department of the of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Oleksii Rybak (1999–2006); Hennadii Latii (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2010**

Mykola Nagorny



Born on February 15, 1969 in village Ivanivka, Stavyschenskii raion, Kyiv oblast. Graduated from the Military Red Banner Institute (1991), researcher-translator of Arabic and Hebrew; the National Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine (2010), Master of social development.

1986–1991 — cadet of the Military Red Banner Institute, Moscow. 1991–1993 — military of the Tenth Department of the General Staff of the USSR Ministry of Defense, Moscow.

1993 — the third secretary of the section of the Middle East Countries and Africa of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1995 — the third secretary of the section of the Middle East Countries in the First Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1996 — the second secretary of the section of the Middle East Countries at the Department of APAC countries and Africa of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–2000 — the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Saudi Arabia.

2000–2001 — the first secretary of the section of APAC countries of the Fifth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2004 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Syrian Arab Republic.

2004–2005 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine in the Syrian Arab Republic.

2005–2006 — counselor of the section of Middle East Countries of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

2006–2007 — counselor, acting deputy director of the section of the Middle East countries. 2007–2009 — head of the section of the Middle East countries.

2009–2010 — deputy director of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Macedonia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:

Oleksii Shovkoplias (2004–2005);

Vitalii Moskalenko (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2009**

Yurii Honcharuk



Born on February 12, 1953 in Kyiv. In 1979 he graduated from the faculty of international relations and international law of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

Married, has two sons and a daughter.

Proficient in German.

Since March 1992 is in diplomatic service.

1992–1995 — the first secretary, counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1999 — counselor, Consul Ambassador at the Embassy of Ukraine in the Republic of Austria.

1999–2005 — head of the section, deputy head and then head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — head of the Department for Foreign Political Aspects of the National Security at the National Security Council of Ukraine.

2006–2008 — counselor of the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine, Main Service of Foreign Policy of the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2008–2009 — senior counselor of the section for cooperation with foreign organizations of the Department of Multilateral Cooperation Main Service of Foreign Policy of the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2009 — deputy head of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Malaysia

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Oleksandr Shevchenko (2004–2009), Ihor Lossovs'kyi (2009–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Ihor Humennyi



Born on 6 of December 1956 t. Kovel, Volin oblast.
Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1979) specializing in international economy, information assistant and translator of English .

Proficient in English.

Married, has two daughters.

Rewards: Certificate of Honour of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (August 2001), Certificate of Honour of the 3rd class of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (December, 2006).

1979–1988 — economist, deputy secretary, secretary of the Young Communist League committee, deputy head of section of the Central Statistics Department of USSR, Kyiv.

1988–1990 — deputy head of the Department of the State Statistics Committee of the Ukr.SSR, Kyiv.

1990–1992 — the first secretary of the section of international economic organization in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1992 — the first secretary of the section of international economic, scientific and technical organizations of the division of the international organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1995 — the second, the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the UNO, New York City, USA.

1995–1998 — counselor of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the UNO, New York City, USA.

1998–1998 — deputy head of the Reserves Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2001 — head of the Department of Currency and Finance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — deputy head of the Department of the administrative and financial issues, files and archives; head of the Department of Currency and Finance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2002 — deputy head of the Department at the position of the Ambassador-at-large of the Department of the Ambassadors at large and Principal Counselors.

2002–2004 — Consul Ambassador, Temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine at the Kingdom of Thailand.

2004–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Thailand.

2004–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Laos National Democratic Republic with concurrent accreditation.

2005–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine at the Union of Myanmar Union with concurrent accreditation.

2008–2008 — acting head of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2008–2010 — head of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — head of the Fifth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Kingdom of the Morocco

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Yuriy Malko (2000–2004); Boris Gudyma (2004–2007); Vitallii Yokhna (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since May 2011**

Yaroslav Koval'



Born on June 31, 1958, t. Uzhgorod. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1980) specializing in Romance and Germanic Philology, English interpreter-assistant, teacher of French; PhD (Philology), assistant professor. Proficient in French and English. Married, has a daughter.

Rewards: Medal "For Cooperation with the Internal-Security Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine" (December, 2009).

1980–1993 — lecturer, assistant professor at the faculty of the Romance and Germanic philology of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1993–1997 — the second, the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the UN branch and others international organizations in Geneva. 1997–1997 — the first secretary, minister-counselor of the Western Europe Countries of the Department of Europe and American of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1997–1998 — acting head, head of the Western European States Section of the Department of the Countries of Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1998–1998 — head of the section of South Western European Countries of the Second Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2001 — counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium.

2001–2003 — head of the Second Territorial Department of the Bilateral Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2003–2006 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of France. 2006–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium.

2007–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg with concurrent accreditation.

2008–2008 — acting head of the State Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2008–2010 — head of the State Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2010–2010 — acting head, head of the Fifth Territorial Department the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2010–2011 — director of the Fifth Territorial Department the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

The Mexican United States

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary:
Oleksandr Taranenko (2004–2007)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2007**

Oleksii Branashko



Born on February 24, 1952 in town Leninobad, Tajik SSR. In 1979 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, researcher-translator of Spanish and English, teacher of Spanish.

Married.

Proficient in Spanish, Portuguese and English.

1979–1981 and 1989–1990 — military specialist at the People's Republic of Mozambique .

1982–1989 — head of the foreign students department at the Finance-Economy College in Cherkassy.

1991–1994 — from expert to director of the company

Cherkassyinterkontinent, JSC Ros'.

1994–1995 — the second secretary of the section of Western European countries of the Department of Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1998 — the second and then the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Spain.

1998–2000 — counselor of the section of the south-western European countries of the Second Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2004 — counselor, temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the Republic of Portuguese.

2004–2006 — head of the section of countries of the Latin America and the Caribbean of the Fourth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2006–2007 — deputy director of the Second Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Moldova

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Petro Chalyi (2000–2006)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since March 2007**

Serhii Pyrozhkov



Born on June 20, 1948 in Kyiv. In 1969 he graduated from the D.S. Korotchenko Institute of National Economy in Kyiv. Doctor of Economy, professor, member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Proficient in French.

Decorated with the Order of Merit of the 3rd (1998) and the 2nd (2008) class. Laureate of the State Prize in the sphere of science and technology (2002).

Honored Master of science and technology of Ukraine (2003).

Decorated with the order Ordinul de Onoare by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Moldova V. Voronin of June 19, 2008 № 1719-IV “for particular contribution to development and deepening of the Ukrainian-Moldovan relations, friendship and cooperation”.

Awarded the Certificate of Merit of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2009).

1970–1973 — post-graduate of the D.S. Korotchenko Institute of National Economy in Kyiv.

1974–1976 — junior research worker of the Institute of Economy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR.

1976–1990 — academic secretary of the Department of Economy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR ; deputy head of the research and organizational sector of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR.

1990–1991 — head of the department at the Institute of Economy of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

1991–1997 — director-organizer, director of the National Institute of Strategic Studies under the President of Ukraine.

1997–2001 — director of the National Institute of the Ukrainian-Russian relations

2001–2007 — deputy secretary of the Council of National Security and Defense of Ukraine, director of the National Institute of the International Security Problems.

The Federative Republic of Nigeria

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodymyr Butyaha (2001–2005); Oleh Skoropd (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2009 року**

Valerii Vasyliev



Born on March 28, 1950 in Chergihiv. In 1977 graduated from the faculty of international relations and international law of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, international economist, researcher-translator of English.

Married, has a son.

Proficient in English.

1977–1993 — occupies various positions at the enterprises, research institutions, party bodies, ministries and agencies of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — senior specialist, deputy head of the section of the interstate relations with the CIS and Baltic countries, head of the sector of international relations with the countries of the Central Asia and Transcaucasia at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

1996–1999 — counselor, Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Kazakhstan.

1999–2002 — counselor, deputy head of the Fifth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, head of the section of the Central and Southern Asia.

2002–2006 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to Turkmenistan.

2007–2009 — head of the section of the Central and Southern Asia of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Dmytro Markov (2002–2008); Vasil Korzachenko (2008–2011)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2011**

Oleksandr Gorin



Born on November 11, 1956 in Donetsk.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1978) specializing in international relations, assistant-interpreter in English (diploma with distinction); the post-graduation course of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1981);

PhD (History), assistant professor.

Proficient in English.

Married, has a son and a daughter.

Rewards: Medal "Faithfulness and Honour" of the 1st Class (December, 2008), Badge of Honour of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine of the 3rd class (December, 2010).

1981–1991 — assistant, lecturer, deputy dean for work with foreign students, assistant professor of the chair of history of international relations and foreign policy of the USSR at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1991–1993 — PhD student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1993–1997 — the first secretary, Consul of the Permanent Mission at the UN, New York City.

1997–1999 — deputy head, head of section of European countries, North America and Japan of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

1999–1999 — deputy head of Board Administration of Foreign Affairs of the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

1999–2002 — Consul Ambassador of the Ambassador of Ukraine to the Canada.

2002–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Singapore.

2003–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine in Brunei, Darus-Salam with concurrent accreditation.

2006–2007 — Ambassador at large of the First Territorial Department of the MOF of Ukraine.

2007–2007 — Ambassador at large of the Third Territorial Department of the MOF of Ukraine..

2007–2008 — Ambassador at large on countering racism, xenophobia and discrimination at the Third Territorial Department of the MOF of Ukraine.

2008–2008 — Ambassador at large on countering racism, xenophobia and discrimination at the Political Department of the MOF of Ukraine.

2008–2011 — the GUAM National Coordinator of Ukraine.

2009–2011 — National Coordinator of the Ukraine cooperation with NATO in the sphere of non-proliferation and expert control at the Intergovernmental Commission on Preparation of Ukraine for NATO Accession.

2008–2011 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Federative Republic of Germany

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Anatolii Ponomarenko (1997–2004); Serhii Farenik (2004–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2008**

Natalia Zarudna



Born on February 15, 1950 in Chernivtsi. In 1973 she graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv specializing in philology; teacher of English and Spanish. Proficient in English, Spanish and French.

Married, has two sons.

Awards: the Order of Princes Olga of the 3rd class, Certificate of Merit of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Badge of Honour of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Badge of Honour of the Main Public Service of Ukraine.

1973–1984 — interpreter, escort-interpreter of the All-Union Joint Stock Agency Intourist.

1984–1992 — escort-interpreter of the first category, Kyiv office of the State Committee on International Tourism at the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

1992–1993 — the second secretary, the first secretary, acting head of the information section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — head of the section of Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1996–1999 — counselor, acting Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA, deputy permanent observer of Ukraine at the Organization of the American States.

1999–2000 — head of the Fourth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2000–2001 — press secretary of the Prime Minister of Ukraine V. Yuschenko, head of the Press Service of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine

2001–2002 head of the Department for Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2004 — deputy head of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO, deputy representative of Ukraine at the UNESCO Executive Council.

2002–2003 — deputy state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — Ambassador-at-large.

2004–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Denmark.

The Kingdom of Norway

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Ihor Sagach (2004–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2008**

Oleksandr Tsvetkov



Born on October 31, 1950 in Kyiv. In 1973 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, (in 1971–1972 was trained at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations).

Specialist in foreign relations, Doctor of History.

Has academic title senior research worker, publications in the sphere of social policy and activities of modern transnational corporations, genesis of social programs and the contemporary history of the USA.

Worked at the Institute of History and the Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Married, has two sons.

Since March 1992 pursues the diplomatic career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — head of the OSCE Mission in Georgia for resolving the conflict in the Southern Ossetia.

He worked abroad as the Counselor at the Embassy of Ukraine to the South African Republic, Consul General of Ukraine in Edinburgh (Great Britain).

Was appointed as the Ambassador of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Norway — Director of the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The United Arab Emirates

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
from November 2010**

Yurii Polurez



Born on September 23, 1964 in Kyiv

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1986) specializing in international economy, translator-consultant of the English language.

Married, has a daughter.

Proficient in English.

Awards: Badge of Merit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine of the 3rd degree (December 2008), Order of Merit of the 3rd degree (December 2009).

1986–1990 — intern-teacher, post-graduate of the chair of political economy at the Kyiv Institute of the National Economy.

1991–1992 — the third secretary of the section of consular-legal issues at the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1993 — the second secretary of the section on CSCE and regional cooperation at the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1997 — the second, the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the International Organizations in Wien, Austria.

1997–1998 — acting head of the section on multilateral disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons at the Department on Control for over Armament and Disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–1998 — head of the section on multilateral disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons at the Department on Control for over Armament and Disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–1999 — acting head of the Department on Control for over Armament and Military-Technical Cooperation — head of the section for multilateral disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1999–2001 — deputy head of the Department on Control for over Armament and Military-Technical Cooperation — head of the section for multilateral disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2003 — counselor of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the International Organizations in Wien, Austria.

2003–2005 — deputy permanent representative of Ukraine at the International Organizations in Wien, Austria.

2006–2007 — deputy director of the Department on Control for over Armament and Military-Technical Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2008 — the first deputy head of the State Protocol and Ceremonial Service at the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2008–2010 — head of the Main Service of the State Protocol and Ceremonial Service at the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — Ambassador at large of the State Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodydyr Ponomarenko (2002–2004); Ihor Polikha (2004–2007)**

Temporary Charge d’Affaires since August 2011

Oleg Shevchenko



Born on March 6, 1961 in vill. Lugyny, Korosten raion, Zhytomyr oblast. Graduated from the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy (1983), the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the MFO of Ukraine (2002), Master of Foreign Policy.

Married.

Proficient in English

1978–1983 — student of the veterinary faculty of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy.

1983–1986 — veterinary doctor at the Semipilkivsky poultry farm.

1986–1987 — veterinary doctor at the Livestock Pavilion of the Exhibition for Achievement of the National Economy of Ukraine .

1987–1990 — postgraduate of the chair of human physiology at the biological faculty of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1990–1991 — junior research worker at the Research Institute of Physiology at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1991–1992 — commercial director of the JV Winter.

1992–1993 — deputy director of the Ecological Agricultural Firm Agro-Ecologist.

1993–1995 — director general of the Ecological Agrarian Fund of Ukraine.

1995–1997 — the third and second secretary of the Section for the USA and Canada at the Department for Europe and America of the MFO of Ukraine.

1997–2000 — the second secretary at the position of the first secretariat the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA.

2000–2001 — the first secretary of the section for the USA and Canada of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFO of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — student of the Diplomatic Academy at the MFO of Ukraine.

2002–2003 — counsellor, acting head of the section, head of the section for the USA and Canada of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFO of Ukraine.

2003–2008 — consul at the Consulate General of Ukraine in Chicago.

2008–2009 — head of the section for the USA and Canada of the Second Territorial Department of the MFO of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — head of the section for coordination of Ukraine cooperation with NATO at the NATO Department of the MFO of Ukraine.

2010–2011 — head of the section for coordination of the Euro-Atlantic cooperation and new challenges of the MFO of Ukraine.

2011 — counsellor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the republic of Pakistan.

Republic of South Africa

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Igor Turyanskiy (2000–2004); Mikhailo Skuratovskiy (2004–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2008**

Valeriy Grebeniuk



Was born in July 12, 1967 in Lugansk region.

In 1993 graduated from National Academy of Law in Kharkiv; in 1997 presented his thesis of Candidate of Law and International right.

Married, with one child.

1994–1996 — diplomatic service in a Treaty-Law department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1996–1998 — main counselor of Foreign Policy department of President Administration.

1998–2001 — Consul General, chief of consul department Embassy of Ukraine in the USA.

2001–2002 — deputy head of work with representative of Ukraine and international information department of President of Ukraine Administration.

2002–2003 — deputy head of consul service department, the head of consul-law securing of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2005 — Consul General of Ukraine in San Francisco.

2005–2006 — the head of foreign policy General service of Presidential Secretariat of Ukraine.

2006–2008 — 1st deputy head of General service.

The Republic of Poland

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Gennadyi Udovenko (1992–1994); Teodozyi Starak (Charge d’Affairs)
(1994–1995); Petro Sardachuk (1995–1998); Dmytro Pavlychko (1999–2002);
Olersandr Nikonenko (2002–2003); Ihor Kharchenko (2003–2006);
Oleksandr Motsyk (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2010**

Markiyan Malskii



Born on March 16, 1954 in vil. Helenkiv, Koziv raion, Ternopil oblast.

Graduated from the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv (1977), teacher of geography.

Doctor of Science (economy) (1995), professor (1997).

1971–1972 — teacher of English at the secondary school at the vil. Mala Plavucha, Koziv raion, Ternopil oblast.

1972–1977 — student of the faculty of geography at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv .

1977–1980 — deputy secretary of the Young Communist League Committee of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

1980–1983 — PhD student of the chair of economy and social geography at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

1983–1986 — head teacher of history and geography at the preparation faculty for foreign students of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

1986–1992 — assistant professor of economy and social geography at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

1992–2010 — head of the chair for international relations and foreign service at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

1992–2010 — dean of the faculty of international relations at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv.

The Portuguese Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Anatolii Zlenko (with concurrent accreditation) (1997–2000);
Kostyantyn Tymoshenko (2001–2005);
Rostyslav Tronenko (2005–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Oleksandr Nykonenko



Born on October 24, 1953 in Kyiv. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1976), researcher-translator, teacher of Spanish and English.

1971–1976 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1974–1975 — student of the Havana University in Cuba.

1976–1978 — service in the Soviet Army.

1978–1979 — interpreter of Spanish at the military unit No 44708, Moscow.

1979–1985 — information officer, senior information officer, deputy head of the section at the Ukrainian Society for

Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries, Kyiv.

1985–1988 — head of the film library of the Representation of Soviet Friendship Societies in the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique.

1988–1992 — deputy head, head of the section of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America at the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Links with Foreign Countries, Kyiv.

1992–1993 — head of the section for countries of the Latin America at the Department of Bilateral Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — counselor, Temporary Charge d'Affaires of Ukraine to the Republic of Argentina.

1994–1995 — deputy head, head of the Department of the Asian Countries, APAC, Middle East and Africa of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1995–1996 — Consul-Ambassador, Temporary Charge d'Affaires of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Brazil.

1996–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Brazil, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of

Ukraine to the Republic of Bolivia, the Republic of Venezuela and the Republic of Ecuador with concurrent accreditation.

2000–2001 — acting head, head of the Fourth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — director of the Department of Bilateral Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2003 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Poland.

2003–2004 — Ambassador at large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Argentina.

2004–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Chile, the Republic of Paraguay , the Southern Republic of Uruguay with concurrent accreditation.

2008–2010 — director of the Department on control for armament and military-technical cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2008–2010 — representative of Ukraine at the Joint Compliance & Inspection Commission.

The Russian Federation

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodymyr Kryzhaniv'skii (1992–1994); Volodymyr Fedorov (1995–1999);
Mykhola Biloblots'kii (1999–2005); Oleh Diomin (2006–2008);
Konstantyn Grischenko (2008–2010)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2010

Volodymyr Yelchenko



Born on 27 June 1959, Kyiv.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1981), international lawyer, assistant –interpreter of English. 1976–1981 — student of the faculty international relations and international law at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1981–1984 — the third secretary of the Protocol Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1984–1986 — the third secretary, the second secretary of the section of international organizations at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukr. SSR. 1986–1992 — the second secretary of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine at the UN, New York

City. 02.1992–04.1992 — the first secretary of the section of international security at the Department on issues of Armaments Limitation and Disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1993 — acting head of the section, the deputy head of the section of international organizations — head of the unit for political issues of the UN and the Security Council at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 02.1993–08.1993 — observer on civil issues of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the former Yugoslavia. 1993–1995 — head of the section on political issues UN and its special offices, deputy head of the Department of International Organization at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1995–1997 — head of the Department of International Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, member of collegium at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1997–1999 — permanent representative of Ukraine at the UN, USA. 1999–2000 — permanent representative of Ukraine in the UN Security Council, USA. 2000–2001 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2001–2003 — deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 03.2003–07.2003 — state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2003–2004 — the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 2004–2005 — the first Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine — chief of staff. 2005–2007 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Austria and permanent representative of Ukraine at the international organizations in Vienna. 2007–2010 — permanent representative of Ukraine at the International organizations in Vienna.

Romania

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2008.**

Markian Kulyk



Born on July 27th in 1970 in Lviv.

In 1992 — graduated Moscow State Institute of International Relations of Ministry of Foreign Affairs qualified as lawyer-specializing in international law.

Doctor of law in International (2008).

Married, has a son and two daughters.

Knows English, Russian and Polish languages.

1991–1994 — contractual-law department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1994–1998 and 2001–2004 — Permanent mission of Ukraine to Organization of United Nations, engaged in International law matters, people's rights, social problems when Ukraine was in the chair of General Assembly of Organization of United Nations.

1997–1998 — counsellor in office of the Head of General Assembly. deputy permanent representative of Ukraine in Organization of United Nations during Ukraine membership in the Security Council of Organization of United Nations.

Not once was elected to leading posts in working bodies of the Organization of United Nations no than once. Chaired Special Committee for Statute of Organization of United Nations and strengthening its role the Committee for programs and coordination.

Deputy director of treaty-law department of Ministry of Foreign affairs, head of the office of Organization of United Nations and other International organizations.

Deputy head of General Service of foreign policy the Secretary of President of Ukraine before his appointment on post of ambassador extraordinary of Ukraine in Romania.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Leonid Gurianov (2002–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2009**

Petro Kolos



Born on 11 July 1948, Kyiv.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko State National University of Kyiv: in 1971 — the faculty of Romance-Germanic philology, interpreter-assistant, English lecturer; in 1979 — the law faculty, Lawyer.

1966–1971 — student of the faculty of Romance-Germanic philology of the Taras Shevchenko State University of Kyiv.

1971–1972 — senior methodologist of the faculty of international law of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv .

1972–1975 — interpreter of English; representative of Contract No 77025, Bagdad (Iraq).

1975–1981 — interpreter, teacher of English at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1981–1983 — deputy head on ideology of the student campus at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv .

1983–1984 — deputy dean on work with foreign students and post-graduates, teacher of the decimestrial courses of foreign languages at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv .

1984–1988 — deputy chief editor at the Publishers of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1988–1989 — chief interpreter on the construction of metallurgical industrial complex, (Adzaokuta, Nigeria).

1989–1994 — representative of the building and installation company during construction of the Adzaokuta metallurgical industrial complex, Lagos (Nigeria).

1994–1995 — representative of the Russian foreign economic firm ELZA, senior expert of the trade mission of the Russian Federation in Nigeria, Lagos.

1995–1995 — representative of the complex Zakordonbudmontazh in Nigeria, Western Africa, senior expert of the Russian Federation trade mission in Nigeria, Lagos.

1996–1997 — the first secretary, consul, acting head of the section of Middle East countries of the Department of APR and Middle East countries and Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

02.1997–07.1997 — head of the section of Middle East countries of the Department of APR and Middle East countries and Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

07.1997–08.1997 — acting head of the Department of APR and Middle East countries and Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1997–1998 — deputy head — the section of Middle East countries of the Department of APR and Middle East countries and Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

08.1998–10.1998 — deputy head of the Fifth Territorial Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2000 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the State of Israel.

02.2000–09.2000 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Federal Republic Nigeria.

2000–2001 — acting deputy head of the First Territorial Department — deputy head of the Sixth Territorial Department — head of the section of Middle East countries of the Department of APR and Middle East countries and Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2005 — the first secretary of the Ambassador of Ukraine to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2005–2007 — head of the section of APAC countries of the Third Territorial Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2009 — deputy head of Third Territorial Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

04.2010 — till now — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Sultanate of Oman with concurrent accreditation.

The Republic of Serbia

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Ruslan Demchenko (2003–2005); Anatoliy Oliinik (2005–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2009**

Victor Nedopas



Born on 23 July, 1962 in t. Shpola, Cherkassy oblast.
1985 — graduated from the Kiev Polytechnical Institute.
The Military Post-Graduation School, Monterey, California, USA: course on defense resources management (1998);
The Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine: Master's program on international relations, (2002–2003); the Royal Defense College, the National Academy of Defense;
The United Kingdom: post-graduation course on international relations (2005); the Royal College, London; the University of London, the United Kingdom: Master's program on international relations (2005–2006).

Proficient in English. Married, has a daughter.

1993–1999 — the second secretary, the first secretary, counselor, head of the section on non-proliferation, military-technical cooperation and export control of the Department on armament and disarmament control at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1993 — member of the group of inspectors according to the CFE, START-1, INF treaties. 1995–1996 — work in the OSCE Mission in Georgia.

1999–2002 — the first secretary of the Ambassador of Ukraine to the USA.

2002–2003 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — head of the section on USA and Canada of the Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2005 — deputy head of the Fourth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — student of the Royal Defense College, the National Academy of Defense, the United Kingdom; the University of London, the United Kingdom.

2006–2008 — deputy head of the Department on NATO, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2008–2009 — Temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the Republic of Iraq.

The Syrian Arab Republic

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodimir Koval (2002–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2008**

Oleg Semenets



Born on 14 June 1946 in Moscow.

1969 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

Researcher-translator of English. Doctor of philology. Professor (1986).

Well-known scholar, the author of 13 books and about 100 articles on ethnolinguistics, theory of translation, country study and international relations.

Married, has a son.

1981–1992 — dean of the faculty of foreign philology, head the chair of translation theory and practice at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1992–1993 — deputy head of the National Center of Ukraine on International Technical Assistance at the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

1993–1995 — temporary charge d'affaires of Ukraine to the United Arab Emirates.

1995–1998 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the United Arab Emirates and the Republic of Yemen (with concurrent accreditation).

1998–1999 — head of the First Territorial Department (the RF and CIS) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1999–2001 — head of the Department of Armament Control and Military Technical Cooperation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of India, the Kingdom of Nepal, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (with concurrent accreditation).

2007 —assistant of deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat of Ukraine.

2007–2008 — head of the First Territorial Department (the RF and CIS) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Singapore

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Pavlo Sultanskyi



Born on January 3, 1957 in vil. Kostyantynstsi, Kharkiv oblast.

Graduated from the Institute of Asia and Africa at the Lomonosov State University of Moscow (1983) specializing in the eastern economy.

Proficient in English and Chinese.

Married, has a son.

Rewards: Certificate of Honour of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (December 2006).

1974–1975 — computer serviceman of the Kyiv Aviation Production Association.

1975–1977 — service at the border-security forces.

1977–1977 — loader-driver of battery-powered truck at the Kyiv Aviation Production Association.

1977–1983 — student of the preparation faculty, student, trainee at the Institute of Asia and Africa at the Lomonosov State University of Moscow.

1983–1984 — trainee at the chair of international economic relations of the Institute of the Asia and Africa at the Lomonosov State University of Moscow.

1984–1987 — teacher of Chinese at the Kyiv Boarding school No 1.

1988–1989 — senior expert of Production Association Ukrimpex, Kyiv.

1989–1990 — head of the foreign trade section of the Artem Production Association of Kyiv.

1990–1992 — deputy chief of the LLC “Metas” of Kyiv.

1992–1994 — the second, the first secretary of the division of Asian, African and APAC countries of the Department of the bilateral relations of the the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1994–1995 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to Japan.

1995–1997 — the first secretary, counsellor, chief of the regional analysis section at the Department of Policy Analysis and Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1997–1998 — acting head, deputy head of the Department of European and Transatlantic Integration — chief of the EU section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2000 — Consul Ambassador, Temporary Charge d’Affairs of Ukraine to the People’s Republic of China.

2000–2003 — deputy head, acting head of the EU Section at the Department for the European Integration of the MFO of Ukraine.

2003–2003 — Ambassador of the Department for Ambassadors-at-large and Chief Counselors of the MOF of Ukraine.

2003–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Kingdom of Cambodia (on concurrent accreditation).

2008–2010 — director of the Department of Foreign Economic Cooperation of the MOF of Ukraine.

2010–2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the Section of International Sector Cooperation of the Department of Foreign Economic Cooperation of the MOF of Ukraine.

The Republic of Slovakia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Roman Lubkivskyi (1992–1993); Petro Sardachuk (1993–1994);
Dmitro Pavlychko (1995–1998); Yuryi Rylach (1998–2004);
Serhii Ustich (2004–2005); Inna Ognivets (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2010**

Oleh Gavashi



Born on November 24, 1958 in t. Mukachevo , Zakarpacie oblast.

Graduated from the Uzhgorod National University (1982) specializing in mathematics;

Kyiv University of Law of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine (2008), lawyer.

Proficient in Hungarian and English.

Married, has a son.

Has the title of honor “Honoured Teacher of Ukraine”.

1976–1983 — laboratory assistant, educator, teacher of mathematics at the secondary school No 1 in t Mukachevo Transcarpathian region.

1983–1985 — deputy principal for educational work at the secondary school N 4. t. Mukachevo, Zakarpacie oblast.

1985–1986 — inspector of the education department at the Mukachevo Executive Committee of the People’s Deputies.

1986–1994 — principal of the Pushkin secondary school No 1 in t. Mukachevo, Zakarpacie oblast.

1994–05.1998 — principal of the Mukachevo 1st-3rd degree secondary school No 13.

1998–1999 — inspector of the education department at the Mukachevo Municipal Council.

1999–2000 — head of the education and science department of the Zakarpacie Oblast State Administration in Uzhgorod.

2000–2001 — deputy head of the Zakarpacie Oblast State Administration in Uzhgorod.

2001–2001— head of the raion state administration of the town Vinogradiv, Zakarpacie Oblast.

2002–2003 — the first deputy mayor, acting city mayor, Mukachevo city of Zakarpatie Oblast.

2003–2005 — assistant-consultant of the people's deputy of Ukraine city Mukachevo of Zakarpatie Oblast..

2005–2005 — deputy head of the Zakarpatie State Oblast Administration, Uzhgorod city, Zakarpatie oblast.

2005–2005 — the first deputy head of the Zakarpatie State Oblast Administration, Uzhgorod city, Zakarpatie oblast.

2005–2010 — head of the Zakarpatie State Oblast Administration, Uzhgorod city, Zakarpatie oblast.

The Republic of Slovenia

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Ivan Hnatushyn (2004–2006); Vadym Prymachenko (2007–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2011**

Mykola Kyrychenko



Born on May 15, 1954 in Kyiv. Graduated from the faculty of international relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, translator and information assistant of English (1978).

Proficient in English.

Married, has a daughter.

Awards: Badge of Honor of the First Class of the MFO of Ukraine (December 2007), Certificate of Honor of the MFO of Ukraine (July 2009), Medal of Merit of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine (December 2009), Certificate of the State Frontier Service of Ukraine (December 2010).

1971–1978 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1976–1977 — interpreter of English at the All-Union Association Zakordonbudmash of the Ministry of Assembling and Special Engineering of the USSR, the Republic of Somali.

1977–1978 — laboratory assistant of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1978–1979 — information officer of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Kyiv.

1979–1979 — attaché of the section for international organization of the MFO of Ukr.SSR.

1979–1981 — the third secretary of the section for international organization of the MFO of Ukr.SSR.

1981–1985 — the second secretary of the section for international organization of the MFO of Ukr.SSR.

1985–1991 — the first secretary of the Protocol Department of the MFO of Ukr. SSR.

1991–1991 — the first secretary of the Consular Department of the MFO of Ukr. SSR.

- 1991–1992 — Consul of the Consulate General of the USSR in New York.
- 1992–1994 — Consul of the Consulate General of Ukraine in New York.
- 1994–1995 — head of the section at the Department of for the International Organization of the MFO of Ukraine.
- 1995–1997 — the first deputy head of the Consular Department of the MFO of Ukraine.
- 1997–2000 — Consul-General of Ukraine to Toronto, Canada.
- 2000–2001 — counselor, head of the consular section of the Embassy of Ukraine to Canada.
- 2001–2002 — acting head of the Fourth Territorial Department at the Department of Multilateral Cooperation of the MFO of Ukraine.
- 2002–2003 — head of the Department for the State Protocol.
- 2003–2006 — Consul-General of Ukraine to Istanbul.
- 2004–2006 — representative of Ukraine on concurrent accreditation at the Organization for Black Sea Economic Cooperation.
- 2006–2009 — Consul-General of Ukraine to New York, USA.
- 2009–2011 — head of the HR Department of the MFO of Ukraine.

The United States of America

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Konstantin Gryshchenko (2000–2003); Mykhailo Reznik (2003–2006);
Oleh Shamshur (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2010**

Oleksandr Motsik



Born on 3 May 1955 in village Gorodets, Rivne oblast.

1981 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, international lawyer, researcher-translator of English. 1972–1973 — common labourer at the homebuilding plant No 3, Kyiv. 1973–1975 — service in the army.

1975–1976 — airman at the homebuilding plant No 3, Kyiv.

1976–1981 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1981–1985 — the third secretary of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR.

1985–1987 — the third and then the second secretary of section of International organizations at the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs of the Ukr.SSR. 1987–1990 — the second and then the first Secretary of the personnel section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR.

1990–1992 — the first secretary of the Treaty-Law Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1995 — the second, the first secretary, Consul of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the UN, New York City.

1995–1997 — head of the Treaty-Law Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1997–2001 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Turkey.

1999–2001 — representative of Ukraine at the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation.

2001–2003 — deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2005 — first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine or the European Integration. 2005–2006 — first deputy state secretary of the President of Ukraine.

01.2006–06.2010 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Poland.

The Kingdom of Thailand

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Ihor Gumennyi (2004–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since 2008**

Markiyan Chuchuk



Born on March 11, 1961 in Ivano-Frankivsk.

1983 — graduated the State University of Chernivtsi specializing in biology. Married.

1983–1990 — senior laboratory assistant, assistant at the chair of biology of the Medical Institute of Ivano-Frankivsk.

1990–1994 — people's deputy of Ukraine at the Verkhovna Rada, head of the sub-committee of the VR Commission on Human Rights.

Since 1994 occupied the following positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine:

The first secretary of the Ambassador of Ukraine to the Russian Federation;

Counselor of the section for analysis of the world development processes at the Department of Political Analysis and Panning (DPAP) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine;

Head of the section for analysis of the world development processes of the DPAP, policy advisor at the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG);

Deputy head of the section for analysis of the international relations of Ukraine at the Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine;

Deputy head of the Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Tunis

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since September 2007**

Valerii Rylach



Born on November 13, 1950 in village Urkivka, Uman raion, Cherkassy oblast.

1977 — graduated from the faculty of philosophy of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv; in 1990 — the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. PhD (philosophy).

Proficient in French. Married, has a son.

Awards during diplomatic career: the National Supreme Order of Cedar (Lebanon), Certificate of Merit of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Badge of Honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine of the 3rd class, the United Nations Medal.

1978–1981 — postgraduate, lecturer of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1981–1987 — political work.

1987–1990 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1990–1992 — the first secretary of the Ambassador of the USSR (RF) to the Republic of Mali.

1992–1993 — assistant professor of the Ukrainian Institute of international relations at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1993–1998 — the first secretary, counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of France.

1998–2000 — deputy head of the First Territorial Department — head of the RF section at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Russian Federation.

2001–2002 — Temporary Charge d'Affaires of Ukraine to the Republic of Lebanon, Consul Ambassador.

2002–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Lebanon.

2005–2007 — head of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Turkey

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Ihor Dolgov (2002–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since July 2008**

Sergey Korsunskii



Born on August 10, 1962 in Kyiv. In 1984 graduated from mechanical-mathematical faculty of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv specializing in mechanics.

1994 — finished the upgrading courses at the Kyiv Institute of International Relations.

Doctor of physics and mathematics, author of more than 120 scientific articles and publications, 6 monographs. Laureate of the European Academy Prize (1995),

Scholar of UNESCO (1993), honored economist of Ukraine (2008).

Married, has two daughters.

1984–1991 — research and scientific activities at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

1991–1994 — head of the Department for State Research and Technological Programmes at the of State Committee on Science and Technologies.

1994–1995 — the first secretary of the National Commission of Ukraine on UNESCO.

1995–1998 — counselor on economy, science and technology at the Embassy of Ukraine the State of Israel.

1998–2000 — deputy head of the Department of economic, and scientific and technical collaboration at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the national coordinator of Ukraine in the Central European Initiative.

2000–2006 — counselor, Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the USA, Charge d’Affairs of Ukraine to the USA.

2006–2008 — head of the Department of Economic Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of Turkmenistan

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Vadim Chuprun (1995–2004); Victor Maiko (2005–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since July 2010**

Valentyn Shevaliov



Born on April, 1950 in the Ramensk raion, Moscow oblast.

1975 — graduated from the Institute of the National Economy in Kyiv, economist. 1992 — graduated from the Academy of the National Economy under the jurisdiction of the RF Government, public servant. 1969–1970 — detailer at the Institute of Ukrvodokanalproject (Kyiv). 10.1970–11.1970 — engineer of the Integrated Communal Enterprises (Kyiv).

1971–1973 — senior technician, engineer, senior engineer of the Design Institute Dniprobudmaterials (Kyiv).

1973–1974 — senior engineer of the Institute Ukrliproderevprom (Kyiv).

1974–1980 — senior engineer, head of the section at the Construction Department Budmechanizatsia of the Golovkievbud Company. 1980–1981 — head of the section at the Budmechanizatsia Company.

1981–1983 — deputy director general of the Production Association Ukrpromdinamo.

04.1983–12.1983 — head of the section at the Construction Department-1 of the Budmechanizatsia Company.

1983–1992 — chief specialist, head of unit at the Economy Department of the Ministry of Civil Construction of Ukraine.

1992–1993 — deputy head of the Economy Department of the Ministry of Civil Construction of Ukraine. 01.1993–09.1993 — head of the Department of the Ownership Transfer Economy and Antitrust Measures in the Construction at the Ministry of Civil Construction and Architecture of Ukraine.

1993–1995 — deputy head of Kyiv City State Administration.

1995–2000 — deputy minister, the first deputy minister of foreign economic relations and trade of Ukraine. 2000–2003 — head of the trade-economic mission at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Slovak Republic.

2003–2005 — leader of trade-economic mission at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Bulgarian Republic.

2005–2007 — deputy director general of the CJSC Kievbudinvest.

2007–2009 — deputy chairman of the Board of Directors of the CJSC Interbudmontazh (Kyiv).

2009–2010 — head of the Department at the Ministry of Regional Development and Construction of Ukraine.

The Republic of Hungary

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Orest Klimpush (1997–2003); Yuri Mushka (2003–2006); Dmitro Tkach (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August 2010**

Yuri Mushka



Born on 8 September 1964 in t. Beregovo, Zakarpacie oblast.

Graduated from the Institute of International Relation of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1991), specialist of international relations, translator of English.

1981–1983 — electrician at the Industrial plant of the Beregovo District Consumer 's Union in the Zakarpacie oblast.

1983–1985 — service in Army.

1986–1991 — student of the Institute of International Relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1991–1992 — attaché, the third secretary of the Consul Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1992–1993 — the second secretary of the consular-legal sector of the Consul Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1997 — the third, the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Hungary.

1997–1998 — counselor, head of the section of the Central and Eastern Europe at the Department of Europe and America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2000 — acting head of the Third Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2000–2002 — Consul, Temporary Charge d' Affairs of Ukraine to the Republic of Hungary.

2002–2003 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Hungary.

2003–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Hungary.

2006–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Korea.

2008–2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the Forth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2010 — till now — Plenipotentiary of Ukraine in the Danube Commission.

The Republic of Uzbekistan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Volodymyr Smetanin (1993–1999); Anatoliy Kas'yanenko (2000–2005);
Viacheslav Pokhval'skyi (2006–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since February 2011**

Yurii Savchenko



Born on May 2, 1954, vil. Potyiyvtsy, Radomyshl raion, Zhytomir oblast.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1976) specializing in international relations, assistant-interpreter of French.

Proficient in French. Married.

Rewards: Certificate of Honor of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2008).

1976–1978 — service in the Soviet Army.

1978–1982 — secretary of the Young Communist League unit at the vocational school № 12, Podol raion of Kyiv.

1982–1983 — senior research worker of the scientific communism chair at the National Polytechnic Institute of Kyiv.

1983–1986 — postgraduate course at the National Polytechnic Institute of Kyiv.

1986–1990 — information assistant, deputy head of the group for promotion of the USSR foreign policy, chief of the lecturers' group at the Information Society Znannya of the Ukr.SSR in Kyiv.

1990–1996 — president of the Ukrainian Informational and Educational Consulting Company Ukrinproko in Kyiv.

1996–1998 — head of the Africa division at the Department of Asia, Africa and APAC of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine of Kyiv.

1998–1999 — head of the Central and South Asia section of the Fifth Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1999–2002 — the first secretary, counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Swiss Confederacy.

2002–2003 — acting head of the second Western European section of the Second Territorial Department of the bilateral co-operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2003 — acting head of the Second Territorial Department of bilateral co-operation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Kyiv.

2003–2005 — deputy head of the Division of International Co-operation, Interstate relations and foreign policy of the Department of Economy Policy at the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, head of interstate relations.

2005–2008 — deputy head of the Department of Foreign Policy and International Cooperation at the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Kyiv.

2008–2009 — the first deputy head of the Department of Foreign Policy and International Cooperation at the Secretariat of Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Kyiv.

2009–2010 — head of the Department of Foreign Policy and International Cooperation at the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Kyiv.

2010–2011 — Chief of the Foreign Policy Bureau of the Secretariat of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, Kyiv.

The Republic of Finland

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Petro Sardachuk (2001–2004); Oleksandr Maidannyk (2004–2007)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since December 2007**

Andrii Deschitsa



Born on September 22, 1965 in the Lviv oblast.
1989 — graduated from the Ivan-Franko State University
in Lviv.

1993–1995 — student of the Albert University (Edmonton,
Canada), Master of humanities.

PhD (political science) (1995).

Married, has a daughter.

1996–1999 — press-secretary, the first secretary of the
Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Poland.

1999–2001 — senior coordinator of the Poland-America-
Ukraine Cooperation Initiative Program in Ukraine.

2001–2004 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Finland

2004–2006 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Poland .

2006–2007 — spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Republic of France

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:

Yury Kochubei (1992–1997); Yuriy Serheev (2003–2007);

Konstantin Tymoshenko (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2010**

Oleksandr Kupchishyn



Born on June 1952 in vil. Pereginsk, Rozhnyatinskii raion, the Ivano-Frankivsk oblast.

1974 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, international lawyer, assistant-interpreter of English. 1990 — graduated from the Diplomatic Academy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, diplomat; PhD (law).

1969–1974 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1974–1982 — postgraduate, assistant of the international law and foreign legislation chair at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1982–1988 — official (P-3) of the UN Department Secretariat.

1988–1990 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of USSR. 08.1990–09.1990 — the second secretary (in reserve) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1990–1992 — the first secretary of the sector of international organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1992–1992 — head of the treaty-law sector of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of France.

1996–1998 — head of the Department for European Regional Collaboration, the Department of European and Transatlantic Integration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1998–2001 — permanent representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe. 2001–2004 — head of the Legal Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large. 2004–2005 — Ambassador-at-large of the Treaty-Law Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

07.2005–12.2005 — Ambassador-at-large of the Treaty-Law Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2005–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Netherlands. 2005–2008 — permanent representative of Ukraine to the Organization for Prohibition of the Chemical Weapons.

2008–2010 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

02.2010–06.2010 — authorized representative (coordinator) on Proving Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women and Men.

2010 — by now — permanent representative of Ukraine to UNESCO.

The Republic of Croatia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Markyian Lubkivskyi (2007–2009); Boris Zaychuk (2009–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since October 2010**

Oleksandr Levchenko



Born on November 3, 1963, Kyiv.

Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1985) specializing in history, teacher of history and social science; the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine (1999), Master of Foreign Policy; the Ukrainian Academy of Foreign Trade (2003), Master of International Management.

Proficient in English, Croatian and Serbian.

Married, has a daughter. Rewards: Certificate of Honor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (August 2005), Medal For Work and Victory (August 2007).

1985–1988 — teacher of history and social science at the secondary school No 178 in Kyiv. 1988–1991 — deputy principal of the secondary school N 53 of Kyiv.

1991–1992 — senior inspector, deputy head of the department of education at the Lenin raion executive committee in Kyiv.

1992–1993 — the third secretary of section of the Central European Countries of the Second Territorial Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1997 — Vice-Consul of the Consulate General of the Union Republic of Yugoslavia, the second, the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Union Republic of Yugoslavia.

1997–1999 — student of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 1999–2001 — Counselor on the position of the deputy head of the Department of Information, head of informational and analytical section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — acting head of the Department, head of the informational and analytical section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2002–2006 — Counselor of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Croatia.

2006–2007 — deputy permanent representative of the President of Ukraine in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

2007–2010 — deputy head of the Forth Territorial Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

The Czech Republic

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Sergey Ustich (1999–2004); Ivan Kuleba (2004–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since June 2009**

Ivan Grytsak



Born on 14 November, 1949 in vil. Chervone, Uzhgorod raion, Zakarpatie oblast.

1976 — graduated from the Uzhgorod State University specializing in history and social science.

Proficient in Czech, Slovakian, Polish.

Married, has two daughters.

1968–1970 — service in the Army.

1976–1990 — occupied various positions at the Young Communist League and Communist party bodies.

1990–1998 — head of the Irshava raion Council of People's Deputies and the Executive Committee, deputy

head of Zakarpatie Oblast Council of People's Deputies of the Zakarpatie Oblast State Administration.

1998–2001 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Czech Republic.

2001–2003 — principal counselor of the Department of Principal Counselors of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, principal counselor, head of the group for coordination of relations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the regions of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large of the Department for Ambassadors-at-large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2003–2007 — Consul-General of Ukraine to Lublin the (Republic of Poland).

2007–2009 — Consul, deputy head of the main Service of Foreign Policy at the Presidential Secretariat of Ukraine.

The Republic of Montenegro

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since December 2008**

Oksana Slyusarenko



Born in Odessa on 23 April 1962.

1984 — graduated from the Odessa Polytechnic Institute, the faculty of economic information processing techniques, engineer-economist.

Doctor of economy (1998), Professor (2003).

1984–1989 — engineer of the research sector, assistant at the chair, postgraduate of the Odessa Polytechnic Institute.

1989–1993 — head of the advertising informational sector, director of the travel agency, economy adviser to the President of the International Innovative Center (JSC “Innocente”) of Odessa.

1993–1996 — PhD student of the State University of Odessa.

1995–1998 — President of the Odessa International Innovative Center (JSC Innocenter)

1998–1999 — leading research worker of the Council for Study of the Productive Forces in Ukraine at the National Academy of Science of Ukraine.

1999–2002 — First Deputy Chairman of the Board, Chairman of the Board of the CJSC Kreditno-Garantiina Ustanova.

2002–2003 — head of the Department for Financial Institutions and Markets of the Ministry of Finance of Ukraine.

2003–2005 — Advisor of the first Vice-Prime-Minister of Ukraine.

2005–2007 — Vice-Rector on research, Rector of the Ukraine Academy of Business and Entrepreneurship.

2007–2008 — deputy of Minister of Economy.

2008 — deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat, representative of the President at the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

The Swiss Confederation

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Evhen Bersheda (2000–2003)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since May 2008**

Igor Dir



Born on 11 August, 1971 in Tbilisi, Georgia.

1995 — postgraduate of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, the faculty of international law, international lawyer, Master of Law.

Proficient in English, Arabic, Slovak.

Married, has a son.

Rewards: Order of Merit of the 3-rd class, Diploma of Honor of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

1995–1998 — attaché, the third, the second, the first secretary of the section of international legal issues of the multilateral collaboration at the Treaty-Law Department of the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1998–2002 — the first secretary (Head of Consul Department) of the Embassy of Ukraine to Great Britain, deputy of the full-time Ambassador of Ukraine to International Sea Organizations.

2002–2004 — head of the Consular Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2007 — head of the Department of the European Integration, head of the European Union Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2007–2008 — head of the Main Service of Foreign Policy at Presidential Secretariat of Ukraine.

2009 — till now — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Liechtenstein Principality with concurrent accreditation.

The Kingdom of Sweden

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Oleksandr Slipchenko (1999–2002)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since August, 2008**

Evhen Perebyinis



Born on 9 November, 1968 in Ternopil.

1992 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv .

Proficient in English, Czech, Slovak.

Married, has a daughter.

1985–1987 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1987–1989 — service in the Army.

1989–1992 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1992–1994 — attaché, the third, the second secretary of the Information Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1994–1998 — the second, the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Czech Republic.

1998–2000 — senior counselor, chief counselor, deputy head of the section at the Main Department of Foreign Policy at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Hellenic Republic.

2001–2004 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Czech Republic.

2004–2006 — deputy head of the Main Department of Foreign Policy at the Presidential Administration of Ukraine, head of the Department of Bilateral and Regional Cooperation at Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2006–2008 — Consul General of Ukraine to Prešov, the Slovak Republic).

Japan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine:
Mikhail Dashkevych (1995–1999); Yurii Kostenko (2001–2006);
Volodimir Makuha (2006–2006)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine
since April 2007

Mykola Kulinych



Born on July 19, 1953 in Kyiv.

1976 — graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the faculty of international relations and international law.

1976–1979 — postgraduate of the chair of history of international relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

PhD (history of international relations) (1982).

1994 — researcher at the Maryland University of the Maryland St. (USA) and the Johns Hopkins University, Washington (USA).

Proficient in English.

Married, has two sons.

1979–1988 — assistant, senior lecturer.

1988–1991 — assistant professor of the chair of international relations and international law at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1991–1994 — the first deputy head of the Institute of international relations at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1994–1997 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan.

1997–1998 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan.

1998–2001 — deputy head of the Fifth Territorial Department (APAC countries) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

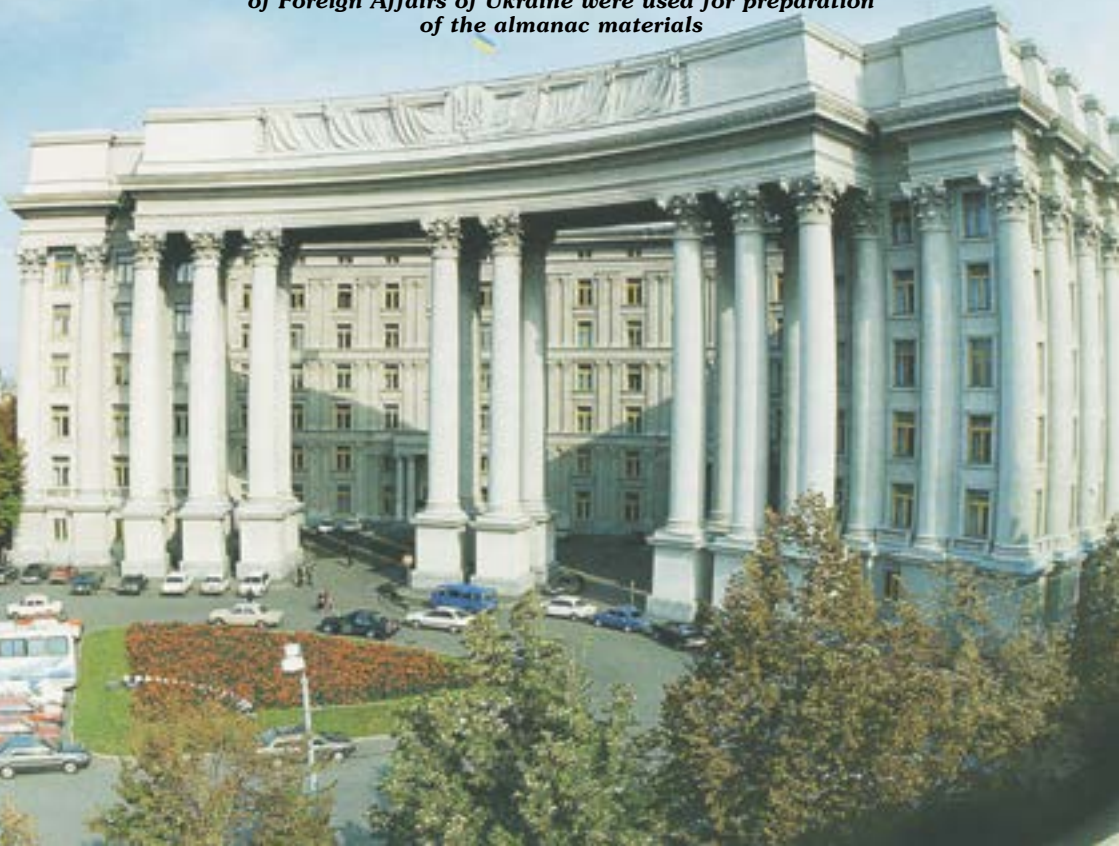
2001–2003 — Consul Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Korea.

2003–2007 — Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of the foreign countries in Ukraine

**Biographic information is presented as of September 1, 2011.
Data about possible changes in composition of the heads
of diplomatic missions along with their biographic data
will be provided in the next issues of the almanac.**

***Data of the Department of the State Protocol of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine were used for preparation
of the almanac materials***



The Republic of Austria

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Georg Gerhard Weiss (1992–1997); Klaus Fabian (1997–2001);
Michael Miess (2001–2006); Joseph-Markus Vuketich (2006–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010**

Wolf Dietrich Heim



Born on July 23, 1967 in Kirchdorf.

Graduated from the Marianopolis college in Montreal (1986); the University of Chile (1991); the Wien University of Economy and Business (1994); the ESADE Law and Business School in Barcelona (1994); the National Academy of Administration in Strasburg and Paris (1996).

Married, has two children.

1997–2001 — director of the Cultural Forum of the Austrian Embassy in Tokyo.

2001–2003 — deputy head of the Austrian Embassy Mission in Helsinki.

2004–2006 — deputy head of the Presidential Secretariat of the Austrian Republic.

2006 — worked at the European Union Council.

2006–2010 — deputy inspector general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Austrian Republic.

The Republic of Azerbaijan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Nazim Hussein-ogly Ibragimov (1977–2001);
Talyat Museib oglu Aliev (2001–2010)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010

Einulla Yadulla oglu Madatli



Born in 1954 in Nakhichevan, Azerbaijan. Graduated from the State University of Nakhichevan, the historical faculty (1975); post graduation course of the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan (1981).

PhD (philosophy), assistant professor.

Proficient in Turkish, Russian, Persian, English and Urdu.

Married, has three children.

1975–1977 — teacher of the secondary school.

1977–1996 — employee, head of the section, vice-rector, the Party Committee of the Shakhbug district, the Research Centre of Nakhechivan, the Nakhechivan State University, the Party

Committee of the Nakhichivan oblast.

1991–1995 — peoples' deputy of the Ali Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

1996 — Consul General of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Tebriz of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

1996–2001 — counselor of the Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan of the Islamic Republic of Iran адник.

2001–2002 — advisor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

2002–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Belmarul Kamerzerman (1992–1997); Sherif Shikhi (1997–2005); Mokamed Bafdal
(2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2009**

Mokhammed Bashyr Mazzuz



Born on March 20, 1951. Graduated from the University of Nice (France), Master of Economy.

Married, has three children.

1980–1982 — the deputy director for trade, the Ministry of Trade.

1982–1989 — Director of the Credit Agricole Department, the Ministry of Finance.

1989–1993 — the deputy director of Personnel, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1993–1997 — Minister Plenipotentiary for Economy, the Embassy of Algeria in Paris.

1997–2001 — the deputy director of staff, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2001–2005 — the Consul of Algeria in Nice and Monaco.

2005–2008 — the deputy director of economy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2008–2009 — director of economy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Argentine Republic

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Loise Bakerisa (1993–1999); Migel Anchel Kuneo (2000–2007)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2007 *поки***

Lila Roldan Vazquez de Moine



Born in San-Miguel de Tucuman in Argentine. Master of Law on European Integration (Complutense University of Madrid in Spain), post-graduation course on administration law (the National University of the Tucuman Province), Professor of the international public law (the National University of Buenos-Aires). Proficient in English, French, Portuguese, German, Russian and Italian languages. Married.

Occupied the following positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentine: — director general of the Main Department for Combating the International Drug Traffic at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Cult of the Argentine Republic; — head of the Special Representation for International Negotiations on the Environment; — head of the Department on Political Issues MERCOSUR of the Sub-Secretariat of the Latin America Policy; — head of the Secretariat on the Consular Issues; — chief coordinator of the South America Department of the Sub-Secretariat of the Latin America Policy; — head of the Department of Neighboring Countries and Border Policy; — officer of the main Department of the Foreign Policy, Special Office on Disarmament, Main Department of International Organizations.

1983–1988 — officer of the political section of the Argentine Embassy in Mexico.

1990–1992 — officer of the Secretariat of the Diplomatic Service Employees Association. 1992–1994 — head of the Political Section of the Embassy of Argentine in Spain.

1994–1997 — deputy Consul General, head of the Trade and Economy Section of the Argentine Consulate General in Rio-de-Janeiro, Brazil.

2001–2003 — vice president of the Professional Association of the Diplomatic Service Employees. Member of the Argentine-Uruguay Commission on using the Uruguay river at the Intergovernmental Committee of the Rio de la Plata Basin Countries; coordinator of activities of the Argentine Interdepartmental Commission on Border Issues.

The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Temporary Charge d'Affaires:
Mohamed Amman (1995–2000); Saed Mahmud Farani (2000–2005)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2005**

Mohamed Asef Delavar



Born in 1948, ethnic Pashtun. Graduated from the Mahmud-raki Lyceum (Kapisa Province), the Military Infantry School and upgrading courses for military officers.

Military rank — General of the Army, has state awards.

1968–1980 — commanding officer of the platoon, squadron, battalion, regiment, the 14th infantry division in town Gazna.

1980–1981 — deputy commanding officer of the 14th infantry division.

1981–1982 — commanding officer of the 14th infantry division.

1982–1985 — commanding officer of the 13th infantry division of the 3rd corps.

1985–1987 — commanding officer of the 3rd and central corps.

1987–1992 — head of the General Staff of the Afghanistan military forces.

1992–2001 — senior retired officer.

2001–2003 — head of the General Staff of the Afghanistan military forces.

2003–2005 — senior retired officer.

The Kingdom of Belgium

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Ingeborg Christofersen (1992–1995); Wilfred Nartois (1995–1998); Pierre Jean Marie Antoine Vazen (1998–2000); Pierre Debiouison (2000–2003); Pierre Kolo (2003–2006), Mark Vink (2006–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2011**

Yana Zikmundova



Born on December 2, 1955 in Roudnice.

Has a diploma on the history of arts and archaeology of the University in Liege.

Married, has two daughter.

1984–1986 — central staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium.

1986–1989 — Embassy of Belgium in Lima, Peru.

1989–1994 — the first secretary, in charge of the work on piece-making activities in the Near East at the Permanent Representation of Belgium in the UN, New York.

1994–1997 — Embassy of Belgium in Bern, Switzerland.

1997–1998 — head of the Department on the UN Specialized Agencies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium.

1998–2000 — Department for the European Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium.

2000–2004 — counsellor at the Permanent Representation of Belgium in the UN in Geneva.

2004–2008 — Consul Ambassador for Europe and Africa of the Embassy of Belgium in London.

2008–2010 — Director of the EU Trade Policy and WTO of the Department for the European Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, deputy representative of Belgium at the EU Trade Policy Committee.

2010–2011 — head of the EU Trade Policy Committee at the level of deputies during Belgium presidency in the Council.

The Republic of Belarus

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Vitalii Kurashik (1993–2001)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since July 2001**

Valentyn V. Velychko



Born in 1944. Graduated from the Leningrad Technological Institute of Refrigerating Industry and the Academy of Social Sciences at the Communist Party Central Committee.

1962–1968 — operator of the refrigerating systems at the Brest dairy factory and Gomel meat packaging plant.

1968–1979 — the second and then the third secretary of the Novobilitsky Rayon Young Communist League Committee, the second secretary of the Gomel Rayon Young Communist League Committee, the second and the first secretary of the Gomel Oblast Young Communist League Committee.

1979–1982 — post-graduate of the Academy of Social Sciences at the Communist Party Central Committee.

1982–1983 — secretary of the Gomel Oblast Trade Union Council.

1983–1985 — head of the Soviet district Executive Committee in Gomel.

1985–1989 — the first Secretary of the Soviet district Executive Committee in Gomel of the Communist Party of Belarus.

1989 — deputy head of the Gomel Oblast Executive Committee.

1990–1993 — head of the Trade Union Association of the Gomel Oblast.

1993–1997 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Belarus to the Latvia Republic.

1997–1998 — Minister of the CIS of the Belarus Republic.

1999–2001 — the first Deputy Minister of the Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Belarus.

The Republic of Bulgaria

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Petar Kristev Markov (1992–1998); Aleksanrs Dimitrov (1998–2002);
Angel Ganev (2002–2007)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since July 2007**

Dimitar Vladimirov



Born on March 26, 1949 in the City of Sofia in Bulgaria. In 1979 he graduated from the Technical University in Sofia. Proficient in English, Russian and Ukrainian.

Married, has a son.

1996–1997 — received specialization ‘business administration and management’ in Germany.

1998–1999 — received specialization on scientific trade-economic information in the CIS.

1973–1990 — occupied various administration positions in administration of the Sofia City. Elected to the position of the Community Chairman.

1990–1993 — vice president of the State Foreign Economic Company Polymtimpotexport in the sphere of non-ferrous metallurgy.

1993–1999 — executive director of the private Company Limited Dineksim servicing commercial banks in the Republic of Bulgaria.

1999–2003 — representative general of the Company Bulgartabak in Ukraine.

2003–2006 — Minister Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria in Ukraine, deputy head of the Mission.

2006–2007 — temporary charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria in Ukraine.

The Federative Republic of Brazil

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Asdrúbal Pinto de Ulissea (1995–1998);

Mario Augusto Santos (1998–2001);

Elder Martins de Moraes (2001–2003);

Renato Luiz Rodrigues Marques (2003–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine since
September 2009**



Antonio Fernando Cruz de Mello

Born on October 9, 1949 in the City of Rio-de-Janeiro in Brazil.

Citizen of Brazil.

Married.

Start of the Mission — August 17, 2009.

Holly See (Vatikan)

**Apostolic nuncios in Ukraine:
Antonio Franco (1992–1999); Nicola Eterovich (1999–2004);
Ivan Yurkovych (2004–2011)**

**Temporary Charge d’Affairs of the Apostolic Nunciature in
Ukraine since 2011**

The Reverend Father Vecheslav Tumir



The second secretary of the Apostolic Nunciature — the Reverend Father Vecheslav Tumir.

Born in 1977, ordained for ministry in 2002. On completion of studies in theology in Djakovo graduated from the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross and the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy in Rome. Doctor of canonic law.

In 2007 entered into diplomatic service of the Holly See and worked in Zimbabwe

In 2009 the Reverend Father Vecheslav Tumir was appointed as the secretary of the Apostolic Nunciature in Ukraine.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Simon Nicholas Pieter Himmans (1992–1995); Roy Stieven Rieve (1995–1999);
Robert Roland Headly Smith (1999–2002); Robert Edward Brinckly (2002–2006)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2008**

Robert Lee Turner



Born on March 13, 1958.

Married, has a son and a daughter.

1979–1983 — public service at the Department for Transport, the Government Property Agency, Department for Environment and Her Majesty's Treasury.

1984–1987 — the first diplomatic appointment to the Embassy of Great Britain in Vienne.

1987–1991 — worked in London dealing with political issues, particularly the EU budget and finance.

1992–1995 — the first secretary on economic issues at the Embassy of Great Britain in Moscow.

1995–1998 — deputy head, head of the Hong Kong Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain.

1998–2002 — the EU economic advisor in Bonn and later in Berlin.

2002–2006 — journalist of the Financial Times, Boston Globe and other newspapers.

2006–2008 — director of the Department of the Overseas Territories at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain in London.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Chong Tung (1993–1997); Doan Dik (1997–2002);
Vu Zoing Huan (2002–2006); Nguen Van Than (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since May 2010**

Ho Dak Min Guet



Born on June 26, 1959 in Nge An Province.

Graduated from the Lipetsk Pedagogical University (the USSR) specializing in the Russian language and literature.

Proficient in English and Russian.

Married, has a son.

1981–1984 — senior information assistant of the USSR Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1984–1988 — attaché of the Embassy of Vietnam in the Soviet Union.

1992–1995 — the third secretary of the Embassy of Vietnam in Russia.

1995–1997 — student of the Diplomatic Academy in the Russian Federation.

1997–1998 — senior information assistant of the Department of Europe I at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1998–1999 — assistant of the director general of the Department of Europe I at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2000–2002 — deputy director general of the of the Department of Europe I at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2002–2006 — counselor of the Embassy of Vietnam in Russia.

2006–2009 — deputy director general of the of the Department of Europe at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

07.2009–12.2009 — director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

06.2010 — till now— Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the Republic of Moldova.

The Republic of Armenia

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Grach Silvanyan (1996–2003); Armen Avakovich Khachatryan (2003–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since May 2010**

Andranik Enokovych Manukyan



Born on January 5, 1954 in the vil. Agavnadzor, Razdanskii rayon, the Republic of Armenia.

Graduated from the Erevan Institute of the National Economy (1978); M.O. Voznesensky Financial-Economic Institute in Leningrad (1984). PhD (Economy).

Married, has two children.

1970–1973 — Razdanskii Cement Plant.

1973–1975 — service in the border troops of the USSR.

1985–1986 — senior research worker of the Erevan Institute of the National Economy.

1985–1990 — instructor, head of the department of the Erevan City Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia.

1990 — director general of the trade industrial company Armavtovaz.

1990–1995 — people's deputy of the Supreme Council of the Armenia Republic.

1999 — peoples deputy of the National Assembly of Armenia. Member of the Standing Committee on financial-credit, budget and economic issues.

2000 — minister-head of the Armenian Government staff.

2000–2001 — minister of state revenues of the Republic of Armenia.

2001–2008 — minister of transport and communication of the Republic of Armenia.

2008–2010 — advisor of the President of the Republic of Armenia.

The Hellenic Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Vasileos Patsikakis (1993–1998); Dimitris Kontumas (1998–2002);
Panayotis Gumas (2002–2005); Haralampos Dimitriou (2005–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since November 2009**

Georgios Georguntzos



Born in 1949 in t. Kalamata. Graduated from the law faculty of the Athens University.

Proficient in English, French, German and Italian.

Married, has two children.

Awarded with the Distinguished Service Cross of the first class, the Federative Republic of Germany; the Order of Merit, Austria; the Order of Phoenix, Greece; the Great Cross of the Alawis Dynasty.

1978–1979 — attaché of the Embassy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Office of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

1980 — the third secretary of the Embassy

1980 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department of the Bilateral Economic Relations.

1981 — the Embassy of Greece in Bonn.

1983 — the second secretary of the Embassy.

1985 — the first secretary of the Embassy.

1986 — Consul General of Greece in Bengasi.

1990 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Cyprus.

1991 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department for International Organizations.

1992–1993 — the diplomatic advisor of the Ministry for National Defense.

1994 — the Embassy of Greece in Algeria.

1994 — the Embassy of Greece in Vienne.

1998 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Department for Justice, Interior and Schengen.

2000 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, head of the Department for Olympic Games and International Sport Relations.

2005 — Ambassador of Greece in the Kingdom of Morocco.

Georgia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Valerii Chechelashvili (1994–1999); Malkhaz Chachava (1999–2000);
Grigol Katamadze (2000–2007); Merab Antadze (2007–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since February 2009**

Grigol Katamadze



Born on August 12, 1961 in Kutaisi, Georgia

In 1985 he graduated the faculty of international law and international relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

In 1991 he defended the PhD thesis at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv acquiring PhD degree in law. Has a number of research publications.

Awards: the 3rd class Order of Merit (2006), decoration from the President of Ukraine 'Order of the Prince Yaroslav, the Wise' (2007).

Married, has children and grandchildren.

1985–1993 — worked on various positions at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — deputy director of the Department for Foreign Economic Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia.

1995–1998 — Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of Georgia to Ukraine

1998–2000 — deputy minister of defense on military policy and international military cooperation in Georgia.

2000–2007 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Georgia to Ukraine.

2007–2008 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia.

2008–2009 — director on international development at the JSC *Bank of Georgia*, member of the supervisory board of the BG-Bank, advisor on private banking service to the chairman of the BG-Bank Board.

The Kingdom of Denmark

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Christian Faber Rod (1992–1997); Jorn Krogbek (1997–2001);
Martin Kofod (2001–2002); Christian Faber Rod (2002–2005)
with residence in Copenhagen; Uffe Andersson Balslev (2005–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since November 2009**

Michael Borg-Hansen



Born in Brussels, Belgium, in 1951. Married, has two daughters.

1982 — graduated from the University of Copenhagen specializing in ‘history and Russian language’, enrolled to the state diplomatic service.

1984 — secretary of the Delegations at the Stockholm Conference on measures for strengthening security, confidence and disarmament in Europe.

1985 — the first secretary, the Embassy of Denmark in Moscow.

1989 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Copenhagen.

1990 — the Ministry of Defense of Denmark, Copenhagen

1992 — the counselor for political affairs, the Embassy of Denmark in Washington.

1996 — the deputy director of the Department for Security Policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Copenhagen.

1996 — representative from Denmark at the High-Level Task Force in the UN.

2001 — senior advisor on foreign affairs, Office of the Prime Minister of Denmark.

2005 — minister-counsellor, deputy head of the Mission, the Embassy of Denmark in London.

2009 — Ambassador of Denmark in Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia.

The Republic of Estonia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Tit Matsulevich (1996–1999); Tiit Naber (1999–2002);
Paul Lettence (2002–2006)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2006**

Yaan Hein



Born in March, 1961. In 1984 graduated from the State University of Leningrad, the philosophy faculty, post-graduation course at the same university. Further education: 1990–1991 — the Institute of the European History, Mainz, Germany; 1992 — the Institute of International Relations in Geneva, Switzerland; 1994 — the Hoover Institute at the Stanford University, California, USA; 1997 — Advanced Course of the National Security in Denmark.

Proficient in English, Russian, Finnish, German and Czech.

1990–1992 — the technical University of Tallinn, various teaching positions.

1992–1994 — director of the Bureau of the Central and Eastern European countries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia.

1994–1997 — adviser on political and defense issues at the Embassy of Estonia in Moscow.

1997–2000 — counselor of the Department of Policy Planning of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia.

2000–2003 — Chargé d'affaires, the Embassy of Estonia in Prague.

2003–2004 — counsellor of the 3rd Section of the 2nd Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia.

2004–2007 — director of the 5th Section (Eastern Europe and Middle Asia) of the 3rd Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia.

The Arab Republic of Egypt

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Gusein Camal-Eldin Shalash (1993–1997); Omar El-Faruik Khassan Mohamed (1997–2001); Mona Ali Hashaba (2001–2005); Fser Mustafa Zada (2005–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since October 2008**

Yasir Atef Abdel Kader



Born on July 20, 1962.

Bachelor of politics, in 1985 graduated from the American University in Cairo

Proficient in English and French.

Married, has two sons.

2004–2006 — chairman of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) of the Department of the African countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2006–2007 — director of the Department for International Economic Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2006–2008 — deputy executive director of the Common Fund for Commodities (CFC), executive director of the Fund for the second election division uniting 7 member countries.

2007–2008 — deputy assistant on international economic relations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The State of Israel

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Zvi Magen (1993–1998); Charge d’Affaires Zeev Ben-Arie (1998–1999);
Anna Azari (1999–2003); Naomi Ben-Ami (2003–2007),
Zina Kalai-Klaitman (2007-20110**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since 2011**

Reuven Din El



Proficient in English, Russian and Hebrew.
Married.

Graduated from Tel-Aviv University, the faculty of history (1986), the University of Haifa, the faculty of international relations (1991). Has the first academic degree on political science and international relations. Graduated from the Military Academy of the Israel Defense Army.

1991–2000 — occupied various positions at the Cabinet of Ministers of Israel.

2001–2003 — director general of the International Institute of Social, Political and Academic Research (ISS).

2004–2011 — deputy director general of the Israel ports.

Presided at the Israel-Ukrainian Working Group.

The Republic of India

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Sudhir Tukaram Devare (1992–1995); Rajendra Kumar Rai (1995–1997);
Wilde Bushan Soni (1997–2002); Shahkholen Kiphen (2002–2005);
Debabrata Saha (2005–2010); Djoti Svarup Pande (2010–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since 2011**

Radjiv Kumar Chander



Born on August 23, 1960. Has a bachelor degree on humanitarian and historical sciences (with distinction). Bachelor of Law.

Proficient in English and Russian.

Married, has a daughter.

1984–1987 — the third secretary of the Indian Foreign Economic Authority in Moscow.

1987–1992 — deputy secretary of the Indian Foreign Economic Authority in Bangladesh.

1992–1997 — the first secretary, the counsellor and the head of the Indian Foreign Economic Authority in Bonn.

1997–1999 — Director (UNO), New-Deli.

2002–2002 — Consul-General in Sankt-Petersburg.

2002–2006 — the state secretary, Kathmandu.

2006 — the state secretary, New-Deli.

2006–2009 — minister/deputy permanent representative, Geneva, (Permanent Representation of India)/

The Republic of Indonesia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Ronnie Hendravan Kurniadi (1994–1997);

Hde Arsa Kadzhar (1997–2001);

Remy Ramauli Siahaan (2001–2005);

Albertus Emanuel Alexander (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since April 2009 poky**

Nininh Suningsih Rohadiat



Born on July 23, 1949. Graduated from the University in Bandung, the social and political science faculty, Master of International Relations, (1977); the National Educational College in the USA (1988).

Married. Has two daughters and a son.

1982 — head of the Department for Political Affairs of the Embassy of Indonesia in London.

Participated in the work of the ASEAN Committee and in diplomatic forums in London.

1986 — worked at the ASEAN National Secretariat in Jakarta.

1986–2002 — minister of the Council for Information and the Social Culture of the Embassy of Indonesia in Singapore.

Conducted forums, meetings and conferences, particularly annual meeting of ministers and ex-ministers of ASEAN in Singapore.

2002 — assistant to minister on women's rights at the Department of Foreign Affairs in Jakarta. Actively involved in addressing protection of the women and children rights.

The Republic of Iraq

Charge d'Affaires Gisham Abdel Razak Ibrahim (November 2001 — August 2002);
Ambassador Dr. Muzgir Al-Duri (August 2002 — June 2003); the Embassy of the
Republic of Iraq suspended its work in Ukraine in 2003 because of the war event in
Iraq and resumed its work in 2006.

Charge d'Affaires Alaa Ad-Din Hussein Ali (December 2006 — May 2007);
Charge d'Affaires Dr. Hussein Abass Hussein (May 2007 — June 2007);
Charge d'Affaires Halid Jasim Mohammed Al-Shamari (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010**

Shorsh Halid Said



Born in 1965 in Erbil, Iraq.

Studied Russian at the Mining University of Sankt Petersburg (1987).

Graduated from the Mining University of Sankt Petersburg with the Master Degree on geodesy (1993).

Married, has a son and a daughter.

1993–1996 — deputy head of the PR Office of the Party Union of Kurdistan.

1997–2007 — representative of the Government of the Iraq Kurdistan Region in Moscow.

1999–2004 — chief editor of the newspaper New Kurdistan published in Moscow in Russian.

2009 — received diplomatic rank of the Ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

The Islamic Republic of Iran

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Bekhzad Mazakheri (1992–1998); Akhmad Sadeg-Bonab (1999–2003);
Bakhman Takheriyan Mobarake (2003–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since May 2010**

Akbar Gasemi-Aliabadi



Born in August 6, 1961.

Graduated from the Teheran University specializing in 'history and civilization' and the Islamic Azad University specializing in 'international relations'. Published a number of works.

Married, has three children.

Proficient in Arabic, English and Urdu.

1980–1981 — expert on political issues of the First Department for the Western Asia of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1981–1990 — senior expert on Arabic countries of the Near East.

1991–1996 — deputy head of the Department for the Arabic countries of the Near East and the Northern Africa.

1996–2000 — head of the Bureau for protection of interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Egypt.

2000–2001 — senior expert on Arabic countries of the Near East and the Northern Africa.

2001–2006 — head of the Mass Media Department.

2006–2009 — deputy director of the Department on Information and Press and head of the Mass Media Department.

2009–2010 — advisor of the Minister and head of the Mass Media Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Kingdom of Spain

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Eduardo Junko Bonet (1992–1997); Fernando Jose Bejoso Fernandes
(1997–2001); Luis Homes de Aranda Vien (2001–2005); D. Luis Javier Gil Catalina
(2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2009**

Jose Rodriguez Moyano



Born on February 22, 1951 in Cordoba (Spain). In 1978 received higher law education and began his diplomatic career.

Occupied positions at the Embassies of Spain in the Latin America countries, particularly as the deputy head of the Mission in Asunción, Brazil and Karakas and the Consul General in Bahia Blanca (Argentine).

Occupied positions of the deputy head of the Department for the Northern America and deputy head of the Department for the Eastern Europe.

1978–1981 — secretary of the Embassy of Spain in Moscow.

2002–2006 — deputy head of the Mission of the Embassy of Spain in Moscow.

In the recent time he occupied a position of the deputy head of the Department for the Eastern Europe and other European non-member states of the EU.

The Republic of Italy

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Vittorio Claudio Surdo (1992–1996); Jan Luca Bartinetto (1996–2000);
Iolanda Brunetti Getz (2000–2004); Fabio Fabbri (2004–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2008**

Pietro Giovanni Donnici



Born in 1954 in town Messina, Italy.

Graduated from the Padua University, the faculty of international relations.

Married, has three children.

Carrier diplomat, worked abroad at the Embassy of Italy in Singapore, in the Italian Diplomatic Mission during conventional negotiations in Europe, in the Permanent Representation of Italy at the European Union in Brussels, as a Consul General in Hong Kong.

In Rome he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the General Directorate on Political Issues, at the cabinet of Ministers and the General Secretariat at the position of the head of the Section for Analysis and Planning.

Published research papers on international political relations, the European integration and international economy.

The Republic of Kazakhstan

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Oleksei Klochkov (1994–1997); Nadzhameden Iskaliev (1997–1999);
Ravil Cherdabaev (1999–2004)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since February 2004

Zhumambayev Amangeldi Zhumambaevich



Born in 1951. Graduated from the Kazakh State University, the Alma-Ata Institute of the National Economy and the Academy of the National Economy.

Proficient in English and Russian. Married, has two children. 1974–1977 — information assistant on foreign tourism, instructor of the Alma-Ata Oblast Young Communist League Committee. 1977–1979 — chief economist at the Ministry of Food Industry of the Kazakh Soviet Republic.

1979–1982 — postgraduate of the All-Union Research Institute of the Agricultural Economy.

1982–1983 — deputy head of the sector, head of the department for agriculture at the Kazakh branch of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture.

1983–1988 — lecturer, instructor, assistant of the first secretary of the Alma-Ata Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

1988–1989 — head of the Department at the State Committee of the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers.

1989–1991 — chief specialist of the economic section at the Clerical Office of the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers. 1991 (August–December) — assistant of the state advisor, assistant of the Vice Prime Minister of Kazakhstan.

1992–1993 — consultant of the section for foreign relations at the Administration of the President and the Council of Ministers of Kazakhstan.

1993–1994 — Deputy Minister of foreign economic relations of Kazakhstan.

1994–1996 — head of the Department for Commercial and Economic Relations with Foreign States at the Ministry of Industry and Trade of Kazakhstan.

1996 (April–November) — Deputy Minister of the Industry and Trade of Kazakhstan. 1996–1999 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kazakhstan to Malaysia .

1999–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kazakhstan to Turkmenistan.

Canada

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
François Antoine Matis (1992–1996); Christopher Westdal (1996–1998);
Derek Frazer (1998–2001); Andrew Norval Robinson (2001–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
from August 2008**

G. Daniel Caron



Born on June 23, 1958.

In 1980 graduated from the Laval University (Bachelor of Economy).

Married, has two children.

In 1978 Mr. Caron represented Canada in Ouagadougou at the International Youth Conference organized by the Francophone Agency on Cultural and Technical Cooperation.

In the 90s Mr. Caron worked as a trade representative at the Department for Japan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the 80s — as an advisor and trade representative at the Consulate General of Canada in Boston.

Occupied a position of the deputy director of the Section for the Northern European Countries and a position of the regional director at the Ministry of Fisheries and Oceans.

Worked as a director of the Department for Japan of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada and as an advisor in the representation of Canada at the European Union in Brussels.

From 2005 he worked as a deputy head of the Mission and the counselor-minister at the Embassy of Canada in Mexico.

The Kyrgyz Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Ulukbek Chinaliyev (1993–1998); Zhumahul Saadanbekov (1998–2001);
Esenhul Omuraliyev (2001–2006); Yerkin Mamkulov (2006–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since April 2011**

Borubek Chybylovich Ashyrov



Born on February 13, 1956 in vil. Budenovka, Talas district, Talas region of the Kyrgyz SSR.

Graduated from the Higher School of the Young Communist League at the YCL Central Committee specializing in history and social sciences (1980), post graduation course of the Academy of Social Sciences at the Communist Party Central Committee (1988). Proficient in Kazakh, English and Spanish.

Awards: Certificate of Honor of the Kyrgyz Republic (1997), CIS Certificate (2001).

1973 — electrician for alarm systems of the Sverdlovsk OSH Department in the city of Frunze.

1974–1976 — military service. 1976–1980 — student of the Higher School of the Young Communist League at the YCL Central Committee.

1980 — methodologist of the Frunze Zonal Young Communist School at the YCL Central Committee of Kirgizia. 1980–1983 — head of the Informational and Outreach Department at the Talas Oblast YCL Committee.

1983–1985 — lecturer of the Department for Propaganda and Agitation at the Talas Oblast YCL Committee. 1985–1988 — post graduate of the Academy of Social Sciences at the Communist Party Central Committee, Moscow

1988–1989 — the Communist Party Central Committee of Kirgizia.

1990 — Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party, Moscow..

1990–1993 — deputy head of the Executive Personnel of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic. 1993–1997 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kyrgyz Republic to Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. 1997–2000 — head of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Council of the Central Asia Economic Community. 2000–2001 — advisor to the head of the Executive Committee of the Intergovernmental Council of the Central Asia Economic Community.

2001–2005 — head of the Department for Secretariat of the Integration Committee of the Eurasia Economic Community, Almaty.

2008–2011 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kyrgyz Republic to Turkmenistan.

The Republic of Cyprus

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2011**

Evahoras Vrionides



Born on November 8, 1965. Graduated from the Economic Lyceum (1983), Nicosia, Cyprus; studied marketing and economy at the Fairleigh Dickinson University in USA, Bachelor (1989); received Master of Business Administration (MBA) degree at the Fairleigh Dickinson University (1992).

Married, has three children.

1994–1996 — various administration positions at the business enterprises in the Republic of Cyprus.

1996–1997 — attaché at the Department for the State Protocol, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicosia.

1997–1999 — Consul, the first secretary of the Embassy of Cyprus in the Republic Mexico.

1999–2003 — Consul, the first secretary of the Embassy of Cyprus in Lisbon, Portugal.

2003–2006 — Consul General of the Republic of Cyprus in Toronto, Canada.

2006–2007 — deputy director, the Department for Resolving the Cyprus Problem and the European-Turkish relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicosia.

2007–2009 — deputy director, the Department for Consular Service and Schengen at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicosia.

2009–2011 — Temporary Chargé d'affaires of the Republic of Cyprus in Ukraine.

The People's Republic of China

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Chjan Chjen(1992–1995); Pan Chjanlin (1995–1998);

Chjou Siao Pei (1998–2000); Li Goban (2000–2003);

Yao Peishen (2003–2007); Chjou Li (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010**

Chzhan Siyun



Born in September of 1955 in the Hebei Province in China.
Received higher education.

Married, has a daughter.

1976–1982 — employee of the Department for the USSR and the countries of the Eastern Europe at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.

1982–1986 — attaché, the third secretary of the PRC Embassy in the USSR.

1986–1988 — the third and the second secretary of the Department for the USSR and the countries of the Eastern Europe at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.

1988–1991 — the second secretary of the PRC Embassy in the USSR.

1991–1992 — the first secretary of the PRC Embassy in the USSR.

1992–1995 — deputy head of the Department, head of the Department for the Countries of the Eastern Europe and the Central Asia at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.

1995–1997 — assistant of the inspector at the Chancellery on Foreign Relations of the China State Council.

1997–2001 — Consul-Ambassador, Plenipotentiary Minister of the PRC Embassy in the RF.

2001–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of PRC to the Republic of Azerbaijan.

2005–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of PRC to the Republic of Kazakhstan.

2008–2010 — director of the Department for the Countries of the Eastern Europe and the Central Asia at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.

The Republic of Korea

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
An Hon Wong (1993–1995); Li Han Chun (1995–1998); Kang Hyn-Tek (1998–2000);
Jang Shin (2000–2003); Li Sung-Joo (2003–2008); Pak Ro Biok (2008–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since April 2011**

Kim Ying Tszhun



Born on January 20, 1959.

Graduated from the Seoul National University (Korea), Bachelor of German language and literature (1981); The University of Massachusetts (USA), the School of Law and Diplomacy, Master of International Relations (1987).

Married. Has four children.

1981 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1988 — Consul of Korea in Los Angeles, USA.

1994 — the first secretary of the Korean Embassy to the Russian Federation.

1999 — director of the Eastern European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

1999 — counselor of the Embassy of Korea to the Federative Republic of Germany.

2002 — counselor of the Embassy of Korea to the Russian Federation.

2004 — deputy director on protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

2007 — Secretariat of the National Assembly.

2008 — director general of the Department of the European Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

2010 — student of the Georgetown University in Washington, USA.

The Republic of Cuba

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Diochens ErnanDES Astorgal (1992–1994);

Serhio Lopez Briel (1994–1999);

Jose Dionysius Perasa Chapo (1999–2004);

Julio Peña Harmendiya (2004–2008)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine since October 2008

Felix Leon Carballo



Born on May 17, 1952. He graduated from the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR, postgraduate course (international relations).

Married, has two children.

1975–1982 — the third, second and first Secretary of the Embassy of Cuba to the USSR.

1983–1985 — employee of the Department for European Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1985–1990 — counselor of the Embassy of of Cuba in the USSR.

1991–1993 — employee of the Embassy of of Cuba in the USSR.

1994–1998 — Consul General of Cuba in St. Petersburg, the Russian Federation.

1999–2001 — employee of the Department for European Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2001–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba in the Republic of Belarus.

2006–2008 — employee of the Department for European Countries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The State of Kuwait

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Ahmed Abdullah Al-Mubarak (1995–1997); Halet al-Mutlaq Zaed Dueylah
(1998–2001); Hafiz Mohammed Al Ajmi (2001–2006);
Hamud al-Yusif Roudan (2006–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since November 2010**

Usef Hussein Al-Habandi



Born on July 4, 1955. Graduated from the University of Cairo, Bachelor of Commerce.

Married, has three children.

Awarded with the Order of Liberator Simon Bolivar of the Republic of Venezuela.

While working in the Embassy of Kuwait at the League Arab States participated in the meetings of standing committees and specialized ministerial councils of the League. Represented the State of Kuwait at the meetings of economic and financial committees in the Arab-European dialogue in Brussels and Tunisia. Permanent delegate of Kuwait under the UN Program on Environmental Protection and the International

Organization on refugee camps in Nairobi. Represents the state of Kuwait in the international forums, international and Arab conferences.

1978–1981 — the Embassy of the State of Kuwait in Beijing.

1981–1987 — the Embassy of the State of Kuwait to Tunisia.

1987–1993 — the General Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Kuwait.

1993–1996 — diplomat of the Embassy of the State of Kuwait to the Russian Federation.

1997–1999 — chief of Mission of the State of Kuwait to Kenya.

1999 — transferred to General Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the State of Kuwait and appointed to the position of the director of the Department for Asia and Africa.

2004–2010 — Ambassador of the State of Kuwait to the Republic of Venezuela, Ambassador with concurrent accreditation to the Republic of Colombia, the Republic of Honduras, the Dominican Republic, the Republic of Guatemala, the Republic of Nicaragua, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.

The Republic of Latvia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Peteris Simsons (1994–1997); Peteris Vaivars (1997–2001);
Andris Vilzans (2001–2007)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2007

Atis Sianits



Born on October 12, 1964, Liepaja district, Latvia.

Graduated from the Latvia University, the law faculty (1982–1989), the Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Law, Hamburg (1991), courses: on international relations at the University of Vienna (1992–1993), the UNIDROIT course, Rome (1994); participated in the seminars on the European law, London (1995), the Law Committee of the European Council, Strasburg (1995), the Hague Conference on International Private Law (1996).

Proficient in English, French, German, Lithuanian and Russian.

Decorated with the Order of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas (Lithuania), the Pontifical Equestrian Order of St. Gregory the Great (the Holy See), the National Order of Merit (France), the Order of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of the Fifth Class from the President of Ukraine (Ukraine, June 25, 2008), the Grand Officer Cross (Malta, November 14, 2008).

1989–1992 — the University of Latvia, lecturer.

1992–1996 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia: head of the International Law Department; director of the Legal Department; deputy state secretary on legal and consular issues.

1996–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Latvia to the Republic of Lithuania.

1998–2002 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Latvia to the Holy See.

2000–2002 — advisor on international issues to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia.

2003–2007 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Latvia to Canada.

The Republic of Lithuania

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Romualdas Ramoshka (1993–1996); Vitautas Piatras Plechkaitis (1996–2001);
Viktoras Baublis (2001–2005); Algirdis Kumzha (2006–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2010**

Piatras Vaitekunas



Born on March 26, 1953 in the Marijampolė County, Lithuania. Graduated from the physical faculty of the Vilnius University (1976), the German Economy College for Strategic Training and Defense at the George. C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (1994).

Doctor of Science (Nature), the Institute of Physics of the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania, 1983. Proficient in Lithuanian, English, Russian and Latvian. Married, has three sons.

1976–1990 — research worker of the Institute of D.S. Marshall European Safety Training Center.

1990–1992 — people's deputy of the Supreme Council — the renewed Seim of the Republic of Lithuania, signatory of the Act on Renovation of the Lithuanian State Independence.

1992–1993 — consultant to the Speaker of the Seim of the Republic of Lithuania.

1993–1998 — information assistant on foreign policy issues to the President of the Republic of Lithuania. 1998–1999 — head of the Department for the Middle Europe Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

1998–1999 — advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

1999–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania to the Republic of Latvia. 2004 — advisor on foreign policy issues to the President of the Republic of Lithuania.

2004–2005 — Ambassador at large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania. 2005–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Lithuania to the Republic of Belarus.

2006–2008 — Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

2008 — Ambassador at large of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

2008–2009 — advisor on foreign policy issues to the Speaker of the Seim of the Republic of Lithuania.

The Republic of Lebanon

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since March 2006**

Usef Sadaka



Born on November 15, 1955.

Graduated from the Lebanon University specializing in 'political and administrative sciences' (1980), 'law' (1981), post graduation course on political sciences of the faculty of law and political science in Tunisia (1988); has a professional certificate of the Diplomatic School of Madrid (2003).

Married, has two children. Proficient in Arabic, French, English and Russian.

1982–1983 — attaché of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration.

1983–1984 — head of the Mission of the Lebanon Embassy in Paris.

1984–1991 — secretary of the Embassy of Lebanon in Tunisia.

1991–1992 — the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration.

1992–1994 — secretary of the Embassy of Lebanon in Moscow.

1995–2001 — counselor of the Embassy of Lebanon in Cairo and representative of Lebanon in the League of Arab States.

2001–2002 — Department for Political and Consular Issues.

2003–2004 — director of the Department for Palestine.

2004–2005 — Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration.

Great Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Al-Seddig Mohammed Al-Shibani-Al-Gveri (2002–2008)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2008**

Feisal Atiya M. Alshaari



Born on January 2, 1958 in Bengasi. Graduated from the University in Bengasi, Bachelor of Political Science.

Married, has four children.

1982 — employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya.

1982–1987 — the third secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Office.

1987–1991 — the second secretary in the Mission of Libya at the UN, New York.

1992–1997 — the first secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Office in the sphere of cooperation.

1998–2003 — counselor of the Embassy of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya in the Republic of Austria.

2003–2008 — senior counsel at the General Department for the European Affairs, later at the Minister of Foreign Affairs Office of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya.

The Republic of Macedonia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Vlado Blazhevski (1997–2003); Martin Guleski (2003–2008);
Iliya Isailovski (2008–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2010**

Atso Spasenoski



Born on March 31, 1969 in Kičevo. Graduated from the Higher School in Bitovo (1987), veterinary technician; international trainer; agricultural faculty of the Skopje University (1994), agricultural engineer; courses 'Starting business and starting business training' (CEFE) (1999); finished the upgrading course on agricultural (2007).

Married, has three daughters.

Proficient in English and Serbian.

1994–1996 — founder of the dairy company.

1996–1997 — agronomist of the Company Agricultural
Pharmaceutics.

1997–1999 — credit advisor of the region of the Republic of Macedonia at the Private Farmers Support Project (PFSP) of the World Bank and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Economy.

1999–2002 — founder of the Company Agricultural Consulting VIZI.

2002–2006 — manager of the Indemnity Fund Company.

2006–2009 — minister of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Economy.

Malaysia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Aminakhtun Binti Hadji A. Karim (2005–2008);
Dato Abdula Sani Omar (2008–2011)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since April 2011

Teon Ban Chuaha



Born on January 25, 1961. Graduated from the Malaysia University.

Married. Has two children.

12.01.1988 — appointed as assistant secretary of the Administrative and Diplomatic Service of Malaysia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

10.06.1991 — the second secretary at the Embassy of Malaysia to the South Korea.

03.01.1996 — Assistant Secretary of the Department for South Asia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

27.02.1999 — the first secretary, the Embassy of Malaysia, Zimbabwe.

14.04.2002 — counselor to the Minister, the Embassy of Malaysia, France.

05.01.2007 — deputy director general of the Asian-Malaysian Region, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Kingdom of Morocco

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Mohamed Azhar (2000–2004)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2005**

Abdelzhalil Saubbri



Born in 1954. Graduated from the University in Montpellier, the Law Faculty. Proficient in Arabic, French and English. Married, has three children.

1985–1993 — advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco.

1993–1994 — employee of the Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco.

1994–2001 — counselor of the Embassy, temporary Chargé d'affaires of the Kingdom of Morocco in Belgium.

2001–2004 — head of the section at the Department for Cooperation with the European Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Kingdom of Morocco.

The United States of Mexico

Temporary charge d'affaires:
César Okaransa Kastanyeda (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2009**

Berenise Rendyn Talavera



Born in the City of Mexico. Graduated from the Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the United States of America (1984), the Matías Romero Institute (1987).

Career at the Diplomatic Foreign Services of Mexico started in 1977.

Occupied the positions in the following spheres: protection and consular issues, international economic relations; worked as the Director of the Department for Scandinavian Countries.

Worked as assistant to the Deputy Minister of International Cooperation, personal secretary of the Deputy Minister of 'B' and head of the section at the Directorate General of Europe.

Assigned to the Consulate of Mexico in Boston, Massachusetts, USA and to the Embassy of Mexico in Cuba.

Consul of Mexico in Brownsville, Texas and in Las Vegas, NV, USA.

2005–2009 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Mexico to the Republic of Salvador.

The Republic of Moldova

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Ion Gavril Borshevich (1993–1994); Ion Nikolas Russu (1994–1998);
Sergio Statti (1999–2003); Nikolas Chernomaz (2003–2005);
Mikhail Laur (2005–2009); Temporary charge d'affaires
Nikolas Miinya (2009–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010**

Ion Stevile



Born on October 9, 1958 in town Orgeev, the Republic of Moldova.

Graduated from the historical faculty of the Moldova State University (1981), graduation course at the Moscow State University (1987).

Doctor of historical sciences. Has publications.

Proficient in French, English and Russian.

Married, has two daughters.

1981–1984 — lecturer at the chair of the world history of the State Pedagogical Institute in Kishinev.

1987–1991 — senior lecturer, deputy dean of the historical and ethnographic faculty of the State Pedagogical Institute in Kishinev.

1991–1992 — senior lecturer at the chair of the modern and contemporary history of the State Pedagogical Institute in Kishinev.

1992–1996 — director of the Department for Europe and the Northern America of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1996–1999 — counselor-minister at the Embassy of Moldova in the Kingdom of Belgium.

1999–2001 — director of the Department of the European Security and Military-Political Issues, advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, director of the Main Department for the International Security of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2001–2004 — employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova. 2004–2006 — deputy head of the Mission of the Embassy of the Republic of Moldova in Ukraine.

2006–2009 — deputy minister on reintegration in the Republic of Moldova.

2009–2010 — head of the Bureau on Reintegration of the State Chancellery of the Republic of Moldova.

The Federative Republic of Nigeria

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Alfred John Nanna (2000–2004);

Adzhuru Ignatius Hekaire (2004–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2008**

Ibrahim Pada Kasai



Born on July 25, 1952 in Zaidi. Education: Maiduguri Medical School, the University of Jos, the Ambrois Ali University of Ekpoma, the Legal Academy of Nigeria.

Married.

Member of the Association of Solicitors of Nigeria Член.

1979 — health worker, general hospital in Jos.

1979–1983 — medical representative of the Company MAJOR&CO, LTD., Jos.

1984–1997 — senior health worker.

1997–2003 — managing director, Kasai Investment Ltd.

2003–2008 — practical lawyer, Jos.

The Kingdom of Netherlands

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Robert Herman Serri (1992–1996); Temporary charge d'affaires
Andrian Quancier (1996–1997); Onno Hattinga Van't Sant (1997–2001);
Monique Patricia Antoinette Frank (2001–2004); Ron Keller (2005–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2009**

Pieter Jan Wolthers



Born on May 27, 1948 in Hilversum. Graduated from the Amsterdam State University, the law faculty (1975).

Started diplomatic career since 1975, occupied junior rank positions at the Embassy in Moscow and Yaoundé, in the MBFR representation in Vienne and also worked at the Ministry in Hague.

1991–1995 — head of the Military Planning Bureau, the Netherlands Permanent Representation at the UN.

1995–1999 — counselor, the Embassy in Warsaw.

1999–2000 — acting Temporary charge d'affaires at the Embassy in Tripoli.

2000–2005 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Netherlands in Bucharest.

2005–2009 — director on legal issues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Hague.

The Federative Republic of Germany

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Gennicke Graf von Basseviz (1992–1993); Alexander Arno (1993–1996);
Ebergard Haiken (1996–2000); Dietmar Herhard Studenmann (2000–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2008**

Hans-Jurgen Heimsoeth



Born in 1953 in Masuri, India.
Studies at schools of New York, Jakarta, Bandung in Belgium.

Received General Certificate of Education in 1971 in Brussels, Belgium.

State exam on history, philosophy and germanistics at the University of Freiburg 1976/77.

In 1979 received the diploma of the Paris Institut d'Etudes Politiques.

Defended dissertation in 1987 at the University of Freiburg.
1981–1983 — beginning of the diplomatic service.

1983–1984 — department of the Soviet Union at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn.

1984–1987 — political department at the Embassy in Moscow.

1987–1989 — permanent deputy Ambassador at the Embassy in Mogadishu.

1989–1994 — assistant of the Federal President at the Federal President Office.

1994–1997 — head of the Economy Department at the Embassy in Brazil.

1997–2000 — head of the Political Department at the Embassy in Warsaw.

2000–2001 — authorized person on issues of the Baltic Sea at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin. Head of the Committee of the Senior Public Officials at the Council of the Baltic Sea States.

2001–2004 — head of the Department for the Central-Eastern Europe, the Baltic States, Norway, Iceland and the Council of the Baltic Sea States at the Political Department of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2004–2005 — head of the Department for Central Europe, Benelux Countries and Transborder Cooperation at the Department for Europe.

2005–2008 — Consul General of the Federative Republic of Germany in New York.

The Kingdom of Norway

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Oivind Nordsletten (1992–1997); Anders Helset (1997–2000);
Jostein Bernhardsen (2001–2006)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2006**

Olaf Berstad



Born on September 19, 1953 in the town Tromsø, Norway. In 1976 he graduated from the University of Oslo (Bachelor of the Russian language and literature, history and archeology).

1980 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, Oslo.

1982–1985 — attaché of the Embassy of Norway in Turkey, Ankara.

1985–1987 — vice-consul of the Embassy of Norway in the USA, New Orleans .

1987–1990 — senior counsel (UN and Middle East issues) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, Oslo.

1990–1993 — the first secretary (economy) of the Embassy of Norway in the USA, Washington.

1993–1996 — advisor (energy and environment) of the Embassy of Norway in the Russian Federation, Moscow.

1996–1998 — deputy director general (environment and nuclear safety) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, Oslo.

1998–2001 — Ambassador of Norway to Azerbaijan, Baku. (Since 2000 also accredited to Georgia, Tbilisi)

2001–2006 — special advisor on Euro-Arctic Cooperation in the Barents Region at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway, Oslo.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Tarik Faruk Mirza (1997–2000); Shamun Alam Khan (2000–2004);
Tadzbul Khak (2004–2007); Gazanfar Ali Rhan (2007–2010)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010**

Akhmed Navaz Salim Mela



Born on January 1, 1952. Graduated from the National University of Defense, Master of Defense and Strategic Studies.

Proficient in English.

Married, has two sons.

Occupied various positions particularly training and staff positions: mayor of the main infantry brigade, commander of the battalion at the Pakistan Military Academy; officer at the General Staff of the 1st Class of military operational directions of the Main General Staff; commander of two brigades; director of training and assessment Directorate of the General Staff; senior officer of two infantry divisions at the General Staff Headquarters.

Promoted to the rank of the major-general of the Department in 2000.

Director of the Pakistan Agricultural Organizations (PASSCO).

Participation in the international forums: represented Pakistan at the International Forum / the UN Forum on agriculture and food safety in Rome (Italy), Australia and Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia).

Received numerous awards and medals during his service.

Palestina

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Khalid Arikat (2006–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
from November 2010**

Mohammed Kasem Assad Al-Assad



Born on October 10, 1958 in Betonia, the Ramalla West Bank, Palestina.

Graduated from the University of People's Friendship in Moscow, Master of Civil Construction (1985), Diploma of the teacher of Russian (1986). Doctor of Science (Engineering) (1990).

Proficient in English and Russian.

Married, has a daughter.

1987 — till now — member of the Palestine Union of Engineers.

1987–1991 — head of the Committee for Support of the first Intifada in Moscow.

1988–1991 — vice president of the Palestine Community, responsible for relations with Russia.

1990–1995 — head of the Palestine Cultural Centers with concurrent accreditation in Moscow, Tashkent and Baku.

1990–2010 — secretary of the Fattah movement in the Soviet Union and Russia.

1991 — envoy for the President in relations between Palestine and Kazakhstan.

1993–1995 — head of the Palestine Cultural Center in Moscow.

2005–2010 — Vice President of the Arab Forum in Moscow.

The Republic of South Africa

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Dion Van Skuyer (1993–1996); Peter Fan Renzburg Huesen (1996–1998); Temporary Chargé d'affaires David de Villa du Buisson (1998–1999); Delarey Van Tonder (1999–2004); Ashraf Sentso (2004–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2008**

Andris Fenter



Born on October 15, 1951 in Johannesburg, the South Africa. Graduated from the Grey College in the town Bloemfontein. 1970–1976 — Bachelor of Trade and Economy, Bachelor of Trade and Economy with distinction, Master of Economy, the University of Pretoria. Proficient in Afrikaans and English. Awards: the Order of Merit (Hungary), Order of the Grand Cross and the Order of Merit (Romania).

Married, has three children.

1974–1977 — economist at the Bureau of Research in Economics. 1977–1983 — head of the Corporation for Development of the KwaZulu-Natal (development of housing, small enterprises, small businesses, agriculture, finance and construction).

1984–1987 — director of the Department for the Countries of the South-African Region of the RSA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria.

1987–1991 — main director of the Department for the Countries of the South-African Region of the RSA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria.

1992–1995 — Ambassador of RSA in Kenya, Nairobi. Ambassador with concurrent accreditation on the Comoros Irelands, the Republic of Rwanda.

1994–1995 — trade representative in Sudan; permanent representative in the UN Program on the Environment (UNEP), Nairobi, Kenya; permanent representative of the UN Center for Human Settlements, Nairobi, Kenya.

1996–2000 — main director of the Department for the Countries of the South-African Region and for Continental Organizations of the RSA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria.

2000–2004 — Ambassador to Hungary, Ambassador with concurrent accreditation to Romania and Croatia.

2004–2007 — main director of the Department for the Countries of the Central and Eastern Europe of the RSA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pretoria.

The Republic of Poland

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Ezhi Kozakevich (1993–1996); Ezhi Bar (1996–2001); Marek Zulkovski (2001–2005),
Yatzek Kluchkovski (2005–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2011**

Henric Litvin



Born on March 13, 1959 in Warsaw, Poland.

Graduated from the Institute of History of the Warsaw University, Master (1982); post graduation course at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (1986).

1988–1991 — lecturer at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

1991–1993 — consul, chief of the Consular Agency in Ukraine, Lviv.

1993–1994 — Consul of the Republic of Poland in Ukraine, Lviv.

1994–1995 — acting director of the Polish Historical Institute of the Lankoron Foundation in Rome.

1995–1997 — deputy director of the Department for the Eastern Region Policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland.

2007–2010 — Ambassador of the Republic of Poland in Minsk, Belarus.

2010–2011 — state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Portuguese Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Manual Korte-Real (1993–1998); Antonis de Faria-i-Maya (1999–2001);
Pedru Manuel Sarmentu di Vashkonselush-i-Kashtru (2001–2004);
Juse Manual Pessinia Viegas (2004–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2009**

Mario Zhizush Dush Santush



Born on May 26, 1949 in Montijo (Portugal).

Graduated from the Higher Economic Institute, the technical University in Lisbon. Married, has four children.

1974–1977 — attaché of the Embassy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

1977–1978 — the third and the second secretary of the Embassy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

1978–1982 — Consul in the town Tours (France)

1982–1985 — the first secretary of the Embassy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal to Beograd.

1985–1986 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

1986–1990 — head of the Infrastructural Section of the Department for Financial and Public Property Administration.

1990 — deputy director of the Department for Financial and Public Property Administration.

1990–1993 — counselor of the Embassy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

1993–1994 — Consul General in Milan.

1994–1997 — Plenipotentiary Minister.

1997–1998 — Permanent Mission of UN and International Organizations in Geneva.

1998–2000 — the first rank Plenipotentiary Minister.

2000–2004 — the Ambassador in Sao Tome and Principe.

2004–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Portuguese Republic in Bulgaria.

The Russian Federation

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Leonid Smolyakov (1992–1996); Yuri Dubinin (1996–1999);
Ivan Aboimov (1999–2001); Viktor Chernomyrdin (2001–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
from March 2010**

Mikhail Yu. Zurabov



Born on October 3, 1953 in Leningrad. Graduated from the S. Ordzhonikidze Management Institute of Moscow (1975), economist-cybernetic.

Married, has five children.

1975–1978 — engineer. Assistant at the chair of economic cybernetics of the S. Ordzhonikidze Management Institute of Moscow.

1978–1981 — post graduate of the All-Union Research Institute of Systems Studies.

1981–1982 — teacher at the Assembling College in Moscow.

1982–1983 — engineer of the Institute Orgtekhbud-11 in Moscow.

1983–1988 — senior research worker, head of the branch laboratory of the Research and Design Institute of assembling technology.

1988–1993 — deputy head of the Trust Mospromtehmontazh in Moscow.

1992–1998 — director general of the Moscow Joint-Stock Insurance Company (ISC MAX).

1994–1998 — director general of the Moscow Medical Joint-Stock Insurance Company (ISC MAX-M).

1998 — the first Deputy Minister of Health Care of the Russian Federation.

1998–1999 — adviser to the President of the Russian Federation.

1999–2004 — chairman of the Pension Fund Board of Director of the Russian Federation.

2004–2007 — Minister of Health Care and Social Development of the Russian Federation.

2008–2009 — adviser to the President of the Russian Federation.

01.2010 — till now — special representative of the President of the Russian Federation on development of commercial and economic relations with Ukraine.

Romania

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Ion Bistreanu (1993–1998); Michai Dinuku (1998–1999);
Temporary Chargé d'affaires Kornel Ionescu (1999–2000);
Aleksandr Kornea (2000–2005);
Trayan-Lauretsyu Christya (2005–2010)

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
з листопада 2010 року

Ionescu Kornel



Born on August 31, 1958 in Pitești of Ardzhesh county, Romania.

He graduated from the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest (1981).

Proficient in Russia, French and English.

Married.

1981–1985 — school teacher in ChoroHyrlly, the Dzhiurdzhiu county.

1985–1990 — expert at the Ministry of the National Economy of Romania.

1990 — attaché of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

1991–1992 — director of the Directorate for the Republic of Moldova of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

1993–1996 — the third, the second secretary of the Embassy of Romania in Moscow.

1996–1998 — deputy director of the Directorate for the Eastern Europe and the Russian Federation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

1999–2002 — the first secretary, the diplomatic counselor of the Embassy of Romania in Kyiv.

2003–2005 — deputy director of the Directorate for the Expanded Europe and the Republic of Moldova of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

2005 — deputy Ambassador of the Embassy of Romania in Moscow.

2006–2010 — Consul General of Romania in Rostov-on-Don (the RF).

The Kingdom of the Saudi Arabia

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2010**

Judyia Z.M. Alhazal



Born on January 11, 1959 in the northern part of the Kingdom. Graduated from the University of Kuwait (1981), Bachelor of Law and Law Science; studied in New York (1984), Master of Public Administration.

Married, has two sons and a daughter.

Proficient in English.

1982–1997 — Legal Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Studies of the ratification of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

1997–1998 — specialist of planning, head of the Department for Training Programs, head of the Department for research at the Institute of Diplomatic Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

1998–1999 — assistant director, director of the Department for Bilateral Economic Relations of the Department for Economy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2001–2002 — participant of the Summits of the League of Arab States in Amman and Beirut.

2003–2004 — Temporary Chargé d'affaires of the Embassy of Kingdom in Germany (Berlin).

2004–2006 — Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2006 — director on foreign assistance, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2006–2010 — Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Republic of Venezuela.

The Republic of Serbia

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Goran Aleksich (2005–2010)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since November 2009**

Dushan Lazich



Born in 1937 in Beograd. Graduated from the University of Beograd, the law faculty.

Proficient in English and Russian.

Married, has a son.

Worked as a journalist the weekly paper Economic Policy; research assistant at the Institute of the International Trade Union Movement.

For many years was employed by the Foreign Policy Service — the International Department of the Communist Party Central Committee of Yugoslavia. Occupied the following positions: head of the analysis and planning group, head of the first political department, counsellor at the Federal Secretariat of International Affairs.

He was the Ambassador of Yugoslavia in Moscow three times.

1975–1979 — advisor on political issues.

1984–1988 — advisor to the Minister.

1992–1993 — Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Russia.

1993–2000 — involved in consulting activities.

2002 — received position of the General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia.

Full member of the Forum of international relations of the European Movement of Serbia, advisor on foreign policy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Syrian Arab Republic

**Temporary Chargé d'affaires to Ukraine
Gaisam Mashfedzh (2009–2011)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since April 2011**

Mohammed Said Akil



Born on February 5, 1954 in Aleppo.

Married, has four sons.

Teacher at the University of Aleppo (since 1984 till now)

Graduated from the Power Engineering Institute in Moscow, the faculty of electrical engineering (1978), Doctorate of the Power Engineering Institute in Moscow (1980). Received the Fulbright Stipend for research at the California State University of the United States of America (1995).

Proficient in Russian, English and French.

Professor (1997). Member of the Syrian Research IT Association, the Syrian-Britain Association, the Association of the CAP Inventers.

1978–1979 — head of the Automatic Telephone Station at the Plant No 790

1989–1999 — head of chair on automatic control and industrial electronics of the faculty of electric engineering.

1992–1994 — director of the Engineering Institute at the Aleppo University.

1989–1993 — members of the Trade Union Council of Engineers in Aleppo.

1993–2000 — head of the Trade Union Council of Engineers in Aleppo.

1999–2000 — head of the City Council of Aleppo.

2000–2005 — governor of Hami.

2005–2006 — governor of the Damask Region.

The Slovak Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Robert Garenchar (1993–1995); Iosef Migash (1995–1996);
Temporary charge d'affaires Olga Migalikova (1996–1999);
Vasyl Grivna (1999–2005); Urban Rusnak (2005–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since June 2009**

Pavol Gamzhik



Born on August 20, 1954.

Graduated from the Komensky University in Bratislava (1978); the Diplomatic Academy in Moscow (1991).

Married, has two daughters.

Proficient in English, Russian, Czech, Hungarian and French.

1978–1984 — lawyer.

1984–1992 — diplomat, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the former Czechoslovakia.

1993–1994 — head of the Government Delegation and Permanent Mission of the Slovak Republic at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; at the negotiations on disarmament of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and 'Open-Skies'.

1994–1996 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Slovak Republic to the Federative Republic of Germany.

1996–1997 — Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic.

1997–1998 — lawyer, manager.

1999–2003 — head of the Public Consent Party.

1998–2001 — Vice Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic on European Integration.

1998–2002 — people's deputy of the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

2001–2002 — member of the Convention on the Future of Europe, representative of the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

2002–2006 — lawyer, manager.

2006–2009 — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic, the general state advisor; counsellor of the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic on Foreign Policy.

The Republic of Slovenia

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Promozh Sheligo (2004–2009)**

**Temporary Chargé d'affaires in Ukraine
since September 2010**

Natasha Prach



Born on February 8, 1970 in town Kran, the Republic of Slovenia. Graduated from the University of Maribor, the faculty of international law (1995), Slovenia; the Diplomatic Academy (1996), Vienna, Austria.

1995–1999 — attaché, the third secretary of the Department for Neighboring Countries and the Department for Public Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia.

1999 — The Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Moscow, consular and political issues.

1999–2000 — counselor to the Minister, head of the PR Department.

2000 — the second Secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Ankara.

2000–2004 — head of the PR Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia.

2007–2008 — counselor of the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia to Ukraine, the political adviser of Slovenia during the EU presidency.

2008 — Temporary Chargé d'affaires, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia to Ukraine.

2009–2010 — Minister Plenipotentiary, deputy head, head of the Department of Eastern Europe and Central Asia of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia.

2010 — till now. — Temporary Chargé d'affaires of the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia to Ukraine, the Republic of Armenia, Georgia and the Republic of Moldova.

The United States of America

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Roman Popadiuk (1992–1993); William Green Miller (1993–1998);
Steven Carl Pifer (1998–2000); Carlos Pascual (2000–2003);
John Herbst (2003–2006); William B. Taylor J. (2006–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since February 2009**

John F. Tefft



John Tefft holds a Bachelor's Degree from Marquette University in Milwaukee and Wisconsin and a Master's Degree from Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

Award: among his awards are the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award in 1992 and the DCM of the Year Award for his service in Moscow in 1999. He received Presidential Meritorious Service Awards in 2001 and 2005.

Married, has two daughters.

He has been a career Foreign Service Officer of the USA for over thirty years. Worked in Jerusalem, Budapest and Rome.

1996–1997 — Temporary Charge d'Affaires of USA in Russia.

1996–1999 — Deputy Chief of Mission at the US Embassy in Moscow.

2000–2003 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USA to Lithuania.

2003–2004 — counselor on international issues at the National Military College in Washington.

2004–2005 — head of the section at the State Department of the USA on relations with Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.

2005–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USA to Georgia.

The Republic of Tajikistan

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since April 2011**

Shukhrat Muzafarovych Sultanov



Born on May 23, 1951 in Dushanbe, the Republic of Tajikistan. He graduated from the Tajik Polytechnic Institute, the electrical engineering faculty (1973), the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee specializing in political studies (1988). Married, has three children.

1973–1975 — engineer of the preproduction group at the Leninabad Building Trust.

1975–1978 — head of the Leninabad City Committee, head of the department of the Leninabad Regional YCL Committee of Tajikistan.

1978–1981 — instructor, head of the sector for YCL bodies at the YCL Central Committee in Moscow.

1981–1986 — the first secretary of the YCL Central Committee in Tajikistan.

1986–1990 — the first secretary of the Central District Communist Party Committee, Dushanbe. 1988–1990 — student of the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow.

1990–1991 — head of the Department for Political Work at the Communist Party Central Committee of Tajikistan.

1991 — deputy head of the Committee on International Affairs at the Republican Council of the Supreme Council of the USSR, Moscow.

1992 — vice-president of the Tajik Agricultural and Industrial Exchange

1992–1994 — deputy director general of the Tajik-Chinese Joint Venture Tochin.

1994–1995 — deputy head of the Industrial Division of the Leninabad Regional Executive Committee.

1995–1996 — deputy chairman of the Republic of Tajikistan State Committee for industry. 1996–1999 — plenipotentiary representative of the Republic of Tajikistan — member of the Board of the Interstate Economic Committee of the Economic Union, Moscow. 1999–2001 — deputy chairman of the Executive Committee — Executive Secretary of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Moscow.

2001–2003 — Head of Executive Office of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan.

2003 till now — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Tajikistan to the republic of turkey.

The Republic of Turkey

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Adjar Germen (1992–1997); Alp Karaosmaniglu (1997–2001);
Ali Bilge Dzhankorel (2001–2006); Erdogan Sherif Ishdjan (2006–2009)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since December 2009**

Akhmet Byulent Merich



Born on February 22, 1957 in Ankara.

Graduated from the University in Ankara, the faculty of political science and international relations (Bachelor degree); the University in Hull (Great Britain) — Master degree of international relations. Married, has two children.

Proficient in English and French.

1980–1981 — assistant to the expert at the General Department of the Treasury of the Ministry of Finance.

1981–1982 — attaché, the third secretary of the General Department for Multilateral Political Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. 1982–1982 — military service.

1982–1983 — the third secretary of the Department for the European Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. 1983–1986 — the third, the second secretary of the Embassy of Turkey in Tel-Aviv. 1986–1988 — the second and the first secretary of the Embassy of Turkey in Tokyo. 1988–1990 — the first secretary of the Department for the European Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. 1990–1992 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Turkey in Helsinki. 1992–1994 — the first secretary of the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Turkey at the Council of Europe.

1994–1996 — the first secretary, the head of the section at the Human Rights Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. 1996–2000 — counselor, the first counselor of the Permanent Representation of the Republic of Turkey in the UN Office in Geneva. 2000–2002 — the first counselor of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Teheran. 2002–2003 — head of the section at the Department for NATO Political Issues and the Euro Atlantic Security. 2003–2004 — head of the section at the Department for Global Control over Armament and Disarmament.

2004–2004 — acting deputy director general of the Department for Global Control over Armament and Disarmament.

2004–2007 — Consul-Ambassador, deputy director general of the Department for Global Control over Armament and Disarmament.

2007–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Singapore.

Turkmenistan

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Nedirmamed Alovov (1995–1999); Aman Geldi Bairamov (1999–2005)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since May 2010**

Nurberdi Amanmuradovych Amanmuradov



Born on March 12, 1961 in vil. Bereket of Marriisky county, Turkmenistan.

Graduated from the Turkmenistan Agricultural Institute (1983), the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation specializing in 'modern international law' (1993).

Proficient in Russian and Turkish.

Married, has three children.

1983–1984 — engineer of the Repair-Assembling Organization Murgabremvodbud

1984–1990 — deputy secretary, secretary of the Young Communist League Committee of the Turkmenistan Agricultural Institute.

1990–1992 — worked at the Central Committee of Young Communist League and the Central Council of the Union of Youth of Turkmenistan.

1994–1996 — advisor, head of the Consular Service Department, head of the Department for the APAC Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Turkmenistan.

1996 — the first counselor of the Embassy of Turkmenistan at the Republic of Turkey (Ankara).

1996–2004 — Consul of the Consulate General of Turkmenistan at the Republic of Turkey (Istanbul).

2004–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Turkmenistan in the Republic of Turkey (Ankara).

2009–2010 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Turkmenistan in Tajikistan (Dushanbe).

The Hungarian Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Andrash Paldi (1992); Ishtvan Varga (1992–1995); Lorand Tot (1995–1997);
Janos Kishfalvi (1997–2001); Ferenz Contra (2001–2003); Janos Tot (2003–2007);
Androsh Barshon (2007–2010); Temporary Chargé d'affaires to Ukraine Miklosh
Shandor Moraz (2010–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since November 2010**

Michael Bayer



Born on December 3, 1954 in town Mezőberény, Hungary
Graduated from the State Institute of International Relations (Moscow 1980). International economist.

Proficient in English, Arabic and Russian languages.

Married, has two children.

Awards: Badge Pro Turismo (2004), the Order of Honor of the Republic of Moldova (2008), Order of Merit of the Hungarian Republic (2009).

1980–1981 — information officer of the Main Department for the Northern African Countries and the Near East Countries.

1981–1986 — attaché on culture and press at the Embassy in Tripoli.

1986–1990 — information officer of the Main Department for the Northern African Countries and the Near East Countries.

1990 — deputy Ambassador of the Embassy in Cairo.

1990–1994 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Yemen. 1995–1999 — deputy head, head of the Main Department for the Northern African Countries and the Near East Countries.

1999–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China. 2000–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Korean People's Democratic Republic on concurrent accreditation.

2004–2006 — head of the General Department for CIS.

2006 — chief counselor of the director for political affairs.

2007–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Moldova. 2008–2009 — Ambassador-at-large, authorized person for the Gas Pipeline 'Nabukko' Project.

2009–2011 — Ambassador-at-large for power safety

The Republic of Uzbekistan

Temporary Chargé d'affaires Alisher Ahzamhodzhayev (1993–1998);

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Shamansur Shahalilov (1999–2003);

Ravshanbek Alimov (2003–2006);

Haidarov Ilhom Utkurovych (2006–2009)

**Temporary Charge d'affaires to Ukraine
since May 2009**

Batyr Pulatovych Yusupov



Born on September 17, 1961.

Graduated from the Tashkent Engineering Institute of the Agriculture Irrigation and Mechanization and the national Russian Academy of Foreign Trade (Moscow).

Proficient in English and Russian.

Married, has two children.

1990–1995 — held various managerial positions at the foreign trade association Interaloka of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

1995–2000 — deputy director general on foreign economic links and marketing of the State Production Association

Davlatbelgisi at the Central Bank of Uzbekistan.

2000–2007 — deputy chairman of State Joint-Stock Foreign Trade Company Uzmarkazimpeks of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Trade and Investments of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

2007 — till now — counselor on trade and economic issues of the Embassy of the Republic Uzbekistan in Ukraine.

The Republic of Finland

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Eric Ulfstedt (1993–1996); Marti Osoaro (1996–2000);
Timo Yuhani Repo (2000–2003); Laura Reinilya (2003–2007)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since September 2007**

Christer Michelsson



Born on March 27, 1957 in Helsinki, Finland. Master of Law, University of Helsinki, 1985.

Married, has two children.

Proficient in Swedish, English, German, Russian, Spanish and French.

1986–1987 — attaché, the Administrative Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1987–1990 — attaché, the Embassy of Finland, Madrid; attaché at the Foreign Economic Department of the Bureau of Trade with the USSR at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the second secretary of the Embassy of Finland in Moscow.

1990–1993 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Finland in Bonn.

1993–1994 — the International Training Courses, Institute Universaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Geneva (specializing in 'security policy').

1994–1995 — counselor, the EU Secretariat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1995–1997 — counselor, the Political Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1997–2000 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Finland in Beijing, the PRC.

2000–2004 — HR Director at the Administrative Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2004–2007 — minister and deputy chief of Mission of the Embassy of Finland in Moscow.

The French Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Hugues Pernet (1992–1993); Michel Peissik (1993–1995);
Dominique Chassard (1995–1997); Pascal Fieschi (1997–2001);
Philippe de Suremain (2002–2005); Jean-Paul Veziant (2005–2008)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2008**

Jacques Faure



Born on January 31, 1947. Diploma on the higher philological education, diploma of the Institute for Political Studies, diploma of the National Institute of Oriental Languages (Chinese)).

Minister Plenipotentiary of the 1st class. Cavalier of the National Order of Merit.

Proficient in English, German, Chinese, Polish, Russian and Slovak.

1975–1977 — attaché, chief of the Chancellery at the Embassy of France in Ulan Bator.

1977–1980 — Department of Europe of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1980–1985 — the second and the first secretary of the Embassy of France in Warsaw.

1985–1987 — Department of Information and Press of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

1987–1989 — Department of Europe.

1989–1992 — acting deputy head of the Department for Eastern and Central Europe.

1992–1994 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France in Tirana.

1994–1998 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France in Tallinn.

1998–2003 — deputy head of the Department for the European Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2003–2007 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France in Bratislava.

2007–2008 — head of the Department for the Continental Europe.

The Republic of Croatia

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Onesin Cvitan (1992–1995); Juro Vidmarovic (1995–1999);
Marian Kombol (1999–2002); Mario Mikiloc (2002–2006)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
from February 2007**

Zelko Cirinic



Born on August 8, 1959 in Zagreb, the Republic of Croatia. Faculty of the foreign economic trade of the Zagreb University (business administration and economy).

Married, has a daughter.

Awards: Order of the Croatian Shamrock, Commemorative Homeland Thanksgiving.

1985–1989 — senior advisor at the Publisher's Company Mladost, Zagreb.

1989–1991 — director on export at the Publisher's Company Mladost, Zagreb.

1992–1993 — senior advisor at the Ministry of Trade, Zagreb.

1993–1994 — head of the Department for International Economic Links of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Croatia.

1994–1995 — deputy minister for International Economic Links of the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Croatia.

1995–1999 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Croatia to the Republic of Indonesia.

1999–2003 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Croatia to the People's Republic of China.

2004–2005 — head of the Department for Bilateral Economic Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

2005–2006 — director of the Croatian Agency for Facilitating Export and Investments, Zagreb.

The Czech Republic

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Pavel Masha (1993–1997); Iosef Wrabec (1997–2002);
Carel Stindl (2002–2007); Yaroslav Bashta (2007–2010), Vitezlav Pivonka (2010–2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since August 2011**

Ivan Pochukh



Born in 1961 in town Trnava.

Proficient in English, Russian and French.

Married, has two children.

1990–1995 — section of international relations at the Ministry of Defense of the Czech Republic.

1995–1999 — the first secretary of the Permanent Mission of the Czech Republic to the UN in New York, member of the Czech delegation at the UN Security Council, responsible for activities of the First Committee (international security and disarmament) of the UN General Assembly related to the involvement of the Czech Republic in the piece-making operations

1999–2001 — the first secretary of the Permanent Delegation of the Czech Republic to NATO, participated in the operational activities on creation of the concept for control over armament and disarmament, antimissile defense and development of the framework of the European Policy of Safety and Defense and Cooperation with NATO and EU in Fighting Crises.

2001–2002 — head of the NATO section at the Department of the Defense Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

2002–2003 — deputy director, director of the Department for Defense Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, responsible for formulation and implementation of the Czech Defense Policy in relation to NATO, EU and OSCE, coordinated work on creation of the Czech Republic Defense Policy.

2004–2009 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine, head of the Permanent Mission of the Czech Republic to the UN, OSCE and other international organizations with the headquarters in Wien.

2009–2011 — director of the Department of the Defense Policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

The Swiss Confederation

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Armen Kammer (1993–1996); Sylvia Pauli (1996–1999);
Jean-Francois Kammer (2000–2005); Christian Fesler (2005–2007)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since May 2007**

Georg Zubler



Born in 1949 in town Muri, Aargau Canton. After graduation from the University of St Gallen received the diploma on polytology and law.

1977 — diplomatic service at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) of Switzerland.

1979 — diplomatic position at the FDFA Financial and Economic Department.

1983 — Secretary on economic issues of the Embassy of Switzerland in Yugoslavia.

1986 — member of the Swiss delegation in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Europe (OECD).

1990 — the Federal Office for Foreign Economic Relations of the Federal Department of Economy, head of the Department for the North America and South Africa.

1994 — Deputy Chief of Mission of the Embassy of Switzerland in Sweden.

1997 — Head of the HR Section, deputy chief of the Personnel Department of the FDFA.General Secretariat

2000 — Head of the HR Department, deputy chief of the Personnel Department of the FDFA.General Secretariat.

2002 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Switzerland to the Republic of Ghana.

The Kingdom of Sweden

**Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:
Martin Halkquist (1992–1996); Joran Sigurd Jacobson (1996–2000);
Sven Ulof Oke Peterson (2000–2004); Ion-Krister Olander (2004–2009)**

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since January 2009**

Stephan Gullgren



Born on November 8, 1968 in Jonkoping, Sweden.
Graduated from the Uppsala University (1994 p.), Master
of Law. Married.

Proficient in English, Russian, French and Italian.

1990–1994 — training at the Department of East European
Studies and the Department of Slavic Languages, the
Uppsala University.

1989–1994 — the law faculty, the Uppsala University in
Sweden.

1993–1994 — research worker, the Department of East
European Studies, the Uppsala University.

1994–1998 — the second secretary (political issues) at the Embassy of Sweden,
Moscow.

1998–2002 — information officer (responsible for political issues in Russia), Deputy
Head of the Department for Eastern European countries at the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Stockholm.

2002–2004 — counselor (political issues) at the Embassy of Sweden, Moscow.

2004–2005 — counselor and head of the Department for Economy and Trade at
the Embassy of Sweden, Moscow.

2005–2007 — Plenipotentiary Minister and head of the Department for Economy
and Trade at the Embassy of Sweden, Moscow.

2007–2009 — Plenipotentiary Minister and deputy chief of the Mission of the Em-
bassy of Sweden, Moscow.

Japan

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine:

Siodzi Suadzava (1993–1996); Judzi Korokava (1996–1999);

Chitochi Honta (1999–2002); Kichiro Amae (2002–2008), Tadashi Idzava (2008-2011)

**Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine
since 20011**

Toichi Sakata



Born on November 24, 1948 in the Osaka City, Japan. Graduated from the Tokyo University. Bachelor (1972); Master of Engineering (machine-building) (1974); post-graduation course of business and public administration of the Cornell University (1979), Master of Administration and Management Department.

1974–1985 — Japan Agency of Science and Technology.

1985–1990 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Japan to the USA. 1990–1993 — director of the Department for Nuclear Fuel at the Japan Bureau of Nuclear Power (Japan Agency of Science and Technology).

1993–1995 — director of the Department for директор

відділення космічних стратегій бюро досліджень і розробок (Japan Agency of Science and Technology). 1995–1996 — advisor at the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research (RIKEN). 1996–1998 — director of the Department for Strategy at the Japan Bureau of Science and Technology (Japan Agency of Science and Technology).

1998–1999 — director of the Department for Strategy at the Bureau of Nuclear Energy. 1999–2001 — director of the Department for General Coordination at the Secretariat of the Minister (Japan Agency of Science and Technology).

2001–2003 — deputy director of the Bureau for Research Development at the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan.

2003 — deputy director general of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan. 2003–2005 — Director General of the R&D Bureau of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan.

2005–2007 — executive director of the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research (RIKEN). 2007–2008 — director general of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan.

2008–2009 — deputy minister of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan. 2009–2011 — the first deputy minister of the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan. 2010 — senior advisor at the Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology of Japan.

2010–2011 — advisor of the President of the Japan Agency of Science and Technology.

The European Union

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the European Union to Ukraine since October 2008

Jose Manuel Pinto Texeira



Born on August 11, 1958.

Graduated from the Portuguese Navy Academy (1972), the Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal (1976), post-graduation course of the Technical University of Norway (1984), the London School of Economics and Political Science (1994), the courses on European Negotiations at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna (2002). Proficient in English, French, Spanish and Italian.

1976–1977 — engineer of the CESL Project, Portugal

1978–1981 — engineer of the project at the Administration

of the South African Railways and Harbors.

1981–1983 — manager of the Project at the in the Republic of Cape Verde and the Saudi Arabia.

1985–1988 — manager of the Norwegian International Development Agency project in Mozambique.

1988 — director general of DG VIII, practical training for service at the European Commission.

1988–1991 — the first secretary of the EU Delegation in Swaziland.

1991–1992 — member of the Cabinet. Appointed to the position of the European Commission counselor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during Portugal presidency at the EU.

1992–1994 — counselor and charge d'affairs of the EU Commission Delegation in Angola.

1994–1995 — head of the Sector on CIS States.

1996 — deputy head of the Department No 1 of the Humanitarian Aid Bureau of the European Commission.

1997–1998 — head of Mission of the Humanitarian Aid Bureau of the European Commission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia.

1998–2002 — Ambassador, head of the EU Commission Delegation in Macedonia.

2002–2005 — Ambassador, head of the EU Commission Delegation in Mozambique.

2006 — head of the Department DEV/02 on pan-African relations.

2006–2008 — head of the Department DEV/E/3 on relations with the South African Countries and the Region.

Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine with concurrent accreditation

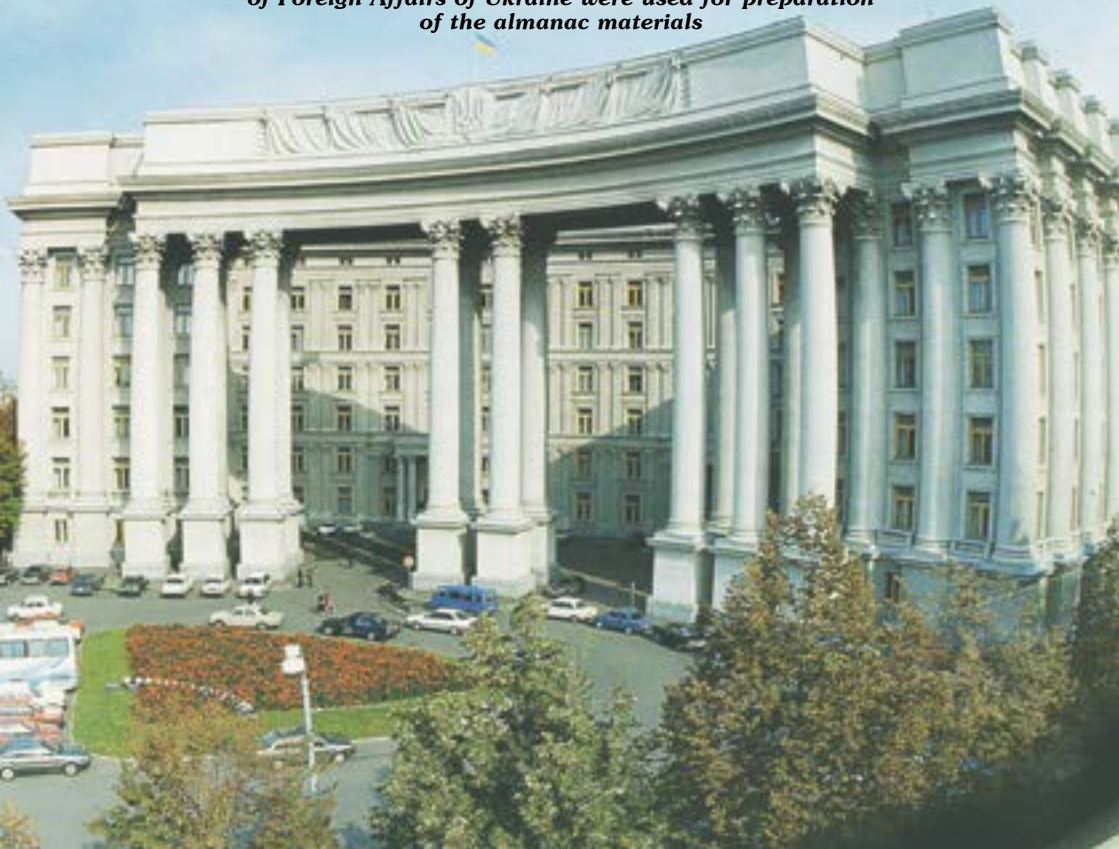
No	Name	Country	Location
1.	Michael John Potts	Australia	Wien
2.	Florent Celik	The Republic of Albania	Warsaw
3.	Samuel Tito Armando	The Republic of Angola	Moscow
4.	Sayful Hawk	The People's Republic of Bangladesh	Moscow
5.	Vicente Ai d'Almeyda	The Republic of Benin	Moscow
6.	Sergio Hugo Sanchez Ballivian	The Republic of Bolivia	Moscow
7.	Nicola Dukic	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Budapest
8.	Bernadette Sebahe Rasedi	The Republic of Botswana	Stockholm
9.	Javier Niodoho	Burkina Faso	Berlin
10.	Renova Ndayirukiye	The Republic of Burundi	Moscow
11.	Erick Miguel Marquez Rodriguez	The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	Warsaw
12.	Paul Biye-Eyene	The Republic of Gabon	Moscow
13.	Eduard Apai Mantei	The Republic of Ghana	Moscow
14.	Arturo Romeo Duarte Ortiz	The Republic of Guatemala	Moscow
15.	El Hadj Amara Bangoura	the Republic of Guinea	Moscow
16.	Byron Morehon Almeyda	The Republic of Ecuador	Wien
17.	Fausto Abeso Fuma	The Republic of Equatorial Guinea	Moscow
18.	Teklay Minassiyeh Ashedom	The State of Eritrea	Moscow
19.	Teketel Forssido Vamisho	The Federative Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	Moscow
20.	Mohamed Ahmed Al-Salyeh Helyali	The Republic of Yemen	Moscow
21.	Peter Lusaka Chintala	The Republic of Zambia	Moscow
22.	Pelekezela Mpoko	The Republic of Zimbabwe	Moscow
23.	Richard Rian	Ireland	Prague
24.	Elin Fleegenring	The Republic of Iceland	Helsinki
25.	Ahmed S. Al-Midadi	The State of Qatar	Moscow
26.	Pantias Eliades	The Republic of Cyprus	Berlin
27.	George Alberto Barrantes Ulloa	The Republic of Colombia	Warsaw
28.	Jean-Pierre Lueybo	The Republic of Congo	Moscow
29.	Moyiz Kabaku Muchayil	The Democratic Republic of Congo	Moscow
30.	Kim Yong Jae	The Korean People's Democratic Republic	Moscow
31.	Hnano Filiber Fanidi	The Republic of Cote d'Ivoire	Moscow

No	Name	Country	Location
32.	Thonhsavan Fomvihan	The Lao People's Democratic Republic	Moscow
33.	Jean Falc	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	Prague
34.	Mahendra Dosia	The Republic of Mauritius	Moscow
35.	Éloy Alphonse Maxim Duvu	The Republic of Madagascar	Moscow
36.	Isaac Lamba	The Republic of Malawi	Moscow
37.	Brahima Coulibaly	Republic of Mali	Moscow
38.	Paul Friedrich von Fuherr	The Sovereign Military Order of the Hospitaliers of Rhodes and of Malta	Minsk
39.	Marcelino Bernardo Sherinda	The Republic of Mozambique	Moscow
40.	Otgon ambiynyam	Mongolia	Warsaw
41.	U Min Thain	The Union of Myanmar	Moscow
42.	Samuel Kaveto Mbambo	The Republic of Namibia	Moscow
43.	Ian Hill	New Zealand	Moscow
44.	Omar Saif Hobash	The United Arab Emirates	Moscow
45.	Mohamad Al Hassan	The Sultanate of Oman	Moscow
46.	Antonio Fotis Takis Ochoa	The Republic of Panama	Greece
47.	Gerona Narvaez Torres	The Republic of Paraguay	Rome
48.	Martha Chavarri-Dupui	The Republic of Peru	Warsaw
49.	Paolo Esposito	The Republic of San Marino	Italy
50.	Simon De Cruz	The Republic of Singapore	Moscow
51.	Siradzhuddin Hamid Yusuf	The Republic of Sudan	Moscow
52.	Salle Mohamed Toure	The Republic of Sierra Leone	Moscow
53.	Dostiyev Abdulmadzhyd Salimovych	The Republic of Tajikistan	Moscow
54.	Supot Dirakaosal	The Kingdom of Thailand	Moscow
55.	Yaka M. Mwamba	The United Republic of Tanzania	Moscow
56.	Hmais Dzhyнайи	The Republic of Tunisia	Moscow
57.	Jorge Alberto Meyer Long	The Oriental Republic of Uruguay	Moscow
58.	Victor G. Garcia III	The Republic of the Philippines	Moscow
59.	Dzhybrin Abdul	The Republic of Chad	Moscow
60.	Cesar Augusto Parra Muñoz	The Republic of Chile	Moscow
61.	Zeljko Radulovych	The Republic of Montenegro	Hura
62.	Udayanha Viratunha	The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	Moscow
63.	Joy Alfred Viler	Jamaica	Berlin

Representatives of Ukraine to the International Organizations

**Biographic information is presented as of September 1, 2011.
Data about possible changes in composition of the heads
of diplomatic missions along with their biographic data
will be provided in the next issues of the almanac.**

***Data of the Department of the State Protocol of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine were used for preparation
of the almanac materials***



Head of Ukraine Mission to the United Nations

Since July 2010

Ihor Dolgov



Born on June 6, 1957 in town Slavuta, Khmelnytskyi oblast. In 1980 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, philologist, teacher, PhD (philology).

1974–1975 — technician at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR.

1975–1980 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1980–1992 — assistant of the chair of Russian language and the methods of its teaching as a foreign language at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1992–1993 — the first secretary of the Section for Information at the MFA of Ukraine. 03.1993–04.1993 — counselor for the Section for Information at the MFA of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — assistant-counselor of the Secretariat of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 01.1994–09.1994 — counselor at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Finland. 1994–1997 — Counselor Ambassador at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Finland. 10.1997–11.1997 — acting deputy head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the MFA of Ukraine.

1997–2000 — deputy head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the MFA of Ukraine. 2000–2001 — deputy head of the Main Department on Foreign Policy at the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — director of the Department on Policy and Security – head of the Department for Political Analysis and Planning of the MFA of Ukraine. 2002–2004 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Turkey.

2004–2006 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2006–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Federative Republic of Germany.

2008–2009 — head of the Main Foreign Policy Service at the Secretariat of the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — Ambassador-at-large for the Department of Information Policy of the MFA of Ukraine. 04.2010–07.2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the Operational Response Section at the Department for Information Policy of the MFA of Ukraine.

07.2010–07.2010 — Ambassador-at-large of the Coordination Section at the Department of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation of the MFA of Ukraine.

07.2010 — till now. — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium.

Representative of Ukraine to the European Union

Since July 2010

Kostyantyn Eliseev



Born on September 14, 1970 in t. Krasnoarmeisk, Donetsk Oblast. In 1992 graduated from the Ukrainian Institute of International Relations at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, international relations specialist, information officer, translator of French.

1987–1992 — student of the Ukrainian Institute of International Relations at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1992–1993 — attaché of the Collegium Group of the MFA of Ukraine.

01.1993–08.1993 — attaché, the third secretary of the Section for International Organizations of the MFA of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — the third secretary of the Section for Political

Issues of the UN and Its Agencies of the Department of International Organizations of the MFA of Ukraine.

1994–1997 — the third and the second secretary of the Permanent Representation of Ukraine to the UN.

1997–1999 — the second, the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of France.

1999–2000 — main counselor at the Section of Bilateral Relations of the Main Department for Foreign Policy Issues at the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

2000–2004 — director of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Office.

2004–2007 — deputy representative of Ukraine at the European Communities

2007–2010 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Permanent Representative of Ukraine to UNESCO

Since July 2010

Oleksandr Kupchyshyn



Born in June, 1952 in vil. Perehynske, Rozhnytskyi raion, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1974), international lawyer, information officer, translator of English; the Diplomatic Academy at the MOF of the USSR (1990), diplomat; PhD (law).

1969–1974 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1974–1982 — post-graduate, assistant of the chair of international law at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1982–1988 — employee of the UN Department Secretariat.

1988–1990 — student of the Diplomatic Academy at the MOF of the USSR.

08.1990–09.1990 — the second secretary (reserve) of the MFA of Ukraine.

1990–1992 — the first secretary of the Section for International organizations of the MFA of Ukraine.

01.1992–09.1992 — head of the Treaty and Legal Section of the MFA of Ukraine.

1992–1993 — head of the Treaty and Legal Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — counselor-ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of France. 1996–1998 — head of the Department for the European Regional Cooperation, Department of the European and Transatlantic Integration of the MFA of Ukraine.

1998–2001 — permanent representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe.

2001–2004 — director of the Legal Department of the MFA of Ukraine, Ambassador-at-large.

2004–2005 — Ambassador-at-large at the Treaty and Legal Section of the MFA of Ukraine.

07.2005–12.2005 — Ambassador-at-large at the Treaty and Legal Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2005–2008 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Netherlands.

2005–2008 — permanent representative of Ukraine to the Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapon.

2008–2010 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

02.2010–06.2010 — authorized person (coordinator) on providing equal rights for women and men.

06.2010 — till now — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of France.

**Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the
UN and other International Organizations
Department in Geneva (Switzerland)**

Since January 2008

Mykola Maimeskul



Born on December 18, 1948 in vil. Prymorsky, Tatarbunary raion, Odessa oblast.

In 1972 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, information officer, translator, teacher of French and English, PhD (history) (1988).

1966–1972 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1972–1974 — engineer of the central design bureau of the *Energavtomatika* Trust.

1974–1977 — translator of French for a group of the Soviet specialists of the military unit 44708, the Central African Republic,

the Republic of Chad.

1977–1980 — senior laboratory assistant, chief methodologist, chief engineer at the faculty of international relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1980–1981 — post-graduate of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1981–1983 — the third secretary of the Consular Department of the MFA of Ukr.SSR.

1983–1986 — the third, the first secretary of the Department for International Economic Organizations of the MFA of Ukr.SSR.

1986–1992 — the second, the first secretary of the Permanent Representation of the USSR to the UN and other International Organizations in Geneva.

1992–1993 — head of the Section for International Economic Cooperation of the MFA of Ukraine.

1993–1996 — head of the Department for International Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the MFA of Ukraine.

1996–2000 — permanent representative of Ukraine to the UN and other International Organizations in Geneva (Chairman of the Disarmament Conference (1998), Chairman of the Geneva Diplomatic Committee (2000), Vice-Chairman of the UN European Economic Commission (1996–1998).

2000–2001 — Ambassador-at-large of the Group of Ambassadors-at-large and Main Counsellors of the MFA of Ukraine.

01.2001–07.2001 — director of the Department for the European Integration, Economic and Humanitarian Cooperation – head of the EU Department at the MFA of Ukraine.

07.2001–11.2001 — Ambassador-at-large on coordination of the MFA of Ukraine with

the VR of Ukraine, the COM of Ukraine, ministries, agencies and regions of Ukraine of the Department for Ambassadors-at-large.

2001–2002 — Ambassador-at-large, head of the Group for Coordination of the MFA of Ukraine Interaction with the VR of Ukraine, the COM of Ukraine, ministries, agencies and regions of Ukraine of the Department for Ambassadors-at-large.

2002–2003 — director of the Department for Consular Services of the MFA of Ukraine.

2003–2004 — Ambassador-at-large of the Department for Ambassadors-at-large and Main Counselors of the MFA of Ukraine.

02.2004–04.2004 — Ambassador-at-large of the Consular Service Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2004–2006 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Canada, representative of Ukraine at the International Organization of Civil Aviation (IKAO).

2006–2008 — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Permanent Representative of Ukraine to International Organizations in Wien (Austria)

Since July 2010

Ihor Prokopchuk



Born on March 3, 1968 in t. Korosten, Zhytomyr oblast. In 1992 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, translator of English and Italian.

1985–1986 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1986–1988 — service in the Army.

1988–1992 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1992–1993 — attaché of the Information Section of the MFA of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — the third, the second secretary of the Information Section at the Information Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

1994–1997 — the third, the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

1997–1998 — the second secretary of the Permanent Representation of Ukraine to the UN. 02.1998–10.1998 — assistant counselor of the Secretariat of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. 10.1998–11.1998 — counselor of the USA and Canada Section of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

1998–2000 — acting head of the USA and Canada Section of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — deputy head of the Department – head of the USA and Canada Section of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2001–2002 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

04.2002–11.2002 — Temporary Charge d'Affaires of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

2002–2004 — Consul Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

2004–2005 — head of the Third Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2005–2006 — deputy director of the Second Territorial Department, the CEU Section of the MFA of Ukraine.

04.2006–10.2006 — acting director of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine. 2006–2008 — director of the Fourth Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2008–2010 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Lithuania.

Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations

Since April 2007

Yurii Sergeev



Born on February 5, 1956 in t. Leninakan, Armenian SSR. In 1981 graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, philologist, teacher, PhD (philology).

1973–1974 — copyist at the architectural-planning shop of the Republican Design Institute *Ukrzemproject*, Kyiv.

1974–1976 — student of the Frunze Higher Military School in Kyiv.

1976–1981 — student of the philological faculty of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1981–1989 — assistant of the chair at the philological faculty of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1989–1992 — assistant professor of the chair at the philological faculty of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

1992–1993 — head of the Press Center of the MFA of Ukraine.

1993–1994 — head of the Informational Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

08.1994–12.1994 — head of the Secretariat of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

1994–1997 — head of the Informational Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

01.1997–11.1997 — Consul-Ambassador of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Great Britain.

1997–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Hellenic Republic.

1999–2000 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of Albania on concurrent accreditation.

2000–2001 — head of the Main Department on Foreign Policy Issues at the Administration of the President of Ukraine.

02.2001–07.2001 — the first deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2001–2003 — state secretary of the MFA of Ukraine.

2003–2007 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Republic of France

2003–2007 — permanent representative of Ukraine to UNESCO.

06.2008 — till now. — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Commonwealth of Bahamas Islands on concurrent accreditation.

Permanent Authorized Representative of Ukraine to the CIS Coordinating Institutes

Since January 2011

Ivan Bunechko



Born on July 8, 1950 in t. Strilsk, Sarnensky rayon, Rivne Oblast. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1973), historian, teacher of history and social sciences; Odessa higher party school (1980); post-graduation course of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee (Moscow) (1990); faculty of advanced training at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia by the curriculum of the International Diplomatic Courses (2002). PhD (philosophy).

Awards: the Order of the Right Reverend Nestor, the Chronicler, the Saint Grand Prince Volodymyr, the Great, Cyril and Methodius, the Certificate of Honour of the MFA of Ukraine (August 2008), Badge of Honour of the 3rd Class of the MFA of Ukraine (June 2010).

Proficient in Belarus and German. Married, has two sons.

1966–1969 — director of the village club, teacher in vil. Kostyantynivka, Sarnensky raion, Rivne oblast. 1969–1970 — secretary of the Young Communist League Committee of the collective farm *Komunist* in vil. Kostyantynivka, Sarnensky raion, Rivne oblast.

1970–1972 — instructor at the Sarny Raion Young Communist League Committee, Rivne oblast. 1972–1973 — head of the Trade Union Committee at the Sarny vocational school No 2, Rivne oblast. 1973–1974 — service in the Army.

1974–1977 — lecturer of the Sarny raion Communist Party Committee, Rivne oblast.

1977–1978 — head of the section at the Rokitne raion Communist Party Committee, Rivne oblast. 1978–1980 — student of the Odessa Higher Party School, Odessa.

1980–1987 — lecturer of the Rivne Oblast Communist Party Committee, Rivne.

1987–1990 — post-graduate of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee (Moscow). 1990–1991 — secretary at the Rivne City Communist Party Committee, Rivne. 1991–1992 — head of the Department at the Association of Economic Cooperation *Vostok*.

1992–1996 — director of the Rivne branch of the Ukrainian Stock Exchange, Rivne.

1996–1999 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Republic of Belarus.

1999–2001 — the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to Turkmenistan.

2001–2004 — counselor at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Russian Federation.

2004–2005 — main counselor of the Treaty and Legal Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

2005–2007 — counselor of the Section on Issues of Permanent Stay of the Black Sea Navy in the territory of Ukraine .

2007–2010 — counselor on consular issues at the Embassy of Ukraine to the Kyrgyz Republic.

Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe

Since May 2010

Mykola Tochytsky



Born on September 22, 1967 in village Zhigalivka, Kalinivsky raion, Vinnitsa oblast. Graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1993), philologist, translator of French and English; the Institute of International Relations at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (1995), international lawyer.

07.1984–08.1984 — employee of the Uladovol-Lyulinetsky research selection station, Vinnitsa oblast.

1984–1985 — apprentice of the wireman at the vocational school No 19, Vinnitsa. 1985–1987 — service in the army.

1987–1993 — student of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. 1993–1994 — attaché, the third secretary of

the Section for Operational Communication and Software of the Department for Control over Armament and Disarmament of the MFA of Ukraine.

1994–1995 — the third secretary of the Section for Multilateral Disarmament and Prohibition of the Chemical and Biological Weapon of the Department for Control over Armament and Disarmament of the MFA of Ukraine.

1995–1998 — the third, the second secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Belgium. 1998–1999 — the first secretary of the Section for Nuclear Disarmament and Strategic Arms Limitation of the Department for Control over Armament and Disarmament of the MFA of Ukraine.

1999–2000 — the first secretary of the OSCE and Council of Europe Section of the Department for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation of the MFA of Ukraine.

2000–2001 — counselor of the NATO and the European Security Section of the Department for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation and the Department on Policy and Security of the MFA of Ukraine. 2001–2003 — counselor at the Permanent Representation of Ukraine to the Council of Europe. 2003–2004 — the first deputy director of the Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

01.2004–02.2004 — director of the Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

2004–2005 — head of the Department for Consular Service of the MFA of Ukraine.

2005–2008 — Consul General of Ukraine to San Francisco (USA); the first deputy, head of the Main Service for Foreign Policy at the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2008–2009 — the first deputy head, head of the Main Service for International Cooperation at the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

2009–2010 — head of the Main Service for International Cooperation at the Secretariat of the President of Ukraine.

Consuls-General of Ukraine in Foreign States

Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Belarus (Brest)	Ivan Baranchik
Acting Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Bulgaria (Varna)	Iryna Dmitrenko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Federative Republic of Brazil (Rio-de-Janeiro)	Oleksandr Markov
Consul-General of Ukraine in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Edinburg)	Mykhailo Osnach
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Hellenic Republic (Salonika)	Ihor Sagyba
Consul-General of Ukraine in the State of Israel (Haifa)	Ihor Turchyn
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Kingdom of Spain (Barcelona)	Oleksandr Khripunov
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Italian Republic (Milan)	Andriy Kartysh
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Italian Republic (Naples)	Volodymyr Karachyntsev
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Kazakhstan (Almaty)	Lyudmyla Protasova
Consul-General of Ukraine in Canada (Toronto)	Oleksandr Danyleiko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the People's Republic of China (Shanghai)	Sergiy Burdylyak
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Federative Republic of Germany (Munich)	Yuriy Yarmilko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Federative Republic of Germany (Frankfurt-on-Main)	Albert Cherniyuk
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland (Gdansk)	Myron Yankiv
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland (Krakow)	Vitaliy Maksymenko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Poland (Lublin)	Oleg Gorbenko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Russian Federation (Rostov-on-Don)	Vitaliy Moskalenko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Russian Federation (Sankt-Petersburg)	Natalia Prokopovych
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Russian Federation (Tyumen)	Mykhailo Kolyadin
Consul-General of Ukraine in Romania (Suceava)	Vasyl Boechko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Slovak Republic (Prahov)	Olga Bench
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Unites States of America (New York)	Sergiy Pogoreltsev
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Unites States of America (San-Francisco)	Sergiy Alioshyn
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Unites States of America (Chicago)	Kostyantyn Kudryk
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Republic of Turkey (Istanbul)	Bohdan Yaremenko
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Hungarian Republic (Nyiregyháza)	Sergiy Borodenkov
Consul-General of Ukraine in the Czech Republic (Brno)	Volodymyr Gorbarenko

Consuls-General of Foreign States in Ukraine

Consul-General of the Republic of Bulgaria (Odessa)	Prodanov Kalinov Georg
Consul-General of the Hellenic Republic (Mariupol)	Malli Sofia
Consul-General of the Hellenic Republic (Odessa)	Khaziglou Antonios
Consul-General of Georgia (Odessa)	Kvachadze Zurab Georgievych
Consul-General of Georgia (Donetsk)	Nishniadze Teimuraz Timurovich
Consul-General of the People's Republic of China (Odessa))	U Siaojin
Consul-General of the Republic of Moldova (Odessa)	Rosha Petu
Consul-General of the Federative Republic of Germany (Donetsk)	Zillikens Claus
Consul-General of the Republic of Poland (Odessa)	Strshelchic Joanna
Consul-General of the Republic of Poland (Sevastopol)	Mazur Veslav
Consul-General of the Republic of Poland (Lutsk)	Yanic Tomash
Consul-General of the Republic of Poland (Lviv)	Opalinsky Hzhegosh
Consul-General of the Republic of Poland (Kharkiv)	Granar Ian
Consul-General of the Republic of Poland (Vinnitsa)	Shviderek Kshstov
Consul-General of the Russian Federation (Simferopol)	Andreev Vladimir Vadimovich
Consul-General of the Russian Federation (Odessa)	Grachov Aleksandr Grigorievich
Consul-General of the Russian Federation (Lviv)	Astakhov Oleg Yurieвич
Consul-General of the Russian Federation (Kharkiv)	Fillip Vsevolod Ivanovich
Consul-General of Romania (Chernivtsi)	Popa Tatiana
Consul-General of Romania (Odessa)	Nikolash Cherasela
Consul-General of the Slovak Republic (Uzhgorod)	Skladchek Marian
Consul-General of the Hungary Republic (Uzhgorod)	Bashkai Josef
Consul-General of the Hungary Republic (Beregovo)	Tot Ishatvan
Consul-General of the Czech Republic (Donetsk)	Murgash Antonin
Consul-General of the Czech Republic (Lviv)	Pavlitva David

Personalities of the Ukrainian diplomacy

Mariya Vitushok

AMBASSADOR OF UKRAINE IVAN GRYSHCENKO



Ivan F. Gryshchenko

According to the fearful statistics of the previous century only three percent of males born in the Soviet Union in 1922–24 survived. People who participated in the Second World War in the USA, that suffered much less during the wartime, are called ‘the Great Generation’. We use a modest name ‘veterans’ though a measure of their sacrifice is much greater than the sacrifice of any other generation in any other period of the mankind history.

An outstanding Ukrainian diplomat Ivan F. Gryshchenko belonged to that generation. He was among few who survived. Born in 1923 he met June 22, 1941 as a trainee of the military aviation school in the Russian town Volsk qualifying for aviation mechanic. He went through the war in the military air forces, survived Hitler bombing, suffered death of his friends, witnessed the atrocities in his own country and was a part of its heroic deeds. He finished the war in Berlin. Much human sufferings he saw in the wartime did not break him down but made him stronger. Every day in the after war period he met with joy because he lived for himself and for those who perished in the war.

In Ukraine the war generation survived another tragedy — Holodomor. When a small boy in his native village Pokrovka he saw famishment of many fellow villagers and since that time his family made it a rule of eating up.

After the war the veterans were determined and willing to choose any profession they dreamed about for their peaceful life and Ivan Gryshchenko chose to be a diplomat. With cum laude certificate of education, certificate of the war veteran and nine war deco-

rations but in the first place with irresistible desire to master diplomatic profession he entered the newly opened faculty of international relations and became the part of the team that lately formed the Ukrainian diplomacy. He studied together with Gennady Udovenko, Valentyn Lipatov and others who were destined to become pioneers of the Ukr.SSR diplomacy and then diplomacy of the independent Ukraine in the global diplomatic domain.

His future wife, Nona, he met at the university where she studied at the biological faculty. They married in 1953. Soon his first son Kostyantyn was born and in five year his second son — Dmytro.

In 1954 he was taken on to then small and just opened Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukr.SSR. A young diplomat plunged into every day diplomatic routine — business trips, reports, analytical letters and again business trips... He worked as the second and the first secretary of the department for international organizations and in 1962–68 — at the department for technical assistance of the UN Secretariat.

Later Ivan Gryshchenko much talked about demarche of Mykyta Khrushchev at the 15th session of the UN General Assembly in 1960 when the Soviet leader unshod and began to bump a shoe against a table demanding from the Chairman to obtain a floor. Ivan Gryshchenko was sitting in the conference hall and worrying that since that moment this shoe would be a measure of the Soviet diplomacy. At this moment he promised himself to never lose temper and to be tactful whatever circumstances because these were the features upon which the professional diplomacy rested since the days of old.

He also remembered the 1962 Caribbean crises when Gryshchenko together with other Soviet diplomats in New York were packing cases being ready for urgent recall or even to a full-fledged world war.

In 1970 after 16 years of the diplomatic career he became the head of the MOF Consular Department. In 1974 the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Georgy Shevel proposed to appoint Gryshchenko to the position of the head of the Ukrainian Permanent Representation at the international organizations in Geneva. After KGB screening and interview with Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, the then first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Gryshchenko opened a new page in his diplomatic career connected to Geneva.

‘Ambassador’ sounds proud and dominant but in reality the whole mission was composed of Gryshchenko himself. Later Mikhailo Dashkevych who then became the first Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan was appointed to the mission as his assistant.

Generally speaking, this mission was created by Gryshchenko alone just as he after returning from the war built a house at the outskirts of the ruined Kyiv. He established and maintained connections, taught the foreigners to understand the meaning of the unknown word ‘Ukraine’. Wearing several hats he was an ambassador, an interpreter, a cook and a driver all at once. By the way he learnt to drive at the age of 47 before a business trip. Later he used to tell a story with a smile of how surprised locals were gathered around the unseen rarity — old Soviet Volga car the Ukrainian Ambassador was driving in Geneva.

The last years before pension Ivan Gryshchenko returned to the MOF central office and worked there till 1992 when his son Kostyantyn was taken on to the MOF. Two generations of diplomats may be too little for a full-fledged dynasty but Ivan Gryshchenko had all grounds to be proud observing the meteoric career of his son in the independent Ukraine.

Ivan Gryshchenko died in 1998 in the same house that he built with his own hands. Veteran, diplomat, a cultured person and a cheerful nice man he lived a vivid and memorable life of an outstanding person of the great generation.



*Anatoliy Denisenko,
Vasil' Turkevich*

GENNADY UDOVENKO – THE MAN OF THE GLOBE



Gennady I. Udovenko is the Ukrainian diplomat and politician. He was born on June 22, 1931 in the city of Kryvyi Rig. Udovenko graduated from the faculty of international relations of the Kyiv University (1954). In 1952–1955 he worked at the Ministry of Industrial and Construction Materials of the Ukr.SSR, was the head of the collective farm in the Kyiv region. He took post-graduation courses at the Institute of Economy and Organization of Agriculture. In 1959–1964 he worked as the first

secretary and then the counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, in 1965–1971 — as an officer at the Secretariat of the UN Office in Geneva, in 1971–1977 — as a head of the HR Department, head of the Department for International Economic Organizations of the MFA of Ukraine, in 1977–1980 he occupied an important position of the Director of Department for Conferences and Simultaneous Translation of the UN Secretariat (New York), in 1980–1985 — deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, 1985–1992 — a permanent representative of Ukraine at the UN (New York), 1992–1994 — Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine in Poland, in 1994–1998 — Minister of Foreign Affairs and at the same time (September 1997 — September 1998) — Chairman of

the 52nd UN General Assembly. Since March 1998 he was the people's deputy at the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the 3rd, 4th and 5th convocations from a party Narodny Rukh Ukrainy and a bloc Nasha Ukraina, head of the VR Committee for Human Rights, National Minorities and Interethnic Relations. In 1999–2003 he occupied position of the leader of the party Narodny Rukh Ukrainy. Since 1998 he was a member of the Council of Presidents of the UN General Assembly.

Udoenko was decorated with the Badge of Honor from the President of Ukraine (1995), Order of Prince Yaroslav, the Wise of the 3rd, 4th and 5th classes, the Order of Merit of the 2nd class (2011) and numerous awards of the foreign countries.

When you learn the official biography of Gennady Udoenko, a symbolic figure in the Ukrainian diplomacy and politics of the last five decades, you wonder how dynamic and versatile his professional, political and public career developed, how eventful and unique his life is. At the same time you understand that chronological data do not disclose the essence of this special personality. What is behind the employment record of a person destined to live not only in the coordinates of two centuries and two millennia but also in two absolutely different political systems where he was needed and occupied leading positions? Is it a happy fortune? Lucky chance? Ability to benefit from the situation? Certainly not. It is a combination of experience and unbelievable diligence.

This is inherent in this person and also he has a feature that is rare in our current political and even moral realities – responsibility before himself, before his conscience and before Ukrainian people. However, this is only an outline of his unique biography filled with thousands of events, meetings and unique decisions that had impact on the life of many countries and, sometimes, of the globe. He was involved in creation of new countries, termination of long internecine quarrellings and wars, adoption of decisions that saved life of millions from starvation and initiated fights against terminal diseases and lethal weapons.

Gennady Udoenko occupies a special place in the contemporary world diplomacy of the last five decades. However, his main achievement in the last decade of the 20th century is that he managed

for a short period of time to promote the diplomatic system of Ukraine, sovereign and independent state — to the world arena. He coped with the task for which other countries spent tens or even hundreds years of efforts of generations of diplomats and public servants.

It became possible not because he occupied superior positions in the UN from the day of its creation in 1945 like no other Ukrainian diplomat, but in the first place because from the very start of his career he identified himself Ukrainian and treated Ukraine as a state, though colonial province, but the state and firmly believed in its future.

He successfully worked in the diplomatic service of two opposite political and state systems — the Soviet Ukraine and the independent state of Ukraine, which appeared on the world map in 1991. These two systems were absolutely different while diplomacy is based on long ago established traditions and one cannot expect its quick change. However, these changes took place and had an impact on his life and career. When comparing these two diplomatic systems in view of his first-hand experience Udovenko had all grounds to state that Ukrainian independence served a foundation for creation of a new state multifunctional system of international relations starting from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ending with over hundred of diplomatic missions in all continents and representations of practically all international organizations. However, the diplomacy in its essence consists not only in formal creation of a network of embassies, involvement in influential international organizations and institutions, participation in the interstate negotiations and official top-level visits on the equal basis but also in building of the national diplomatic service capable to function for protection of the national interests in all conditions and circumstances and in strengthening its capacity as an equal actor and influential partner in the world arena so that other would see it as representing the state to be reckoned with.

The Ukrainian diplomacy has a long eventful history. It dated back to the legendary times of Kyiv Rus and such prominent figures as Prince Igor, Princess Olga, Prince Yaroslav the Wise, Volodymyr Monomakh, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Vygovsky and covered the period of the Ukrainian People's Republic. This is not only a part of our great history but also a school of communications with other

peoples, struggle for recognizing our state as a full-fledged actor of the international life. Situated in the center of Europe our country played an important geopolitical role in the past and is playing it now. It is no wonder that the Kyiv Rus of the 9th–13th centuries up to the Mongol-Tatar Yoke was considered the second state empire after Byzantine. Somebody thinks that all this dissolves as mist in the morning and lost forever but it is still here in the popular songs and in the mentality of people. If there is a great past not forgotten, not covered with ashes, there will be a great future. It is only needed to work strenuously and not rest on the laurels, go forward and be ready to face and overcome difficulties. It is only needed to work as Gennadiy Udoenko did on all positions he occupied and whatever high and important these positions were, he never forgot that he was the son of his Motherland. He considers himself a happy person because his dream cherished so many year, finally came true – he lives in the independent Ukraine.

Excellent man, outstanding Ukrainian diplomat Gennadiy Udoenko who recently celebrated his 80-year anniversary made a considerable contribution into the development of Ukrainian independent sovereign state, and we highly appreciate him for this.

* * *

Life story of Gennadiy Udoenko will be published in the series “Library of the Scientific Yearbook Ukraina Dyplomatychna, issue 2.



RECTOR AND AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPONTIARY



Leonid Gubersky is a well-known person in Ukraine. He is also known beyond the boundaries of the country. Rector of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Hero of Ukraine, professor, member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, member of the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and on top of it he is one of the creators of a unique institution — the Institute of International Relations. These are his graduates that form the bulk of staff at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and in the diplomatic corps as well

as occupy respectable positions in the supreme bodies of state power and in many international organizations.

Moreover, Leonid Gubersky is a founder and compiler of the *Ukraina Diplomatychna* publication. The Editorial Board is pleased to congratulate Leonid Gubersky with his 70-year anniversary and to wish him Cossack health and many years of creating activity yet to come.

*Some people give the gift
of peace and tranquility
to every life they touch.
They are always who they really are.
They are blessedly reliable,
dependably good,
predictably pleasant,*



Ukraina Dylomatuchna Editorial Board annual meeting. Leonid Gubersky, Anatoly Denysenko, Pavlo Kryvonos, Mykola Kulynych. September 2004

*loved and treasured
by all who know them.
You are one of those people.
You are a gift
of peace and tranquillity, love and creativity
To all of us around.
Happy Birthday to you!*

And every dew-drop paints a bow!



Leonid Gubersky, Anatoly Zlenko, Borys Gumenyuk. December 2001



UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon is among students
of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv



Fidel Castro (Fidel Castro's son), member of the Academy of Sciences of Cuba, Doctor of Mathematics is visiting Leonid Guberskyi, the Rector of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

Leonid Guberskyi, Rector of the Kyiv national university named after Taras Shevchenko with Minister of education, science, youth and sports of Ukraine Dmytro Tabachnyk near the Alma mater



Serhiy Pirozhkov,

*Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Ambassador of Ukraine
to the Republic of Moldova*

UKRAINE AND MOLDOVA: MOVE TO THE EUROPEAN UNION AFTER 20 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

In 2011 Ukraine and Moldova celebrated the 20th anniversary of independence, and next year they will celebrate the 20th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations therebetween.

This period showed that the development of these two states was notable both by successes and outstanding problems, their joint way to the European integration was expressly determined, the considerable non-realized potential for bilateral cooperation was accrued and the Ukraine's role in the settlement of Trans-Dniester issues became more significant.

From Neighbourhood to Partnership

Ukraine is a neighbor of the Republic of Moldova and, therefore, it is necessary to develop mutually beneficial relations therewith. We have no political or inter-ethnic discrepancies, and what really unites us is a joint strategy of the European integration. The only outstanding issues within our relations are those pertaining to the termination of the boundary demarcation and recognition of ownership rights to the objects built as far back as in the times of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, these problems do not orient us to the future and, on the contrary, they just hamper the development of bilateral relations and re-orient us to the past.

The principal importance for stirring-up relations between Ukraine and Moldova was attached to the fact that on 30 June 2011 in Chisinau there was signed the Act on Determining and Fixing the Boundaries on the ground plot of the Odessa-Reni highway sec-

tor at Palanca registered on 5 July with the cadastral authorities of the Republic of Moldova as a Ukraine's property.

It's a pity, but during long time some political parties used "the Palanca problem" with political purposes and often the information distributed by the mass media was untrue and did not comply with the reality. Legal implementation of the land plot under the highway Odesa — Reni in the Palanca region allowed to the Republic of Moldova to assume the obligations within the Treaty on the State Border signed by Ukraine and the Additional Protocol to the above Treaty. Both documents were ratified by the Parliaments of the countries as far back as in 2001.

The final settlement of the Palanca problem has radically transformed the political high-level dialogue between our states. Only during June-September 2010 there took place the working visit to Moldova of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Mr. Konstantyn Hryshenko, the meeting of Mr. Viktor Yanukovich with the acting President, the Speaker of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova Mr. Marian Lupu in the Crimea that had positive results and the official visit of the latter to Ukraine on the invitation of the Head of Verkhovna Rada Mr. Volodymyr Lytvyn after almost 10-years interval.

On 26 September the Ukrainian and Moldovan speakers signed the Treaty on Cooperation between Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova within the context of the aforementioned meeting.

In September there was also held the meeting of the Prime-Minister of the Republic of Moldova Mr. Volodymyr Filat with the leadership of our state who expressly confirmed the readiness of both countries to deepen their good neighborly relations and to bring their relations to the strategic partnership level. Also, they laid the foundations for further settlement of longstanding issues of concern that is very important for us, especially in the context of the implementation of the common strategic goal of Ukraine and Moldova, i.e. their accession to the European Union.

The main achievement in this sphere was that it has been reached a number of agreements: to hold the 13th Meeting of Ukrainian-Moldovan Intergovernmental Joint Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation; and to proceed to negotiations with the purpose of agreeing the text of the Treaty on the Terms of Functioning of the Dniester Pumped Storage Power Plant. The last meeting of the Commission was held in May, 2006. The agenda and the date of the meeting should be specified by the Co-Head of the

Commission — the Minister of Energy and Coal Industry Yuriy Boiko and the Deputy Prime-Minister, the Minister of Economy of the Republic of Moldova Mr. Valeriu Lazer. However, it is already known that the issues on cooperation in the field of transport, power engineering, ecology and agriculture as well as those related to stirring-up of the investment activities will be discussed there.

Considerable attention will be paid to the issues of mutual recognition of ownership rights and upgrading the contractual-legal base (the legal regime) of bilateral relations. Thus, on 28 July the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova ratified the intergovernmental Protocol on amending the Agreement on Mutual Recognition of Rights and Regulation of Ownership Relations dated 11 August, 1994 between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Moldova. The negotiations on this issue practically did not interrupt. The contractual and legal base allows to resolve ownership issues with regard to the objects located both on the territory of Ukraine and on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, which in the times of the former USSR were built at the expense of the Republican budgets (in particular, of the Ukrainian SSR and Moldavian SSR budgets). At the same time, a large number of recreational objects belonging to Moldova were located on the territory of Ukraine. Ratification of the document referred to above will help to broaden the range of objects, the ownership right to which may be documented and validated. Ratification of the appropriate Protocol by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine enables to renew the full-scale negotiations.

The agreement regarding the settlement of trade disputes by holding consultations between the Ministries of Economy has been reached.

Ukrainian investments to the Republic of Moldova constitute USD 15 million. Due to the global financial crisis and unstable political situation, recently Ukrainian businessmen have not invested in this country. Nowadays, in the Republic of Moldova 623 enterprises, which have the Ukrainian capital, are functioning. The entrepreneurs are interested in the formation of joint organizations because the commercial preferences of the European Union have come into effect in the Republic of Moldova since 1 March 2008. Thus, the attraction of Ukrainian investments is the prospective line of development of our economic relations.

It's important to note that our Moldavian partners share such pragmatic approach that enables to arrive at specific agreed deci-

sions regarding other important issues, which are still being under discussion.

The enhanced collaboration in the sphere of the European integration, regional security, settlement of Trans-Dniester issues as well as trade and economic relationship also remains topical for the bilateral relations.

Completion of Demarcation of the Ukrainian-Moldovan State Border

Demarcation of borders is a very delicate problem, which need compromise solutions. In addition to the border aspect, the experts on the contractual and legal implementation of the state border should take into account the interests of boundary regions inhabitants, peculiarities of infrastructure and economic activity. In the past, only relative administrative border, which has constantly changed by the decisions of local power authorities, existed between Soviet Republics. Formally, the border line may theoretically divide the inhabited locality or even separate household into halves. But there exists one problem more: what has one to do when the gas transmission pipeline passes through the territory of Moldova, then comes to Ukraine for some kilometers and then again goes back to the territory of the Republic of Moldova? At that, the part of Moldavian pipeline, which requires daily maintenance, is located on the Ukrainian territory.

Since the border demarcation is a bilateral process, which requires that the consensus should be reached, the experts' task is to find a mutually acceptable decision. Given that Ukrainian-Moldavian state border is of more than 1.2 thousand kilometers-length, it's easy to imagine the scope and complexity of work and time needed therefor.

After the independence has been gained, we needed ten years to indicate on the map the delimitation line between two states and, only thereupon, to proceed to the demarcation, i.e. to trace this line on the territory. Besides, 452 kilometers of the common state frontier between Ukraine and Moldova fall on the central sector where Trans-Dniester is located that also causes certain problems for the work of the Joint Ukrainian-Moldovan Demarcation Commission.

At the same time, it stands to mention that over last two years the demarcation process has been developing quite successfully, and there are grounds to consider that in the nearest time it may be fully completed.

Moldova and Ukraine have demarcated 740 kilometers for 10 years. Only some sectors remained non-demarcated that became a subject for certain debates. Over 2010–2011 there was noted the progress in the demarcation of the central sector, i.e. 270 kilometers were distributed, 943 points for the border signs installation were defined, 733 statements confirming the border signs installation were approved, 210 statements on the border signs installation are being under preparation for their further approval and 215 border signs have been installed.

The difficulty is that the experts-surveyors have to come to be on the territory of the Trans-Dniester region to find out the precise points of the border signs installation. And to do this, they need the permit from the Trans-Dniester power authorities. In September 2011 the 42nd Meeting of the Joint Ukrainian-Moldovan Demarcation Commission, which approved 153 statements on defining border signs installation points, was held. The mission of the European Union with respect to the boundary assistance to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) is to observe the border functioning regime and render practical assistance in the demarcation process. Owing to the EUBAM mission, two main problems have been settled. First, it was confirmed that there is no so called “black hole” at the border between our countries that had an adverse impact on the image of our countries in the EU’s sight. Secondly, the active dialogue between the border and customs services of Moldova and Ukraine was established.

At the same time, nowadays the conceptual discrepancies with respect to passing the border line in the region of the Dnistrovsk hydroelectric power station-2 and in the region of the inhabited locality Giurgiulesti are still being observed.

Settlement of the Transnistrian conflict

Ukraine is probably the country to the utmost interested in the soonest settlement of the Trans-Dnieper conflict. Our country takes a clear stand regarding this issue: settlement of the Transnistrian problem should be carried out merely by political means on the basis of the compliance with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova with interests of the Trans-Dnieper region’s inhabitants being taken into consideration. The success may be reached only by establishing a dialogue between Chisinau and Tiraspol. If it is not reached, neither intermediaries nor observers will be able to propose the final decisions.

It is no mere chance that during visit to Moldova the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Kostiantyn Hryshchenko had been to the Bendery city, where had a meeting with the Transnistrian leader Igor Smirnoff.

Owing to the efforts of Kostiantyn Hryshchenko, the meeting of the Prime-Minister of the Republic of Moldova Vlad Filat with the Transnistrian leader took place during the football match. The dialogue proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. The issues on de-blocking the working groups' activity at the expert level as well as on the soonest resolution of the issues on the railway transit of goods throughout the territory of the Trans-Dnieper and restoration of telephone communication between two banks of Dniester were examined.

That's why the visit of Kostiantyn Hryshchenko and further acts of Ukrainian diplomacy may be considered as significant elements of the Ukraine participation in the resumption of the official negotiation process. The resumption of the official negotiations in the «5+2» format was also facilitated by the working meeting of V. Filat and I. Smirnoff held within the scope of the international conference on the Transnistrian problems (8–9 September, 2011, the Bas Reichenhall city, Germany), in the process of which the parties have recently signed one of a few 10 documents, namely, the Rules for the Expert Working Groups' Activity.

Notwithstanding the perspective of resuming official negotiations in the «5+2» format, the experts do not share the optimistic expectations with respect to stirring up the negotiation process on settling the Transnistrian conflict that is connected with a number of external and internal factors, in particular, with the unavailability of tactics of the parties and the agreed agenda after the decision to resume official negotiations has been taken, permanent political crisis in Moldova and probability of the re-election of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, the President election in the Trans-Dnieper (11 December, 2011), the Parliament and President elections in Russia, etc.

The European Union is also interested in ensuring the regional security. The Moldova's success within the negotiations with EU will have a positive effect on the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict. At the same time, it stands to mention that in spite the efforts of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), USA and the European Union, the final decision with respect to the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict may be taken just by Chisinau and Tiraspol.

Ukrainians in Moldova

During visit to Moldova, K. Hryshenko had a meeting with the representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora on both sides of Dniester who made proposals with respect to further cooperation in the field of rights protection, satisfaction of cultural, language, educational, information and other needs of local Ukrainians and establishment of close ties with the Motherland. There was also talk of resuming financing for the Program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine "Means for Maintaining Ties with Ukrainians Living Abroad".

The talk specifically referred to the appropriation of funds for installing T. Shevchenko monuments in the city of Brychany, publication of the single Ukrainian-language newspaper "Ridne Slovo" on a voluntary basis, holding scientific-practical conferences and festivals, and provision of amateur performance groups with musical instruments and Ukrainian national onstage dresses. The Trans-Dnieper Ukrainians asked to restore the separate quote for entering higher education institutions of Ukraine for local Ukrainian school leavers.

In this context, there is terminating the process of final approval of "The State Program of Cooperation with Foreign Ukrainians until 2015", based on which financing of the abovementioned budget Program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine will be resumed. This will enable to maximum satisfy the needs of Ukrainians in Moldova.

In 2011 Ukraine provided 105 budget studying seats in its higher education institutions to Moldovan school-leavers that allowed 56 Moldovan applicants to enter higher education institutions of Ukraine by this quote. Last year the number of school-leavers who entered to the higher education institutions of Ukraine was 59, in 2009 – 45, in 2008 – 62 and in 2007 -77. It's most likely that this is caused by the demographic situation in Moldova, to say more precisely, by low level of the birth rate in 1993–1994 that influenced on the general number of applicants from Moldova's secondary education institutions this year and resulted in the shortage even of budget applicants.

The analysis of the current year intake expressively showed the trend of "territorial" distribution of quote seats among the applicants, in particular, the natives of Moldova's north regions took the seats in higher education institutions of Chernivtsi and Vinnytsia, and representatives of central regions of Moldova pre-

ferred to study in Odesa. The higher education institutions of L'viv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Uzhgorod, Khmelnytskyi, Zaporizhzhia and Dnipropetrovsk were neglected. Practically, the pedagogic branch of study was ignored. At the same time, as compared to the previous years when the enrollment competition was the highest for economic and legal specialties, the interest to building and engineering specialties has increased.

Move to the European Union: together or apart?

On 7 July, 2011 the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova signed the Joint Declaration regarding the Cooperation in the field of European Integration. This is very significant document. If up to now we spoke only about the obsolete problems, then today Ukraine and Moldova for the first time started to cooperate in the field of the European integration that orients our relations to the future. The abovementioned Declaration stipulates the particular cooperation means. Surely, the expert could exchange opinions and the collaboration within the initiative EU "Eastern Partnership" will take place. We have already made a great step forward on the way towards the foundation of European region "Dniester", which would include regions of Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova. The cooperation within the existing European regions "Verkhniy Prut" and "Nyzhniy Dunai" will be intensified.

As both Ukraine and Moldova are oriented to the European integration, relations between these two countries started to acquire a new status. Kyiv considers that bilateral relations with Chisinau should develop in the context of cooperation within European integration projects. This way is quite complicated but it has no alternative. The majority of population of both countries has no doubts as for the final goal (accession of Ukraine and Moldova to the European Union).

Moldova and Ukraine as the states, which directly border with the European Union countries, have certain privileges in relations with Brussels to be actively used. The talk is that the European Union is interested to have stable and prosperous neighbors in its immediate surrounding and is ready for the considerable intensification of political interrelationship, enhanced economic integration and the increase of financial support, namely, for the implementation of a number of specific programs.

The large-scale potentialities for the mutually beneficial cooperation of Ukrainian and Moldavian parties are provided by the

Project “Eastern Partnership”. Its implementation is considered by Brussels as a peculiar step that creates conditions for the introduction of visa-free regime, accession of Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova to the free trade area and for their connection to the European power engineering system.

Nowadays, the actual task for Kyiv and Chisinau is still being the quick completion of negotiations, signing with EU the game-changing Association Agreement where the perspective of the European integration of our countries would be expressly determined.

In 2011 Ukraine plans to finish negotiations on signing the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area Agreement. It was the most complicated aspect of negotiations. Signing the Agreement will exert a significant influence on the European economy.

In the process of implementation of joint cooperation programs proposed by the European Union, Chisinau and Kyiv could pool together their efforts aimed at the generation of beneficial bilateral proposals, preparation of agreed position and bringing forward counter initiatives. First of all, this is a development of European regions with the participation of two states and the boundary cooperation.

Intensification of integration processes in our countries encourages the cooperation in the trilateral format of EU-Ukraine-Moldova, the positive example of which is the EUBAM mission activity that plays important role in the sphere of ensuring security for the borders of Ukraine, Moldova and the European Union.

Looking into the future

In the context of pushing Ukraine to the creation of the free trade area with EU, it is expedient for our country to study and use: positive experience of the Republic of Moldova in the harmonization of the legislation with European requirements as for certification and control of products quality recognized by EU; experience of development of economic areas and technology parks; and experience of regulatory control of economic activity in these areas.

Considering material tax and customs relieves in free economic areas and individual trade preferences when supplying Moldavian goods to the EU countries, it stands to draw attention of the Ukrainian business to the investment perspective and foundation of production enterprises in these areas with the purpose of further preferential sale of goods to the EU countries as well to consult

with experts in order to agree the Draft Treaty on the Terms of Functioning of the Dniester Pumped Storage Power Plant.

At the same time, taking into account the interconnectedness of problems related to signing this Treaty, the border demarcation in the region of the Dniester Pumped Storage Power Plant-2 and formalization of ownership rights to a part thereof, it would be reasonable to approve the composition of the Interdepartmental Negotiation Group in charge of these issues (the Ministry of Energy and Coal Industry of Ukraine, the State Property Fund of Ukraine, the Ministry of Nature, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine) and to reveal their common opinion in the process of negotiations.

Notwithstanding the fact that presently the official Chisinau does not deem Ukraine as a partner in the field of European integration and considers Kyiv a competitor on the way to the fast acquirement of the status of a candidate to the EU accession, it would be expedient to intensify the Ukraine-Moldova cooperation in the field of European integration by coordinating positions and developing mutually beneficial proposals with respect to EU initiatives and the EU member states (including within the initiative "Eastern Partnership"), and during negotiations regarding the new Association Agreement with EU. It would be also desirable to facilitate the involvement of Chisinau in the trilateral cooperation of Ukraine-Moldova-EU in the sphere of power engineering, transboundary cooperation and the fight against illegal migration and organized criminal activity.

The cooperation of Ukraine and Moldova within the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACU) and the Council of Europe (CE) in the context of the removal of this European structure monitoring may be of bilateral interest. Besides, it would be reasonable to invoke contacts with Moldovan members of PACU and CE, taking into account the interest of the Republic of Moldova in rendering support to Kyiv in the course of examining the issue on the removal of CE monitoring. The Ukrainian party may propose to Chisinau to use possibilities the chairmanship in the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe gives to Kyiv. The talk is about the involvement of the Republic of Moldova in the cooperation programs provided by the European Union to the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

Kyiv and Chisinau could cooperate with respect to such problems of EU top priority as resolution of legal issues connected with illegal migration, fight against human traffic, terrorism, corruption and organized criminal activity. Besides, they could exchange ex-



Ambassador of Ukraine in the Republic of Moldova Serhiy Pirozhkov and the Acting President, the Parliament Speaker of the Republic of Moldova Marian Lupu



Ambassador of Ukraine in the Republic of Moldova Serhiy Pirozhkov and the Prime-Minister of the Republic of Moldova Volodymyr Filat

perience in the field of implementation of the constitutional reforms and the justice system reform subject to European standards. The creation of public television may be of common interest. PACU may take a great interest in joint efforts of Kyiv and Chisinau aimed at the improvement of relations between Minsk and Brussels, taking into consideration the peculiar level of relations of Belorussia with Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova established in the times of the former USSR.

Given the participation of Ukraine and Moldova in the EU Strategy for Danube Region (EUSDR), it would be appropriate to study the issues on joint actions of two countries in the sphere of environmental protection and water resources management.

In the format of the EU regional initiative “Black Sea Synergy”, the Moldovan party takes a great interest in the cooperation with Ukraine within sectoral organization “Environment Partnership”. Considering interstate cooperation agreements in the field of implementation of global, European and regional environmental projects stipulated by Article 20 of the Treaty on Good Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, it would be desirable for Kyiv to keep on cooperating with Chisinau in this sphere.

Common interests of capitals within GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova) relate to joint economic projects, in particular, to those with the participation of Azerbaijan as a country-supplier of hydrocarbons.

Within CIS countries, it would be useful for Kyiv and Chisinau to unite together efforts around the implementation of the idea to enter in the shortest possible time into the updated Free Trade Area Agreement.

In order to make the Ukraine’s position as for the settlement of Transnistrian conflict more active, it would be advisable to focus attention on the renewal of full-scale work of working expert groups for the purpose of increasing the confidence. The Ukrainian party may act as a key initiator of the renewal of the working group engaged in the cooperation with law enforcement authorities and economic issues. It is necessary to strengthen efforts applied to put forward Ukrainian initiatives on the resumption of political consultations regarding the settlement of Transnistrian conflict in the “5+2” format in the period of Ukraine’s chairmanship in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2013.



Yuri Kostenko,

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China*

FROM FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION TO STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

For twenty years of the Ukrainian independence and statehood bilateral relations between Ukraine and the People's Republic of China developed in an interesting and instructive way.

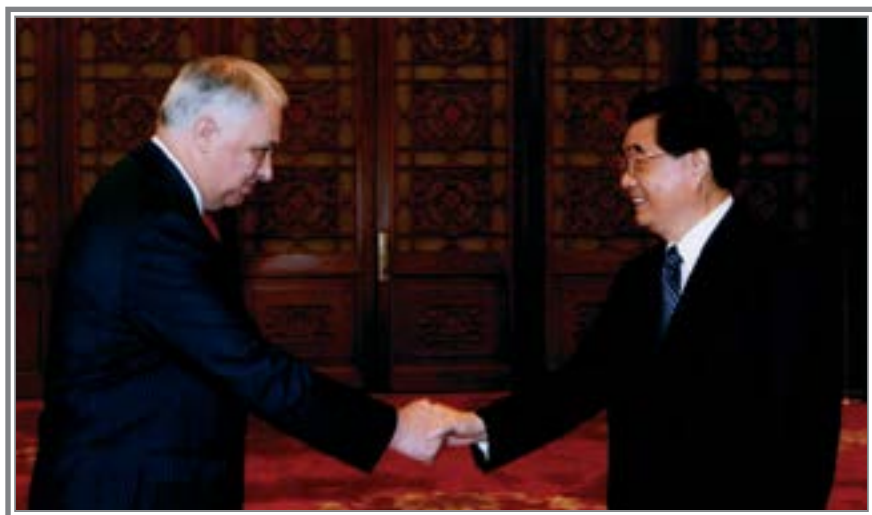
As once Shota Rustaveli, an outstanding Georgian poet said: “the one who fails to look for friends is an enemy to oneself”. I do not think that it is worth persuading anyone that it is not only desirable but vitally important to maintain friendly relations with one of the most powerful global players whose economy already occupies the second place in the world for GDP level and who has all prerequisites to eventually become the only leader in this respect (by the way, in this case one would only talk about the renewal of this status because prior to 1820 the Chinese economy had been the largest in the world).

All the more so, because Ukrainian-Chinese relations were always based on traditional friendship, the absence of serious differences and challenges, identical or similar approaches to addressing urgent international issues, common interests including intentions to strengthen international security and stability, opposition to modern challenges, considerable potential in trade, economic, scientific, engineering, military and humanitarian cooperation.

In China it is a tradition pertaining not only to the diplomacy to attach significance to maxims or laconic phrases, which convey in-depth sense of this or other idea of social relations. It is inter-

esting to trace how formulas of our bilateral relations have been changing for twenty years. In Communiqué on Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Ukraine and the PRC of January 4, 1992 governments of the two states agreed to develop friendship and cooperation in their relations. At the end of the same year the Joint Ukrainian-Chinese Communiqué of October 31, 1992 transformed this formula to the realistic domain specifying that “relations of mutually beneficial cooperation between China and Ukraine are successfully developing”. The Joint Declaration between China and Ukraine of September 6, 1994 adds to the previous formula “expressing profound satisfaction of ever deepening and expanding relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation” a new formula for the first time securing intention of both “peoples for further deepening and expanding of friendship and partnership relations”. Next year the Joint Declaration of June 25, 1995 following the results of the official visit of Li Pen, the Prime Minister of the PRC State Council to Ukraine specified that “parties express their readiness to further deploy joint efforts for strengthening bilateral partnership relations and raising them to a new level”. Years passed, the Ukrainian-Chinese relations developed harmonically and the parties defined them in the Declaration on Development and Deepening of Friendship and Cooperation of December 4, 1995 as “relations of friendship, mutual trust and all-round cooperation”, however for years the term ‘partnership’ was not applied in the official documents. It is only in the Joint Declaration between Ukraine and China of November 18, 2002 following the results of the President of Ukraine L. Kuchma visit to the PRC that the notion ‘partnership’ was applied with a significant clarification ‘long-term’, when “the heads of the states confirmed their intention in compliance with the universally recognized principles of the international law and standards of the international relations to develop the relations of long-term partnership and stable all-round cooperation on the basis of the achieved high level of collaboration”.

Though the following nine years were not the best for our bilateral relations the parties characterized them in their bilateral documents as ‘constructive partnership’. In the Joint Statement of Ukraine and the PRC on all-round enhancement of the Ukrainian-Chinese relations of friendship and cooperation signed on September 2, 2010 in Beijing by the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovych and



**Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China
Yuriy Kostenko presented diplomatic credentials to the President of PRC**

the Head of the PRC Hu Jintao the parties assumed a commitment “to exert joint efforts for giving concrete strategic substance to the bilateral relations in order to initiate and develop the relations of strategic partnership”.

As we see, brief but meaningful characteristics of our bilateral relations, which were thoroughly thought through by political leadership and by the diplomats of both countries reflect the whole spectrum of our complicated relationship.

China was among the states, who in 1994 provided Ukraine the nuclear safety guarantees because the country refused from the nuclear weapons and acceded to a Treaty on Nonproliferation of the Nuclear Weapons as a non-nuclear state. In July 2001 the leaders of both states signed the Joint Declaration on strengthening friendship relations and all-round cooperation in the 21st century. Currently, approaches of the official Beijing as before are based on non-use of the nuclear weapons or threat thereof against non-nuclear state and nuclear-free zones under no circumstances. This approach is also applicable to Ukraine.

It is known that before 2010 the Ukrainian-Chinese relations, on the top and supreme level in the first place, had been developing

without necessary dynamics. Suffice it to say that before the last year the President of Ukraine last visit to China had taken place in 2002, the Prime Minister — in 1997, the Minister of Foreign Affairs — in 2007. It is specific for China that without the high and top level visits, which are viewed as the most vivid indicator of the relations status with this or other country, solid businessmen and influential financial experts are careful about their decision to get involved in large projects in the territory of the country. So, it is clear that there is not sense to hope not only for a breakthrough in the relations of the two states but also about some serious steps forward in the relations of Ukraine and China.

It was very topical that the new leadership of Ukraine made the relations with China one of the top priorities in the foreign policy and foreign economic agenda of the state. This decision urged by the objective factors is very pragmatic and reflects political changes in Ukraine, current realities in the world and the need to overcome the financial crises consequences as soon as possible.

Meeting of the President of Ukraine V.F. Yanukovich with the leader of the PRC Hu Jintao on April 12, 2010 at the Nuclear Safety Summit in Washington marked a qualitatively new stage in relations of the two states. Arrangement on bringing the Ukrainian-Chinese relations to a qualitatively new level of strategic partnership, more active interstate political dialogue by exchanging top level visits and confirmation of the parties' readiness for further broadening of the bilateral practical cooperation in the promising spheres are the main results of the negotiations.

In the course of the negotiations the PRC leader forwarded the following proposals for further development of the bilateral cooperation:

1. Activation of mutual high-level visits, strengthening political mutual trust (maintaining of the regular contacts at the level of the state leaders, heads of the governments and parliaments of China and Ukraine, the timely discussion of the agenda of bilateral relations and important international and regional issues, increase of mutual understanding).

2. Intensifying practical cooperation under the principle of 'mutual benefits and mutual gains' (implementation of the existing coordination mechanisms of cooperation, searching for ways and



Meeting of Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China Yuriy Kostenko with Wen Jiabao, Prime Minister of the State Council of China

means to expand and deepen trade and economic cooperation, ongoing implementation of large-scale joint projects in the sphere of infrastructure construction, telecommunications, automobile production, etc., optimization of the mutual trade structure, expansion of regional cooperation, taking advantage of complementarities in the economies of both countries)

3. Close interaction under the framework of multilateral forums and deepening coordination of important international issues (reform of the UN Security Council, overcoming the negative consequences of the global financial crisis and climate changes as well as protection of common interests).

4. Expanding cooperation in the sphere of science and technology as well as humanitarian exchanges. Active implementation of already reached agreements, search for new promising areas of co-

operation (development of various cultural contacts, encouraging cooperation between educational institutions of both countries, the expansion of interpersonal exchanges).

The above proposals of the Chinese leader found understanding and full support in Ukraine, which gave an opportunity to actively implement them in life.

Official visit of the PRC Minister of Foreign Affairs Yang Jiechi to Ukraine (Kyiv, the ARC, May 18–20, 2010), the first visit of the top level China official to Ukraine since election of V. Yanukovych as the President was an important event for renovation of dynamic interstate dialogue. During this visit the negotiations were held when the Chinese Foreign Affairs leader met the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. Gryshenko, the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovych, the speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine V. Lytvyn, the Prime Minister of Ukraine M. Azarov and the ARC leaders. This visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Beijing confirmed the readiness of the Chinese leaders to enliven the whole range of bilateral relations.

The Ukrainian-Chinese top level political contacts were further actively developed by the official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K. Gryshenko to the PRC (Beijing, Guangzhou, July 13–15, 2010), during which the negotiations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Yang Jiechi were conducted and meetings with the Prime Minister of the PRC State Council Wen Jiabao, head of the international department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Wan Tsiajui, head of the Foreign Affairs Committee Li Jiaosin and the deputy head of the people's government of the Guangdong Lei Juilan were held.

K. Gryshenko participated in the round table discussions on urgent issues of modern foreign policy of Ukraine and current state and prospects in development of the Ukrainian-Chinese relations organized by the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences. He gave interviews to the leading China mass media.

As it was mentioned, maintenance of the active bilateral top level political dialogue is the primary task of the Ukraine and China bilateral relations. The state visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovych to the PRC is of paramount importance in this context (September 2–5, 2010).



**Minister of Foreign Affairs K. Hryshchenko with Ambassadors of Ukraine
in the People's Republic of China M. Reznik, Yu. Kostenko**

Agreement reached during the visit, including the maintenance of interstate top level intensive political dialogue, ongoing active work on bringing the bilateral relations of the two countries to the strategic partnership level and enhancing the capacity of the Ukrainian-Chinese intergovernmental commission on trade and economic cooperation to the level of the Commission for Cooperation (at Deputy Prime Minister) marked a historic breakthrough in the development of Ukrainian-Chinese cooperation and created the necessary conditions for deepening the whole complex of relations between Ukraine and China.

Year that passed since the state visit of the President of Ukraine to China showed that the parties put every effort for implementation of the tasks in the political bilateral cooperation outlined by the leaders of the two states. First, the text of the Joint Declaration on Establishment and Development of the Strategic Partnership Relations between Ukraine and China was finalized. Upgrading the bilateral relations to the level of strategic partnership is, undoubtedly, a historical event because the legal frame-

work is being created for further successful collaboration of the two states. Second, after almost 14 years of interval the bilateral relations were resumed at the level of the state leaders. The Prime Minister of Ukraine M. Azarov arrived to China on April 14–18, 2011 for official visit and participated in the 10th annual meeting of the Boao Forum for Asia (BFA) in the Hainan Province, visited Shanghai and Beijing, conducted negotiations with the PRC leader Hu Jintao and the Prime Minister of the PRC State Council Wen Jiabao, met with a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee of China He Hotsian, a member of the PRC State Council Dai Bing, mayors of Shanghai and Beijing as well as conducted a series of bilateral meetings with the foreign country leaders who participated in the BFA. Third, the first Vice Prime Minister of Ukraine A. Klyuev and the Vice Prime Minister of the PRC State Council Chjan Dentsian held the foundation meeting of the Ukrainian-Chinese Commission for Cooperation in Kyiv on April 20, 2011, thus initiating a new stage of inter-sector cooperation of organizations and authorities of both countries. Fourth, Agreement on Cooperation between the Party of Regions of Ukraine and the Communist Party of China was concluded in presence of M. Azarov, the Prime Minister of Ukraine, for the purpose of upgrading the cross-party dialogue in line with the arrangements achieved during the visit of the President of Ukraine to China. Issues of relationship between the two parties were also tackled during the visit of the member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee of China, secretary of the Communist Party Committee of the Guangdong province (September, 201), visit of the delegation of the Party of Regions of Ukraine headed by the people's deputy of Ukraine L. Kozhara (December 2010), as well as meeting of the Prime Minister of Ukraine M. Azarov with a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China He Hotsian in Beijing on April 18, 2011.

During the last year the contractual legal framework of the Ukrainian-Chinese relations has been strengthening and as of May 2011 counts 189 documents. In 2010 there were 25 documents signed and during January – April – 15 documents, the most of which were signed in April 2011 during the visit of the Prime Minister of Ukraine M. Azarov to China and the Vice Prime



**A tribute of respect to the memory of the patriots (Soviet and Mongolian warriors)
who fought for the protection of Kyiv**

Minister of the PRC State Council Chjan Dentsian to Ukraine. A number of documents signed in 2011 have a fundamental significance for the whole range of bilateral relations. With this in view an Agreement on Creation of the Cooperation Committee signed by the government of Ukraine and the government of China has become an important indicator of further deepening of the Ukrainian-Chinese cooperation in the perspective areas and searching for new spheres of collaboration since it is aimed at bringing the interstate relations into a practical domain.

Regular political dialogue is also supported by relations between the foreign policy authorities of both states. In 2011 political consultations at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs were resumed after an interval since 2008.

These political consultations were held in Kyiv on March 21, 2011. The Chinese delegation during negotiations was headed by the Assistant Minister (ranked at the Deputy Minister) of Foreign Affairs of China Chen Gopin and the Ukrainian delegation — by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine V.Maiko.

Consultations on situation in the Northern Africa and the Near East between E. Mykytenko, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chen Siaodun, Director of the Department for Western Asian and Northern Africa of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs were held in Beijing on April 16, 2011. These consultations became a one more step for deepening cooperation between the foreign policy authorities of the two states. Consultations at the level of territorial and functional departments of both countries also become regular.

Modern internal socio-economic situation in Ukraine and specifics of the foreign policy strategy of our state generate significant interest in the Chinese society. The leading analytical centers of Ukraine and China are actively cooperating, which is manifested by the trip of the delegation from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences headed by Yan Yan, the Director of International Cooperation Department to Ukraine (October 2010) to get acquainted with the achievements of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NASU) research institutes in sphere of the world economy, orientalism, sociology and demography.

Delegation of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine headed by O. Onischenko, the Director General of the V.I. Vernadsky NASU Library, member of the Academy of Sciences visited Beijing for the period from February 27 to March 3, 2011 upon invitation of the PRC Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). The delegation visited the Institute of Sociology, the Center for Documents and Information, the Institute of Archaeology, the Institute of Quantitative and Technical Economy and the Institute of the CASS History. In April 2011 the delegation of the NASU Institute of the Global Economy and International Relations headed by Yu. Pakhomov and the delegation of the Razumkov Center headed by its Director M. Pashkov visited China in April 2011. The Ukrainian experts participated in the first dialogue of the think tanks of Ukraine and China organized by the CASS Institute of Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The delegation of the Ukrainian experts of political studies headed by A. Fialka, Advisor of the President visited Beijing and Shanghai on May 8–15, 2011. In the course of the visit the round table discussion on strategic cooperation between Ukraine and China was conducted with participation of the leading experts from the Development Research Center at the China State Council.



Ambassador of Ukraine to the People's Republic of China Yuriy Kostenko rewarded Academician Gua with order "For services" III degree

Certainly, the strategic partnership between Ukraine and China develops not only in the political domain. The deepening of political cooperation lays a solid foundation for the development of comprehensive cooperation in the economic sphere, which is critical for Ukraine. This means attracting huge investment potential and new production technologies of China for modernization and upgrading the Ukrainian economy and providing access for the Ukrainian goods, services and technologies to the growing powerful market of China. Such partnership entails implementation of specific projects beneficial for both parties. By the way, the so called 'win-win' strategy (when both parties gain) forms the economic policy of China in the recent period.

Foundation of such partnership was laid by the visit of the President of Ukraine to the PRC in 2010: several pilot projects were outlined that would be implemented with involvement of Chinese corporations and Chinese bank credits in the spheres of in-

infrastructure construction, power engineering, coal industry and agriculture. Timely and quality implementation of such projects will in all respects be a signal for identifying strength of the future strategic relations and largely determine an opportunity for attracting Chinese investments to the economy of Ukraine.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese business circles have been for long expecting such signal from Ukraine and for the period before the visit of the President of Ukraine to the PRC confined themselves to periodical analysis of the situation in Ukraine and monitoring of its investment policy. However, one year before the visit the China business had started to operate more actively in the Ukrainian market.

Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on March 28, 2011 for providing state guarantees for implementation of the project on organization of the railway passenger communication from Kyiv to the international airport Boryspil and on taking additional measures for developing other infrastructure projects in the Kyiv region was a significant positive signal to the Chinese partners about our determination to fulfill the assumed commitments. Therefore, the national project 'Air Express' is transferred to the stage of practical implementation.

In addition to implementation of the outlined projects important for both countries the Chinese partners are also planning to make direct investments to Ukraine, which will serve as a good launch pad for development of the strategic cooperation. Volumes of investments made to Ukraine by China before 2010 do not at all reflect the cooperation potential between our countries (according to Ukrainian statistics they account for about 12 million USD), the more so that the investment policy for the 11th five-year period (2006–2010) was drastically reviewed towards expansion of the Chinese capital to foreign markets (in 2010 the Chinese foreign investments amounted to 59 billion USD).

Following this tendency an active work started between car makers of Ukraine and China. According to the leaders of the first automobile works in China (FAW) the investment climate and legal framework for assembling automobiles are much better in Ukraine than in the Russian Federation. Therefore, FAW jointly with Ukrainian producers are planning to create, firstly, the large unit

assembling sites for city buses, lorries and economy class cars at the enterprises of Ilichevsk, Zaporizhzhia and Uzhgorod. For Ukraine this means new jobs and additional revenue to the state budget, for China – new sales markets in Ukraine and Europe.

The Chinese Corporation *Changyang Hongxin Industry Group* began its activities in the Zaporozhie region, where a joint venture is created for mining and processing of manganese ore into electrolysis manganese so demanded in the Ukrainian market and being currently imported. With the technology of processing ore with a low content of valuable material, the Chinese partner is planning to directly invest in this project 150 million USD and in 2011 the first mines should be created.

The company *Huawei*, high-tech enterprise engaged in developing, manufacturing and sales of telecommunication equipment has been in the telecommunications market in Ukraine since 1998. The company as one of the biggest suppliers of network solutions in the world – pays great attention to research, development and training, which are key factors for its dynamic development. Every year, it channels 10% of its sales proceeds into the R&D projects. *Huawei* holds the 13th place in the world for the number of filed patent applications.

In 2003 the Company signed the first major contract in Ukraine. In 2005, the LLC *Huawei Ukraine* was officially registered. The Company ranks second at the Ukrainian telecommunications market and is collaborating with major operators in the country, such as Ukrtelecom, Utel, Kyivstar, MTC, Life, Beeline, PeoplesNet and Intertelecom. The export volume of the Company to Ukraine in 2010 amounted to over 60 million USD. In 2010 *Huawei Ukraine* introduced 21.5 million UAH to the Ukrainian budget and Social Fund. It created in Ukraine almost 300 jobs, 80% of its employees being Ukrainians. During its operation on the Ukrainian market, the Company trained more than 1,000 local experts.

Huawei considers Ukrainian market strategically important and strives to contribute in the development of the Ukrainian telecommunication sector. Currently *Huawei* is working on the following projects: cooperation with *Life* to supply base stations, expansion and modernization of its network as well as development of key



The pupils are reading Shevchenko's poems in Chinese

baseline networks of the companies *Kyivstar* and MTC. Cooperation with *Ukrtelecom* involves expanding its range of services such as implementation of the third generation networks (3G) and broadband Internet. The company intends to obtain 3G licenses for further development of its technologies in the Ukrainian market. The company is intended to obtain 3G license for further development of its technologies in the Ukrainian market.

In the course of negotiations during the state visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich to China the leaders of the two countries clearly specified significant potential that exists in the trade cooperation between Ukraine and China. According to the Chinese statistics, a foreign trade turnover between Ukraine and China in 2010 amounted to 7.7 billion USD accounting for almost 34% increase as compared to 2009, which reflects the recovery of our trade relations after the fall during the financial crisis, however these amounts represent only 0.3% of the total foreign

trade turnover of China. Recognizing this potential to be developed, the leaders of Ukraine and China set a task to lift by 2012 the bilateral trade turnover to 10 billion USD and to effectively work on improvement of the commodity classification, especially for the Ukrainian export.

Large distance between the territories of both countries and lack of the common boundary limit the ways that might be employed for increasing the trade volume between the two countries, in the first place the cross-border trade. However, there are other opportunities. First of all, this is creation of a permanent mechanism for communication of business circles from the two states: in the form of business forums, relevant industry conferences, participation in the international exhibitions of both parties, during which the business community could find its commercial benefits that would overbalance the problems related to the remoteness of our states.

During the state visit of the President of Ukraine to China the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese International Trade Promotion Committee signed an agreement on creation of the Business Council, which, *inter alia*, provides a business platform for communication and direct contacts. Pursuant to the provisions of this Agreement the Ukrainian-Chinese Business Council held in Kyiv on April 20, 2011 its first joint session, which was attended by over 300 of its members and businessmen from both countries, representing such industries as machine-building, energy, aviation, banking, high technology, communications, transport and agriculture.

Interregional twinning relations have a considerable potential for fruitful development of the bilateral Ukrainian-Chinese cooperation. The current twinning process has nothing to do the past twinning links, when for internationalism we were befriending others just for the sake of the process emasculating the very idea of twinning and transforming the contacts with foreign cities into formal and protocol events. The other way round, direct connections of oblasts and regions of Ukraine with specific Chinese provinces have a huge potential for mutual development, which can and should be used, primarily in the economic sphere. If we are currently at the start of implementing all potential of the bilateral relations with China and only begin to realize the opportunities of

economic and investment cooperation with Chinese partners, then the interregional cooperation is a new almost untouched sphere of our relations.

In this case the following should be taken into account. Economic complex of Ukrainian regions and oblasts as well as of the Chinese provinces include significant national enterprises located in these areas. Certainly, directors of these enterprises paid to their development much more attention than the ministries under whose jurisdiction these enterprises are considered a small part of the big whole. Administration of these enterprises is well aware of the local development situation and of the possible ways of cooperation between them. It is more effective and fast to make all investment, trade and production decisions on the local level.

Let's take investment cooperation for the joint projects. Leaders of the China provinces may operate with amounts of up to 10 million USD without permission of the central authorities while the budgets of some provinces are comparable or even exceed the budget of Ukraine. According to many indicators, including population size, the volume of the economy, per capita GDP and export the China provinces and major cities may be compared to various countries. Thus, Shanghai's GDP exceeds this indicator of Finland, Tianjin – of Hungary, Guangdong is almost equal to the Indonesian GDP etc.

This is a potential that can and should be employed for economic cooperation at the regional level.

The practice of direct contacts between regions of Ukraine and provinces of China has already a long history. At this point, the contractual framework of the Ukrainian-Chinese inter-regional cooperation has 77 instruments (bilateral agreements, memoranda and protocols on cooperation), which regulate the establishment of friendly and twinning relations between the various entities of Ukraine and China.

In order to implement economic potential of the regional cooperation more than 20 delegations from Zaporozhye, Lugansk, Kyiv oblast and Kyiv city, Crimea, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Mariupol, Nikolaev and others visited China over the past four years. In the course of the visits 13 bilateral agreements on cooperation and protocols of intent in various fields, including invest-

ment were signed as well as a number of Ukrainian-Chinese business forum with participation of representatives of business circles of regions were conducted.

A number of the Ukrainian-Chinese business conferences conducted under the sponsorship of the Embassy of Ukraine to China may serve as an example on arranging cross-regional cooperation. Specifically, in 2007 economic potential of Kyiv oblast was presented at the Embassy. Presentation was provided by the Ukrainian delegation, which included not only representatives of the oblast administration but also the Ukrainian Center of Foreign Investment, the Kyiv Oblast Chamber of Commerce and businessmen. About 100 representatives of banking and financial, insurance and commercial structures of China as well as mass media participated in the event.

The Ukrainian-Chinese Conference *Presentation of Economic Potential of the Lugansk Region* was held in Beijing in 2008. Representatives of the Lugansk oblast state administration, the City Council and the Lugansk Regional Chamber of Commerce participated in the Conference. They briefed Chinese businessmen on economic potential of the region emphasizing wide opportunities for developing new production capacities and taking advantage of huge transit potential of the Lugansk oblast.

In 2008 Conference *Presentation of Tourist Opportunities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea* was held in Beijing with participation of the Head of the Council of Ministers, the Minister for Spa and Tourism of the ARC and the heads of famous resort and recreational facilities in Crimea. They presented to the major Chinese tour operators potential and prospects for development of recreation and tourism industry in the region inviting the partners to more actively use the Crimean destination for tourist travels of Chinese citizens

In April 2010, a delegation of the Donetsk Regional State Administration visited Sichuan Province and in June 2010 a business delegation from the Donetsk oblast took part in the world exhibition EXPO 2010 in Shanghai.

In order to enhance business relations and continue the initiated cooperation in June 2010, a delegation of Zhytomyr oblast led by the Head of the Regional State Administration paid a visit

to the city of Harbin upon invitation of the People's Government of the Heilongjiang Province to participate in the 21st Harbin International Trade and Economic Fair. In late July the same year, the official and business delegation of the Heilongjiang Province visited Zhytomyr oblast.

Employees of the Embassy of Ukraine to China actively participate in the development of interregional cooperation. While visiting China provinces they inform the Chinese partners in detail about the proposals of the Ukrainian oblasts on establishment or development of cooperation and communicate to the concerned Ukrainian entities specific proposals to the Chinese party.

Only in 2010 the Ukrainian representatives visited Anhui, Heilongjiang (its GDP is slightly inferior to Ukrainian), Guangdong, Zhejiang and Liaoning provinces. In addition, the Embassy organized meetings with the representatives of the Liaoning and Heilongjiang provincial governments where specific issues of economic cooperation were discussed.

China is very much interested in the Ukrainian science and education system. Though the Celestial Empire is steadily advancing in these spheres (China holds the first place in the world for growth rate of patent applications — in 2009 their number increased by 30% as against 2008; the GDP share spent in China for development of the higher education system is larger than in the EU and is equal to Japan), Ukraine is all the same in the priority list among the countries with which China would like to cooperate. This is explained by a high level of Ukrainian fundamental and applied science, significant achievements of our scientists in such areas as space, aviation, shipbuilding, missilery etc. and by a competitive education sector.

Effective mechanisms for coordination of bilateral scientific and technical cooperation are established between the countries.

The 8th meeting of the Ukrainian-Chinese Commission on New Technologies and Communications was held in June 2010 at the Ministry of Education and Science. During the meeting the parties reported about implementation of the joint projects under the Program for Research and Technical Cooperation, negotiated and approved the projects to be included to the Program for 2011–2012. The Chinese party supported the initiative of the Ministry



The opening of the Ukrainian culture day at the China University of Political Science and Law, Beijing

of Education and Science of Ukraine on the organization of exhibition activity in the framework of scientific and technical cooperation, arranging annual Days of the University Science of Ukraine in China, conducting joint scientific and technical seminars, etc..

Energy efficiency, aviation, shipbuilding, rational use of natural resources, development of aerospace, information and communication technologies as well as training of young scientists (probation in Ukraine and China) are the priorities of bilateral scientific and technical cooperation.

The 7th meeting of the Subcommittee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Outer Space Exploring and Use for Peaceful Purposes was conducted in August 2010 in Beijing, during which the draft Program of Ukrainian-Chinese cooperation in space industry in 2011–2015 was negotiated and prepared for signing. The said document was signed during the state visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich to China.

The first meeting of the Commission on Cooperation between Ukraine and China was held on April 20, 2011 in Kyiv. During this meeting the activities of the Joint Ukrainian-Chinese Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation and the Ukrainian-Chinese Subcommittee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Outer Space Exploring and Use for Peaceful Purposes were terminated and instead a Subcommittee on Scientific and Technical Cooperation and a Subcommittee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Outer Space were founded. Additionally, the parties discussed prospects of cooperation in the sphere of science and technology, specifically welding, marine equipment, new materials, aircraft and machine building, telecommunication technologies, rational use of the natural resources and medicine.

The academies of sciences of the two countries continue their cooperation. In December 2005 the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine signed an Agreement on Creation of the International Centre for Transfer of Technology, Industrial Research and Development Base of the NAS of Ukraine in Tszyasin city (Zhejiang Province). Activities of the Center are aimed at enhancing technological cooperation, joint research and introduction of technologies into production.

Currently Ukraine and China are implementing such promising forms of scientific and technical cooperation as the Ukrainian-Chinese science parks in the city of Jinan (Shandong Province) and Harbin (Heilongjiang Province).

The first Ukrainian-Chinese high-tech cooperation park was opened in the city of Jinan in November 2002. The main purpose of this entity is to form an effective mechanism for mutually beneficial transfer of high technologies, joint development of scientific and technological projects and their implementation in production, creating joint ventures for implementation of the science-based and hi-tech products.

An exhibition of scientific developments of Ukraine was held on June 15–19, 2009 in Harbin during the 20th Harbin International Trade and Economic Fair. The Ukrainian National Exhibition of Hi-Tech Advanced Technologies was presented by 104 scientific developments from 14 scientific institutions and universities of Ukraine.

The 7th International Scientific Conference *Urgent Issues and Organizational-Legal Framework for Cooperation between Ukraine and China in the Hi-Tech Sphere* was held on June 2, 2010 in Kyiv with participation of representatives from various scientific institutions, universities and industrial enterprises, line ministries and authorities of Ukraine, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and specialized academies of sciences, as well as a Chinese delegation from Shandong Academy of Sciences, leaders of Jinan zone for development of advanced and high technologies, representatives of Ukrainian-Chinese technological park, the Department of Science and Technology of Jilin Province, etc.

Over 20 international scientific conferences and seminars for young scientists and students with involvement of the Chinese partners were conducted during 2010 in Ukraine, including *Economics for Ecology* at the Summy State University, *Engineer of the Third Millennium* and *Ecological Intelligence* at the Dnipropetrovsk National University for Railway Transport, *Topical Issues of Efficiency of Innovation and Investment Business Development* at the Kharkiv National Technical University for Engineering and Architecture, *Modern Trends in the Global Economy* at the Kharkiv National Automobile and Highway University, *Modern Problems of Science* at the National Aviation University. Ukraine is negotiating with the Asia-Pacific Space Cooperation (APSCO) with headquarters in Beijing on Ukraine's associated membership in this organization. A representative from Ukraine participated in the APSCO training courses on satellite navigation system and its use (June 4–21, 2010, Beijing). In April 2011 a representative of the Design Bureau *Pivdenne* took part in the discussion of the APSCO project on creation and placing in orbit of an artificial satellite with high density.

Our countries actively cooperate in the sphere of education. The Chinese youth is interested in receiving higher education in Ukraine. About 7 thousand Chinese students study at the Ukrainian universities. At the same time the Ukrainian higher educational institutions could enroll more students from China if cooperation in the sphere of higher education provision is more active in the Chinese market. At present 35 Ukrainian universities have direct links with 98 universities and research institutes in China. These links are particularly close with Chinese universi-

ties with the departments of the Ukrainian language, namely the Beijing Institute of Foreign Languages and the Shanghai Institute of International Relations. A center for Ukrainian studies is operating at the Wuhan University, whose research workers wrote over 50 theses on Ukrainian themes and participated in 15 scientific conferences on the Ukrainian studies. Optional course of the Ukrainian language was opened in the Beijing University. The Ukrainian Research Center was opened on May 13, 2010 in Zhejiang Pedagogical University, which created another platform for the Ukrainian studies in China and for development of the bilateral exchanges in scientific and educational spheres.

Owing to increasing cooperation in the sphere of education between Ukraine and China the parties decided that it is time to sign a new agreement in this area. Discussion of the draft agreement is under way. In order to sign a similar agreement with Hong Kong, which is one of the world's leading centers of higher education, the Embassy of Ukraine began negotiations with the Department of Education of this region in China. The signing of these documents will create additional opportunities for Ukrainian universities to participate in educational exhibitions in China and to strengthen exchange of students and teachers from China and Hong Kong as well as to cooperation in several areas, especially for creation of scientific and industrial clusters.

The Ukrainian-Chinese relations in the sphere of culture are based on the traditional friendship between the peoples of Ukraine and China, the mutual complementarity of their cultural area, amazing capacity of the previous generations of Ukrainian and Chinese people to overcome inter-civilization and language barriers in the search for common spiritual values. Days of Ukrainian Culture in China (August 26 – September 9, 2010) and a Day of Ukraine at the World Exhibition EXPO 2010 in Shanghai (August 24, 2010) proved to be important for the development of humanitarian cooperation. Performance of the Ukrainian ballet in two cities of China and an exhibition of traditional folk embroidery of Ukraine were held in the Chinese capital during the Days of Culture of Ukraine in China. Ukrainian actors and artists have become more active in organizing and conducting tours and exhibitions in China on the commercial basis. Children Theater from Kharkiv, Theater of Modern Choreography from Sevastopol and



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine in China Yuriy Kostenko and his wife with graduating students from Ukrainian universities

single Ukrainian performers were on tour in China in 2010–2011. Exhibition of works of the Ukrainian popular artist M. Guida was held in Beijing. The Embassy of Ukraine in the PRC maintains dynamic contacts not only with state organizations but also with NGOs, specifically with the Association of Ukrainian-Chinese Cultural Exchange, the Academy of Painting and Calligraphy, the Jintao Gallery. Activities to commemorate the 196 and 197 year anniversary of Taras Shevchenko birthday were organized together with the Jintao Gallery; the Association of Ukrainian-Chinese Cultural Exchange participated in the exhibition of the Kyiv artists in Beijing, exhibition of the works of art of the artists of the Arts Academy was held with assistance and participation of the Academy of Painting and Calligraphy, jointly with the Hangzhou Center for Cultural Exchange assistance was provided in organizing of the mentioned personal exhibition of the famous Ukrainian artist M. Guida in Beijing and the exhibition of facsimile copies of Taras Shevchenko etchings.

A book of poems *Breath of China* by the famous Ukrainian poetess Luydmila Skyrda published in the Chinese language in

Beijing was very welcomed by the public. Numerous reviews on the book published in the local newspapers and periodicals, including the leading newspaper *People's Daily*, an interview with poetess, presentation of book in the Chinese People's Society of Friendship with Foreign Countries, at the Zhejiang Pedagogical University, the University of Jiamusi (province Heilongjiang), the Beijing University of Political Science and Law showed great interest in the Chinese society to the modern Ukrainian literature and art and to the creative work of the poetess.

So, today, Ukraine and China declare their intention to establish long-term equal relations of strategic partnership and develop them in all spheres. They strive to strengthen political trust, continue cooperation in promising areas to seek for new opportunities of contacts and to expand humanitarian exchange. Undoubtedly, this will foster the joint development and prosperity and meet the interests of the peoples from both countries. The future will show whether Ukraine can take advantage of a unique historical chance to build a new equal and mutually beneficial relations with the Peoples Republic of China, the vanguard force of the modern world.





Yuri Kostenko,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine in the People's Republic of China with concurrent accreditation in Mongolia

THE VISIT THAT OPENED NEW HORIZONS OF COOPERATION

The history has bound Ukrainian and Mongolian people with thousands strong ties. They include the dramatic events of the Middle Ages, when the territory of modern Ukraine was part of the Yuan Empire with its capital in Beijing founded by Kublai Khan, Genghis Khan's grandson. Then was the common struggle against the Japanese militarism in the 30–40-s of the last century. In the postwar years Ukrainian specialists took part in creation of the new Mongolian economy; thousands of Mongolian young people studied in Ukrainian high schools. All this formed the background for the present dynamic development stage of the relations between the two countries — Ukraine and Mongolia.

Located far away from each other, our countries are quite different in many respects. To begin with the territory of Mongolia, being two and a half times bigger than Ukraine, while the population of Mongolia is 15 times less. The GDP of Ukraine is 50 times as much as Mongolian; foreign trade volume is 17 times greater in our country.

On January 17, 1992 Mongolia recognized the independence of Ukraine and four days later, on January 21, diplomatic relations were established between the countries. The legal underlying principles for bilateral relations in the political sphere were just laid in the early years of our interaction, in the Agreement on Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Ukraine and Mongolia dated 1992, which is currently in force.

It must be admitted that collaboration with this very interesting Asian country, the second after Kazakhstan the world's largest state surrounded by land from all sides, has long been on the periphery of the interests of Ukrainian diplomacy. As you know, an important indicator of the dynamic development of relations between the countries is exchange of the visits at the highest level: the first state visit to Mongolia by L.M. Kravchuk, President of Ukraine, was held in 1992 and the next — by President L.D. Kuchma — already in 2003. Similar situation is with the visits of Mongolian leaders to Ukraine: in 2002 President N. Bahandi visited our country and only in 2011 the state visit to Ukraine by the President Ts. Elbegdorj was held. The fact that the Foreign Minister of Mongolia visited Ukraine in April 1992 is much more indicative.

The state visit to our country of Tsakhia Elbegdorj, President of Mongolia, held at the invitation of V.F. Yanukovych, President of Ukraine, on June 26–29, 2011 was somewhat different. The President started the visit from Lviv, where he studied in the 80s at the Higher Military Political School, now the Sahaidachny Academy of Ground Forces.

Ts. Elbegdorj's course of life and political career reflect the major milestones in the history of modern Mongolia. He was born in 1963 in a large shepherd family. He was the youngest of eight children. His father took part in combats against the Japanese in 1936–1939. After finishing high school Elbegdorj worked as a repairman and a driver at the Soviet-Mongolian joint venture “Erdenet” — the largest copper producer in Mongolia. In 1982 he joined the national army and became the member of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union. While serving in the army he was fond of poetry and wrote poems. Taking into account his excellent military achievements, he was sent to the Higher Military Political School in Lviv, where he studied during 1983–1988. After getting a military journalist diploma he returned to Mongolia and started working as a correspondent of the “Red Star” newspaper. Inspired by the ideas of glasnost and perestroika, he along with his companions-in-arms called “Thirteen first democrats” founded the organization entitled “Mongolian Democratic Union”. On December 10, 1989, in the International Day to protect human rights, they held the first demonstration, demanding from the government to introduce a multiparty system, privatize socialist property, and proclaim

freedom of speech and religion. Since then, Ts. Elbegdorj proved to be a talented orator. In 1990 he began publishing his own newspaper “Democracy”. In March 1990 after the people’s protests, the Politburo of the ruling Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) resigned. By the results of the first democratic elections to the Parliament of Mongolia — the Great State Khural — he was elected a member of the Parliament in June 1990.

Ts. Elbegdorj took an active part in the development and adoption of the new Constitution of Mongolia, in which ensuring of democracy, protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms played a decisive role. He became a Vice Speaker of the second convocation Parliament and the leader of the parliamentary majority; he also chaired the Mongolian People’s Democratic Party (MPDP) and simultaneously the State Commission for Rehabilitation of Victims of Political Repressions. In 1998 he became the Prime Minister of Mongolia, the youngest for the past fifty years. In August 2004 he was appointed the Prime Minister for the second time. The politician formed a coalition government with the representatives of democratic parties and MPRP, since the elections had not brought a definite win to any of the parties. In January 2006, at the MPRP request he resigned. In March 2006 Ts. Elbegdorj was elected chairman of the Democratic Party of Mongolia, which was created in December 2000 by the merger of MPDP and Mongolian Social Democratic Party. In summer 2006, experts and sources in diplomatic circles called Ts. Elbegdorj one of the promising candidates for the position of the UN Secretary General, however, Ban Ki-moon, a South Korean diplomat, took over this position. Ts. Elbegdorj won presidential elections on May 24, 2009, got 51.24 percents of the votes, defeating N. Enhbayar, the then current President of Mongolia.

He met his spouse Bolormaa at a student party in Lviv. The couple brings up five children: four sons and a foster daughter. Their eldest son was born in Lviv. It is not by accident that the President of Mongolia has started his state visit to Ukraine from Lviv, visiting the Sahaidachny Academy of Ground Forces. Here, in one of the oldest military educational institutions of Ukraine, he was presented a diploma giving him a title of the Honorary Doctor of the Academy. Speaking at the press conference in his home university, Ts. Elbegdorj warmly recalled his student years, when he got not only education but also life lessons. The President

awarded Mongolian orders and medals to the Lieutenant-General P. Tkachuk, Rector of the Academy, a number of officers who taught him, lecturers of the geological faculty of the Lviv State University where his wife Bolormaa studied. The award ceremony, meeting with former teachers and classmates of the Elbegdorj couple were really cordial and unforgettable.

While in Lviv, the President of Mongolia met with Mykola Tsybalyuk, the head of the Regional (Oblast) State Administration. During the meeting they discussed issues of enhancing mutual cooperation between the regions of both countries, primarily in the trade and economic areas.

On June 29, 2011 the Presidents of Ukraine and Mongolia met in private and also took part in negotiations of official delegations. The leaders of the States attended the opening ceremony of the Ukrainian-Mongolian business forum arranged by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of both countries. In a statement for mass media the President of Ukraine noted the friendly atmosphere in which negotiations took place. According to him, serious attention was paid to the need to increase positive dynamics of the highest level political dialogue, which is a powerful stimulus for the development of interstate relations. The two leaders noted with satisfaction the renewal of bilateral political contacts at the highest and high levels and confirmed their readiness to further develop partnership between Ukraine and Mongolia aimed at maximal use of the potential of each Party and consolidate the efforts in counteracting global challenges. They also discussed a set of topical issues of the international agenda.

In the course of negotiations a special emphasis was put on the need to expand trade and economic cooperation between the parties in the most promising fields, primarily in agriculture, machine building, energy, infrastructure construction, as well as in joint exploration and mining operations at the territory of Mongolia. At that, the attention was paid to the expediency to launch joint industrial projects in these areas in a trilateral format, involving the capabilities of the third countries. The Parties underlined the urgent need to diversify and optimize the structure of bilateral trading turnover, in particular, by increasing the ratio of hi tech products, expanding the range of imports and exports, and noted the topicality of increasing the efficiency of the Intergovernmental

Ukrainian-Mongolian Commission on trade and economic, scientific and technical cooperation. Commencement of operation of the Ukrainian-Mongolian Business Council as a basic platform for establishing direct contacts between industrialists and businesspersons of both countries was also positively assessed.

It should be noted that the economic interests of Ukraine in Mongolia are caused by a certain interdependence of the national economies formed in the Soviet times, namely, availability of significant natural resources in this country, need of Mongolia in Ukrainian machine building products, aircrafts, etc. However, realistically assessing the current state of bilateral trade and economic cooperation, it should be stated that both its volumes and the nature do not meet the real capabilities, the potential of our countries. Although in 2010 there was an increase of bilateral trade turnover, it was not significant and amounted to \$44.4 million USD (\$35 mln. USD in 2009). The increase of turnover in 2010 was due to the growth of import and export volumes. Import constituted \$11.14 million USD (grew 1.7 times or by \$4.62 million USD). Export grew by \$4.71 million USD (16.5%) and reached \$33.28 million USD. The balance in favor of Ukraine constituted \$22,140,000 USD. As in previous years, in 2010 the leading position in the structure of Ukrainian export ranks the food industry products, as well as traditional machines, equipment and machinery, paper stock, overland transport. The import structure has a single-purpose nature. Its basis remains traditionally to be a single commodity item – fluorspar, the ratio thereof constituted 99.5 percent in 2010. The increase of Mongolian import was just in the result of fluorspar purchases growth.

Speaking at the opening of the Ukrainian-Mongolian business forum in Kyiv, President Ts. Elbegdorj emphasized that Mongolia was in the top ten world countries richest in minerals. The major directions of its mining sphere are gold, coal, copper ore, and uranium ores. Over the past decade the country progressed seriously in the social-economic development. At present investors and Western companies stand in a queue to invest financial resources into the development of its economic complex. Today, over sixty percent of the total foreign investment in Mongolia accounts for mining industry. Financial and mining corporations of China, the USA, Russia, Japan, Canada, South Korea and Australia play a leading role in the development of deposits.

Since 1997, 42 percent of all licenses issued to develop mineral resources in Mongolia are the permits for gold mining. Its major deposit is “Bumbat” located 200 km from the capital Ulaanbaatar. Coal industry is the major base of Mongolian fuel and power sector. Favorable geological conditions of depositing coal beds and mining and technical conditions to develop deposits provide for ninety percent of the coal production by the opencast method. Separate coal beds, such as “Bahanuur” were put into operation with the assistance of the Soviet specialists and had been working for decades. “Tavan Tolhoy” located in the Southern Gobi Aimak in the south of Mongolia is a great promising coal deposit. Per the assessed coal reserves, 40% thereof being coking coal, it is the largest deposit in the world. Its reserves constitute 6 billion tons. In 2010 the Government of Mongolia announced a tender to prepare a project of the deposit. In July 2011 the Chinese holding “Shenhua Group” won the tender and received the largest share – 40%. The other winners include the consortium with participation of the “Russian Railway” company, several South Korean and Japanese companies (36%), and “Peabody Energy Corporation” the USA (24%). All three finalists will participate in the development of Tsanhi block in the central and western parts of the deposit.

Deposit “Oiu Tolhoy” is considered one of the world’s largest reserves of copper and gold. It is located in the Gobi Desert (80 km north of the Mongolian border with China). According to the information by the Canadian company “Ivanhoe”, as of 2009, the deposit reserves were estimated at 35.74 million tons of copper and 45.2 million ounces of gold. The Government of Mongolia and the companies “Ivanhoe Mines Ltd.” and “Rio Tinto Group” signed an agreement to develop the said deposit. Pursuant to their provisions, it is planned to commence production at “Oiu Tolhoy” in 2013 and in five years bring production to the full amount of 450 thousand tons of copper and 33 thousand ounces of gold per year.

In the early 80-s the Soviet-Mongolian geologists explored uranium ore in the eastern regions of Mongolia. According to the Department of Atomic Energy of Mongolia, having 63 tons of confirmed uranium resources, the country ranks 15-th position in the world. Per IAEA assessment, total uranium deposits in Mongolia constitute 1.5 million tons. During the visit to Mongolia of Lee Myung-bak, President of the Republic of Korea, in August 2011 a

memorandum was signed to explore and develop deposits of uranium and rare earth metals at the territory of Mongolia.

Given the above mentioned huge reserves of mineral resources at the territory of Mongolia, the issue of Ukrainian participation in their development was not accidental and was clearly sounded at the talks of the leaders of both states. “Certainly, we are greatly interested to participate in the development of mineral resources and their further processing at the territory of Mongolia”, – Viktor Yanukovych said at the meeting with Tsakhia Elbegdorj, President of Mongolia. According to him, the subject in question includes coal, raw materials for fertilizers, and uranium ore as a fuel for nuclear power plants. “We do not exclude opening of the relevant production in Mongolia”, – the President said. – “In the nearest future our experts will examine the issue on the ways of such coal production, its quality and transportation”.

Following the visit, V.F. Yanukovych and Ts. Elbegdorj signed the Joint Statement on the development of partnership relations between Ukraine and Mongolia. In addition, the following documents were concluded in presence of the heads of the States:

the Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on cooperation in the higher education area;

the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on cooperation in the field of culture;

the Protocol between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on the amendments to the provisions of the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Mongolian Commission on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation approved by the Protocol between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on creating the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Mongolian Commission on trade and economic cooperation of November 5, 1992;

the Cooperation Plan between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia for the period of 2012–2013.

During the meeting of the President of Mongolia with V. Lytvyn, Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, prospects to enhance bilateral political dialogue between all branches of

power were discussed, including at the level of legislative bodies of both States. This will contribute to deepening mutual confidence and expand capabilities for interaction in many specific directions. The Parties were satisfied with the establishment of Parliamentary friendship groups in the legislative bodies of Ukraine and Mongolia and expressed the need to further intensify cooperation at the level of establishing direct working contacts between the Ukrainian and Mongolian parliamentarians. A separate emphasis was placed on the importance to increase cooperation between the regions of Ukraine and Mongolia.

V.M. Lytvyn also expressed hope that the visit of the President of Mongolia would contribute to intensification of bilateral cooperation in the educational area and between the Academies of Sciences of Ukraine and Mongolia, thus giving a systematic nature to this cooperation.

In the framework of the visit, a separate meeting was held between K.I. Hryshchenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and G. Zandanshatar, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia.

The Ministers concentrated attention on the need to advance the dynamics of political dialogue at the highest level and enhance interaction between the two Foreign Ministries. They exchanged opinions on the tools and resources to economize bilateral contacts and key areas. The interlocutors stressed the importance of signing the Cooperation Plan between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia for 2012–2013 and exchanged invitations to accomplish official visits. A special attention was paid to the prospects of cooperation in the UN institutions, cooperation within the framework of “Community of Democracies”, where Mongolia would preside over the next two years as well as to the pressing issues of global agenda. Heads of Foreign Ministries also agreed to celebrate in 2012 the 20-th anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Mongolia.

The leading Ukrainian and foreign mass media provided extensive coverage of the President’s visit in Ukraine. In particular, the newspaper “Voice of Ukraine”, noting the traditionally friendly relations between our countries, called the visit of the President Ts. Elbegdorj ‘a milestone event in modern Ukrainian-Mongolian

relations'. In its turn the "Governmental Courier" newspaper in the article entitled "Ulan Bator Is Interesting by Joint Projects" by K. Matsehora noted, *inter alia*, that "Tsakhia Elbegdorj is also pleased with the result of the dialogue with the Ukrainian President: "Our cooperation is moving to a new level and we can cooperate in many areas, including military, mining, agriculture". An interesting article about the President of Mongolia entitled "You'll Hear More About Me" was published by O. Mel'nyk in the "Governmental Courier". The article tells about the student years of the President's family in Lviv.

On the eve and during the state visit to Ukraine of the executive head of Mongolian State a number of analytical articles about this country was published. The article by A. Kukoba entitled "Step of Capabilities" is indicative in this respect and contains a lot of figures. It was published in the "Invest Gazeta" in the column "Entrance to New Markets". Mongolian English-language newspaper "The Mongol Messenger" published an article entitled "President Ts. Elbegdorj Visits Ukraine. The Agreements Are Signed and the Number of Scholarships Increased". The article contains a detailed analysis of the visiting agenda to Lviv and Kyiv, the results of the visit, information about the status of bilateral relations.

Below are the texts of the major agreements signed during the visit of the President of Mongolia to Ukraine, including:

1. Joint Statement on the Development of Partnership Relations between Ukraine and Mongolia,

2. Cooperation Plan between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia for 2012–2013.

Joint Statement on the Development of Partnership Relations between Ukraine and Mongolia

On June 26–28, 2011 at the invitation of Viktor Yanukovych, President of Ukraine, Tsakhia Elbegdorj, President of Mongolia, paid a state visit to Ukraine.

During the visit Tsakhia Elbegdorj, President of Mongolia, held negotiations with Viktor Yanukovych, President of Ukraine, in private and within the official delegations, had the meetings with Volodymyr Lytvyn, Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and Mykola Azarov, Prime Minister of Ukraine.

The Presidents of both States took part in the Ukrainian-Mongolian business forum. During the visit the President of Mongolia also visited the city of Lviv.

Heads of both States discussed the current political and social-economic situation in Ukraine and Mongolia in a friendly and sincere atmosphere, exchanged opinions on the current status of Ukrainian-Mongolian cooperation regarding the prospects for its further development. They also considered a wide range of international and regional issues of common interest.

Heads of both States highly appreciated the long-lasting friendship between Ukraine and Mongolia, as well as confirmed the desire of the leaders and the people to strengthen and comprehensively develop the existing partnership relations.

Both leaders noted the current positive dynamics of bilateral contacts at the highest level, initiated by their meeting at the Economic Forum in Davos (Switzerland) in January 2011. They confirmed their readiness to further develop the multifaceted partnership between Ukraine and Mongolia aimed at maximal use of the potential of each Party, consolidate the efforts in counteracting global challenges. They also reached consensus on many issues of the international agenda.

Guided by the common desire to stir up bilateral cooperation between the two countries, the Presidents of Ukraine and Mongolia (hereinafter — the Parties) declared the following.

1. The Parties welcome revival of interstate contacts and agree that ensuring the regular exchange of visits at the highest and high levels will contribute to a dynamic, efficient development of relations for mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries, enhance intercommunication in political, trade, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other areas, taking into account the capacity and development needs of Ukraine and Mongolia.

2. Both Presidents renew mutual respect for the options of development of Ukraine and Mongolia, their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

3. The Parties express their readiness to provide all-round support to increase the operational efficiency of the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Mongolian Commission on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation and to develop the required diversified mechanisms for bilateral cooperation.

4. The Parties believe that given the existing untapped potential of cooperation, the concerned governmental authorities of Ukraine and Mongolia are to ensure favorable conditions for its proper implementation, providing support to the representatives of business community, particularly, in such promising areas as agriculture, machine-building, energy, construction, joint exploitation of mineral resources.

The Parties agree with the need to diversify and optimize the structure of trade between the two countries, primarily, by raising the ratio of hi tech products.

5. Both leaders highly estimate commencement of bilateral dialogue to enhance cooperation in science and advanced technologies, including aviation, shipbuilding, mining industry, production of modern medical equipment, taking into account the existing scientific, technological and industrial potential of Ukraine and the growing needs of Mongolia in these areas, as well as in the other areas of common interest.

6. Having noted the need to expand direct contacts between business communities of both countries, the Parties express their interest in creation of the Ukrainian-Mongolian Business Council under the auspices of the national Chambers of Commerce and Industry as well as emphasize the importance of holding regular bilateral business forums within the next Ukrainian-Mongolian high level events.

7. Both Presidents confirm their support to active development of bilateral cooperation in security and defense, having in principle agreed with the need to establish a special mechanism in the form of the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Mongolian Coordination Commission on MTC issues.

8. The Parties express satisfaction with the status of cooperation in educational area, in particular, in training of highly qualified specialists for Mongolia at Ukrainian higher educational institutions, as well as the readiness to further enhance interaction in this field.

9. The two leaders emphasize the importance of further expansion of Ukrainian-Mongolian contractual and legal framework and welcome signing the following documents during the visit:

the Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on cooperation in the education area;

the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on cooperation in the field of culture;

the Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on cooperation in the field of emergency prevention and response;

the Protocol between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Mongolia on amending provisions of the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Mongolian Commission on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation;

the updated Protocol on political consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia.

10. The Parties note significant contribution of the Ukrainian citizens working or studying in Mongolia and Mongolian citizens working or studying in Ukraine in intensification of traditional friendship relations and mutual understanding between the two nations and agree to further secure favorable conditions for their residence, work and study at the territories of Ukraine and Mongolia in line with the current legislation of both states.

11. The Presidents of Ukraine and Mongolia recognize the need to consolidate efforts in overcoming the consequences of the global financial crisis, aimed at ensuring sustainable and balanced global economic growth.

The Parties note the topicality to urgently resolve global problems, including climate change, illegal circulation of drugs and weapons, poverty, and health protection. They confirm their readiness to assist to peaceful settlement of international conflicts in the frames of international fora, guided by the UN Charter, provisions and principles of international law as well as the formation of a fair and equal economic, trade and financial international order that would meet the interests of all countries.

12. The Parties strongly condemn terrorism, separatism and extremism in all forms and manifestations and emphasize the importance of multilateral international actions to combat money laundering, financing of terrorism and extremism.

13. Both Presidents confirm the need to reduce nuclear danger in the world by adopting a decision on strengthening cooperation in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapon, particularly, in terms of early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Treaty.

14. The Parties favorably view cooperation between Ukraine and Mongolia in the frames of the United Nations, its institutions and other international organizations. Both states advocate reforming of the UN Security Council, enhancing its efficiency and credibility through adaptation to new realities of the international community in the XXI century. The Parties have agreed that a key aspect of the UN reform is expanding representation of the developing countries in the Security Council and ensuring their rights in the decision-making process.

Mongolia supports Ukraine's nomination at the elections for UNSC non-permanent members for the period 2016–2017.

15. The President of Ukraine confirmed the Ukrainian Party readiness to continue exerting efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, highly appreciating success of Mongolia on this way.

16. The President of Mongolia expressed his gratitude to the President of Ukraine for the warm reception and invited him to pay a state visit to Mongolia in a convenient time. The President of Ukraine gratefully accepted the invitation.

Done in Kyiv on June 29, 2011, in duplicate, each in Ukrainian and Mongolian languages.

President of Ukraine
Viktor YANUKOVYCH

President of Mongolia
Tsakhia ELBEGDORJ

Cooperation Plan between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia for 2012–2013

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia (hereinafter referred to as the Parties), based on the provisions of the Agreement on Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Ukraine and Mongolia of November 5, 1992, guided by the provisions of the Protocol on Consultations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia of November 5, 1992, wishing to comprehensively promote the further development of partnership between Ukraine and Mongolia, intensify political dialogue, enhance cooperation efficiency in trade-economic, scientific-technical, cultural, humanitarian and other areas of the contractual and legal fundamentals of cooperation, aimed at interacting at the international arena, in particular, within the framework of the UN and the other international organizations, have agreed on cooperation for the years 2012–2013 in the following directions:

I. 2012

1. Hold an official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine to Mongolia (second quarter of 2012, the city of Ulaanbaatar).

2. Hold consultations between the Deputy Foreign Ministers on topical issues of bilateral relations and international policy (second half of 2012, the city of Ulaanbaatar).

3. Hold consultations of the Parties at the level of subdivision management:

3.1. Hold consultations on consular issues (second half of 2012, Kyiv).

3.2. Hold consultations on the issues of interaction in the frames of the United Nations and the other international and regional organizations (second half of 2012, the city of Ulaanbaatar).

II. 2013

1. Hold an official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia to Ukraine (first half of 2013, Kyiv).

2. Hold consultations between the Deputy Foreign Ministers on topical issues of bilateral relations and international policy (second half of 2013, Kyiv).

3. Hold consultations of the Parties at the level of subdivision management:

3.1. Hold consultations on consular issues (second half of 2013, the city of Ulaanbaatar).

3.2. Hold consultations on the issues of interaction in the frames of the United Nations and the other international and regional organizations (second half of 2013, the city of Ulaanbaatar).

III. In case of necessity, the Parties shall hold extraordinary or emergency consultations on the matters within their competence.

IV. The Parties shall secure holding regular consultations at the level of permanent representations at the international organizations on the matters of mutual interest which are considered at the international fora and within the international organizations.

V. Aimed at enhancing bilateral trade and economic, scientific and technical cooperation, the Parties will participate in preparation and holding of annual meetings of Ukrainian-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation, in its working bodies and interim meetings of the Commission co-chairs.

VI. Aimed at promoting cooperation in training and upgrading of personnel of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Mongolia, the Parties shall provide for: the possibility to invite diplomatic staff of one Party to participate in seminars, conferences and workshops on international issues, arranged and hold by the other Party; exchange opinions and establish long-term cooperation between the research institutions of the Parties on the issues of international relations. The profile institutions of the Parties will be determined additionally.

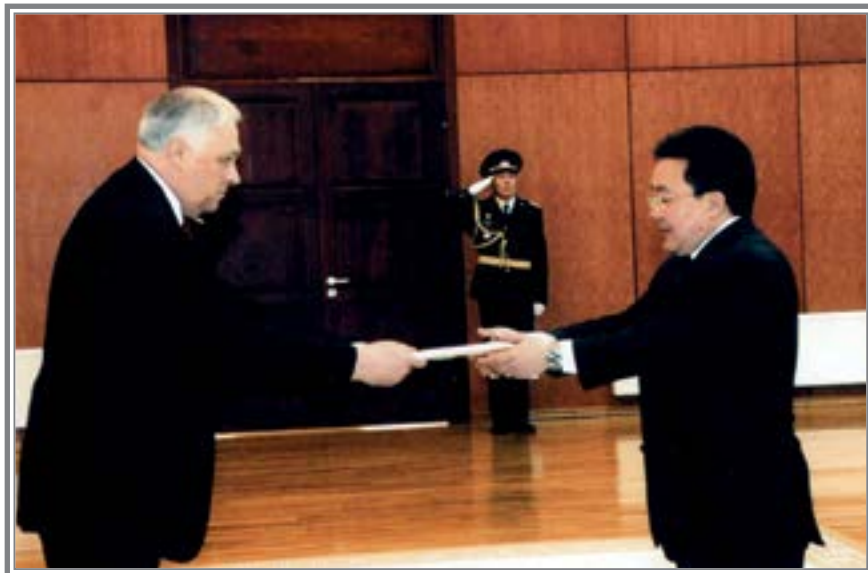
VII. Provisions of the Cooperation Plan agreed upon by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia for the years 2012–2013 may be corrected or changed during its execution.

VIII. The Plan shall neither be an international agreement, nor it shall create the rights and liabilities governed by the international law.

Done in Kyiv on June 29, 2011 in duplicate, each in Ukrainian and Mongolian languages.

***For the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs of Ukraine***

***For the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs and Trade of Mongolia***



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to Mongolia (pluralistically) Yuri Kostenko during the commitment diplomatic credentials to the President of Mongolia C. Elbegdorj



The communication of Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine Yuri Kostenko with Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Mongolia G. Zandansh



**Meeting Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine Yuriy Kostenko
with Minister of Defence of Mongolia L. Boldom**



**Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to Mongolia (pluralistically)
with Honorary Consul of Ukraine to Mongolia Purevsam Buu Batsaihan**



Oleksandr Kupchyshyn,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the French Republic, Permanent Representative of Ukraine to UNESCO, PhD (Law)

TWENTY YEARS OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN UKRAINE AND FRANCE

This year Ukraine solemnly celebrated 20 years of its independence. This remarkable event created the required grounds for developing diplomacy of the independent Ukraine, for representing its interests on the international arena, establishing bilateral relations with other states and ensuring full-fledged participation in the activities of international organizations and multilateral forums. Anniversary of independence of our country specified another 20th anniversary, which is recognition of Ukraine in the world and establishment of the diplomatic relations with a number of leading countries, France being among the first.

A lot has been written about current relations between Ukraine and France, which are based on ties dated back to the ancient times involving personal and state links and mutual sympathy between the Ukrainian and French peoples. I would like to mention just a few names and facts.

Daughter of the Grand Prince of Kiev Yaroslav the Wise Anna Yaroslavivna, who in the 11th century became the Queen of France, was among the first famous people from the Ukrainian lands living in France. Every year on September 5 the Sanlis Monastery founded by Anna says a service to her honor and peo-

ple lay flowers to her monument opened in 2005. The Ukrainian community in France together with the French people celebrated in May this year 960 years of the marriage of Princess Anne with Henry I in 1051 and her enthronement as the Queen of France.

A detachment of the Ukrainian registered Cossacks left a remarkable trace in the military history of Ukrainian-French relations by participating in the capture of Dunkirk in 1646 during the Thirty Years' War. Gregory, son of Hetman Orlyk (1702-1759), then a French diplomat and general came from Ukraine to France with the first wave of emigration in the 18th century and created a separate detachment of Cossacks in the French Army. Among the Ukrainian community in France there is a belief, though not documented, that the name of the town Orly in Paris famous with its international airport, is derived from the name of G. Orlik. Famous French scientists of that time such as Voltaire, Boplan Guillaume, Jean-Benoit Scherer devoted to Ukraine of Zapizhzhia Sich period their articles, historical and chronological works and were the only source of factual information about events in Ukraine for the whole contemporary Europe.

Speaking about Ukrainian-French contribution to the world cultural heritage one cannot but mention the name of a Ukrainian known today to every Frenchman and to every educated person in other countries. This is a world famous ballet coryphaeus Serge Lifar, who was born in Kyiv in 1905. After moving to France in 1922, the dancer devoted over 30 years of his life to the Grand Opera ballet troupe in Paris Theater being its soloist, choreographer and teacher and strengthening its fame and worldwide recognition. It is an indisputable fact of the cultural history of France that it is S. Lifar who revived the French ballet troupe at that time, created its modern repertoire, initiated his ballet school and founded a new direction in ballet — Neoclassicism.

Finally, one cannot avoid mentioning such Ukrainian figures as Vynnychenko and Petlyura, the first leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic Directory that were also linked with France because last period of their lives they spent in France and were buried there. It is in the Paris cemetery Pere Lachaise where the re-

mains of Nestor Makhno, a controversial but the remarkable personality in the history of Ukraine during the UPR and the Civil War were buried.

These are not the only but the most vivid examples of historical links between the peoples of both countries, which give a reason to believe that Ukraine and France maintained diverse contacts during the 9th-20th centuries, precursors of the current stage of bilateral relations.

Therefore, development of bilateral relations with France became one of the priorities of Ukrainian foreign policy since restoration of the independence of Ukraine. For the first time it was officially announced in Paris during a meeting on October 3, 1991 of the then Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk with the President of France F. Mitterrand.

It would not be exaggeration to say that France also wished to win Ukraine as a reliable partner. Particularly, it is proved by the fact that France was among the first Western European countries that recognized the independence of Ukraine (December 27, 1991) and in four weeks on January 24, 1992, Robert Dumas, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France paid an official visit to Ukraine. A protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries was signed during this visit. I am pleased to mention that I had the privilege to personally participate in the preparation and implementation of this historic event.

It is noteworthy that the current international treaty framework of Ukrainian-French relations counts in total 80 bilateral documents, 65 of them being effective. The Interstate Treaty on Mutual Understanding and Cooperation signed on 16 June 1992 is the main document forming a reliable legal framework for the development of bilateral cooperation in political, economic, cultural and scientific spheres.

Its main provisions include development of cooperation based on "mutual understanding and mutual trust" for the sake of "building peaceful and united Europe." The document stipulates functioning of the mechanism of bilateral consultations between the two countries in the sphere of policy and security as

well as cooperation in the international organizations. In compliance with this document France is committed to promote relations of Ukraine with the European Union and the Council of Europe. The document stipulates the Ukrainian-French cooperation in the sphere of international security, military relations and nuclear power safety, particularly in view of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. In other words, the document basically covered most of the foreign policy priorities of the independent Ukraine, where relations with France were expected to play a facilitating role.

At the same time it is necessary to admit that the initial efforts for further development of our relationship in the frames of the Treaty lost momentum. This was particularly reflected in the apparent delay in ratification of the Treaty by France (the Treaty was ratified by France only in February 1996 whereas by Ukraine – on September 17, 1992).

In our opinion, such approach of the French administration was largely conditioned by the fact that its political elite and ordinary citizens had a biased opinion about the processes taking place in the former USSR. At that time, in the mentality of the French public our country still was a province of Russia, while CIS owing to mass media misinterpretation of the results of the Belovezhskaya Puscha Treaty was seen as a new name for the USSR. In addition, the official Paris somewhat slowly realized the need for building our bilateral relations outside its relations with Russia, which are known to be formed for centuries.

All this made the Ukrainian diplomats double the efforts in order to convince the French leadership that our young state could defend its independence and ensure its sustainable development. In this regard, I cannot but pay tribute to the professionalism and effective work of my predecessors, Ambassadors of Ukraine to France during the 20 year period, namely Yu. Kochubey (1992-1997), A. Zlenko (1997-2000), Yu Sergejev (2003-2007), K. Timoshenko (2007-2010). It is largely owing to their personal efforts that the relations between Ukraine and France evolved during this period passing the stages of finding mutually beneficial

areas of cooperation through “sustainable business partnership” to the current level of friendly relations.

The basic provisions of the 1992 Interstate Treaty during 20 years of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and France were further developed by signing 20 intergovernmental agreements on almost all areas of cooperation and this important work is in progress. An intergovernmental agreement on joint film production signed by the Ministers of Culture of Ukraine and France during the 64th International Cannes Film Festival in May 2011 is one of the latest example of mutual interest in establishing different forms of cooperation.

Today we can confidently state that the current stage of the Ukrainian-French relations is characterized by intensive political dialogue at the highest level, which was initiated by an official visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovych to France on October 7-8, 2010. From the protocol standpoint this visit approached the top level state visit as to its significance.

The results of the meetings and negotiations between the leader of Ukraine, the President of France N. Sarkozy, the Prime Minister of France F. Fillon and the President of the National Assembly of France B. Akkuaye deserved a special research but I will confine myself to outlining their major outcomes. First, official circles in Kyiv and Paris both agree that this visit manifested shared views and considerable coincidence in positions of both states for the whole range of international issues. Second, the Ukrainian-French political dialogue was given a powerful impetus to further development at the highest level. Third, the official Paris declared its political support to further implementation of domestic political and economic reforms in Ukraine and to overcoming consequences of the financial crisis. Finally, to a great extent owing to 20 year of the diplomatic efforts the French party demonstrated its willingness to transfer the bilateral relations with Ukraine to a new level — the level of strategic partnership.

There is an interesting detail. In comparison with some European countries that have different constitutional structures, Ukraine and France both vested to their Presidents a wide range

of authority in pursuing foreign policy of their states. This common feature for the two countries is obviously a very important and beneficial factor for deepening our political dialogue at the highest level, for better understanding of internal processes in both countries and for making fast decisions on joint foreign policy steps of the two countries.

It should be emphasized that during the official visit of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich the leaders in France fully accepted the new philosophy of the bilateral relations with France proposed by Ukraine and based on pragmatism, practical steps and avoidance of declarative approaches.

The Roadmap for development of relations between Ukraine and France for 2011-2012 signed during this visit specifies directions for further development of the bilateral relations. The document defines nine promising spheres of cooperation interesting for both countries and stipulates specific joint activities for achieving the set goals during two year period. Determination of France to support the reforms in Ukraine in order to bring it closer to the EU, namely to foster French investments to the economy of Ukraine and assist in preparation for the EURO-2012 are the most urgent among them. I am convinced that the coordinated efforts of the two countries for implementation of the tasks specified in the Road Map set targets for the short and medium term guarantee further development of their relations.

Visit to Ukraine of F. Fillon, the Prime Minister of France on 18-19 April, the first for the 20-year history of Ukrainian-French relations, was a vivid manifestation of the strengthening bilateral cooperation during the recent period. The visit was connected with the International Donor Conference held in Kyiv in order to raise funds for completion of the Chernobyl projects as France in 2011 is presiding in G8 and G20 as well as with participation in the summit on safe and innovative use of nuclear energy. According to international and domestic experts, the Kyiv donor conference was a real breakthrough in comparison with the previous conferences while its practical and research part was espe-

cially urgent because of tragic accident at the Japanese nuclear power plant Fukushima.

I am pleased to emphasize that France as this year leader of G8 put every effort to assist Ukraine in organization and successful implementation of the events related to 25 years from the Chernobyl catastrophe. Specifically, at the preparation period the diplomatic channels of Ukraine and France were used to circulate joint addresses on behalf of N. Sarkozy and V. Yanukovich to the leaders of all current and potential donor states. Moreover, during the donor conference France who previously provided 160 million EURO to the Chernobyl Fund was committed to allocate additional 47 million EURO for construction of the 'shelter' object.

It is illustrative to cite F. Fillon who during presentation at the conference said the following: "We would like to achieve the set goal, to solve the problem and to put an end to this heritage of the past".

During his visit in Kyiv the leader of the French Government held on April 19, 2011 full-fledged talks with the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich during which the parties discussed the whole range of issues of bilateral political and economical cooperation. Willingness of the French government leader to invite Ukrainian representatives to the expert round table of G8 in order to discuss and develop new international and legal norms on the safe use of the nuclear energy showed an expanding cooperation of two countries in the sphere of nuclear safety.

To my earnest conviction the common feature uniting our two nations is that both French and majority of Ukrainians identify themselves Europeans, representatives of the European civilization domain.

It is noteworthy that France is among six countries founders of the EU. France was one of the authors of the 'united Europe' concept. The so-called 'Schumann Declaration' published on May 9, 1950 served as the basis for the Paris Treaty 1951 establishing the European Coal and Steel Community and the Rome treaties of 1957 founding the EAEC. The idea of creation of the supranational democratic community of the European countries based on

the principles of respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms belonged to the outstanding French political figure Robert Schumann who at different times was the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France and then the First Chairman of the European Parliamentarian Assembly.

With this in view, the French people feel personal responsibility for successful implementation of the project called 'European Union' rightly considering themselves a driving force of all modern European integration processes and seeing in its further development the best way of protection, promotion and confirmation of their national interests through the efficient collective efforts.

I would like to recollect one illustrative situation of how French people feel about the EU. During one of the social surveys conducted in France a couple of years ago a worker from the automobile plant not so sophisticated in the geopolitical realities to the question "What is EU for you?", responded funny but sincerely: "EU to me is France itself somewhat extended at the cost of other European countries!".

On the other side, course for the European integration is a natural consequence of the Ukrainian independence. It is rooted in the history of our people being an inseparable part of the European civilization with its historical, geopolitical, cultural, mental and language features. According to the fundamental principles of the EU foundation and functioning Ukraine has every right to become its member. After all, the strategic course towards European integration is specified not just because it is attractive from the economic standpoint, but rather because it is based in a system of values shared by the Ukrainians. This European identity implies respect for human rights, rule of law, democracy and tolerance. European choice of Ukraine is a choice of development orientation based of universally recognized and tested values and life principles that ensure the highest standards of living in social, economic, political and legal spheres.

Ukraine makes all necessary steps to become a full member of the European community. Bringing the national economy and legal system into compliance with the criteria of EU membership is

the main task facing our country. Strengthening of the economic component is one of the most important principles of both domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine. In this context, the European integration course of Ukraine should be viewed as a dynamic tool and a powerful incentive for modernization and innovation of our state.

A systemic deepening of the bilateral cooperation with the EU member states, which encourages the economic reforms in Ukraine and creates competitive environment for entering the global market is the most reliable way to implement the strategy of Ukraine's integration into the EU. We consider France as a driving force for further successful development of the European Union. One cannot underestimate the role of France in the context of strengthening our relations with the EU and implementation of our strategic course.

The authorities in France consider Ukraine as an important strategic partner of the EU and neither the French leadership, nor French people any longer question the European identity of our country willing us to join the EU family as soon as we are ready.

Paris has always been and remains to be an advocate of gradual integration of Ukraine into the EU. The French party does not support the "declaratory approach" of Ukraine to the European integration and is cautious about Ukraine rhetoric on clear prospects for the EU membership. France repeatedly expressed the idea of gradual "association" of Ukraine and the EU in various spheres and expansion of its participation in specific policies and programs of the European Union.

Accession of N. Sarkozy to power in May 2007 marked the transformation of France's position towards Ukraine. During the election debates the future President of France expressed the idea that it was important to find for such states as Ukraine new concepts for relations with the EU in order to strengthen economic and political cooperation as well as to promote democracy.

It should be emphasized that it was France, presiding the EU at that period, which on September 9, 2008 proposed on the Paris summit to start negotiations about concluding the Association

Agreement between EU and Ukraine that would include free trade and the prospect of visa-free regime. In this regard, France welcomed the statement of the newly elected Ukrainian leadership of Ukraine in 2010 that European integration remained a priority of foreign and domestic policy of our country. It is because of this assessment, the French officials express France's willingness to facilitate early completion of the negotiations on the Association Agreement and the proper implementation by Ukraine of the Action Plan in order to liberalize the visa regime with the EU. Implementation of these priorities lay the foundation for further rapprochement between Ukraine and EU and upgrading our relation to a new level in the nearest future.

During these years cooperation of Ukraine and France in the sphere of political security has been established and is ongoing both on the bilateral ground and in the international organizations. In this case the fact that France remains to be one of the state guarantying the nuclear safety of Ukraine in compliance with the 1994 Budapest Memorandum is the decisive factor of our developing relations with France. After accession to this international document by its official application France considers the assumed commitments of nuclear safety guarantees provided to Ukraine effective and legally binding. The said guarantees of France were secured in the number of NPT and UN Security Council documents.

Speaking of the two countries activities in the international organizations it is worth mentioning interaction of their delegations in the UN Security Council in 2000-2001, when Ukraine was among its non-permanent members. The Ukrainian and French delegations closely cooperated on the whole range of contemporary problems of the UN Security Council, especially in resolving the conflicts in Kosovo, Georgian and Abkhazian, Israel and Palestine, in the southern Lebanon, Iraq, the Democratic Republic of Congo including the reform of peacekeeping operations and mechanisms for improving the functioning of the sanction regimes.

Peacekeepers of the two countries (military, police, civilian experts) has successfully interacted in the number of peacekeeping operations and the UN, NATO, OSCE missions including in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Angola, Lebanon, Georgia, the conflict zone between Ethiopia and Eritrea and others. Today, they together carry out the international peacekeeping activities in Kosovo, Liberia, Afghanistan and Congo.

Ukraine welcomes the efforts of France in development of the joint foreign and security policy, including its integral component – the European security and defense policy. Our country has repeatedly stated its willingness to actively participate in practical cooperation with the EU in this area. This cooperation develops in various spheres, particularly in the EU fighting against piracy in the coastal waters of Somali. We look forward to further cooperation with France in this sphere, including more active use of its military transport aircraft capacity.

Since France return to the NATO in 2009 there is a tendency of strengthening the EU countries in the alliance which reflects the policy of this country with its aim to enhance the European security mechanisms and increase the global role of the EU. In his comments of a new Strategic Concept adopted at the summit in Lisbon in November 2010, the President N. Sarkozy specified two provisions most crucial for France, namely importance of the EU relations the Alliance recognized in the document as its unique and principal partner, and cooperation with Russia for creation of the common space of peace, security and stability.

It is evident that that the French priorities for the new NATO strategic concept are

fully consistent with the national security interests of Ukraine as a non-aligned country, which continues to cooperate with NATO and keeps strategic course toward integration into the EU. Ukraine and France share views as to impossibility to ensure the European security without Russia's direct involvement in these processes.

Talking about nuclear disarmament I would like to mention cooperation of Ukraine and France in the G8 initiative

Global Partnership against Proliferation of Weapons and Mass Destruction Materials, whose ten years will be marked in 2012. This year France as the G8 Chairman also presides at the working group of this initiative. Contract on technical assistance to Ukraine for about 2 million EURO concluded in October 2010 between the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Ukraine and Commissariat of the Government of France on Nuclear Energy and Alternative Energies for supply of special mobile containers for transportation and storage of materials with ionizing radiation is highly appreciated. Undoubtedly, implementation of this contract during 2011-2012 will strengthen capacity in Ukraine for more secure handling with such materials and enhance the international control in the field of nuclear and radiological security.

The Ukrainian-French relations cannot be presented fully without their important military component. The Ukrainian-French Interstate Agreement on collaboration in the military sphere, signed in 1996, is successfully operating on the basis of annual programs of bilateral cooperation between the two defense agencies. For example, the current 2011 program specifies about 40 joint bilateral activities including top level visits and exchange of the military staff, military training and language courses. Cooperation with France in the sphere of professional training, specifically training of Ukrainian officers at the control points, modeling and planning centers in different branches of the armed forces in France is especially significant for the military forces of Ukraine.

Joint military exercises specified by the mentioned bilateral programs involving other NATO member and partner states has a paramount important and very valuable for Ukraine. One should mention such central joint exercises to be conducted in 2011 in the territory of Ukraine as *Sea-Breeze* and *Rapid Trident*. The first exercise involving a group of officers from France will aim at improvement of communication between the officers of the military forces of the partner states in the course of piece-making, humanitarian and antiterrorist operations. The second Ukrainian-American command-staff exercise aimed at acquiring by its par-

ticipants the joint skills of planning and conducting piece-making operations within the multifunctional staff headquarters specifies involvement of a separate detachment of French land arms.

It is important to emphasize that this practical cooperation with France in the military sphere, especially in view of limited military allocations from the state budget of Ukraine is extremely valuable for Ukrainian military forces. It facilitates development and support of combat readiness, allows acquiring the advanced experience of the world army, enhances compatibility with NATO member and partner states in conducting joint piece-making, humanitarian and antiterrorist operations. On the other hand, such cooperation strengthens the international authority of the military forces of Ukraine, which demonstrate their high professional level in collaboration with their foreign partners. This high assessment was given to the Ukrainian helicopter aviators in composition of the piece-making forces in Côte d'Ivoire in April 2011 during the military conflict in the country after legitimate change of power.

France as the county hosting the oldest European human rights organization — the Council of Europe, attaches considerable attention to the activities of this organization. In this context it is important to mention the priorities proposed by Ukraine during this year chairmanship at the European Council Committee of Ministers, namely protection of children's and human rights, rule of law in the context of democracy and stability in Europe, strengthening and development of the local democracy, which were fully supported by France.

Ukraine counts on the support of France when it will preside at the OSCE in 2013. Experience of France as a co-chairman of the OSCE Minsk Group for resolving the Nagorny-Karabakh problem is especially interesting for Ukraine.

It is not a secret that politics and economy are inseparable and complement each other in development of interstate contacts, which play a significant role for twenty years of our diplomatic relations with France.

It is noteworthy that out trade and economic contacts during these two decades developed differently – there were calm periods and periods of buoyancy in the bilateral trade.

Such development, among other things, was specified by the situation in the sector (for example, power, agriculture or banking) and by regional demand fluctuations throughout the year (seasonal demand for some agricultural products, insurance and hotel business). French business operators responding to these market fluctuations more actively entered Ukrainian market and owing to their contracts and investments, though inconsiderable, improved our bilateral foreign trade balance.

It is typical for trade and economic relations of Ukraine with France and with other countries that as soon as certain business segment goes down the relevant enterprises (as French hotel business in Ukraine) fall back and occupy a ‘standby’ position expecting better situation in Ukraine. This means that at the time there are no effective regulatory mechanisms that would provide investment or classic financing of solid projects.

Assessing the current state of our bilateral trade or investment cooperation one may say that it is acquiring the second wind.

At the end of 2010 the foreign economic turnover with France amounted to 1 billion 930 million USD, which is by 7.1% higher than during the same period of 2009. The Ukrainian export amounted to 600 million USD (increase by 14% as against 2009), import – 1330 million USD (increase by 2.4%). The total amount of French investments to Ukraine by the end of September 2010 was 2 billion 367 million USD.

About 300 enterprises in Ukraine have a share of French capital. The following large companies have their representations in Ukraine: *Danone* and *Lactalis* (dairy products), *Agrogeneration* (grain and oil plants production), *Groupe Soufflet* (malt, flour, bakery), *Louis Dreyfus* (cereal production and sale), *Lafarge* (construction materials), *Areva* (nuclear power), *AXA* (insurance of risks, pension insurance, financial planning and asset management), *BNP Paribas* (banking), *Crédit Agricole Corporate & Investment Bank* and others.

To my opinion our economic partnership with France has a task to reliably identify 'points of application' some of which used to be available but unfortunately lost in time for various reasons.

It is also important to develop our relations with France in line with clear, understandable and predictable system of coordinates of the real partnership. Now French partners began to see and assess Ukraine somewhat differently as a potential market for their goods and services. This is because the economic policy, in the first place, became specific, pragmatic, realistic and devoid of declarations and promises.

Meeting of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich with representatives of large business in MEDEF (movement of French businessmen) during his visit in Paris in October 2010 was illustrative. Besides that almost 20 companies did not manage to meet the President because all seats were occupied, those who were present simply assailed the President with questions about Ukraine and its business climate that would allow French businessmen more comfortably operate in the Ukrainian market. In his answers to these questions the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich among other things said: "Ukraine is a promising market for France. If there are problems, we will address them jointly. I will control the situation with the French business in Ukraine personally as the President of the state". It was a serious signal from the leader of the state welcomed by the French business community.

With this in view I would like to add that this philosophy was applied in preparation of the 6th meeting of the Ukrainian-French Intergovernmental Commission on economic cooperation that was held in Kyiv in summer this year. The final protocol of the Commission was clear, thought-through, concrete and realistic guide in our economic relations with the French partners for the nearest future.

These are, in the first place, transport sector, development of the infrastructure projects, particularly in preparation of Ukraine

for EURO-2012, agriculture, energy, aircraft industry, ship-building and other sectors.

France as the largest agricultural country of the EU with the biggest subsidies (up to 100 billion EURO) considers Ukraine as the largest competitor in the European agricultural market and as a partner (provided that France invests Ukrainian agricultural with large amounts). Therefore, development of cooperation with France in the sphere of agriculture has all chances to become significant.

France also understands an exceptional transit position of Ukraine. At present French companies are interested in the development of automobile road and port infrastructure in Ukraine. However, imperfect legislation in the sphere of concessions in Ukraine, on the one hand, and certain economic risks, on the other, discourage French investors to initiate large-scale projects in Ukraine.

In the economic sphere Ukraine as France requires increase of the export volumes for more viable economy and GDP growth. So, to our opinion it would be strategically advisable for Ukraine to apply stepwise system of economic cooperation with France as it is widely used throughout the world.

Firstly, it is appropriate to increase mutual export of commodities and to bilateral foreign trade turnover. Secondly, the efforts should be made for increasing the export of the jointly produced commodities to the markets of the third countries. For effective implementation of the second state it would be advisable to join efforts of the two states for joint production and sale of commodities (aviation and space sphere, electricity, transportation of energy carriers, agriculture etc.) by creation of the joint ventures or exchange of the assets of already available enterprises of our states.

Interparliamentary cooperation, specifically its regional component, may provide essential assistance in increasing the volume of investments to Ukraine. It is well known that every MP represents certain locality or region and is aware of its economic strengths. With this in mind, one can expect transfer of interpar-

liamentary contacts to the regional level, especially in the sphere of small and medium enterprises, which by the way account for about 80% of budget revenues of both countries. The Parliamentary instrument may become not only stimulating but also regulatory body for development of the regional cooperation of the Ukrainian French trade and economic relations.

Fruitful cooperation of Ukrainian and French MPs in addition to system deepening of the bilateral relations in the regional dimension may also become one more effective tool for implementation of the EU accession strategy since harmonization of the Ukrainian legislation is one of the main tasks of Ukraine on the way to the EU membership. Our French partners repeatedly emphasized that well-developed legal framework being in line with the EU standards and serving the platform for multilateral international cooperation should underlie implementation of the Ukrainian eurointegration priorities. **In this context I cannot but mention that the National Assembly and the Senate of France have a wealth of lawmaking experience and is ready to share it with Ukrainian colleagues.**

It is also important to emphasize a significant role of cooperation in the cultural and humanitarian spheres between the peoples of the two states. The life itself shows that culture and arts are the best ambassadors of our nation.

Work of the Ukrainian diplomats in this domain is aimed in the first place to strengthen attractive and positive image of Ukraine, to bring Ukrainian culture to the French people as close as possible and to expand interpersonal contacts by permanent interaction with the Ukrainian community in France.

It is worth mentioning that every year Ukraine presents in France more and more of its cultural achievements. The State Quire of Pandora Players of Ukraine, the soloists of the National Opera House of Ukraine, the Odessa Opera and Ballet Theater, the Lviv Symphony Orchestra and the National Philharmonic Society were on successful tours in France. Every year about ten Ukrainian artistic collectives take part in the international fes-

tivals and competitions touring with their performance all over France.

The concert of classical and national music of the National Philharmonic Society before the French public, representatives of the Diplomatic Corps and the Ukrainian community on May 31 at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris was one of the examples of the latest successful performances.

It is necessary to recognize the active work of numerous public organizations for arranging and developing cultural, humanitarian, sport and tourist exchanges. These are the societies *Alsace-Lotharingia-Ukraine*, *Lotharingia-Ukraine: Sport and Culture*, *Brittany-Ukraine*, association *Aid to Ukrainian Children*, French-Ukrainian Cultural Center in Reims town and others.

Currently there are a number of public and political associations of the Ukrainian community among which the United Representative Committee of Ukrainians in France created in 1997 is the most important. It includes the Ukrainian Central Public Committee in France and the Central Representation of Ukrainians in France. This Committee practically coordinates the public and cultural life of the whole Ukrainian community in France.

The so-called 'new' community uniting young active people of the last generation under the umbrella of the Association of Ukrainian Specialists in France breathes a new life into the activities of the French Ukrainians. The Embassy of Ukraine regularly conducts meetings and round tables on historical, economic and scientific issues related to Ukraine and Ukrainian-French relations.

Ukrainian churches traditionally play a consolidating role for the Ukrainian community in France. The first Ukrainian Orthodox Church was constructed in Paris in 1928 and in 1937 the Greek Catholic Church appeared by occupying the premises of the church in the Saint Germain Boulevard and eventually became the St. Volodymyr Cathedral. During decades the premises of the Ukrainian churches serve as the gathering sites for representatives of the Ukrainian community who attend religious cer-



**The wreathing to the monument
to Taras Shevchenko in Paris**

emonies and celebrate religious and secular events.

According to the long-standing tradition the Ukrainian community every year on March 9 celebrates Taras Shevchenko's birthday organizing a commemoration ceremony and inviting representatives of the Embassy of Ukraine. People lay flowers to the Shevchenko' bust near the St. Volodymyr Cathedral in Paris, cite *Will* and his other poems, sing the Hymn of Ukraine.

Particularly it is important to talk about the activities of the Cultural-Information Center (CIC) opened at the Embassy of Ukraine in 2004. The activities of the Center permitted to systematize and consolidate the informational, cultural, promotional, exhibition and training activities conducted in close collaboration with the Ukrainian community.

With the aim of providing cultural needs of the Ukrainians in France the CIC opened in 2005 the Ukrainian Children School of Arts teaching children of 6-16 years Ukrainian, history, modeling arts, singing and dancing. The School joined the MFA of Ukraine project *International Ukrainian School* and since 2008 children pass exams and receive secondary education certificates.

Since 2007 the CIC opened a club of the Ukrainian movies where every month demonstrates classic and modern movies in the



During the diplomatic meeting

original language with French sub-titles. Before the cinema show a cinema expert of Ukrainian origin presents the movie talking about its director and the history of the movie creation. After the cinema show the people and the cinema expert discuss the movie.

I am very pleased to mention that the Embassy of Ukraine maintains contacts with such French movie stars as Gerard Depardieu, Alain Delon, Pierre Richard, Mylène Demongeot.

The CIC premises is directly connected with Alain Delon, its former holder, since in the 70s he used to live here with famous French actress Romi Schneider. Passing the rooms of the CIC the guests feel the romantic spirit of the two people, French cinema stars, being in love.

Talking about unforgettable Pierre Richard and Mylène Demongeot it is worth remembering their participation in the jury

of the film festival *Kharkiv Lilac*, the history of which is related to the biography of Mylène Demongeot.

The story is that her mother was born in Kharkiv and in 1905 at the beginning of the tragic events in the Russian Empire her mother, a young girl, emigrated to France. The actress said that her mother never spoke about her birthplace but shortly before her death (1985) she told Mylène her life story and the circumstances that forced her to emigrate. She made the daughter promise to write a book about it but at that time Mylène was not going to do this. Once during some film festival a woman passing by Mylène flung off: “You should write a book”. Stunned Mylène met this woman who turned out to be a prophetess. During this meeting the woman told her that her gift allowed her to see that Mylène should write a book, but what book – the woman did not know. Under the influence of this meeting Mylène wrote a book entitled *Kharkiv Lilac* about her mother who had once said that remembered Kharkiv by its blossoming lilac. The title of the book became the name of the annual film festival and the actress became its main jury.

In February 2011 Mylène Demongeot was invited to CIC to watch the performance of the Kharkiv Student’s Theater during the annual Arts Festival *Kharkiv Lilac* that became annual.

The CIC provides support to the French Association of the Ukrainian studios and activities of the Taras Shevchenko Research Society in the Western Europe. The events include seminars, workshops, and conferences devoted to the life and activity of outstanding Ukrainian political figures and artists, and annual events to commemorate Taras Shevchenko.

The CIC hosts exhibitions of Ukrainian and French artists and conducted already quite many. The most popular in the latest time were the exhibitions of the Donetsk painter Tetyana Ponomarenko–Leverash devoted to preparation to the EURO-2012 and the football club *Shakhtar*, Kyiv artists Yuri Nagulka, Sergiy and Tetiana Kolechko, Anatoly Tverdy and Eugene Roidman, talented works of the French photo artist M. Jedi devoted to 25 years after the Chernobyl disaster and many others.

Summing up the above one may state that much was achieved during twenty years of diplomatic relations with France — solid foundation is laid for further developing cooperation in all mentioned spheres. However, the potential of cooperation exists and both countries may do a lot more to deepen their bilateral relations.

I am confident that the political will demonstrated by the two countries once supported with concrete activities that bring our two nations together will have all chances to elevate the bilateral relations to the highest level of strategic partnership.





Mykola Kulnych,

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of Ukraine to Japan*

TWENTY YEARS OF UKRAINIAN- JAPANESE COOPERATION: OVERALL RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

After Ukraine's independence was proclaimed based on the feedback of the nation-wide referendum held on December 1, 1991, Ukraine and Japan finalized all the required diplomatic and legal formalities by the end of January 1992, thus opening the door for further development of cooperation at the intergovernmental level, since on December 28, 1991 Japan recognized the independence of Ukraine and on January 26, 1992 diplomatic relations were established between our countries.

Over the next few years diplomatic institutions were open in the capitals of both states. Our Japanese friends were the first to open officially the Embassy of Japan in Ukraine on January 20, 1993. It should be noted that the work in Ukrainian direction was commenced by Japan even earlier, in June 1992 when Sumio Edamura, the Ambassador of Japan to Russia, was concurrently accredited the Ambassador of Japan to Ukraine.

Having seriously realized the need to secure its diplomatic presence in the land of the rising sun, Ukraine did not delay with response. As early as in the second half of 1994 several Ukrainian diplomats were already working in Tokyo, including me as a counselor of the Embassy. The first Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan Mr. M.P. Dashkevych arrived in Tokyo in January 1995. On March 23, 1995 the Ukrainian Embassy was officially opened by Mr. H. Y. Udovenko, Foreign Minister of Ukraine, who personally raised the Ukrainian flag on the roof of our diplomatic mission.

To the present moment, Ukrainian Embassy in Tokyo has changed its location three times, mainly because of the need to provide jobs for the diplomatic institution employees whose number grew over the years. Currently, we rent a house for the Embassy premises; however I firmly believe that in future Ukraine will obviously own its piece of the state property in Japan — a leading key-player in the world and a very important country for us.

1995 has actually become a historical year for Ukraine and Japan, in fact, the benchmark to establish full-fledged bilateral relations between the new independent Ukraine and the world's financial and technological leader. Exactly that year the first official visit of the President of Ukraine to Japan took place (March 22–25, 1995). During the visit Mr. Leonid D. Kuchma, President of Ukraine, and Mr. T. Murayama, Prime Minister of Japan, signed Joint Statement between Ukraine and Japan, which laid the political foundation for interaction and fundamental principles for all-round cooperation. The first common grounds for mutually beneficial cooperation in trade, economic, credit and financial spheres were also found. Thanks to the gradual implementation of bilateral agreements reached during the first summit of Ukrainian and Japanese leaders, the efforts of both countries were determined to implement the first joint projects in various areas of cooperation for the nearest future.

I remember from personal experience how the employees of the newly opened Embassy in Tokyo, 'rolling up their sleeves' and realizing the urgency of quick implementation of a number of directions for future cooperation declared by both parties, with great optimism and enthusiasm started routine and time-consuming job to establish the first contacts with governmental, business, scientific representatives and Japanese community. By the way, active and fruitful dialogue has been still maintained with many of them or their successors.

During the first 'Presidential' visit political and business establishment of the land of the rising sun got 'first hand' familiar with the capabilities and opportunities of our country. The Ukrainian party informed the Japanese partners about considerable interest in fruitful and active development of bilateral relations, particularly in the field of attracting powerful Japanese financial resources and



The greatest sumo wrestler Koki Naya (Taiho), Ukrainian by birth, was presented the Honorary award by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

the newest technologies so vital to create and develop the young economy of Ukraine and upgrade its national industry.

Japan positively received this message and expressed their readiness to give every encouragement to democratic and market reforms in our country. The Japanese party clearly emphasized that the official Tokyo considered Ukraine a great Eastern European country important for Japan, having extremely advantageous geopolitical, strong economic, scientific and human potential.

As a token of support to the establishment of our state, Eximbank of Japan issued the so-called rehabilitation loan for the amount of \$150 million USD to balance the state budget and maintain the external account of Ukraine as well as the commodity loan in the amount of \$50 million USD to promote Japanese export to our country. In addition, Ukraine was included into the Japanese national General System of Preferences (GSP). Furthermore, on the eve of the visit real prerequisites were created for further development of inter-parliamentary contacts through foundation of the Japan-Ukraine Friendship Association. The economic interaction

between Ukrainian businesspersons and Japanese business community was institutionalized; among the latter were the members of “Keidanren” Federation of Economic Institutions – the most powerful and influential economic organization in Japan (at present – Business Federation “Keidanren”).

During the next years political dialogue between the two countries was considerably intensified through a series of high level visits. For instance, in June 1996 and May 1997, Y. Ikeda and H.Y. Udovenko, Foreign Ministers of both countries, officially visited Ukraine and Japan. In August 1997 D.Saito, Chairman (Speaker) of the House of Advisers in Japan Parliament, visited Ukraine to strengthen inter-parliamentary relations. In the framework of “Keidanren” mission Japanese businesspersons made a study tour to Ukraine on May 1996 and November 1998 to enhance active promotion of their businesses.

Within the past 10 years the infrastructure of bilateral relations has been gradually augmenting and expanding every year, thus promoting more meaningful and fruitful dialogue between our countries. In this context it is important to emphasize the visits of V.M. Lytvyn, Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada (2003), V.A. Yushchenko, President of Ukraine (2005), Yu. V. Tymoshenko, Prime Minister of Ukraine (2009), V.F. Yanukovych, President of Ukraine (2011). At the level of Foreign Ministers of Ukraine K.I. Hryshchenko and V. S. Ohryzko visited Japan in 2004 and 2008 respectively. Foreign Ministers of Japan J. Kawaguchi and T. Aso officially visited Kyiv in 2003 and 2006 respectively. The said visits witnessed to the high level of political confidence between the countries and laid a solid foundation for transition from declaring general intentions by the parties to practical implementation of the existing potential for bilateral cooperation, initiation of new cooperation forms, expansion of the interaction range and perfection of the available cooperation mechanisms.

However, despite the dynamic development of bilateral relations, it should be noted that the great prospective in the commercial, economic, credit, financial and investment areas, attraction of Japanese highly intellectual and newest technologies to support the key sectors of economy and life-sustaining activity of our country still remain unrealized in full scope. Although, as against the situation a decade back, Ukraine and Japan have significantly pro-

gressed in the development of the bilateral economic component in their relations.

Up to 2008 Ukraine-Japan trade characteristics had a steady growing dynamics. Commodity turnover grew by 12.5 times from 2001 to 2008 and reached \$ 2.9 billion USD, this being the highest index during the whole history of bilateral relations. Although high growing dynamics in the bilateral trade turnover was secured at the expense of sharp increase of the Japanese imported goods to Ukraine (especially in 2006–2008), namely, motor car products; the Ukrainian export to Japan had a tendency to a slight growth. The above led to the raise in negative balance for Ukraine in 2008 up to \$ 2,670.3 million USD. In 2009–2010, due to the consequences of the global financial crisis, the volumes of bilateral commodity turnover and especially of import declined (in 2009 — \$630.67 million USD, in 2010 — \$ 906.57 million USD).

Traditionally, Japanese import of vehicles and high-tech equipment (by almost 90 percent) constitutes the ground for bilateral trade. Base metals and articles thereof (mainly ferrous metals, aluminium and articles thereof), vegetable products (corn, barley, wheat), mineral products and chemicals dominate in the structure of Ukrainian export in recent years. Dried milk and titanium products are also exported from Ukraine to Japan.

Joint venture enterprises with participation of Japanese capital actively operate in the Ukrainian market; by the end of 2010 their number reached 24. They include representative offices of Japan leading trade houses “Sumitomo”, “Itochu”, “Mitsui”, “Marubeni”, “Mitsubishi”, “Sodzhits”, sales representatives of the internationally renowned motor car producers “Isuzu”, “Nissan Motors”, “Honda Motors”, “Subaru-Ukraine”, “Toyota” as well as representative office of the industrial-production company “Mitsubishi Heavy Industries”.

As to the development of investment cooperation with Japan, it is worth noting that from 2001 to 2010 the volume of direct investments from Japan into Ukrainian economy has increased 45-fold from \$2.88 million USD to \$130.74 million USD. The largest volume of Japanese investments is attracted into the trading sector, motor vehicle repair, household goods and personal consumer goods in the amount of \$ 83.90 million USD or 64.2 percent of Japanese

investment in Ukraine. Investing in Ukrainian industry amounted to \$ 46.72 million USD or 35.7 percent.

At the same time, given direct investments from the branches of Japanese corporations located in Europe, Japan investments into Ukrainian economy substantially exceed the above statistics. The largest Japanese industrial investors in Ukraine “Japan Tobacco”, the third largest worldwide manufacturer of cigarettes, and the company “Yazaki”, the world leader in electronic equipment, invested into production in Ukraine exactly through their European branches. In particular, during the last 10 years “Japan Tobacco” invested \$130 million USD into production facilities at Kremenchug tobacco factory and created 2,000 jobs. Investments of “Yazaki” Corporation into electric cable production for Opel, Ford, Volkswagen, Jaguar and Volvo cars in Uzhgorod totaled 31.7 million EUR. As of today, “Yazaki Ukraine” enterprise employs about 1,500 persons.

Industrial cooperation between Ukrainian trade-industrial holding “Bogdan” and the Japanese corporations “Isuzu” and “Sodzhits” is successfully developing to manufacture “Bogdan” midi buses and “Isuzu-Elf” trucks in Lutsk and Cherkasy.

Cooperation in credit and financial area is an important component of economic collaboration with Japan. It is implemented in three directions: 1) yen soft loans and grants as part of the state governmental programs of the Official Development Assistance (ODA) by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA); 2) export loans by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), 3) financial assistance within the framework of cooperation with international financial organizations.

For example, in the ODA frames constituent agreements were signed on March 29, 2005 to attract the yen intergovernmental loan for implementation of the first project “Reconstruction of ‘Boryspil’ State International Airport”. In line with the terms of the loan agreement the Japanese government issued a loan to the Government of Ukraine amounting to 19 billion yens (approximately \$173 million USD) for 30 years, of which the first 10 years are preferential, with 1.5 percent interest rate per annum. Construction of a new passenger terminal ‘D’ was commenced

in 2009 to be put into operation before the European Football Championship “EURO 2012”.

Another project under the ODA may become the bridge construction across the Southern Bug river in Mykolaiv city, as stipulated by the State complex program for Ukraine strengthening as a transit country for the years 2002–2010, approved by the Law of Ukraine of February 07, 2002.

In addition, since 1997 as part of the ODA Ukraine regularly receives technical assistance from the Japanese government in the form of grant assistance for the development of cultural initiatives in Ukraine, General Grant Aid, assistance to implement small projects, to overcome consequences of natural disasters, to attract Japanese expert advisers, to train Ukrainian specialists in Japan, to hold seminars on nuclear security, for the project and non-project type of cooperation, etc. Priorities for the Japanese party include the development of culture and the arts, education, environmental protection, public health as well as support to economic reforms, banking and financial sector development, restructuring of industrial policy. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the total amount of technical assistance (grants) in the ODA bilateral framework exceeded \$150 million USD.

Important extensions of bilateral cooperation in the credit sphere launched as early as 1995 were issuance of a \$28.5 million USD ‘commercial’ loan in 2005 by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (former Eximbank of Japan) and signing of the agreement to open a new credit line totaling \$100 million USD by this Japanese financial institution to supply the Japanese industrial equipment. This agreement was signed in January 2011 during the visit of V. Yanukovych, President of Ukraine, to Japan.

Moreover, in March 2009 the two countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding between “Ukreximbank” JSC and the Japanese Agency for Export and Investment Insurance (NEXI) to insure Japanese export in Ukraine. This Memorandum outlines major directions of cooperation between the two financial institutions and is aimed at expanding interrelations to support and promote trade and investment between Japan and Ukraine, create mutually beneficial conditions to implement both large-scale

Ukrainian-Japanese projects and small projects for small and medium businesses.

Upgrading of energy efficiency and modernization of Ukrainian industry remain still political and economic priorities for Ukraine. These efforts can be realized within implementation of the Kyoto Protocol to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. To this end, on July 14, 2008 the Memorandum was signed in Kyiv between the Governments of Ukraine and Japan on cooperation in implementing the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol thereto pursuant to Articles 6 and 17 of the Kyoto Protocol. This created the ground for further negotiations on trading quotas for greenhouse gas emissions, the so called ‘assigned amount units’ (AAUs) under the Green Investment Scheme (GIS). On March 18, 2009 the National Environmental Investment Agency of Ukraine and the Organization for the development of new types of energy and industrial technologies of Japan signed the Agreement in Kyiv to acquire assigned amount units (AAUs) under the Green Investment Scheme totaling 300 million EUR.

As a result of implementing the Agreement in June 2009 and July 2010 the Japanese government transferred to the state budget of Ukraine the investment funds in the amount of 300 million EUR to implement the projects stipulating direct or indirect reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in energy, housing, coal industry, gas transmission system and other areas. Additionally, in 2009, three Japanese electric system companies bought AAUs in Ukraine for the amount of 140 million EUR. Furthermore, Japanese companies have completed four “Joint Implementation” projects in Ukraine under the Kyoto Protocol.

Ukraine – Japan cooperation in the field of agriculture is of particular importance. This direction acquires specific topicality under conditions of the aggravated global problem in food supply. Given the fact that Japan imports almost 60 percent of food, we can offer our agriindustrial facilities to produce and export grains and legumes as well as ‘organic’ food to the Japanese market.

Japanese companies express their interest in agrarian sector of Ukraine. In particular, in 2009–2010 grain export from Ukraine to Japan was renewed, and corn supply ranked the first place in the structure of Ukrainian export to the land of the rising sun in the

amount of \$43.22 million USD in 2009 and \$26.99 million USD in 2010. In addition, in 2010 Ukraine exported to Japan 71 thousand tons of barley and 13 thousand tons of wheat.

According to the UN estimates, Ukraine makes the top three by the growth of food production dynamics. We are ready to provide all-round support to Japanese investors in the agricultural infrastructure of our country, particularly in construction of grain elevators, grain terminals and grain and legume cultivating on fertile Ukrainian soils.

Credit and financial cooperation with the Government of Japan on involving international financial institutions gained significant importance in the global crisis conditions. By the information from the Finance Ministry of Japan disseminated on July 29, 2009, Ukraine received the third IMF tranche (\$ 3.3 billion USD) through proactive contribution by the Japanese Government of \$100 billion USD into the fund of this organization, made in February 2009 to support the countries mostly affected by the consequences of the crisis.

* * *

A foreign concept of the “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” proclaimed on November 30, 2006 at the Institute of International Relations (Tokyo) by Mr. Taro Aso, the then Foreign Minister, former Prime Minister of Japan, may be considered a kind of breakthrough for Ukraine into the ‘Japanese’ direction, or rather identification of Ukraine’s place in the Japan’s foreign policy priorities in the frames of multilateral cooperation with Japan.

According to this concept, the base round which foreign policy of Japan will ‘spin’ is the ‘value oriented diplomacy,’ that involves placing emphasis on the ‘universal values’ such as democracy, freedom, human rights, the rule of law, and the market economy. More concentrated the foreign policy objective in relations with the Caucasian and Eastern European countries, and our country *inter alia*, was outlined by the Japan’s leader in a concrete thesis: “It is essential to bring stability to the so-called GUAM nations — that is, Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova”. This concept defines a keen interest of Japan to political and economic processes in the Black Sea-Caspian region, primarily in the states of GUAM.

At present we have great interest in specific projects with Japan in the GUAM-Japan format, particularly in the areas of tourism, emergency prevention, development of transport corridors and improving the status of Ukraine as a transit state, diversification of energy supply sources, trade and investment, environmental protection. We believe that Ukraine could play an important role among GUAM countries in the context of utilizing its transit capacities of sea ports in the Black and Azov Seas to intensify direct cargo flows between Japan and GUAM countries, primarily in supply of Japanese cars and road and mining equipment. In this context, we are also interested in joint implementation of infrastructure projects, including construction and upgrading of roads, sea ports under concession and public-private partnership.

At this stage of cooperation in the GUAM-Japan format upon the initiative of the Japanese government a series of workshops was held for the experts of GUAM countries on energy saving technologies, small and medium entrepreneurship, investment and trade, and emergency prevention. Japan also actively promotes tourism cooperation in the GUAM-Japan format and holds the relevant seminars. Currently, for example, thanks to the workshops GUAM tourist companies are developing a joint tour over four countries of the Organization for Japanese tourists. We highly appreciate these initiatives by the Japanese party.

Holding of informal regular consultations since 2008 upon our initiative in the format of GUAM Club of Ambassadors accredited in Tokyo with the management of the European Bureau of Foreign Ministry of Japan has become an important component for interaction at GUAM-Japan working level. These consultations enable thoroughly discussions of new ideas and proposals, promising joint projects, topical issues and problems of joint cooperation, etc.

* * *

At the present stage Ukrainian-Japanese relations continue their intensive development in light of successful results of the official visit to Japan by V. Yanukovych, President of Ukraine (January 18–21, 2011). Mr. Yanukovych made new high quality accents for further interaction between the two countries to implement regular and long-term mutually beneficial initiatives and joint projects.

In the final joint document both parties outlined new prerequisites for intensification and expansion of bilateral cooperation. It should be mentioned that the joint statement on Ukrainian-Japan Global Partnership signed during the visit has become the fundamental document for bilateral relations at the present stage. It identifies priorities for cooperation between Ukraine and Japan and the program of priorities for the nearest and medium perspective. It is the first document in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy that outlines the level of bilateral cooperation as a global partnership.

The results of the visit gave ground to claim that the Japanese party is ready for more systematic and regular dialogue with Ukraine in political sphere. A serious interest was confirmed to strengthen the economic component of bilateral relations by implementing a number of promising and mutually beneficial projects. The parties also discussed progressive expansion and optimization of contractual and legal basis of both countries, full range development of scientific and technological, cultural and humanitarian directions of cooperation, etc.

At present under expansion of investment cooperation with Japan in the field of energy saving and agriculture all prerequisites are formed to conclude bilateral Agreement on Promotion and Protection of Investments. To this end, a significant achievement of the visit by the President of Ukraine to Japan in January 2011 was the arrangements reached by the leaders of both countries to launch negotiations on concluding the Agreement on Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments. Signing of this Agreement will inspire Japanese investments and increase the flow of Japanese capital in Ukraine.

Important elements on the way to effective implementation of the arrangements made at the January Ukrainian-Japanese summit will be holding regular meetings in the framework of the common institutionalized mechanisms between the two countries, which were established in the previous years. The case in point is the activity of the Joint Committee on Cooperation at the level of Foreign Ministers of both countries commenced in 2006. In this format the parties have the opportunity to thoroughly analyze the current status and prospects of the whole set of bilateral relations. To this day two meetings of the Committee were held in Kyiv in

2006 and in Tokyo in 2008. Currently, time frames of the next third meeting of the Committee are finalized to be held in Kyiv.

Significant progress is reached in institutionalization of economic cooperation. Since 2007 Ukraine is represented by a separate Committee in the most influential economic organizations of Japan – the Japanese Business Federation “Keidanren”. Since July 2008 its chairperson is Mr. M. Oka, President of “Sumitomo”, one of the leading Japanese commercial and industrial corporations. In 2008 and 2009 two joint meetings were held between the Coordinating Council for Economic Cooperation with Japan at the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Ukraine and the Committee on Business Cooperation with Ukraine “Keidanren” to discuss specific areas of trade, economic and investment cooperation development between the two countries. It is expected to hold the third meeting in the fall of 2011 in Kyiv.

Another effective mechanism of cooperation includes Ukrainian-Japanese Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation (STC) established in 2006. Its first inaugural meeting was held in Kyiv. Both parties expressed their interest to implement joint projects, hold joint workshops, exchange information on a regular basis between scientists and experts, launch scientific-research projects and studies, particularly in such priority areas as material sciences, nanotechnology, IT, biosciences and energy-saving technologies. Currently we are working with the Japanese party to hold the next meeting in Tokyo in the second half of 2011 or during 2012.

We actively pursue the work with the Japanese party to arrange the visit of Prime Minister of Japan to Ukraine, for the first time in the history of independent Ukraine and our bilateral relations, the visit that has not yet occurred due to various objective reasons. Accomplishment of the said visit will remain the top priority task in the foreseeable future for Ukrainian diplomacy to work in Japan.

As to the recent trends in Ukrainian-Japanese relations, we can not mention the dramatic events occurred in Japan in March 2011 due to powerful earthquake, devastating tsunami and the accident at “Fukushima-1” atomic power plant (APP), which certainly made their adjustments and accents in the progressive development of our cooperation for the nearest future. I would like to pay tribute to

sustain power and courage of the Japanese people, who simultaneously suffered a double blow of the natural disaster and the nuclear accident at the atomic power plant. I hope that the 'internal readiness' of the Japanese people to undergo ordeals, overcome the consequences of such abnormal natural and manmade disasters, orderliness, concentration, lack of any signs of panic, a sense of mutual assistance deeply impressed all people in the world, who observed the developments in Japan with great sympathy and moral support. As a direct witness to the Japanese people overcoming all hardships and difficulties, I once again was convinced of the extraordinary strength of spirit and national character, incredible cohesion and solidity of the Japanese nation manifested immediately when the real nation-scale disaster came into the country. In our opinion, these traits and specific features of the Japanese nature allowed to largely reduce the number of potential victims of the natural disaster. I am deeply convinced that such people will obviously overcome all the negative consequences of the disaster and in a few years will make Japan even a stronger financial and economic power in the world. The vast majority of experts claim that Japan is not only capable to effectively overcome the consequences of the natural disaster, but already in the medium perspective it will expand its potential for the economic growth. As one of the arguments, these experts suggest to recall what was Japan after 'overcoming' the post-war crisis (1945) and the energy crisis of the 70s; in the first case — very soon the country received the status of the 'second world economy', in the second case — it was able to secure the highest level of energy saving in economy among the developed countries.

In respect to bilateral intercommunication between Ukraine and Japan in those difficult days and weeks, I would like to note that our country as a real amicable partner immediately responded to render the required assistance in overcoming the consequences of these disastrous events. Ukraine was among the first world countries to offer Japan humanitarian, technical and expert assistance. On March 17, 2011 Ukrainian charter airplane with humanitarian cargo (2 thousand blankets) landed in Tokyo for their further distribution by the Japanese NGOs among the victims of the earthquake and tsunami. I would like to mention specifically the Public Council of the International Friendship Exchange (FEC) and the

transport company “Sagawa Kubin” which in a dilapidated Eastern Japan infrastructure promptly secured all the logistics to store and deliver Ukrainian humanitarian aid to the evacuation center.

For the time being based on the official request of the Government of Japan in the framework of humanitarian aid, our country manufactures individual dosimeters (1000 pcs.), air dosimeters (1000 pcs.), gas masks (1000 pcs.) and filters to them (1000 pcs.) to be delivered to Japan in July 2011.

In addition, Hi-Tech Center of the National Defense Academy in coordination with the Japanese governmental institutions (Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry) currently provides counseling assistance to Tokyo power company “TEPCO” — operator of Fukushima-1 malfunctioning atomic power plant — on the possible ways to overcome the accident consequences in this APP.

Furthermore, the Japanese party is now actively examining the possibility to rehabilitate Japanese children in the International Children’s Center “Artek” in the context of proposals made by V. Yanukovich, President of Ukraine, during his visit to the Japanese Embassy in Ukraine to make entry in the book of condolences.

In an emergency situation in Japan from all points of view, Ukraine was capable to confirm the image of a reliable, consistent, predictable and amicable partner for Japan; this was highly appreciated by the Japanese party.

I would also like to mention operation of our Embassy staff, working around-the-clock in the most critical time to provide the necessary advisory and practical assistance to Ukrainian citizens. As a result, given the great number of applications from Ukrainian citizens to facilitate their departure from Japan because of the life and health risks, due to continuing aftershock jolts and probable danger of the radiation exposure, our fellow citizens, mostly women and children, were evacuated twice by special charter air flights Tokyo-Kyiv.

In an extremely complicated internal situation in Japan the fact that the Japanese top official Mr. T. Takahashi, State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, took part in the Kyiv summit on safe and innovative use of nuclear power held in April 2011 upon the initiative of Ukrainian President deserved particular attention. This gesture

of the Japanese party in that situation is indicative of the fact that Japan attaches importance to the expansion of friendly and fruitful relations with our country and tries to maintain a high interrelation level with Ukraine, including in the framework of new initiatives and forms of cooperation.

In our opinion, under the current situation in Japan, extension of the dialogue in scientific-technical area, including nuclear power, exchange of experience through thematic programs and seminars become more topical. Given our experience in overcoming the consequences of Chernobyl disaster, Ukraine would be able to greatly assist to Japan in accelerated recovery as well as in further economic advance by way of expanding the Japanese critical export, augmenting Ukrainian foodstuff export volumes in agrarian sector and creating joint ventures in Ukraine, etc.

In conclusion, it should be noted that contemporary realities of building up a democratic society in Ukraine, improvement of its political system, implementation of market-oriented social and economic reforms aimed at growing welfare of Ukrainian people, create the required preconditions for more effective and close cooperation between Ukraine and Japan. Moreover, Ukraine ought to take advantage of the common approaches and positions in resolving urgent international issues. The absence of any problematic indications in political plane of cooperation between our countries opens up great prospects and opportunities for fruitful development of the entire spectrum of mutually beneficial relations. It should be also taken into account that further dynamization of relations with the country of such level as Japan will promote strengthening of political heft and prestige of Ukraine at the international scene as well as its empowerment in Asia Pacific, where Japan plays a key role and wields considerable influence among the other Asian countries.





Oleh Voloshyn,

Doctoral candidate of the country study chair of the Institute of International Relations of the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Director of the Information Policy Department of the MFA of Ukraine.

**RUSSIAN INITIATIVES
ON ENHANCEMENT OF CIS
EFFECTIVENESS IN 1998–1999 AND
THE REASONS FOR THEIR FAILURE**

The range of diplomatic problems of the Russian Federation aimed at increasing effectiveness of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in the period of the late 1990s still remains to be completely uninvestigated by the Ukrainian academic international lawyers. In general, Ukrainian researchers study this stage of the Russian policy on the post-Soviet domain while reviewing relations with Ukraine after the signing of the *Great Treaty* in 1997 and making attempts to attract Ukraine for participation in the Russian economic and political projects implemented in the region.

These problems are not investigated in Russia either. The overwhelming majority of researchers while investigating specifics of the Russian approaches to the development of CIS at this stage focus on shifting accents from integration mega project not supported by the real content to more narrow directions of multilateral collaboration.

For example, A. Mykhailenko in his monograph *Commonwealth of Independent States: Factors for Development* gave an in-

depth analysis of the background for Russian efforts in developing such projects in the CIS territory as the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC) and the Collective Security Treaty.

A. Bykov studies in his research *Globalization and Regionalization against the Background of Russian Interests and Perspective for Integration on the post-Soviet Domain* new ways Russia was searching for intensifying integration in the post-Soviet domain, especially in economic and commercial spheres.

At the same time Ye. Furman in his work *On Future of the Post-Soviet Domain – Foreign Policy and Security of the Modern Russian* reflects the position of skeptics who support the idea of switching to other sphere of activities in foreign policy after analyzing the reasons of the CIS low effectiveness for Russia to implement its interests in the region.

In this situation, nothing is done to research Russian attempts for reformation of the CIS as an international regional organization and the reasons for its failure. With their lack of a system approach, restricted goals and constrained resources, these foreign policy steps made by Moscow and especially their failure are very interesting for investigation.

This article is an attempt to analyze the reasons and the content of the Russian initiatives to carry out CIS reforms in 1998 and 1999 and to identify main factors leading to ineffectiveness of these attempts.

Russian policy regarding CIS, that was highly criticized in 1995–1997 by experts as well as by politicians who represented all influential Russian political forces, was accepted by the ruling elite as such that corresponded to the reality.

Understanding of the problem not only failed to ruin Russian leadership expectations to make the CIS an instrument for implementation of their national interests on the post-Soviet domain manifested in ever growing support of the interstate political not CIS-related processes such as EAEC, the Union of Russia and Byelorussia and Collective Security Treaty, but instead led to initiation of certain attempts to enhance the efficiency of CIS it-

self. In fact, in the end of the 90s Moscow attempted to revitalize implementation of the CIS reforms, which though was hardly noticeable by the researchers of international relations. It is not a surprise because the policy was inconsistent from the very beginning with its restricted aims and means plus objective hindrances for its realization.

A CIS summit in Chisinau on October 23, 1997 became a starting point for a structural and functional improvement of the CIS by Russia. Boris Yeltsin was harshly criticized by the country leaders for losing momentum for CIS development, bureaucracy of its structures and poor collaboration of its members in the economic sphere. At the same time, it was decided to hold extraordinary session of the Council of the Country Leadership [1].

This extraordinary session took place in April 29, 1998, in Moscow. During the session the country leaders passed a resolution about conducting a special interstate forum to discuss the ways of CIS improvement and reformation. Upon the proposal of Leonid Kuchma, the President of Ukraine, Boris Berezovsky, a very influential Russian politician and the owner of one of the most powerful financial and industrial groups on the post-Soviet space, was appointed for the position of the CIS executive officer to implement the reforms [2]. However, this appointment created extremely negative background for targeted reforms and led to further failures.

It is remarkable that though Berezovsky's appointment was initiated by the President of Ukraine, the most researchers share the opinion that the real reason was in the domestic policy pursued by Russia at that time. In the beginning of 1998 struggle for power between different groups of ruling elite in Moscow was intensified in view of problems with Yeltsin's health. A tandem of Ivan Rybkin, the former speaker of the Russian Duma and a businessman B. Berezovskiy was among these struggling groups. Rybkin who in February 1998 occupied in the RF Government a position of Deputy Prime Minister for Relations with CIS, did not feel confident in his power capacity and was eager to strengthen a status of . Berezovsky, his strategic partner. The lat-

ter by that time lost the confidence of the Russian President to a significant extent, and had great disputes with many influential Russian businessmen and politicians. Thus, his appointment to any powerful authorities was impossible.

That was why, as many Russian political analysis consider, such a situation provoked Rybkin to use his power in order to find an appropriate place for his ally in the CIS framework [3]. He visited a number of CIS countries trying to come to an arrangement with their leaders, first and foremost with L.Kuchma and N.Nazarbaiev to support Berezovsky in taking a position of the CIS executive officer to replace I.Korotchenko, who gained great experience in the CPSU structures under the USSR, and thus was personally acquainted with the majority of post-Soviet leaders. This circumstance along with overall negative image of B.Berezovskiy first was met by the CIS leaders with a great resistance. On the other hand, according to some analysis, B.Berezovsky's appointment opened for the CIS leaders who were against CIS and active collaborations under its umbrella a way to bring down the CIS contacts to the sphere of interpersonal relations between the leaders. Finally, this standpoint won the game [4].

Furthermore, Yeltsin himself viewed this appointment as a way of removing Berezovsky from an active involvement in the Russian policy. The President was irritated by the support provided by Berezovskiy for growing political careers of O.Lebed' and V.Chernomyrdin, and he was quite satisfied with Berezovsky's anticipated tours around CIS and spending much time at the headquarters of the CIS Executive Secretariat in Minsk. Such unanimity between Yeltsin and some CIS leaders led to support of Rybkin's proposal at the extraordinary session in Moscow [5].

With the above in view, it is quite obvious that Berezovsky's appointment to the position of the CIS executive officer had nothing to do with reformation and revitalizing of the CIS. Moreover, it created essential obstacles for a successful realization of such policy. The fact that Berezovsky after his appointment began to actively promote reformation of the CIS structure and functions

is explained, first, by his personal desire to transform his exile into a highly publicized success (in view of the idea of preserving and developing the CIS being so popular in the Russian society) and, second, by the consensus of the Russian political elite as to the necessity to make urgent steps for recovering the then main political project of Moscow implemented in the territory of the former USSR. However, to our opinion, the former motivation of Berezovsky's reformation activities prevailed and the reforms themselves were strongly related to his personal likes and strivings, which from the very start created numerous problems for their implementation [6].

From the very beginning of his activities, the CIS executive officer shared the standpoint of those who criticized the CIS. Particularly Berezovsky supported Tbilisi after Georgia's withdrawal from the Collective Security Treaty by saying that this Treaty was not beneficial for the country and this was not a Georgian problem but a problem of those who were expected to guarantee the interests of the CIS states [7]. He also stated that any CIS country once unhappy with any of the CIS structure had the right to decide on this structure as it considered appropriate.

However, the CIS critics was used by B. Berezovskiy for supporting the need for fundamental reorganization of CIS according to his own plans. Berezovsky's program of increasing CIS efficiency was underlain by a long forgotten idea of the early 90s for strengthening the supernational component in the CIS activities. His basic idea was to strengthen the functions of the CIS Interstate Economic Committee (IEC) that would perform the function similar to the European Commission. i.e. coordinate economic, legal and political collaboration between the CIS member countries and organize meeting of the CIS country leaders and governments. In order to strengthen the IEC it was planned to unite it with CIS Executive Committee. This would allow not only consolidating the human resources of the organization but would also open the way for B. Berezovsky to preside this supernational body [5]. For attracting legal support of this ambition

plan through its sponsoring by a certain collegial body Berezovsky insisted on postponing the session of the Special Interstate Forum on CIS Reformation until September 1998. He wanted to buy this time for winning the most influential representatives of the CIS political elite to support the mentioned reforms.

A deep financial and economic crisis of August 1998 in Russia was a knock-down blow to these reforms. The August default considerably weakened economic influence of Russia over its neighbors and undermined the positions of those who supported the idea of more close economic integration even of those who traditionally favored CIS. Special Interstate Forum on the CIS Reformation was held in Minsk on September 15–16 against the background of this economic crisis. Even its representation level (Russia was represented by the deputy minister of foreign affairs B. Pastukhov) manifested slump in the CIS reformation, including among Russian public administration circles. As a result the Forum only agreed upon draft Regulations on the Council of Foreign Ministries (non-binding periodical consultations of foreign policy institutions) and the procedure for presiding of country leaders in the CIS bodies. Neither merge of the IEC and the CIS Executive Committee, nor distribution of functions among various CIS bodies, nor the mechanisms for supervising the implementation of CIS decisions were seriously tackled during the Forum in Minsk [8]. During the Forum it became obvious that Berezovsky himself was disappointed in the possibility to quickly implement the substantial reforms. His speech during the Forum was devoted at length to the necessity to expand the CIS beyond the former USSR territory by accepting the Islamic Republic of Iran. Such hypothetical plans were not related to the real state of things vividly manifesting failure of the reformation program recognized by the author himself.

It was quite obvious that Berezovsky's plans for changing the CIS structure and distribution of powers between its bodies faced opposition of several CIS members. Official Minsk was especially active in its disagreement because it considered unacceptable to strengthen the supernational functions of the International

Economic Committee at the cost of actual ebbing of influence of the Country Leaders Council, the Government Leaders Council and the Interparliamentary Assembly on the CIS decision-making process. The more so that the Belarus administration regarded it as a threat of establishing Berezovsky's individual control for the CIS development. In this case it is remarkable to mention the position of Oleksandr Kozyr, head of the Standing Committee on International Affairs and Relations with the CIS of the House of Representatives of the Belarus Parliament. In the midst of discussing the Berezovsky's reformation plans he said that: "No one indicated directly that it is Berezovsky, who would preside the new supernational body, but one may assume that he would not lose such an opportunity. To my opinion it is advisable that Mr. Berezovsky better choose other sphere of his activities away from the CIS, which is a specific interstate creation" [9]. The President of Belarus Lukashenko also openly criticized the reformation plans. He stated that it is impossible to improve effectiveness of the CIS by simple changes in its administrative structures. To his opinion, it is the will of the CIS leaders in the first place that is required for effective CIS development but not just administrative restructuring [12]. Moscow itself made a final blow on the CIS reformation initiated by Berezovsky. His appointment to the position of the CIS executive officer and his dismissal from this position was related exclusively to the internal political processes in Russia but not with the processes and discussions in the CIS. Decision on dismissal of Berezovsky was made in the Kremlin when the relations between the CIS Executive Secretariat and Boris Yeltsin were aggravated. Address of the RF State Duma to the Council of the CIS Leaders proposing to dismiss B. Berezovsky from the position of the CIS executive officer because "he abuses this position and his activities facilitate rather collapse of the CIS than its strengthening and reformation" was a formal ground for this decision. This decision was supported by 314 out of 450 people deputies of the State Duma. [10]. B. Yeltsin solely made this decision using his position of the Chairman of the CIS Country Leaders Council. Formally, this procedure should have included preliminary agreement of the decision with all twelve presidents

of the member states. Instead, the Russian President explained his decision to the Presidents of Belarus, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Georgia over the telephone. Only some days later the MOF of Russia together with the CIS Executive Secretariat sent to the CIS member states appropriately executed proposal on replacement of the CIS executive officer. This situation was very upsetting for the majority of the CIS country presidents who were displeased with Moscow persistence in making organizational decisions without consulting the partners. The more so that right before this decision B. Berezovsky had been visiting the CIS capitals and holding intricate discussions about future reformation persuading his vis-a-vis that he was determined to work in the CIS structure for a long period [11].

Such circumstance of Berezovsky's dismissal forced the Russian authorities to make concessions to some most skeptical CIS presidents and to drastically shrink the CIS reformation program. Moscow manifested its authority in the issues related to solving domestic policy problems, which made it go against its interests in the region. Head of the Russian Government E. Primakov in his speech before the students of the Moscow Institute of International Relations the day before the summit talked not about deep reformation of the CIS but only about the need to regularly monitor efficiency of its structures and optimization of their number. He proposed to focus on economic integration shifting the political issues to the second plane [13].

During the summit held in Moscow on April, 2, 1999 B. Yeltsin spoke of the CIS as of a club of the former soviet republics created to organize collaboration between them. He stated that Russia is against super-government structures in the CIS because the level of integration did not require this. At the same time he convinced his colleges that along with Berezovsky's dismissal Moscow refused from the idea of strengthening the CIS power structures and extending the CIS integration. "It is a sovereign right of every state to independently choose forms and scope of its involvement in the CIS" [14]. Consequently, instead of the ambitious reformation plan only technical decision were

made, specifically on division of powers of the Council of the CIS Country Leaders and the CIS Country Governments and on approval of the Regulations *On the Council of the CIS Foreign Ministers* [15].

Change of the Russia approach to the CIS development, shifting from active reformation process to the policy of small issues and concentration on the bilateral relations were fully manifested in the personality of Yuri Yarovy appointed to the position of the CIS executive officer by the CIS Country Leaders Council. This typical career functionary neither claimed the independent role in the CIS nor adhered to radical reforms in the Organization. Though, the process of uniting the International Economic Committee with the Executive Secretariat and creation of the CIS Executive Committee on its basis initiated by Moscow and supported by Kazakhstan was successfully completed in 2000. This structure, according to the Russian diplomats, should have to become not only executive but also administrative and coordinating center. However, its functions were aimed at the CIS bodies only and provided increasing of their efficiency. There was no mention of supernational approach or integration. Instead, Yu. Yarov proposed to review CIS Free Trade Zone Agreement, which should become the new economic pivot of the CIS [16]. Position of Moscow in this period was very similar to the vision of CIS future in Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan and other countries that opposed close integration in the post-soviet domain.

Therefore, in the end of the 90s when the B. Yeltsin Presidency was coming to the end Moscow failed to conduct comprehensive CIS reformation. This was hampered by the subjective factors of acute struggle within the Russian political elite, lack of the determination and political will of the Russian leadership to promote the CIS reformation program and transformation of this Organization into a more consolidated structure with supernational bodies and their clearly defined functions. However, the main factor was in the Russian objective weakness in this historical period. Deep economic crises of August 1998, aggravated struggle for power between various groups of the political

elite when Yeltsin was sick, unsolved separatism problems in Chechnya — all this deprived Russia of necessary internal resources for active policy in the international arena and specifically in the CIS region. Without such resources, the ambition plan for the CIS transformation proved unsolvable. Russia needed timeout in its integration efforts to focus on internal strengthening of its economic, political and military basis. Approaches of Moscow to CIS development in the next period were determined by the need of such timeout. After strengthening its statehood and receiving enormous economic resources Russia after five-six years after the described events resumed its active policy in the CIS but this policy was based on different ideological and program principles.

References

1. *Tikhonov V.* CIS is in crisis. Results of the Commonwealth summit in Chisinau // *Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn*, No 11. — November 1997. — p. 14.
2. *Reshetnikov A.* Boris Berezovsky will reform the CIS // *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*. — 1998. — 30 April. — p. 4.
3. On political situation in Russi in May 1998 / Reviw of the Analytical Laboratory *Vedy* (see http://www.vedi.ru/w_pr/pr0101_r.htm).
4. *Bardin V., Levin K.* How Berezovsky will shake the world // *Kommersant-Vlast*. — 1998. — 19 May. — p. 18.
5. *Pivovarov A., Babychev N., Ryaboo A.* Commonwealth of Independent States // *Kommersant-Vlast*. — 1998. — 12 May — p. 17.
6. Ten years of the Commonwealth of Independent States: illusion, disappointments, hopes. — M., 2001. — p. 25.
7. E-paper *Gazeta.Ru* of 02.03.1999 (<http://gazeta.ru/daynews/02-03-1999/50berez.htm>).
8. *Novoprudsky S.* CIS turned its back to Russia // *Russkyi Telegraf*. — 1998. — 25 September — p. 3.
9. *Petrovsky A.* CIS should be reformed differently // *Narodnaya Gazeta* . — 1999. — 6 January. — p. 2.
10. Duma proposed to release the CIS from Berezovsky // *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*. — 1999. — 18 February. — p. 5.

11. *Ivanets A.* Commonwealth cracks Yeltsin independent actions // Belorusskaya delovaya gazeta. — 1999. — 6 March. — p. 3.

12. *Otrosh S.* CIS capitals are skeptical about Berezovsky's plans // Nezavisimaya Gazeta. — 1998. — 19 December. — p. 4.

13. Speech of E. Primakov, Head of the Russian Government, before MGIMO students on April 1, 1999 // Diplomatichesky Vesnik. — 1999. — No 4. — p. 11.

14. *Kaltzenis S.* Moscow is against supernational structure in the CIS // Rossijskaya Gazeta. — 1999. — 3 April. — p. 1.

15. On Summit of country leaders in Minsk / Dossier of the Belorussian Telegraph Agency (see. <http://www.belta.by/ru/info?id=123174>).

16. *Yarov Yu.*: CIS will receive economic pivot / see РИА «РосБизнесКонсалтинг», 12 May, 1999.



Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine



Borys I. Humenyuk

Rector of Ukrainian Diplomatic Academy with the MFA of Ukraine, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine, Honored Man of Science and Engineering of Ukraine, Professor, Doctor of History

NATIONAL DIPLOMACY TODAY: NEW CHALLENGES AND MISSIONS

Today, when globalization processes spread with unequalled speed no country can remain and survive in complete isolation from the world community. It is all the more true for international relations that constitute the basis for the further development of political, cultural and other relations between the countries. At the same time, along with all its positive effects globalization processes are associated with a potential threat of producing external negative impact on the internal development.

Unfortunately the last global economic crisis did not spare Ukrainian by painfully affecting almost all branches of its national economy, thousand of enterprises and lifestyle of thousand Ukrainian citizens. Once the sources of impetuous growth that have been characteristic for pre-crisis years have been depleted the only way of conferring to Ukraine the positive dynamic of a sustainable economic growth can be only through implementation of deep systematic reforms directed primarily on raising its competitive edge on the international markets and fostering a positive investment climate.

According to the Doing Business rating measuring the level of economic attractiveness that has been prepared and published under the joint World Bank and International Financial Corporation project in November 2010 (based on studies covering period from

June 2009 to May 2010), Ukraine ranked 145th of 183 countries worldwide [18]. For comparison: main regional competitors of our country on world markets did considerably better, in particular Georgia was 12th, Slovak Republic 42nd, Hungarian Republic 46th, Romania 56th, Republic of Belarus 68th, Republic of Poland 70th, Republic of Moldova 90th and the Russian Federation 123rd [18].

A similar negative for Ukraine trend was traced in other research such as the one conducted by the Ducroire-Delcreder, the Belgian company specializing in insuring risks of international transactions, whose experts evaluated on 24 September last year Ukraine as a country with the highest commercial and highest medium and long-term political risks [20].

These assessments demonstrate, on one hand, the need of completing a series of internal reforms, including among other reforms in administrative, taxation, customs and labor areas and, on the other hand, the lack of efforts in creating a positive image for our state and furthering its attractive investment climate on international arena, which is one of the main missions for the national Ministry of Foreign Affairs [5]. In this context the Ukrainian diplomacy must pay special attention to collaboration with reputable international consulting companies such as PricewaterhouseCoopers, KPMG, Baker & McKenzie and others whose findings are quite frequently used as a reference point by rating agencies.

The President's vision of the future national development was clearly expressed at one of the sessions held by Ukrainian National Security Council on 17 November last year. "I sincerely believe, — said V. Yanukovich, — that key issues we have to address today include: first, successful completion of reforms and national modernization; second, increasing efficiency of the government in implementation of both internal and external policy; third, outlining for public authorities a long-term strategy of national development comprehensible to and supported by society; forth, providing broad social basis for the public policies, garnering stable support of government's actions from society; and fifth, preventing new political crises and revolutions" [6].

This can be interpreted as an evidence of the executive authority's firm determination to implement the full scope of long-

awaited reforms and to complete the process of Ukrainian modernization for the purpose of further strengthening democracy, enforcing main human rights and freedoms, ensuring internal stability, restructuring the Ukrainian economy, increasing its competitiveness on international markets and assuring principal standards of the country's social and economic development. To increase the efficiency of national investment resources, facilitate foreign investments needed for implementation of high-priority national projects, ensure fast restoration of national economy and its transition to sustainable growth, the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich in his Decree No 895/2010 dated 8 September "On measures to identify and implement high-priority social, economic and cultural projects" set forth four major social, economic and cultural priorities for Ukraine [4]:

1. "New energy" (projects of introducing alternative energy sources or diversifying power supply into Ukraine);

2. "New quality of life" (projects focusing the issues of increasing accessibility of housing, creating favorable conditions for high-quality education, improvement of the medical services, ensuring safe environment);

3. "New infrastructure" (projects designed to increase the efficiency of the Ukraine's potential as a transit country) and

4. "Olympic hope 2022" (projects of supporting Olympic movement in Ukraine, promoting high sport achievements).

Analysis of current situation shows that the so-called 21st century global challenges and threats such as international terrorism, trans-border organized crime, competition for natural resources, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, global climatic changes etc which remain in the spotlight at various international forums, including those attended by Ukrainian experts luckily do not constitute high priorities for Ukraine. We believe that for our country most important today is to complete efficient modernization of Ukraine's social and economic development, i.e., the stable foundation for its future favorable positioning on international arena and promotion of its interests abroad. Therefore the objective of this article is to analyze probabilistic ways of national modernization, primarily by reforming its economic development, a significant component that facilitates strengthening of

democratic processes in the country, by ensuring a positive image of our country on international arena and by reinforcing engagement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in these processes.

The issue of scientific research, practical implementation and substantiation of modernization and reforms concerning all functional components of Ukrainian State is considered today as highly relevant. Over the last years, predominant number of national scientists and even research teams regarded these problems as their highest priority. The specialists who have provided the most valuable input include Andriy Kudriachenko (NCS Institute of European Studies), Ihor Burakovskiy, Veronika Movchan, Oksana Kuziakiv, Olexandra Betliy, Serhiy Kandyul, Alla Kobilianska, Vitaliy Kravchuk, Hanna Kuznetsova, Katerina Kutsenko, Dmitro Naumenko, Katerina Pilkevich, Natalia Sysenko, Hanna Chukhai (Institute of economic research and political consultations), Eugene Bystritskiy (International Renaissance Foundation), Ihor Koliushko, Viktor Tymoshchuk, Olexander Banchuk, Maryana Demkova, Roman Kuybida, Yulia Kyrychenko, Dmitro Ukrainskiy (Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research); Anatoliy Tkachuk (Civil Society Institute), Denis Kovrizhenko (Agency for Legislative Initiatives), Anna Nechai (Financial Law Institute), Olexander Sushko, Volodimir Gorbach (The Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation), Olexiy Kolomiets (Center for European and Transatlantic Studies), Natalia Parhomenko (Center for Peace, Conversion and Foreign Policy of Ukraine) and many others. The said subjects are also studied in the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ukrainian Diplomatic Academy with the MFA of Ukraine. It is quite understandable that these topics will remain the focus of research in future.

Within the system of Ukrainian executive authorities the scope of Ministry of Foreign Affairs' activities covers virtually all aspects of life on national and personal levels in terms of their external relations: diplomatic ties, defense, foreign trade and economic cooperation, tourism and private trips, scientific, sport and arts exchange programs and many other [5]. Possibility of maintaining efficient international cooperation most often hinges on real political situation inside the country where a lot of attention should be paid to acceleration of political reforms, strengthening

of political parties and establishment of powerful independent media as one of the crucial elements in democratization process. Implementation of political and economic reforms, improving efficiency of government and state institutions will undoubtedly be major factors in finalizing the post-Soviet stage of the independent Ukraine and guaranteeing irreversibility of its transition to European standards and values. Introduction of these values depends simultaneously on success of social and economic transformations designed to create the efficient economic system built on market principles. If worldwide most of the countries seek for 2–3% economic growth rates Ukraine has to target stable 6–7%.

Today, Ukraine is in the middle of reforming virtually all aspects of our life related to introduction of market mechanisms, ensuring macroeconomic stabilization and building competitive national economy based on generally recognized economic, legal, organizational and social bases. The high growth rate must be achieved in the national economy only by virtue of implementing innovative investment models of economic development. This requires comprehensive implementation of well-targeted measures in financial, credit, budgetary, taxation and other areas, which are crucial for development of entrepreneurship, extending labor potential of the nation and decreasing social tensions. In the long run the country must obtain additional opportunities to significantly reduce the “shadow” economy, improve ownership relations, divide authorities and property, strengthen positions of the national capital and by the same token its refine economic and political system. One of the most pivotal issues for Ukraine is to eliminate inter-regional disproportions which interfere with ethnic and political consolidation of society and establishment of the middle class.

The role of diplomacy as the tool that states use to implement their external policies has always been highly valued. Even barbarian tribes had to manage more or less stable relations between themselves, hold negotiations, enter into agreements and associations of both economic and military/political nature. The history of ancient Egypt provides rich material for understanding the very origins of diplomacy, as one of the state functional aspects. Some time ago, in one of the Egyptian shrines the archeologists

have found representation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its chancellery and archive dating back to 1400 B.C. This proves that the ancient Egypt had maintained rather complex relations with neighbor countries and conducted vigorous diplomatic activities.

Likewise, the Ukrainian foreign policy has its venerable traditions based primarily of the diplomatic experience of the Kyiv Rus-Ukraine. At the same time it should be noted that the origins of the Ukrainian diplomacy are much deeper and therefore research into its roots should go as far as the junction between Byzantium and Rome traditions underpinning the foundation of all modern European states.

The modern historical stage of the Ukrainian diplomacy started 16 July 1990 when the UkrSSR Supreme Council adopted Declaration of the State Sovereignty of Ukraine, which proclaimed that Ukraine “as the subject of international law entertains direct relations with other states, enters with them into agreements, exchanges diplomatic, consular, trade offices, takes part in activities of international organizations...” [1].

In our days when the globalization process become even more pronounced the importance of work performed by diplomats has risen significantly. Diplomacy tends to be increasingly meaningful, influential and substantial. In complex conditions diplomats have to seek for and find efficient formulas of compromise, disentangle conflicts, forestall negative development of events, provide to President and Government flawlessly though-out suggestions and sound advice.

The legal aspects of the modern diplomatic service were outlined in the Ukrainian President’s 2006 Decree “On Provisions of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine”, according to which it is the Ukrainian MFA, as a central executive agency that represents the main governmental body among other central executive agencies responsible for ensuring implementation of state policy in area of the Ukraine’s external relations and coordinating appropriate measures in this area.

According to most experts, the last year has already been for Ukraine a year of positive quality changes and transformations in political and economic domains. Symbolic in this sense is the Law of Ukraine adopted 1 June 2010 “On Principles of Internal

and External Policy”, which has not only irrevocably determined status of Ukraine as the European non-block state who aspires to cooperate with all interested partners by avoiding dependency on individual states, group of states or international structures but also established concrete ways of implementing reforms and state development [3]. For the first time in the history of independent Ukraine the document has determined on a legislative level the indissoluble connection between Ukraine’s internal and external policies.

The above mentioned Law of Ukraine for the first time in the history of our country laid down on legislative basis principles of foreign policy, which are based in principles of sovereign equality between the states; abstinence from using threats or force to encroach on territorial integrity or political independence of any foreign state; esteem for territorial integrity of foreign states and inviolability of state borders; solution of international disputes by peaceful means; respect for human rights and basic human freedoms; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; mutually beneficial cooperation between the states; conscientious observance of international obligations; precedence of commonly recognized norms and principles of international law over norms and principles of national law; implementation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces only to defeat armed aggression against Ukraine or any armed endeavors to violate its territorial integrity and inviolability of state borders, to fight against international terrorism and piracy or in other cases as provided for by international treaties of Ukraine approved by the Ukrainian Verkhovna Rada; implementation of international sanctions, counter-measures and measures of diplomatic defense in compliance with international law in cases of international unlawful activities that inflict damage to Ukraine, its citizens and legal entities as well as expediency and appropriateness of defense measures to real and potential threats of Ukraine, its citizens and legal entities [3].

The provisions of this law also directly set forth the principles of the Ukrainian foreign policy, major of which include safeguarding national interests and safety of Ukraine by supporting peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation with members of the international community in compliance with generally recognized

principles and norms of international law, ensuring integration of Ukraine into European political, economic, legal space with the final goal of achieving membership in European Union, prevention of conflicts in regions bordering on Ukraine and settlement of apparent conflicts as well as maintaining by Ukraine its non-block status implying Ukraine's refusal to participate in any military and political alliances, prioritized participation in improvement and development of the European collective safety system, continuation of constructive partnership with NATO and other military and political blocks on all issues of mutual interest [3].

Therefore, in view of current global trends and main directions of the world development the Ukrainian diplomacy has to face new challenges that can be broken down into the following categories: political aspect; economic aspect; social and cultural dimension and protecting rights and freedoms of the Ukrainian citizens abroad. Let's consider them in detail.

Over the last years Ukraine has achieved uncontestable successes in a broad international sense: official, business and cultural/ humanitarian. As a result, the influence and image of our state grow up and we can be proud of Ukraine's stronger international and regional positions, and an increasing respect it enjoys in the world community. At the same time the emergence of the new challenges related to the international globalization processes poses to Ukrainian MFA new tasks, main of which include reinforcement of Ukraine's international and regional positions across the globe, increasing level of its involvement in programs supported by the United Nations and other international organizations, gradual integration into the European Union; advancement of comprehensive cooperation with the EU member countries especially those who border with Ukraine, and maintaining an equivalent level of cooperation with NATO and the Russian Federation.

The course to European integration is for Ukraine the first priority which is the natural consequence of its state independence, century-old history of the Ukrainian people, its mentality and ethnic roots. Adhering to this course means to promote the European self-identification among citizens, determine respective strategic targets of internal changes and logics of transformation

processes. The EU expansion opens up new vistas and opportunities of intensifying Ukraine's Euro-integration policy. It goes about the impact produced by the EU on democratization processes, promotion of human rights and freedoms, strengthening national media, reinforcement of main civic society foundations. This process also provokes a reciprocal interest of the European Union in democratic Ukraine. Most important in this context is to conclude and implement the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement, create free trading zones and introduce visa-free regime between Ukraine and EU member countries.

Another priority of Ukraine's foreign policy is development of strategic cooperation with the Russian Federation; it not only does not contradict to the Euro-integration course but also makes even more urgent the need in optimization and introduction of truly strategic mutually beneficial relations with RF at the level of constructive partnership. It should be admitted though that the two countries have yet to solve issues related to intensification of their economic cooperation, delimitation and delineation of the state borders, strengthening of the foreign policy and inter-parliamentary collaboration [11]. Further institutionalization of the Ukrainian-Russian relations directed at equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, devoid of destructive political accretions must be even more energetically promoted by taking into account the strategic importance of the RF geopolitical role for Ukraine, dependence of our country on the Russian energy resources, historical affinity of our two peoples and high level of industrial integration.

Today, the world community with increasing regularity has to deal with war and peace issues. Every day, the mass media bring the news that is more appropriate for the frontline. Ukraine keeps a close watch of the events in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestinian Autonomy, Northern Africa and Middle East countries, other "hot spots" in the globe. Building new alliances, participation of military units in the anti-terrorist, humanitarian, stabilization and peacekeeping operations become the most significant issues of foreign policy today. These aspects shape the new architecture of international security and place occupied in it by each country, including Ukraine. Generally speaking, the new paradigm of

the defense policy which is formed in the modern world environment is to create efficient security mechanisms capable of thwarting asymmetrical threats. It requires not only increasing role of using force in the international politics but also deeper cooperation and broader coordination between the military and political structures of civilized countries, introduction of the new interface mechanisms, specifically more flexible alliances and coalitions. Substantial transformations can be observed at the national and regional levels. The principle of preventive use of force outside the national boundaries became a feature of the new U.S. defense strategy and policy. The “preventive strike” doctrine is supplemented with the policy of expanding territories covered by the front edge military bases and tailoring flexible coalitions to fight against concrete threats. Support provided to the U.S. military operations against the so-called “rogue states” and participation in the international counter-terrorism measures became principal factors of promoting the international rating and defining success of bilateral cooperation with the USA for any state. The necessity to counter asymmetric threats gave a powerful incentive to reforms in the armed forces that have to be more mobile, fast and flexible. At the same time it is envisaged to use the American armed forces to thwart terrorism inside the United States. The role of the executive authorities in management of crisis situations for solution of which the military can be called upon is growing. In particular the United States created a new structure, the Department of Homeland Security that gradually becomes the most influential U.S. governmental structure.

The weight of the force component in the area of defense policies and security is also growing in the Russian Federation, another Ukraine’s partner who performs a coordinating function in the military and political aspects of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) combining a number of CIS countries. Notwithstanding its negative perception of the trend to downgrade the role played by the UN Security Council and apply instead the policy of using armed forces on the basis of national decision Russia has nonetheless declared its right to preventive use of their armed forces. An intensive cooperation between law enforcement agencies from different countries in an effort to counter modern threats is considered by Russia as one of prerequisites

for its successful integration into the system of international relations [8].

The NATO's defense policy focuses the development of a comprehensive actions program designed to provide the Alliance with the possibility of successfully meeting all modern security-related objectives. In this vein, NATO will apply more vigorous effort to strengthen relationships between the allies, extend its security space by accepting new members and developing partnership with the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) countries. To this effect it will create flexible front-line military units equipped with state-of-the-art armaments and military materiel and capable of rapidly deploying at considerable distances in any conflict region worldwide. The priority for NATO in these efforts is to improve its military and technical potential, create efficient response to the spread of WMD. Considerable attention is paid to support civil structures in emergency situations.

The same defense policy is pursued by the European Union, which consolidates its efforts in the framework of the Common European Security and Defence Policy — CESDP. A special emphasis is made to smooth out and coordinate between the EU and NATO their respective defense policies as a key element of the euroatlantic security. Realization of these tasks will be implemented mostly by the European Fast Response Team, capable of acting on its own in designated zones of responsibility. They must be able to perform if necessary preventive strikes outside the national territories; carry out “peace enforcement” operations and humanitarian interventions. The European Union builds its security structures at fast pace. It develops cooperation in armaments and crisis management capacities, specifically to increase the efficiency of peacekeeping operations in the Balkans, which it has inherited from NATO [7].

A more pronounced role of a force component in foreign policy and increasing political and military consolidation to fight unconventional threats resulted in reinforcement of existent and introduction of new cooperation mechanisms both in bilateral and multilateral relations as well as accelerated process of security agencies pooling capacities and optimizing their coordination in the fight against new threats on a national level. At the same time,

the efficiency of the state policy in these areas produces a decisive impact on place that a particular country occupies in the global order. The world becomes more interdependent by the day. No country is any longer capable to guarantee its security by relying exclusively on its own forces. Aggravation of economic situation, emergence of new conflicts and ecological crises in the farthest corners of the globe can create a threat of global proportions. If confronted with such threats as the international terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction the self-contained national security systems tend to be inefficient.

Taking this into account Ukraine takes an active part in the international anti-terrorist coalition. It supported the coalition in Afghanistan; ratified 12 of 13 international conventions on countering terrorism and adopted respective laws in this area. Ukraine pays great attention to strengthening international institutions, first of all the United Nations Organization in their fight against international terrorism in particular on the basis of the Security Council Resolution No1373 dated 28 September 2001 etc.

Ukraine must therefore keep viewing its foreign policy as an important factor of successful integration into the new architecture of global and regional security, a significant component of the entire international relations system.

One of the principal economic tasks for the Ukrainian diplomacy is to create prerequisites for making the best of Ukraine's favorable geopolitical situation, its role of an important energy transit and transportation regional partner, in the international economic cooperation. The predominant influence of regional factors on Ukraine's foreign policy can be observed in its bilateral relations with neighbor countries and its participation in regional and sub-regional organizations. Noteworthy, the regional policy constitutes a component of Ukraine's strategic course to European and Euro-Atlantic integration. One of the most significant Ukraine's priorities in achieving regional leadership is its active work in Organization for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM. Today, the member countries of this association regard Ukraine as a leading political player who guarantees stability in conflict regions of the post-Soviet space, a notion greatly favored by its image of a “peacekeeping state” with

considerable experience. Along with this function, GUAM countries cooperate on such issues as transit and transportation, security, energy and politics.

The Strategy of Developing GUAM Sectoral Cooperation that was adopted at the Baku Summit on 19 June 2007 became a new factor of GUAM progress which reflects readiness of its member states to jointly tackle diverse problems and work out concurred approaches on all issues; to practically implement the idea of mutual integration and security space.

Ukraine's consistent integration with the European economic community, cooperation with the post-Soviet countries provide large opportunities to promote Ukrainian products into foreign markets. However, according to the Ukrainian Department of Statistics, only in 2010 the trade deficit equaled 9.3 billion US dollars or half of the 2008 figure when this index was 18.6 billion US dollars. To improve the situation, Ukrainian MFA has to be more pro-active in promoting Ukrainian producers and supporting their efforts of entering foreign commodity and service markets.

To create favorable conditions for increased volume of foreign investments into the Ukrainian economy, facilitate the activities of foreign investors; accelerate the social and economic development of regions and high priority industries the Ukrainian MFA must do its best to create a favorable investment image of Ukraine and its regions, provide the foreign partners with economic and legal advice on possibilities of bringing foreign investments into the Ukrainian economy; be more energetic in looking for potential investors for the national businesses; more aggressively promote foreign investments especially when they must get authorized by executive agencies, local governments; prepare proposals on stimulation of investment activities by tapping into experience of other countries in the area of attracting foreign investments and on the ways of eliminating barriers interfering with the investment climate in Ukraine; encourage foreign investors to invest into projects of constructing international transportation corridor, survey and extraction of minerals, including through concession ad production sharing agreements.

Another priority of the Ukrainian diplomacy is to set up a stringent control over adequacy and facilitate better evaluations of our country by the leading rating agencies.

Globalization processes paved the ground for international rating agencies with Moody's, Standard & Poor's and Fitch in the lead. Their main objective is to analyze economic environment in the countries or individual businesses and to provide a most feasible forecast of their possible economic evolution. As a matter of fact, Ukraine can get access to cheaper loans if it improves its so-called sovereign international credit rating, which for the time being remains unfortunately at a rather low level. Although the recent economic successes have been recognized by the analysis of the leading rating agencies they argue that Ukraine's remaining low rating is explained by political factors. Keeping in mind the above said the Ukrainian MFA must start working closer with the international rating agencies; insist on objective evaluation of Ukraine's place in the system of international investment ratings; facilitate working out the investment attractiveness rating of Ukrainian industries, regions and businesses and ensure that the obtained results are made available to potential foreign investors.

Another objective of the Ukrainian MFA is to obtain fist-hand information about negative processes in the leading world countries and their possible impact of Ukrainian national economy; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must react on any changes occurring in the leading world economies and report on its findings to the top leadership of the country so as to take all necessary preventive measures. As to the economic policy subdivisions of the Ukrainian MFA they must perform monitoring of foreign commodities and prevent low quality products from getting to the Ukrainian market. Unfortunately, laws in developed countries allow producing commodities not meeting safety requirements under condition of selling them in third countries. According to the experience of Ukrainian certification agencies in some cases the products certified in countries other than Ukraine do not satisfy the requirements of the Ukrainian standards harmonized with their international analogues. After certification, 10 to 15% of all important products are found deficient; for the imported food products this index is even higher. Quite often this happens because most de-

veloped countries during negotiations make a point of ensuring unlimited access of their products to Ukrainian market without any reciprocal obligations. The only solution to this issue is to bring the national technical regulation in line with international and European requirements.

In the social and cultural area, main objective of the Ukrainian diplomats is to make sure that rights and interests of the foreign Ukrainian communities are properly protected. The policy conducted by the Ukrainian MFA with regard to the foreign Ukrainian communities must be focus primarily creation of favorable conditions for collaboration between the native and foreign Ukrainians in different walks of life; protection of national, intellectual and spiritual values in Ukraine and abroad and satisfaction of national, cultural and linguistic needs of foreign Ukrainians; promotion of the national idea uniting all Ukrainians regardless of their residence. With regard to the foreign Ukrainians the efforts must focus on promoting relations between Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian compatriots abroad as a component of foreign, cultural, social and economic policy of the state, its development strategy; efficient use of intellectual, spiritual and physical potential of the nation and general desire of creating a positive image of Ukraine. The main tasks to be accomplished by the Ukrainian MFA include: develop and implement principal public policy priorities in the area of fostering relations with the foreign Ukrainians; draft laws and by-laws in the area of relations with the foreign Ukrainians; coordinate other executing agencies on issues pertaining to relations with foreign Ukrainians; develop and submit for review to the Cabinet of Ministers cultural, educational, informational and other support programs for the Ukrainian foreign communities; support and cooperate with the national and cultural centers of foreign Ukrainians, national Ukrainian minorities, national associations of foreign Ukrainians; develop international treaties and implement international cooperation in area of relations with foreign Ukrainians; update the Ukrainian President and Cabinet of Ministers on the progress of national policy with regard to foreign Ukrainians; ensure implementation of high priority measures to support foreign Ukrainians in CIS countries etc.

Main objectives of the Ukrainian MFA in area of promoting Ukrainian culture abroad must include: integration of the Ukrainian culture and arts into the European and global dimension, promotion of the Ukrainian arts to the world cultural market and stepping up cultural cooperation with the Ukrainian Diaspora. Ukraine is sincerely willing to cooperate with the European Union and other developed countries. However, in view of Ukraine's post-Soviet cultural policy heritage before building such relations both parties must be aware, particularly on conceptual level, of a difference between the policy of strategic cultural development (which is characteristic for most European countries) and the direct management of state culture (this tradition is still alive in Ukraine). Relying on European experience the Ukrainian MFA must clearly define its priorities in this area and build its capacities to match emerging globalization challenges. Over the last decade, the European Union has already elaborated key principles of its culture policy. In its "In from the Margins" (1997) report the European Council wrote that most European countries must pursue their culture policy in conformance with four key principles: promote development of the cultural identity, support cultural diversity, help creativity and extend participation in cultural life. Taking this into account the Ukrainian MFA and the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture must coordinate their efforts of supporting the Ukrainians abroad, encourage Ukrainian culture as a means of achieving certain social and political targets of the Ukrainian government, recognize culture as a separate sector of national economy and importance of an interface between non-profit activities and cultural industry, promote creation and development of self-regulatory institutions and cultural/ educational networks, build cooperation with different partners in the public, private and independent sectors and determine responsibility of public authorities on national, regional and local levels. The Ukrainian MFA must seek balance by implementing flexible programs of project financial support and react to the needs of cultural institutions, upholding creativity, individual arts initiatives and new work methods.

Today, Ukraine is under-represented in the European cultural network, debates, experience exchange mechanisms and cultural policy development processes. The level of knowledge about

Ukraine in other European countries remains rather low. The efforts to maximize the efficiency of professional contacts in culture and education areas should be identified and such contacts should be multiplied. Support and promotion of the national cultural heritage result in creating a positive image of Ukraine and Ukrainian companies across the globe. The latter can exhibit themselves as both genuine patriots and socially responsible “corporate citizens”, which today is an important factor for the companies aspiring to enter the global markets.

Another target for the Ukrainian diplomatic corps: to foster international image of Ukraine, especially in the context of improving perception of our state as a means of attracting international capital, is one of the principal ones for the Ukrainian MFA in era of fast growing globalization processes. We strongly believe that Ukraine’s investment image depends mostly on how well the international community is aware of its investment climate. On the background of international economic crisis the leadership of leading countries revises their investment policy trying to focus cash flows on efficient anti-crisis measures. Since the positive perception of a country by investors is an important component of this country’s dynamic social and economic development Ukraine must urgently implement a set of such anti-crisis measures. Most of them relate to the country’s image and communications between the public and authorities and between authorities and international community. The issue of building a positive image of Ukraine is undoubtedly a component of national interests, which is all the more important on the eve of hosting the Euro-2012 final games.

The Ukrainian MFA must pay special attention to measures of stepping up cooperation with the public and non-governmental organizations who want to form and maintain a positive image of our country on international arena, such as the State Agency of Ukraine for Investments and Innovations, Ukrainian Center for Promotion of Foreign Investments, “Open Ukraine” foundation etc.

In the past 5–10 years the labor migration from Ukrainian has been growing at staggering rate. In some regions of our countries there are entire villages where you can find only small children

who cannot remember their parents and the old people while all who can work have gone abroad looking for better opportunities. However, the major problem is that overwhelming majority of working Ukrainians working abroad are illegal immigrants who risk imprisonment or deportation on a daily basis. Such people are deprived of absolutely all rights. They have no access to medical services, social guarantees or legal protection. According to various estimates today 2 to 7 million of our compatriots work in other countries. Official MFA statistics say that about 1.5 million Ukrainian citizens are illegal immigrants. This makes protection of the rights of Ukrainians abroad a highest priority for the Ukrainian MFA. Besides this Ministry must take all efforts necessary to improve the lifestyle of the Ukrainian abroad, make their stay legal. Only in this way Ukraine can escape many unpleasant situations and considerably improve its image among other nations.

One of widely spread and troubling varieties of illegal immigration is trafficking in persons, especially in women and children. It includes recruiting women in poorest counties of the Eastern Europe and bringing them to Western and Central European countries where they are forced into prostitution or find themselves entrapped by hustlers who swindle them of their passports, intimidate them and through blackmail appropriate their money. According to statistics provided by diplomatic offices and departments abroad there is a trend of bringing increasingly greater number of female Ukrainian citizens abroad to foreign counties. This extremely profitable illegal business is targeted by large transnational criminal associations, often dealing hand in hand with public authorities. The struggle against this disreputable phenomenon is immensely complex. That's why the Ukrainian MFA must make the fight against human trafficking its foremost priority and do its best to promote international cooperation in this area by boosting up operations of its foreign offices.

The above said proves that the national diplomacy under conditions of Ukrainian society profound transformation has to shoulder an extremely great responsibility. If the twenty-year experience of the Ukrainian statehood is taken for reference one can clearly see that the Ukrainian diplomatic corps quite confidently

demonstrates its readiness and ability to take on job no matter how difficult it may seem. The national diplomats relying on centennial traditions can become a reliable tool in modernization of the Ukrainian society and contribute to Ukraine's efforts of taking its legitimate place among 20 most developed countries of the European continent in the nearest future.

List of reference sources and literature

1. Declaration of National Sovereignty of Ukraine dated 16 July 1990 No 55-XII // Verkhovna Rada of UkrSSR. — Official publication — Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady UkrSSR, 1990. — No 31. page 429.

2. On Diplomatic service. Law of Ukraine dated 20 September 2001 No 2728-III // Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. — Official publication — Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2002. — No 5. page 29.

3. Про засади внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики. Law of Ukraine від 1 July 2010 року No 2411-VI // Verkhovna Rada України. — Official publication — Vidomosti Verkhovnoi Rady Ukrainy, 2010. — No 40. page 527.

4. On measures to identify and implement high priority social, economic and cultural projects. Decree of the President of Ukraine dated 8 September 2010 No 895/2010 // [Electronic resource]// Official electronic portal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine — Access at: <http://zakon1.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=895%2F2010>.

5. On Approval of Provisions about Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine dated 12 July 2006 No 960 // [Electronic resource]// Official electronic portal of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine — Access at: <http://zakon1.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=960-2006-%EF>.

6. The session of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine chaired by the President of Ukraine [electronic resource]: information from the Ukrainian President's press service // official electronic portal of the President of Ukraine— Access at: <http://www.president.gov.ua/news/18731.html>

7. Transformation of European and Euro-Atlantic Security Space. Consequences for Ukraine / National Institute for Strategic Studies. [Electronic resource] — Access at: <http://www.niss.gov.ua/Monitor/mart2009/41.htm>.

8. Draft European Security Agreement / President of Russia. Official web-site. [Electronic resource] — Access at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/news/6152>.

9. Z. Brzezinski. The choice: global domination or global leadership. — M., 2004.

10. B. Humenyuk, O. Shcherba. Modern diplomatic service. — K., 2001.

11. I. Ivanov. Russia's foreign policy in globalization era. Articles and speeches.— M., 2002.

12. M. Lebedeva. Political Conflict Management: Approaches, Solutions, Technologies. — M., 1997.

13. O. Likhachov. Economic diplomacy of Russia. New challenges and opportunities under conditions of globalization. — M., 2006.
14. H. Nicolson. Diplomatic service. — M., 1962.
15. Тойнбі А.Дж. Постигжение истории. — М., 1991.
16. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Report of the Secretary-General dated 17/06/1992 No A/47/277 — S/24111 pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992 „An Agenda for Peace. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping”.
17. Berridge G. Diplomacy. Theory and Reality. — L., 1995.
18. Economy Rankings [electronic resource]: за даними проекту «Doing Business» // Офіційний електронний портал проекту «Doing Business» — Access at: <http://www.doingbusiness.org/rankings>.
19. Europe 2020: A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth / European Commission. [Electronic resource] — Access at: http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/index_en.htm.
20. Risk Assessment Ukraine by Ducroire/Delcredere SA.NV [electronic resource]: за даними рейтингу компанії Ducroire/Delcredere // Офіційний електронний портал компанії Ducroire/Delcredere — Access at: <http://www.ducroiredelcredere.co.uk/WebDuk/WebSite.nsf/AllWeb/Ukraine?OpenDocument&Disp=1>.
21. White B. Diplomacy // The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction Relations / Ed. by I. Bailis, S. Smith. — N.Y., 1997.





Viacheslav Tsviatyi

Candidate of historical sciences, senior lecturer of diplomatic and consular service department. First deputy rector of Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Honoured master of education of Ukraine. Deputy editor-in-chief of specialized issue on historical, political and legal sciences — "Scientific Bulletin of Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine" (issued since 1998). Member of editors' board of a scientific journal "Foreign Affairs". Sphere of scientific interests — comparative history and theory of diplomacy; diplomatic protocol and ceremonial; foreign policy and diplomacy of states of Europe and North America.



Nataliya-Tereza Anoshyna

Candidate of legal sciences. Master of foreign policy. Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Sphere of scientific interests — diplomatic and consular service of foreign states, foreign policy of European states; comparative law; international public law.

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE AND THE DIPLOMATS OF GREAT BRITAIN: HISTORICAL TRADITIONS, MODERN INSTITUTIONAL MODEL (EXPERIENCE FOR UKRAINE)

One of the most significant tasks of the mankind at the beginning of the XXI century is a search of effective ways of solving global challenges of all kinds: economic, social and political, resources problems etc. The development and the competitiveness of foreign policy officials in the world are connected with human resources renewal the source of which is a flexible education system that corresponds to the present challenges, threats and national interests. Our society requires training of

staff that will be able to fulfill its activity according to new realities. Nowadays new education development models (mainly diplomats training models) are being searched with help of comparative inquiries. The world experience shows that education is the most effective, the most prospective way and at the same time it's the guarantee of human progress in the third millennium¹.

The top priority of education development in the XXI century is forming of a high level information culture of every citizen, introduction of advanced information technologies into the education process, training of diplomats and specialists in the field of foreign relations of new generation.

Changes in the higher education of leading countries require the development of new institutional models of staff training (mainly of diplomats training models) according to new realities, perspectives of institutional, social and political, scientific and technical development of countries including Ukraine. Due to the application of the best world experience Ukraine must also build and introduce a new institutional diplomats training model aimed at training persons to be competent and highly skilled, patriotic and motivated for self-education during their life-time; training the person with modern way of thinking and European world outlook².

The experience of human resourcing of the diplomatic service of Great Britain is of interest for Ukraine as Great Britain is a state of classical elite education and conservative views, it joined the states-founders of the EU in 1973 in the framework of the second euro-integration stage (together with Denmark and Ireland) when Europe had already more than 20 years of collaboration experience in education, mainly in the field of foreign relations. The representatives of the Ukrainian higher education system are interested in the principles of its formation and development in Great Britain. Some analysis aspects of historical traditions, modernization processes and reforming of higher education system of Great Britain nowadays were examined by the following Ukrainian and foreign scientists: N. Bidyuk, G. Butenko, A. Voskresenska, T. Desyatov, O. Dzhurynskyi, T. Zonova, O. Kuznetsova, V. Lapchynska, G. Loweris, V. Matveev, N. Nuchkalo, E. Nikolas, N. Khans, B. Kholms, V. Tsivatyi etc. At the same time the problem of dip-

lomatic staff training and the selection system of candidates for diplomatic service of Great Britain hasn't been researched enough and requires a more detailed scientific investigation.

According to the specialists one of the factors influencing education in Great Britain is its pragmatism. In contrast to so called "encyclopedic" education systems with dominating principle of obligatory studying of a great number of disciplines (i.e. in France), the British education system is known by its professionalism development that indicates to its democracy. At the same time the British education system structure differs and brings to the following classification: according to the administrative division and national traditions (education subsystems of England and Wales, the Northern Ireland and Scotland); according to education levels – elementary education, secondary education, further education, higher education; according to the forms of ownership – state education sector (free) and private education sector (requiring payment)³.

It's perfectly clear that the diplomacy of Great Britain is classical and it is a sample for many foreign-policy institutions of other countries. Its most significant feature is high professionalism, perfect knowledge of problem to be solved or discussed, knowledge of countries and encyclopedic data that is passed on from one generation to another⁴. We should mention here that first forms of diplomacy models institutionalization appeared at the level of self-organizational processes such as realization of states external functions with regulated and directed actions; leader-states are able to head and lead this process; appearance of permanent administrative bodies of foreign relations and this phenomenon is submitted (really or formally) to the management – for example the European states system of XVI – XVIII centuries in evolutionary temporal dimension⁵.

Diplomats of Great Britain have always been defending skillfully their national interests that are of top priority among tasks of the Foreign Office. Their great experience, the influence on the world diplomacy formation, competence and professionalism attract our attention. The works of British diplomats are always studied with exceptional thoroughness not only by those who plan to work in the field of foreign policy but also by the recognized

professionals in this field. These facts demonstrate that gained experience in the field of defending national interests, protecting citizens, conducting negotiations, establishing diplomatic relations and leading official correspondence are of great value not only for the diplomats of Great Britain but also for the representatives of other countries. However, achieving of such a high level of the British diplomacy wouldn't have been possible without a professional staff.

How is diplomatic staff formed, what are the requirements for its education and what way has the candidate to pass to get the position in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office?

The staff selection for the diplomatic service in Great Britain is very careful and thorough. The requirements to the candidates are divided into general and special. General requirements are for all candidates (both for statesmen and for diplomats), special requirements are for some categories of the Foreign Office officials.

General requirements – you must be a British citizen and have been resident in the UK for at least two of the last ten years immediately prior to your application, at least one year of which must have been a consecutive 12-month period, unless you have served overseas with HM Forces or in some other official capacity as a representative of Her Majesty's Government, or have lived overseas as a result of your parents' or partner's abroad employment⁶.

Foreign language (due to objective reasons) is not an obligatory condition for getting a position in the FCO. This was confirmed by the Ambassador of Great Britain in Ukraine Leigh Turner, who mentioned in one of his interviews: "For getting a position in the Foreign Office it's not necessary to know foreign languages. Though, the experience of living in other countries and the knowledge of other cultures can be an advantage within the office. And if you don't like to travel much or to live abroad then this job is not for you!"⁷. The same myth about the necessity of knowing foreign language and having Cambridge or Oxford education as the main requirement for getting a position in the Foreign Office was discredited by the Ambassador of Great Britain in the USA Nigel Sheinwald⁸.

Any person who meets nationality and residency requirements can be an applicant irrespective of gender, race, religion, disability or other features. In terms of recruitment the FCO has the aim to represent the whole of the XXI-st century British society⁹.

It should be mentioned that definite positions of diplomatic representatives of Great Britain abroad are formed not from the FCO staff of Great Britain but are recruited from the host state¹⁰. This principle of staff policy is foreseen in Art.8 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961¹¹.

To join the Foreign and Commonwealth Office as a permanent member of staff you must undergo two rounds of checks¹²:

the Baseline Personnel Security Standard. It is a basic recruitment check that seeks to prevent identity fraud, illegal working and deception generally;

Developed Vetting (DV).

The first round of check requires filling in a basic form and providing the recruitment team with standard documents to undergo this process.

The second round of check is the highest standard form of National Security Vetting and must be undertaken for several reasons¹³:

to gain assurances that you are not susceptible to pressure from foreign intelligence agencies, terrorist groups or other organisations wishing to undermine british interests;

to confirm an individual's suitability to access and handle very sensitive information and material;

to satisfy requirements for access to material originating from other countries and international organisations.

The Developed Vetting process includes a check of employment and educational references, financial and criminal records, medical assessments etc. The DV process takes approximately four months to complete, but this can vary depending on individual characteristics¹⁴.

The special requirements formed for separate categories of employees of the Foreign Office. Thus, there are generalists and specialists in foreign policy office, herewith there is individual de-

mands for each of groups. It is necessary to add that in modern diplomacy there are two staff conceptions — generalism and specialization. It's explained by widening and changing of the role of diplomacy¹⁵.

The generalists are persons who are the professionals with wide profile and have knowledge in different spheres. Due to this it's necessary to recall the words of famous diplomat Jules Cambon who told that he didn't know more mixed profession then diplomacy¹⁶. This expression means that diplomats have to be able to work in any directions of the activity of foreign policy office. Herewith today it can be the activity in consular sphere, tomorrow — in climate changes, than — in the sphere of military conflicts etc. The above approach confirms that the diplomatic activity is extraordinary mixed. The american researcher W. Bacchus noted about growing role of generalists and mentioned that in the past their role was rarely so high as today¹⁷. At the same time ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation I. Ivanov noted that he “supported of the diplomatic school which foresed the training of professionals of wide profile, today it is necessary to be universal professional”¹⁸.

The generalists are involved on three levels — A1, A2, C4, which differ one from the other by the sphere of the activity, the range of the powers, the possibility to work abroad or in Great Britain¹⁹ etc.

A1 — Administrative Assistants²⁰ — the persons who have the knowledge in IT, administrative and organizational skills, including ability to work with the documentation and have knowledge in accountancy are included in this category. The recruitment to A1 takes place in the case of necessity. Only state servants are in this category. The diplomats are not involved to A1.

A2 — Executive Assistants²¹ — Executive Assistants provide vital support for the Diplomatic Service both in London and in posts abroad.

They are required to be highly literate, as they may be drafting letters to MPs and members of the public. The skills in accountancy and IT systems are obligatory. The Executive Assistants as opposed to Administrative Assistants are included in the staff of

the diplomatic service, thus they may work not only on the territory of Great Britain, but also abroad.

Recruitment campaigns for Executive Assistants are run according to the operational need. Applicants must meet the nationality and residency requirements, pass security vetting process. Besides, and the candidate must possess five GSCEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education) at A-C level or equivalent, including Maths and English Language.

C4 (Policy Entrants) – the category of persons who passed the special state program – the Civil Service Fast Stream²². The Foreign and Commonwealth Office recruits a number of graduates through this program every year.

Entrants spend their first year doing policy work, including handling the relations with other countries, dealing with security and defence issues or working to improve human rights abroad. They then spend a year doing service delivery work such as working in the consular department helping distressed British nationals overseas.

Policy Entrants (C4) join the diplomatic service²³.

It is necessary to note that the Fast Stream selection process is tough. Successful candidates will be able to demonstrate the diplomatic service core competencies:

- managing and developing staff;
- decision-making;
- problem solving;
- managing external relations;
- strategic awareness;
- working with others;
- communicating;
- learning and developing.

The applicants for the diplomatic service also have to pass an additional Final Selection Board on top of the regular Fast Stream testing to prove their ability to fulfil the particular requirements for the department of the Foreign Office.

Besides, the persons who passed the above program must meet nationality and residency requirements, pass the security vetting process and hold the diploma of bachelor with the degree 2.2 or higher²⁴.

Languages, experience in management, economics, finance and other areas are a real asset.

It is necessary to mention that there was one more category of the generalists, namely B3 – Operational Officers – at the times of ex-Secretary of State – David Miliband. These officials belonged to the diplomatic service. The candidates for this category had to have skills in the sphere of foreign policy and international relations, to be able to work abroad not only in normal conditions but also in the cases of natural disasters or acts of terror.

Among the requirements for the candidates in B3 there was a special requirement – flexibility. It's the key feature of the British diplomacy: being flexible during negotiation process and avoiding difficulties. Besides that, the person had to be well-educated, able to reveal and resolve problems, be initiative and work in team.

Thus, there are three categories of the generalists in the modern structure of the Foreign Office, with only state servants in A1 category and diplomatic staff in A2 and C4.

The specialists – are the persons who have special skills (education) in particular field. They can be recruited when the FCO needs a certain category of specialist. The specialists can work both in the Foreign Office and abroad. Economists, legal advisers, research analysts etc. can be involved like specialists. The applicants must be good professionals in corresponding fields²⁵. The obligatory requirement for candidates on the post of specialist in certain field is a special education and sometimes the appropriate experience.

Thus, after examining the requirements for generalists and specialists and finding out their essence, it is possible to mark out the differences between them:

generalists are recruited for fulfilling the tasks of the Foreign Office, specialists are recruited for fulfilling their functions in certain field and they have a particular specialty;

generalists have a clear division into the following categories: A1, A2, C4 and the specialists vice-versa don't have such division;

generalists do not need to have a special education in the sphere of international relations, specialists must have the special education just in the field where they are recruited for the activity in the Foreign Office.

Analysing the requirements (general and special) for the candidates for work in the Foreign Office it is necessary to mention that such a requirement as a special education in the field of international relations, external policy or diplomacy is not obligatory. It can be explained by the fact that the person can acquire the necessary professional skills at work. It's very important for the future diplomat to be able to learn quickly and to get new skills in different spheres. The experience of the Ambassador of Great Britain to Ukraine Leigh Turner can be an example. He declared the following: "It was a great pleasure for me to roll up my sleeves and get deeper in complicated and technical negotiations, discussing a variety of topics: from the peculiarity of squids migration between Falkland Islands and Argentina to persuasion Germany to accept the export of British beef after crisis caused by the epidemic of cow's rabies"²⁶.

At the same time famous English diplomat Harold Nikolson declared in his book "The Diplomacy" that the ideal diplomat must have the following personal characteristics: truthfulness, accuracy, even-tempered, patience, modesty, loyalty²⁷.

The mentioned requirements for persons who would like to serve to the Foreign Office demonstrate that each state has its own art of diplomacy. Moreover, as American researcher and diplomat W. Macomber wrote: "Today the working capacity of any diplomatic service depends on human resources management which forms the national diplomacy and gives impacts to its functioning"²⁸.

Due to this it is interesting to our attention to the human resources management at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, namely to the requirement of candidates for diplomatic service. Thus, Article 9 of the Law of Ukraine on Diplomatic Service of 20.09.2001 (the version of 09.02.2011) declares that "diplomatic employee is a citizen of Ukraine, with appropriate high education

and all necessary professional and practical qualities, who speaks state and foreign language and can work in a long-term mission depending on the state of health”²⁹.

Thus, comparing the requirements to diplomatic employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the general requirements of the Foreign Office it is possible to note that the common for both offices is a nationality requirement. At the same time the Ukrainian law stresses at the necessity of having professional education and speaking foreign language, also the state of health and professional and practical qualities of the candidate.

Comparing the requirements for diplomatic employees of the Foreign Office of Great Britain and Ukraine is quite conditional, since they are two different diplomatic services with different institutional models and with own priorities, directions of activity and national peculiarities.

Summing up we should say that the diplomatic service of Great Britain has passed a long process of establishment and development. It helped undoubtedly to form its own traditions and to increase its distinct characteristics³⁰. Today the Foreign Office recruits more than 14 000 persons. Despite this considerable figure the staff recruitment is very thorough and aimed at perfect realizing of all tasks given by the Foreign Office.

The main role among modernisation changes in Ukrainian and world practice and education system belongs to new models of higher education and diplomats training aimed at creating of the effective professional training model on the basis of competence standards. It makes the issue of models comparative analysis, the state and development of educational systems of the states-members of the European Union very crucial. As the question of strategic stratification of orientation points of Ukrainian models of diplomacy to world educational space, the question of scientific grounding and adequate methodological instrumentation of psychological pedagogical process of organization of diplomatic staff training have to carry into practice according to parameters of equality and difference in reference to international treaties and experiences of European states.

The search of a new paradigm of human resources management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has to be realized in conditions

of preservation of own and obtained experience in training of the diplomatic staff and preservation of own national identity taking into account modern reality of the Ukrainian society, social and economical development and the practical using of positive experience of the developed countries of the world, mainly of Great Britain.

That's why the subject of comparison and generalization is the main tendency of developing and functioning of educational systems which despite their specific character contain the actual integration approaches to administration, content and methods of diplomats training, the thorough examination and improving of which facilitate forming of unitary space which is open for world society.

The comparative examination is an important perspective way which gives new possibilities for scientific analysis of the modern diplomacy models and progressive ideas of foreign experience with the aim to avoid its mechanical transference on Ukrainian ground, and examining of main motive power and steps of cooperation of the state-members of the European Union in the sphere of diplomatic staff training has a practical meaning.

¹ Ничкало Н. Г. Непереривна професійна освіта як світова тенденція // Професійна освіта в зарубіжних країнах: порівняльний аналіз. — К.: Вибір, 2002. — С. 345–346.

² Див.: Гуменюк Б. І. Нові підходи в підготовці кадрів у Дипломатичній академії України при МЗС України // Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України. — К., 2008. — Вип. 14. — С. 10–15; Кулінич М. А. Освітня підготовка сучасного дипломата: міжнародний вимір // Україна дипломатична. — К., 2005. — Вип. V. — С. 33–40; Ціватий В. Г. Значення та роль гуманітарних наук у підготовці дипломата XXI ст. // Україна дипломатична. — К., 2005. — Випуск VI. — С. 636–652; Ціватий В. Г. Дипломатія і підготовка дипломата XXI століття: традиції, інновації, моделі // Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України. — К., 2004. — Вип. 10. — Ч. I. — С. 26–29

³ Див. дет.: Пальчук М. Еволюційний розвиток професійної підготовки виробничого персоналу в країнах ЄС: досвід Великої Британії // Вища школа. — 2011. — № 2. — С. 88–89; Пономаренко О. Особливості профорієнтаційної роботи у навчальних закладах Великої Британії // Вища школа. — 2011. — № 3. — С. 69–77.

⁴ Див. дет.: Матвеев В. М. Дипломатическая служба Великобритании // Дипломатия иностранных государств / Под ред. Т. В. Зоной. — М., 2004. — С. 21–37; Матвеев В. М. Британская дипломатическая служба. — М., 1990. — 2-е изд.; Пахомов Е. Ю. Современная английская дипломатия и дипломатическая служба. — М., 2000; Lane A. Modernising

- the management of British diplomacy: towards a Foreign Office policy on policy-making? // Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Volume 20, Number 1, March 2007. — P. 179–193.
- ⁵ Див. дет. : Ціватий В. Г. Європейська зовнішня політика доби раннього Нового і Нового часу: проблеми інституціоналізації (теоретико-методологічний аспект) // Науковий вісник Дипломатичної академії України. — 2000. — Вип.4. — С.268–274.
- ⁶ Do I have to be British to work for the FCO? // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/careers-faqs#>
- ⁷ Our Man in Kiev — Leigh Turner to Manchester Evening News (22 March 2010) // <http://ukinukraine.fco.gov.uk/uk/about-us/our-embassy/our-ambassador/ambassador-interviews/men-interview1>
- ⁸ York Membery. Flying the British flag at the court of Barack Obama // The Times. — July 8, 2009.
- ⁹ Diversity // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/diversity>
- ¹⁰ Careers // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/careers-faqs>
- ¹¹ Віденська конвенція про дипломатичні зносини від 18 квітня 1961 року // http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=995_048
- ¹² Vetting // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/vetting>
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Гуменюк Б. І, Щерба О. В. Сучасна дипломатична служба. — Київ: “Либідь”, 2001. — С. 78.
- ¹⁶ Камбон Ж. Дипломат. — Київ: Визант, 1997. — С. 13.
- ¹⁷ Vacchus W. I. Staffing for Foreign Affairs. Princeton. 1983. — P. 10.
- ¹⁸ Иванов И. В одну дипломатию нельзя войти дважды // Век. — 1999.12.11
- ¹⁹ Generalists // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/generalist>
- ²⁰ Administrative Assistants (A1) // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/generalist>
- ²¹ Executive Assistants (A2) // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/generalist>
- ²² <http://www.civilservice.gov.uk/jobs/FastStream/FastStream/index.aspx>
- ²³ Policy Entrants (C4) // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/generalist>
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Specialists // <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/about-us/working-for-us/careers/specialist>
- ²⁶ Our Man in Kiev — Leigh Turner to Manchester Evening News (22 March 2010) // <http://ukinukraine.fco.gov.uk/uk/about-us/our-embassy/our-ambassador/ambassador-interviews/men-intervie>
- ²⁷ Никольсон Г. Дипломатия. Пер. с англ. — Киев. [б.г.]. — С. 93.
- ²⁸ Macomber W. The Angel's Game. — New York, 1976. — P. 105.
- ²⁹ Закон України «Про дипломатичну службу» від 20.09.2001р. (у редакції від 09.02.2011р.) // zakon1.rada.gov.ua
- ³⁰ Див.: Lane A. Modernising the management of British diplomacy: towards a Foreign Office policy on policy-making? // Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Volume 20, Number 1, March 2007. — P. 179–193.

АННОТАЦИЯ

В статье рассматривается опыт и особенности кадрового обеспечения современной дипломатической службы Великобритании. Особое внимание при анализе институциональной модели дипломатии Великобритании акцентируется на национальных особенностях. Проанализированы профессиональные требования к дипломатам и государственным служащим, которые занимаются вопросами внешней политики.

Ключевые слова: *дипломатическая служба, дипломат, кадры, кадровая политика, кадровое обеспечение, Великобритания, Форин Офис, МИД Украины.*

ANNOTATION

The article reviews experience and features of human resourcing in modern diplomatic service in UK. Special attention to national peculiarities is paid when analyzing the institutional model of British diplomacy. Professional requirements to diplomats and foreign policy public officials are analysed.

Key words: *diplomatic service, diplomat, staff, staff policy, human resourcing, UK, Foreign Office, MFA of Ukraine.*



The Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine – scenes of life



The former Prime Minister of Great Britain Antony Blair is making a speech. April, 2011



Meeting at the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine: Antony Blair, Borys Gumenyuk, Viktor Pinchuk, Arsenii Yatsenyuk

ГЕНЕРАЛЬНА ДИРЕКЦІЯ
З ОБСЛУГОВУВАННЯ ІНОЗЕМНИХ
ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВ



GENERAL MANAGEMENT
SERVICES TO THE FOREIGN
REPRESENTATIVES

GENERAL DIRECTORATE TO RENDER SERVICES TO FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES



General Directorate to render services to foreign representatives



Paulo Kryvonos,

*Director General of the Directorate General
for Servicing Foreign Representations*

FOR DIPLOMATS AND ABOUT DIPLOMATS

For twenty years Ukraine exists in the world as a full-fledged subject of international relations. Guided by spiritual values and national interests the foreign policy of the state is based on the appropriate understanding of the global development and its role in the interstate communications. As a nation we express our identity through foreign policy identifying our place in the system of global coordinates.

The first steps of our statehood building are the history now but there are no breaks in the passage of time. What we do now, decisions we make responding to global developments and our own needs will joint as a separate stream the eventful flow of the whole mankind adding to the historical ocean a small but special drop.

The real diplomacy, which is always a reflection of the common sense inherent in the human community, should work with a sense of responsibility before the nation and before the mankind. It is hard to foresee, how the now young twenty year old Ukrainian diplomacy will be assessed in the historical perspective by the generations yet unborn, but in our ups (we are happy about) and downs (evident in time) the diplomacy has its essential share. Creation of the diplomatic service

of Ukraine capable to service its national interests and effectively respond to the contemporary challenges is an important achievement of our development for these twenty years.

Certainly, perfection is not a constant value — every living organism should be energized by the communications with peers, be able to learn and proficiently use the other's experience. With this in mind publications issued for the period of independence by the Directorate General for Servicing Foreign Representations are very helpful and valuable source for professional growth of contemporary generation of Ukrainian diplomats.

Today Ukrainian diplomacy has a special mission - to be the driving force and an important actor in achieving the national interests of our country: on the one hand, to participate in education of our society, its mobilization to achieve high international goals, and, on the other - to provide favorable external conditions for the realization of these goals including such an important component as growing respect for Ukraine in the world, improving mutual understanding with external partners, a clear and plain presentation to the foreign public objectives and expectations with which our country entering the global domain in the third decade of its independent statehood.

Therefore, publishing activity is an important direction of our work. We are in the ongoing process of preparing to print and publish books on diplomatic topics, corporate calendars, postcards and printed souvenirs. Photo guide Treasures of Ancient Kyiv, a book Representations of the Foreign States in Ukraine and Fundamentals of Consular Relations, the reference book Diplomatic Corps published in close cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the manual Quick Ukrainian Diplomatic Directory, a collection of documents and materials for 1991–1995 Ukraine on the International Arena in two volumes are our absolute achievements. Our organization contributed to implementation of such fundamental projects as Prime of the Independent Ukraine, Artists of Kyiv. Ukrainian Art in 1991–2011, On the Verge of II–III Millennia, Shevchenko's Post Card, Notes on Diplomacy and Diplomat Alexander Slipchenko in three volumes and others.

Twelve years ago during presentation of the first scientific yearbook *Ukraina Dyplomatychna* at least the founders of this publication were pleasantly surprised by the response of the guests (among them there were the well-known historians, diplomats, public and political figures). In general, scientific community and mass media shared the opinion that it was time to represent on a regular basis a history of the diplomatic life of Ukraine, to publish meaningful and in-depth research works about the activities of the foreign policy officials, to familiarize the general public with correspondence of the famous diplomats and with academic research in this important sphere of international relations. Being generally welcomed the editorial board of the new Yearbook enthusiastically got down to business. The results came quickly. Editorial portfolio began to receive materials that proved the need and urgency of the publication for the scientific community. Creative search combined with the real tasks of today became prerequisites for international popularity of our publication. Already the third issue of the Yearbook was opened with the article by Kofi Annan, the UN General Secretary *Democracy is the Way of Live*.

Ukraina Dyplomatychna. These two words reflect everything: the past and the present, documents and memories, current theoretical research and interviews, essays, diplomatic chronicles. Over the years the scientific and encyclopedic periodical has developed its own style representing the authors from foreign and domestic diplomatic corps, academic staff of the Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, the Diplomatic Academy, the National Institute for Strategic Studies, a number of humanitarian institutes of the NAS of Ukraine, teachers of the leading universities. The authorized editorial board is responsible for making design of the publication.

Over the years, the main spheres of interest of the publication were identified, namely coverage of mostly unknown or little-known pages in the history of Ukrainian diplomacy, analysis of the contemporary diplomatic life of Ukraine in the global dimension, the theoretical aspects of international political relations, chronology of major events of the current year. The Yearbook regularly publishes biodata of foreign and Ukrainian diplomats. Attractively presented material



February 3, 2011. Participants of the session of the Editorial Board of the Yearbook *Dyplomatychna Ukraina* devoted to the twenty years of independence of Ukraine.

In the photo left to right: Head of the State Archives of the MFA of Ukraine Oleksandr Shulga, Executive Secretary of the Yearbook Vladymyr Denisenko, Head of the Section of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO Roksolana Ivanchenko, Director of Foreign Policy Institute of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine Grygory Perepelitsia, Deputy Rector of the M.P. Dragomanov National Pedagogical University Vladimir Lavrynenko, Editor of the journal *Zovnishni Spravy* Olga Taukach, Director of the Central State Archive of the Public Associations of Ukraine Volodymyr Lozyskyi, Director of the Information Policy Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Oleg Voloshin, Rector of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine Borys Gumenyuk, Director General of Directorate General for Servicing Foreign Representations Pavlo Kryvonos, Director General of the *Naukova Dumka* Publishers of the NAS of Ukraine Igor Alekseenko, Editor of the Yearbook Anatoly Denisenko, Assistant President of the Open International University for Human Development Ukraine Alexander Kryvonosov, First Deputy Head of the State Committee for Archives of Ukraine Irina Matyash, Deputy Chief Editor of the World Service Radio Ukraine Anton Goncharsky, Director of the Department for Relations with Ukrainians Living Abroad and for Cultural Humanitarian Cooperation, Acting Deputy Head of the National Commission of Ukraine for UNESCO Volodymyr Yatsenkivskiy, Director of the Institute for Ukrainian Studies of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine Petro Kononenko, Deputy Editor of the Yearbook Vasyl Turkevych, Director of the Institute for Encyclopedic Research of the NAS of Ukraine Mykola Zheleznyak

includes essay-portraits of the Ukrainian diplomats, their memoirs and reflections. We also paid much attention to good illustrative material.

The following series of publications were launched: The Yearbook Library with the first published issue *Activities of the Emergency Diplomatic Mission of Ukrainian People's Republic in Hungary*. Books about Ukrainian diplomats Gennadiy Udoenko and Ivan Gryshchenko are pending publication.



The General Directorate for Serving Foreign Representations is the publisher of the journal *The Memory of Centuries*, the yearbook *Historical Calendar*, the quarterly *Spiritual Studies* narrating about diplomats, history and current state of the Ukrainian diplomacy and providing space for contributions from the representatives of the foreign diplomatic corps.





Oleksii Kyikov,

Deputy Director of the Call Center Directorate of the Directorate General for Servicing Foreign Representations

UKRAINIAN ROUTES OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

Communication with foreign diplomats evidently shows their unflagging interest in our country, its culture and spirits. There is a phrase: ‘roads that we choose’. However, often happens that the roads choose us. They are calling us to explore the world, to enrich our spiritual world and to expand our knowledge about the globe. This exciting adventure is unique and it beats all!

Undoubtedly, Ukraine in this sense has enormous potential. Such historical treasures of the ancient beauty as cities of Chernihiv, Lviv, Chernivtsi, Kamiyanets-Podolsky and Uzhgorod, castles of Volyn and wooden temples of Ternopil are unique and invaluable. Therefore, permanently working with employees of the foreign missions we are trying to show them our country at close range. It is a big honor – to be a propagator of historical and cultural achievements of our nation, to promote and advertise them.

With this aim the Directorate General for Servicing Foreign Representations is promoting tourist routes of Ukraine looking for new forms of presenting the beauties of our country and historical background of various localities to the foreign diplomats and their families. Varieties of tourist routes and versatile forms of their organization are solid ground for successful implementation of this task.

People are coming to Ukraine from all over the world, they live, work and have their leisure here; so much depends upon what impression they have about our country. First of all, this is the image of our country, which one does not need to create anew because it was created long before and it only needs to be properly presented and disclosed with right focuses on the most interesting.

Another important thing is that showing the historical monuments and spectacular landscapes of Ukraine you yourself begin to feel even more deep love to your native land and realize the genuine meaning of the word 'Motherland'.

No other land is our home — we were born here in this wonderful country rich in historical traditions.

Roads that choose us...

First of all, this is Kyiv, a capital of our sovereign state.

The city is really magnificent: the St. Sophia Cathedral and the Kiev Pechersk lavra are the most ancient creations of spirit, art and beauty, the renovated gold-domed St. Michael's Cathedral and the Santa Maria Pyrohoscha Church, St. Cyril's and Vydubychi Monasteries, the Holly Protection and Froliv nunneries. Kyiv is the city to show. We have almost twenty various routes: walking, bus, ship and helicopter.

One can feel the unique spirit of this unforgettable city everywhere — in the labyrinth of the lavra caves, in niceness of the Scythian gold, in official refinement of Pechersk and in ancient streets of Podol, the city with its elaborate architecture, the city so many times destroyed but as many times recreated from ashes acquiring more and more beauty, becoming the implemented dream of many generations. We show the city and promote it because all main diplomatic missions are located here, representations of the main international organization are also here and all most influential global companies have their branches in Kyiv.

The ancient settlements of people in the Kiev hills are known since the Upper Paleolithic times. In the 9th century the city united almost all East Slavic tribes and became their political center. In fact, Kyiv is a cradle of the East Slavic peoples and cultures. Our mission lies in bringing our history to the hearts and minds of the diplomatic representatives of the world. We designed a special route for our foreign guests in Podil, one of the oldest districts

of Kyiv, known to the world since the 10th century as a large market place where merchants from Germany, Italy, Nordic countries, Poland, Czechia, Hungary, Byzantium, Khazaria, Bulgaria , the Arab East and the Caucasus traded foreign goods and agricultural products and in Pechersk , whose name is derived from the caves that long existed here.

The atmosphere of the Kyiv city, cozy and quite place, inspired creativity of many world famous artists. Kyiv streets, which we show to the diplomats, still remember the steps of Shevchenko and Vrubel, Bulgakov and Akhmatova and willingly share their spirit and mystery. This route is called 'History of one street'. We are grateful to the representatives of diplomatic missions for their concern and interest to the Kiev architecture, monasteries and churches.

There are other cities except the capital that are worth attention. Each city is a bead in the necklace of Ukrainian cities. That is why we are willingly invite the foreign diplomats for travels to see interesting objects of the Ukrainian heritage, which are, in fact, everywhere.

“The spirit of Europe is there, the richness of south is there, a diversity of faces and tribes...”, – these are the words of Aleksandr Pushkin about the then young Odessa city. Odessa with its mild climate, warm sea and sunny beaches attracts guests from everywhere. Streets, buildings and squares, so home-like and so cozy add a special atmosphere to the city.

Almost two centuries ago a small settlement Hadzhybey was created on the Black Sea coast and a year later it received a new name – Odessa. Maritime trade city was rapidly developing, its population grew and soon the end of the 19th century it had almost half a million inhabitants ranking the third place after Moscow and St. Petersburg in Tsarist Russia.

Peresyp, Moldovanka, the Potemkin Staircase, Catacombs are the historical landmarks of this city, which are left in memories of its guests forever. The Directorate General for Serving Foreign Representations in its ongoing tradition to acquaint the foreign diplomats with the historical sites of Ukraine this time chose the Odessa City. The Diplomats from 40 embassies responded to yet

another initiative of Directorate General to explore this city in the Black Sea region

Right from the airport after traditional bread and salt reception, the guests headed to the Odessa City Hall for presentation of investment and tourist potential of the South Palmyra, the name given to Odessa in the days of old. The Odessa Mayor Aleksiy Kostusev after welcoming the guests spoke about a number of international projects related to the city life. In particular, Odessa became the 86th member of the European Coalition of Cities against Racism, which includes 12 countries, and the second after St. Petersburg among the CIS cities. The Mayor described Odessa relations with the twin cities, which, in addition to the economic component, have a lot of developments in the humanitarian and cultural spheres, creating an excellent basis for mutually beneficial cooperation.

Aleksiy Kostusev said that creation of the open economy, which is now supported by many adherents all over the world, will be a main direction in the city development. It will allow Odessa to be closer to the twin cities, in other words to talk the same language to them.

After presentation in the City Hall the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Belarus to Ukraine Valentyn Velychko indicated that owing to such meetings not only Kyiv but also other cities such as Odessa would have more close relations with a number of countries. As to Belarus, this process is traditional.

Then the guests visited the Alley of Glory, admired the Black Sea, some even tried to master the basics of the Ukrainian language. Presentation of Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, entitled *Ukraine's Foreign Policy: Five Reasons for Optimism* for representatives of the diplomatic corps, students and academic staff of the faculty of international relations at the National University 'Odessa Law Academy' was an important item in the first day agenda.

The guests visited the Odessa National Academic Opera and Ballet Theater, learnt about its history and architecture with the Baroque and Rococo elements, were delighted with famous stage curtain designed by the local artist and the middle two-ton chandelier shaped as a rose in blossom. With great pleasure they watched

the ballet *Walpurgis Night* by Charles Gounod and a choreographic suite *Chopinana*. Debut of the young conductor Oksana Lyniv, laureate of the international musical contest, added special charm to the performance. Paying tribute for the wonderful performance the guests presented nice roses from Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Natalia Gryshchenko as well as from the Directorate General for Servicing of the Foreign Enterprises to the artists. One should have seen the eyes of the guests when they thanked the performers for their artistic skills! The U.S. Ambassador John F. Tefft exclaimed “Thank you, Spasibo!” What else can one add?

Closing the first day of the stay in Odessa it became evident what work is being done by the Directorate General for Servicing of the Foreign Representations. Its employees think over every activity and every step in order to provide to the local administration an opportunity to directly communicate with the representative of the Foreign Diplomatic Corps about potential investment projects in the region while the foreign diplomats receive all assistance for learning economic and cultural opportunities in the region. This joint work allows taking an ample advantage of such trips and is really a way of strengthening a positive image of the country in the world.

At the meetings held during the visit, the Director General of the Directorate Pavlo Kryvonos on behalf of the ambassadors presented to the local and regional authorities a unique multi-volume collected works *Ukraina Dyplomatychna* emphasizing that Odessa region takes a significant place in this book.

The second day started with presentation of the Odessa oblast, the largest oblast in Ukraine. The Governor of the Odessa Oblast Eduard Matvichuk informed the guests that in line with the commission of the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovych attracting investments is the main priority in the regional development. The oblast administration is determined to create favorable conditions for foreign business and to organize special department for this purpose.

“We are ready to support every business project and take responsibility for eliminating all administrative barriers”, — said the Governor. — “We clearly understand that the investor comes here

to raise money and we hope for replenishment of the regional budget accordingly”. Eduard Matviychuk expressed confidence that this information will be communicated to the concerned parties for them to understand that Odessa oblast is a good place for stable business and the authorities and people are interested in foreign investments putting every effort to make it smooth. The negative implications that were in the past will remain in the past.

Three days in Odessa were a nice time for the foreign diplomatic corps to learn about this wonderful area in the Ukrainian land.



Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Meeting at the Odessa City Council. From the left to the right: General Director of General Directorate to render services to foreign representatives Pavlo Kryvonos, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Republic of Belarus to Ukraine Valentyyn Velychko, Odessa City Mayor Oleksiy Kostusev

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Meeting in Odessa City Council



Foreign diplomats in the conference room of Odessa City Council



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
Ahmad Navaz Salim Mela and his wife are having a rest

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Near the Black sea



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Arabian Republic of Egypt
Yaser M. Atef Abdel Kader is being interviewed by Ukrainian journalist

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Foreign guests during their visit to Odessa: Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Federative Republic Nigeria Ibragim Pada Kasay, General Director of General Directorate to render services to foreign representatives Pavlo Kryvonos, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Republic of Greece Georgios Georguntzos, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of USA in Ukraine John Francis Tefft with wife, the wife of the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Ukraine, the wife of the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Turkey in Ukraine, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Azerbaijan Republic Eynulla Yadulla oglu Madatli

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Kingdom of Belgium Yana Zikmundova and the wife of the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Kingdom of Denmark Marianne Borg-Hansen



A visit to Tairov Institute of grape-growing and wine-making



Friendly talk at the sea port: Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Republic of Belarus in Ukraine Valentyn Velychko, General Director of General Directorate to render services to foreign representatives Pavlo Kryvonos and Director of Regional enterprise to render services to foreign representatives Anatoliy Popov



Right on the sea...

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Mr. Kostyantyn Hryshchenko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Federative Republic Nigeria Ibragim Pada Kasay

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Arabian Republic of Egypt Yaser M. Atef Abdel Kader, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco in Ukraine Abdelzhalil Saubri, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Republic of Iraq in Ukraine Shorsh Halid Said

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Wife's of Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of Turkey, Republic of South Africa, Lebanon Republic and Morocco



Near the monuments of Odessa

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



A picture as a moment of their visit



Near the sea moorage

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Friendly talk of Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Arabian Republic of Egypt in Ukraine Yaser M. Atef Abdel Kader, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Ahmad Navaz Salim Mela with his wife and Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya Feysal Atiya M. Alshaary with his wife



Meetings, meetings, meetings...

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Unforgettable moments

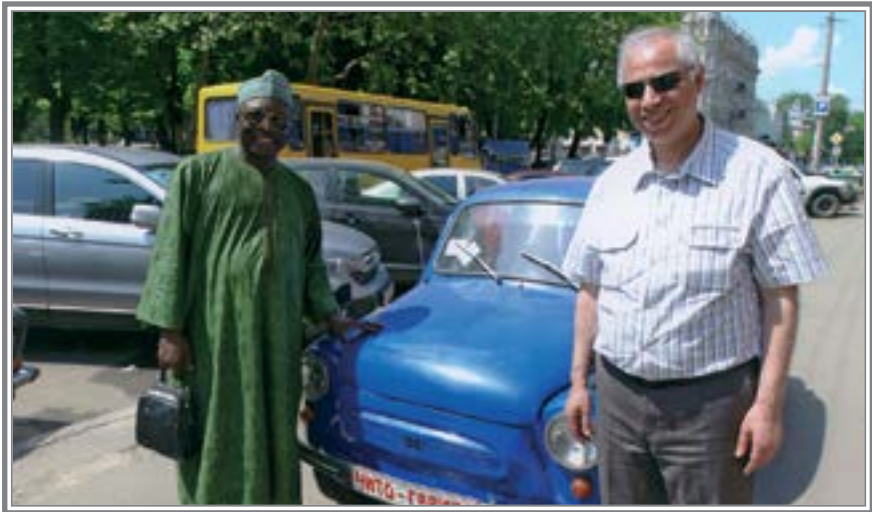


Applause and greetings

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



At the excursion



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Federative Republic Nigeria Ibragim Pada Kasay and Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Democratic People's Republic of Algeria Mohamed Bashyr Mazus

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Third from the left is Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of USA in Ukraine
John Francis Tefft



Press Conference of General Directorate to render services to foreign representatives
in Odessa Oblast State Administration

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of Republic of South Africa in Ukraine Andris Fenter with his wife and Honorary Consul of the Republic of South Africa in Odessa Larysa Poplavska



Mr. Vyacheslav Lasov, Director of the Tairov Institute of grape-growing and wine-making and General Director of General Directorate to render services to foreign representatives Pavlo Kryvonos

Diplomatic life in illustrations: the visit to Odessa



Foreign diplomats in the park of Great Victory in Odessa



Ukrainian children are greeting foreign guests near the Tairov Institute of grape-growing and wine-making

Contemporary Ukrainian diplomacy



Vasil Durdinets,

First deputy head of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Head of Verkhovna Rada commission on defense and state security issues, first session

DEFENDING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

At the all-Ukrainian referendum held 1 December 1991 almost 29 million of Ukrainians voted for an independent state — Ukraine. This meant that its territory was to be indivisible, inviolable and governed exclusively by Ukrainian Constitution and laws. These historic documents called for purposeful and determined efforts from its highest legislative body, Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

At that time I was assigned to position of the Head of VR Commission on defense and state security issues and later as the first Deputy Head of the VR of Ukraine was charged with organization of monitoring proper enforcement of adopted laws, decrees and other instructions by public authorities.

Defense of Ukrainian sovereignty and its territorial integrity was undoubtedly impossible without building national Armed Forces.

Within a short time frame (less than a year) the commission I chaired has submitted for review to the Ukrainian Parliament six draft laws and 20 resolutions on these issues. All of them have been adopted. At about the same time, commission produced the total of about 70 draft resolutions and decrees on defense and state security.

Taking into account specifics of this historical period and the need of taking further steps in military domain the Ukrainian Parliament issued 24 August 1991 a Resolution that placed all military units stationed in Ukraine under command of the Verkhovna

Rada. On 11 November of the same year the Concept of Defense and Construction of Ukrainian Armed Forces was signed into law.

According to this concept Ukraine was to gradually (by taking care of all national security aspects) implement its intent of becoming a neutral, non-nuclear state that would stay apart from joining any military blocks and follow three non-nuclear principles: not accept, not produce and not acquire nuclear weapons.

This document has laid down clearly defined principles of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, established the military command structure, sources of financial and economic support, social protection servicemen and military veterans.

Once the first legislation has been passed the Commission along with specialists from appropriate ministries and departments, civil organizations set off to work out another package, which included draft laws concerning military duty and military service, pension support of servicemen and Internal Affairs Ministry employees, status of servicemen stationed in Ukraine, State Security Service, conversion of defense industry and civil defense.

Another branch of Commission's activities included draft by-laws that dealt with rights and responsibilities of the National Guard of Ukraine, structure and strength of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and Border troops, state and encrypted communication etc.

In the process of this work Commission came across a number of difficult issues which sometimes led to hot debates among different participants who suggested solving them in totally divergent ways. These were our internal issues.

The most ambiguous was the question of liquidating the KGB and substituting it with the Security Service of Ukraine. To prepare a legislative foundation, Verkhovna Rada has set up a temporary commission that represented the interests of all political parties sitting in the Parliament. I, as a chairman of this commission, had to mediate sometimes complex and numerous efforts to find the draft legislation that would be legally well-balanced, urgent, real and at the same time concurred between all commission members to be then submitted for review to the Ukrainian Parliament. Ultimately, the success had been achieved by pro-active and dedicated exercise of all commission members and outsourced legal counsels.

Of not lesser importance were external factors.

All above urged me to deliver a report to Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on 21 January 1992 where I described my own vision of what was to expect from commission I headed.

The Ukrainian Parliament had generally supported proposals that I made in my report and whose gist was to direct Commission in tight cooperation with other permanent commissions and the leadership of Verkhovna Rada toward bringing the most substantial contribution into stabilization of social, economic and political life in the country, maintaining the firm constitutional order, discipline, civic peace and consent in Ukraine.

As to external political factors, the Commission published its statement on Ukrainian military policy the following day, 22 January 1992.

The statement declared that endeavors of independent Ukraine to have own Armed Forces as a fundamental attribute of statehood have been met with fervent resistance from the former administrative center and its mass media: press, radio and TV.

Over and over again the “center” was doing its utmost to create political tension by citing incorrect declarations of individual politicians and the former Soviet Ministry of Defense leaders. On some occasions it would go as far as distort facts, spread cheap political speculations and fabrications, assess events in a highly biased manner. To make a long story short, everything went in accordance with the well known scenario.

Some statements made in individual central newspapers, central radio and TV programs, at the general officers assembly have been deliberately misleading: it was asserted that Ukraine was creating its Armed Forces in an uncivilized way by arbitrarily “seizing” troops, forcing servicemen into taking an oath of allegiance to Ukrainian people.

We, the people’s deputies of Ukraine, members of the Verkhovna Rada Commission had to remind to those who have been keen on building up political tension and heedlessly sowing seeds of disension that the Ukrainian state had been soberly and consistently, without any haste working on preparation of the solid legislation basis for the future Armed Forces of Ukraine.

On 30 December 1991, in Minsk at the meeting of the Commonwealth leaders the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk made public a statement proclaiming that Ukraine was to start

since 3 January 1992 implementing its right to create its national Armed Forces and was suggesting to any willing troops taking an oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people. On 2–3 January 1992, the President held in Kyiv the meeting with the high military command on organizational issues related to building Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The real outcome of legislative work by the Ukrainian Parliament was passing into law a number of law and other deeds on military issues. The statement listed all laws and by-laws adopted by Verkhovna Rada in this area mentioned above in this article.

Based on the above said we have firmly refuted all unwarranted rebukes on the absence of legislative base and accusations of uncivilized ways in achieving established goals.

In this statement we have made a point of saying that all attempts to play the “army card” were doomed to failure, that Ukraine was and would be an independent state who would consistently strengthen its statehood and that the process of creating national Armed Forces had become steady and irreversible.

These were premises that even our most obstinate opponents had to digest.

I think it would be also useful for our readers today to look closely at the issue of the strenuous, consistent and persevering efforts that the Ukrainian Parliament made to preserve territorial integrity of our state. This is all the more important since even now some politicians in neighbor countries do not hide their desire to see Ukraine divested of some of its national territories.

At the same time we had to solve the issue of Crimea. On 21 May 1992, the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation passed the Resolution “On the Legal Evaluation of the Decision of Higher Agencies of State Power of the RSFSR for Changing the Status of Crimea, Adopted in 1954”.

We have immediately reacted to this unfriendly gesture toward Ukraine. In response to this “trial balloon”, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a statement that stressed the wrongfulness of the RF Supreme Council Resolution as it contradicted the Treaty between the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR dated 19 November 1990, the Agreement on Creation of Commonwealth of Sovereign Republics and Helsinki Final Act.

Even before the above resolution was published Ukraine proposed to the Russian party to hold meetings between Ukrainian

and Russian parliamentarians where they would discuss the reasons behind this step.

The Russian MPs and their Ukrainian counterparts met to exchange notes in Moscow on 19–20 May 1992.

At the same time we held two hot discussions with the RF Supreme Council faction leaders. I personally met with the Head of the RF Supreme Council Ruslan Khasbulatov and his deputies.

After these meetings our delegation decided to make public the Ukraine's official position and held three press conferences: two in Moscow and one — upon our return — in Kyiv.

On 2 June 1992, at the fifth session of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine I delivered a report on the “Crimean card” of the Russian Parliament. It contained a detailed political and legislative analysis of the RF Supreme Council Resolution and substantiation of its wrongfulness.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine made it crystal clear the Crimea and its territory was an inalienable part of Ukraine and the efforts of any other state to bring up the issue of changing the status of Crimea were unwarranted.

Republic of Crimea is an autonomous republic within Ukraine, which according to the Ukrainian Constitution has the right to independently administer all issues that have been transferred under its jurisdiction.

At the same time respecting historical and purely human relations that had been established between Crimea and Russia we believed it would be necessary to promote them but only within the framework of international treaties between Ukraine and Russia.

Based on this principle the independent Ukraine has been building in all subsequent years good neighborly, mutually beneficial and advantageous relations with all other states.

The Crimean “card” was closely related to the “fleet issue”. The mouthpiece of the entire ant-Ukrainian campaign in Sevastopol was the Black Sea Fleet press center, the agency that concentrated all ideological and informational structures of the Fleet and Sevastopol. It had a control over virtually all Crimean media.

This led to a situation when a purely internal Ukrainian problem very quickly acquired international status, was converted into a matter of international politics and skillfully tied up with most painful economic issues we had to deal with at that time.



Meeting with journalists after negotiations were finished



General Secretary UN Kofi Annan received the documents about Chernobyl (2001)



The symbolic key for the Embassy of Ukraine to Hungary was presented by the owner of the house Iosif Vice



Deputy of the General Secretary UN Kenzo Oshtama and Vasyl Durdynets are answering journalists questions

Politicizing the fleet issue and artificially bringing it on the front burner of the bilateral relations between Ukraine and Russian Federation resulted in a path of building the national fleet different from that of the national army.

The difference in the process of building the national fleet can be summarized in two parallel directions of its development.

The first direction comprised the following stages:

– period of taking an oath of allegiance to Ukrainian people that lasted from 3 January to 5 April 1992 to the date when the President of Ukraine issued a Decree on creation of the Ukrainian Navy on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet stationed in the Ukrainian national territory;

– period of building the Ukrainian Navy that lasted from 13 April 1992, the date of creating the Ukrainian Navy organizational group, to 28 May 1997, the date when the formed USSR Black Sea fleet was formally divided.

Another direction of building the Ukrainian Navy was the negotiation process on issues of dividing the Black Sea Fleet between Ukraine and the Russian Federation that lasted from 5 January 1992 to 28 May 1997 before the two countries signed international agreements on division of the Black Sea fleet.

The key document underpinning the creation of the Ukrainian Navy was the Decree of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk dated 5 April 1992 that laid the foundation to restoration of the national Navy.

On 6 April, the situation around Crimea and Black Sea fleet was considered by Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada. In its appeal to the RF Supreme Council and Black Sea mariners the Presidium unambiguously declared:

...Ukraine, intent on building the national Armed Forces based on a clearly defined legal foundation, has repeatedly clarified its position with regard to the Black Sea Fleet... Ukraine has made a considerable contribution into building the Baltic, Northern, Pacific and Black Sea Fleets of the former USSR. Ukraine lays a claim only on a portion of the Black Sea Fleet moored at its national ports, which is by far less than its contribution into building the former Soviet Navy.

On the next day, 6 April, by decision of the Presidium of Verkhovna Rada the parliamentary and governmental commission headed by myself arrived to Sevastopol. The commission members

included the head to SBU E. Marchuk, Minister of Internal Affairs D. Vasilishin, First Deputy Minister of Defense Lieutenant-General I. Bizhak, People's Deputies of Ukraine D. Pavlichko, M. Spis and a number of generals and officers from the Ukrainian General Staff.

At the arrival of our delegation the Fleet declared the state of alert to prevent the "nationalists" and "Banderowicz" (Bandera partisans) from seizing the ships; the fleet officers on duty had been ordered to set up the military defense outfits onboard the ships, install machine-gun posts and lift gangways.

On Nakhimov square, the full-time protesters had been mustered at short notice.

In such conditions, the parliamentary and governmental commission had its meeting with representatives of the BSF Military Council on 1 April 1992.

After explaining the objective of our mission and reading to all present the Decree of the Ukrainian President on creation of the Ukrainian Navy and the statement of the Verkhovna Rada Presidium I appealed to the BSF Military Council with a request to consider these documents with a good judgment and facilitate the process of building the Ukrainian Navy. In response, the Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet read a declaration that rather bluntly, without mincing words precluded any even minor possibility of participation in this effort.

The dialogue has failed, to say the least. To turn the tables, we have decided to meet directly with the personnel of surface ships, deputies of Sevastopol city council and workers from Sevastopol factories. I believe we have succeeded in conveying to the town residents genuine endeavors of the Ukrainian state and to a certain extent correcting distortions fed by the Russian propaganda. What is most important, we have managed to inspire people to get down to the hard task of building the national Navy.

On the same day at the meeting with the State City Administration of Sevastopol I announced the Decree of the Ukrainian President on appointing the Rear Admiral Boris Borisovich Kozhin, the base commander to position of the first Commander-In-Chief of the Ukrainian Navy and introduced him to the town leadership.

On 7 April 1992, 37 commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Crimean Base staff and administration were sworn to

the Ukrainian oath, after which they published their address to the Navy officers. In the afternoon, the admiral I. Kasatonov had spread through the BSF operational channels the Decree of the Russian President: "On placing the Black Sea Fleet under jurisdiction of the Russian Federation". On the next day, the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Armed Forces issued an order to follow up on the above Decree of the Russian President. Under these documents, the Black Sea Fleet in all Ukrainian territory was declared as Russian. This made the conflict all the more imminent.

Late at night, on 7 April the admiral I. Kasatonov issued a personal statement to the Navy personnel, according to which the nationalist troops rose in revolt and assaulted the base headquarters in Novoozerne village where the fight broke out. Deep into the night from 7 to 8 April when the village was in fact fast asleep and the head-quarter officers were at their homes, the tanks and armored troop carriers with armed assault forces entered the Donuzlava garrison by order of the Black Sea Fleet Commander-in-Chief. The base headquarters were surrounded by officers with hand- and machine-guns in their hands. Following the alarm, two antisubmarine warfare ships from Sevastopol and two guided missile boats entered into the Donuzlava bay. All village public institutions, school and even post office from where the report to the Ukrainian minister of defense had been wired by telegram were closed.

Information about majority of the Crimean base taking the Ukrainian oath and the commander of this base being appointed to the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Navy had spread like fire across the fleet, and was considered by the CIS Combined Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief, the Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin as a valid reason of rushing to Sevastopol from Moscow. Once arrived to the BS Fleet headquarters he immediately ordered hoisting in the morning of 9 April the Russian Navy St. Andrew flags on-board all BSF ships and vessels. The order was followed only by the Brigade of Rescue Ships. This was supposed to be a move to spite the Ukrainian Minister of Defense who signed on 8 April the Regulation No 8 "On Creation of the Ukrainian Navy".

By the end of the day the deadlock petered out and the Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin had to sit down at the negotiating table with the Ukrainian delegation.

Taking into account the last developments and the situation in the BSF, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has firmly declared that actions of the Russian politicians military leadership were "...objectively directed at breaking down the Russian and Ukrainian relations, destabilizing Ukrainian political environment which so far remained calm in both political and national sense...".

On the same day, the Verkhovna Rada in its resolution where it blamed the CIS Armed Forces leadership of illegal actions appealed to the President of Ukraine L.M. Kravchuk to express distrust to E.I Shaposhnikov and prompt the heads of CIS states to recognize him as not fitting the position of Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Combined Armed Forces.

The events with the military mariners deciding to go over under the Ukrainian military command got momentum. The number of those who were willing to take the Ukrainian oath was growing in Missile Boat and Antisubmarine Warfare Ship Brigades of 30th division, in Feodosia brigade, in Kerch and in Ismail.

In the morning of 8 April, forty seamen and master sergeants of the destroyer escort "Pitliviy" urged the ship's captain to set up the ceremony of taking the oath to Ukrainian people under the state flag of Ukraine. Should the Russian Navy St. Andrew flag be hoisted they promised to strip their epaulets and leave the ship. The similar morale was characteristic for other ships of 30th division where Ukrainian citizens composing the overwhelming majority of the crew wanted to serve their country and their people.

On 10 April, the Black Sea Fleet personnel was informed that the Presidents of Ukraine and Russian Federation Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Eltsin spoke by telephone and agreed on imposing moratorium on their respective decisions and decrees regarding the Black Sea Fleet.

Since that day on, the issue of what state the Black Sea Fleet belonged to was relegated to jurisdiction of special Ukrainian and Russian state delegations.

The negotiations process between these two countries started from the date of moratorium and lasted till the end of May 1997. Negotiations have been held between the military and the diplomats, specialists from numerous departments, high public officials, including the Presidents, heads of Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

The analysis of a more than five-year negotiations regarding division of the Black Sea Fleet requires a separate in-depth analysis. In this article I think it is worthwhile to mention that at the first meeting between state delegations of Ukraine and the Russian Federation in Odesa we consolidated the commencement of negotiation process and strengthened our mutual interest in its final success. I, as a head of delegation, had to put a lot of effort in making all interested parties to consider the issue of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet not as a simple division of ships, vessels or another property but to address it in conjunction with the problems of personnel serving onboard these ships, their families, residents of cities and towns where the Fleet was based.

At the meeting in Odesa held in April 1992 we put a strong emphasis on the Ukraine's willingness to make friendly relations with Russia its top foreign policy priority; to address all issues to our mutual benefit in the spirit of cooperation, confidence, respect of sovereignty, equality, independence and territorial integrity.

Today I must admit that we had to sow these grains in hard weather. The grains are growing and our human and state pride is growing, too. We spared no pains with a certitude that we had to withstand our native land and we have done it.





Volodimir Evtukh,

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of the Academy of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Director of Institute of Sociology, Psychology and Management at the M.P. Dragomanov National Pedagogical University,

PROSPECTS OF UKRAINE'S COOPERATION WITH EUROPEAN AND TRANSATLANTIC STRUCTURES IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINIAN IDENTITIES

To have an efficient and adequate discussion on the above subject the scientific premises must be clearly defined. First of all, it is critical to identify two terms: “cooperation” and “identity” so that they could be correctly applied in the context of the problem in question.

We suggest interpreting the term “cooperation” in a broad sense since the notion of cooperation as such has a sufficiently spacious functional field. This interpretation is best implemented, in our opinion, in the concept of interactionism. From this stand point, cooperation is the action that emerges when two or more objects influence each other and such bilateral influence is key in the concept of interactionism [12, 5–24; 350]. In concrete implementation this is the system of direct and indirect contacts, ties, communication relations at individual and group levels in all strata of public life whose process is associated with exchange of information, new unions, various joint projects etc [5, 99–100]. The highest form of cooperation is institutionalized unions and the most efficient results are achieved when this cooperation takes place in the framework of these unions (which incidentally can be built as result of this cooperation) leading to formation of large interactive societal systems.

The example of the latter is European Council (EC), European Union (EU), NATO, Common Economic Space (CES) etc.

It is quite evident that identity (identities) of population, groups predominantly affects elites and broad public attitude toward cooperation and integration of any country, in our case Ukraine, into European and transatlantic processes and structures (in a broader sense, interactive systems), and, finally, into the European and international space. In this article we will attempt to prove this relationship.

In terms of structure and subjects the arguments will be presented in the following fashion:

1) First of all, let us be clear about basic in this context notions of “identity”, “identities” and criteria of identity classification in the Ukrainian context; establish markers for identities, specifically national identities. It should be borne in mind that these markers just as identities have different expressions, at least in three dimensions: a) in theoretical applications of scientists researching problems of social, cultural and ethno-political identities; b) in the ways they function in practice; c) in the way they (markets and finally the identities) are interpreted and implemented by elite, at least, its composite part that in one way or another establishes or regulates the process of Ukraine’s cooperation and integration into European and transatlantic structures; 2) consider factors and reasons that affect the content and dynamics of identities; 3) design ways of overcoming dissensions and strengthening bases of consolidated Ukrainian identity and coordination of its functioning in the context of current globalization processes, or in a narrower sense, integration processes; 4) from multiple transatlantic and European structures for the purposes of this analysis let’s select European Union, European Council, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and others.

These days, the socio-humanitarian sciences abound with numerous notions of “identity” and its varieties [2]. Having done an in-depth analysis, we suggest using a generalized definition, which can be used in the context of this discussion, namely in perspective of Ukraine’s prospects of cooperation with international structures and, undoubtedly, its participation in these structures.

It should be noted that identity is an umbrella term that, on one hand, is used by the bearer of this identity to express his perception (understanding) of himself as a complex and special being,

and on the other hand as an expression of this individual perception by other persons. Properly speaking, identity has two facets: internal related to self-identification of a person and external: its identification by others. Noteworthy, the other facet is important from perspective of having a possibility to manipulate the process of building public opinion with regard to any given situation, in our case, the behavior of individuals developing their position to a set of different alternatives and also their decision to cast votes for any particular alternative.

The prevailing definition of identity, at least in social and humanitarian sciences is the following: identity is the process or result of individual's self-identification (by others) with respect to any given group, territory, country, nation, ethnicity or being referred to these categories by others [6]. In the framework of external identification identities are usually constructed artificially, very often, depending on the purpose pursued by those who identify the individual. How well this identification matches the real state of things depends on level of information and knowledge about the subject and opportunities of the field where the identification object is located. Depending on field and classification criteria several types of identities can be differentiated: 1) spatial and territorial identity: correlation to a concrete place of residence (local), region (regional), country (geo-political), continent (continental), the entire world (self-identification as a citizen of the world); 2) political and civic identity: self-perception as a citizen of a concrete state (civil), being part of a nation: political nation, nation-state (national), being a member or partisan of political structures in society (political); 3) social, cultural identity: involvement in social structures and social relations (social), identification with a certain system of cultural values (cultural), affinity with a certain ethnic community or quality (ethno-cultural) characteristics, attributable to this community (ethnic); 4) religious identity: professing certain religion, beliefs.

For our study most important are two first types of identities, if only from a stand point that they portrait the results of their generation, i.e., enable us to assess attitudes of individual citizens and correlate them with real prospects of getting closer to or farther from international structures. In our context it is important to take into account another classification of identities: depending on the subject and number of people aware of their belonging to a cer-

tain group identity can be categorized as individual and collective. This categorization plays a critical role in Ukraine's position toward possibilities of joining international structures since collective behavior prevails over the aggregate of individual thoughts. This becomes extremely clear during surveys, referenda etc. Another important circumstance is that identity is always a product of social cooperation between individuals in spatial and territorial, social, psychological, ethno-cultural, political and civic fields resulting in at least two essential consequences: 1) production of new identities and, therefore, new types of groups and institutions; 2) creation of environment where the actors of social process can engage in a dialogue or confront each other. These specific traits must be reflected in the analysis of public opinion surveys and elucidation of their possible impacts on authorities' decision-making process regarding joining (association, integration) certain international structures or cooperation with them.

I suggest selecting from the multiple factors affecting formation of identities and, therefore, determination of interactive desires among people and, accordingly, the pressure they produce on decision making process the following: 1) ethnic composition (specifics of population structure); 2) residential structure of population by taking into consideration the ethnic factor; 3) geographical boundaries within the modern territory of Ukraine (some of its composite parts belong to different ethno-political bodies – states); 4) political orientation (politization of social life), division of the Ukrainian territory into different spheres of political influence; 5) migration (internal and external); 6) extent of cooperation between components of Ukrainian ethno-national population groups and the countries where these ethnicities are originated; 7) possibility of raising population awareness on essence of transatlantic and European structures (regional, ethnic specifics).

The following significant factors should be borne in mind with regard to the ethnic composition of the Ukrainian population, its residential structure and prevailing dynamics:

1) availability of autochthonous and allochthonous population (their heirs). The first group is the category of people who have been permanently living within the boundaries of today's Ukraine, strictly speaking the Slavic tribes that have laid a foundation of Ukrainian, Russian and Belarusian ethnoses. The Ukrainian ethnos (ethnic group) has virtually completely settled down in the territo-

ry of Ukraine within its present boundaries, along with small portions of the Russian and Belarusian ethnoses. The second category is the ethnic groups who have arrived to Ukraine at different points of time (Jews, Poles, Armenians, etc). The current multiethnic composition of the Ukrainian society was affected by two factors: a) migration, b) emergence of new independent nations from the ancient Slavic tribes that had resided in the territory of Kyivan Rus.

2) since consistent patterns and singularities in formation and dynamics of the Ukrainian ethnic composition can be traced back on the example of different ethnoses settling down in this territory at different historical periods this factor must be considered in this study. The overall color of ethno-national palette is undoubtedly determined by the most numerous ethnic communities and communities with well-rooted cultural and ethno-demographic traditions. In this context it should be mentioned that the residential structure of Ukrainian ethnic communities are characterized by their predominantly disperse settlement pattern although in some regions there are still some densely populated areas where representatives of certain ethnoses make up a significant percentage of the regional populace. We focused mostly the ethnic communities that have a potential of affecting attitude of the Ukrainian society toward Ukraine's cooperation with international structures and at the same time are subject of informational impact from interested circles in ethnic motherlands: Poles, Russians, Romanians, Slovaks, Hungarians and Moldovans.

According to recent statistic censuses today compact settlements of the Russians are most spread in Kharkiv, Luhansk, Sumy and Donetsk Oblasts and in the south of Mikolaiv, Kherson and Odesa Oblasts. The regions with considerable concentration of the Russian include also Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia and Kyiv. These are seats of predominant Russian ethnic community. The most prominent concentration of the Russians among other ethnicities can be observed the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (over 50%). Belarusians reside mostly in the border areas between Republic of Belarus and Ukraine. Historically, the Poles in Ukraine have been living in the Western Galicia and sporadically across the Dnieper River. These days the most part of Ukrainian Poles reside in the mixed Ukrainian-Polish villages of Vinnitsa, Khmel'nitsk and Zhitormir Oblasts and in cities of Kyiv, Lviv, Rivne and Chernivtsi. Another

Ukrainian minority are Moldovans: the compact Moldavian settlements can be found in the border Ukrainian regions.

Representatives of other large minorities such as Hungarians, Romanians, Greeks and Armenians appeared in Ukraine under different circumstances. For example the Hungarians settled down in the territory of today's Transcarpathian Oblast (Zakarpattya) in 9th century. Interethnic relations in the regions where Hungarian mentality and traditions remain quite prominent are still characterized by a specific impression that can be traced back to the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first Romanian settlements in Ukraine have been founded by the villagers who came from the south-western Wallachia and southern Transylvania. As in the above example, ethnic Romanian communities play an important role in the current political life of the region.

It should be remembered that ethno-national dynamics can not be measured exclusively by quantitative parameters; qualitative characteristics must also be considered. The latter are related to ethnocultural traditions that tend to change and transform as the result of cooperation between representatives of different ethnic communities within the same ethno-political body (EPB), the Ukrainian state in our case. We are talking about characteristics that have been acquired in the process of community's historical evolution and shaped predominantly by their affiliation with a certain group, community of nations. Noteworthy in Ukraine the natives of 14 communities of nations (of total 58 across the globe) and 18 groups (of total 300) [8] can be found.

This represents a factor significant for this analysis: polyethnicity of Ukrainian population and compact settlement pattern of some of its components (Poles, Russians, Rumanians, Hungarians).

The following factor to be considered is that some parts of present-day Ukrainian territory belonged to different ethno-political bodies at different historical periods and their proximity or considerable distance from the ethnic origin counties. For information, throughout different time periods the territories of the modern Ukraine have been part of the following states: Austria-Hungary, Poland, Russia, Romania, Czechoslovakia. Today Ukraine borders: with Poland, Slovakia, Hungary in the west; Moldova and Romania in south-west; with Belarus and Russia in the north and south east. The fact that historically different parts of Ukrainian population resided in other states whose "neighborly» cooperation

impacts the attitude of Ukrainian citizens toward international structures is hard to overestimate. Consequently we have to deal with another factor that influences formation of identities (consolidated and individual, i.e., situational): the existence of border areas where different identities arise as a product of an intensive cooperation between bearers of different ethnicities [1]; these identities, according to our observations, prevent the Ukrainian population from building a solid perspective toward potential Ukraine's integration with international bodies.

Dependence of attitudes although possibly of different nature on the party and political factors cannot be discounted either. The recent sociological surveys (especially those that are held in the eve of presidential and parliamentary elections) clearly demonstrate the existence of "party and political influence zones" correlating predominantly with certain regions if not in form of a well-defined (stable) umbrella identity at least by situational one. In this article I will not dwell on these political forces and will limit myself only by stating this fact as a given. This argument appears all too important for the logic of weighting different factors affecting formation of identities (artificial to some extent — as in this case), attitude of population throughout geographical regions and finally the prospects of Ukraine's entry (integration) into transatlantic and European structures. This is especially evident in cases (such as NATO) where people find themselves at opposite extremes and the only way out is to hold a referendum. Systematic research made by sociologists from Institute of Sociology, the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences (Ukrainian society. Sociological monitoring) and Olexander Rozumkov Center of Economic and Political Studies provides a vast amount of data that can be used to draw conclusions on the prospect of Ukraine's cooperation with international bodies. This issue was scrutinized in a number of concrete studies, first of all surveys, such as: 1) research project "Lviv-Donetsk" authored by Lviv researchers in 1994, 1999 and 2004; 2) project "Polyvalent identities in modern Ukraine: can they close the gap between East and West?» performed in 2010 jointly by the Ivan Franko Lviv State University and Michigan State University (USA); 3) survey of Ukrainian ethnic communities held in 2003 under the supervision of Professor Volodimir Evtukh (then at the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University) and Professor Vicki L. Hesli (Iowa State University, USA); 4) research project "Regions in Ukraine: dy-

namics, movements and politics»; 5) joint project of the Ukrainian NAS Institute of Sociology and the Institute of Sociology (Russian Academy of Sciences) “National Civil Identities and Tolerance. Experience of Russia and Ukraine in the Transformation Period”; 6) Rozumkov Center analytical report “Crimean AR: people, problems, prospects (societal, political, inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea); 7) project “Social transformations in border areas — Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova”; 8) project “Interaction of European, national and regional identities: nations between states along new eastern borders of the European Union” that is performed by researchers from ten countries: seven from the EU and three from Commonwealth of Independent States. The results of this research make it possible to establish certain vectors in preferences among the population of these ethnic regions, in particular to what extent these regions (via opinion of their population) associate their future with an independent state or with neighboring states; how they perceive prospects of cooperation between Ukraine and European or transatlantic structures.

Migration factor has always been conspicuous in the formation processes of Ukrainian nation [9, 51–68], and today its impact on different areas of social life in our country becomes even more prominent; this impact can be felt also in the area under analysis. In this sense closer attention should be paid to relations between migration processes and the prospects on Ukraine’s entry into the European and international social, cultural spaces, specifically by joining structured institutions that define predominant if not absolute development trends (especially for European countries). Two observations can be made in this conjecture: a) Ukraine becomes an even more active player in these processes, meaning it is simultaneously the country the migrants enter and the country the migrants exit. By the way, for this analysis Ukraine is more attractive as a county of entry; b) a rather significant number of people prone to migration tend to be more open-minded with respect to euro-integration prospects of Ukraine than those who are not considering immigration as an option. The certain potential of strengthening Europe- and transatlantic-center trends should be looked for among people who are predisposed to migration or — strictly speaking — emigration since the most of those individuals who think about emi-

gration think about going to European countries, the United States of America and Canada.

Let's now review the analysis of interface between components of ethno-national structure in Ukrainian society (ethnic communities – national minorities) and their origin countries in the context of the problem in question. The question is how these factors influence consolidation of Ukrainian society in terms of building the Ukrainian political (related to the single Ukrainian ethno-political body – the state) identity, which determines its unity and opens the possibilities of addressing urgent, sometimes controversial issues of social development. Historically the most intensive this cooperation was with the origin countries sharing with Ukraine the same border. In this sense, two group of countries and consequently two groups of influence can be identified (we are talking first of all about ethnic factor – an influence that is produced by supporting certain ideas generated in these countries); 1) north-eastern: Russia and Belarus; 2) western and south-western: Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary. We exclude from this list Moldova, which holds a stand-alone position since it hardly affects to any noticeable extent the progress of Ukraine (in political meaning of this word) process of identity consolidation. In this context its influence (i.e., the influence that can be expressed through the Moldavian ethnicity in Ukrainian society) is conflict breeding: on one side there is Russia (through factor of Dniester region that is totally suppressed by Russia) who wants to shape the public opinion of Ukrainian Moldavians on a number of issues, on the other side there is a significant Romanian dominance in the mindset of Moldavians residing in Ukraine.

The analysis of these two influence groups leads to conclude that they operate in opposite directions. The Russian side is keen on severing Ukraine from European integration processes (or at least interfere with them) and isolating it from transatlantic opportunities. The other side (especially, Poland) quite on the contrary is set on strengthening integration ambitions of certain Ukrainian population groups and Ukrainian authorities. The most obvious this desire could be felt when Poland assumed the presidency of the European Union (second half of 2011). These days the examples of such political divergences are abundant; one has only to compare some official declarations and concrete actions made by different

players and the reactions among ethnic communities related by their origin to the above countries and to look at pro-Russian politicians.

The awareness of Ukrainian population, in particular of other ethnic affiliations also plays a significant role in formation of consolidated identities, primarily with regard to the attitude toward Ukraine's integration with European and transatlantic institutionalized structures. Information can be provided in two basic ways: either 1) directly in Ukraine by mediation of the Ukrainian public and non-governmental organizations and international centers operating under the auspices of European Union, European Council, NATO center etc., or 2) through representatives of ethnic homelands visiting Ukraine or through communication with representatives of the ethnoses residing either in their homeland or in Ukraine, usually, the Russian ethnoses since this kind of communication is most widely spread among the natives of the Russian ethnic community in Ukraine. It should be mentioned that the information influence related to integration attitudes is only a part, possibly not substantial one, of the entire body of data that are created by the above means. Contrary to information from the first source which is measurable the second source is out of control since here information is generated from different points of origin: meetings between Russian politicians and the Russian diaspora in Ukraine, provision of non-governmental organizations run by the Russian national minority with mass media means, convening the global meetings of Russian diaspora in Russia etc. The same situation can be observed also among representatives of diasporas whose ethnic homelands lie west of Ukraine. The distinction between the two is that in the first case bulk of information data is directed at forging an image of international structures, first of all, NATO that does not stimulate the euro- and transatlantic aspirations, in particular among the representatives of pro-Russian portion of the Ukrainian society, and in the second case quite on the contrary: integration of Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Hungary in the international structures objectively promotes maintaining and strengthening such aspirations. However in any event the flows of information generated within respective ethnic communities have a distinctive regional color: compact residence seats of various ethnic communities (Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Transcarpathian and Chernivetska Oblasts).

In our context it hardly makes sense to dwell on the quality of information, let us take just a few examples instead. For the pur-

pose of this study it is sufficient to account for this factor in measurement of problems associated with formation of a single (we consciously do not apply the word “unified”) Ukrainian identity, at least with regard to the problem that is debated in this article.

Let us provide several excerpts of social monitoring research that the Institute of Sociology, the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences has been performing since 1992 to illustrate dependence of Ukrainian identities, in particular consolidated identity, on the above factors.

1. What direction of national development do you think is preferential for Ukraine? (let’s differentiate four positions inter-related with the proposed analysis (1994 – 2010): focus on relations within framework of CIS countries: 40.5 to 12.5%; develop relations predominantly with Russia: 16.6 to 10.5%; strengthen eastern-Slavic block (Ukraine, Russia, Belarus): 23.7 (1998) to 29.8% (the highest index was in 2004 – 34.3%); establish relations with the developed countries of the West: 12.6 – 17.7%.

2. What is your position to ... Ukraine joining the European Union (2000–2010): rather agree: 56.0 to 44.1%; rather disagree: 9.6 to 18.8% (the highest index was in 2005: 19.9%); hard to say: 34.4 to 36.9% (the highest index was in 2002: 40.1%).

3. What is your position to ... Ukraine joining NATO (2000–2010): rather agree: 24.9 to 12.7%; rather disagree: 33.5 to 64.4% (the highest index was in 2006: 64.4%); hard to say: 42.6 to 24.1% (the highest index was in 2002: 42.6%) [10, 494–496].

So far the Ukrainian sociology lacks sufficient data to draw generalized conclusions about the extent of influence produced by regional or ethnic factors on variations in identities building process that is directly related to the prospects of Ukrainian cooperation with international structures. However they are sufficient to discover some consistent patterns. The research project “Lviv-Donetsk” performed by the Lviv researchers in 1994, 1999 and 2004 is sufficiently representative to mirror mindsets predominant across different regions with regard to cooperation with international structures [8, 317–334].

In the context of this study, most indicative are responses to the question: “What possible options of the future national development are preferential to you?»: Ukraine remains completely independent, non-block state (apparently not a NATO member): Lviv (62.2; 43.2; 41.6%), Donetsk (13.3; 18.5; 25.8%); Ukraine be-

comes a large part of the union that comprises Russia: Lviv (5.4; 2.3; 2.5%), Donetsk (57.0; 47.0; 55.6%); Ukraine becomes a part of the European Union: Lviv (25.2; 47.3; 47.4%), Donetsk (18.0; 21.5; 6.1%); Ukraine becomes a part of the large union comprising Central and Eastern European countries: Lviv (5.9; 6.7; 8.3%), Donetsk (6.6; 12.7; 8.1%). Similarly significant is the response to the question about the extent of possible cooperation with differently oriented structures. Closer relations with Russia and CIS are regarded as priority in Lviv by 14.1% (1999) and 9.4% (2004), in Donetsk by 73.8 and 87.2%; Closer relations with the USA and NATO countries are regarded as priority in Lviv by 59.2 and 51.5%, in Donetsk by 10.5 and 1.6%.

Some researchers looking for other arguments in the discourse on the issues of cooperation between Ukraine and international structures choose to use the data of sociological surveys on the attitudes of Ukrainian citizens to such important (in our opinion) phenomena of the social life (social thought) as “national idea” and “cultural tradition”. The first (as we think) is a virtual notion (nurtured mostly by politicians and researchers and rather weakly, systematically, accepted by the public opinion); the other one is rather real and more comprehensible to great number of Ukrainians.

One of the recent similar studies (2007) (as was demonstrated above) shows that most Ukrainians (65%) believe that today the national idea is nothing but a notion. For our case it is interesting to observe the difference in responses across regions: as it appears the differences are almost non-existent. The divergence emerges between respondents who believe that the national idea really exists: western oblasts: 15%; center and eastern oblasts: approximately 8–9%. Let’s not go too deep into what Ukrainians residing in different regions believe the “national idea” is about but note instead that understanding (perception) of this word remains unclear: to 30% Ukrainians in western and 43% in south-western oblasts [14]. Speaking about the national idea it is worthwhile to consider it in conjunction with such phenomenon as “patriotism”. The responses to the question posed in Olexander Rozumkov Center’s survey held in the eve of the 2009 Independence Day: “Do you consider yourself the patriot of Ukraine?” the clearly positive answers across regions were distributed in the following fashion: West – 56.3, Center – 35.2, South – 31.8, East – 33.4% [3].

On the other hand, the prospects of building the solid system of cultural tradition look somewhat brighter, which can positively influence the attitude of Ukrainian toward various phenomena of the country's social development. The reasons for this assertion are provided by the above mentioned survey "Culture and arts": 60 percent of respondents identify themselves as representatives of the Ukrainian cultural tradition; to say the truth, however, this opinion is not shared equally across different regions: 84% in the West, 77% in Center, 39% in South-East. Another survey (Olexander Rozumkov Center, December 2005) confirms the previous findings and provides new ones that define more specifically our reflections with regard to possible influence of cultural tradition on building consolidated identities among Ukrainian citizens. This path apparently remains strenuous: one year after, the number of "Soviet cultural tradition" proponents grew to 19.4% (as opposed to 16.4%); among ethnic Ukrainians only 43.1% believe that the "Ukrainian national cultural tradition" will prevail in future; 21.0% believe that in different regions cultural traditions are also different and 18.7 prefer the "pan-European tradition" [7].

Identification matrix of the Ukrainian population can be supplemented by other data showing what territories and political and territorial formations Ukrainians residing in different regions believe they belong to. These data can be found in the research done by the Olexander Rozumkov Center or Economic and Political Studies (they are most trustworthy): the following percentage of respondents believe themselves to be the residents of area or city/town where they live: 39.4 in the West, 43.1 in the Center, 29.8 in the South, 37.0% in the East (38.2% across Ukraine); the following percentage of respondents believe themselves to be the residents of the region where they live: 15.4, 22.9, 24.5, 19.1% (20.4%) respectively; or residents of Ukraine as a country: 34.8, 25.2, 35.8, 32.0,% (30.7%); or residents of Europe: 2.4, 1.8, 3.3, 0.2% (1.6%); or residents of the world: 4.0, 1.4, 1.0, 3.3% (2.9%) [4].

The sociological research performed jointly by the Ukrainian and American Universities has also provided interesting data: they confirmed our thesis about direct relationship between three factors (ethnic origin, residential structure and political and party preferences) and the nature of Ukrainian identity formation and content. The survey targeted representatives from seven ethnic communities (Ukrainians, Russians, Crimean Tatars, Poles, Hungarians,

Jews, Gypsies) in four social, cultural regions (Western Ukraine, Center Ukraine, Eastern Ukraine, Southern Ukraine). Regarding the residential structure, it was discovered that: 1) the most compact residence pattern is characteristic for Crimean Tatars (Autonomous Republic of Crimea – almost 99%) and Hungarians (Transcarpathian Oblast – almost 97%); 2) the average level of compact residence pattern is characteristic for the Poles and Gypsies; 3) rather dispersed residence pattern is characteristic for the Russians (in some oblasts however their residence concentration was rather high: 33 to 56 % (Kharkiv, Donetsk, Lugansk Oblasts and Crimea); 4) the highest level of dispersion is characteristic for Ukrainians. For our analysis two groups of questions have been most relevant: 1) questions related to respondents' attitude toward group of countries and international organizations (USA, Russia, Germany, European Union, NATO); 2) questions related to assessment of relations with European countries, USA and Russia. The general typology looks as follows: Ukrainians, Hungarians, Crimean Tatars, Poles across all regions tend to be by far more (as compared with Ukraine's average) attached to the idea of joining international structures and NATO (the data of this ethno-sociological research have been compared with data of the above mentioned research); Russians gave most of their preferences to Russia, favored less the idea of joining the European Union and almost completely rejected the idea of joining NATO; the Jews across all indices remained in the middle of the preferential hierarchy; the Gypsies have been uncertain in most cases. Special perspective was exhibited by the Crimean Tatars when they have been asked about their attitude to the Middle East countries: their preferences have been rather high [13, 1–28].

To summarize, the analysis of concrete sociological data, historical factors, nature of political process, logical substantiation of interrelations between different phenomena and events, their interface and analysis of some other factors allows drawing the following conclusion about relations between Ukrainian identities and prospects of Ukraine's cooperation with international structures, in particular its integration into some of these structures:

1) Polyethnic structure of Ukrainian population has not as yet become, as it is believed in Europe [14], the factor of ethno-political health and strength. Ethnic communities in Ukraine remain in the middle of their restoration (such possibility has appeared af-

ter Ukraine has acquired independence and launched democratic processes, in particular those in the area of ethno-national development), which stimulates disintegration processes, impels ethnic communities to focus most efforts on their internal problems and compete for more comfortable (more prestigious) niches in a social (and sometimes political) hierarchy of the Ukrainian society. The latter results sometimes in hidden, if not open, confrontation preventing Ukrainians from adopting a consolidated decision about Ukraine's cooperation with European and Transatlantic structures and deferring the prospect of its integration with these structures;

2) The Ukrainian society exhibits two clearly defined trends in the attitudes toward Ukraine's cooperation with international structures: a) promoting collaboration with Russia and integration into structures inspired by Russia; b) making further progress to mutual understanding with and participation in European and Transatlantic organizations. In the first case the trend gets all the more pronounced from West to East and in the other case on the contrary from East to West. A very important role in this process is played by regional factor and to some extent by ethnic composition of Ukrainian population;

3) The relatively significant Russian component in the ethno-national composition of the Ukrainian population, and in a broader sense, the so-called Russian-speaking community apparently remaining under influence of Russia's ideology (rejecting the Ukraine's euro-integration aspirations) is not willing to see out country at the head of these processes, decreases Ukraine's integration potential and reinforces the pro-eastern trends in the Ukrainian society;

4) A clearly defined regional aspect of political factor resulting in different preferences and loyalties to Ukraine's development, as confirmed by the above sociological surveys, does not contribute to consolidation of efforts in Ukrainian society toward support of euro – and transatlantic aspirations and defers Ukraine's entry into international structures;

5) Outflow of Ukrainian citizens, especially those who support western orientation, undermines the process of building integral identity of population inclined to closer cooperation between Ukraine and the western international structures.

-
1. B.G. *Gvozdetska*. Specifics of identities among residents of border Carpathian region (on example of Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk Oblasts) // International scientific forum: sociology, psychology, pedagogics, management. — 2010. — Issue 4.
 2. O. A. *Danilenko*. Language of conflict in society under transformation: from constructing history to building socio-cultural identities. — Vilnius: EGU, 2007; Social, cultural identities and practices. — Kyiv: Institute of Sociology, 2002.
 3. Independence day. Patriotism. 21 August 2009 [Electronic resource]: www.rasumkov.org.ua
 4. [Electronic resource]: <http://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2007/12/17/68517.htm>
 5. *Volodimir Evtukh*. Ethnicity. Glossary. — Kyiv, Dragomanov National Pedagogical University, 2009.
 6. Identity as social, cultural phenomenon. — Kyiv: 2002; Lviv-Donetsk: Social identities in modern Ukraine// Ukraina Moloda. Special issue. — Lviv: 2007; *Larisa Nagorna*. Regional identity: Ukrainian context. — Kyiv, 2008.
 7. *Kultura i mistetstvo*. Analytical note. [Electronic resource]: www.rb.com.ua. — 2007.
 8. Lviv-Donetsk: Social identities in modern Ukraine// Ukraina Moloda. Special issue. — Kyiv; Lviv: Kritika, 2007.
 9. O. *Malinovska*. Migration and migration policies. Study guide. — Kyiv: Center of Educational Literature, 2010.
 10. Ukrainian society 1992–2010. Sociological monitoring. — Kyiv: Institute of Sociology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2010.
 11. *Serhiy Tsapok*. Ethno-demographic map of the world. — Lviv, 2007.
 12. *Burman Gerhard M. (Hrsg)*. Total Interaction. Theory and Practice of a New Paradigm for the Design Disciplines. — Birkhaeuser, Basel, Wien, New York: 2005; Duden Band 5, 4. Auflage 1982; Quiring O., Schweiger W. Interactivitaet — ten years after. Eine Bestandsaufnahme und ein Analyserahmen // Medien und Kommunikationswissenschaft. — 2006. — 54.Jg.
 13. *Holley E. Hansen*. National Identity: Civic, Ethnic, Hybrid, and Atomised Individuals // Europe-Asia Studies. — Vol. 61. — Issue 1, January 2009.
 14. Multikulturalitaet und Multiethnizitaet in Mittel-, Ost- und Suedosteuropa / Herausgegeben von Ernst-Peter Brezovszky, Arnold Supan, Elisabeth Vyslonzil. — Frankfurt am Main: Europaeischer Verlag der Wissenschaft, 1999.





Georgii Kryuchkov,
*Peoples' Deputy of Ukraine of the 3rd and 4th callings, Head
of the Committee on the National Security and Defense of the
Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (1998–2000, 2002–2006)*

PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE OF UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF NON-ALIGNMENT POLICY

Fundamental changes in the world for the past two decades and of now specify the need for new approaches to the problems of foreign, defense and security policy. Among these changes the following should be distinguished:

- collapse of the concept of unipolar world dominated by one superpower state and a gradual transformation to a multipolar world with establishing new powerful centers of power and international influence;

- emergence of new challenges and threats to the international peace and security: entering into to a new phase of the arms race, stepping up of international terrorism with aggressive violent ideology, extremist manifestations of numerous human casualties, drug and human trafficking, increased competition for strategic resources (especially for energy and food) to meet the growing needs and the struggle for access to these resources and ways of their transit, new problems in ecology and technological security;

- increased pragmatism and separatist sentiments in politics of many countries in conditions of the global financial and economic crisis that began in 2009, which have an impact on the activities of powerful international organizations (including EU) and provokes separation tendencies;

- weakening of the influence of the UNO and OSCE on the situation in the world, particularly in Europe, on reconciliation of arising conflicts, in some cases actual taking over of their powers by the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in accordance with its new Strategic Concept;
- new nature of wars waged in various world regions.

Now in twenty years after the destruction of the Soviet Union, collapse of the socialist community of the states and the Warsaw Pact, there are all grounds to state that the restoration of the capitalist system in the post-socialist domain although changed the nature of relations in the world, but failed to remove the problem of interstate conflicts and confrontation. This also applies to the relations of the western countries and primarily between the United States and Russia. ‘Reset’ of relations with Russia announced by the US Administration after election of U.S. President Barack Obama has not yet settled a number of critical problems in American-Russian relations, which have an impact on the situation in the world, including problems related to* limitation of conventional arms in Europe, creation of a missile defense system and others. Even the notorious Jackson-Vanik amendment discriminatory towards Russia has not yet been removed by the U.S. Congress. Moreover, draft bill on termination of the relations ‘reset’ with Russia was submitted to the US Congress.

All this directly affects the security of our country. Occupying a unique strategic position in the center of the European continent, Ukraine after the declaration of its independence in 1991, is constantly in a situation where one of the leading actors of the international political process is trying to keep it in its control, resorting, when it deems necessary to direct dictation.

Resolution No 120 of both chambers of U.S. Congress *On Protection of the Independence of Ukraine* (September 1996) with its 15 items clearly specifying and dictating what should be done by the Ukrainian President, Parliament and Government was one of the direct manifestations of such approaches to our country with its weak economy, low life standard of the majority of its population, destroyed army and political instability. Specifically, it was

recommended to counteract “the appearance of any political or military organization that could promote the reintegration of the former Soviet Union (officially the American Resolution was not published in Ukraine, although all Ukrainian governments were strictly observing it). Current requirements of the International Monetary Fund to Ukraine on raising the retirement age, increasing tariffs for gas, electricity, housing and other services as a condition for providing loans to our country, a permanent ‘monitoring’ by the European institutions for observance by Ukraine of freedom for speech and mass media; overt intervention into some high-profile litigations are the vivid examples of such attempts.

The RF also tries to keep Ukraine under control. Additionally, Ukraine is located in the vicinity of the ‘instability zone’ where there are either ‘frozen’ or active armed conflicts (the Northern Africa, Trans-Caucasian region, Transnistria).

It is also important to mention that leaders of some countries stated territorial claims to Ukraine.

We are talking about the growing challenges and potential threats to the national security Ukraine in conditions when its defense and security sector is critically weakened, according to the top Ukrainian political leadership. Security resource left after the collapse of the former Soviet Union is almost exhausted. The armed forces of Ukraine may be used as intended with certain limitations. Their state as well as condition of the defense industry is characterized by a deep depression. The main types of arms and military equipment in the most cases are morally and physically obsolete; most of them will be out of operation by the end of 2011–2012. Since independence, the Ukrainian army has not received any new weapon systems that would have strategic importance for improving the defensive capacity of our country*.

It should be added that under the pressure of great powers, primarily the U.S. and Yeltsin Russia, Ukraine since its independence began intensive disarmament losing its defensive capacity. Refusal

* See. Modernization of Ukraine is our strategic choice. Annual Address of the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2011, p. 126. Further references are given indicating the page number of this Address.

from the third largest in the world nuclear arsenal was not supported by reliable international, legally binding guarantees of security for Ukraine.

In this regard, a year ago the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was forced to adopt a special resolution instructing the Government to take the necessary steps to develop appropriate legal execution and implementation of its security guarantees jointly with the guarantors of the non-nuclear status of Ukraine. Unfortunately, the public does not know what has been done by the Government and foreign policy authorities in this respect by this time.

Requirements of the west (or rather USA) to eliminate silos launchers for launching missiles with nuclear warheads (the warheads were soon delivered to Russia), modern combat aircraft, man-portable air defense missiles and other weapons were dutifully fulfilled. In this situation proper reimbursement to Ukraine in the most cases was not provided like it was not provided to Ukraine in connection with the Chernobyl NPP decommissioning. The huge number of modern military equipment and property of the armed forces worth tens of billions of dollars inherited from the Soviet Union was stolen, although if this property had been sold according to the law, the proceeds might have been used for substantial reequipment of the army and addressing acute social problems.

The state did not pay proper attention to the problems of the defense sector often using it in its political rhetoric. Suffice it to say about populist promises of Yulia Tymoshenko to transfer the army staffing to the contractual basis from 2008, however this problem cannot be solved even in the nearest 10–15 years because of small reward and problems with accommodations for more than 45 thousand of military families.

Attitude of the state bodies to financing of defense and security is also illustrative: all years the armed forces were financed by the leftover principle. The Law *On Defense of Ukraine* adopted in October 2000 specifies allocation of at least 3% of the national GDP for defense, however this was never done. Actual budget allocations for the defense sphere did not exceed 1.5% of GDP. Several years ago the experts remarked that funding of the Armed

Forces of Ukraine crossed the critical point beyond which the army began declining. While approving the State Budget of Ukraine for 2008 the Government of Yu. Tymoshenko repassed through the Verkhovna Rada an amendment to the Law *On Defense of Ukraine* which withdrawn the provision about 3% GDP allocation for the army. Actual expenses for defense in 2008 amounted only to 0.99% of GDP, which was the lowest index in the whole history of the Ukrainian army. However, when the State Budget of Ukraine for 2011 was approved the members of the Yu. Tymoshenko faction being in opposition criticized the current government for insufficient attention to the defense of Ukraine and blamed it for destruction of the domestic armed forces proposing to allocate at least 2% of GDP for defense. It is true indeed when people say: “what one thinks depends on where one sits”...

Under conditions of the long-term systemic crises and constrained financial resources such irresponsible approaches to the defense issues create a serious threat to the national security and defense capacity of Ukraine.

Situation became even worse under the ‘orange’ power. Foreign policy course was extremely politics-oriented striving to access NATO as soon as possible. The society was pressed upon the idea that only membership in NATO and the European Union would guarantee for Ukraine independence, sustainable economic development, democracy of the state power, observance of human rights and freedoms. Less attention was paid to the development of relations with other states advantageous for Ukraine including states that are gaining more power and recognition in the world (the PRC, Japan, India, countries of the Middle and Near East, the Latin America). Obsession with the NATO membership plan not supported by the majority of Ukrainians led to certain stagnation of the Ukrainian foreign policy exacerbating the political situation. Contacts of the top leaders of the state were limited mainly to the meetings with the leaders from Poland, Georgia and Lithuania as well as to the activities within the groups of the GUAM type devoid of real influential power.

More often than not the country leadership made decisions directly damaging the national interests of Ukraine, its security and defense. For example, when the Romanian leaders claimed that some Ukrainian territories (Izmail area and Bukovyna) are not legitimate, it was decided to move the airmobile brigade dislocated in Bolgrad raion (Odessa oblast) to the Dnepropetrovsk oblast (closer to the Russian frontier). However, very soon it became urgent to move the brigade back for strengthening security in the north-western area. How much money and how many military equipment and trained military staff were lost because of voluntaristic decisions of small-minded politicians and unscrupulous military men! One cannot but mention moving the oldest military school — the Odessa Institute of Ground Forces to Lviv because “in Odessa people speak Russian while in Lviv the patriotic spirits are stronger”... Military supplies to the conflict area in Georgia authorized by the direct instruction of the President Yushchenko including the order to withdraw the military equipment (the anti-missile weapons systems) from the alert status were far away from the interests of Ukraine.

It is worth mentioning the consequences of the forced access of Ukraine to WTO. In April 2008 V. Yushchenko was singing praises to WTO and advantages that it would provide to Ukraine after accession, “When we talk about WTO we talk about the door behind which we will become equal partners. We talk about 5 billion USD increment of the commodity turnover just because we are equal partners...” Where are these billions? Already in half a year after such optimistic statements V. Yushchenko had to demand from the Cabinet of Ministers “to conduct urgent consultations with the WTO and IMF members about the need to take measures for protection of the national producers”.

This policy of the ‘orange’ government did not at all bring Ukraine closer to EU membership. Europe became ‘tired’ with Ukraine’s yelps and endless requests to be accepted to NATO and the EU. Moreover, the country did not do anything for real reconstruction of the domestic economy based on modern innovations, for raising people’s living standards, improving the functioning of the democratic institutions.

At the same time foreign policy course of the President V. Yushchenko and its 'orange' team as well as concrete steps and statements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were getting more and more anti-Russian and sometimes even Russophobe, which lead to worsening of relations with our closest neighbor and strategic partner. In fact, top level contacts of the country leaders stopped. Estrangement between our countries and peoples also grew because of national-chauvinistic ideology of Ukraine and revision of the events of the Great Patriotic War, rehabilitation and glorification of collaborationists – accomplices of the Hitler occupants. Even the activities of the National Security Service were directed accordingly when the then leaders of the state authorities stated, “The independent Ukrainian state has not yet recognized Ukrainian rebel army (UPA). Strong Empire cord prevented the power elite to call occupants ‘occupants’ (Soviet soldiers that liberated Ukraine from fascists) and fighters for independence (UPA members) the national heroes”. It came to a point that the graduation certificates of the elite educational institution of the National Security Service of Ukraine were bestowed in presence of the USA Ambassador...

In the 2010 presidential elections the political course disastrous for our country was rejected. Implementing the important constitutional requirement the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the *Law On Fundamentals of Domestic and Foreign Policy* establishing the legal policy of non-alignment, the cornerstone of its foreign policy and security doctrine, as a basic course for Ukraine. Friendly and strategic relations with Russia were restored. International activities gained dynamism, diversity and multi-vector nature. Preparation of important conceptual and fundamental documents of the new version of the National Security Strategy and Strategic Directions of the Foreign Policy was organized. Amendments are introduced into phased Program for Security and Defense Sector Reformation. Measures are taken to complete the formation of the domestic defense industry.

The first steps of the new government were not only positively perceived by the majority of our society, but also contributed to strengthening the foreign policy positions of Ukraine and raising its prestige on the international arena

Unfortunately, over time the Government began somewhat shifting from the course declared during the election campaign. Diverse nature of the non-alignment policy is gradually transformed into the European integration strategy as the dominant and fundamental part of the Ukrainian foreign policy. Course on the full-fledged membership in the EU is declared as “priority both for internal development of Ukraine and for its foreign relations”. All tasks of domestic and foreign policy are aligned with meeting conditions and criteria for EU membership. Integration into the European political, economic, legal and humanitarian domain has become a benchmark for the new government in conducting systematic reforms to modernize the country.

There is a threat that in doing so the current power may commit the same error as the ‘orange’ regime when accessing WTO. It is first of all related to the terms and conditions set by the EU as to access of the Ukrainian agricultural products to the European markets. ‘Green light’ is only given to sunflower and rape – the crops not cultivated in the EU because they deplete the soil. This cannot be said about grains or livestock products with their great share imported by Ukraine from other countries.

Attitude to NATO membership also received new accents. If the Law of Ukraine *On Fundamentals of Domestic and Foreign Policy* (Article 11) observance of the non-alignment of Ukraine specifies at “non-participation of Ukraine in any military and political unions, priority in participation in improvement and development of the system of the European collective security, continuation of cooperation with NATO and other military and political alliances in the sphere of bilateral interest”, then in his annual Address to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine the President stated about refusal of Ukraine from accelerated NATO accession” (p. 125). In reality, cooperation with NATO became even more active than during Yushchenko presidency. It is illustrated by the Plan for Cooperation with NATO approved by the Government for 2011.

So, it is not accidental that one of the leaders of the Institute of Strategic Studies under the President of Ukraine, which clearly represented himself as a supporter of our country’s membership

in NATO, recently said in the Radio “Era-FM” program: “Earlier, we talked a lot about joining NATO, but little was done for this, now – the opposite: less talk and real work”.

It is essential that relations of Ukraine with the United States are based on the Charter on Strategic Partnership between our countries where the American support of Ukrainian accession to NATO is the central point while in the presidential address to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine it is particularly emphasized that “the development of strategic partnership between Ukraine and the RF cannot develop at the cost of strategic relations with the EU and the U.S. evolved in the previous years” (p. 137).

Issue of the Ukrainian position towards NATO membership is particularly sensitive in the Ukrainian-Russian relations. Owing to the “non-participation of Ukraine in military and political alliances” (NATO being in mind) declared during the presidential campaign and then fixed in the Law *On Fundamentals of Domestic and Foreign Policy* it became possible to soon remove tension in the relations with the RF, as was said in the Address (p. 125). It is clear that the smallest diversion from this position will have an impact on relations between our countries. In the meantime the drifting away of this issue becomes more and more evident. Politicians and analysts, especially in Russia, could not skip the fact that the Law of Ukraine *On Fundamentals of Domestic and Foreign Policy* repeatedly emphasizes Ukraine’s integration into the European domain but never mentions the relations with Russia.

The course to European integration in public statements of high officials is more often opposed to proposals of the Russian Federation for Ukraine to access the Common Economic Space together Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan and join the Customs Union. Today, we have to admit rather evident cooldown in relations between our countries and the doubts of the Russian party about the sincerity of the Ukrainian leadership intentions in bilateral relations. This is, of course, a troubling development.

The differences in specific issues are quite normal in the international relations: each sovereign state has its own interests which may not coincide with the interests of the partners. Once there is

goodwill of the parties, it is easier to find mutually appropriate solutions. It is not always simple, especially in view of tough position of the Russian party, in conditions when the atmosphere of dislike is developing and recriminations are made public in the society and especially in the mass media. We are dealing now exactly with this situation in our relations with Russia.

Large-scale cooperation, especially in the defense-industrial complex, broad connections between scientists from Ukraine and Russia, dependence of Ukrainian economy on the Russian energy resources, openness of the Russian market for Ukrainian products as compared with the European countries, family and other personal ties of million people of our countries — all this requires a special weighted approaches and professionalism in finding mutually acceptable decisions on issues where the interests of Ukraine and Russia may differ.

The policy of the country, both domestic and foreign, should fully consider the real situation developing in the European continent and the world, be dynamic and constructive, flexible and consistent as well as be designed to protect the national interests, to ensure the strengthening of economic power, reliable defense and international position of Ukraine.

At this stage it is supported by the non-alignment policy, which has nothing to do with detachment and isolationism, but involves the active cooperation with countries of all continents, especially with neighbors.

The non-alignment status of Ukraine has developed historically and has both positive and negatives sides being also related to providing reliable defense. Our country with its defense doctrine is more than any other country interested in overcoming the confrontation mentality and alliance approaches. It is only fitting to Ukraine to actively strive for creation of a single European system of the collective security that would embrace all countries of the continent from Vancouver to Vladivostok and also the members of the military alliances (NATO and CSTO) and non-alignment states. Once this project is implemented the problem of Ukraine

accession to NATO or any other military alliance will be dissolved removing one of the most acute issues dividing our society.

I do not consider it productive or in the interest of Ukraine to oppose the Ukrainian integration to the European structures to further development of the neighborly relations with the Russian Federation, other former Soviet Republics, deepening of the integration processes on the post Soviet domain, accession to the Customs Union and entering the Common Economic Space. On the contrary, close cooperation, actions concerted with Russian and its allies, active standing of Ukraine in the CIS will only facilitate achieving the European standards in the economy, social and humanitarian spheres, establishment of democratic principles of the state and social life, joint resolution of urgent issues, specifically energy, ecology and food safety. In this situation integration of Ukraine to the European structures will be viewed differently without complications and exacerbations of relations with the neighbors. It is because in the world only the strong, wealthy and smart are respected and reckoned with.

Events evolves so that, on the one hand, a threat of a full-scale military conflict in our continents is estimated as small, but on the other, methods and ways of military activities undergo drastic changes and the accumulated effect of the new threats may have destructive consequences for our subcontinent. Today none of the European countries can guarantee its security all alone. Moreover, military equipment, armament and communications are rapidly advancing, which require sizable budget expenditures. It is vitally important to change the attitude of the state to the social and legal problems of the military persons. Ukrainian military men have much lower social and other provision and protection than in the RF and Belarus letting aside the EU states.

Given these circumstances it is extremely important and urgent that the task set in the Presidential Address to be fulfilled by 2025 specifies the development of a forecast model for the security and defense sector, including the Armed Forces of Ukraine that would guarantee the protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity



Conversations with frontier guards at the Zmiinyi island (April, 2003)



During the round-table discussion (the second from the right G. Kryuchkov)



The conversation with Robert Brinkley, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Great Britain to Ukraine (2003)



Meeting with Sabah Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Emir of Kuwait (2003)



The conversation with Carlos Pasquale, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of USA in Ukraine

and insure proper efficiency in solving at least one local conflict on the perimeter of the Ukrainian borders.

It puts forward an urgent task of defining as soon as possible the main directions in reformation of the military structure of Ukraine for the next 10–15 years in order to overcome a deep crisis of the national armed forces, transform them into modern, fully equipped with modern military facilities and arms, socially protected army capable to carry out its duties according to its obligations under the Constitution.

There is a need to more clearly formulate in the Fundamental Law the functions of the state to protect the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of Ukraine, and systematically review the legal framework for the national security and defense on this basis.

In current conditions the concerted actions in the foreign policy and the policy in defense and security became even more important demanding greater coordination and control of all state agencies.

The National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, a coordinating body under the President of Ukraine should use its constitutional powers more effectively while its activities in the recent time noticeably decreased.

With its realistic and pragmatic foreign policy the state should increase the number of friends and under no circumstances generate foes and enemies while with its wise domestic policy including the policy in the sphere of defense and security — strengthen the economic and defense capacity of Ukraine, the most important guarantee of its security and peaceful life of our people.





Sergiy S. Nagorny,

Expert in the field of wider-European security, The European Geopolitical Forum "EGF" (Kyiv-Brussels-Moscow

• • •

Denis S. Nagorny,

Journalist (Ukraine-Germany-Russia)



UDC 327 + 620.9(477)(470+571)(55)

THE RUSSIAN INITIATIVES ON ESTABLISHING «GAS OPEC»: CONCLUSIONS FOR UKRAINE

«XXI century – the century of gas»

Recently the idea of a «gas OPEC» is one of the most politicizing topic in the global energy market now. In modern terms the transformation's oil business in parallel and simultaneously transform the world petroleum market*. These transformations take place under the influence of interrelated factors of globalization and regionalization of economic processes [1, C.22–23].

In this context, the globalization of world energy markets (oil and gas) is a natural stage in this one's evolutionary development,

* For example: The transformation's oil and gas market in the spatial direction deal with increased differentiation between region's producers and consumers energy-regions, with increasing number of countries and regions whose development is not provided with their own energy. If in 1990 year these countries produced 87% of global GDP, the end of the first decade of XXI century — almost is 92 %.

the ultimate aim — the formation of a global energy space. So now, there is a struggle for future key positions for many years before such this space will be form*.

In these circumstances, the world's leading centers of politics and economy (Russia, EU and others) are interested in intensifying cooperation with countries in the Middle East and North Africa (Qatar, Iran, etc.) in many spheres and primarily in the energy sector.

The purpose of this article — to highlight the prospects of Russia's position in cooperation with the countries of the Middle East (Qatar and Iran) to create a «gas OPEC».

The object of study of this article is artifact, and the problem that consists in its creation process, similar to OPEC — a possible association — a «gas OPEC».

Among the publications dedicated to the study of «gas OPEC», its role to ensure the demand for gas in the world, the ability of this organization determines the policies in the transportation's sphere of gas on the world markets etc. should mention the papers of leading experts — ad hoc, analytical researches and conferences of leading research centers and institutes**.

Analysis of «gas OPEC» and international cooperation within this organization in the context of expanding energy interdependence and the growth of competition in member countries dedicated to series scientific researches by famous scientists. Among them a great theoretical and methodological importance are the books of prominent Western economists, as Amy M. Jaffe, Mark H. Hayes, Jonathan Stern, Marat Terterov, Anthony H. Cordesman, David

* Creation «gas OPEC». — Here and further author's note.

** Heritage Foundation (USA), the Institute for Energy Law (USA), the Center for American and International Law (USA), Cambridge Energy Research Associates (Great Britain), Institut francais des relations internationales (France), Arab Petroleum Research Center (France), the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies (Great Britain) Institut für Nahost-Studien (Germany), Centre for Economic and Political Studies (Ukraine), Center for Energy Research IMEMO (Russia), Institute of the energy strategy (Russia), Eexpert-Cconsulting Center "World Energy" (Russia), the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (UAE) Gulf Research Center (UAE), The Center for Strategic Research (Iran).

G. Victor, also of Ukrainian (Sergiy V. Korsunsky, Volodymir L. Saprykin, M. Gonchar), Russian (Yury Shafranik, V. Bushuev, N. Zalivanov, N. Mamyedova, N. K. Ter-Oganov), Arab and Iranian (Mohammad B. Nobakht, Khalid R. Al-Rodhan, Hashemi Kozempur, Ali Hachd, Abdulaziz A. Sager, Ali al-Hijri) scientists who discovered various aspects contemporary Russia politics cooperation with Iran in the energy sector, concerning the creation of «gas OPEC» [2].

In this context, the study's subject of this article is present Russia's foreign policy on cooperation with countries in the Middle East in the gas sector, especially with Iran and Qatar.

The chosen theme by the author is of the urgent problem of international relations and international politics, however, as the object of a separate study is a little the investigated in Ukrainian science.

The subject of this study concerning the creation of a «gas OPEC» attracts the attention of the world community, researchers and professionals almost forty years and will remain topical for many years [3, c. 15].

Energy policy context: the gas market as a part of the global energy market

Currently, the largest volumes of natural gas consumption in the U.S., Canada, Europe and the CIS. It was noted in 2009 estimated analytical estimates of the International Energy Agency (IEA), which predicted that gas consumption will grow higher rates compared to oil, coal, nuclear and renewable energy and amount to 125,5 trl cubic feet a year in 2020 and approximately 170 trl cubic feet per year in 2030 [4]. Experts predict that gas consumption in Asia will grow over this period, only 2–3%. Unlike petroleum gas non-exclusive will not be the main energy supply for the economy «Asian tigers». In the paper, J. Stern says that only export gas from the Middle East will increase 4.5 ones for less than 30 years. In absolute terms, export of gas from this region in 2030 will reach more than 444 trl cubic feet per year [5, p. 10.9].

The greatest concern about the situation in the gas sector is primarily in the United States. The U.S. administration is considering the need for a substantial increase in imports of Liquefied

Natural Gas (LNG) to ensure the needs of the economy that is increasingly focused on exactly this type of fuel. In the U.S. considers marked increase in gas prices as a real threat rate of growth of national economy*.

According to the leading experts, now Russia — 32.5%, Iran — 20% and Qatar — 10% control 65.2% of world gas reserves (see Table 1). The analysis shows the following: First, at territory of the former the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Middle East together are almost 77% of world gas reserves; secondly, that Russia, Iran and Qatar:

- control more than half of world gas reserves;
- able to play a more increasing role in ensuring the energy needs LNG in the world;
- *non-exclusive in the near future, will be participants of the world market of LNG* ** (my italics — S.N).

According to the experts, the total proven world reserves of gas are 100 trillion cubic meters. Gas fields located on all continents and in shelf seas and oceans. The largest of gas resources put over 5 trl. cubic meters. Major gas resources are concentrated in three countries: Russia, Iran and Qatar [6]. In Iran concentrate the largest gas resources in the world — the «North/South Pars», the second place in the world — is the largest Russian's gas fields "Urenhoyskoe". *According to the report by "British Petroleum", from 1997 to 2009 Iran consumes more natural gas than it produces**** [7].

Note that the importance of the Iranian leadership provides a multilateral energy cooperation: 1) Gradually developing the Russian-Iranian-Azerbaijani cooperation on the integration of the energy systems of these countries; 2) Iran is considering plans for energy cooperation with Russia; 3) the Iranian-Azerbaijani cooperation is planned in future to convert to the creation of Trans-energy space with a focus on the EU.

* It's took place almost two-fold increase in over the past five years.

** Today, due to the political and geographical factors Russia and Iran are not global players in the market — mostly Russian gas consumed in the EU and Iran — mostly within the country.

*** As it's unable to increase gas exports in the Turkish area because of problems with the quality of the export's gas and seasonal variations in the supply of gas to Turkey due to increasing consumption of gas in Iran during the cold period.

Table 1

Countries which have confirmed the largest deposits of natural gas consumption and production of their gas (trillion cubic meters)

Country	Confirm gas reserves	Volume consumption	Volume production	Country	Confirm gas reserves	Volume consumption	Volume production
Russia	1,685–1,700	14,5	22,0	Norway	82,0–102,7	0,30	2,5
Iran	943,0–1,046	3,0	2,7	Australia	80,0–88,6	1,0	1,23
Qatar	758,0–912,0	0,4	1,05	Malaysia	76,0–84,3	1,0	2,0
Saud.Arabia	230,0–267,3	2,0	2,0	Turkmenistan	72,0–100,0	0,5	2,0
USA	205,0–237,1	23,0	20,0	Kazakhstan	65,0–100,0	0,6	0,48
UAE	205,0–227,1	1,3	1,6	Uzbekistan	64,5–65,0	1,8	2,05
Nigeria	159,0–184,2	0,25	0,50	Egypt	59,0–76,6	0,95	0,95
Algeria	159,1–163,0	1,0	3,0	Kuwait	53,0–62,9	0,50	0,50
Venezuela	150,0–170,9	1,05	1,05	Canada	57,7–60,0	3,0	7,0
Iraq	111,9–115,0	1,0	1,0	China	63,3–86,7	1,15	1,2
Indonesia	85,0–112,0	1,0	3,05	Libya	46,9–54,4	0,2	0,22
				Ukraine	32,6–39,6	2,78	0,65
				The world in general	6,534	94,5	94,7

Source: The data reflect the International Energy Agency's message (World Energy Outlook 2009), BP (Statistic Review of World Energy, June 2009), Arab Oil and Gas Journal, US Energy Information Administration, US Geological Survey, Dec. 2009.

It is the author's opinion that it could create additional problems of Ukraine independently or in cooperation with other countries diversification projects. Unilateral orientation Ukrainian energy sector to Russian sources contain risks to the economy of Ukraine and to energy security too.

Thus, Russia, Iran and Qatar, not only can maintain its position soon on the world energy market as the largest supplier of energy, as well as qualitatively change the nature of his presence on it, due to the diversification of commercial structures and areas of Russian energy exports, active development of new forms of international energy business, such as «gas OPEC» and the expansion of Russian companies abroad. This will reduce monodependence Russian energy sector from energy exports to Europe and increase the profitability and effectiveness of international activities of Russian fuel and energy companies without increasing the volume of exports of primary energy.

In this context, there are several views in the West on the role of Russia in the global energy sector, namely: **First**, such profes-

sionals, as the president of the Association of Energy Research Daniel Yergin (U.S.) and others points out that the main consumers of energy necessary to change the attitude of the manufacturers and for all get rid of colonial and neo-colonial schemes «cooperation»*; **secondly**, indeed, many other scholars and leaders as British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and American scholar Marshall Goldman and other concerns about the «tough» policy in the energy sector**; and **thirdly**, some scientists politicians and businessmen do not try to understand the real role of Russia in solving current and future world — including energy's problems.

Today in most countries in the expert community and the media has established and widely used the term as «gas OPEC».

First, Russia's position was not prone to gas structures, such as OPEC. But after President Vladimir Putin announced that the idea was «interesting.» V. Putin has talked about this several times as well as on the discount that varies and is between the prices of crude oil «Urals» and the standard of «Brent». Getting a fair price for exported energy — the Russian government claimed priority. According to observers, the main reason why V. Putin announced a gas OPEC «an interesting idea»***, that in this topic

The reserves of natural gas: South Pars is 50% of all Iranian gas. South Pars is the largest gas fields in offshore (it should be noted that the offshore area is divided between Iran and Qatar, Iran's share is 3.7 km² and contains 14.2 trillion cubic meters of natural gas — it's about 8% of world reserves and more than 18 billion barrels of gas condensate.

North Pars (in the province of Bushehr, Iran) in the offshore Gulf — reserves of gas is two trillion cubic meters.

Source: Following the materials by Iranian Foreign Ministry deal with the performance during 2009.- P.10¹

* The proponents of this view point out that the country-manufacturer getting their irreplaceable resources even if it remains for 100 years — is negligible for its historical and survival, the more prosperity. Country of origin for natural resources dismissed her time to do a lot to survive and grow wealth is without such deposits.

** The leitmotif is the accusations against the current Russian leadership and the country itself, about commitment to “energy blackmail”, energy claim and energy's imposed settlement.

*** The term «gas OPEC» unwittingly creates an analogy with the oil cartel and is a reminder of the organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, which was established in 1960. More than ten years, the organization remained meaningless structure that causes no fear in the West. But when it was 1973, and OPEC members in connection with another Arab-Israeli war organized entered the oil embargo against the United States and Western Europe, and began to cut production, which provoked the deepest energy crisis. Over half price barrel of oil rose from 2 to 12 dollars. USA. Iran and Venezuela, with the former founders of OPEC oil, which is now going

provides very useful background on the current negotiations with the EU on bilateral trade and investment.

After Vladimir Putin reiterated the need for coordination between manufacturers of raw gas during his first visit to Qatar in February 2007, the idea of a «gas OPEC» supported the leaders of almost all major countries supplying gas. Meeting senior representatives of States and the major gas producing countries, which was scheduled for 9-th of April 2007 primarily seen as an important geopolitical event. Someone with hope and fear waiting for someone to create a structure that tries to take a position on the gas market, which is similar to OPEC in the international oil market.

In fact, in terms of authors – Gas Exporting Countries Forum (GECF) identified it as a «gas OPEC». First of all, talking about a mechanism in the future by means of which, the country where the main reserves of natural gas (Russia, Iran and Qatar, see. Table 1) will provide control on the volume of gas production/development. It is possible that a «gas OPEC» will insist on retaining solid rates, which a priori would maximize gas prices in the long run (after the transformation processes of oil and gas market).

In this context, in late 2009, deputy chairman of «Gazprom» Alexander Medvedev made a statement that «Objectively gas has a higher cost than oil because gas heating capacity is higher than oil» [8]. Experts point out that it's unlikely to change the existing pricing system in the short term (5–10 years).

Russia wants to establish with Iran «gas OPEC» is the name given observer countries October 21, 2008, when Russia, Iran and Qatar decided to create a «big gas troika». Western scholars as Dr. Hanspeter Mattes, Arab leaders and experts, as President of Algeria Abdelaziz Buteflika, Khalid R. Al-Rohdan and others point out that Iran is the initiator of the project, and Russia has a latent policy towards the creation of «gas OPEC» [9, p. 7]. Despite the fact that the Russian authorities in every way avoids GECF called «gas OPEC», the desire to influence world prices is clearly seen, although a cautious formulation.

to create its gas «sister» made it clear that they are willing to use the energy weapon against the West, as in 1973.

Consider the Forum of Gas Exporting Countries (GECF) as an illustrative example of a future «gas OPEC»

On the initiative of Iran the Gas Exporting Countries Forum (GECF) was created informally in May 2001 at the meeting's energy ministers in Tehran from 11 countries of the world*, later other countries join to the forum too. Currently, permanent members of GECF are 13 countries (Algeria, Bolivia, Venezuela, Equatorial Guinea, Egypt, Iran, Qatar, Libya, Nigeria, Russia, Trinidad and Tobago, Norway and Kazakhstan (as an observer)**).

Main goal of GECF's establishment was: 1) The balance of mutual interests of producers and consumers of gas through dialogue; 2) to build a platform to promote research and exchange of scientific knowledge in the field of energy between participating countries and heads of national gas companies; 3) promotion and development of stable and transparent energy markets.

The GECF's mission is following:

1. Identify measures and processes necessary to ensure that Member Countries derive the most value from their gas resources, taking into consideration the nature of gas as a non-renewable source of energy.

2. Promote the appropriate dialogue among gas producing and consuming countries to ensure appropriate balance in the sharing of risk associated with the gas markets and fair pricing for both producers and consumers.

3. Foster mutual work for the integration of the gas markets and its stability.

4. Promote common policies for access to capital and financial resources and transparency among member countries in the exchange of capital, financial data, and know-how.

* Algeria, Brunei, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Qatar, Oman, Russia and Turkmenistan plus Norway (as an observer).

** In some meetings at GECF's ministerial level also attended by representatives of Turkmenistan, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, UAE, Oman. GECF has no fixed membership structure. Prospects of cooperation also said Venezuela and Persian Gulf States.

5. *Exchange information on investment opportunities in member countries.*

6. *Promote the acquisition and exchange of technology and experiences, and to equip Member Countries with the know-how to efficiently and effectively exploit their gas resources to the benefit of their country and peoples* (my italics – S.N). [10].

Iran involves the Member States to international GECF to the negotiation process, which was held annually since 2001. It was eleven Ministerial Meetings of GECF's member countries during 2001–2010*, we note only the key, namely: 1) 23-rd of December 2008 in Moscow during the next Forum adopted the statute of the organization and defined GECF headquarters, which will be located in the capital of Qatar (Doha); 2) 9-th of December 2009 in Doha (Qatar), the ninth Secretary General of the Forum GECF was unanimously elected (pursuant to the statute GECF) candidate from Russia – Vice President of OAO «Stroytransgaz» L. Bohanovskyy [11, p. 1]; 3) at the beginning of December during 11-th Ministerial Meeting it was the agenda which included consideration of the report by the General-Secretary of GECF L. Bohanovskyy and GECF's approve the budget for 2011, the analytical overview of the current situation in the gas market and discuss strategies for GECF 2011–2015.

Energy Strategy of Russia for the period up to 2030 (ES-2030) stated that Russia considers GECF as the main organization through which «There is an active energy dialogue with major countries – producers and consumers of energy... with major regional group of countries» like the EU, EvrAzES etc. ES-2030 also stated that the decision of this task is carried out using the diplomatic interests of Russian energy companies abroad, measures and mechanisms for state energy policy «because of coordination

* In Iran (19–20 May 2001 in Teheran), in Algeria (February, 2002), Qatar (4 February 2003, Doha), Egypt (14-th of March 2004, Cairo), in Trinidad and Tobago (26 April 2005, the city of Port-of-Speyn), Qatar (9-th of April 2007, Doha), Russia (23-th of December 2008, Moscow), Qatar (30-th of June 2009, Doha), Qatar (9-th of December 2009, Doha), in Algeria (21-st of April 2010, Oran), Qatar (December 2010., Doha).

on world markets of oil and gas from OPEC countries and GECF.» [12, p. 31–32].

It's the authors opinion that GECF meeting during 2008–2009 (in Moscow and Doha) were the first steps to establish a new gas association or cartel-type system* that could manage the lion's share of gas supplies to the West. The role of Russia in this organization — *the main factor in this initiative*.

Thus, despite the lack of signed documents to establish a «gas OPEC» Doha Forum can enter the annals of history as the first step to closer coordination of gas sellers. The strategic line on it was, indeed, produced. It's first feature — a course on pricing department pricing of gas from oil and gas independent attempt to do good. And the second — in the perspective of the participants of the Forum will come to a fundamental division of markets for each exporting countries that are included in the «Gas club». The purpose of the above strategy is to increase gas prices and increase supply. It is possible that while quotas will be introduced: the mechanism and the oil market are ineffective.

Experts also generally referred to above initiatives as a «gas OPEC». However, note that if this initiative will be implemented in life, the organization does not act like OPEC, but, nevertheless, will have a cartel-type structure. Such developments predicted empowered group of NATO in November 2006 as reported in his report that «Russia will seek to create a gas cartel in the context of energy to achieve political goals» [13].

According to renowned economist Jonathan Stern, currently «GECF has the least chance of metamorphosis» gas OPEC «...it (the Forum) will need to develop a much more institutional capacity and be more united to it («gas OPEC») became a reality in the long run». In this paper the main part is devoted to comparison between GECF and «gas OPEC», author says that these organizations will likely evolve in the context of crisis for exporters' first export of liquefied natural gas (LNG) will be focused not on the pipeline, then the project will be jointly developed supply LNG to

* In the expert environment uses the name «gas OPEC».

a regional focus — Europe or the Atlantic Basin — not as a global cartel» [14].

The English scientist Hadi Halloush in the study of GECF holds some parallels with the oil OPEC suggests that for several years — importing countries may face the equivalent of «OPEC for gas». According to scientists, constructively «GECF moving slowly, but safely within five years... Member of the Forum is seeking to portray GECF as a cartel... more as a forum to exchange ideas, not an organization that makes decisions» [15, p.3]. We can agree with this opinion in connection with what is really oil and gas are fundamentally different products in terms of market structure, pricing and substitution possibilities.

Indeed, the GECF's meeting in Doha (2009) shows that this forum serves for sharing ideas, experiences and research results on issues of mutual interest for gas exporters. Also, in his study of H. Halloush concludes that systematic assumptions are made in some countries, consumers or the media on GECF that is automatically transformed into a «gas OPEC» is not justified. In addition, the structure of the Forum, including the Secretariat will bring great transparency and will advocate for dialogue with trading partners.

The main results of the gas forum in Qatar

Summing up the next gas forum in Doha (2009/2010), we note a number of key points:

- Gas Exporting Countries gradually come to establish appropriate arrangements. Scenario falling energy prices in the next 10...15 years and, consequently, loss of income in the Gas Exporting seems quite real.

- Political passions and priorities give way to a sober economic calculation. Hence, like, the strengthening of contacts between Russia and Qatar, Iran and Russia in gas sphere.

- Russia begins to play a dominant role in the global alliance of gas (more than a quarter of world gas reserves), especially given the growing pressure on it from the West. However, to strengthen this role will not be easy by tying the country's main gas supply before long routes and due to problems of the post-Soviet space.

• In these circumstances, the formation of «gas OPEC» looks more like a distant prospect, which is related to changes in global energy policy. However, the positions of gas exporting countries closer together, and today they have common ground, primarily on the agreed pricing policy.

• According to experts, the role of gas in the energy balance will steadily increase, which inevitably will lead to strengthening the role of gas exporters in the global economic process. Thus Russia will play a special role, and it is directly interested in close contact with other major exporters of gas. Begin this process is responsible.

• An informal, but important result of the meeting looks appeal of gas-exporting countries to consuming countries, which formulated the Minister of Qatar. «The West reacted negatively — said the Qatari minister. — But they should sit down and discuss with them before entering a relatively new form of suppliers of regulation or charges. We need to create trust between producers and consumers to send a positive signal to each other, not to strew re-creminations ».

A colossal loss for projects of terminals on the production and export of liquefied natural gas (LNG), which had been made to Qatar by the end of the last decade as the largest producer of LNG in the world, some of which are delayed, and another is in jeopardy.

*According to the Minister of Qatar, despite the rapid development of gas industry and increasing import demand on the part of consumers, producing countries are in the face of great difficulties in the construction of factories, the necessary infrastructure, pipelines and export terminals for LNG supply to world markets. These factors reduce the pace of construction and increase the implementation period. Because of these problems are an American company «Exxon-Mobil» gave up one of the LNG projects in Qatar. Thus in jeopardy were not only the future leadership of Qatar on the world LNG market (by developing the world's largest deposits of North field in the Gulf), but also quite specific, long-term contracts to supply gas. **That's why experts say***

that reaching agreements between suppliers and consumers seem necessary.

Today in Moscow there were hopes for closer cooperation on foreign markets for coordination between the two state-owned OAO «Gazprom» and «Qatargaz», including through exchange of assets. For the West such the alliance is a significant risk because it can control a significant market share in Europe and over a quarter of LNG's exports in the world. However, as the experts, neither Russia nor Qatar does not have a technological potential for self-exploration of complex offshore projects, which makes the idea of an alliance of two gas producers realized it is difficult at the present stage.

Experts as J. Mattes, H. Halloush, Khalid R. Al-Rodhan speaking of GECF, note that the Forum follows the path of OPEC. Non-exclusive, in ten years the structure of membership in OPEC could change like GECF (what are seeing now).

Norway's Energy Minister said that does not support the idea of a «gas OPEC». «Norway will not take part in any format cartels — no oil, no gas.» Recall that Norway is the third largest exporter of oil and gas in the world. For example, by results of 2006 novrezhskoho gas exports amounted to almost 85 billion m3. Experts say that the recent Norwegian companies play an increasing role in the Russian oil and gas sector.

The President of the third-largest European oil company «Total» **Christophe de Margerie** supported the idea of the analogue of OPEC. He said that «probably the world's gas producers cartel could play a positive role in a rapid rise in the fuel.» Experts point out the dominant idea that the activities of the largest union of oil and gas will always have a negative impact on consumption. However, the head of the French company does not agree with such statement. Where Mr. Margerie noted the successful work of the oil cartel states, primarily in the area of pricing. Today, OPEC globally makes a very important job, keeping prices under control. In his opinion today, without OPEC, oil prices would be much higher in the world. Besides «gas OPEC» would help avoid inefficient investment that will work for the benefit of consumers.

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Sultanate of Oman in Moscow **Mohammad bin Al-Lavati** stated that «his country sympathetic to the creation of such organizations, because Oman is going to rapidly develop mining and processing of gas and export of gas products. We are for cooperation with Russia in this area and in a broader context — we have to ensure that world prices have not depended on oil quotations. «Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the emirate of Qatar in Moscow **Shamlyan Marzuq Al-Shamlyan** said «We have been supporting the idea of international gas organization that could defend the interests of producers / suppliers and stimulate the development of gas processing. Need clear, with long-term, consistency of action between gas suppliers in the world market, their focus on the development of production and export of liquefied gas. Only such a policy will form a competent international organization of countries exporting natural gas». President of Turkmenistan **Saparmurat Niyazov** said «The initiative to create an international organization of countries exporting natural gas by many countries, including Turkmenistan. Case fatigue that global gas consumption is growing, but export gas prices tied to oil, often unprofitable for many supplying countries». Therefore, CIS countries, which have large deposits of gas, can combine their efforts and begin to create a new international organization “that would contribute to the agreed pricing policy». Chairman of «Gazprom» **Alexey Miller** said «Russia has consistently seeks to coordinate pricing and marketing policy with other gas producing countries, primarily in the region of the former USSR”.

According to the head of the Institute of Oil and Gas Problems RAS, academician **Anatoly Demetrius**, all the talk about gas analogue of OPEC caused by attacks of consumers. In 1998 the EU adopted the Gas Directive, whose objective — reduction of gas prices. In Russia, all future production associated with the Arctic shelf and the Far North of Russia — gas will cost more! In this regard, Russia and the states that continue to look for reliable buyers and will talk about the diversification of exports. West is developing spot market, but it does not provide risk sharing. So a «gas OPEC» can not change the price: too low share of gas, which

can be delivered on the spot market and long-term contracts are no cartels not apply. The opposite view operates, scientific adviser «Higher School of Economics» in Russia **Yevgeniy Yasin**, he said a new gas cartel is not needed. He notes that the provisions of the casual observer, that Russia is against OPEC, extremely profitable. The country does not undertake any formal commitment is to maintain constructive relations with all member countries, while enjoying all the benefits of high oil prices.

According to observers, Russia might try to use the theme of «gas OPEC» in negotiations with all European partners in the field of energy supply. Moscow expects that against the background of negotiations of a new cartel Europe will be more favorable to conduct an equal dialogue with the exchange of energy assets and the conclusion of «exclusive» long-term contracts with oil and gas. **As Western countries, most likely, will refuse the Russian proposal to launch truly equal cooperation (with the exception of some countries like Germany and Italy), it is possible that by the end of 2011 will be created not just a «gas OPEC», and a new unified cartel of hydrocarbons that combine oil and gas producer. Indeed, most of these countries have large potential reserves of liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons.**

So it's should expediency to examine Russia's position at GECF's Ministerial Meeting in Doha (30 June and 9 December 2009), which focuses on:

- Agreeing common pricing methods;
- Assigning specific markets in consumer countries or regions of a particular exporting countries under the latter;
- avoiding competition among gas-exporting countries within the group of established or emerging markets. Experts point out that this intention, at odds with EU competition policy;
- ensuring «security market» by definition of. That is, it can cause, according to experts with long-term lock on the large market share;
- achieving strategic consensus within the group of objects, export and delivery schedules in different directions;

- preliminary approval of new pipeline projects within the group. Experts say that it would allow Russia to assert their own agreements on market sharing between the specific exporting countries;

- «Common» exploration and development of gas fields in the countries — members. Experts point out that this will lead to direct access to Russian gas reserves of member states and sales of the product under Russian control;

- coordinate Company start-ups and production schedules for the commissioned gas fields in member countries;

- joint planning of factories liquefied natural gas (LNG) and export of LNG.

During the speech at the «24 World Gas Congress» by Chairman of «Gazprom» Alexey Miller made a statement in Buenos Aires (October 5–9, 2009., Argentina): «*Now GECF not an informal association and receives a permanent organizational structure which should strengthen the coordination of suppliers,*» — said A. Miller [16]. In this context arises the idea that long gestate Russia — «unlink» the price of gas from the world's oil basket. Today, gas prices follow oil for a delay of six — nine months. That is, after reducing or increasing oil prices on world markets in proportion to changing gas prices.

Note: *Experts say that plans to «Gazprom» extend the impact of the global gas prices, but the current situation, they believe change will be extremely difficult, at least over the next ten years. Today in long-term contracts, which concludes «Gazprom», used different formulas for setting gas prices, which are tied to a basket of competing fuels. The main consumers of natural gas as power plants, the technology can use alternative fuels. At high prices for fuel oil power plants switch to gas and vice versa. A leading analyst of investment company «Troika Dialog» Mr. Nesterov said: in order to form a gas price in isolation from competing fuels for at least this should create a global gas market. Experts point out that the formula for calculating gas prices may be different or no formula is not general and current prices will adjust the stock trades — it does not lead to abrupt changes*

in value of oil and gas. According to leading analyst «Financial Bridge» D. Alexandrov, try «half directive « price revision within GECF can not be ruled out, but no fundamental benefits for Russia to change the current pricing will not bring as technological tying two fuels – oil and gas – are too great.*

Experts say that by 2010, the subject «gas OPEC» has not been developed due to the fact that no country, and any combination of gas-exporting countries do not feel strong enough to challenge the West. *Russia, which is the largest country deposits, manufacturer, exporter and transporter of gas today may lead the «gas OPEC» like the dominant role of Saudi Arabia in OPEC, though other methods, some of which are listed above.*

Negative side of a «gas OPEC»

The oil market is quite different from the gas, making a gas cartel is very problematic for several reasons, especially considering the positioning of it in Russia:

- As the product gas is less important than oil: only 26% of gas produced goes to export.

- Now the market conditions are realized relatively small volumes of gas. In Europe, gas is sold and purchased under long-term contracts that are «tied» to the oil market's rate. In addition, American experts think tank «PFC» indicate that the increase in gas prices could hit the most exporting countries, since many consumers will not advantageous to use natural gas, like coal or renewable energy and move to nuclear power.

- Gas market is less developed compared to oil. Unlike the oil market, it is not global and depends on pipeline systems, and divided into many regional markets. There is another question — who will pay compensation of transit countries on whose territory

* Source: One of the leaders in the investment banking business in Russia and Ukraine. Besides Moscow, Troika Dialog has a presence in 20 Russian cities, and also has offices in Almaty, Kiev, London and New York // <http://www.troika.ru/> Financial Bridge Asset Management (FB) // <http://www.superbroker.ru/>

the pipeline will pass by the damaged environment? In this context, investment can reach trillions of dollars. USA.

• One of the main problems in the way of a «gas OPEC» is in the political sphere. Each State Party to the great potential «gas OPEC» has its own interests on the international political arena, which in some cases are so different from each other, which puts into question the very idea of a real organization.

• If it's compare the new association of gas producing countries with OPEC, it should be noted that in the opinion of the effectiveness of exporters of oil every year is reduced, and its political influence is not as powerful as it thought in the beginning. How effective OPEC to control oil markets? This question is difficult to answer unequivocally. The main objective of the new cartel — to control the price of gas. OPEC achieves this by reducing oil production, first of all, it is necessary to reduce Saudi Arabia, the leader of the oil cartel. When you create a gas cartel is likely, such a leader will be Russia, so first, Wang will be forced to reduce its gas production to align gas prices that is unlikely. Now the emergence of a similar cartel in the gas market seems superfluous — the rapid economic growth in the number of regions in the world, primarily in China and India are consuming and require more fuel. This means that today states that produce energy rather not have to think about how to keep prices high, and how to satisfy growing demand.

Against a «gas OPEC» critically expressed the U.S. and the EU, because they feel like cartel threatens energy security of the world, but they can not, in our opinion, hinder the said ideas.

It is on this issue said Senator Co-Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Senetu Richard Lugar at the hearing in the case of approval of Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State (January 2009), the former senator said that **«Russia is trying to create a gas equivalent of OPEC, which would have given her the opportunity, in addition to Control of gas from its side more and more international capacity to access this material. Thus, this general issue of energy security** «- said H. Clinton. — **«has enor-**

mous consequences for our country, for Europe, as well as for the whole world.» [17].

POSITION OF LEADING INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS ON A «GAS OPEC»

EU Position

European countries in winter 2006 and 2009 years faced with repeated «failures» of oil and gas from Russia. This prompted a question that should deepen the dependence of «Gazprom».

As the experts in the short to medium term in «Gazprom» no alternative to selling gas to Europe and Turkey, which consume more than one third of raw materials, which produced a company that gives it the lion's share of income. To export the gas to other major consumers, in Russia there are no pipelines or LNG Infrastructure for. In our opinion, Russia will remain in the coming years will bound to Europe.

In Europe there are alternatives to gas. Combining pipeline systems of individual countries, completion of pipelines from Norway and construction of new LNG in the future can provide broad diversification of gas supply unless all 27 EU countries, at least, the biggest Western Europe states. The level of prices at which gas is sold to Europe, entering the market for alternative suppliers will be very attractive prospect.

Are currently difficult to answer the question whether Europe would want to start yakys steps to prevent the growth of its dependence on Russian gas. Especially given the fact that today Russia — not only the world's largest supplier and exporter of the fuel, but the observer a quarter of all proven reserves in the world. Nevertheless, the prospect of re-orientation of Russian export flows can make Europe think, and provides the potential for gas shortages in some EU member states. More and more loudly heard talk of a «gas OPEC» can force these countries to doubt whether in the future expect to buy gas in Russia, or it makes sense to more carefully consider the possibilities to involve other sources of supply.

The problem consist in that trying to start a real coordination on the one hand, the immediate result of such actions is, on the other, and further relations of producers and consumers will be arrange in mutual suspicion.

Moreover, **in Europe viewed the «gas OPEC» not as a business project, but as a political tool by which countries that are rich in gas, but which lack democracy will dictate it's will gas deficiency and democratic regimes.**

This is typical European view of a gas cartel, which can not be recognized just too far from the truth, but can not be considered and explain the problem and exhaustive way. In particular, the gas producers have the legal right to avoid this situation in Europe in which the country entered the EU in Turkey, where an excess of pipelines and suppliers has led to the dictates of consumers and dramatically increased the payback periods of infrastructure projects.

Fears of European consumers, in addition to the oil they can get even «gas OPEC», emerged in the mid 90's of XX century. However, the specific reason for them was not. «Gazprom» and other monopoly worked on long-term contracts, prices were tied to oil basket, which satisfy both sellers and buyers. The problems appeared after the reform of the gas industry. In the early 90's of XX century USA started the liberalization of the domestic market. In each region were introduced quotas for independent gas producers, which was allowed to proceed directly to consumers.

The desire to follow the American model has forced the EU to require gas companies to independent producers of the retail market as well as free access to pipelines, and later — to draw a transport capacity of individual enterprises and give them control of the companies authorized by the European Commission. The consequences of these measures were mixed: 1) Gas in some cases became cheaper; 2) it's began to appear occasionally crashes on gas supply; 3) spot market prices for natural gas skyrocketing.

As seen in Europe may not be copied overseas model of liberalization. In America a lot of gas, a relatively small distance between the centers of production and consumption and steady eco-

conomic development of the main regions of consumption. In Europe, its own sources of gas is becoming less import — is also little that is thousands of miles from the market.

Thus it is appropriate to consider the nature of the new EU policy of gas import?: 1) Countries (including transit) and will be able to resell the gas in any amount and any cost; 2) the dependence of EU member states and associated with the EU countries on gas imports from one region should not exceed 30%. Otherwise, the EU directive could restrict such imports; 3) the maximum term contracts for gas supplies should not exceed six years (due to the fact that now the duration of about 75% of contracts for the supply of gas is 15...25). Sense of the new EU restrictions — a gas market «spot» that has seriously worsen the bargaining position when entering into contracts.

Do not forget that in the long term in the new EU policy of gas import laid a fundamental contradiction. To ensure the growing demands of Europe's gas (today the EU intends by 2012 to double its consumption), and the countries supplying company should invest heavily in the development of new fields and the entire oil-gas complex and transport infrastructure. In these circumstances, attract the necessary investments will be sufficient only if the profitability of production and transportation of gas. Gas producers unprofitable short-term contracts and spot pricing shift, so that all these measures should lead to a sharp decline in prices. After the «gas war» between Russia and Belarus tension increased even more, and reviews of European politicians and analysts about the energy exchange rate in Russia have become increasingly critical. There is no doubt that soon Europe will be more demanding to Russia for the broadest range of issues. Approaching the liberalization of European gas market would be for one of the instruments the EU pressure on Russia. While the prospect of a gas cartel can be used by Russia as a way to resist the pressure of Europe and convince her not to go too far in their struggle against the Russian gas expansion to the West.

The Old World's countries receive almost 50 % natural gas from Russia (see Table 2).

Table 2

The dependence of some European countries on Russian gas supplies

№.	Countries	The volume of supply, billion cubic feet per year	Share of Russian gas, %	№	Countries	The volume of supply, billion cubic feet per year	Share of Russian gas, %
1	Austria	212	69	13	Germany	1290	39
2	Belgium	7	1	14	Poland	212	43
3	Belarus	698	99	15	Romania	138	22
4	Bulgaria	99	99	16	Slovakia	226	99
5	Greece	78	82	17	Slovenia	20	52
6	Georgia	39	100	18	Turkey	506	56
7	Estonia	34	100	19	Hungary	318	64
8	Italy	855	24	20	Ukraine	850	40
9	Latvia	62	100	21	Finland	163	98
10	Lithuania	103	100	22	France	406	24
11	Moldova	77	100	23	Czech Republic	253	77
12	Netherlands	94	6	24	Sweden	39	<0,5

Source: According to the Research Service of the U.S. Congress. RS 22562 «Russia Natural Gas: Regional Dependence». — P. 7–9. from 10.01.2010, the

NATO Position

In mid-November 2006 NATO Economic Committee extended confidential expert report, which warned the 26 members of NATO that Russia may be seeking to create mezhdunarodnoho gas cartel OPEC by type, including, in order to use energy political purposes. Gas cartel members except Russia may be Algeria, Qatar, Libya, the countries of Central Asia and perhaps Iran. If this happens, **then the energy alliance will control about 80% of world gas reserves and more than 40% of world gas production and transportation systems. Such a potential NATO members already perceive as a direct «threat to energy security.»** This report operates the term «energy weapon» and tells about «the possibility that large gas supplying countries will coordinate their investments and plans for development in order to prevent overproduction and to keep gas prices at a high level.» NATO ex-

perts have warned EU about the «need to take measures to protect against any attempt by Russia to create a gas OPEC, as this will strengthen Moscow's leverage in Europe.

Despite concerns that Russia may indeed to create a similar cartel, the above report shows the growing tension between Western Europe and Russia on energy security.

The Kremlin findings of the report were refuted. Head of Expert Department of Russia president Arkady Dvorkovich said that Russia does not intend to initiate a gas cartel on the type of «OPEC». «I do not think that a gas OPEC will take place, it could lead to destabilization rather than to stabilize the market» – said the head of management expertise.

«You can create so-called «gas OPEC» involving Russia and other countries will be «a powerful, long-term threat to world energy supplies and negative impact on Russian-American relations». This was the beginning of April 2007 said deputy chairman of Committee on Foreign Affairs U.S. House of Representatives Ileana Ros-Letinen. She urged the Bush administration work together with allies on a joint strategy against a gas cartel.

Mrs. Ros-Letinen informed Qatar, which called among the possible participants of the U.S. government will not provide «assistance to countries participating in the conditions to undermine U.S. security.» Congressman John also suggested that administration Bush «to declare the Russian government that the U.S. will be considered a cartel unfriendly act that adversely affect cooperation in other areas.» Washington should intensify its assistance to Central Asian countries to build pipelines and other infrastructure that will save them from dependence on gas exports from Russia, Iran or other countries.

Creating a gas cartel, following the example of OPEC, which would have controlled the supply and gas prices will lead to the emergence of problems in countries that consume natural gas, and in the suppliers, in the absence of conditions for competition. This was aired by U.S. Energy Secretary Samuel Badman.

In late April 2007 Legal Department of the U.S. Senate approved the bill, the text of which involves the prosecution in the

United States of participating oil and gas cartels. This bill, in particular, prohibits foreign states create international oil and gas cartels on the principle of OPEC. *Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Kamynin said in connection with the preparation of this bill that Russia considers the sovereign right of any State to create alliances in the oil and gas sector. The Russian diplomat underlined that the U.S. was not the first attempt to extend its laws «beyond the national territory.» Minister of Industry and Energy of Russia Viktor Khristenko said that the initiative of U.S. Senator «surprising» and expressed confidence that the questionable legislative initiative Judiciary Committee senators will not pass.*

The position of the International Energy Agency

IEA Deputy Executive Director **William Ramsey considers that a «gas OPEC» is not only dangerous for the consumer countries, but may lead to negative results for producer countries.** The formation of cartels and the resulting increase in gas prices push consumers to reduce demand and change-over to other fuels.

Replacement of coal or gas atom energy will take a long time, 10... 15. The same is the development of new gas provinces, such as Yamal and more. Therefore, a «gas OPEC» in the short run may put into question the development of new deposits, destroying the «security of demand» for these deposits at the time of their delivery. **The IEA believes that liberalized market more efficient. Cartels distort the behavior of market participants and enhance security of gas supplies.**

Experts say that in Europe gas production has passed its peak stage, causing an increased interest in establishing better relations with Russia, and in finding alternative sources of gas, mainly in the form of LNG. Under the baseline scenario, the IEA published in «Review of World Energy» in 2006, gas imports into the EU will increase by 2030 about half perevysit and 700 billion m³ per year.

According to Mr. Ramsey, the EU proposals, which supports the IEA, provide disclosure of the EU market to all producers, including OAO «Gazprom». European consumers want to see a response that producer countries open their European's companies. This will ensure reliability of supply to producers and increased security of supply to consumers, helping to reduce unnecessary costs, risks and increase choice. From considerations of Mr. Ramsey agreed head the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) Guy Caruso. *According to him, it is unlikely that gas extract countries will create a cartel similar to OPEC, especially in the medium term, because the main gas volume sold at long-term contracts. While not seriously be created spot market, gas cartel would not effective and spot market, most likely in the short term will be limited to 10... 20% of gas sales.*

Today, the West (USA, EU) fears that strengthening the position of the exporter would raise gas prices. Western Gas Exporting Countries — Canada, Norway, the Netherlands — are opposed to the initiative of «gas OPEC» as oriented to the West Azerbaijan, although it is not a fact.

The position of the International Alliance of national organizations of gas

Development of the concept of «gas OPEC» was approved 22nd of February 2007 at a meeting of the Supervisory Board of the Russian Gas Society (RGS). Considered the idea of a global gas-based organization of the Eurasian Economic Community (which includes Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) with the accession of the structures of Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Moldova. Experts say that it is absolutely logical: the countries that were part of the USSR, united by a common infrastructure and traditionally coordinate their policies in the gas sector. In this context, the main integrator of association has become Russia. It is clear that Russia will always look for points of interaction with its nearest neighbors. According to the concept, the alliance can join Algeria, Qatar, Nigeria, Venezuela and other countries possessing the largest gas resources. This organization

was named the International Alliance of national non-governmental organizations from the gas, producing and transporting gas.

Later in the event that resolved the crisis over Iran's nuclear program — a part of the International Alliance of national non-governmental organizations from the gas, producing and transporting gas which can enter Iran, the cartel that will provide almost half the world's gas reserves. «Gazprom» has not engaged in shaping the concept this organization, but now «Gazprom» is the largest member of the RGS.

Analysts believe that the project of the International Alliance of national non-governmental organizations from the gas, producing and transporting gas can block many alternative ways of delivery of gas to Europe. **But Iran's Accession to such a «cartel» is unlikely due to lack of transport dependence on Russia (as opposed to the Central Asian republics of the former USSR). As a result, the task to persuade Iran to abandon the project «Nabucco» (GTS «the designed» artery to Europe) and the collapse of the South Pars gas field on a virtually impossible. This can happen only in two cases:** 1) Start fighting against Iran (which is unlikely); 2) the introduction of tougher Iran sanctions by the UN Security Council sanctions than that adopted in 2010.

A fans of the International Alliance of national non-governmental organizations from the gas, producing and transporting gas believe that a united Europe, in fact, acting in terms of integrated consumer of energy. Russia must become the integrator alliance gas producing countries to resist pressure on its energy policy by the European consumers of fuel. A real «gas OPEC» in which he played Dew least one of the first violins, could become a major tool of political pressure. Experts point out that the gas alliance possible, particularly as a global counterweight to the cartel of consumers, especially in Europe. For example, exporting countries can insure each other to implement long-term agreements with customers. *According to Valery Yazov «Cartel of energy consumers in Europe have created — is the EU as a whole. There are a number of structures: Eurogas, the International Energy Agency. «Gas OPEC» as an element, a step a global energy trade with fair rules based on fundamental economic principles for Russia — the good «.*

End 2009 — beginning of 2010 marked two important events:

First, *During 22 December 2009 the official visit of Russian President Dmitry Medvedev to Turkmenistan signed an agreement to resume supplies of Turkmen gas to Russia, which was interrupted in April 2009 because of the accident (sudden and significant reduction in the selection of Turkmen gas «Gazprom» led to vzryvu on gas pipeline in Turkmenistan).*

Second, *the first time in years, «Gazprom» has to buy natural gas in Azerbaijan. Experts point out the important features of the contract signed January 11, 2010, that does not set the upper limit of gas purchases (such was not in any other treaty «Gazprom» in the history of the company).*

EU carried on the dialogue with OPEC about oil for many years. It can not ignore the opinion of a cartel on the supply, production quotas and price issues. From this perspective, it is logical to assume the presence of «gas OPEC», although the analogy with traditional OPEC is very relative. The European cartel consumers should have a constructive dialogue cartel of producing countries and transports gas for the prerequisite of mutual responsibility. When you set up such a

stable system that will coordinate, which can achieve energy security worldwide.

In this context, experts say, to «Gazprom» lit green light. Not only that gas exports legally declared his monopoly, and all actions aimed at the needs of the domestic market served by independent producers, OAO «Gazprom» fully focused on the export of gas. Now the concept of the International Alliance of national non-governmental organizations from the gas, producing and transporting gas worked through in the leading ministries (Minpromenergo, Russian Economics Ministry and Foreign Ministry of Russia).

Experts point out that Central Asian countries that have no alternative export routes, could join the «gas OPEC» led by Russia, thus strengthening Russia's influence on themselves and on others, while the West does not offer Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan direct access to European markets.

Note that Russia has not shown willingness to allow the Central Asian country in the «gas OPEC». It is possible that Russia could maximize their own power within the proposed «gas OPEC» at the expense of control over gas exports from Central Asia. In addition, our estimates, Russia will continue for another 10–15 years to buy Central Asian gas at lower prices.

In our opinion, as a whole may give you some scenarios a «gas OPEC»:

First version — counseling. In fact, this preservation of the existing site in the form of an annual conference in Qatar. The conference is mainly carried microanalysis report, all energy market participants exchange views.

The second option — the development of the liquefied gas market. This distribution of contacts on the supply of LNG can lead to the creation of «gas OPEC». What is happening cardinal changing structure of world gas market would lead to the emergence of such organizations. Market LNG will be able to control Russia, Qatar, Algeria, Malaysia and Indonesia. Also will increase the supply of LNG from Iran, Nigeria and Australia.

Increased supplies from Qatar — a key factor in the global market: they can be both the Atlantic and the Pacific market, which will lead to the development of new facilities for transportation of LNG from Iran, Russia and Yemen. This would «unlink» from gas pipelines to supply gas to any country, creating a valuable market. However, this perspective refers to the medium. Furthermore, this idea is interesting enough in Russia. Significantly, the «Gazprom» went on freezing Stockman field development, gas from which it intended to be used mainly for LNG. Apparently, in Russia tend to priority development pipelines, not LNG market. Although strategically it may not be true.

The third option — of unity based on the gas transport infrastructure. Unique transportation system, built during the Soviet years, can become a real power rod possible alliance of gas producers with Russia (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Central Asian republics). *Now neighboring countries trying to build an alternative gas transportation infrastructure are not technically related to the Soviets. This actively involved European gas consuming countries, interested in weakening its dependence on Russian «gas pipe».* Thus, the central idea of this option is to form a single alliance international center for dispatching gas supplies between Europe and Asia by the Soviet gas transportation system security. This should serve as a guarantee of failure of the CIS countries to participate in the development of alternative gas export routes. The list of tasks the al-

liance in this case must log in to develop a system of interstate gas balance acceptable gas supply routes to the consumer and schemes agreed commissioning of new fields to ensure the most advantageous use of the member countries of the infrastructure of the gas resource potential of their alliance. It actually would guarantee Russia's gas markets and made it very difficult to create alternative pipeline gas export routes to Europe. However, this scenario can cause a sharp resistance to the U.S. and parts of Europe, as in this case to apply for alternative sources of Russian gas is almost impossible.

CONCLUSIONS

Against a background of expansion's «Gazprom» in Europe and Asia at the beginning of 2009–2011 was a prerequisite that the trend a «gas OPEC» can move from dialogue to more constructive results for 15–20 years – it will increase the level of the project. Russia wants at least partially unlock Iran for international projects: quite by chance the two countries are mentioned among those who have initiated a «gas OPEC». Experts point out that Russia already faces a shortage of gas for internal needs and for export to the West (USA, EU). Therefore, we can talk about Russian control over Central Asian gas. Non-exclusive, the next logical step in Russia will spread the policy of «coordination» of gas export to other countries, especially Iran, who have little choice.

In our view, yet there is no reason to create so-called «gas OPEC», despite concerns and, vice versa, – hoped – in the offices of some large states. This statement has a number of reasons: 1) *very widely used term «gas OPEC» in world media as an information wave. While no doubt the term «gas OPEC» – used incorrectly.* Gas moves mainly through pipelines in the same direction and therefore the gas trade is conducted at the subregional and national markets, and contracts for the supply of gas, typically are long-term; 2) *natural gas market such as oil does not exist.* Now really, there is a world market for liquefied natural gas (LNG), which comes only tankers. However, it is less than a third of all gas sales, and the lion's share of this market focused only on long-term contracts; 3) *as a possible basis of a «gas OPEC» is called Russia, Iran and Qatar.* Indeed, these countries have almost

65.2% of world gas reserves. Qatar exports significant amounts of gas – in liquefied form (LNG). Only Russia is prepared to become exporter of LNG. Iran exports less than 8 trillion cubic feet of gas per year. *Thus, the aren't and very little joint between the parties «gas OPEC».*

Thus, a new wave of information to create a «gas OPEC», ante factum, is more emotional reaction to some oil-producing countries in the significant drop in oil prices on world markets, de facto, and natural gas. The main purpose of the demarche of the largest holders of gas reserves – their desire to prevent further decline in energy prices.

The United States, the European Union have three options for effective measures to prevent Russia-led «gas OPEC», namely:

- First, to act decisively to ensure direct access to Caspian Central Asian region in a competitive environment. Innovative to Caspian Central Asian region is a key diversification of gas supplies to Europe. Further restoration Trans project should not be limited diversion of gas from offshore reserves.

- Second, it is already preparing for the day when the development of gas fields in Iran will be politically feasible, and politically to try to bring that day. Maintenance of Iranian gas in the ground can not be sustained policy in the context of growing demand and rising prices, limited reserves, lack of competition and excessive leverage Russian pressure.

- Thirdly, to increase production of liquefied natural gas (LNG) outside the influence of «Gazprom». Production of LNG is considered one of the ways to counter the domination of «Gazprom».

In our opinion, remedy the situation in Ukraine are the following three factors: 1) Structural changes in the economy, aimed at developing less energy-intensive and 2) Reducing consumption 3) Increase domestic production of gas.

So summarize, we note that the formation of «gas OPEC», able to manage the market is very problematic for several reasons:

- As an export product gas is less important than oil. In the world there is overproduction of gas, gas demand will grow, and in this case «gas OPEC» powerless: pointless to try to restrict supply in huge demand.

- In Europe, gas is sold and purchased under long-term contracts that are «tied» to the oil market quotations. Promoting the idea of «gas OPEC» would increase the share of short contacts in the structure of trade, contrary to the «Gazprom».

- Increasing gas prices may hit the same exporting countries, since many consumers will be more profitable to switch to other energy sources. There LNG market, which, indeed, possible to create a cartel similar to OPEC, Russia currently supplies LNG does not.

- The gas market is not global and depends on the network of pipelines, and divided into many regional markets. As a result, the gas business is characterized disabilities transporting gas over long distances. Carrying out a pricing difference due to the difference in cost of natural gas in various regions represented at the moment intricate task.

- In each country — a potential party in a large «gas OPEC» has its own interests on the international political arena, which in some cases are so different from one another, calling into question the idea of a real organization. On the European market problem is that the leading gas supplier to EU — Russia, Norway and Algeria — is difficult to agree among themselves.

- At this stage a «cartel» like OPEC can not. Therefore, the term «cartel» should be understood enhance coordination of cooperation between members, promote dialogue between producers and consumers of gas.

- When you create a gas cartel is likely to control the price of gas will take on Russia, and she first had to be cut gas prices for the alignment. But it is hardly possible both in terms of export policies of Russia and contractual relations with Western partners in the long-term contracts.

- It is possible that some impetus to the creation of «gas OPEC» might be a globalization of LNG supplies. By 2020 the share of LNG in world markets will grow to 38%. With the creation of market scale LNG producers and consumers will be able to agree among themselves about the price of on-line.

- Russian Gas Society (RGS). has proposed the idea of global gas MANNHO at the EvrAzEs countries from joining structures

Ukraine, Moldova and Turkmenistan. The International Alliance of national organizations of gas project can block most of the alternative routes of delivery of gas to Europe. Union Gas as a possible counterweight to the cartel's global consumers. The main question of possible agreements: coordination of large mining projects, traffic flows, access and development of gas transportation infrastructure, modern technologies, including the price, strategic planning, introduction of new transportation corridors and determine the rules of the game with the biggest consumers.

Literature

1. «Global energy and Russia: Key Questions»: Chairman of the Union of Oil & Gas Producers of Russia, Chairman of the Council of directors of the Energy Institute for Strategists, Doctor of Economics Yury Shafranik. Presentation at the Kennan Institute (Washington, USA). May 29, 2009 // http://www.energystrategy.ru/ab_ins/source/Shafra_Kennan-29.05.09.rar

2. Amy Jaffe, Mark H. Hayes, David G. Victor «Gas Geopolitics: Visions to 2040». Program on Energy and Sustainable Development. Geopolitics of Natural Gas Project Summary: Insights to 2040. Working Paper #36 (2005) // http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/20813/WP36_Conclusions.pdf; Cordesman A. The Changing Dynamics of Energy in the Middle East / Anthony H. Cordesman, Khalid R. Al-Rodhan. — USA : Publisher Praeger/CSIS, 2006. — 488 P.; J. Stern. The Future of Russian Gas and Gazprom / Jonathan Stern.—London: Oxford University Press, 2005. — 298 P. ; Socor, Vladimir (2008). «A Russian-led «OPEC for Gas»? Design, Implications, Countermeasures». Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review (Foreign Policy Research Center) (20). Retrieved 2008–12–26. P.112–119. // http://www.lfpr.lt/uploads/File/2008–20/Socor_ENG.pdf ; Terterov M. Russian and CIS Relations with the Gulf Region: Current Trends in Political and Economic Dynamics / Marat Terterov.— UAE : Gulf Research Center, 2009. — 602 P.; S. KORSUNSKY “Energy Diplomacy: [Teach. Manual.] / Dr. Sergiy V. KORSUNSKY. — Kyiv.: Higher Shool, 2008. —159 p. (Ukrainian); Some issues of energy security of Ukraine: Report on the annual conference «Oil and gas complex of Ukraine as a component of energy security of Europe» (4 November 2008, Kyiv) / Volodymyr Saprykin, Director of Energy Programs. Razumkov Centre for Economic and Political Studies (Kyiv, Ukraine) // http://razumkov.org.ua/ukr/article.php?news_id=648; 23rd World Gas Congress. June 6, 2006 Conference. David G. Victor, Mark H. Victor Presentation (modified June 2006)PDF: Victor_WGC_9_June.pdf (675.3KB) // http://iis-db.stanford.edu/evnts/4533/Victor_WGC_9_June.pdf; Бушуев В. В. Газовая ОПЕК: Утопия или реальность // Мировой рынок НЕФТИ и ГАЗА Ежемесячный Аналитический Обзор № 05 (май) 2007 / — СС. 7–27.; Заливанов Н. П. Нефтегазоносность акваторий мира: Учебное пособие / Заливанов Н. П. — Новосиби. гос. ун-т. Новосибирск, 2009. — 260 с. ; XXI век — век газа. [Электронный ресурс] / Р.М. Тер-Саркисов // Журнал «Газовая промышленность» — 2009 (13). — № 12/639/2009 — С. 43. // http://www.gas-journal.ru/gij/gij_detailed_work.php?GIJ_ELEMENT_ID=12886&WORK_

ELEMENT_ID=13105 ; M. Nobakht "Prospects for gas market and the value of oil" / Dr. Mohammad Bagher Nobakht; [Farsi]. — Tehran : The Center for Strategic Research (CSR), 2009. — 150 p. // <http://www.csr.ir/> ; The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR). Abu Dhabi, The United Arab Emirates, /Arabic) // http://www.ecssr.ac.ae/ECSSR/appmanager/portal/ecssr?_nfpb=true&_pageLabel=PublicationsPage&_event=viewNewPublications&lang=ar&_nfls=false

3. Victor D. Natural Gas and Geopolitics: From 1970 to 2040 / David G. Victor, Amy M. Jaffe, Mark H. Hayes. Cambridge University Press, 2006. — 534 P.

4. International Energy Agency, World Energy Outlook 2009, Paris: OECD, 2009. — P. 178–179, 560, 564. 568, 592, 596, 600, 604.

5 J. Stern. The new security environment for european gas: worsening geopolitics and increasing global competition for LNG [Электронный ресурс] / Jonathan Stern, — Oxford Institute for Energy Studies. NG 15. October 2006. — P.31. // <http://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/NG15-TheNewSecurityEnvironmentForEuropeanGasWorseningGeopoliticsandIncreasingGlobalCompetitionforLNG-JonathanStern-2006.pdf>

6. В Латинской Америке зреет газовый мегапроект. 6 октября 2009г. // <http://russianforum.wordpress.com/2009/10/06/>

7. Statistic Review of World Energy. BP. — 2008/2009, June. — P. 6–7.

8. Gazprom news // <http://www.gazprom.com/press/news/2009/december>

9. H. Mattes. Die „Gas-OPEC“ — Schwierigkeiten einer Kartellbildung // Dr. Hanspeter Mattes // — GIGA-Publikationen zum Thema. Institut für Nahost-Studien. — Mai, 2007. — P. 1–8. (Volltext) —// http://www.giga-hamburg.de/dl/download.php?d=/content/staff/mattes/publications/giga_mattes_erdgasOPEC_0705.pdf ; Gas-Opec worth consideration. Iran Daily. — 13-th of February 2007. — 12 P.

10. More information about the countries-members of the Forum of Gas Exporting Countries (with flags) can be obtained from the website // <http://www.gecforum.org>

11. Asharq Al Awsat. Issue "Asharq al-Iqtisad" — № 7847. — 10-th of December 2009. — P. 1–16. (Arabic) // http://www.al-sharq.com/pdfs/files/economics_20091210.pdf

12. ENERGY STRATEGY OF RUSSIA IN THE PERIOD UNTIL 2030. — [Approved November 13, 2009]. № 1715-p. — Moscow: The Russian Government, 2009. P. 9. External energy policy — 117. (Order of the Government of the Russian Federation) // http://www.gazo.ru/images/upload/ru/1557/ENERGETICHESKAYA_STRATEGIYA_DO_2030_3.doc

13. Energy security: is this a challenge for the markets or for the strategic community as well? Lecture 4 / Jamie Shea // NATO Review — 2006. — Spring — Summer. // <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2009/ARCHIVES/EN/index.htm>; http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/audio/audio_2010_01/20100108_20092910_NSC_Jamie_Shea-lectures-4.mp3; http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_59989.htm

14. J. Stern. The new security environment for European gas: worsening geopolitics and increasing global competition for LNG. — P.16–17.

15. Hallouche H. The Gas Exporting Countries Forum: Is it really a Gas OPEC in the Making? / Hadi Hallouche.– UK: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, 2006. — 72 P. // <http://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/NG13-TheGasExportingCountriesForumIsItReallyAGasOpecInTheMaking-HadiHallouche-2006.pdf>

16. Security of Supply and Related Investments / Speech by Alexei Miller at the 24th World Gas Conference. Keynote Sessions: Buenos Aires, Argentina. 5–9 October 2009 // <http://www.wgc2009.com/admin/archivosNew/Speaker%20Presentations/Keynote%20presentations/3.%20Alexey-B-Miller.pdf>

17. Opening Statement for Confirmation Hearing of Senator Hillary Clinton to be Secretary of State. / Senator Richard G. Lugar. U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. — January 13, 2009. // <http://foreign.senate.gov/testimony/2009/LugarStatement090113a.pdf>; 2nd Questions at Senator Clinton's Nomination Hearing. Foreign Relations Committee SH-216. — January





Leonid Shklyar,

Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor

CURRENT PRIORITIES OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF UKRAINE

For almost twenty years of the sovereign state existence, Ukrainian foreign policy did not manage to lose dependence on the geopolitical entities influence, first of all on the United States of America, European Union and Russian Federation, which remain determining factors of foreign policy strategy of our country.

Russia influence is especially indicative as having mostly cyclic character. Nowadays, Ukrainian-Russian relations again endure the period of intensive development and deepening, which may change over years in case of aggravation and non-resolution of economic interest conflicts between Ukrainian and Russian big business, as well as due to chosen foreign policy strategy by the Ukrainian authorities towards the European integration.

However, the new cycle of foreign policy of Ukraine is currently characterized by rapprochement with Russia, accounting for wishes of the European Union without persuasive intention to receive guarantees of membership in immediate prospects and maintaining quite reserved relations with the United States of America considering decreasing role of the Euro-Atlantic integration vector of Ukraine. Thus, the present Ukrainian authorities intend to find balance within the triangle of Russia—EU—USA disregarding some displacement of foreign policy accents towards Moscow.

After openly westernized shifts of foreign policy, which was rather declared than implemented at the time of V. Yushchenko's

presidency, Ukraine again returns to multi-vector policy with the prime accent upon deepening of relations with Russia. At the same time, the present world, which dynamically changes owing to expansion of financial and economic crisis, presents new risks and calls for the Ukrainian state, which may not be met with the multi-vector foreign policy without clearly determined course. In the conditions of strengthening «currency wars», economic protectionism, development of information and innovative technologies, Ukraine needs implementation of effective foreign policy for preserving prospects for existence as an object of civilizational process in Europe and the world.

In this context, there are good reasons to consider more detailed changes of foreign policy priorities of Ukraine as associated with change of political team at the higher echelons of the Ukrainian authority.

Upon taking post of the President of Ukraine on February 25, 2010, Victor Yanukovich and consequent personnel rotation in the leading bodies of the higher government authorities, the country experienced process of essential change in the foreign policy priorities.

In the European direction, determining feature of the new administration foreign policy is European integration and Europeanization of Ukraine while keeping friendly, pragmatic relations with Russia to the most possible extent. According to the current head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine K.Gryshchenko, this permits not only to discontinue development of crisis in relations with the Russian Federation, but also to create more harmonious logic of the European integration of Ukraine. As per the acting head of the Ukrainian diplomacy, normalization of relations with Eastern strategic partner with maintaining the European essence of reforms and commitment to the European values is a unique key to resolving majority of internal and foreign policy problems of our country and only way to avoid its breakup [1, p. 5].

Present Ukrainian administration differs from previous one in higher pragmatism in the policy especially in foreign one. In the European direction, it develops into position, which permits Ukraine as the European democracy to acquire absolute right to become a member of European Union (EU) when it will be ready for this step. Such formulation removed irritation of leading EU

members, first of all of France and Germany, concerning necessity of granting guarantees of membership in the European Union for Ukraine in the medium or long-term perspective. So, currently Berlin and Paris in relations with Kiev focus their attention upon more applied problems, first of all of economic nature [12].

Approach of the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich to relations with the Russian Federation dramatically differs from times of the previous administration, which again become the most priority. Suchwise, during first half of 2010, he met with the higher Russian authorities on a monthly basis, which resulted in a package of the signed bilateral agreements and arrangements in different spheres of life. The most significant political document is «Kharkov agreements» signed by the presidents of both countries, which prolonged stay of Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation in Crimea through 2042 in exchange for economic preferences in matters pertaining to price for Russian natural gas.

Adoption by Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and signing by V. Yanukovich of the Law «On the framework of domestic and foreign policy», which took legal effect on July 20, 2010 became one of key steps of the new administration in forming of the foreign policy goals and objectives. The law determines internal policy principles in sphere of development of statehood, local self-government and stimulation of regions development, forming of civil society institutes in the sphere of national security and defense. The Law also designates internal policy principles in economic and social spheres, ecology and technogenic security and humanitarian area. It determines principles of foreign policy of the state. Law final provisions introduce changes to the Law «On framework of national security of Ukraine». In particular, in Article 6 it removes integration of Ukraine into the Euro-Atlantic security space from among national priorities. Article 8 of the Law *On Framework of National Security of Ukraine* removes provision on full participation of Ukraine in NATO from the prime directions of the national security policy [11, p. 4–5].

While the abovementioned law took legal effect, new administration fixed non-aligned status of Ukraine at legislative level. It rests on three prime principles: nonparticipations in military alliances or blocs; active role in discussing problems of the European

security; forming own approach in relations with EU and the Russian Federation. It assumes that Ukrainian authorities will determine non-alignment parameters independently. Thus currently there are no mechanisms, which would facilitate actual realization of this status, their development should become prime tasks of corresponding state bodies. Particularly, the non-alignment status does not provide for positioning of foreign military base in the territory of country, while term of location of Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation in Crimea according to «Kharkov agreements» shall last through 2042.

As specifying understanding of the non-alignment status of Ukraine fixed by the Law of Ukraine «On the framework of domestic and foreign policy», acting head of foreign policy department of Ukraine K. Grishchenko notices that present non-alignment position makes Ukraine open, instead of close, including for cooperation with NATO. Besides, non-alignment status of Ukraine, in his opinion, acts as the pragmatic tool of realization of national and geopolitical potential of Ukrainian nation. It is stated that the policy of strategic balancing should not move the NATO downwards a scale of priorities of the Ukrainian foreign policy [1, p. 5].

Separate issue — attitude of the new administration towards the Euro-Atlantic integration of our country. In fact, the Law of Ukraine «On the framework of domestic and foreign policy» removed from the foreign policy agenda of Ukraine an issue of joining NATO. We observe that the specified law permits Ukraine to participate in regional security systems. Considering clear accent on rapprochement with Russia, the new Ukrainian administration may elect to increase cooperation with the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) where the Russian Federation will play a key role. According to some specialists, realization of this scenario will definitively make impossible for Ukraine to integrate into NATO. Anyway, adoption of law alone does not resolve a problem of security deficit for Ukraine, it is necessary to flesh out its position with the practical substance.

One more characteristic for the new Ukrainian administration foreign policy intention is modernization of Ukraine, by analogy to the large-scale program of the President of the Russian Federation D. Medvedev. Country modernization in the interpreta-

tion of authorities is associated with establishing itself in international scene through development, first of all, of powerful economy. The extent, to which it will be possible to embody this thesis in practice, shall become evident in the coming years. At the same time, while speaking at in Brussels at the discussion «Ukraine: the new president, new foreign policy?», which was organized by the Center of European political research and Fund of J. Marshall, K. Gryshchenko noticed that «new trajectory of foreign policy of Ukraine covers Brussels, Moscow and Washington, and extends outside the limits the specified capitals». In the point of view of the head of Ukrainian the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, political association and economic integration with EU and strategic relations with such partners as the Russian Federation, USA, China, pragmatic and mutually advantageous cooperation with other countries are priorities, which do not contradict each other, and foreign policy, which embodies them, shall be considered as the only way of survival in the modern world [4, p. 3].

There are good reasons to separately consider change of nature and condition of Ukrainian-Russian relations. After V. Yanukovych's inauguration at the end of February 2010, process of Ukrainian-Russian relations normalization progressed as powered by positive perception of the person of the Ukrainian president by Russian authorities and pre-election promises of PR leader directed towards establishment of closer and friendly relations with Russia.

In this regard, the new Ukrainian president applied new foreign policy approach to relations with Russia. However, this situation also sets preconditions for the potential conflicts of interests of the parties and possible cooldown of relations. Moscow pushed V. Yanukovych to comprehensively revise mutual relations, including denial of the western integration projects (EU and NATO) for the benefit of Russian ones, in particular, Customs union, EurAsEC and, possibly, CSTO. Without moves in this direction, Russian authorities does not and will not make any serious concessions in the economic matters. This stance was practically disclaimed during D. Medvedev's May visit to Ukraine, when representatives of the big business extended the request concerning Russia's consent for transit of Central Asia natural gas via Russian territory for Ukraine, and the President of the Russian Federation refused to do so.

While developing relations with Russia, V. Yanukovych, at the first onset emphasized selective revision of certain agreements that include natural gas supply agreements, obtaining preferences for exporters of raw materials, goods and services into Russian market, borders regime and the status of Azovo-Kerchenskii water area and other issues in exchange for reviewing Ukrainian policy in humanitarian matters, some compromise in prolongation of RF Black Sea Fleet stay in Crimea and so on. As a result, during 2010, volume of Ukrainian export to Russia increased more than by 75 % [3, p. 4].

At the present, the new Ukrainian administration intends to reach balance within triangle of Russia-Ukraine- EU between Europeanization of Ukraine, on the one hand, and friendly and pragmatic relations with Russia to the most possible extent, on the other hand.

Political analysts and mass-media admit of the thought that for Russia it is important to display the influence upon Ukraine so that it is recognized by international players, including EU and NATO [10]. This mission has been almost implemented, which reduces a field for maneuver, in particular, in national security area that leads to depriving Ukraine of independent own foreign policy. At the same time, Russia continues to actively develop own relations with NATO and discuss new security formats in Europe by the initiative of the President of the Russian Federation D. Medvedev.

As of today, dynamic pace of mutual relations development somewhat slows down owing, first of all, to evolving conflict of interests in Ukrainian business community that are focused on current administration because of massive arrival of the Russian capital to Ukraine. The first signal is cancellation of privatization resolutions with regard to transferring to Russian *Brjansk mashzavod* and *Luganskteplovoz* company. As is known, authorities intend to complete privatization of *Ukrtelecom* company by the end of 2010 — first half of 2011, which attracted bidding from both Russian investors and some representatives of Ukrainian large business. This evolving conflict of business interests may bring about further deepening of controversy.

As this process takes momentum, Russian party is more and more irritated by unwillingness of the acting Ukrainian administration to make a definitive choice towards Moscow with its corre-

sponding participation in the complex of Russian integration projects. Issues of Ukraine's foreign policy definitive determination obviously become most essential in the middle of 2011 when the primary stake will be placed upon Russian presidential election of 2012.

In case of continuation by the current Ukrainian administration of strategic multi-vector policy, Moscow may deploy a new type of pressure with application of a traditional toolkit upon the President of Ukraine V. Yanukovich and his administration team. Partially it has already occurred in the form of deprivation of Ukraine of the transit country status with regard to power resources to member states of European Union [9]. So, contrary to long negotiations between Kiev and Moscow, the latter continues to actively develop the Southern Flow gas pipeline construction project, which will reduce annual volume of the transported Russian natural gas to EU Member States by more than one half. Russian companies refuse to use the Ukrainian oil pipeline Odessa-Brody in reverse mode thus forcing V. Yanukovich and government of Ukraine to look for possibilities of filling of the Ukrainian transit oil capacities at the expense of the Azerbaijani, Kazakhstani and Venezuelan oil.

Bearing in mind essential changes in the Russian direction of the Ukrainian foreign policy, an important issue is prospects of development of Ukraine and EU relations.

The European vector of the foreign policy, which definitive purpose is integration into the European Union, formally was and still is not only geopolitical strategy for the Ukrainian authorities but also a civilization choice. The urgency of European integration move for Ukraine is caused also by the business factors. Particularly, according to the vice-prime minister of Ukraine S. Tigipko, 80 % of investments, which arrived in Ukraine, originate in EU. There are good reasons to mention that over 30 % of Ukrainian foreign trade volume is attributed today also to the European Union [7, p. 4].

Unlike the previous administration, which suffered from idiosyncratic *Euroromantism*, as talking a lot about, but doing nothing towards realization of the European choice, the present administration professes business pragmatism style. It features in focusing on practical issues, which are important for both the state and average citizen of the country. Among them, especially important are

Agreement on Association, inclusive free trade zone and a visa-free regime. This issue was discussed during the summit Ukraine – EU that took place in Brussels on November 22, 2010 where the Action plan concerning a visa-free regime was approved.

Realization of the Agreement on Association, which gives the chance to transform relations Ukraine – EU from a partnership and cooperation format into profound philosophy to be based on the basis of political association and economic integration is one of the aforementioned steps of deepening relations with EU. At the same time, the present Agreement makes concrete recommendations concerning necessary actions towards adaptation of the Ukrainian legislation for free trade zone establishment. As of now, while implementing this course, the Ukrainian party adopted laws on the state procurement and protection of the personal data, amendment to the current law about National bank of Ukraine and so on.

Still, currently Ukraine has a number of suggestions concerning position of European Union with regard to negotiations about free trade zone creation. First of all, this relates to lifting export subsidies in bilateral trade and cancellation of the mechanism of establishing entry prices for agricultural products as well as an issue of tariff quotas and duty. Besides, during negotiations with EU leaders Ukrainian politicians regularly defend their position concerning necessity to give up trading protectionism tools in the free trade.

All aforementioned issues were discussed again during Karel de Gukhta, EU Trade Commissioner, visit to Kiev at the end of October 2010 and during which the representative of European Union declared possibility of taking by Ukraine of transition period for integration into EU domestic market. He also clearly stated that negotiations concerning the agreement on free trade zone shall in any case come to an end not earlier than summer of 2011 [2, p. 3]. One need to bear in mind that currently just 1 % of the Ukrainian products enter the market of EU countries, while import from the European Union to Ukraine, even under existing custom duties, constitutes almost 30 %.

Creation of free trade zone between Ukraine and EU may result in the situation that 80 % of the Ukrainian products will get access to the European market, and Ukrainian consumers acquire oppor-

tunity to buy the goods from the European Union countries for the lower prices as compared to the current rates [5, p. 6].

According to V. Yanukovych, «Eastern partnership» program is more of tactical means for Ukraine, rather than a strategic target. Nowadays prospects for deepening of relations between Ukraine and EU depend on a number of actions by each party. Brussels expects from Ukraine, first of all, real moves in fighting the corruption sphere, establishment of effective readmission system, equipment of borders by the anthropometrical control systems, creation of new modern type of the Ukrainian passport and sustainable observance of democratic principles and standards and so on. It is important for Kiev that EU and Brussels approve the final decision to involve Ukraine within the scope of principle which is applied to a number of states without the status of the candidate but with visa-free regime and variety of liberties in trade with the EU countries.

Suchwise, November summit became important step towards development of mutual relations between Ukraine and European countries. In particular, during this summit the parties considered a course of negotiations about Agreement on Association and on free trade zone creation as well as regional cooperation in relations with Russia, Belarus, settlement of the Dniester conflict, and introduction of a visa-free regime. In this connection, as was mentioned before, the Action Plan towards visa liberalization for Ukraine was approved that determines all technical specifications which Ukraine needs to meet in order to ensure progress towards establishing a visa-free regime. At the same time, mass-media experts and political analysts express very popular opinion that it is hardly possible that cancellation of a visa regime by EU comes earlier than in 3–5 years. After all, this is a question of adopting necessary legislation by Ukraine and government programs in the spheres covered by a visa regime: safety of documents that assumes introduction of the biometric data; fight against illegal migration, readmission; public order and safety; external relations [8, p. 3].

Generally, the president of European Commission J. M. Barroso and the president of European Council H. Van Rompey gave positive appraisal of 14th summit “Ukraine — EU”, having reminding wide prospects for cooperation. In this context, the European party considers 2011 an important year for completing negotiations

about concluding the Agreement on Association and associates this process with democracy development in Ukraine. In his reply, V. Yanukovich assured that Ukraine will perform all necessary steps for accomplishing negotiations about Association and implementation of the Action Plan towards visa-free regime establishment in 2011 [6]. However, in the conditions of the further development of financial and economic crisis processes in the world, the pragmatic approach will attain more priority value for EU, especially in a context of developing close relations with Russia, which means strengthening attention of Europe towards applied economic, instead of political issues in development of relations with Ukraine. At the same time, present Ukrainian authorities openly declare that its expects EU to gradually open its market and granting Ukraine four freedoms – freedom of movement of the goods, services, capitals and people. In case of absence of clear signals from Brussels concerning prospects for satisfaction of the Ukrainian expectations, one may reasonably predict that accents of foreign policy of Ukraine will be gradually shifted towards eastern direction more actively.

The analysis of a year stay in power of V. Yanukovich administration affords grounds for making following conclusions. Firstly, the main priority of modern foreign policy of Ukraine is deepening of relations with the Russian Federation on a pragmatic basis, which the present Ukrainian administration perceives as domination of the economic agenda in mutual relations.

Secondly, prospects of the European integration for Ukraine, development of its relations with EU is determined today by new position of the Ukrainian administration, which manifests “accessing the EU only when Ukraine is ready”. It permits removing “annoyance and weariness of Ukraine” on the part of France and Germany and also concentrate more on realization of practical steps of free trade zone creation, preparation of the Agreement on Association and visa-free regime introduction. There are good reasons to mention that EU politicians positively perceive normalization of Ukraine-Russia relations.

Thirdly, the issue of Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine becomes less significant in state foreign policy in connection with adoption of law «On the principles of internal and foreign policy

of Ukraine» where integration into NATO is remitted at legislative level and Ukraine's non-aligned status is proclaimed. At the same time, in our opinion, relations with the Alliance will be continued. It is enhanced by the fact of signing by the President of Ukraine on November 18, 2010 the Decree «On facilitation of constructive partnership of Ukraine with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization», according to which the Commission in affairs of partnership of Ukraine with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will be established under the President of Ukraine together with creation of the institute of national coordinators on partnership of Ukraine with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in spheres of foreign policy and economy, defense and military sphere, resource (financial) provision as well as in the spheres of security and law.

Considering domination of Russian stripe in foreign policy and slowing down the process of integration of Ukraine in NATO, there are good reasons to assume that relations of our country with the USA will have less intensive character. The situation though may change after presidential election in Russia, which will take place in 2012. More specifically, in case of D. Medvedev's re-election, Washington, possibly, may increase foreign policy activity in the Ukrainian bearing, which will ignite corresponding reaction from Kiev.

One shall also consider and that in the view of new risks and threats, which arise in the world owing to intensive changes under the influence of global financial and economic crisis, Ukraine will pay more attention towards Asian bearing for realization of effective foreign policy, where the leading role of China and the regions of Latin America may partially afford new prospects for development of the Ukrainian economy.

1. Gryshchenko K.Z. Outside chess board limits / Kostyantyn Grishchenko// Dzerkalo tyzhnia. — 2010. — № 27. — July 17 — August 6 — p. 5.

2. EU offers the highest level of liberalization//the Governmental courier. — 2010. — № 202. — October 29 — p. 3.

3. Karasjov V. Ukraine-Russia: asymmetrical partnership / Vadim Karasjov// Dzerkalo tyzhnia. — 2010. — № 11. — March 20–26 — p. 4.

4. A new trajectory of foreign policy//Den. — 2010. — № 195. — October 27 — p. 3.
5. Negotiations on free trade zone with EU linger//Golos Ukrainy. — 2010 — № 204. — October 30 — p. 6.
6. The President of Eurocommission called the summit Ukraine — EU as successful and productive [electronic resource]. — access mode: <http://www.interfax.com.ua/rus/pol/54073>.
7. Rehearsal before the summit «Ukraine — EU»//Golos Ukrainy. — 2010. — № 208 — November 5 — p. 4.
8. Syruk M. One more step towards EU, or what expectations Brussels have of Yanukovych / Nikolay Syruk//Den — 2010. — № 214 — November 23 — p. 3.
9. Tolstov P. A new move of Ukraine will salvage it of default/. Sergey Tolstov [electronic resource]- access mode: http://www.ng.ru/courier/2010-05-17/11_ukraina.html.
10. Ukraine and Russia opened new page of economic relations [electronic resource] — access mode: <http://www.voanews.com/russian/news/Analysis-and-perspectives/RUSSIA-UKRAINE-GAS-DEAL-2010-04-30-92524839.html>.
11. On principles of internal and foreign policy: the Law of Ukraine of July 1, 2010 № 2411-VII// Golos Ukrainy. — 2010. — № 132 — July 20 — p. 4–5.
12. Top U.S. diplomat: Ukraine can have good relations with Russia, U.S., EU simultaneously [an electronic resource]. — access mode: <http://www.interfax.com.ua/eng/main/52957>.

THE MODERN PRIORITIES OF UKRAINE'S FOREIGN POLICY

The article deals p the changes of priorities in foreign policy of Ukraine after the finish of presidential election at the beginning of 2010. The differences of Victor Yanukovych's policy compared to the foreign policy of President Victor Yushchenko are being analyzed. The separate attention in the article is paid to the changes in foreign policy on European and Russian directions and the perspectives of relations p European Union and Russian Federation are given. Besides, the accepted status of non-alignment of Ukraine is researched with forecasting of possible consequences for the political development of the country.



Yuri Shapoval,

Professor, Doctor of Historical Sciences

Born in 1953, graduated from the Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv (1975), Professor (2000), Doctor of Historical Sciences (1994), Honored Scientist of Ukraine (2003), Chairperson of the Ethnopolitology Dept., F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic-National Studies of the NAS of Ukraine (2006), author of over 400 publications and numerous scientific studies on the problems of political history of Ukraine in the XX century, the history of communist totalitarianism, biographies of many public figures. He was published in Austria, Great Britain, Italy, Canada, Germany, Poland, Russia, USA, France, and Czech Republic. Winner of the following awards: Mykola Kostomarov award of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (1996), Security Service of Ukraine (1996, 1997), Omelyan and Tetyana Antonovyches' Foundation (USA) — for scientific work on the history of Ukraine (2002), the annual All-Ukrainian mass-media contest «Golden Pen» — the highest award in journalism (2002), magazine «Modernity» and the League of Ukrainian Philanthropists (2004), Ivan Franko award in the field of informational activities (2008).

THE ROAD 15 YEARS LONG

The path to the past is not less enigmatic than the path to the future. Sometimes it even seems that the enigma of the past is stronger. However, it only seems so. Mysteries of the past can be revealed in motion. If the motion of search, impartiality, good will is available.

There exists a stereotype: archival documents are able to speak. In fact, the documents can rather keep silence, especially, when the access to them is restricted or even closed. People create the documents. And thanks to people the documents are silent or 'speak'.

Unavailable until the recent times (and unique!) the documents started 'speaking' thanks to the members of the Joint Polish-Ukrainian working group. For 15 years the group has been preparing a joint publisher's series entitled "Poland and Ukraine in the 30–40s of the 20th Century. Unknown Documents of Special Services".

Eight volumes have already come out. Each volume contains about 1,000 pages and some have even more. Each volume opens with an introductory article "From the Editorial Board", which characterizes the status of the issue under study, the existing points of view, the aspects that require further development, principles of selecting documents and materials for this volume. The introduction is followed by the documentary array. As a rule, it comprises of unprinted documents from Polish and Ukrainian archives. The joint group prepares the relative references, comments, names and geographic indices to each of the volumes. The publisher's series is actually trilingual: the texts are presented in Ukrainian, Polish and Russian (the latter is the language of the majority of documents from the Communist secret service).

Our joint working group immediately established the governing principles to rely on, if we really wished progress and were not going to gather for the endless and boring conversations about 'difficult questions' of the past. One of these principles was: personal evaluations and reflections — as few as possible; documents not available earlier to specialists and the general public — as many as possible. Probably, this has saved and is saving our joint group from fatal misunderstandings, fruitless discussions and mutual suspicions and accusations. Although, frankly speaking, the historical reasons for this were and are more than enough.

At the territory of the former Soviet Union and former European 'socialist camp' the Polish-Ukrainian joint publishing project is now the most large-scale intergovernmental scientific and publishing project by its duration, performance results and quality of archival original prints. After all, what is meant here are the archives of secret services.

I had to enter the joint working group from the very beginning of its creation. Along with the other members, quite often I had and have to cross the Ukrainian-Polish border for archival searches, discussions of publication subject matter, determination of future plans.

In the early 90s, Mr. Yendzhey Tukholsky, the then employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration of the Republic of Poland, crossed this border. He went to Kyiv with a special mission.

Marcin Majewski, head of the Department of archival studies and publication of sources of the Bureau for access and archiving

documents of the Polish Institute of National Memory recollects: «Mr. Yendzhey Tukholsky was then the adviser to the Minister of Interior Mr. Milchanovsky. Actually, in 1995 he came to Kyiv with certain powers of the Minister to establish possible cooperation and find out the fates of Polish citizens, who after 1939 found themselves at the territory occupied by the Soviet Union. Their fates simply were not known, we did not know what happened to them. In the course of the talks they managed to reach consensus and create the ground for further cooperation. Obviously, this was connected with positive attitude of Security Service of Ukraine, when it came to searching the fate of the Minister Milchanovsky's father, who was a prosecutor in Rivne before the war, before 1939”¹.

During those searches conducted with participation of Security Service of Ukraine, they managed to find out that the father of the Minister Andrzej Milchanovsky was tracked down in the so-called ‘Ukrainian Katyn list,’ i.e. in the list of persons who were in Ukraine and whose fate had to be cleared up. It is fair to assert that Yendzhey Tukholsky's mission has initiated cooperation and, actually, formation of the joint working group.

I had to take part in the first meeting of the group on April 9–12, 1996 in Warsaw. In those times the group was officially titled as the “Joint Working Group of Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration of the Republic of Poland”. The Ukrainian part of the group comprised, except me, of Petro Kulakovsky, Deputy Head of the SBU archive, Ruslan Pyrih, Director of the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, and chair of the Ukrainian part — Volodymyr Prystayko, Deputy head of Security Service, major-general. The Polish party included Grzegorz Jakubowski, Director of the Central Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Republic of Poland (head of the Polish part of the working team), Yendzhey Tukholsky, his deputy, Tamara Nizyol, Cabinet officer of the Minister of Interior, Republic of Poland.

The first Protocol was signed then to officially commence the cooperation. It was declared that the working group considered necessary to give the cooperation a ‘systematic nature’ and agreed upon the need to conduct “regular surveys in their departmental archives and other archival institutions to search the materials relevant to both countries”².

In the fall of 1996 Olexander Pshennikov, the then head of SBU joined the working group; and from the Polish side — Iolantha Hayovnichek, chief specialist of the Central Archive of the Ministry of Interior, Republic of Poland³. In February 1997 the third joint Protocol containing more specific plans was signed in Warsaw. It was determined that the first book of the series would be the Volume dedicated to the Polish underground in 1939–1941 (Lviv-Colomya-Stryi-Olesko). The plan-catalog of the future edition was attached to the Protocol⁴.

A new dramatic chapter was created in the centuries-old, difficult and sometimes confusing history of Polish-Ukrainian relations of the XX-th century. Suffice it to mention anti-Polish campaign of Ukrainian nationalists and anti-Ukrainian actions of the Polish government like the notorious ‘pacification’. Annexation of the Western Ukraine and its consequences, a bloody conflict of Polish and Ukrainian people in Volyn in summer 1943, Polish-Ukrainian migrations and anti-Ukrainian operation “Vistula” in 1947 — these and many other events were reflected in the documents of Polish and Ukrainian secret services. With the creation of the Joint Working Group a question arose: where to start? What particular topic to select?

Petro Kulakovsky, senior researcher of the SBU Sectoral State Archive recalls: “We dedicated the first volume to Polish underground. Let’s recall why it so happened, why we started this series with the problem of Polish underground in Western Ukraine in 1939–1941? The work was commenced with examination, study of archival criminal cases of Polish citizens arrested in 1939, 1940, 1941 and later.

Polish colleagues saw how useful was the archival information about Polish underground operating at the territory ceded to Ukraine at that time. Clearly, they had their views on these events; they had the names of separate leaders of Polish underground. And when they saw these



archival criminal cases, then, of course, they could not but offer to work just with these materials. And secondly, at that time many people addressed to clear up the fate of their relatives. And the documents about Polish underground contained numerous names of those arrested”⁵.

Marcin Majewski recalls about the first volume of the joint series: “It should be noted that the book was published in 1998. Actually, the problem of the Polish underground in the eastern provinces of the former II-nd Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was known since 1989–1990, when the historical researches were not bound by anything, there was no censure in those studies. However, lack of the scholars’ access to the Soviet and especially when it comes to secret service, security agency archives — all this caused that little was known. And this cooperation, and publications, and the first publication was in general such a mighty boost to research Polish-Ukrainian relations. Well, it was such a typical elimination of blind spots”⁶.

In 1998 Leonid Kuchma and Alexander Kwasniewski, Presidents of both countries, wrote the forewords to the 1-st volume. Publication of this volume, in fact, appearance of the joint publisher’s series did not remain unnoticed. “The Swallow of Ukrainian-Polish Spring?» — it was the title of one of the reviews to the first volume of the joint publisher’s series printed in “New Books” magazine in 1999⁷. Ihor Ilyushin, one of the prominent researchers of Polish-Ukrainian relations, called publication of the first volume an outstanding event in the historical science and public life of Ukraine and Poland⁸.

In September 1997, during negotiations in Warsaw the working group decided to dedicate another volume to Polish underground in Western Ukraine. This third volume will be published in 2004 in two books entitled “Polish Underground, 1939–1941. From Volyn to Pokuttya”.

The Poles who lived in Western Ukraine did not perceive Stalin’s regime. This regime, in its turn, carefully prepared to meet the Poles in September 1939. Planned arrests, harassment, deportation — those were the germs of the next multiple tragic events. Shooting of Polish officers in Katyn is well known.

However, persecution, repression and deportation also affected the Ukrainian people. The joint working group paid attention to this topic and prepared two volumes of publications on Polish-Ukrainian



migration in 1944–1946 and the infamous «Vistula» Operation in 1947.

The second volume dealing with migrations in 1944–1946 was published in 2000. One cannot reject the lack of publications on this topic. However, given the fact that quite a lot of documents are saved in the archives of secret services of both our countries (they were discovered by the working group), and that they are important, we felt it necessary to disclose them, to put into scientific circulation.

As you know, on September 9, 1944 the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR) and the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKNV)

signed in Lublin the agreement on evacuation of Ukrainian population from Poland and Polish citizens from the territory of the UkrSSR. The signatory parties were: Nikita Khrushchev, chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars (SOVNARKOM), authorized by the UkrSSR government, and Edward Osobka-Moravsky, chairman of the Committee authorized by PKNV. Noteworthy that the Polish party did not motivate this exchange of population by the need to liquidate the detachments of Ukrainian rebel army (UPA) active in Poland, this will be emphasized later, during “Vistula” Operation.

The agreement stipulated that all the citizens of Ukrainian, Belarusian, Russian, and Rusyn nationalities living in Kholmian, Hrubeshivsky, Tomashivsky, Lubachivsky, Yaroslavsky, Peremysky, Liskivsky,



Zamostivsky, Krasnostavsky, Bilhoraysky and Włodawskie counties (districts) be evacuated to the territory of the UkrSSR. This also applied to the other regions of Poland, where citizens of these nationalities wishing to move from the Polish territory to Ukraine could be detected; as well as evacuation to Poland of all Poles and Jews who had the Polish citizenship before September 17, 1939, resided in the western regions of the UkrSSR and wished to move to Poland. The agreement emphasized that the evacuation was voluntary and therefore coercion could not be applied directly or indirectly. The term for evacuation was set from October 15, 1944 till February 1, 1945.

This term will not be observed and the resettlements themselves will become one of the dramatic pages in the Polish-Ukrainian relations. When winter approached the number of those wishing to evacuate from both sides was greatly reduced. The main reason lied in the fact that the Lublin agreement was approved neither by Ukrainian nor by Polish population. This led the Ukrainian and Polish parties, first, to repeatedly change and move the deadlines for completion of the resettlement action, and secondly, since the late summer — early autumn of 1945 to apply exclusively coercive measures for resettlement.

While working in the archives, our attention was attracted by the documents, which play an important role in restoring the statistical measurement of the Polish-Ukrainian migration in 1944–1946. This is a very important aspect of the problem reflected in materials of secret services. In particular, certificates, troop unit notes, reports, telephone messages, cryptograms found in the SBU Sectoral State Archive allow to expand the picture of quantitative dynamics of the resettlement process, reconstruct this dynamics day after day. All these materials are made public in the second volume for the first time. They prove that security services had their own statistics, which, undoubtedly, is of interest and should be taken into account in further researches. In the aggregate, as of October 1946, by the information of the Ministry of State Security (MGB) of UkrSSR, 812,688 persons were resettled and repatriated to Poland from the UkrSSR (total number of Poles in Ukraine before the migration constituted 1,033,899 persons). As of March 1947, according to the MGB UkrSSR information, 472,635 persons were resettled from Poland to the UkrSSR.

After all, security service archives preserved numerous documents reflecting the facts of resistance to resettlement in 1944–1946, showing how the then ruling systems in Ukraine and Poland opposed such resistance. At that, secret services targeted their activity against the Polish underground and against the Ukrainian resistance movement.

It is interesting that at first the working group planned to dedicate the second volume to resettlements not only in 1944–1946 but in 1947 as well, that is, to include the “Vistula” operation into the second volume⁹. However, after numerous and sometimes intense discussions, it was decided to separate “Vistula” operation into a special volume.

Meanwhile, the composition of the working group was changed in the fall of 2001. Piotr Mieretskiy, Director of the Department for European Integration and International Cooperation of the Ministry of Interior, and Bernadette Hronek, Director of the Bureau for utilization and archivation of documents, created in 2000 in Warsaw at the Institute of National Memory — the Commission on Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish people (this is the exact name of this structure) joined the group from the Polish side¹⁰. After sudden death of Grzegorz Jakubowsky, Piotr Mieretskiy headed the Polish party of the joint working group.

It is exactly his and Volodymyr Prystayko’s signatures put under the protocol of the working group meeting held in Kyiv on March 21, 2003. The protocol informed about commencement of the work on the volume describing the bloody confrontation of the Poles and Ukrainians the Second World War¹¹. This work was inspired by the 60-th anniversary of what was called “Volyn massacre” (and this anniversary was approaching), and sharp discussion of this problem in Poland and Ukraine. Indeed, there was one more factor, almost scandalous.

On May 21, 2003 Marek Siwiec, State Secretary and Chairman of the National Security Bureau of Poland sent a letter to Yevhen Marchuk, Secretary of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine, accusing Serhiy Bohunov, the newly appointed director of the Secret Service (SBU) Archives of the fact that the latter “did not fulfill the task on transferring the revised sources regarding the Volyn crime”¹².

In fact, Serhiy Bohunov did not hide anything; he just knew that soon the joint working group would publish the volume con-



taining new documents about the Volyn tragedy. This edition in two books became the fourth volume of the joint publisher's series entitled "Poles and Ukrainians between the two totalitarian systems, 1942–1945" and was published in 2005.

Obviously, the 60-th anniversary of the bloody events in Volyn has become the great challenge for the Polish-Ukrainian relations. As we know, on July 11, 2003 Presidents of Poland and Ukraine made a joint statement "On Reconciliation – in the 60-th Anniversary of the Tragic Events in Volyn", which emphasized the need to continue joint search for the historical truth about the said events.

However, we took our time over publication of the volume about those events, because we did not wish to simplify the causative factors and kept in mind the forces interested to blow up the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. The interesting point was that in May 2004 the working group was working in Volyn, in places where the events in question had occurred. At one point it even seemed that the discussion came to a dead end: the subject of "Volyn massacre" was too sore and controversial that inevitably governed the Polish-Ukrainian discussions about the past.

This calamity broke up in summer 1943 in Volyn. It cut off tens of thousands of civilians, among them women, children and elders. Up till now there are many people in Poland who put the blame solely on UPA. And in Ukraine there is no shortage of those saying: the Poles are guilty.

In Rivne city a monument to Dmytro Klyachkivsky (alias Klym Savur) is erected. He as UPA commander was alleged (though this is not documentarily proved) to had given the order on launching terror against the Poles. And in Warsaw a monument to the 27-th Division of the Army Krayova was unveiled. It is this Army to be accused by some Ukrainian scholars of slaughtering Ukrainian pop-

ulation in Volyn. Thus, Poles and Ukrainians have different heroes. How to write a common history in such conditions?

Bohumila Berdychowska, a renowned Polish publicist, manager of Gaude Polonia Scholarship Program at the National Center of Culture commented my question: "In Polish and in Ukrainian society there exist extreme points of view on Polish-Ukrainian history. Well, they do exist. What are the recipes? In my opinion, the recipe is such as Jerzy Giedroyc, creator of Paris "Culture", gave: consistency, subsequence, peace and care not to bring the historical discussion to the point of no return. That is, when tension goes too far, it is better to make one or two steps backward so that tomorrow or after tomorrow make further steps forward".

And the working group was able to find a compromise then, in May 2004 in Volyn. At some point, Dr. Gzhegozh Motyka, a prominent Polish historian (he was then in the Polish part of the joint 'team'), and I were instructed to close ourselves in a separate room and prepare a draft introductory article. We came to conclusion to express opinions of Polish and Ukrainian historiography on "Volyn massacre" (no matter how different they were), to compare them in light of those unknown sources, which we were going to publish in the fourth volume.

Our scheme became an original matrix to record in the protocol during the next working group meeting in September 2004 that "the Polish and Ukrainian parties present each their own version of the 4-th volume and finalize its subject matter»¹³.

The said protocol also stated that because of the changes in the SBU management the Ukrainian team of the joint working group was headed by Serhiy Bohunov, and Marcin Majewski who had already become the staff member of the Institute of National Memory, Poland, would join the group¹⁴. Serhiy Kokin was Bohunov's deputy at the SBU archive and in 2000 he joined our group.

The fourth volume of the joint series was published and became an important step to the unbiased interpretation of the complicated developments. Of utmost interest are the documents from separate investigative cases about the members of the Polish and Ukrainian nationalist underground (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – OUN and Ukrainian Rebel Army – UPA), information supplied by them, position papers and analytical materials as well as operational reports from NKVD/NKGB (MVD/MGB) on Polish-Ukrainian confrontation.

While working over these documents, we got convinced that with the beginning of the World War II Poles and Ukrainians found themselves between the millstones of two dictatorships — Hitlerite and Stalinist. The documents of the communist secret services show that there was awareness about this and therefore there were attempts (unfortunately, unsuccessful) to reach understanding, attempts of Polish and Ukrainian sides to come to the agreement confronted with common enemies. Archival sources provide a great deal of ‘food for meditation’ about the provocative role which the ‘third forces’ played in Polish-Ukrainian confrontation. I mean, first of all, the Nazis, and the Communists as well. Another important topic covers the geography of the Polish-Ukrainian conflict. As you know, in late 1943 and early 1944 the Polish-Ukrainian conflict shifted to Galicia, and in 1944 anti-Ukrainian actions took place in Kholm region. Secret service documents reflect these events.

One of the key and actively discussed topics in the context of Polish-Ukrainian conflict is the availability of the forces that, in fact, assisted to materialize this conflict. Based on the secret service sources, in this case it is possible to strongly reject the idea of somebody’s unilateral guilt. We first published the documents about liquidation detachments of the Army Krajowa (AK), which killed Ukrainian people. Evidence of the former members of these Polish forces (first published) is a very valuable source, because it contains information about the mechanism of punitive actions.

Documents relating to the Volyn tragedy in 1943 and Polish-Ukrainian conflict during the World War II in general once again prove falsity, so to say, Manichean vision and interpretation of the historical process divided into ‘good’ and ‘bad’ participants of this process. Archival sources prove that the bloody confrontation was determined by the Polish and Ukrainian mutual extremism that made people victims, justifying it by the sovereign (geopolitical) interests or patriotism. None of the parties can be justified, since this — as any violence — subjects to conviction.

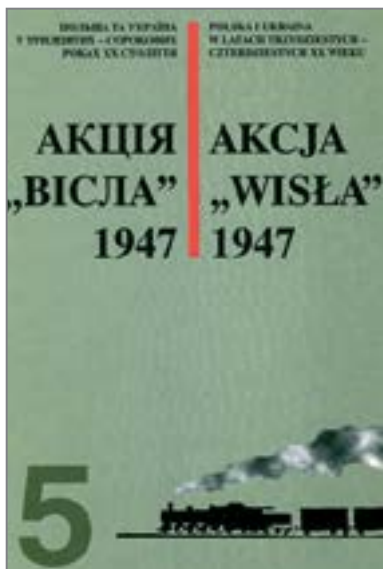
This spirit inspired the fifth volume of the publisher’s series entitled “Vistula” Operation 1947” which was released in 2006. The said campaign (operation) was a forced eviction of Ukrainians (about 150 thousand people) to Polish inland; it launched on April 28, 1947. Ukrainians were moved from the so-called Zakerzonnja (that included Kholm, Podlyasya, Nadsyannja and Lemkivschyna territories) that appeared on the Polish side of the border.

It was just this line proposed as early as in 1920 by Lord Curzon, Foreign Minister of England, to the Lenin's government as a boundary to terminate the Red Army offensive. In September 1944 this line was indeed the boundary, and soon it was decided that the Ukrainian population should move from these territories. This large-scale resettlement took place in 1944–1946; it was discussed in the second volume of our series.

Polish Army Krajowa (AK) and Ukrainian Rebel Army (UPA) resisted resettlement. Pro-communist Polish authorities managed to curb AK; however, even in cooperation with the USSR they failed to do the same with UPA. UPA actions of stimulated the cruelty of Polish authorities against potential 'nationalists' whom they considered residents of each Ukrainian village. Once again the brutal Polish-Ukrainian confrontation began. At the end of 1946 about 200,000 persons of Ukrainian nationality inhabited the south-eastern territories of Poland. For the Polish government, this meant that the Ukrainian problem was not resolved.

This 'final solution' started with the fact that in January 1947 military departments in the south-eastern provinces received an order to compile the lists of Ukrainian families that had not resettled in 1944–1946. A month later a plan appeared to resettle Ukrainians to the western lands, which by the decision of the Potsdam Conference ceded from Germany to Poland. We mean the so-called 'ziemie odzyskane' (returned lands), i.e. South Prussia and Silesia. They were the lands where the Ukrainians had to assimilate with the Poles.

"Vistula" operation was carried out by the army; total 20 thousand Polish soldiers took part in this action, not taking into account local police departments, security and border guards. Formally, "Vistula" operation was over in July 1947. However, resettlements went on later. Deportation of Ukrainian population de-



prived the armed struggle of UPA in Zakerzonsky land of the main objective — armed protection of population. UPA terminated the struggle at Zakerzonsky land.

In view of the fifth volume publication, Marcin Majewski commented that most publications in Poland appeared based on the documents of the Central Military Archive, including collection of documents, developed by Eugene Misyl: “When it comes to our documents, we have in the volume all communications and information by the Minister for National Defense, daily military reports about military actions, the lists of localities from which Ukrainians were evicted are also attached; and they simply presented calculations from which areas and how many Ukrainians were deported. In my opinion, all this is of great use for the researchers of the conflict or even for those interested in the local history. There are also documents originating from the archive of Security Service of Ukraine about the facts, for example, that the internal forces of the Ministry of Interior Affairs and their commanders were aware about the developments in Poland and which was, for example, the structure of UPA. And these are new documents as well.¹⁵

At the time of the fifth volume issuance Dr. Janusz Kurtyka became the President (chairperson) of the Institute of National Memory in Poland. He headed the Institute in 2005. He made utmost efforts to revive the work of this important institution, attach new impulses, especially in the scientific-research and archival-publication areas. He assisted in transforming the Institute into the most active research centre of modern history in Poland. Within the time of his presidency the Institute prepared a great number of scientific-documentary and monographic publications and exhibitions.

However, that is not the point. Kurtyka knew well what the Institute of the National Memory existed for, he saw in the Institute a mighty tool of decommunisation, dismantling of the political-ideological past, which Poland had to indispensably overcome to transform into a really democratic and independent state, to form a civil society.

From the very start Janusz Kurtyka highly appreciated our joint Polish-Ukrainian project. These were not just the words, because the Institute of the National Memory of Poland signed on the bottom line on preparation for publication and publishing the results of our joint work. He found time to come to the meeting of our joint



After the presentation of the seventh volume and bestowing of the Polish government's awards to the members of the working group. From the left to the right: professor Yuriy Shapoval, Sergiy Bogunov, Olexandr Pshennikov, Petro Kulakovskiy, Yanush Kurtyka, Piotr Mieretskiy, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Poland to Ukraine Yacek Kliuchkovski, Volodymyr Vyatrovych, Sergiy Kokin. Kyiv, Ukrainyskiy Dim (Ukrainian House). November, 21, 2008



During the presentation of the publishing series. Paris, April, 2010



During the presentation of the publishing series in London. Fedir Kurliak, General Secretary of the Ukrainian people's Union in the Great Britain is making a speech. April, 2011



Ioanna Karbazz, Marcyn Mayevskiy, Yezhy Bednarek during the meeting of the working group. Uzhgorod, June, 2011



Yuriy Shapoval, Sergiy Kokin, Petro Kulakovskiy during the meeting of the working group. Uzhgorod, June, 2011

working group, talked with us, saw that our work was quite intense and complicated and therefore contributed to the publication of the results of these efforts.

Not by accident in 2007 the sixth volume of the joint publication entitled “Sejm Operation 1944–1946” was printed. We prepared it relying on archival documents only. It was not surprising, because until now there was no scientific or research and documentary study specifically devoted to the developments of “Sejm” operation. Even encyclopedias and reference publications do not contain at least brief information about this operation — the operation itself was initiated and carried out in an atmosphere of secrecy; and the information about it was sent to archival storage for many decades.

Meanwhile, what is meant here is an important episode. “Sejm” operation was organized by the Soviet secret service with the consent of the highest Kremlin authorities to destroy the structures of the Polish Army Krajova (AK) and the delegature of the Polish emigration government. The operation was carried out at the territory of Ukraine in 1944–1946.

The Polish government in exile tried to leave as many Poles in Ukrainian western regions as possible to be able to justify their claims to Western Ukraine. However, by that time Stalin had already his protyġnyes in Poland itself. This automatically turned the supporters and representatives of the Polish government in London into persons non-grata, and hence, the victims of the communist secret service. The Polish Military Organization (POW) was restored and intensified its activities at the said territories and in Poland itself. In addition, the Soviet side received the information about eventual alliance of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera) — OUN (B) and the POW.

According to the leaders of the Soviet secret service, all this created a dangerous environment and could adversely affect the situa-



tion after the expulsion of the Nazis. On November 6, 1943 a briefing signed by Serhiy Savchenko, the UkrSSR People's Commissar of State Security, was sent to local NKGB bodies. This document, in particular, emphasized that "although the rebellion under preparation is doomed to failure, as the POW leaders recognize, nevertheless, by the latter's intention it should be realized to show the world the 'reluctance' of the population of the former Poland to accept the Soviet form of government". By that time the USSR and the UkrSSR leaders had the information that the Polish government in exile had sent the emissaries from the Great Britain to the territory of Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia for subversive activities.

In the next operational briefing of November 24, 1943 Savchenko emphasized the importance of getting information about the former Polish citizens who settled in the eastern regions of Ukraine. Probably, Polish agents sent out by the Polish underground could be among them. The directive required to identify the representatives of the underground as well as the agents of the other foreign intelligence services. No doubt, that Savchenko's directives were inspired by Moscow. The order signed by Bogdan Kobulov, the second rank Deputy People's Commissar of the USSR State Security, dated January 25, 1944 gave witness to that.

According to the documents, at the initial phase of "Sejm" operation the Soviet secret service made preventive strikes against the Polish underground. However, the farther the Soviet Army moved westward, the more concrete forms acquired the activity of the Polish underground, the more actively operated NKVD apparatus, fighting not only against the Polish but also against the Ukrainian underground. All-in-all 168 "Polish anti-Soviet organizations and groups", were liquidated, about 4,000 people were arrested in 1944–1946.

It is completely obvious that starting "Sejm" operation the Soviet establishment tried to resolve at least two tasks for themselves. Firstly, we mean opposition to the policy of the Polish government in exile (which, by the way, the USSR recognized in July 1941 and then broke off diplomatic relations in 1943 after the Nazis made public information about the Katyn massacre) to restore the independent state within the borders of 1939. Secondly, the Kremlin aimed at making lifeless those political forces of Polish society who tried to block Poland transfer under the Soviet Union

influence and prevent establishing the communist ruling in their country.

The sixth volume was presented in January 2008 in Warsaw and Rzeszyw. Janusz Kurtyka and Olexandr Motsyk, Ambassador of Ukraine to Poland, took part in Warsaw presentation. Attendees were scholars, journalists and all those interested in the challenging history of Polish-Ukrainian relations. Presentation in the Rzeszyw branch of the Institute of National Memory was also crowded (this branch is headed by Ms. Eva Lenyart, who did much for success of Rzeszyw presentation).

By that time, Dr. Zbigniew Navrocky, Director of the INM Bureau for access and archiving documents, and Dr. Jerzy Bednarek, head of the publishing section of the said Bureau, have been already working in the joint group. Soon Joanna Karbazh, senior inspector of the Department in the Bureau for Public Education, INM RP, joined the group. She remembers this as follows: “I started working at the Institute of National Memory in September 2007. Already in October or November 2007 I was included into the team of the Ukrainian-Polish working group. And the first project with my participation was the work over the seventh volume of the Polish-Ukrainian publisher’s series. It was a volume devoted to the problem of the ‘great famine’ in Ukraine in 1932–1933. And if I had the opportunity to summarize my previous work on the volumes of the series, I believe that the volume about famine was very important and essential, because it was the first book, the first volume where I could participate, could be co-creator to certain degree. I am very satisfied with this project”.¹⁶

The seventh volume entitled “Holodomor (Famine-Genocide) in Ukraine 1932–1933” saw the world in 2008. Presidents Viktor Yushchenko and Lech Kaczynski wrote the foreword to it. Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932–1933 can not be concealed or ignored, since the famine disaster was an important link in the historical chain of humanitarian disasters that affected Europe in the XX-th century. This is reflected, *inter alia*, in the fact that the Parliaments of many countries have adopted special decision on recognizing Holodomor as genocide against Ukrainian people. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine did it in 2003, the Sejm and Senate of the Republic of Poland — in December 2006.

The knowledge about Holodomor is expanding; the documents reflecting activities of the USSR top leaders in 1932–1933, behav-



ior of regional leaders, including the party-state nomenclature are gradually becoming available. This knowledge makes possible to comprehend the technology of the crime; how, by which mechanisms the Stalinist regime procured bread motivating it by the needs of modernization. Available documents allow to clearly perceive the doctrinal and situational motives that guided the Communist establishment, to reproduce the then situation at the macro and micro level, this being of utmost importance for general conclusions and realistic assessments. *Inter alia*, the new knowledge allows repudiating allegations on the absence of any

specifics and peculiarities in the actions of authorities in a particular region of the former USSR in 1932–1933.

In the vast majority, 230 documents printed in the seventh volume have not been published previously. They contribute to deepening the knowledge and expanding the source base of the famine research in Ukraine and USSR in 1932–1933. These include the materials of the Polish intelligence service, diplomats, police and administration, GPU intelligence information, directives, messages as well as interrogation transcripts, indictments. Of the utmost interest are undoubtedly the documents related to the visit of Edward Errio, the French statesman, in the UkrSSR. Apart from the circumstances of the former prime minister stay in Odessa, there is information about strategic support to the visit and the feedback by the local population.

The documents presenting views and opinions of foreign diplomats who observed the situation in the UkrSSR are of particular importance. As you know, the Soviet security service had a multi-branch informational network, with their agents working even at diplomatic missions. Their communicating statements reflect expressions and simultaneously the views of consulate employees about the ever-growing crisis, collectivization and famine. In addition, part of the documents originating from the German diplomatic missions

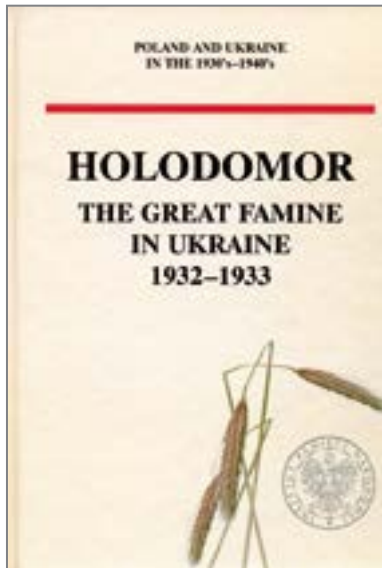
was obtained by the GPU officials through strategic sources. GPU possessed complete information about what the diplomats had written to their ministries of foreign affairs. The said documents from the SBU Sectoral State Archive are supplemented with diplomatic reports from the Polish archives as well as intelligence information from the II-nd Department of the General Staff of the Polish Army.

Some diplomats emphasized especially disastrous situation in the UkrSSR, which differed greatly from the southern regions in Russia. Below are the notes recorded by the Polish Consul General in his report, who in May 1933 traveled from Kharkiv to Moscow: “During the whole trip I was mostly impressed by the difference in the look of villages and fields in Ukraine if compared with the neighboring Central Black Earth region, and even with the harvestless outskirts of Moscow. Ukrainian villages are significantly decayed, they breeze emptiness, desert and poverty, houses are dilapidated, often with broken roofs, no view of new farms, children and elders are like skeletons, never seen cattle [...]. When I then arrived in the Central Black Earth region (primarily in the vicinity of Kursk and Orel), I had the impression that I came from the Soviet Union to the Western Europe. They have there much more cultivated and sown fields, clean and more decent villages, houses are renovated; people have relatively better welfare, cattle are grazing...”¹⁷

The unique materials of the seventh volume clearly reflected the specifics of the situation in Ukraine and this caused the greatest interest. It is not by accident, according to Jerzy Bednarek, that the President Janusz Kurtyka made a proposal “to publish in English the volume about the tragedy of Ukrainian people in the early 30s, so that the information about these events would reach the wide circles of not only Polish but also European opinion”.¹⁸

After that with the assistance of the Polish party an English version of the seventh volume was prepared¹⁹ and published in 2009. This volume was distributed among the most prestigious academic institutions in the world.

Presentation of the seventh volume in Kyiv, Ukraine was held on November 21, 2008 with participation of Viktor Yushchenko, President of Ukraine, and the other officials during public events to commemorate the anniversary of Holodomor. Jacek Klyuchkovsky, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Poland to Ukraine, attended the presentation. He presented Polish



State Orders to the Ukrainian participants of the joint research project.

In his speech Janusz Kurtyka told about preserving the memory of Polish and Ukrainian people in the context of overcoming stereotypes of the past. Vladimir V'iatrovych, who in 2008 headed the Ukrainian part of the joint working group, told about the results and prospects of cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian researchers. Conducted in 2008 and 2009 the working group meetings (with participation of Diana Boyko, leading researcher of the SBU Sectoral State Archive, and Viktor Tykhomyrov, Deputy Head of the SBU SSA, who were

included into the Ukrainian part of the group) inspired the search of materials for the next volume. In June 2006, Serhiy Kokin,²⁰ deputy chief of the SBU SSA, became the member of the editorial board of our co-publisher's series and in March 2010 he headed the said Archive.

In 2010 members of the Joint Working Group set out to present the volumes of the publisher's series in Germany and France. Particular emphasis was made on the volume dedicated to 1932-1933 Holodomor in Ukraine. In Munich and Paris the presentations were a success. However, on April 10, 2010 we learned about the accident of TU-154M, the Polish governmental airplane, near the airport Smolensk-Northern. Lech Kaczynski, President of Poland, other Polish senior public figures were on board. Prof. Janusz Kurtyka, the then President of the Institute of National Memory, Doctor of History, was also on board. He had to be with us to present the publisher's series in the European Parliament in Brussels.

... Our group learned about this catastrophe in Paris near the Eiffel Tower, among the crowd of careless and happy tourists from the whole world. Mr. Zbigniew Nawrocki had a telephone call from Warsaw. We could not believe that Janusz was no more. Part of the Polish colleagues will immediately return to Warsaw, and for

us from now on it will be the travel with a taste of tragedy. We will get to Brussels, to just stay overnight at the hotel and go back to Warsaw.

On the way back we will endlessly recollect Janusz, his smile and jokes, his seriousness and responsibility, that sincere enthusiasm, with which he inspired our project, how he stimulated the work on current volumes, urged, and encouraged us.

So, in 2007 the Joint Working Group published four large volumes. One volume dealt with “Sejm” operation. The next volume was dedicated to Holodomor. We also managed to publish this volume in English. Then comes the eighth volume devoted to the “Great Terror” of 1937–1938 and the “Polish operation”. This volume entitled “The Great Terror: Polish Operation 1937–1938” was released in 2010.

Its presentation took place in September 2010 in the center of Warsaw at Marshalkovsky Street. Usually here, in the building owned by the Institute of National Memory, presentations of the next volumes of co-publisher’s series are held. The eighth volume, large in the scope, nearly 2 thousand pages, consists of two parts. A CD with unique statistics data is attached to the publication.

During presentation, Grzegorz Motyka, now a Council member of the Institute of National Memory, said: “I think this is one of the most interesting Polish-Ukrainian research projects. Actually, it is one of the most interesting historical projects that appeared in Poland and Ukraine. The result of the efforts of the joint working group is already 8 volumes, and soon — I hope — will be even more. And each of them gives historians an extremely interesting and wide range of materials from the historical range of problems that very often — if it comes to the sources — is poorly investigated by historians. Of great interest is the last eighth volume ... In the past 20 years the history of repressions, of communist repressions was revealed in Poland; how-



ever, the primary attention was focused on the Second World War and the postwar developments. ²¹

“Great Terror” that raged in the USSR in 1937–1938 took many human lives. Commenced and guided by Joseph Stalin, the wave of repressions swept not only ‘counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet elements’, but also members of the Communist Party, security officers and, naturally, national minorities of the Soviet Union. Stalin focused particular blow on Poles residing in Belarus, Ukraine, in numerous cities of Russia and even in Siberia.

The eighth volume is devoted to the so-called Polish operation conducted by the Soviet bodies of UkrSSR State Security during 1937–1938. Formally, “Polish operation” was commenced by NKVD on August 11, 1937 when Mykola Ezhov signed the Operational Order #00485 and the «Secret letter on fascist, rebellious, spying, subversive, defeatist and terrorist activities of Polish intelligence in the USSR”. The most distinctive element of this Order was classification of Polish nationality persons who were subject to arrest. They were not the person suspected of some specific crime, but all who remained in the USSR, refugees, emigrants, party member, real and eventual nationalists. Everybody could fall under these last categories.

There were two priority orders for arrests. The first included those who worked in the NKVD bodies, served in the Red Army, was employed at the armament factories, defense workshops of other plants, railway, water and air transport, power plants of all industrial enterprises, gas factories and oil refineries. All the rest who worked at industrial enterprises (non-armament), state farms, collective farms and institutions referred to the second order of priority. Special groups of operative officers were formed to arrange investigation under the “Polish operation”.

In the course of investigation prisoners were divided into two categories depending on the guilt degree: the first (all spying, subversive, saboteur and rebellious cadres) envisaged to be shot, the second (less active) — imprisonment and the prison camps for a period of 5 to 10 years. The People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Republic, head of the respective NKVD office in the region or territory together with the appropriate prosecutor decided on affiliation to a certain category after considering the intelligence information and investigative cases. Sentences were executed immediately after the decisions were passed.

According to the Order, release from prisons and camps of prisoners convicted of Polish espionage was terminated; materials for each of them had to be sent for consideration of the NKVD USSR Special Council to prepare recurring accusation and re-conviction.

Aimed at execution of Polish operation, the Order #00485 generated fundamentally new in OGPU-NKVD practice for procedural order of conviction. When investigation was over a certificate was composed for the accused with the short summary of investigation and agent materials. These certificates within 10 days were subject to collecting and reprinting in the list form to be sent to the head of NKVD, or the appropriate NKVD office and the prosecutor. This procedure of condemnation became known in NKVD correspondence as the 'landscape' (probably, because the lists were typed on sheets horizontally, then clamped on the narrow side and outwardly resembled an album). The Commission of the prosecutor and the NKVD representative was called 'a group of two', its competence was to pass sentence — under the first (shooting) or the second category (imprisonment from 5 to 10 years). After that the list was sent for approval to Moscow for final consideration and approval by the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs and the Attorney General of the USSR (Mykola Ezhov and Andriy Vyshynsky). Then the list was returned to the respective region for serving a sentence. In practice, at the local level after the certificate was filed by the operative officer, together with the chief of the squad or department he suggested this or that sentence. Heads of offices and prosecutors signed the lists automatically, usually separately from each other, without analysis, debate, not getting into the insight of investigative records.

Total in the USSR under the "Polish" Order 143,810 cases were considered, 139,835 persons were convicted, 111,091 person shot. As of November 1, 1937 in the UkrSSR under the "Polish case" 19,030 people were arrested, 7,069 cases were considered, 4,854 persons were sentenced to death. Overall, during 1937–1938 under the pretext of fighting counter-revolution in Ukraine about 50 thousand citizens of Polish nationality were subjected to repression.

We published in the volume reports, summaries, information, orders for organization and work progress of the USSR security service agencies against the Poles in the second half of the 30-s. The reader will find also investigating materials — interrogation transcripts, resolutions, and indictments in cases against the Poles.

We placed separately the documents relating to organization and development of the operation. Finally, the documents on abuse are placed separately, about how the NKVD staff received the required confessions. This volume contains mostly the documents that have not been published earlier.

Jerzy Bednarek believes that this “is a unique publication, because for the first time they managed to collect documents proving the facts of repression not only against Polish citizens — although, obviously, we focused in this volume on the so-called Polish operation, on actions against the Poles or those who was declared such...

However, in such scope up till now no one found and published so many documents reflecting preparation of this operation, its mechanism and developments, its consequences, on the one hand, as well as specific examples of concrete repressive actions against the Poles.

What is very important, we present the documents discovered in SBU archives which are reports prepared by the executors of the Soviet security agencies already during investigation against them — and this is also a paradox of the history that the performers of repressive actions during the Great Terror have become the victims of repressions... Sometimes in these interrogation transcripts they talk about cruel investigative technique applied to the persons under interrogation. All this creates certain integrity, so to say, monographic integrity. Here lies the great value of this book”.

Participants of the joint working group have to study not very optimistic subjects and themes. Well, what is to be, will be. There are good grounds for saying that the history is made with blood and is written with ink. However, even the saddest stories do not affect human, warm and friendly atmosphere developed in the joint group. Its members are capable, when necessary, to find consensus and mutual understanding for all the concerned to receive the qualitative documentary sources for their investigations, reflections, studies.

Bohumila Berdychowska commented it this way: “When it comes to joint group, operation of the joint group of historians, I have three positive features of, so to say, existence and operation of the group. First, the documents that are often made public for the first time. Secondly, the historians. This involves professional historians capable to put aside their political, ideological and other opinions and proceed to professional historical work. Thirdly, and this, I would say, even the principal feature, is one of the few

examples of Polish and Ukrainian institutional cooperation. That is, regardless of whether the people, members of this commission, were substituted over the years, the group existed and worked on the next volumes. I remember that the Polish side started working when the group was affiliated at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Poland, i.e. they had an archive and there was no Institute of National Memory. Despite the institutional change at the Polish side, it appeared that the group and everything created by historians, the group members, is so serious and justified; that it continues to exist and I hope it will further exist and give the results".²²

Serhiy Kokin, head of the SBU Sectoral State Archive, candidate of historical sciences, expresses his opinion: "I can say that I started working on this project already being a scientist with experience with academic training; but the work of an archivist (moreover, an archivist of secret service) is specific. When it comes to international co-operation and we proceed to such serious subjects, then, I must admit, over these years I've advanced professionally".²³

For the past 15 years a tradition has been developed of intense, sweet and tears, results-oriented cooperation. Another tradition includes getting each other familiar with historical places of our countries. Not only historical, but simply picturesque places. Indeed, over the past years we traveled much with Polish counterparts in Ukraine and Poland. This also invigorates our cooperation, provides information for reflection and concerns. Finally, this enriches intellectually and sometimes pushes forward and gives incentives to select the next topics for common publication.

15 years of the work have passed; however, the resource of the joint project has not yet been exhausted. The joint team makes plans for the future, looks for new historical subjects. Archival searches, discussions, desire to most precisely convey the essence of historical events by the documentary language are waiting for us again. In short, routine work within a joint project in progress.

Post scriptum

The working group members presented the entire series of publication and specifically the English version of the seventh volume in November 2010 in Toronto (Canada) and in April 2011 in London (United Kingdom).

At present the joint working group is preparing the next volumes 9 and 10 of the publisher's series. Volume 9 will deal with security

services of communist Poland combating against Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Ukrainian Rebel Army (UPA) in 1944–1950. Volume 10 will describe preparation and implementation of anti-Polish operation by NKVD in 1939–1941.

-
- ¹ Author's archive.
 - ² Sectoral State Archive of Security Service of Ukraine (hereinafter — SSA SBU), Kyiv. — F. 38. — Op. 11, ordinal 1. — Case 28, v. 1. — Sh. 6.
 - ³ Ibid. — Sh. 28.
 - ⁴ Author's archive. Sheets 89–91.
 - ⁵ Author's archive.
 - ⁶ Ibid.
 - ⁷ See: *Bohdan Skaradziński*. *Jaskółka ukraińsko-polskiej wiosny? // Nowe Książki*. — 1999. — N 5. — Pg. 36.
 - ⁸ See: Ihor Ilyushin. To publication of the 1st volume of joint Ukrainian-Polish edition // From the archives VUCHK-GPU-NKVD-KGB. — 1999. — N 1–2. — Pg. 505.
 - ⁹ See: SSA SBU, Kyiv. — F. 38. — Op. 11. — Nobility. 28, sequence 1, Vol 1. — Sheets 181–182.
 - ¹⁰ Ibid. — F. 38. — Op. 17. — Case 28, ordinal 1, Vol 1. — Sh 276.
 - ¹¹ Ibid. — Sh. 74a.
 - ¹² Ibid. — Sh. 95
 - ¹³ Ibid. — F. 38. — Op. 21. — Case 28, ordinal 35, v. 1. — Sh. 210.
 - ¹⁴ Ibid. — Sh. 211.
 - ¹⁵ Author's archive.
 - ¹⁶ Ibid.
 - ¹⁷ Poland and Ukraine in the 30s-40s of the XXth Century. Unknown documents from the archives of special services. — Volume 7. — Famine in Ukraine 1932–1933. — Warsaw-Kyiv: Institute of National Memory, 2008. — Pg. 548.
 - ¹⁸ Author's archive.
 - ¹⁶ Ibid.
 - ¹⁹ *Holodomor*. The Great Famine in Ukraine 1932–1933. — Warsaw-Kiev: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2009.
 - ²⁰ SSA SBU, Kyiv. — F. 38. — Op. 21, ordinal 36, v. 2. — Sh 244.
 - ²¹ Author's archive.
 - ²² Ibid.
 - ²³ Ibid.

Political discourse



Viktor Andruschenko,

Rector of the M.P. Drahomanov
National Pedagogical University, Kyiv

TRAINING OF A NEW TEACHER FOR THE UNITED EUROPE OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Almost 100 years ago an outstanding German philosopher and cultural studies scholar O. Spengler published his famous work entitled *Dusk of Europe*. Analyzing the types of cultures and dynamics of their development, he concluded that during the final consolidation of the classical capitalism Europe would inevitably decline.

Speaking frankly, O. Spengler was almost right. The 20th century brought to Europe historical cataclysms never ever known to any region of the world. Its territories and human resources were literally devastated by two world wars, several revolutions, famines and genocides. Europe bent under pressure of fascism and communism. It would have seem one more step and...

However, Europe survived. Despite of enormous human losses, destruction of material values and serious distortions of the so-called 'socialist camp' Europe did not fall into despair and found, probably, the only right way of development. Europe is consolidating and gradually reviving its former glory, activities and leadership in the global domain.

Unification of Europe is objective and inevitable process, though accompanied with many constraints. There are serious barriers on the way of consolidation. Among them one can mention globalization and migration processes, mass movement of refugees from various countries, especially from Asia and Africa to Europe, noticeable vulgarization of information and mass media processes, intensified

transit of drugs and persons involved in the international organized crime, human trafficking etc.

These processes sharply increased the critical mass of the most-at-risk populations. The number of children immigrants in the secondary schools of the European countries also grew in number. As representatives of their ethnical groups, nationalities, religious communities, confessions and material standings they personify the values not always compatible with the traditional values, which dominate. Sharp contradictions appear, say, among Moslems and Christians. Even in the developed democratic societies some parents are reluctant to send their children to schools (forms) with representatives of other value systems.

The problem of communication between pupils representatives of the so-called democratic societies and pupils representing nations of increased risk in terms of international terrorism is also acute. Children from the latter group automatically fall under suspicion and feel very uncomfortable even if their parents have nothing to do with this shameful phenomenon.

Neither school, nor street welcomes these children. A bit more and here we have a deranged person, offended, exasperated and thus, potentially criminal. Such persons are ready to ruin and damage everything, which exceeds the narrow frames of their subculture. They are especially ill-willed towards comfort of the so-called well-to-do communities. Well-known outbreaks of the migration youth in Paris, London and Berlin are a dramatic proof of potential threats to order and comfort of the democratic world. It is also typical that so-called well-to-do communities practice similar hostile attitude to the children migrants.

Scientists, politicians, cultural figures and businessmen should be involved in addressing these and other problems, however the decisive role in this matter shall be vested with representatives of a special human sphere — spiritual, with a priest and a teacher as its central figures.

A priest and a teacher directly and daily form a scale of values providing integrity of the human and the society, the human and the state, the human and the human in the united European domain. Appreciating and supporting the role of clergy in the life of the society I would say that the teacher's contribution into this no-

ble matter is much greater. A priest receives church people while a teacher works with all children from all families!

Therefore, His Highness Teacher should be recognized as a main subject of the European integration process.

Educating children, forming their outlook and culture the teacher forms future Europeans capable to live and work in versatile cultural environment, cooperation, tolerance, respect to human rights and other humanitarian values.

It is logic to ask if a modern teacher is ready to implement this historical mission. Evidently, he is not entirely ready. So the representatives of the European intellectual corps have a task to form a new teacher capable to implement this mission. This will require modernization of the educational processes of the pedagogical universities, aligning the educational content with the scale of values tested by the European and the world experience in order to unite peoples and form the best human qualities.

Almost a century education and training at school were based on confrontation. A teacher and a school proved to be hostages of the system splitting the world values into the opposites. A teacher representing the imposed values had to form the image of the other world as alien and educate pupils in the spirit of confrontation, mistrust and hostility.

Modern European word is gradually becoming different – tolerant, open and friendly. This will allow and make it expedient to educate a teacher in a system of values familiar and appropriate for various peoples and cultures irrespective of their property status, religious orientation, ethnical origin, skin color and others. Tolerance, peacefulness, ecological safety, freedom, democracy and human rights should become a common philosophical and value platform for training of a teacher in all countries of the European domain.

Foundation of the Consortium of the European pedagogical universities is the first step in implementation of this task. The second one is in formation of a single scale of values for training of the teacher in all European countries. The third step is to apply to the MPs and governments of the European countries to support the teacher and pedagogical education. When tolerance, peacefulness, ecological safety and other fundamental rights become a new



**Ankara. Meeting at the Embassy of Ukraine in Turkey. In the center of the photo:
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Ukraine to Turkey Serhiy Korsunskyi
with his wife**

philosophy in the content and organization of training of the new teacher in the majority and eventually in all European states, we may be sure that the European integration process is irreversible and represents a new humanitarian image of Europe.

The Ukrainian association of the rectors of pedagogical universities, which I am honored to preside, has all the grounds to initiate this process in the European domain. It is because, first, the Ukrainian teachers are direct followers of the most powerful and meaningful pedagogical tradition represented by M. Pirogov, K. Ushinsky, A. Makarenko and V. Sukhomlinsky being among nine best pedagogues of Europe and the world. We are educated on its bases. This tradition is in our flesh and blood while for western specialists it exists as an external school to be mastered. Second, the Ukrainian pedagogical tradition in its essence is more attractive for the Europeans because it forms the inner human nature as a creator of culture, human as a free creature whose life and doings are based on generally recognized human values. The philosophical motto of this pedagogical system was defined by V. Sukhomlinsky: "I give all my heart to children". Third, we are ready to share our



April, 2011. Group of the Ukrainian rectors (Leonid Gubersky, Viktor Andruschenko, Ihor Koval) with Vasyl Kremen, President of the NAPS of Ukraine, Stanislav Nikolaenko, Chief of the Public counsel of the educational specialists and researchers of Ukraine, Volodymyr Sergiychuk, Chief of the International public organization “Platform: Eurasia’s dialogue” took part in the international conference “Platform: Eurasia’s dialogue”



Viktor Andruschenko, rector of the National Pedagogical University named after Dragomanov is making a speech at the international scientific conference “Ukrainian-Turkey universities scientific work: 20 years of cooperation”

knowledge and understanding of this system with pedagogues of the European and non-European countries.

In September-October this year we are planning to conduct the first international summit of the rectors of pedagogical universities of the European countries where we will discuss the above issues in a more detail and with practical implications. We are pleased to invite to this summit all stakeholders.

Current Europe is consolidating in the sphere of production, consumption, industry, tourism, policy, environment, cultural exchanges etc. People associate with each other understanding that only with joint efforts they will be able to address the challenges of the 21st century.

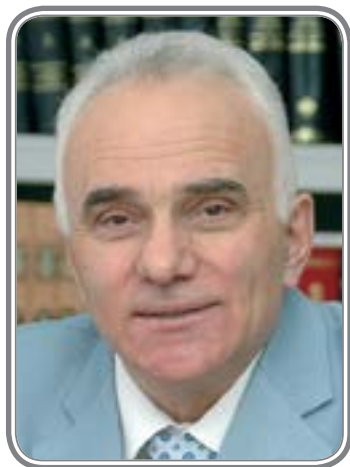
However, no matter how perfect these associations are, how advanced the technologies are, how convincing their slogan are — all is null unless their subject — a person sees a partner, not an enemy, unless people establish friendly relations and unite for solving the common problems facing the mankind.



**Foreign students from Dragomanov National Pedagogical University sang
for Presidents of Ukraine and China, 2011**

The role of the teacher is great in this case. The teacher trains, educates, brings up and forms personality as an active supporter of the integral society and its progressive changes based on the humanitarian and democratic principles, integrity and cooperation of the peoples and cultures, priorities of the peace-keeping, well-being, ecological safety, welfare and social order, tolerance and solidarity.





Kostyantyn Balabanov,

rector of Mariupol State University, Consul Honorary of Republic of Cyprus in Mariupol, Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Corresponding Member of the National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, Corresponding Member of Parnas Academic Philological Society (Greece), Corresponding Member of Academia Peloritana (Italy).

**MULTI-VECTOR INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION OF THE MODERN
UNIVERSITY (THE EXPERIENCE
OF MARIUPOL STATE UNIVERSITY)**

Under the modern conditions of expansion and widening of interuniversity cooperation based on solidarity and mutual respect, under the modern conditions of dissemination of human values and intercultural dialogue, international cooperation is becoming the guarantee of strengthening the potential of the world's universities against the challenges of global instability.

Development of high quality university education and science under the conditions of globalization requires well-coordinated solutions to particular scientific assignments which primarily include competitiveness of the national system of education with the help of international cooperation.

Nothing else on earth but university education is capable of creating the appropriate scientific potential of society and ensuring appropriate innovational development of Ukraine — that is the way that has no alternative [8]. The democratic development of the countries and the reforms going on in the Ukrainian society have created brand new grounds for development of university education.

For 20 years of its rapid and dynamic development, Mariupol State University (MSU) — the coeval of the independent state

of Ukraine — has become a significant educational, scientific and cultural center of high quality professional training in Donetsk District. It has become a major center of Ukraine's cooperation with foreign countries in the fields of education, science and culture.

Founded in 1991, due to efficient and self-sacrificing efforts exerted by the instructors and other staff members as well as due to the students' eagerness, MSU has been walking down the victorious road of its development: from the college status through the institute status to the university status. Now it is a classical university that has become a well-reputed high education institution both in Ukraine and abroad. Now it is an important educational, scientific and cultural center of professional training of Ukrainian intelligentsia, a leading center of spiritual revival of the Ukrainian Greeks and the most important center of friendship and international cooperation in the fields of education, science and culture.

No doubt, this would have been impossible without the permanent support provided by President's Administration of Ukraine, Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine, Donetsk Regional State Administration, Donetsk Regional Council, Mariupol City Council, Federation of Greek Communities of Ukraine and numerous foreign partners and friends.

At the beginning of the University's existence, there were only 102 students taught by 12 instructors for five majors. In a short period of time, the big industrial city with the population of half a million residents saw the modern academic and research-based facilities, the informational infrastructure, the efficient teaching staff and well-adjusted international cooperation with many leading universities of the world.

Today Mariupol State University is a higher education institution that functions on the basis of autonomy and academic freedom as well as on the basis of the principles of democracy, humanism, patriotism and other human values. Today it is a higher education institution that provides for high quality of pedagogical services in conformity with the international standards. Today we have 4.500 students — full-timers as well as extramural and external students. The curriculum is carried out by 350 highly qualified instructors. Among them 48 are full professors and 150 are associate professors working either on our university's staff or on the staffs of the

leading universities of Ukraine, Greece, Russia, Cyprus, Germany, Italy and other countries.

For the years of the University's development, we have set up 5 faculties, 22 academic chairs and 20 majors in 10 fields of knowledge (pedagogy, culture, humanities, socio-political sciences, international relations, journalism and information, law, economics and entrepreneurship, management and administration, natural sciences). MSU is successfully developing the system of training its own teaching staff members. The emergence of Post-Graduate Department in 2005 and well-coordinated efforts aimed at our staff members' completing their candidate theses and doctoral dissertations at other leading research institutes and universities has made it possible to appreciably strengthen our scientific potential.

Due to high quality higher education the University's graduates obtain, they are very much competitive on the labor market, which is evidenced by their annual employment rates (90–95 per cent). Our graduates are well employed by the central government agencies and local governments, by educational institutions of all the levels of accreditation, by industrial businesses, by law-enforcement and judiciary agencies, by banks and loaning institutions, by mass media, by diplomatic representations, etc. More than 500 MSU graduates successfully work and go on for their education abroad in more than 20 countries of the world.

MSU has developed and is successfully implementing a **pattern of international cooperation** of its own [2] that provides for multilateral cooperation with education ministries, foreign affairs ministries, embassies, regional state administrations, mayors' offices, leading universities foundations of foreign countries, such as Austria, Australia, Belgium, Great Britain, Greece, Georgia, India, Spain, Italy, China, Latvia, Morocco, Moldova, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Poland, Belarus, Cyprus, Russia, Romania, the USA, Turkey, France, Czech Republic, Sweden, Switzerland and others.

Under the modern conditions, international cooperation of a university is its major activity. People will always deal with us. People will always be friends with the university that is well-known and well-reputed abroad. This university has a long future. Magna Charta Universitatum envisages regular exchange of information between the universities and development of new joint research projects as an active method of continuing educa-

tion. It was exactly for this reason that in 2004 MSU became one the first among the Ukrainian universities to sign Magna Charta Universitatum (in Bologna), and as early as in 2005, for the first time ever in Ukraine, MSU and Donetsk National University hosted the session of Magna Charta Observatory.

Ukraine constantly declares its aspiration to become a full-right EU member state. It is exactly for this reason that the University is constantly developing cooperation with foreign universities and is a full-right participant of the European and the global educational space. This is evidenced by the high level of foreign delegations. For the years of the University's activities, it has been visited by more than 1.000 official foreign delegations, the overall number of the participants being more than 1.700. among them are presidents, prime ministers, EU MPs, ministers, governors and city mayors, rectors of the leading universities and ambassadors of many countries. More than 80 agreements on scientific and educational cooperation with the foreign partners have been concluded.

MSU instructors and students take part in many international events. They successfully work for the sake of strengthening the international positions and authority of Ukraine and for the sake of creating a favorable international climate for its development and prosperity. Annually more than 300 instructors and students participate in educational, scientific and cultural programs in 20 countries of the world. Being the messengers of the Ukrainian culture and spirit, they promote dissemination of Ukraine's positive image abroad. Thus, instructors and students de facto implement the principles of Bologna Declaration, such as mobility of instructors and students, lifelong education, etc. This makes it possible to improve the level and the quality of professional training and to become competitive both in Ukraine and abroad.

MSU is a member of many international organizations, such as the Association of Black Sea Universities (Messina), European Public Law Organization (Athens), Association of Juridical Universities of the CIS countries (Moscow) and others. Due to the active effort exerted by Mariupol State University, in 2006 Ukraine was elected member of such well-known international organization as European Public Law Organization.

The University has held 6 state-level research conferences which have ensured appreciable dissemination of Ukraine's scientific and cultural cooperation with many foreign countries. Due to the sup-

port provided by numerous foreign partners, MSU has such offices as Representation of European Law Organization, Regional European Information Center for the EU Representation in Ukraine, Institute of Ukraine – Greece Friendship and Hellenistic Studies, Italian, Chinese, Israeli, Greek and Polish Culture Centers, Representation of International Dante Alighieri Society, Gender Studies Center, International Environment Protection Center, etc.

The success of MSU international cooperation is determined to a great extent by the support of the University provided by all the level of state power as well as by the scientific community and the diplomatic representations both in Ukraine and abroad.

International cooperation is a major priority of the University's activities which is developing on the multi-vector basis. Our efficient international cooperation proves that it is for the sake of strengthening the University's international authority and improving the quality of education that cooperation with foreign partners must be developed.

The University has developed a new policy of international cooperation which includes a number of measures to be taken. Due to the comprehensive approach, the University has managed to bring some issues of cooperation with such countries as Hellenic Republic, Republic of Cyprus and Italian Republic to the interstate level.

For the first time, MSU pattern of international cooperation was tested in the relations with Hellenic Republic. Among MSU partners of multilateral cooperation with that country are such agencies as Ministry for National Education, Lifelong Education and Religious Affairs of Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hellenic Republic, Secretariat General for the Greeks Abroad for Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hellenic Republic, Embassy of Hellenic Republic to Ukraine, Center of Teaching and Development of Greek Culture in the Black Sea Countries, Education Research Center for Ministry of Education, Lifelong Education and Religious Affairs of Hellenic Republic, O.S. Onassis Foundation, Bodosakis Foundation, regional administrations and mayors' offices of many Greek cities (Athens, Zografou, Thessaloniki, Livadia, Olymbos, Amfilohia, Navpactos, Mesolongi, Ioannina as well as the islands: Kalimnos, Rodos, Kerkira, etc.). MDU researchers' appreciable results are determined by interuniversity cooperation with National and Capodistrian University

of Athens, Ionian University, University of Ioannina, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Democritus University of Thrace and many other universities of that country. Annually about 100 students and instructors of the University go on internships to Greece.

A part of MSU infrastructure is *Institute of Ukraine – Greece Friendship and Hellenistic Studies*. The opening ceremony of the Institute held in 2008 was attended **Carolos Papoulias – President of Hellenic Republic**. His visit to Mariupol became an important event not for the University alone. It became an important event for the Azov Region, for Donetsk District and Ukraine as a whole. At the time of the visit, President of Hellenic Republic was awarded the titles of Honorary Resident of Mariupol and Honorary Professor of MSU. President of Hellenic Republic gave a public speech to the instructors and the students. In his speech, he paid his highest compliments to the University's activities. He emphasized that “the University plays an important role in the strengthening of intercultural and interstate relations on all the levels of cooperation. It provides for learning and dissemination of the Greek language and culture among the multinational people of Ukraine, creating a bridge of friendship and mutual respect among the nations” [6].

Today MSU is the only university in Europe (except for Greece and Cyprus) where more than 700 students are either majoring or minoring in the Greek language as well as the Greek culture and history. It is the only university in Europe that has Greek Philology Faculty within its infrastructure. The research carried out at MSU makes it possible to ensure the highest level of academic instructions in the Greek language, history and traditions as well as to disseminate the culture of the Ukrainian Greeks and to promote Hellenic development in Ukraine.

A part of MSU infrastructure is *Greek Language Center* which has the right to hold qualification exams on the Modern Greek and to issue related international certificates. Ministry for National Education, Lifelong Education and Religious Affairs of Hellenic Republic provides the University with full-time instructors of Modern Greek.

Already for four years MSU has been holding *Summer Academy of Public Law*. The Academy's existence results from fruitful cooperation of MSU and European Public Law Organization. It is noteworthy that the University's students are active participants of the

Academy. The Academy holds a number of events for students from the whole world who are given the opportunity to update their professional competence by attending lectures given by prominent scholars and other scientists and to obtain related certificates of the international standard. Since 2010 the Academy was held jointly with European Arbitration Chamber (Brussels) initiated by the EU for the purpose of development and unification of international arbitration in the relations between Eastern and Western Europe. It is noteworthy that the Academy is attended by the best students of prestigious Ukrainian and Russian universities.

MSU and **Republic of Cyprus** are also bound up mutually beneficial cooperation. Republic of Cyprus plays an important role in the development of MSU international cooperation. The University stands in fruitful cooperation with President's Administration of Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Education and Culture of Republic of Cyprus, Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation as well as with other agencies and organizations of that country.

Annually post-graduates and students majoring in international relations have the opportunity of internship at *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Cyprus*, namely at Crisis Management Center. The practice of international internships has already become quite a usual thing to happen for MSU students. Along with familiarization with the structure and the specificity of the Center's activities, the internship program includes lectures given by the leading experts of the Ministry on Cypriote issues as well as lectures on interaction of Cyprus and the EU, etc.

Active support to the activities carried out by Mariupol State University is provided by *the Spokesman's Office for the government of Republic of Cyprus*. Due to the Spokesman's Office, MSU students and instructors have the opportunity to go on internships to Cyprus, to work in the libraries and the archives owned by the Office and to carry out research.

For many years Mariupol State University has been standing in fruitful cooperation with the well-known *Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation* that provides for the University serious economic aid and multilateral support in the fields of science, education and culture. Due to the support provided by Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, MSU post-graduates and instructors have the opportunity to complete their theses at University of Cyprus

over the period of three — six months. More than 10 instructors have taken part in those research programs. In 2006 Greek Philology Faculty set up a unique Konstantinos Leventis Library of Hellenistic Studios where there are more than 15.000 volumes. Jointly with the Foundation, the University has successfully implemented the unique project and published “Anthology of Cypriote Literature” in Modern Greek and Russian. The Foundation has established annual scholarships for the winners of the All-Ukrainian Contest on the Greek language, history and culture for school and university students as well as scholarships for the All-Ukrainian Contest of research theses concerned with Modern Greek held at MSU. Thus, one can make a conclusion that the international cooperation carried out a single university has created a unique situation when the University’s foreign partners provide financial incentives for particular events, such as the aforementioned All-Ukrainian contests.

The University has also established partnership with the leading universities of that country, such as University of Cyprus, University of Nicosia, Frederick University and Technological University of Cyprus. Cooperation with these universities provides for conferences, student and instructor exchange as well as joint research and publishing.

MSU fruitful work for the sake of strengthening friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Ukraine and Cyprus resulted in the decision dated of *July 4th, 2006* made by Tassos Papadoupoulos — President of Republic of Cyprus — and by the government of that country to set up *Consulate Honorary of Republic of Cyprus in Mariupol*. The Consulate’s span includes Donetsk, Zaporozhe, Lugansk and Dnepropetrovsk Districts. The activities carried out by Consulate Honorary of Republic of Cyprus in Mariupol has made it possible to considerably widen the cooperation between the peoples of the two friendly countries in the fields of economics, trade, agriculture, tourism, education, science and culture. The Consulate’s activities will keep promoting adjustment of international dialogue. By the initiative of Consulate Honorary of Republic of Cyprus in Mariupol, due to the support provided by Ministry of Education and Culture of Republic of Cyprus and on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Cyprus, we held a children’s art exhibition “Cyprus as viewed by children”. Students of Mariupol Fine Arts School took part of the exhibition. Today

114 works by young artists are exhibited at Leventis Museum of Cyprus. Besides Consulate Honorary initiated and organized various children's tourism programs. In 2011 alone, 60 children from Mariupol and the neighboring villages were given the unique opportunity to have rest on Cyprus. It is noteworthy that all the costs arising under the trips were borne by the host.

On July 3d – 5th, 2011, for the first time ever in the history of Ukraine, **Dimitris Christofias – President of Republic of Cyprus** – paid an official visit to Ukraine. At the time of his visit, President of republic of Cyprus visited Mariupol and Mariupol State University in particular. President of republic of Cyprus was awarded the titles of Honorary Resident of Mariupol and Honorary Professor of MSS. He was also awarded the medal of Mariupol State University “For the Merits”. At the time of his visit Dimitris Christofias emphasized that “special attention in the relations between Ukraine and Cyprus is paid to educational cooperation. Cooperation with MSU is a vivid example” [7].

MSU is developing dynamic cooperation with many partners from **Italian Republic**. Among the University's Italian partners are Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italian Republic, Embassy of Italian Republic to Ukraine, Dante Alighieri Society, Italian Institute of Culture in Ukraine, the administration of Calabria Region the administration of the island of Sicily, the mayors' offices of Santa Severina and Montalbano as well as the leading Italian universities such as University of Messina, University for Foreigners of Perugia, Magna Graecia University of Catanzaro, University of Calabria, KORE University of Enna and others. In accordance with the programs of various foreign internships organized annually by MSU and its Italian partners, the University's students attend lectures on history and culture of Italy, make presentations at research conferences, improve their knowledge of the Italian language and get familiarized with historical monuments. In 2009, jointly with University of Messina (Italy), University of Cordoba (Spain) and Moscow State Institute of International Relations (Russia), we began to implement the international program of “double diplomas” in the framework of ERASMUS.

In 2008 Mariupol State University set up *Italian Culture Center*. The Center's priorities are teaching the Italian language and dissemination of the Italian culture. The solemn opening ceremony was attended by Pietro Giovanni Donnici –

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Italian Republic to Ukraine — and Professor Nicholas Franco Balloni — Director of Italian Institute of Culture in Ukraine. The University was recognized as the basic educational institution on teaching the Italian language in Southeast Ukraine. In 2009 MSU set up the major “Language and Literature (Italian).

Since 2009 within the MSU infrastructure is *Examination Center for Dante Alighieri Society* that has the right to issue international certificates meant to evidence knowledge of the Italian language and recognized by the Italian government. For the purpose of participation in the solemn opening ceremony, Professor Alessandro Mazi — Secretary General of Dante Alighieri Society — and Nicholas Franco Balloni — Director of Italian Institute of Culture in Ukraine — visited MSU in 2009.

An important partner of MSU international cooperation is **Russian Federation**. The University is a member of *Association of Juridical Universities of the CIS countries (Moscow)*. Jointly with the Association, the University annually holds various scientific and communicative events. Association of Juridical Universities annually allocates 20 scholarships for the best students of the member universities for them to take part in Summer Academy of Public Law held annually at MSU. MSU best students majoring in law become winners of research contests held under the auspices of the Academy obtain the aforementioned scholarships.

The University has concluded agreements on scientific and educational cooperation with Moscow State Institute of International Relations — the university for Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation as well as with Russian Peoples’ Friendship University, Russian State University of Economics and Trade, Moscow Municipal University of Administration for the Government of Moscow, St. Petersburg State University, Tyumen State University, Nizhnevartovsk State University of Humanities, Vladikavkaz University of Administration and others.

Russian Philology Chair of MSU is a permanent member of International Association of Russian Language and Literature Teachers which is a member of the UNESCO.

The year of 2008 wrote another page into the glorious history of MSU, the University discovered a brand new vector of international cooperation — **People’s Republic of China** when a delegation from the University visited Qiqihar — the twin-city of

Mariupol. At the time of appointments with the administration of the People's government of the city as well as at the time of appointments with Rector and Vice Rectors of Qiqihar University and the administration of Higher Teachers' Training College, we signed related agreements on cooperation with Qiqihar University. This agreement envisages mutual exchange of students, post-graduates and instructors for the purpose of participation in educational and scientific programs, joint research conferences, etc. The Chinese representatives emphasized that MSU is their first Ukrainian partner. At the time of the visit of the delegation of Qiqihar University to Mariupol in 2009, Mariupol State University and Qiqihar University signed an agreement on creation of Chinese Culture Center at MSU. The Center's activities are aimed at teaching the Chinese language and culture and dissemination thereof in the Azov Region. In accordance with the agreement, Qiqihar partners provided the Center with scientific and reference literature as well as with literature concerned with teaching methods and books of fiction. Another agreement on cooperation is supposed to be concluded: an agreement on creation of Ukrainian Culture Center at Qiqihar University. MSU instructors will take part in the Center's activities.

In accordance with the agreements concluded at the time of the visit to Mariupol and Mariupol State University paid by Qiqihar government's representatives, vital issues were discussed, such as the strengthening of cooperation between the Chinese universities and MSU, participation of students, post-graduates and instructors from the both parties in scientific, educational and cultural programs in Ukraine and China as well as the opportunity for Chinese school graduates to learn at MSU. In 2011 we signed another agreement on cooperation with Yancheng Teachers' Training University, which considerably widens the cooperation prospects of MSU and Chinese universities.

The development of new fields of MSU international cooperation have made it possible to considerably expand the geography of the University's partner countries. Gradually we are intensifying cooperation with our partners from **Great Britain**. Here we cannot but mention St. James Research Center. Together with this center, MSU have created the International Environment Protection Center which carries out research and holds conferences. In accordance with the agreement on cooperation concluded with the

University of Dundee and Frisby's School of English, every year MSU students and instructors go on internships there. In 2011 the cooperation with British universities was considerably extended — we concluded an agreement on scientific and educational cooperation with King's College London. Together with the Royal College of Defense Studies, MSU organized and held a round-table talk on international security, discussed the current condition and the ways of protection. 15 students from 12 countries of the world participated in it.

Gradually we develop multilateral cooperation with **Republic of Poland**, including the Embassy of Republic of Poland to Ukraine, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Polonia Academy in Chestochowa, Śląski University in Katowice, Borussia Foundation, etc. Thus, in the framework of the agreement on cooperation concluded with Polonia Academy, MSU created the Polish Culture Center. Professor Maria Urbaniets, First Vice Rector of Polonia University took part in its opening ceremony. Under the aegis of the Embassy of Republic of Poland to Ukraine, a teacher of the Polish language started working at MSU. In learning at Polish universities, MSU students get student grants. The number of student internships held in the framework of the international program «Study tours to Poland» is increasing.

Cooperation with organizations and institutions of State of Israel has become a new field of MSU international cooperation. MSU has created the Israeli Culture Center where they annually organize the Days of Israeli Culture and hold classes on Hebrew as well as on the history and culture of State of Israel both for students and for all the residents of Mariupol. New cultural and educational internships of MSU instructors and students at the leading universities of Israel are initiated. By the initiative of Elena-Khaya Karol — Consul General of State of Israel in Dnipropetrovsk and Head of the Israeli Culture Center — since 2011 MSU have started to hold the All-Ukrainian contests on language and culture of Israel.

One of the promising fields of MSU cooperation is collaboration with institutions and organizations of **the United States of America**. Every year MSU students take an active part in the programs «Work and Travel USA» and «Camp Counselors USA». Besides MSU have more than once organized presentations of Fulbright Educational Exchange Programs for the University's

students and instructors. This International Educational Exchange Program is sponsored by the American government and intended for, first and foremost, students, graduates, post-graduates, scientists and instructors who have an opportunity to carry out research in the USA for a year. MSU constantly develops cooperation with **Federal Republic of Germany**, including the Embassy of Federal Republic of Germany to Ukraine and Consulate General in Donetsk, German foundations and organizations. MSU students annually take part in the language training program Au-pair Vermittlung, having an opportunity to learn the language in Germany. MSU successfully cooperates with German Department of Educational Exchanges (DAAD) – the biggest organization in Germany responsible for international cooperation and implementation of the bilateral exchange program in the field of higher education. It offers some programs for students, post-graduates and researchers, giving them an opportunity to learn and carry out research in Germany. DAAD lecturers visited MSU more than once, delivered lectures for students and instructors and carried out testing. Together with the German partners (Konrad Adenauer Foundation and Friedrich Nauman Foundation), MSU holds seminars and training sessions media experts, journalists, editors, instructors and students majoring in journalism from different parts of Ukraine.

Gradually MSU is widening cooperation with the partners from **Moldova and Belarus**. Thus, according to the agreements on scientific and cultural cooperation concluded with Aleku Russo Beltsk State University (Republic of Moldova) and Byelorussian-Russian University (Republic of Belarus), university instructors exchange the results of their research. They participate in research conferences and seminars, etc.

As for the recent initiatives, it is necessary to mention such a new field of scientific and educational research and practices as gender studies. In 2010 Mariupol State University, Vadym Hetman Kyiv National Economic University and Vasyl Stefanyk Pre-Carpathian National University became the winners of the joint project of the European Union and the United Nations Development Program in Ukraine “The program of equal opportunities and rights of women in Ukraine”. In accordance with the memorandum on cooperation signed by the head of the UNO Development Program and MSU, *Gender Studies Center* was cre-

ated. Over a year, they have organized and held more than 50 training sessions on gender education and advised the residents of our region. In summer 2011 they launched the joint EU-UNODP and MSU project “The first summer session of the Open institute of equal opportunities “Equal opportunities: higher school and formation of civil society in Ukraine”. In accordance with the results of competitive selection, 20 candidates and doctors of science became the participants of the project. They represented the leading universities of the Southeast Ukraine: Donetsk National University, Tavrida National V.I. Vernadsky University, Zaporizhzhya National Technical University, Kyiv Slavic Studies University, Black Sea affiliation of M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University, Crimean Institute of Business and Mariupol State University. During that session, its participants investigated the issues of formation and development of gender science in the Southeast Ukraine, introduction of the gender-sensitive approach into the curricula of the Ukrainian universities.

The principle of linguistic pluralism is implemented at MSU’s Bachelor’s, Specialist’s and Master’s curricula. Today 23 languages are the official languages of the European Union, 6 of them being taught at MSU: English, German, French, Modern Greek, Polish and Italian. Besides in 2010 students got the opportunity to learn one more foreign language – Hebrew. It was this field of the activities that was emphasized by Jose Manuel Pinto Teixeira – Head of the EU Office in Ukraine – who headed the delegation of more than 30 diplomats from 16 European countries who visited Mariupol State University during the celebration of the *Days of Europe in Ukraine* (May, 2010). He said the following: “I am very much surprised to find out that a great number of European cultures is united and developed at the University. I am sure that this university occupies a worthy place in the process of European integration of Ukraine” [1].

It is noteworthy that MSU actively supports and successfully implements various initiatives implemented by European institutions as well. *Regional Point of European Information* functions on the permanent basis at MSU. It is intended to meet the needs of Mariupol residents and the needs of the Azov Region. Its activities provide for seminars, training sessions and advisory services the population on the issues of Ukraine’s European integration.

Since 2009 Mariupol State University as well as its partner universities of France, Portugal, Romania, Moldova, Belarus and Ukraine. take part in the implementation of the **TEMPUS** Project “Modernization and development of professionally-oriented courses (MODEP ETF – JP – 00408-2008)», which is sponsored by the European Commission. According to the Focus Journal, the activities of the University and the results of this international project were recognized as one of the best among the international programs the Ukrainian universities were involved in [3].

The results of international cooperation of Mariupol State University prove the efficiency of their own pattern of international cooperation. The multi-vector character of MSU international cooperation is confirmed by the experience of cooperation with different countries of the world, which is constantly developing.

Active development of international cooperation carried out by MSU today, promotes successful implementation of all the other University’s activities: the academic process, the scientific achievements, the up-to-date academic facilities, etc. A high movement and effectiveness of its development prove again and again that implementation of integration cooperation does not depend only upon the decisions of government institutions.

In constructing its own pattern of international cooperation and in determining the ways of its further implementation, MSU does not focus only on the economic and the socio-political developments of the Ukrainian society. It takes into consideration the general trends of European education’s development, the trends of university education’s development, in particular. Various forms of implementation of international programs MSU is involved in today ensures the exchange of modern teaching technologies, the use of the best foreign teaching experience in professional training and dissemination achievements of the Ukrainian higher school’s achievements. What is most important is that all these international programs are aimed at high-quality professional training as well as at improvement of the graduates’ competitiveness at the domestic and the global labor markets.

The constantly changing world requires adaptation of the national higher education systems to new changes. It is no coincidence that constant adaptation of higher education is determined as an important factor of competitiveness of the European space of university education, what was mentioned in Communiquй issued

by the conference of the European countries' ministers, responsible for the field of higher education (London, May 16-19, 2007) "On the way to the European space of higher education: answers to the challenges of globalization" [5].

Among the priorities of the development of higher education in Europe for the next ten years which were discussed at the conference of European ministers, responsible for the field of higher education in Luven, April 28-29, 2009, alongside the development of continuing education, ensuring equal access to education and its completion, using to the full extent the results of education on the constantly changing labor market, development of interdisciplinary curricula, extension of the funding mode, international openness, mobility and transparency in the development of higher education were specially emphasized [9].

Many Ukrainian higher education institutions have gained much experience of international cooperation, which undoubtedly favors internationalization of higher education, widens the opportunities of Ukrainian university graduates on the labor market, and the most important thing is that it makes them able to live in the poly-cultural environment and work under the conditions of a very severe competition.

The process of modernization of the national systems of higher education under the conditions of globalization does not require only the renovation of the regulatory framework of education and development of related recommendations. It must be aimed at the upbringing of a new generation of people, who accept the human values and live in accordance with humanistic laws, people who are seeking to establish peace, protection of the human rights and the values of democracy. However, the objective process of internationalization of higher education is complicated and contradictory, as to a considerable extent no balance is achieved between its cultural, educational and economic aims and no solution is found to the problems of establishing intercultural dialogue. The development of high quality and adequate university education and science under the conditions of globalization requires coordination in solving scientific problems.

Taking into account the importance and the urgency of the research of the problem of internationalization of education, MSU hosted the International research conference "Science and education in the modern university in the context of international co-

operation” that was held in May 23-25, 2011[4]. This conference was dedicated to the 20th anniversary of Independence of Ukraine as well as to the 20th anniversary of MSU, its coeval. The development of the university has become a peculiar reflection of rapid and dynamic growth of a young state.

Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine, National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, Donetsk Regional State Administration, System Capital Management, Mariupol City Council, Mariupol State University, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus, European Public Law Organization, “Anastasios G. Leventis” Foundation, University of Ioannina and University of Messina were the co-organizers of the conference.

The vitality and the importance of the conference title were confirmed by the interest it aroused among researchers, politicians, representatives of the central government and local governments, foundations and organizations of Ukraine and foreign countries. The high level of the conference is confirmed by the welcoming addresses to the participants and the guests of the conference received from the heads of three states: President of Ukraine Victor Yanukovich, President of Hellenic Republic Carolos Papoulias and President of Cyprus Dimitris Christofias.

More than 300 participants took part in the conference — the heads of the representatives of President’s Administration of Ukraine, Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine, National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, Institutes off National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (V. M. Koretsky Institute of State and Law for National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of Industrial Economics for National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of Economic and Legal Studies for National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine for National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, I.F. Kuras Institute of Ethnic Studies for National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine), Ukrainian National Memory Institute, Institute of Legislation for the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Donetsk Regional State Administration, Donetsk Regional Council, Donetsk Chamber of Commerce, Mariupol City Council, rectors and leading scientists of more than 40 national and other universities of Ukraine.

The high level of the conference is confirmed by a considerable representation of participants both from Ukraine and from 14 countries of the world (Belarus, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Israel, Cyprus, China, Moldova, Germany, Poland, Russia, Portugal, France, Czech Republic). Among them are Head of Department of Higher and High Education for Ministry of Education and Culture of Republic of Cyprus, European Public Law Organization, “Anastasios G.Leventis” Foundation, St. James Research Center, Association of Juridical Universities, Head of the National Olympic Committee of Republic of Cyprus, heads of diplomatic missions and culture centers of foreign countries, rectors, professors and researchers from 26 foreign universities.

The participants of the conference took great interest in the report presented by Dmytro Tabachnyk – Minister of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine, academician of the National Academy of Legal Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences and Professor – “Innovational development of Ukraine as a step forward that has no alternative”; Vasyliy Kremen – President of National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, academician of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor – «Knowledge in the culture of globalism».

The following famous scientists addressed the plenary of the conference: Vice President, academician of National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, professor Volodymyr Lugoviy, academician of Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, professor Mykola Yevtuch, corresponding member of National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, professor Mykhaylo Stepko, Rector of Russian State University of Trade and Economics, President of the Association of Juridical Universities, professor Sergey Baburin (Russian Federation); Rector of KORE University of Enna, professor Salvo Ando (Italian Republic), Rector of Yancheng Teachers' Training University, professor Xue Jiabao (People's Republic of China); Vice Rector for the Research of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) for Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor Olexiy Podberezkin (Russian Federation); Acting Director of Higher and High Education of Ministry of Education and Culture of Republic of Cyprus, professor Despina Martidou Forcier; Vice-Principle for Arts and Sciences of King's College London, profes-

sor Keith Hoggart (Great Britain); Director for International Ties and Cooperation with Investors, Stock Company System Capital Management Jock Mendoza-Wilson and others.

The participants were welcomed by the University's permanent partners: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Republic of Cyprus to Ukraine Evagoras Vryonides, Consul General of Federal Republic of Germany in Donetsk Claus Zillikens, Consul General of Czech Republic in Donetsk Antonin Murgash, Second Secretary of the Embassy of State of Israel to Ukraine Elena Khaya Karol and other honorary guests.

After the plenary the participants worked in eight workshops: role of education and science in the development of international cooperation; high quality higher education in the countries of the world; innovations, use of information and communication technologies in education and science; vital problems of continuing professional education in Ukraine and in foreign countries; national cultures of the world in the formation of the intercultural dialog; influence of the Greek language and culture on the formation of a multi-culturally educated personality; internationalization as a factor of competitiveness for higher education; cooperation of universities with foreign agencies and international organizations (the UNO, the UNESCO, the European Union, the Council of Europe, etc.)

In the framework of the conference a number of agreements on cooperation of MSU with leading foreign universities, well-known all over the world, were signed:

King's College London (Great Britain), Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) for Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, Russian State University of Trade and Economics, Moscow Municipal University of Administration for the Government of Moscow, KORE University of Enna (Italy), Yancheng Teachers' Training University (People's Republic of China), University of Ioannina (Hellenic Republic). This is a striking example of constant development of the University's international cooperation, search for new partners of scientific and educational cooperation, which favors the improvement of the quality of education and its competitiveness in the modern world.

Having got familiarized with the pattern of international cooperation of Mariupol State University, the participants of the conference pointed out its high efficiency in such areas as: participation

in the work of international university organizations; cooperation with ministries of education and foreign affairs, regional administrations, city councils, embassies and consulates, foundations, universities and research organizations of Great Britain, Greece, Israel, Spain, Italy, Cyprus, China, Poland, Russia, France, Germany and other countries; carrying out joint research; joint publishing; organizing international research forums; instructor and student internships in educational and scientific programs; participation in international cultural programs, etc.

In the resolution developed by that scientific forum, the participants of the conference determined the pattern of international cooperation of Mariupol State University as innovative in terms of its form and poly-functional in terms of its content, which vitalize its dissemination and use by other higher education institutions of Ukraine.

-
1. Archives of Mariupol State University
 2. *Balabanov K. V.* International Cooperation of MSUH: formula for success / *K. V. Balabanov.* — Donetsk: Promin' Publishers Ltd., 2009. — 448 p.
 3. The best international programs // *Focus.* — 2011. — April 22. № 16 (229)
 4. Science and education in the modern university in the context of international cooperation: International research conference proceedings (May, 23–25 2011 p.). — Mariupol, 2011. — 565 p.
 5. On the way to the European space of higher education: answers to the challenges of globalization. Communiqué of the Conference of the Ministers of European countries responsible for the field of higher education. London, May, 16–19 2007 // <http://www.mon.gov.ua/education/higher>
 6. President of Greece highly appreciated friendly relations between Ukrainian and Greek peoples // *Voice of Ukraine.* — 2008. — May, 14 (№ 90).
 7. President of Republic of Cyprus visited Mariupol for the first time// *Mariupol time.* — 2011. — July, 7 (№ 27)
 8. *Tabachnyk D.V.* Innovational development of Ukraine is the road that has no alternative// Science and education in the modern university in the context of international cooperation: International research conference proceedings (May, 23–25 2011p.). — Mariupol, 2011. — P. 17–20.
 9. Science, technology and innovation in Europe. — Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. — 2010. — 228 p.



After press-conference of President of Cyprus Dimitrus Hristofias, Mariupol, 2011



During the ceremony of the presenting of the Honorary professor diploma of the Mariupol university to the President of Cyprus Dimitrus Hristofias, Mariupol, 2011



Ambassador, Head of the European Commission (EC) Representation in Ukraine Jose Manuel Pintu Teisheira during the press-conference in the Mariupol University, 2010



The ceremony of the presenting of the Honorary professor diploma of the Mariupol university to the President of Cyprus Carlos Papulias, Mariupol, 2008



Volodymyr Bekh

Doctor of Philosophy, Professor



Yulia Bekh

PhD (philosophy), Assistant Professor

A SYSTEM OF STATE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AS A PRODUCT OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

This article is aimed at theoretical presentation of a system of state and public administration as a product of further democratization of the organizational and power authorization. Obtaining of such specific product as the system of state and public administration means theoretical proof of the ontological integrity in organizational interaction of state and non-state power forms on the basis of advanced communication process.

Current legislation of Ukraine provides certain opportunities for creative cooperation of the state authorities with the civil society, but technologies and methods of such cooperation still need to be implemented and improved. The following researchers and specialists of Ukraine studied and developed methods and forms of such cooperation as well as the ways of its effective implementation: A.M. Kolody, V. Knyazev, A.V. Litvinenko, V.I. Melnichenko,

N.R. Nyzhnyk, G.G. Cheptsov, V. Palamarchuk, V.F. Pohorilko, M.O. Pukhtyns'kyy, V.P. Rubtsov, G.P. Sitnik, O.I. Sushynskyy, V.P. Udovychenko, A.F. Tkachuk, V.V. Tsvetkov, S. Janiszewsky and others.

Specific methodological problems of power and public cooperation improvement were considered in the works of A.F. Andreev, V.D. Bakumenko, O. Berdanovoyi, O. Boyko-Boychuk, V. Vakulenko, M.D. Vasilenko, B.A. Gajewski, O. Halatsan, V. Garashchuk, J. Hontsiazha, N.V. Hnydiuk, V.P. Gorbatenko, G.V. Zadorozhny, V. Campo, E.V. Kovriga, V.S. Koltun, V. Kravchenko, V.S. Kulbida, J.P. Lebedinsky, M.M. Lohunovoyi, V.I. Lugovoi, V.A. Rebkala, V.A. Skurativsky, V. Smolovyka, J.P. Surmina, V. Tokovenko, V.A. Chess, M.F. Shevchenko, S.A. Chukut and others.

One cannot but pay attention to the fact that cooperation of the state authorities with the public, wide involvement of the civil society in the state affairs, the democracy in general is a natural condition for statehood of the countries used to be located in the territory of Ukraine beginning with the very first state formations. This feature is inherent to Ukrainian mentality.

The historical experience shows that as soon the authorities stopped or suspended cooperation with the community, the latter began showing dissatisfaction developed into strikes and liberation, so as a result the crisis was about to happen in the country. Understanding of this fact is highly important for Ukraine in the present stage of its development, which is proved by the analysis of the basic reasons causing elevation of democratic spirits of the Ukrainian people in November – December 2004 resulting in the so-called ‘orange revolution’.

There should be two factors available for formation of the system of state and public administration (SSPA): the ground and the conditions. Hereby the ground is in the very phenomenon, namely in the organizational interaction with the state power bodies and civil society organizations (CSOs) based on the complex of relationships between them while the necessary and sufficient conditions are beyond these relationships.

The organizational interaction between the state authorities and CSOs acts as a mechanism for generation of the SSPA as a

product of the public administration democratization. We proceed from the definition of organizational interaction formulated by M.Tulenkov. So, in the broad sense, the organizational interaction is a type of social interaction, which is the comprehensive and inter-coordinating link of the organizational system elements (organization) and its administration structure with their simultaneous and coordinated interactions with the surroundings. In the narrow sense, these are activities of the actors of organizational structures (contractors, partners, providers), which may be economic entities and management bodies (physical and legal persons, officials) mutually beneficial and coordinated by targets, time, place and resources.

In any social formation (enterprise, organization, company etc.) organizational interaction occurs by distribution of authority, functions and mutual obligations between structural divisions, administrative levels and employees. Forms of organizational interaction are determined on the basis of the status of the structural division or an employee, the performance technologies, the forms of the communications development and so on. As a rule, it is organized, by the executives and managers responsible for control and coordination functions, or established as a self-organization mechanism on the basis of voluntarily agreement of the parties as to the joint activity.

Organizational interaction is a multilevel system with a wide range of distribution of organizational capacities between subjects of administration, that allows identifying and clarifying their goals and a set of formal and informal communications and relationships between them. Organizational interaction is exposed in various forms: cooperation, consensus, coordination, hegemony, control, domination, leadership, isolation, neutralization, struggle, rivalry and so on. In the complicated systems of social administration with a branched hierarchical structure the organizational interactions may be vertical, horizontal and diagonal.

The mechanism of organizational interaction based on a system of organizational norms, culture and values has the following: a) individuals (members of the organization) performing certain actions; b) changes in the environment caused by these actions, c) the influence of these changes on other individuals – members of the organizational system, d) reverse reaction of the individu-

als. In this case the method of organizational interaction, usually, includes six main aspects: 1) transfer of information, 2) receipt information, 3) reaction to the received information, 4) revised information, 5) receipt of the revised information; 6) reaction to the revised information.

It is important to take into consideration the diversity of links, relationships, actions and interactions between subjects and objects of the administration within the organizational structures, between related organizations and the environment as well as the fact that all of them reflect complicated organizational and managerial phenomena and processes with their own structure ever changing under the impact of external and internal factors.

The system of state and public administration of the society forms as integrity only on condition of the morphological and functional compliance of the state authorities and the civil society. Let us analyze the unique connections (functional bodies) proposed by E.Yudin, namely: structuring, interaction, conflict, generation, transformation, functioning, development, administration and correction, which provide establishment and sustainable functioning of the mechanism for formation of this integrity.

Structuring links form the morphological channels of being and the direction in which the organizing state cooperation and CSO correlate. They create the opportunities for SSPA formation as a product of interaction of the above power holders. This type of connections creates a special morphological structure in the state social organism, which in the scientific literature is called 'hemostat'. The hemostat is a basic functional concept of the information processing mechanism. It is implemented on a variety of physical media.

Interactions between the state and CSO occur when two forms of power are available and create conditions for a dynamic correlation obeying the special laws of information correlation. The state can implement its organizational potential due to a special quality of the normative information, and the civil society – due to the reporting information.

Conflict links expose the available contradictions between the behavior of the state, specified by its striving to conduct reforms in the country, and by the needs of the CSO. Conflicts always

arise in any country of the world. Their origin also may be different. For example, Maydan of Ukraine resulted from the mass dissatisfaction of the civil society with the actions of the state leaders. Population in Greece and Italy is currently dissatisfied with the restrictions of education and salaries, in France — with the immigration policy of the state. In America the people are opposed to the consequences of the decisions by the country leaders in the military sphere, economic stagnation and current financial crisis.

Links which create self-control mechanisms of the country in the structure of the system are the channels, by which the organizational potential of the state expands along with appropriate CSO political participation in the state administration. People vest a state with the powers while the state initiates creation of various segments of the civil society functioning and pursues policy in keeping with the needs of the civil society accumulating alongside its own organizing capacity. Modernization of the state system can not exceed too far the development of civil society because it leads to a dictatorship of the state and the generation of new Leviathan. Localization of organizing interaction between state and CSO in the space and cyclization in time is a system of self-regulation of the country social organism.

Links of transformation contribute to the situation when any ordering action, an attempt of the state to organizing activities is never left beyond attention of the civil society.

This is due to their interdependence as the morphological integrities that are integral elements in the structure of social self-regulation system. Although there are moments when civil society consciously or subconsciously does not obey the laws, as it is happening in Ukraine, or ignore the initiatives of the state, for example, government starts the war and the people of the country does not support it. But usually this is an exception. A more regular form of the state and civil society coexistence is a tendency to move from the disordered state to a more orderly way of things.

Links of functioning form the most complete discourse of manifestation of the organizational interaction between state and CSO since exactly here one can find their various options. In this case the organizational interaction leads to creation a unique product — a qualitatively new nature of activity of the self-regulation

system of the social whole, characterized by the ability of the social organism of the country by itself to manage its contradictions, which spontaneously arise in the course of everyday people life. It is done by the concerted actions of the people. We call this new state of self-regulation 'the state and public administration'. SSPA is actually a type of functioning of the self-regulation system for the country social organism upgraded to the needs of the current period.

Links of the development known to us as phenomena called 'a social change', 'transformation' or 'modernization'. For example, the Ukrainian researcher I. Predborska indicated: "'A social change' should be viewed as a starting concept of social-philosophical analysis of instability in the society". Unlike the concept of 'the social development, which is used mainly in domestic social science literature, the concept of 'the social change' does not provide obligatory transition from stage to stage, clear-oriented development and examines the whole diversity of all possible states of the society³.

The Ukrainian researcher M. Mikhalchenko considers modernization as a part of transformation:

"...transformation, change, development can be oriented to any direction: forward, backward, sideways, in circles, and other ways. Modernization orients society and its structure for improvement, advanced development and implementation of new goals, objectives, priorities and strategies. Modernization is a creative and transformational function of the development"⁴. A sustainable development is an ideal for the present day.

Administration links give us the unique interaction between state and CSO as two powerful subjects capable to administrate the subjects on 'subject — subjective' relations principle. Self-organizing effect is caused by the fact that both participants involved in the reproduction of administration links within the social integrity are capable to administration and therefore they provide the self-organizing process pivot.

Based on the foregoing, we may conclude that SSPA is a different level of administration that requires other parameter of administration than the power functioning within the state or a civil society as self-sufficient elements of the whole. So such parame-

ter is certainly in place — it is a distribution of powers as a parameter for administration of the state and civil society organizational potential. This administration parameter has its specificity: on the one hand, it is formed spontaneously, on the other — it is purposefully distributed between the state and CSO. So within the social organism of the country the distribution of powers can be considered as a parameter of administration of system for self-regulation of the whole, because it affects not only the state power and the power of the civil society, but also establishes among them certain proportions of influence on each other .

Links of correction provide a mechanism for mutual influence between the state and CSO as non-governmental power by the principle of the external complementation. Still many authors continue to ignore or simply do not understand the decisive role of feedback in the process of administration. The correction takes place not just as a response to the feedback, but to negative and positive feedback inherent in the so-called functional systems. They are inherent in any living systems. The discovery of the feedback principle became not only an outstanding event for development of technology, but also had extremely important implications for understanding the processes of adaptation, administration and organization. Feedbacks are the basic factors in forming the system properties and thesaurus in purposeful behavior.

In the system of the state-public administration the relations of the state and the public, the influence of CSO on the state are the elements of a feedback mechanism. Causes and effects are reversed and it is not significant what comes first. The concept of public relations gained wide recognition in scientific practice from theoretical studies by S. Black, E. Bernays, S. Katlip, A. Sentera, G. Brum, F. Buari, L. Matra and others. In modern science the theoretical research in the PR sphere are conducted by F.P.Saytel, DM News, and J. Van Slyke Tork, D. Krukeber and others.

Despite the interest of scientists to many aspects of the problem, there is a lack of comprehensive PR studies as an integral public administration phenomenon that has a certain objective conditionality, stability, system and continuity, as well as a significant specificity compared with public relations in other spheres of public life. Though public relations objectively exists as a social institute, its institutionalizing in the state administration re-

quires certain purposeful efforts as to creation of the legal framework and formation of the effective functioning mechanisms in according with the social needs for establishment of the state and public⁵.

Now let us transfer to the main element of the research: creation of the main product of the process of public administration democratization — the system of state and public administration of the social development. The term ‘social development’ means that this body should organize the whole range of social relations, in which the CSO is actively and directly involved.

To construct a heuristic model of the state and public administration model of the social development based on a comprehensive democratization of the social and political relations, which is possible at the heuristic level, because CSOs are present in all spheres of public life, means to create a certain edifice with a concrete general function in its core using the concepts that describe the social organism of the country. This is possible in principle, because “every concept has its place in the system for which it is solely defined and determines its value and limits of application” — wrote F. Schelling⁶.

Proceeding from the available literature on political studies and the source base of the public administration, the elements, in which CSOs of any country should be involved are as follows: a) the state administration mechanism; b) government administration machinery, c) state administration authorities, d) institute of public administration, g) principles of organization and activity of the public administration.

Next, let us examine the elements of CSOs for their possibility of organizational cooperation. The logic of creating the sufficient conditions is strictly determined by the above, since the system of the state administration in its vertical structure requires from civil society also to establish their own representative vertical for the organizational interaction.

The above material clearly suggests that civil society should build their own vertical organizations for cooperation with the system of the state power bodies that has a tough vertical structure, and determine their representatives at every organizational level. They have become, in a definite sense, the elite of the civil

society and to ensure the communicative function of the civil society and the state.

Centers of social partnership may implement such integral function at every level of the organizational system of the country, which means to provide CSOs cooperation with: a) a state, b) local authorities and c) business. Their position in society may be similar to that of the members of a jury.

Morphologically the newly created SSPA in its potential exists long ago, as we attach it to the system of social self-regulation of the country, where four branches of power exist: legislative, judicial, executive and public opinion or the mass media. The latter as a result of a number of special studies we call 'the power of civil society'. This means that no other new bodies or structures should appear in the social organism of the country. One may talk about development of the civil society structures, for example at the account of formation of a number of organizations, including those that are involved in social development administration.

In the functional dimension SSPA acts on the principles of the social partnership. Correlation and interaction of the CSOs with the public administration mechanism are the most important for the effective democratic process, when SSPA created and recreated. From the analysis of the available scientific literature and researches of scientists who defended PhD and doctoral theses, mostly at the the National Academy of Public Administration at the President of Ukraine, it may be a social partnership, which should be simultaneously viewed as a principle, a mechanism, an instrument, a method and a technology of the integrated organizational interaction of state and CSOs.

The model of social partnership is widespread and well examined from all sides except democratization of the public administration. The V.I. Vernadsky Library contains more than four hundred dissertations on this problem. Researches gave their positive assessment to the administration on the basis of the social partnership in all spheres of functioning of the state authorities and are completely consistent with the structure of our analysis of the CSOs capacity to engage in the organizational interaction with the state.

According to Presidential Decree No 34/93 On National Council of Social Partnership the said Council was founded for coordinated solution of the issues arising in the social and labor spheres, in relations with Government of Ukraine, businessmen. The National Council composition was as follows: from the government of Ukraine — 22 persons, from the business associations — 22 persons, from the associations of trade unions of Ukraine — 22 persons. The social partnership mechanism once it is importance recognized by the state becomes indispensable if to add recommendations of scientists who studied the manifestations of social partnership in different economic sectors and at different levels of government.

The goal of the social partnership is to achieve social peace in society, provide a balance of social and economic interests, prevent conflicts and create the necessary conditions for a gradual economic development and raising living standards of the parties.

The social partnership has the following forms: joint consultation, collective negotiations and conclusion of contracts and agreements, approval of policy of incomes and social and economic policy in general on the national level, measures to protect the national labor market in conditions of globalization; a joint solution of collective conflicts; organization of the procedures for reconciliation and arbitration; participation of employees in production management; joint management of social insurance funds; review of the claims and control for implementation of joint arrangements.

So, we are firm believers that convinced that the state and public administration should be underlain with the social partnership as the most effective way of organizing interaction/communication of the government authorities and CSOs, as it covers all areas of work and structural levels of the state and society.

The limits of democratization, or a measure of political participation of CSOs in the implementation of governmental authority. O. Chemshyt, for example, stated that the democratic positivism of the social system is maintained when a level of its centralization is provided by 80% of the national resources, while the rest of their resources come from political involvement.

We share a view that the power of state and the power of the civil society, as variations of the same material in the structure of the social organism of the country, interact in the form of organization and self-organization generating a special kind of organizational interaction where 75–80 % of activities must belong to the state and the remaining – to CSOs.

On the basis of the conducted analysis we can systematize the theoretical material and provide the analysis results in table 1, which shows the main characteristics of the state and public administration.

The above suggests the following conclusions.

First, the state power dictates conditions and rate of the SSPA formation. It is its tough vertical structure that requires the appropriate structure of the civil society and its functional capabilities with their representatives identified at every organizational level

Second, the state power can not communicate with the all CSOs, even within a single administrative district, because their representatives are usually in constant conflict and have opposite views on various issues, therefore, the centers of social partnership should be created to adequately reflect the dominant standpoint of the local community or referendums whole be held in order to seek consensus or at least compromise.

Third, the analysis proves that there should be three types of communication of the state authorities with CSOs: the first operational type provides that any CSO should interact with the state power bodies to address the urgent locally developed situations as there may be many of them; the second tactical type provides the ongoing interaction between that CSOs that reflect the opinion of the territorial or national community at the district, municipal or regional level concerning expert assessment of the social development problems and implementation of the made decisions; the third strategic level provides that CSOs should attract attention of the state authorities to creation of the legal framework for CSOs, creation of their representative organizational structure both in the country and abroad, accreditation of the international organizations, representatives of the global civil society in the

Table 1

Characteristics of the State and Public Administration System

Parameters	The following elements should provide a sustainable framework of the state power and CSO interaction:		System of State and Public Administration
	State	Civil society (CSO)	
Institutes	Public administration institute	Civil society institutes	Territorial and sector centers of the social partnership
Staff	Staff of the public administration	Public councils, collegiums. Institute of consultants and advisors	Centers of social partnership of the Institute of advisors, consultants, joint collegiums
Bodies	State power bodies	Analytical centers. Non-governmental research organizations and panels	Centers of social partnership of research and expert support
Structures of internal representation	Externally oriented state structures: Interstate committees Commission <i>Ukraine-EU</i>	Externally oriented CSOs: Journalists without Borders Doctors without Borders International Amnesty	Externally oriented collective structures and CSO
Principles	Principles of organization and implementation of the political (state) power	Principles of organization and implementation of the CSO political involvement (non-governmental power)	Integration principles for organizational interaction of the state and CSO
Methods of public and individual administration	Enforcement instruments inherent in the state (army, secret service, committees / national security councils, police/militia, intelligence and counterintelligence, customs (to some extent), prisons, correctional institutions and others.)	Owing to the influence based on search for balance and innovation activities (science and practice, protection public initiatives, for example ecological, anti-war, saving of resources etc.)	Democratic style of administration based on the state enforcement and CSO impact
Mechanism	Mechanism of public administration	Mechanism of political involvement of CSO (population) in public administration	Social partnership mechanism

country, which requires extensive use of expertise tools and social development projections.

Fourth, the centers of social partnership should be staffed by specialists who have legal or managerial training in order to perform analytical, forecasting, organizing and supervisory functions in cooperation with public officials and bodies.

Fifth, the necessary conditions for the formation of SSPA are formed, but the formation of the same morphological structure occurs spontaneously but everywhere in the spheres of possible in-

teractions. What is really needed in this case are the sufficient conditions to form this type of functioning of self-regulation system of the country social organism, because morphologically SSPA system is a part of a more powerful system and the point is to intensify CSO and to delegate part of the functions from the state to civil society on the principles of decentralization and deconcentration of state power.

Sixth, the mechanism of the SSPA functioning and development requires technology for implementation of the social partnership in the public administration practice, which is proved by a great number of defended dissertation in various subject matters of state bodies functioning in this discussed. It is not accidental that problems of the social partnership are the subject of special attention from researchers, especially those who are exploring issues of state building.

We consider promising the following directions in the development of this problem:

a) study of the international experience of NGOs involvement in public administration of the social and economic development;

b) creation of an effective regulatory framework of such interaction that integrates the national systems into the international cooperation;

c) effective use of technologies on public involvement in the decision making in the process of preparation and making political decisions by the state

g) To establish an effective organizational communication of the power and public for creation of the social partnership mechanisms;

d) adjustment of the curricula at the universities to enhance elite education for training the national elites to cooperate with the public sector;

e) formation of a democratic civil political and legal culture of civil servants, heads of NGOs and civil society experts.

Keywords: state and public management, organizational interaction, communication, social partnership, the state, civil society organizations, centers of social partnership.

References

- ¹ *Tulenkov M.* Organizational Interaction as a Subject Area of Sociology of Administration // <http://www.politik.org.ua/vid/magcontent.php3?m=6&n=66&c=1497><http://www.politik.org.ua/vid/magcontent.php3?m=6&n=66&c=1497>.
- ² *Yudyn E.G.* Systemic Approach and the Principle of Activity. Moscow: Nauka, 1978. — 392 pages.
- ³ *Predborska I.* The theory of social change: social and philosophical analysis. Thesis of the Doctor of Philosophy: 09.00.03 / KNU. - Kyiv., 1993. -. P. 23.
- ⁴ *Mikhailchenko N.I.* Ukrainian Society: Transformation, modernization or European limitrophe? — K.: the Institute of Sociology of the NASU, 2001. - 440 pp.
- ⁵ *Rabota Yu. I.* Public Relations as the Institute of Public Administration: PhD dissertation: 25.00.01 / The National Academy of Public Administration at the President of Ukraine — K., 2006. — 221pp.
- ⁶ *Schelling F.V.J.* Scientific Works in two volumes Translated from German. V. 1. — M.: Mysl Publishers, 1987. — 637.





Yevhenia Yuriychuk

Associate Professor, doctoral candidate of the Department of Political Sciences and Public Administration of Faculty of History, Political Sciences and International Relations of Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University. She was born in the town of Vyzhnytsia, Chernivtsi Oblast. She graduated from Chernivtsi State University majoring in: History, Law Studies. He researches political history of Ukraine of the XXth century, electoral systems of Ukraine and world states, legitimacy of political power, international and legal grounds of the European integration, she is an author of more than 100 scientific works, among which monographs and textbooks.

FOREIGN ELECTORAL POWER LEGITIMATING IN POST-SOVIET AREA BY PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Nowadays stabilization of the national regimes of the post-Soviet countries is connected with the democratization of the internal political life, but at the same time the states themselves, for different reasons, try to establish themselves as democratic ones (i.e. civilized, legal) in the world's community opinion. That is why some special mechanisms of direct international control are created, among them election observing by international organizations is one of the most known. The Council of Europe, as a special guarantor of the European democracy, plays an important role in this process as it is the electoral observing which is a crucial factor of member-states' assessment of applying states while joining this organization. Besides parliamentary observers are very experienced in the branch of democracy and consequently are able to give elections precise political assessment (Doc. 9267) [1]. So post-Soviet states strive to establish themselves as democratic ones with legally elected bodies of power, that is to get their foreign political legitimating [2] and join European states (in accordance with Articles 4–5 of The European Council Charter 1949). Thus, our objective is to trace dynamics, regional differences, globalization fac-

tors and mechanisms of foreign political electoral power legitimating of post-Soviet countries by the Council of Europe.

The authoress uses the concept of T. Biernat's legitimating situation, Susan D. Hyde's model of making international-legal norms of elections observing, F. Gimelli's characteristic of international-legal sanctions applying, N. Chuvulina's post-Soviet countries classification by the elections role, B. Makarenko's post-Soviet countries classification by a democratic transit, as well as takes into account research of B. Babin, I. Borisov, G. Goodwin-Gill, L. Diamond, T. Carothers, P. Merloe, A. Moravcsik and others. As for the role of the European structures in Eastern European countries democratizations the investigation of N. Vinnikova, O. V'iunytska, I. Piliaeva and others contain the necessary information. In our opinion, foreign political power legitimating is a process of legal-electoral legitimacy achieving as a result of electorate's principles of direct democracy realizing during elections and referendums in consequence of which international relations subjects' political confidence in a newly-elect power, guaranteeing optimally desirable state of law order, transforms into international support.

Currently, a special role of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in foreign political legitimating of power is explained by: 1) its political significance as it recommends the Committee of Ministers to accede, to suspend membership or exclude from the EC, non-approval or powers limiting of a national parliamentary delegation; 2) exclusive right to express common public opinion of nations creating it stipulated by the way of this organization founding [3]. By the results of observation by representatives of both power and opposition political forces on respecting of the fundamental values of Europe: political pluralism, human rights and rule of law and commitments when joining (Resolution 115 (1997) 1) some positive and negative sanctions will be applied to the states — coercive means to proper behavior. Since the PACE decisions are advisory, not legally binding we can use some sociological understanding of the sanctions while ensuring proper behavior not only means of punishment, but also encouraging means are applied, because “the effectiveness of sanctions can be assessed according to their goals within the strategy” [4]. In terms of foreign electoral legitimating of power international structures sanctions are effective means of forcing states striving to join the family of European countries to hold elections in accordance with universally recog-

nized democratic standards. Therefore, it is appropriate to compare, on one hand, the processes of election democratic reforming in post-Soviet countries, PACE monitoring of them, on the other hand — the accession process in the Council of Europe in the context of foreign policy legitimating. According to the geographical and chronological criterion of entry Membership in the Council of Europe such groups of states are considered: 1) the Baltic States (Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia); 2) Borderlands countries (Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus); 3) the Caucasus countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia). Kazakhstan is singled out separately as the state that is in the initial stage of the membership accession. The process of PACE foreign electoral legitimating is presented in table 1.

After the USSR collapse most of the newly established states declared their desire to join in the process of democratization and join the family of European states. It was promoted by introducing of status “special guest” (SG) in 1989 to prepare for full Membership in the Council of Europe, which allowed parliamentary delegations of post-Soviet states to participate in the Assembly meetings and in meetings of its main committees with the right to take a floor. The first states to take advantage of this right were Estonia and Lithuania in 1991, and Ukraine in 1992. Later prospects of getting it were opened for Belarus, Latvia, Moldova, Russia. At that time Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, on condition of the European values realizing, could also join the family of European countries. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were originally excluded from the list of candidates for this status.

According to the established tradition, the parliamentary and presidential elections in the countries qualified as “SG” in PACE are under the supervision of the Assembly and Bureau of the Assembly. Prospects to join the European countries due to recognizing them as democratic ones, to get some security and economic dividends were an important incentive for improving of the election legislation and procedures for conducting elections and the most important was invitation of Observers from the Council of Europe by Speakers, governments or the central electoral authorities. Although elections in the Baltic states were held under difficult circumstances: the military presence of Russia, problems on energy supply and economic crisis, but they were highly assessed by the observers. Thus, the delegations’ endorsement of “free, fair and democratic” parliamentary elections in Estonia in 1992 gave

Table 1 [5]

**Dynamics of PACE electoral legitimating while observing elections
and referendums in the post-Soviet countries (1992–2010)**

States [6]	Date of giving status "SG"	Date of submitting AEC	Date and kind of election	PACE assessment of election	Date of giving ECM	Date and kind of election	PACE assessment of election
The Russian Federation	June 8, 1989	May 7, 1992	1993 parliamentary	...	February 28, 1996	1996 presidential stages 1, 2	...
			1995 parliamentary	...		1999 parliamentary	...
						2000 presidential	...
						2003 parliamentary	...-
						2004 presidential	...-
The Republic of Estonia DTG	September 18, 1991	September 13, 1991	1992 parliamentary	+...	May 14, 1993		
The Republic of Lithuania DTSC	September 18, 1991	September 13, 1991	1992 parliamentary constitutional referendum	+	May 14, 1993		
The Republic of Latvia DTG	September 18, 1991	September 18, 1991	1993	... —	February 10, 1995	1998 parliamentary	+
Ukraine DTG	September 16, 1992	July 14, 1992	1994 parliamentary	+...	November 9, 1995	1998 parliamentary	...
						1999 presidential	-
						2000 referendum	-
						2004 presidential	-
						2010 presidential (stages 1, 2)	+
The Republic of Belarus [7] DTN	September 16, 1992 [9]	March 1993	1994 parliamentary	+		2001 presidential	-
The Republic of Moldova DTG	February 5, 1993	April 21, 1993	1994 parliamentary	+	July 13, 1995	1996 presidential	+ —

States [6]	Date of giving status "SG"	Date of submitting AEC	Date and kind of election	PACE assessment of election	Date of giving ECM	Date and kind of election	PACE assessment of election
						1998 parliamentary	
						2001 parliamentary	+
						2009 parliamentary (April)	+ —
						2009 parliamentary (July)	+
Georgia DTG	May 28, 1996	July 14, 1996	1994 parliamentary	+	April 27, 1999	1999 parliamentary	+
			1995 parliamentary			2000 presidential	...
						2003 parliamentary	-
						2004 presidential	...
						2004 repeated parliamentary	+...
The Republic of Armenia DTG	June 28, 1996	March 7, 1995	1995 parliamentary		January 25, 2001	2003 presidential	-
			1998 parliamentary	+		2003 parliamentary	-
			1998 presidential	...		2005 referendum	...
			1999 parliamentary	...			
The Republic of Azerbaijan DTB	June 28, 1996	July 13, 1996	1995 parliamentary	...	January 25, 2001	2003 presidential	-
			1998 presidential	-		2005 parliamentary	-
			2000 parliamentary	-		2006 parliamentary partially	-
						2008 presidential	...-
The Republic of Kazakhstan [8] DTB		April 27, 2004	2004 parliamentary	-			

Legend to Table 1

AEC	Application on EC accession	...	neutral assessment
SG	"special guest"	+	positive assessment
ECM	EC membership	-	negative, possibility of using negative sanctions
DTSC	Democratic transit is successfully completed	...+	neutral-positive
DTG	Democratic transit is going on	...-	neutral-negative
DTB	Democratic transit is blocked	+ -	positive with essential remarks
DTN	Democratic transit did not take place		

possibility of the EC accession provided solution of Estonian citizenship for Russians (Doc. 6724 Ap.1), especially in the Northern-Estonian cities where at that time only 10% of the population were citizens of Estonia. Problem was complicated by the fact that according to the polls 77% of non-Estonians wanted to stay in the country, but only one third of them sought to acquire the citizenship of Estonia. In Lithuania the observers had possibility to trace the parliamentary elections and constitutional referendum (October 25 and November 15, 1992). Nevertheless the Supreme Court cancelled CEC decision (it was for the first time in the post-Soviet states) on providing of additional mandates for Sajudis candidates, lustration problem appearing, technical and organizational shortcomings elections assessed as "free, fair, according to democratic standards" became a pass to a possible membership of Lithuania in the EC, but on the condition the newly elected parliament started its work on time (Doc. 6724 Ap. 2).

The Estonians not admitting the individuals, who did not support the idea of national state to the elections at the national level, preserved national peculiarities of the state establishing. At the local level, they, like in the European Community states, allowed foreigners to participate in the election. But with the time being, in December 1998 the amendments to the Law on Elections to Riigikogu and Law on elections to Estonian local self-governing bodies, which limited the opportunities of Russian speaking citizens to run as a deputy of these bodies, were adopted. However, having solved the problem of citizenship, having reached the official language mastering at the appropriate level by all citizens to the end of 90s XXth century Estonia does not put Estonian language barrier

to entry into active suffrage. Today Europe and the OSCE ceased the monitoring of the rights of Russian-speaking population and the impact of Russia's oligarchs and the Russian community is minimal.

Somewhat problematic was the situation with membership in the CE and the expected integration of Latvia to EU, associated with the observation of Russian-speaking noncitizens' voting rights in this country. Latvia joined the Council of Europe only in 1995, but strict conditions of the Latvian law on citizenship of 1994 and the removal of the population majority from the electoral process caused the failure to include Latvia in the first list of candidates for European Union summit in Luxembourg in December 1997. It could be explained by the fact that "the country distancing itself from the recommendations of international organizations, particularly the OSCE, the European Union and the Council of Europe ... and increasing the risk of growing isolation vis-a-vis the Russian Federation". (Doc. 8255). Finally the referendum 1998 results (53.02% – for), held simultaneously with the parliamentary elections, allowed to amend the law on Citizenship and solve the problem. However, observers pointed to several minor violations during its holding, among which there was an unambiguous wording of the referendum question (Doc. 8255). EU accession was prevented by negative findings of the joint delegation of the PACE and OSCE/ODIHR observers on 2002 Saeima elections and 2005 local elections, recognized as "elections not meeting the guidelines of CE (799 (1977)) on political rights and the situation of foreigners (1500 (2001)) participation of immigrants and foreign citizens in the political life of the Council of Europe member-states", as at the local level "democracy deficit" was available, because 22% Russian-speaking non-citizens should have taken part in elections [10]. Some special PACE Recommendation 1714 (2005) and Resolution 1459 (2005) were adopted concerning the abolition of restrictions on voting rights. As a result, Latvia had to fulfill the CE requirements as for education, non-nationals naturalization partially, but not political rights. Its position is explained by the fact that granting of the voting rights to non-citizens in local elections will reduce their incentive to naturalize. In addition, it required amending of the Latvian Constitution, which could lead to legal and political problems (Doc. 11 094).

Thus, the dynamics of the electoral process democratization in the Baltic States chronologically coincides with the process of the

European integration. Among the Baltic States we can single out the so-called “engines of democracy” “true democrats” (by S. Hyde’s terminology): Lithuania and Estonia, although B.Makarenko does not refer the latter to the states that have successfully completed democratization. The foreign electoral legitimating of its power by European institutions is stipulated by economic, energy, political, cultural factors, and its existence as an independent state threatening. The “engines of democracy” are considered with reservations – Latvia, where in addition to the above mentioned legitimacy factors territorial “inclusion of the Russian Federation” occurs, its influence on the political elite and the problems of Russian-speaking population.

Border States were involved into foreign policy legitimating process later than the Baltic States, and their way was more difficult. And their European integration strivings were checked for compliance not only with European political standards, but also international law. For example, Moldova’s non-observing of UN international norms on the human rights was an obstacle to obtaining the status of “SG” in 1993 (Doc. 6724). It was one of the early examples of the negative sanctions imposing on post-Soviet countries by international institutions. Instead, on June 14, 1994 Ukraine has succeeded to sign an agreement on partnership and cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union, which is an encouragement example.

Nevertheless, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia became members of the Council of Europe at about the same time; Belarus is still heading towards this goal, mainly because of its failure to comply with the obligations of political pluralism, human rights and the rule of law.

As early as 90s of the XXth century all post-Soviet states constantly experienced crisis, conflict and unstable political process character: an extremely difficult economic situation, galloping inflation, elites’ power struggle and political, constitutional crises, internal ethnic or territorial conflicts, creating complex legitimacy situation (P.Bernat). For example, Ukraine acutely experienced the problems of Crimea, Moldova had difficulties in Transdnistria and Gagauzia, Russia waged the war in Chechnya, decentralization tendencies and tough rivalry of political forces in Moscow, October 3-4, 1993 events. Although Belarus did not have territorial and ethnic disputes, but did not avoid political conflicts between branches of power, constitutional crises either. The political significance of

elections as the main legitimating mechanism was extraordinary, and therefore authorities in these countries were interested in their foreign political legitimating most of all.

Moldova is the only ex-Soviet state, which steadily sticks to the European integration course, which is also supported by its population. Quick transition to a democratic proportional system of representation for parliament election, the desire to guarantee elections democratic principles testify to a high degree of the elections role in the political system of Moldova (in N.Chuvilina's opinion) and their truly legitimating function for the authorities.

In 1995 Moldova joined the Council of Europe after the successful experience of the parliamentary elections in 1994. But this election, as well as 1996 presidential, 1998 parliamentary and all subsequent ones were characterized by an essential shortcoming — the inability of Transdnistria inhabitants to participate fully in the election, since only 2-3% of the estimated voters exercised their right to vote [11]. But Monitoring Committee requirement on the withdrawal of the Russian Federation forces and their equipment from the territory of Moldova [12], and respectively, troubleshooting of the vote at national elections, is still relevant.

Since the Transdnistria region having existing separatist movement is the closest to the European borders CE watched election process in Moldova very closely. Thus, PACE warned Moldovan authorities about any steps which could block the process for revising of the election law initiated by Bragish's Alliance as well as encouraged to apply recommendations of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe in local and regional self-governing bodies in the Republic of Moldova (for Gagauzia). Taking into consideration these and other recommendations (especially after the April events in the election 2009 and settlement of the constitutional crisis), positive assessment of holding of election and referendum campaigns helped Moldova to gain political and economic dividends from both CE and the EU and other organizations.

Evaluation of the Russian electoral legislation during several electoral cycles became more positive, but the election process caused observers' comments. One of the most difficult elections were the ones to State Duma and the Federation Council on December 12, 1993, conducted after dissolution of the Russian parliament on September 21, 1993 and voting for draft Constitution, published on November 10, 1993. The Russian Federation is a chal-

lenging state to monitor for it requires vast resources to cover nearly one hundred thousand polling stations located in eleven time zones. But the observers' overall assessment of elections was positive — “free and democratic”, but “there were some drawbacks”. We should mention some special opinion of CE delegation member Yefstratiosa Korakasa who considered the elections illegitimate (Doc. 7038. Addendum I). The fact that his reasoning was left unattended, could be explained probably by CE striving to great stability of the Russian state, which seemed possible in the case of power struggle termination because of the extraordinary increase of presidential authority under the recently adopted Constitution. The hope of peace settlement in Chechnya, establishing of law and order outweighed desire of strict adherence to democratic principles. Opposition resistance to the dominance of the Communist Party in the Duma, the strengthening of the Federation Council and decentralization of the Federation in 1989 inspired hope in the democratic development of state structures and allowed foreign political legitimating of newly elected government by the Council of Europe.

Holding of early elections in Ukraine (1994), Russia (1995) resulted in hasty adoption of electoral laws, which did not facilitate their quality, but the endorsement of the PACE observers delegation that in the first round of parliamentary elections “the elections were free and fair, despite the shortcomings in the electoral legislation”, being improved (OPINION No. 190 (1995)), allowed Ukraine to receive membership in the Council of Europe since November 9, 1995. This contributed to a positive example of progress in the democratization of the election process in Russia, December 17, 1995. Russian parliament has been elected by mixed proportional/majority system. The election process of both countries, as well as of most post-Soviet ones, where it was observed, was characterized by: lack of proper registration of voters; intervention of regional powers in electoral process, failure to give observers copies of votes counting reports, lack of provisions on security of ballots after counting, imperfection, inadequacy and lack of transparency of election campaigns financing, the lack of laws on political parties, voters bribing. Election observers are usually unable to detect some tricks or some facts of fraud. Despite significant violations in Chechnya conclusion of international observers was positive. Moreover, it was “the first parliamentary elections in the history of Russia, conducted according to the rules established by the legislature, not a pres-

ident or a king” (Doc. 7430 Addendum V). After the presidential elections of July 3, 1996 PACE representatives certified “progress in democratic elections” in the Russian Federation, giving it opportunity to obtain membership in the Council of Europe. Such position was explained by future prospects of conflicts settling: “this election is a real opportunity to stabilize the political situation in Russia, which is of great importance for European security as a whole” (Doc. 7633). There was nothing to do, but to hope for human rights observance, rule of law restoration in people’s everyday life, improvement of conditions for free market economy strengthening.

But once the goal of membership in the Council of Europe has been achieved, the reverse process of electoral process “dedemocratization” started in both Russia (in a somewhat slower pace) and Ukraine. It seemed that legal norms on elections were approaching the European democratic standards, but political realities testified to their non-compliance. In Ukraine international observers noted the increasing number of irregularities at parliamentary election of 1998 (Doc. 8058) (CCU), then at presidential one in 1999, and referendum of 2000 became an original peak of the Millennium. After the election campaign of 1999 PACE decided to proceed with the termination of Ukrainian parliamentary delegation participation in accordance with Rule 6 of the Rules of Procedures, and “to recommend the Committee of Ministers to begin suspending of Ukraine’s membership in the Council of Europe” (Recommendation 1416 (1999)), i.e. to apply sanctions. By the way, at the same time to maximize efficiency and optimal results the Bureau of the Assembly approved the criteria guidelines and principles of election surveillance (Doc. 9267).

The experience of foreign political legitimating of power in post-Soviet space while referendums is special for in general, the Council of Europe does not supervise the referendums, but sometimes on the host country’s invitation it sends its delegations taking into consideration the importance of constitutional issues. The only case when the CE delegation was ad hoc sent to formal observation was constitutional referendum in Armenia in 2005, but the problem of constitutional referendums in Lithuania (1992), Russia (1993), Belarus (1995, 1996, 2004), Ukraine 2000, Georgia 2003, Moldova (2010), Kyrgyzstan (2010) were under the scrutiny of the Council of Europe. They were often used for term extension of

current presidents. But not always failure to follow international standards while fixing the day or holding of referendums caused sanctions imposing, but they still had the effect of illegitimate actions preventing. For example, after analyzing of the Ukrainian realities around the referendum in 2000 PACE decided to require reforming of state institutions in Ukraine in a constitutional way. Otherwise it was recommended to suspend Ukraine's membership in the Council of Europe (Doc. 8695). As for Ukraine the mechanism of negative sanctioning by international organizations worked not once, not only in 1999, 2000, but in 2004 (Resolution 1364 (2004) 1; Recommendation 1722 (2005)), 2010 (Doc. 12 357).

By the results of election campaigns 2006-2007, it was suggested to strengthen the Council of Europe presence in Ukraine by special appointment of the Representative for the coordination of cooperation programs; promote the Ukraine's integration into WTO and its close partnership with the European Union (Resolution 1499 (2006)), to assist the Ukrainian authorities to implement the European Charter of Local Self-Government (ETS № 122) etc. However, in the report of the Monitoring Committee "On the functioning of democratic institutions in Ukraine" dated September 9, 2010 there was concern about the habits of Ukrainian political forces to "play with the rules, but not by the rules". At the same time European politicians confidently asserted that "the principle of democratic elections as the mechanism for a change of power is consolidating and is increasingly robust in Ukraine. In our opinion, this is an important legacy of the Orange revolution" (Doc. 12357). However as a result of negative feedback on non-observance of democratic principles in local elections in 2010 Ukraine lost foreign legitimacy achievements. The example of Ukraine confirms the structural realism criticism of the democratic world theory in terms of self declaring of democratic camp.

The current president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin "successor", V.Putin, seeking to get maximum external support in the upcoming presidential election carefully weighed "all the benefits, costs and risks of observers inviting" [13] to the parliamentary elections. Therefore, PACE special committee on observing of the Russian Federation State Duma elections of December 19, 1999 pointed out the timely holding of parliamentary elections according to the Constitution, political pluralism, voting organization, however, at the elections, in its opinion, the tough opposition of 26 political

parties took place “free but not fair, taking into account that some commercial circles and political groups used their influence on some media to mislead the voters” (Doc. 8623), and the electoral campaign in the Russian media was not only “absolutely unjust, but also often qualified “on the verge of slander” (Doc. 8693). In our opinion, the presidential power is less interested in international recognizing of the parliament legitimacy, due to the fact that being recognized and integrated by the international institutions, the legislative body will not be manageable, and therefore redundant. In other words, foreign legitimating of power is exclusively required for the presidency. Putin had a wide popular support, that is the sufficient grounds for internal political legitimating, and when, according to the PACE recommendations on the presidential elections of 2000, a new federal election law (December 1999) was adopted, then at the beginning of election campaign, despite the war in Chechnya, he got credibility in the Council of Europe and positive assessment of the elections (Doc. 8693). However, after ranking growth of the Yabloko Party leader G.Yavlinsky, observers noted the smear campaigns, “custom paid journalism, unequal access to television, the pressure on independent media, which did not allow to “provide objective information on the election campaign and candidates” (Doc. 8693), and a sudden increase of attendance, by the CEC data, from 46,3% at 18.00 on the day of elections to 54% per hour. The delegation recommended further close observation of the results electronic transferring. Obviously, the lack of sufficient support and popularity for the victory resulted in manipulation.

Focusing on international standards to improve election legislation continued to be observed. The parliamentary elections of December 17, 2003 was already conducted on the basis of the Electoral Code, but lacked independent public broadcasting system, free of state influence and control and not manipulated depending on the corporate or other interests. Therefore, the general conclusion was disappointing: “Russia’s progress in getting democracy has slowed down. Multi-party democracy in Russia exists and elections can be considered free, but certainly not fair” (Doc. 10032).

Since the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004, Russia began “to work tirelessly” to involve the post-Soviet countries to its sphere of influence, using energy, visa, customs and other dividends and had no particular interest in PACE, OSCE monitoring of 2007 parliamentary elections and presidential elections of 2008 accusing

them of “double standards” observation. According to the representative of the French Institute of International Relations T.Homara, Russia considers the Council of Europe “as a means to hold bilateral diplomacy and uses it for its interests” [14]. However, Russia continues “to make alliances with post-Soviet states, interfere in regional politics and export its model of corrupted regimes to other countries”, while manipulating the concept of “sovereign democracy” (political model which emphasizes the need for a state to follow “its national road, free from foreign intervention” [15] to democracy. Constructive criticism of electoral legislation (Resolution 1455 (2005)) was not taken into account, but the public of Russia wants presence of delegations from the Council of Europe at the coming elections.

So far the only country in Europe with which the Assembly does not have any formal relationship is Belarus. After the negative experience of elections and constitutional referendums (1996) in Belarus Bureau of the Assembly approved the principles and criteria of observation (Doc. 7633). The process of joining the Council of Europe especially stalled after the “constitutional revolution” of 1996 (D. Hubert), when “SG” status was suspended, although researchers pointed to little efficiency of this measure (Doc. 9230). In parallel, PACE decided to create a special constant Monitoring Committee (Res.1115).

Later after the 2004 elections economic sanctions and visa restrictions were imposed on Belarusian officials. Such “coercion” was aimed at shifting of Lukashenko’s “target behavior”. But after the 2006 elections, being interested in the dialogue PACE also proposed applying positive sanctions: to allow training of Belarusian students and young graduates in the Council of Europe; to encourage the participation of Belarusian civil society and NGOs in the CE activities; the Venice Commission would make proposals for changes of the Belarusian Electoral Code on independent observation, electoral commissions structure and the practice of early voting, communication with authorities; the Committee of Ministers should make debates with the Assembly on the differences in the assessment of elections in Belarus by different groups of observers (Doc. 10 890). In 2008, some visa restrictions were removed [16], but positive results were devaluated by negative experience of the presidential elections in 2010. Preventing probable violations on October 25, 2010 CE made a decision (2010/639/CFSP)

on restrictive measures (ban on travelling and assets freezing) for certain officers. Generally positive assessment of the electoral process of December 19, 2010 was stricken out after violent actions towards presidential candidates, activists, journalists and civil society representatives. Protesting against the detention and persecution of opposition, independent media and civil society for political reasons CE was considering the possibility of such sanctions application: boycott of the President of the Republic of Belarus inauguration ceremony, deprivation of “SG” status in PACE, the introduction of the ban on entry to EU for officials being guilty in the events of December 19, 2010, refusal to host ice hockey world championship in Minsk in 2014 and exclusion of Belarus hockey team from the International Olympic movement, freezing assets in ES of 160 Belarusian officials involved in the repression, including President Lukashenko. But at the same time being sure of economic sanctions inefficiency CE was considering opportunity of Belarus returning to the European community and consequently, made it possible to provide financial support to NGOs, independent media, European Humanities University, located in Vilnius for the repressed Belarusian students training, as well as visa facilitation and readmission with Belarus.

Belarus is the state, which is a bright example of elections for foreign legitimating of power. With sufficient support and popularity, Lukashenko demonstrated international community possibility of external compliance of Belarusian elections with election law, but later applied authoritarian methods inconsistent with democracy. However, Belarus is an example of “democratic world order” concept, which provides a multilateral approach to the problems of political development of states overcoming political crisis and authoritarian repression. Democratization should be implemented on the basis of international assistance development, which allows making this process controlled, steady to overcome its own crisis.

Elections in the Caucasian states are of PACE special interest. According to the accession procedure the Council of Europe adopted cooperation programs (Doc. 8058) for normal functioning of the parliaments of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The countries of this region were also interested in this cooperation, because by means of this organization it would be possible to settle existing conflicts: Nagorno-Karabakh — between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Abkhazia, South Ossetia — between Russia and Georgia, autonomy

of South Ossetia, Ajaria in Georgia and, accordingly, holding of independent elections in these regions. Elections were not conducted in the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia and in some parts of South Ossetia with ethnic Ossetian population. In South Ossetia, the polling stations were created only in several villages inhabited by ethnic Georgians. It was the Council of Europe which could act as an intermediary in finding a solution on the status of South Ossetia (Doc. 10 779).

PACE observed all elections in Armenia at the central level, but for the presidential election of 1996, considered illegitimate by other observers. Elections held in the period of the "SG" status getting, obtaining membership of the Council of Europe, received a neutral rating. It especially concerned the parliamentary elections, granted less significance by the national elite, and also democratic election rules allowed to eliminate competitors at the regional level in a "peaceful way", that is why some democratic freedoms were allowed. But presidential election was held with numerous violations and was recognized illegitimate by international community for the presidency (by the Soviet tradition it was the first secretary of the Communist party of the Republic) gave much wider powers and party-communist nomenclature, being in power wanted anything to hold key posts. So, observers' conclusion on the parliamentary elections on March 16, 30 1998 (before getting membership) stated that "there can be no doubts about the overall legitimacy of the vote results, precisely reflecting the will of the population and correlation of political forces in Armenia" (Doc. 9836). And the report on presidential election in 2003 marked such violations as ballots stuffing, reports falsification, observers and proxies intimidation, resulting in possibility of membership reviewing and reviewing of the new powers ratification of Armenian delegation in CE (Doc. 9836).

Despite some serious abuses during the referendum Armenia in 2005, the assurances of the Council of Europe representatives that "no reform can be truly democratic if it is reached by undemocratic means" (Doc. 10 778), nevertheless dubious poll results were highly evaluated by observers, although with reservations. Armenian opposition explained it as the European institutions wish to settle the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as quick as possible, provide opportunities for the Caspian energy transportation and, consequently, indulgent attitude to the current government, having some ambiguous position. Though elections in Armenia received a negative evalua-

tion for a long time, and even were recognized illegitimate by the observers from the European organizational structures, in general some positive dynamics of their compliance with democratic standards should be mentioned at each electoral cycle.

Negative conclusions of observation delegations also accompanied almost all elections in Azerbaijan, the monitoring procedure (according to the Declaration on compliance with commitments undertaken by the member-states of the Council of Europe of 10 November 1994, introduced by the Committee of Ministers in 1996) started immediately with the accession of the Republic to the Council Europe in 2001, and that was a condition of entry. Possible reviewing of CE membership threatened Azerbaijan in 2003 (Doc. 10 285, Res. 1358), especially in 2005 (Res. 1480 (2006); Doc. 10 569) when votes counting was recognized unsatisfactory in 43% of controlled polling stations, forgery of protocols on the vote results was discovered, intimidation of observers, the interference of unauthorized persons in electoral process managing (Doc. 10751). 2006 partial elections were also recognized as not meeting international standards and do not enjoy public confidence, and hence international community (Doc. 10959). But severe sanctions were not applied because President Ilham Aliyev accepted pro-European national policy of independence and said that “stands for peaceful settling of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh”, which was the main reason for proposal to become a member of the Council of Europe (Doc. 10285). This problem significantly influenced the election for Election law does not provide the possibility of voting abroad, and a significant number of voters in Azerbaijan are internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Nagorno-Karabakh and surrounding areas not under the control of Azerbaijan government. The latter are forced to vote in special polling stations election of nine districts. The growth of oil and gas business strengthened the economy of Azerbaijan, but the Azerbaijani authorities seek to take advantage of multi-vector foreign policy benefits. Therefore, although some progress was defined in the presidential elections of 2008, later being declared illegitimate, still a few months before the tenth anniversary of Azerbaijan’s membership in the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly concluded that “the democratic credibility of the country is again under threat” (Doc. 1227).

Georgia is somewhat better in this region if to take into account a compliance of electoral processes with democratic standards. They

differed from elections on the European territory by difficult economic conditions in unfurnished, unheated and unlit polling stations till late 90s of the XXth century. PACE also expressed an extraordinary concern as for excesses, which for many years accompanied the implementation of autocratic power in Georgia: failure of law, spread of nepotism and favoritism; corruption at all levels of government and society, the failure of legislation and the weakness of representative institutions (Doc. 10 049), and the main one is growing distrust to the electoral processes with each electoral cycle. The observers from the Council of Europe affirmed about minor violations only in parliamentary elections in 1994 and 1999 (Doc. 8605), i.e. in the period of getting membership in the Council of Europe, and presidential election in 2000, 2003 parliamentary elections were recognized partially legitimate (Doc. 8742; Doc. 10004). Evidently, there was a total lack of public confidence in the electoral process, particularly because of the possible abuses and violations as well as state of tension, pressure on the participants of the elections, intimidation and violence. On November 25, 2003 on the basis of the complaints submitted to International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (IFSED) the Supreme Court of Georgia set aside the results of the parliamentary elections on November 2, 2003 (by the party lists, proportional system) and found it necessary to repeat voting. Presidential elections of January 4, 2004 and partially the parliamentary ones showed “a significant progress comparing with previous elections and brought the country to the international standards of democratic elections” (Doc. 1049). After “rose revolution” repeated parliamentary elections were recognized democratic “generally” (Doc. 10 151), but the CEC of Georgia was not able to control the electoral process in the autonomous district of Adjara fully. After the 2008 war with Russia Georgia was even more interested in compliance with the obligations of CE member-states and foreign legitimating by international organizations.

Thus, PACE observation of electoral processes in Armenia, Azerbaijan was used to obtain certain benefits of CE membership, to avoid negative sanctions in case of fraud and election fraud held by “pseudo-democrats”. Elections are held there solely for the purpose of legalization and foreign political legitimating of power. Such situation has been typical for Georgia during 90s of the XXth century, but after the “rose revolution” it is gradually approaching

the “engine of democracy” with every electoral cycle, and increasing the importance of elections in the political system of the society and getting international recognition on this basis.

Thus, the main stages of acquiring CE membership by post-Soviet countries are closely associated with the dynamics of the democratic electoral processes in post-Soviet space. The peak of compliance with democratic standards occurs while either becoming a “SG” or getting membership in the CE or the EU. Further development depends on the interest in foreign political legitimating of states in the elections, the pace of democratization, irreversible course towards democratic transformation of political elites, political regime and geopolitical factors. In the states led by “engines of democracy” they are interested in foreign political legitimating of power regardless of the type of election, though legitimating of parliamentary elections is more preferable. In the states with “pseudo-democrats” at the head it is vice versa — legitimating of presidential elections is more significant and legitimating of local elections is less significant. Electoral legislature is meeting democratic requirements more and more, but election process testifies to democratization crisis in majority of post-Soviet states. The Council of Europe using positive and negative sanctions applies tactic of foreign political electoral legitimating of the states in the transition period towards their steady democratic reforms guided by the internal political electoral legitimating and mostly by geopolitical factors.

1. <http://assembly.coe.int>.

2. Фактори та індикатори зовнішньополітичної легітимації див.: Юрійчук Є. Зовнішньополітична електоральна легітимація влади в Україні (2009–2010 рр.) / Євгенія Юрійчук // Наукові записки «Транскордонне співробітництво у контексті перспектив європейської інтеграції України». Серія «Політичні науки». — Острого: Видавництво Національного університету «Острозька академія». — Випуск 4. — 2010. — С. 311–327.

3. Піляєв І.С. Рада Європи в сучасному євроінтеграційному процесі: Монографія. — К.: Видавничий Дім «Юридична книга», 2003. — С. 160.

4. Giumelli F. The Use of International Sanctions: who does what, when and why? / Francesco Giumelli // Paper Prepared for WISC 2008 — Second Global International Studies Conference Ljubljana, July 23 2008. — Available at: http://www.wiscnetwork.org/ljubljana2008/papers/WISC_2008-109.pdf.

5. OSCE. Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. REPUBLIC OF LATVIA. SAEIMA ELECTIONS 5 October 2002. OSCE/ODIHR FINAL REPORT. Warsaw 20 November 2002. — Available at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/latvia/16249>.

6. PRELIMINARY STATEMENT. Presidential Elections in the Republic of Moldova — First Round 17 November 1996. Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Observation Delegation to the Moldovan Presidential Elections 1996. — Available at: http://www.osce.org/documents/html/pdftohtml/1281_en.pdf.html.

7. Statement of PACE Monitoring Committee, adopted 28 June 2007. — Available at: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/APFeaturesManager/defaultArtView.asp?ID=690>.

8. Hyde S.D. Catch Us if You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Creation / Susan D. Hyde. *American Journal of Political Science* Volume 55, Issue 2, Article first published online: 24 FEB 2011. — P. 8. — Available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2011.00508.x/pdf>.

9. Вікуліна Н. Росія і Рада Європи — 10 марно витрачених років? / Наталія Вікуліна. — Режим доступу: <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/article/957923.html>.

10. Popescu N., Wilson A. The Limits of Enlargement-lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood / Nicu Popescu & Andrew Wilson. Published by the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), 2009, 5th Floor Cambridge House, 100 Cambridge Grove, London W6 0LE. — Available at: http://www.partnership.am/res/General%20Publications_Eng/66e95c3cd50b72d59a_87m6y59xi.pdf.

11. COUNCIL COMMON POSITION 2008/844/CFSP of 10 November 2008 amending Common Position 2006/276/CFSP concerning restrictive measures against certain officials of Belarus. — Available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:300:0056:0056:EN:PDF>.

12. Kazakh election flawed despite some administrative improvements. — Available at: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/APFeaturesManager/defaultArtView.asp?ID=344>.

13. Складено за: Doc. 9267; http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?Link=/AboutUs/APCE_history.htm; Юбер Д. Десять лет, которые вошли в историю. Совет Европы 1989–1999 / Дени Юбер / Пер. с фр. Н.Н.Маслова (МГИМО МИД РФ), К.Х.Рекош (МГИМО МИД РФ), 2000. / Отв.ред. Н.Б.Топорнин (Центр Информации СЕ в РФ). — Режим доступа: [www.politcom.ru/tables/statja.doc](https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?command=com. ; Макаренко Б. Посткоммунистические страны: некоторые итоги трансформации / Борис Макаренко // Полития. — №3 (50). — С.105–125. — Режим доступа: <a href=).

14. Держави розміщені в хронологічній послідовності за датою надання статусу «спеціально запрошеного гостя».

15. Вказана офіційна назва відповідно до Конституції Республіки Беларусь.

16. Призупинення статусу «СЗГ» після 13 січня 1997.

17. Казахстан, Киргизстан, Туркменистан и Узбекистан спочатку були виключені з переліку кандидатів на статус «СЗГ».

Євгенія Юрійчук

ЗОВНІШНЬОПОЛІТИЧНА ЕЛЕКТОРАЛЬНА ЛЕГІТИМАЦІЯ ВЛАДИ НА ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКОМУ ПРОСТОРИ ПАРЛАМЕНТСЬКОЮ АСАМБЛЕЄЮ РАДИ ЄВРОПИ

У статті розкривається процес легітимації влади в ході спостереження за виборчими та референдними процесами на пострадянському просторі в порівнянні з процесом набуття членства в Раді Європи.

Розглядається динаміка, регіональні відмінності, глобалізаційні та безпекові чинники та механізми зовнішньополітичної електоральної легітимації влади пострадянських держав Радою Європи.

Ключові слова: легітимація, електоральна легітимація, спостереження за виборами, ПАРЕ, РЄ.

Yevhenia Yuriychuk

Summary

Author of the article described the process of the legitimation of the state power during the elections processes for the after Soviet countries in the comparing with the process of the entering to the European Council. Dynamic, region's differences, globalization and security factors were analyzed in the research. Also the mechanisms of the legitimation of the elections processes in the foreign policy of the after Soviet countries by the European Council were described.





Alexander Derzhaliuk

He was born on August 13, 1981. In 2003 he graduated from law faculty of Kiev National University named after Taras Shevchenko, thus receiving complete higher education by specialty «Jurisprudence». He worked as the chief specialist, senior adviser of National Institute of Strategic Studies (Kiev). Mr. Derzhaliuk is a degree-seeking student of V.M. Koretskii Institute of the State and Law of NAS of Ukraine.

The author of 12 articles, sections in collective monographs, and one monograph.

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF EXECUTING PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL AND EXPEDIENCY OF ITS INTRODUCTION IN UKRAINE

Despite specifics of the international parliamentarism development and forms of government (presidential, semi-presidential, parliamentary republic), the developed countries of sustainable democracy established precepts of law, high standards, deep traditions, effective forms of the control, which facilitates effective functioning of parliaments, supremacy of law both on the state level and in everyday life of citizens, and the level of realization of parliamentary member authorities reaches automatism. Important factors for ensuring high level of control in the democratic states are parliamentary control, right of the member of parliament (MP) to obtain necessary information, demand of elimination of the offences revealed with his or her participation, and bring the guilty person to responsibility. Democratic countries practice gives evidence that the parliamentary control is an effective tool for supervision of government executive bodies work as it functions in the conditions of domination of the right of parliament function to exercise control over activity of the Government executive bodies as supported with corresponding precepts of law and mechanisms of implementation.

The most widespread forms of the parliamentary control are inquiries, addresses, questions in verbal and written forms, interpellations to the governments, its individual members, other officials, activity of parliamentary investigatory committees and the commissions. The above-named forms of the control, except for an interpellation, are applicable in Ukraine as well. According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine «On the status of the People's Deputy of Ukraine» the People's Deputy enjoys the right to parliamentary inquiry on the issues as associated with his or her activity. Still, an order of implementation of this constitutional provision, unlike the developed countries, is not specified by the corresponding law in Ukraine. The low liability for violation of law, mass legal nihilism, constant changes in the regulatory-legal base negatively influence efficiency of all forms of the control. Poignancy of the problem demands its immediate resolution. In this respect, international experience of the parliamentary control, which high level is worth learning, in case of application of its best forms in the national legislation, may improve control efficiency.

While analyzing problems of liability of government and its individual members before the parliament of European Union (EU) countries, the Ukrainian **lawyer Yu. Barabash** notices that influence most radical lever is parliament possibility to pass the no-confidence motion against the government, which shall cause resignation of the latter [1, p. 14]. Experience of the EU countries proves that the legal form and procedure of passing the no-confidence motion against the government combines the elements of constitutional and political nature, which are almost impossible to distinguish. The parliamentary right of the EU countries among control forms to passing the no-confidence motion against the government and its members is useful in the course of improvement of the legislation of Ukraine. Among them — distinction among collective and personal government liability before parliament. The EU countries do not experience this problem as the individual liability of a member of the government before parliament is clearly specified in the constitution of each country.

As a result, written parliamentary inquiries in the European Parliament (EP) became the most effective form of the managing bodies control in EU owing to threat of passing the no-confidence motion against the European Commission (EC) [2, p. 60].

During the first years of EP activity members of the parliaments submitted their inquiries only to EC, and since 1970s they have extended this practice towards other EU bodies. Over recent years, 4 to 5 thousand inquiries of EP members annually were submitted the EU Council and EC. Essence of written requests to EP in many respects similar to an interpellation.

Upon carrying out the comparative analysis of MP control powers and legislative regulations, which are effective in Italy, Poland, Hungary and Ukraine, the Ukrainian scientist A. Grigorenko stresses out relevance for Ukraine of experience in provision of wise balance of the rights and obligations, guarantees and responsibility, and harmonization of the constitution and legal status of members of parliament. These interrelations in each country are far not ideal, but in Ukraine they are the most inconsistent, especially given considerable gap between legal support of member of parliament supervising functions and responsibility of addressees of his or her control [3, c. 118].

There are good reasons to note that no democratic states provide the member of parliament with such volume of parliamentary immunity as in Ukraine [4, p. 78], and at the same time level of the parliamentary control in Ukraine is the lowest in Europe. This is consequence of the fact that during twenty years of political and legal development in Ukraine it did not provide for supremacy of law, stability of the legislation and legal responsibility, and reform «generated underdeveloped pre-capitalistic (neo-feudal) social, economic, political and legal forms and relations, which feature in symbiosis of the power and capital (including criminal), politics and economics both at the national and regional levels» [5, p. 19].

The countries of sustainable democracy practice mostly three forms of the parliamentary control (questions, inquiries, interpellations) cover the main fields of activity of the government, and have a success owing to availability of stable legal conditions. Parliamentary inquiries as the form of the control of the parliamentary states, which has been developed for the first time in the House of Commons of Great Britain and is now applied in many countries of the world, are considered as the perfect uniform mechanism, using which MPs request information from the heads of the government executive bodies in order to detect the committed errors and demand their correction and bring the guilty person to responsibility.

As the MP question is submitted to member of the government for the purpose of obtaining information, short comments regarding the available facts or specification of the government position concerning concrete events, the inquiry is mainly aimed towards drawing attention to an important problem, fundamental breaches and adopting measures for their correction.

Works of authoritative specialists of the sustainable democracy countries prove that parliamentary inquiries pursue the aim: 1) to draw attention of individual ministers to the pressing problems; 2) to induce them to take concrete measures for their elimination; 3) to find out discrepancies between positions of the parties concerning political problems; 4) to provide ministers with the right for declaring alternative positions; 5) to increase public awareness about activity of the government; 6) to subject activity of the government ministries to criticism [6].

At a present stage of world parliamentarism development, written inquiries to individual ministers, to the government as a whole became general practice in all parliaments activity. According to the legislatively established procedure, the inquiry became a kind of the control of government executive bodies and officials regarding all considerable issues, which are within the scope of competence of the member of parliament.

Practice of foreign representative institutions activities gives evidence that the majority of problems, which disturb the public, are displayed in written requests. Depending on results of consideration of answers to inquiries, the parliaments form their corresponding mechanism of accelerated consideration even before creation of courts of inquiry or emergence of legislative initiatives.

At the end of legislative period, all non-considered inquiries shall receive the written answer from members of the government. It is important that the considerable part of inquiries turn into the constructive proposals and draft laws, which are discussed at plenary sessions of parliaments and receive relevant resolution.

Upon analyzing application level of parliamentary inquiry and interpellation at the international scene – two major forms of the parliamentary control, Ukrainian researcher O.O.Maidannik underlines that the first form is introduced by the legislation of all democratic countries, in particular Ukraine, and the second is applied only in the individual states. In this respect, the author notes: «it is well-known that the parliamentary inquiry is a classical tool

for realization of the parliamentary control», that the parliamentary inquiry is form of the parliamentary control not only over government executive bodies but also over governing bodies [7, p. 20].

Russian lawyer G. S. Yuakovlev proves that the parliamentary inquiry is the most popular control form all over the world and, as a rule, concerns the considerable political issues. In number of the states, in his opinion, such inquiries by essence are similar to interpellations. Their text shall be submitted to members of parliament and the government before the day intended for their consideration. Inquiry discussion shall be completed with evaluation of quality of answers. In the countries with the parliamentary or mixed forms of government, this finishing stage of controlling parliamentary procedure often results in passing the no-confidence motion against the government or its individual member [8, p. 141].

In the majority of the states, the parliamentary control is limited to inquiries, which possess interpellation elements. Suchwise, in Great Britain the most widespread form of the parliamentary control is MP inquiries in verbal or written form [9, p. 116]. It is characteristic that neither Great Britain nor the countries, which assumed the British system of law as a basis, do not know interpellation procedure. But such states practice its substitute — the proposal (resolution) that is adopted on the basis of consideration of parliamentary inquiry. The proposal shall be substantiated and put to vote in chamber, creates opportunities for criticism of the government, which is mostly proposed by opposition. More often, proposals by the initiative of opposition assess the concrete situation, less often the proposal may request passing a vote of confidence in government. Being supported by the parliamentary majority, the government always aspires to confute charges and introduce there changes that it deems necessary. Moreover, it uses the proposal procedure for discussing important issues in the house and approval of its course [10, p. 41].

It is hard to imagine the «debates» in Britain without pages with answers to written requests, or at least one week in activity of the House of Commons without an hour of questions. Parliamentary inquiries became prominent feature of parliamentary life of this country, and inquiries and hour of questions — obligatory forms of parliamentary work [11]. It is common understanding that the more inquiries have been lodged, the less chances are to obtain adequate response. After all, the important inquiry may

simply be buried among the minor ones. Unreasonable increase in number of inquiries is considered harmful: in 1990s number of inquiries increased in Great Britain from 20 thousand to 40 thousand for a year [12, p. 29].

Legal regulation of parliamentary inquiry institute in the different countries has considerable differences and features, still its essence is uniform — «this is an important political tool of parliamentary control» and not of individual MP control [13, c. 19]. It also concerns practice of utilization of inquiries in parliaments of foreign countries, which differs only in general procedure, whereas their structure prime elements are universal.

Inquiries shall be submitted in writing for 2–3 weeks prior to an hour of questions in parliament so that corresponding ministers could prepare answers, and members of the parliament –counter-arguments; members of parliament enjoy the right to make inquiries concerning all aspects of government executive bodies activity given and demand provision of necessary information; in two houses parliaments, inquires, as a rule, shall be submitted to the lower chamber of parliament on behalf of several MPs; procedure of «inquiries without notification» is quite popular that does not imply reception by ministers of the preliminary information about their nature, instead, members of parliament have time to appropriately prepare for their discussion; traditionally, the right to ask the first question is assigned to the leader of opposition, then – to leaders of other parties and opposition MPs, and sometimes to independent MPs and at the end – to the majority MPs; all inquiries included in the agendas «are shuffled» or selected at random so that any question has not advantage over others; number of additional inquiries after obtaining answer to the primary inquiry is limited, as a rule, one additional inquiry with the permission of the speaker may be allowed from each MP only; all additional inquiries shall be made only with permission of the speaker [14, p. 29]. Whenever the government fails to provide answer it shall explain the reasons for this. Such legal requirement is specified by regulations and nobody challenges it. G.S.Jakovlev emphasizes that in the Russian Federation MPs would immediately claim that this is only «internal standard» [15, p. 143].

In Bulgaria, as per the proposal of the one fifth part of parliament its conducts discussion of inquiries essence to the government or individual ministers, answers to them and adopt relevant reso-

lutions. Germany provides large powers for parliamentary minority with regard to control of the government activity in the form of verbal, written, large, small and urgent inquiries, to which the government should react. The inquiry shall be brought on behalf of at least thirty MPs, and date of submitting answer shall be agreed upon with the government. Where the government refuses to provide answer or holds back from it, date of inquiry debating shall be determined by the house. Minority, which represents at least one third of a parliament rank, may demand convocation of emergency session of the Bundestag; 34 MP votes is enough support for initiation of roll call vote with regard to any draft law; as much MPs is enough to request the progress report about work of parliamentary committee at the session meeting. The quarter of committee members may request public hearings of an issue, which is discussed in the committee. The quarter of MPs of the Bundestag holds the right to demand creation of special investigating commission. The constitutional powers of the investigating commission are huge: as the courts they may call upon and swear witnesses, demand from the government of the permission to interrogate government officers and so on. Session of investigating commission shall be always conducted publicly. The main tool, which minority presses upon the majority, is not presidency in committee but attraction of the public attention to the unresolved problems by the government majority [16, p. 71].

The reliable barrier against unreasonable growth of inquiries number is critical and weighed attitude of the members of parliament towards petitions and declarations of interested groups, business circles and individual citizens. Scandinavian countries scientists, though, consider constant growth of inquiries in work of parliaments as an indicator of efficiency of this form of MP control and activity [17, p. 272].

As a rule, the answer to inquiries are given in verbal or a written form within two weeks (Austria, Germany) to nearly two months (Norway, France).

Practically in all developed countries debates on MP inquiries are broadcasted by television, and parliament session are conducted openly. All written and verbal inquiries and answers to them are published in MP reports, official publications, which are accessible in Internet and, thus, always available to the public.

Russian lawyers achieved certain success in studying practice of utilization of MP inquiry for execution of supervision of government executive bodies of the Russian Federation (Russian Federation). It is underlined that the Russian Federation laws determine procedure of individual or collective appeals by MP of each of houses of Federal Assembly to the central and local government authorities, subjects of Federation, court, bank authorities, officials on the issues, which lay within their competence, with the request to provide information, perform check and serve explanations with regard to questions specified in inquiry. The MP inquiry is considered as reaction to considerable political and economic offences, which are committed by government officials.

Having analyzed regulation of MP inquiry in the Russian legislation, M.A. Krasnov draws conclusion that the potential of MP inquiry as one of mechanisms of control function is almost brought to naught. The inquiry in the Russian Federation is deprived functions of both interpellation and questions to members of the government of the Russian Federation during session of corresponding chamber of Federal Assembly. The author extends claims to the MP not as to the author of inquiry but as to the legislator as quality of legal regulation of inquiry institute explain why MP inquiries in public practice of the Russian Federation are very far from idea of MP control [18, p. 17, 19].

In conditions when traditions of parliamentarism in Russia, as well as in other post-Soviet countries are still in the process of formation, it is hard to expect clear precepts of law for regulation of institute of MP inquiries.

In her master's thesis, S.V. Bendiurina (Russian Federation) points highlights absence of the constitutional provision in the Russian Federation about MP inquiry and aspires to prove that this gap is compensated by the provisions in the federal law «On the status of a member of Federation and the status of the deputy of the State Duma of Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation» of 5/8/1994 as amended on 7/5/1999. The author denotes present problems of control powers of the Russian Federation parliament as only the legislative function is developed to fuller extent among the basic functions of Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation in the Constitution, whereas others, in particular, supervising functions, are specified indirectly [19].

Other researcher (Zajitseva I. V.) considers that for appropriate development of the MP control in each subject of the Russian Federation it is also necessary to adopt the law on control activity of a legislature, which would have complex and systemic nature [20]. Divaeva G. Yu. suggests that absence in the Constitution of the Russian Federation of provision about institute of the MP control is infringement of division of power principle, owing to which the Russian Federation has government executive bodies domination thus leading to violation of division of power principle. According to Divaeva G. V., efficiency of the MP control is in direct dependence on a role and place of representative body in the system of law of the state. In the Russian Federation, where domination of the President role in system of government authorities is obvious, MP control cannot be full-fledged. The fact that the list of officials and ministers, who may be addressed with the inquiries, is confidential information according to the clauses 13, 14 of federal law of the Russian Federation «On the status of a member of Federation and the status of the deputy of the State Duma of Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation», proves considerable restrictions in the sphere of the MP control of Russia [21]. K. O. Korovnikova also denotes necessity of elimination of existing disbalance between legislative and government executive bodies at the expense of strengthening legislature and establishing its submission to the government executive bodies [22].

M. A. Krasnov denotes that this federal law of the Russian Federation introduces not only MP inquiry but also institute of parliamentary inquiry. Despite the fact that they are presented as two versions of the same form of the MP activity, included in one item and are separated just by comma, still by doing so the legislator essentially weakened power of MP inquiry [23, p. 20].

The author was quite surprised with the list of addressees of MP inquiry. He considers that as the inquiry is of control nature, it is inadmissible to submit it to the heads of the courts, the President of the Russian Federation, Public prosecutor, Constitutional Court, heads of public authorities of subjects of the Russian Federation and local governments.

It is denoted that according to the legislation of some countries, it is difficult to differentiate an interpellation and inquiry. The world constitution and legal practice often consider MP inquiries and interpellations as complementary forms of the control,

that interpellation institute inherent generally to the countries with the parliamentary form of government, where the government completely subordinate to the parliament. However, the interpellation is applied in some countries with the semi-presidential (mixed) form of government. Thus, the author states that the legislation of the Russian Federation does not know the form of the control by interpellation. In addition, the legislator does not read its meaning in the concept of inquiry. And the institute of MP inquiry is not perceived as execution of control function of parliament neither by the legislator, nor by its addressee. It is assumed that with such tendency MP inquiries will not differ much from regular appeals of citizens of the Russian Federation. It proves a winning of interests of bureaucracy and oligarchs who want nothing to threaten them [24, p. 16, 17, 28, 31].

Young generation of the Russian Federation lawyers – I.V. Zajtseva, S.V. Bendiurina, O.O. Bessolitsina, Ю. Divaeva, O.V. Savoskin, K.O. Korovnikova, A.O. Kornilaeva emphasize that the Russian Federation is the country of young constitutionalism, has no century traditions of respect for the Constitution. It is hard to consider parliamentarism and the parliamentary control experience as positive in the Russian Federation, and the legislature is not «a bearing axis» unlike in the foreign democratic states. Parliamentarism provides for effective control over government executive bodies and is one of the most actual tasks for democratic changes in Russia.

International experience proves that MP inquiry is very important, yet highly criticized component of the state control. Legal grounds of inquiries have passed a long way of improvement before reaching the present condition. Degree of MP inquiry efficiency as well as other forms of MP control, is a criterion of supremacy of law, accountability of the government executive bodies to legislature.

Traditions of parliamentarism in Ukraine begun in 1990s and may not compete with achievements of the countries with the strengthened democracy. Parliamentary control provides for high efficiency in the democratic states owing to existing centenary rigid division of the higher authority, unequivocal establishment of submission of the government executive bodies to the higher representative body control. And the parliamentary control is democratic

one and performed according to principles of objectivity, independence, integrity, completeness and competence.

Level of MP control in Ukraine will reach international standards only when results of inspections, answer to MP inquiries would influence not only upon public at large but also upon legislative activity of VRU, and compel the government to be responsible for its acts; when the Constitution of Ukraine will be amended with positions about VRU right to put to vote no-confidence motion against the government, matter of individual parliamentary responsibility of member of the government together with collective responsibility of CM of Ukraine. Absence of legal mechanisms of termination of a member of the government authority is a serious obstacle for implementing effective control, except for VRY voting no-confidence to the whole government.

Scientist lawyers of Ukraine, other CIS countries strenuously study foreign experience in sphere of the parliamentary control, give their due to practice of the USA, England, Austria, Germany, France; to a smaller extent – Poland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Scandinavian countries. Typical research is work of Kovriakova O. B. which studies parliamentary control using example of three types of republics: presidential (USA), semi-presidential (France), parliamentary (Germany). At the same time, authors do not pay appropriate attention to comparison of the democratic states experience with our own practice, which does not facilitate drawing the best experience by these countries [25, p. 157].

The international practice of parliamentary control ascertains that among widespread forms of the MP control (inquiry, appeal, question, interpellation, government days, parliamentary investigating commissions) the most effective is an interpellation. No country developed more effective form of control. Whether MP inquiries and answers to them are of informative nature only, interpellation became the form of government liability before a representative body. By its essence, the interpellation is formulated by the MP or group of MPs and presented in writing request to the individual minister or the head of the government to provide explanation concerning concrete acts or general policy [26, p. 39].

This thought is shared also by O.O.Majdannik. As noticing that the interpellation is quite widely applied in world practice as the mechanism of written petition of the MP (MPs) exclusively to the government, she emphasizes that debating interpellation in the

parliament may result in voting no-confidence motion against the government, thus expressing confidence (or not) to whole government or its individual members. The author disagrees with certain attempts in the national professional literature to prove that «interpellation is a special kind of MP inquiry» [27, p. 21].

In our opinion, the interpellation is effective form of the MP control widely used in world practice in the countries of stable democracy, and is petitioned to the governments of country with regard to strategic issues of internal and foreign policy in order to find out how they are implemented. Process of lodging an interpellation implies discussion of the government activity in concrete sphere, utilization of political sanctions as debate result in voting and assessment by the parliament of the government work.

Unlike inquiries, interpellation is the higher form of parliamentary control, which facilitates initiation of thorough legal investigation. In fact, employment of interpellation causes a report of the government or the minister, to which it is addressed. This control method may cause voting vote no-confidence motion against individual member of the government or whole governments and their resignation if their activity during debates and following voting is considered to be unsatisfactory.

Main advantage of an interpellation over other forms of parliamentary control is that in the democratic states at legislative level this form has turned into the effective tool of legislature (parliament) control over activity of government executive bodies (government). Interpellation became an effective means of influence of parliament upon the government owing to legal procedures of its implementation.

Procedure of lodging interpellation consists of the following stages: lodging with the house of the memorandum stating reasons for interpellation and the text of interpellation; notification to the government of receipt of interpellation and answer date; answer of the government to interpellation; introduction of additional questions and carrying on general debate; voting no-confidence motion against the government for its actions.

R.Pelitso's research [28] concerning prevalence of tools of the parliamentary control mentioned 86 countries and confirms that there are enough tools of such control both in parliamentary and presidential systems and that inquiries and interpellations are the most used and effective forms of control irrespective of political

system of governing (presidential, semi-presidential, parliamentary republic).

Big merit of interpellation is that certain part of the MPs, especially opposition ones, acquires the right to apply with the collective written request to the government or its individual member with obligatory granting of the substantiated written answer concerning strategic issues of the governmental activity. Constitutions of the democratic states determine procedural provisions, which accompany whole process of interpellation.

Belgian researcher Dendoï Rêgish and De Vinter Liven believe that interpellation to the government or ministers «is the classical and most powerful tool of parliamentary control in Belgium». Five out of ten most vital topics, which were lodged with the government during 1991–2000, appeared owing to filing interpellation [29].

In the countries of Scandinavia (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark) only interpellation is considered comprehensive form of the control and MP inquiry – one of its important components. Interpellation shall be lodged with regard to issue, which has great importance for the country. This high appraisal is understandable as its discussion may result in voting no-confidence motion against the government and resignation of its individual members [30].

Parliament of Finland (Eduskunta) unevenly uses three kinds of MP control (verbal and written questions, interpellation) to the State council or individual ministers. During one cadence MPs lodge over 1 500 written questions, over 12 thousand verbal ones and just few interpellations as they may bring to the government more threatening consequences than thousand inquiries and questions [31].

Interpellation is less effective in the countries with the two-house legislature, than in unicameral parliaments. Unlike MP inquiries, which may be lodged in the course of work of both houses, interpellations shall be lodged only with the lower houses, before which the governments bear political responsibility. As per procedure, the day before lodging interpellation the parliament lower house always debate an issue, which is its subject. After that there is a voting and adoption of resolution.

In France, the head of government or minister should provide answer not later than in fifteen days from the date of interpellation. If authors of interpellation are the smaller number of MPs, house

discusses the issue and adopt resolution concerning expediency of undertaking corresponding procedure. The member of government, to whom the interpellation is addressed, may report about own inability to provide answer. His or her refusal should be explained and is subject to consideration during the session. The house may make the decision on preparation of the preliminary conclusion on the basis of interpellation essence by one of its standing commissions. As a rule, carrying over interpellation consideration to following session is not permitted.

In Romania, results of consideration of answer to interpellation may cause the parliament to adopt the resolution of condemnation, which has more moral rather than political and legal effect as it does not assume any legal consequences for the government. In Italy, interpellation is also «petition in writing to the government concerning reasons for its activity and its further intentions on the issues, which belong to certain aspects of the governmental policy» [32]. The large quantity of interpellations lodged with the government (during one cadence — over 20 thousand) is indicative of the fact that adopted resolutions in case of the unsatisfactory answer of the government to interpellations do not mean condemnation or resignation of the government, which diminishes interpellation efficiency reducing it to level of MP inquiry.

In Republic of Poland, the prime advantage of interpellation over inquiry consists in its subject. Interpellation should mention only issues of vital nature. Signature of one MP is enough for lodging interpellation. There are no other restrictions concerning procedure of lodging interpellation specified. In an interpellation, which shall be lodged exclusively in writing, MP is required to shortly state a problem and formulate a question. If the interpellation author is not satisfied with the answer, the issue is to be entered into agenda of the Seim session, which may support MP and request the addressee to provide supplementary information during following session [33, p. 156, 121]. Similar practice of the control is applied by parliaments of Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Switzerland.

It is not a secret that interpellation as an effective form of the control may generate serious political and personnel consequences. Therefore, in order to prevent its transformation into mechanism of unreasonable pressure upon the government, source of constant political crises, destabilization of parliamentary and governmental activity corresponding preventive measures shall be employed. In the

majority of countries, precondition for interpellation consideration should be considerable minimum MP support, without which parliament does not make decision on expediency of its consideration.

Regulations of each parliament clearly establish procedure for voting no-confidence motion against the government and adoption of resolution on condemnation of the governmental activity. A necessary prerequisite for resolution adoption should be its written collective support by members of parliament or the house. The same MP may not sign several resolutions of condemnation simultaneously. There is a widespread practice when one session may not consider more than two inquiries and interpellations brought by one person. Resolution shall be adopted by absolute majority of the presented voices. Unlike written requests, in case of interpellation, member of the government may refuse to give answer with obligatory explanation of such refusal, which should be considered during parliament session, which may make the decision on transferring interpellation for preparation of the preliminary conclusion to one of the standing commissions. It is prohibited to carry over consideration of interpellation to the following session.

In Italy, interpellation is lodged with the lower house on behalf of eleven MPs, and with upper house — four. Heads of houses decide its destiny themselves without any voting. In case when the decision to consider an interpellation is made, house formulates instruction to the government to provide answer to it immediately or at the nearest session of house.

In the Scandinavian countries, even parliamentary procedure of lodging interpellations gives the chance to ministers to ignore inconvenient questions. Aspiration of ruling circles of the Scandinavian countries to limit discussion of the most pressing issues at parliament sessions, weaken its constant control over government activity, shift attention of parliamentary control towards activity of specialized parliamentary boards is quite obvious [34, p. 272–274].

There are attempts to weaken Swedish parliament control over process of preparation by the government of answer to interpellation within four-week term. There are also restrictions upon realization by MP of the right to interpellation. In particular, last interpellation may be lodged no later than one and half month before completion of the parliament session.

Countries of the strengthened democracy constantly improve their modern political and legal mechanism of the traditional forms

of parliamentary control as well as preventive measures against legislature preponderance over government executive bodies. Their purpose is obvious: to ensure harmony of relations between legislative and government executive bodies, to keep parliament status of active participant in the country's political life.

Experience of foreign countries in interpellation scope of application as control form is attentively studied in Ukraine. Though the legislation of Ukraine does not provide for interpellation use as form of parliamentary control over activity of CM of Ukraine, as per I. Hmelko, it is a considerable gap in the legislation of Ukraine considering positive foreign experience of control by parliament over activity of the governments [35].

In this regard, S.V. Kivalov noticed that in spite of the fact that interpellation is one of the basic control devices of MP, all previous stages of development of the Ukrainian society did not provide for necessary conditions for introduction of this form of MP control. And the concept of interpellation itself was unpopular and in general little-known to MPs [36, p. 116].

More and more Ukrainian lawyers (V.M. Shapoval, O.O. Maidannik, S.V. Kivalov) recommend to introduce in Ukraine interpellation as one of MP control forms. It will assist increase of efficiency of MP control realization over government activity. According to N.I. Grushanska, introduction to the Constitution of Ukraine of possibility of voting no-confidence motion against not only the government but also its individual members as well as the heads of other central government executive bodies who are not part of its structure, may become a crucial element of increasing efficiency of MP control, strengthening political stability in Ukraine [37, p. 168].

Submission of the government to control of legislature is provided by Part two of Article 113 of the Constitution of Ukraine, but the mechanism of its realization is not specified by the corresponding law. MP inquiry by its essence becomes the request of MP made during session of VRU to the authorities and officials of all levels to give official explanation on the issues that pertain to their competence. Still, the inquiry of the MP and answer to it by legal status may not be qualified as the legal right of control by VRU of CMU important lines of activity.

Conclusions and recommendations

Introduction of experience of MP control of the countries with sustainable democracy, which is highly efficient, is positive matter for Ukraine. The international practice convinces that the MP control is an integral component of the constitutional organization and law and order insurance in the country, and level of its implementation is a barometer of supremacy of law in society, prevention tool against government executive bodies attempts to subordinate democratic organizations of power. At the same time, MP control assists and not hampers effective government executive bodies activity.

Inquiries and interpellations are important, most widespread and effective forms of parliamentary control approved by the international community. The international experience is a way of bringing relations of legislative and government executive bodies in Ukraine to the highest quality level, creation of the responsible power in the country and its forming on the legal grounds.

Comparison of MP control forms at the international level with practice in Ukraine suggests that each form of parliamentary control is worth to be considered in Ukraine, and interpellation needs immediate studying with possible introduction.

International experience also remonstrates necessity of improving regulatory legal framework in sphere of control in Ukraine, systematization of the state control standards, establishing the list of the basic forms of parliamentary control in the individual universal law, introduction of corresponding amendments into the Law of Ukraine «On the status of people's deputy of Ukraine». It is necessary to clearly specify at legislative level not only the competence of legislature in control sphere but also mechanisms of its realization. Among them it is proposed to expand scope of application of MP control form of voting no-confidence motion against the individual officials of top government executive bodies.

The stable order, uniform principles and requirements of carrying out parliamentary control, invariance of the list of subjects and objects of the control, scope of control authorities, organizational and legal guarantees of their legitimate and timely realization, ensuring monitoring procedure, establishment of scope that essence of actions, and limits, which arise during control performance are guarantees of control efficiency as reached in the states of sustainable democracy. The rights and obligations of all parties involved

in parliamentary control as rigorously outlined assume the prime stages of monitoring procedure. The scope of subjects and objects of the control should perfectly fit an essence and the content of parliamentary control, there should be eliminated all existing disagreements among law provisions, which regulate realization of the MP and parliamentary control as well as to CCU resolutions concerning procedure of granting information with the limited access on MP inquiries.

Main guarantees of realization of MP powers should be specified according to the European standards. As nature of power in Ukraine is reflection of legal, property, social and financial disorders and disagreements, which disturb the Ukrainian state, guarantees shall be preceded by reforms, which will raise level of legal responsibility for all kinds of offences, assist eliminating high level of corruption, bringing economy out of shade, discontinuing uncontrolled outflow of capital in offshore zones, and separation of business from the political power in the country. Up until implementing such reforms, the essence of state system and the highest authority will not change, and level of MP control not improve.

Scientists deeply study experience of the democratic countries of the world, while treating preferentially classical models of Great Britain, Germany, the USA and France, Italy and Poland. The received results confirm that one group of the democratic countries predominantly employ MP control forms of inquiries, question, others – interpellations. It is important to notice that variety of the countries do not use interpellation for the control of government executive bodies, in particular, interpellations may not cause voting no-confidence motion against the government. Function of interpellation in such countries is more similar to inquiry.

Despite considerable variations in the international practice, different forms of MP control are effective. Reason for this is not legal forms but mostly legal mechanisms of its realization, level of legal culture and responsibility. Because of low level of legal responsibility in Ukraine, inefficiency of the state, parliamentary control it is hard to expect effectiveness of MP control.

Mandatory provision in the foreign countries is official publication of essence of MP inquiries, questions, interpellations and answers to them, their publication in parliamentary bulletins or official reports. Practically all countries broadcast on television answer to parliamentary inquiries, and sessions themselves are opened

for public and thus always accessible to the interested parties. This practice is worth implementing in Ukraine.

Opportunities for implementing international experience in sphere of MP control in the conditions of transition from a parliamentary-presidential government to presidential one in Ukraine will not be supported with appropriate precepts of law for a long time. And interpellation as form of control, despite its expediency, will not be applied in Ukraine for a long time too.

1. *Barabash Yu.* Parliamentary liability by the government in the constitutional practice of EU countries and Ukraine//Pravo Ukrainy. — 2007. — № 4. — p. 12–16.

2. Proksch Sven-Oliver, Slapin Jonhatan B. Parliamentary questions and oversight in the European Union / Mannheim Centre for European Social Research (MZES), University of Mannheim, Germany//European Journal of Political Research 50:53–79, 2010, doi: 10.1111/j.1475–6765.2010.01919.x.

3. *Grigorenko A.* Guarantees of realization of powers by MP of Ukraine//Pravo Ukrainy. — 2004. — № 5. — p. 116 — 121; Ibidem <http://pravoznavec.com.ua/cyn>.

4. *Valialshchik V.M.* Deputy indemnity and immunity// Legal encyclopaedia: In 6 vol. / Editors. Yu.S. Shemshuchenko et al. -- Vol. 2. — K, 1999. — p. 744.

5. *Pavlishin O.V.* Reforming of legal system in Ukraine as philosophic and legal issue (semiotic approach) / Pavlishin O. V//Jurisprudence. — 2011. — № 2. — p. 19–24.

6. Parliamentary Questions, HC, (1990–1991), 178, Evidence, p. 6 — MP inquiries, the House of Commons (1990–1991), 178, the Certificate, p. 6; Parliamentary inquiries: summary review. Drafted by Tom Sinclair. — source: [http://www.pdp.org.ua/pm_view.php? a = 307](http://www.pdp.org.ua/pm_view.php?a=307) Translated on 1 September 1995.

7. *Maidannik O.O.* MP inquiry and interpellation as forms of realization by parliament of control function: characteristic features, relations //Legal Ukraine. — 2009. — № 7. — p. 18–21.

8. Interview with the senior teacher of Academy of public service under the President of the Russian Federation, LLM G.S. Jakovlev//Magazine of the Russian law. — Moscow, 2000. — № 1. — p. 140–146.

9. *Kivalov S.V.* Control in parliamentarism system//Praviova derzhava. Release 10. — K, 1999. — p. 112–117.

10. *Shapoval V.M.* Executive power in the developed countries. — K: Academy of government under the President of Ukraine, 1996. — p. 60.

11. Analytical material «MP inquiries under M. Franklin and P. Norton's edition, 1993. MP inquiries and parliament role». Philip Norton.

12. *Todika J.M., Seriogin V.O.* MP control as one of forms of realization of a principle of publicity concerning activity of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine//Problemy zakonnosti. The republican inter-departmental scientific collection. National legal academy of Ukraine of Yaroslav the Wise. Release 40. — Kharkov, 1998. — p. 216.

13. *Krasnov M.A.* Whether MP inquiry is capable to be means of parliamentary control? / Krasnov M.A. // Russian law: condition, prospects, comments: Quarterly scientific-analytical mag-

azine. SU Higher school of economics. <http://law-journal.hse.ru/data/2011/01/31/1208750802/Право%202009-4.pdf> p. 16–32.

14. *Todika J. M., Serioigin V. O.* MP control as one of forms of realization of a principle of publicity concerning activity of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine//Problemy zakonnosti. The republican interdepartmental scientific collection. National legal academy of Ukraine of Yaroslav the Wise. Release 40. — Kharkov, 1998. — p. 216. Access mode: http://www.pdp.org.ua/pm_view.php? a = 307 (Translated on 1 September 1995).

15. Interview with the senior teacher of Academy of public service under the President of the Russian Federation, LLM G.S.Jakovlev//Magazine of the Russian law. — Moscow, 2000. — № 1. — p. 140–146.

16. Parliamentarism: history and the present//the People's deputy. — K, 2006. — September. — p. 71.

17. *Morgunova M. A.* Scandinavian parliamentarism. Theory and practice. — M: Russian state Humanitarian University, 2001. — p. 350.

18. *Krasnov M. A.* Whether MP inquiry is capable to be means of parliamentary control? / Krasnov M. A. // Russian law: condition, prospects, comments: Quarterly scientific-analytical magazine. SU Higher school of economics. <http://law-journal.hse.ru/data/2011/01/31/1208750802/Право%202009-4.pdf> p. 16–32.

19. *Bendiurina S.V.* Ph.D. thesis in law «Federal parliamentary control in the Russian Federation: constitutional and legal research». Manuscript. — Ekaterinburg: the Ural State Law Academy. — 2003

20. *Zajtseva I.V.* Ph.D. thesis in law «Forms of the direct parliamentary control of government executive bodies of subjects of the Russian Federation: example of Far East Federal District». Manuscript. — Khabarovsk. — 2004.

21. *Divaeva G. Yu.* Ph.D. thesis in law «Institute of parliamentary control: constitutional and legal aspect». The manuscript. — Ufa. — 2004.

22. *Korovnikova K.O.* Ph.D. thesis in law «Control functions of Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation». The manuscript. — M — 2007.

Access mode to theses of Zajtseva I. V., Divaeva G. Yu., Bendjurina S. V., Korovnikova K. O.: <http://www.dissercat.com> Deputy's inquiry interpellation.

23. *Krasnov M. A.* *ibid.* — p. 16–32.

24. *ibid.*

25. *Kovrjakova E.V.* Parliamentary control: foreign experience and Russian practice. — M, 2005. — p. 192.

26. *Shapoval V.M.* Executive power in the developed countries. — K: Academy of government under the President of Ukraine, 1996. — p. 60

27. Maidannik O.O. MP inquiry and interpellation as forms of realization by parliament of control function: characteristic features, relations //Legal Ukraine. — 2009. — № 7. — p. 18–21; Hmelko Irina. The MP control. The program of assistance to Parliament of Ukraine of University of Indiana. Bloomington, USA. Source: <http://www.pdp.org.ua/pm.view.php? a=102>; <http://www.pdp.ukr.ukridex.com/?id=soder&n=479>.

28. Riccardo Pelizzo, Rick Stapenhurst Tools for Legislative Oversight: An Empirical Investigation [Elektron. A resource] / World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No.3388. — Access mode: <http://www>.

29. Dandoy Regis — De Winter Lieven. Legislative agenda-setting in Belgium a close interplay of the parliament and the government. University of Louvain // http://dev.ulb.ac.be/sciencespo/dossies_membres/dandoy-regis/ FICHIERS/DANDOY — regis-publication21.pdf.

30. *Morgunova M. A.* *ibid.* — M, 2001. — p. 350.

31. History of world parliamentarism. Parliament of Finland. A legal field of MP. Access resource: www.youth-centre.vu.
32. Mishin A.A. Constitutional (state) right of foreign countries: the textbook. Belye alvy. — M, 1966. — p. 400.
33. Treshchetenkova N.Yu. About parliamentary control in the Republic of Poland. — M, 2001. — p. 155–167.
34. Morgunova M. A. *ibid.* — M, 2001. — p. 350.
35. Hmelko Irina. The MP control. The program of assistance to Parliament of Ukraine of University of Indiana. Bloomington, USA. Source: <http://www.pdp.orq.ua/pm.view.php?a=102>; <http://www.pdp.ukr.ukridex.com/?id=soder&n=479>.
36. Kivalov S.V. Control in parliamentarism system//Praviova derzhava. Release 10. — K, 1999. — p. 112–117.
37. Grushanska N.I. Responsibility and control concerning activity of members of parliament of Ukraine and the European countries//Europe, Japan, Ukraine: ways of democratization of state-legal systems. — K, 2000. — p. 165–168.

Summary

On the basis of the analysis of the international experience of realizing MP control the author disclosed principal causes of its efficiency in comparison with the Ukrainian practice.

It is noticed that owing to low level of legal responsibility in Ukraine, inefficiencies of the state, parliamentary control it is impossible to provide for MP control effectiveness.

The international experience proves that strengthening of the control and responsibility shall attract more attention in Ukraine.

Implementation of international practice of MP control is required for improvement of regulatory legal framework in sphere of the control, systematizing its standards, adoption of the individual universal law, and introducing amendments to the corresponding laws of Ukraine.



From the distance of centuries



Alexander Dubina

Candidate Sc. (history)

GEOPOLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE SWEDISH-UKRAINIAN UNION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Over the recent years, domestic historiography established opinion that, while making the union with Karl XII, Ivan Mazepa inherited inheritance of Bogdan Khmelnytsky, who allegedly was initiator and earliest explorer of Ukrainian-Swedish rapprochement. This assertion is fully correct from the standpoint of just one side initiatives. Indeed, B. Khmelnytsky was the first Ukrainian politician who offered to the Swedish side in the person of Queen Christina (Swedish: Kristina; known as Christina in national historiography) military-political union in 1650.

However, the Swedes began to pave the road to rapprochement the first. Even though domestic historians lately do not draw attention on Swedish initiatives, which preceded actions of Bogdan Khmelnytsky, there are good reasons to remind well-known yet partially forgotten facts.

At the beginning of the 17th I century, when Karl IX actively participated in the events related to Russian turmoil, Swedish diplomat Petrus Petreuos (Per Person) who was then in Moscow and who was instructed to obtain permission for a few Tatars returning from Sweden to pass through Russian lands to Crimea, had a chance to learn more about Ukrainian lands. "But only Gustav II Adolf (King of Sweden in 1611–1632 — *O.D.*) as preparing for large religious war (meaning Thirty Year war 1618 — 1648 — *O.D.*), paid attention to south-east Europe and in stroke of genius realized that it is necessary to search for allies against

papistry and enemies of Sweden in the east and south, in the unknown territory between Dnepr and Dniester”, — Swedish historian Alfred Ensen¹ wrote at the beginning of the last century.

The Russian-Swedish war at the beginning of the 17th century was completed by the Stolbovski peace (in 1617) advantageous for Sweden that strengthened its control over Baltic trade routes. This war, in absolutely correct opinion of the Russian researcher Sergey Tsvetkov, “showed Gustav Adolf enormous opportunities for Swedish expansion to the south and south-east”². Since then, Ukrainian geopolitical factor draws outstanding attention of Sweden.

In 1626, Swedish nobleman Georg Berggard on behalf of his king asked permission of free travel through Russian lands to Zaporizhzhya. «But tsar, as reasonably suspecting diplomatic mission under this intention, said no. So, there was no way to bring Swedish ambassadors to Ukraine», — noted Ensen³. Gustav Adolf tried to establish direct relations with Ukrainians. In 1631, captain Peter Liamiral and ensign Yacob Grev delivered to the Hetman of registered Cossacks Ivan Kulaga-Petrazhitski royal message, in which the king promised double pay to the Cossacks as compared with that paid by Poland if they will “come against Poland on the side of Swedish king and would never take part in any war together with Polish king”. But Cossacks did not react to the message at all. “Ambitious plans were set aside for certain time in connection with death of Gustav Adolf, but Karl X Gustav, decent follower of genius policy of his predecessor but for, continued this work with double energy”, — wrote Ensen⁴.

“Swedish King Gustav II Adolf ... and his adviser Aksel Oksensherna considered the Cossack state as potential ally in the fight for domination in the Baltic region”, — mentioned Swedish researcher Christian Gerner at the international scientific conference titled “Ivan Mazepa and his days: history, culture, national memory” (October, 15–17, 2008, Kiev–Poltava). In his opinion, Rzeczpospolita and not Moscow was their common enemy. The scientist substantiated this opinion by the fact that in 1626 Sweden hinted to Moscow that would be desirably to encourage Cossacks to make revolt against Polish crown⁵.

Bogdan Khmelnytsky who participated in several anti-Polish Cossack revolts, probably knew about this vector of the Swedish foreign policy and at the difficult moment of liberation movement in 1650 appealed to the Queen of Sweden Christina with proposal to form union against Rzeczpospolita. Till recently, Ukrainian historiography supported the opinion that the Swedish queen perceived proposal of the Ukrainian hetman without enthusiasm as it did not «want to fight». “Only since 1654, when Christina abdicated the throne to her nephew Karl Gustav, the Swedish policy changed its direction. King Carl Gustav X entered into agreement with the Ukrainian hetman and began war with Rzeczpospolita in spring 1655 “, – wrote prominent Ukrainian historian Dmitro Doroshenko⁶.

However, the modern Ukrainian researcher of Bogdan of Khmelnytsky epoch Sergey Rovalenko disavowed this assumption. In particular, he managed to find out that “in May 1653 the embassy of Ukraine, dispatched by Hetman in reply to *hearsays that the Swedish government unsuccessfully tries to contact Ukrainian government – (italic is mine. – O.D.)*”⁷, was not allowed to go to Sweden. And the first Swedish embassy, which lucky enough reached Ukraine in July 1654, was dispatched by Cristina; other is that it returned already to Karl X. Rzeczpospolita and Muscovy tried to prevent establishment of Swedish-Ukrainian union in every way as they understood its potential danger for themselves and did not allow passing of neither Swedish ambassadors to Ukraine, nor Ukrainian to Sweden. It is very illustrative that the first Swedish embassy to successfully reach Ukraine was forced to go there through Paris and Istanbul.

Consequently, Christina intended to make agreement with Bogdan Khmelnytsky, and that was the embassy dispatched by her that reached Ukraine. So development of the Swedish-Ukrainian relations was hampered by the artificial external obstacles instead of lack of desire of the Swedish side. Indeed, Karl X acted in more decisive way and broke external barriers, but in fact he continued the mission started by Christina. This all means that Sweden had permanent interest in Ukraine in this period.

One more eloquent detail. “Interesting circumstance is that by 1653 Moscow government turned down all appeals for help from the Ukraine referred to the peaceful agreement with

Rzeczpospolita. And as soon as Muscovy learned about negotiations of Ukraine with Sweden — it immediately began negotiations with government of Ukraine”, — mentions p. Kovalenko fair enough⁸. In any case, Bogdan Khmelnytsky played the Swedish card as forcing Moscow to activate a negotiation process with Ukraine.

It needs to be mentioned that the personal interest in the conclusion of military-political union was mutual. We shall notice only that until recently a thesis was widespread in national historiography that Bogdan Khmelnytsky struggle for the reunion of Ukrainian lands in one state was hampered by position of Karl X at a certain stage. «In the fall of 1655, position of Sweden became the major barrier for realization of the program of Ukrainian land reunion as Swedes consented to recognize existence of the Ukrainian state only within the boundaries of Bratslavski, Kiev and Chernigiv provinces», — wrote the modern leading Ukrainian historians V. Smolij and V. Stepankov⁹.

However, some documents prove that territorial aspects were not the only and main priority of Karl X policy towards Ukraine. The author of this article was lucky enough to find in the handwritten department of the Uppsala University library in Sweden the “Secret memorandum for Ambassador of His Royal Majesty who leaves to Tsar and Grand Prince of Russia (Russland)”, dated same 1655. This secret instruction required to protect interests of the Cossacks headed by Bogdan Khmelnytsky to the largest possible extent. Article 8 of the document is devoted to this topic. It started with the name of hetman; his title and position were not specified meaning that Swedish diplomacy had a good knowledge of Bogdan Khmelnytsky and situation in Ukraine in general.

“Regarding interests of Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks, they also need to be taken into account», — specified the instruction. The embassy was required to «be careful, not to prematurely express their point of view so that Russians would not suspect any until interests of Khmelnytsky would be identified and agreed upon with him”¹⁰. So, the document discussed the issues of protecting Bogdan Khmelnytsky interests in full including territorial aspects.

The Swedish ambassadors arrived in Moscow in December 1655. Their visit purpose was third ratification of the Stolbovski peace of 1617. However, it turned out that Muscovy changed its plans. «While being afraid of increasing strengthening of Sweden, Moscow diplomacy began negotiations with Rzeczpospolita. Nobody asked B. Khmelnitsky opinion, although this step was in conflict with a spirit and letter of the March articles of 1654. Instead of apply further pressure upon Warsaw, Moscow offered her a hand while totally ignoring interests of Ukraine. On December 20, 1655 tsar made decision to begin negotiations. Next day he turned down proposals of the Swedish ambassadors about military union», — describes this situation Victor Brekhunenko, Ph.D. in history¹¹. Russian-Swedish war began in 1656. Obviously, Karl X foresaw such development of situation and by giving the proper instructions to the ambassadors tried to ensure for himself the support of the Cossack state. However, this was not his only reason.

The Swedish monarchy needed a reliable strategic partner in south-east direction. In 1655, Karl X issued just general instructions to the ambassadors to Muscovy and later he was compelled to consider the Ukrainian territorial demands. Thus, position of Ukraine during negotiations with Sweden became ever stronger. Suchwise, Swedish ambassador Gottard Velling was turned down at the beginning of 1657 in his mission the conclude Swedish-Ukrainian union on the reason that «Ukraine does not have sufficient assertions from King of Sweden about ensuring its terms upon war ending»¹². And in October of the same year, after death of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, his follower clearly established in the text of the Ukrainian-Swedish treaty that he prepared in Korsun inclusion in the independent Cossack state not only of West Ukraine lands but also Beresteisk and Novgorod provinces. Among ‘agreement points’ proposed by hetman Ivan Vigovski to the Swedish side, which entered in the text of agreement, there is one: “[King of Sweden] shall recognize territories of domains of the Zaporozhian army and proclaim that they are stretched out not only to Vistula but also to borders of Prussia, and shall promise to bring to the hands of Zap. troops by joint forces — province of Beresteisk and Novgorod in Lithuania”¹³. The Swedes accepted this clause.

It needs to remember that under the terms of Vilenski ceasefire agreement concluded between Muscovy and Rzeczpospolita on October 24, 1656 without participation of Bogdan Khmelnytsky, territory of the Cossack state was limited to just one (!) Kiev province. “The inhabitants of Crown and Grand Duchy of Lithuania shall have free access to their belongings and houses, safely travel among Cossacks in different places and arrive and live there. And Zaporizhzhya Cossacks shall not only stay within the borders as determined in the articles of Bilotserkiv do no harm to the above citizen but also submit themselves to military service both to his majesty the tsar and his majesty the king of Rzeczpospolita against every enemy”, — it was written down in one of provisions of ceasefire treaty¹⁴. It was gross violation of March articles of 1654, pursuant to which Muscovy was obligated to enter into war against Rzeczpospolita.

The government of Bogdan Khmelnytsky did not ratify the terms of ceasefire and joined Radnotska coalition that included Sweden, Brandenburg and Transilvania, which was constituted to distribute lands of Rzeczpospolita¹⁵. There was just one step to the break with Moscow. And if it were not for his death, Bogdan Khmelnytskyiy would certainly do so. The terms of the Ukrainian-Moscow and Ukrainian-Swedish union were too incomparable. As Moscow was ready to limit territory of the Cossack state to only one Kiev province, Stockholm agreed to existence of this state within the borders of all its ethnic lands.

* * *

The mutual interest of Sweden and Ukraine in formation of strong union and its organic nature become obvious when one considers it from geopolitics standpoint.

As is known, geopolitics determines viability and power of certain country by following main factors: space; natural resources and economic potential; population (quantitative and qualitative aspects). Sometimes it considers society and government¹⁶.

In the middle of the 16th century, Sweden started intensive territorial expansion. In opinion of known Swedish historian Peter Englund, the starting point of this process became seizure of Revel (now Tallinn) at the beginning of summer of 1561. “This was a

jump across the Baltic Sea. It became beginning of long fight for domination in North-East Europe that lasted for half century”, — writes scientist. After that, Sweden almost constantly was at war during a century. This period was completed by signing three important peaceful agreements during 1660–1661 — in Oliv with Poland, in Copenhagen with Denmark and in Kardis with Russia. «The offensive phase of Swedish great power aspirations ended with these three peaceful agreements, time of grandiose conquering campaigns have passed. A trophy, that Swedes were lucky to seize for all those years was quite ostensible, if not to say more... Now came the phase of mastering, when the Swedish state calmed down like snake in comfort to digest the trophy, which it swallowed, in silence and rest. The phase of strengthening and defending the captured lands began that lasted for the whole century.

This was the very strange historic phenomenon. The unnoticeable, insignificant state located on the outskirts of Europe, Sweden quickly emerged from dark places and gained one of the leading positions of the grand European policy. Country at once became one of the large states of the first row», — mentions Englund¹⁷.

The division into the periods of Swedish history provides the key to understanding dynamics of the Swedish-Ukrainian relations. In the period its expansion, which peak falls on the first half of the 17th century, Sweden needed geopolitical resources of Ukraine, above all s — human ones. Afterwards geographical position of the hetman state of Bogdan Khmelnytsky between the main competitors of the Swedish kingdom — Rzeczpospolita and Muscovy became an important geopolitical factor in the struggle for hegemony in North and East Europe.

At the beginning of 1660s, when Sweden entered in the period of consolidation and protection of its gained territories, Ukraine fell by the wayside of its foreign policy. On the other hand, rthis situation was enhanced by degradation of the Ukrainian state system after death of Bogdan Khmelnytsky. In 1663, Ukraine actually disintegrated into two parts — Left Bank (Hetmanshchina) and Right Bank that was formalized in the Andrusivski agreement of 1667. Hetmanshchina lost the value as a subject of international policy, and Right Bank Ukraine became part of Rzeczpospolita. In the period of its stabilization, Sweden did not express any desire to interfere with the stormy events of Ukrainian Ruin.

Situation changed when Peter I, while forming the North Union including Muscovy, Rzeczpospolita, Denmark and Saxony, began war against Sweden. It again lacked human resources. At the same time, Ukraine experienced important changes. During rule of the hetman Ivan Samoilovich (1672–1687) and, especially, Ivan Mazepa (since 1687), situation in Hetmanshchina stabilized. Mazepa march to Right Bank Ukraine of 1704 actually made him the hetman of the united Cossack state, which geopolitical resources gained special significance in the conditions of relative balance of counteractive powers. Ukraine had powerful grounds to pick its status of the player on international scene. Yet, it did not have enough of own power for this purpose at that moment. Mazepa hoped for longer period of peaceful development, during which he would strengthen all geopolitical factors of Ukraine so that its would be able to protect its state independence on its own¹⁸. North War canceled his plans. Peter I, probably, discerned Mazepa's intentions and applied titanic efforts to neutralize them. And here appeared Sweden, which required both Ukrainian human and material resources and was ready to accept the Cossack state under its guardianship. Geostrategic position of Ukraine gained the enormous importance by that time. As facing the prospects of complete liquidation of remaining autonomy of Hetmanshchina by Peter, Mazepa took his choice.

According to author of this article, territory controlled by Sweden at the period of its peak power in the middle of the 17th century totaled nearly 900 thousand sq. kilometers. This was the multinational state of imperial nature. Swedes understood that neighbouring countries also had imperial aspirations and would make own attempts to regain the conquered territories and create coalition for this purpose, what they actually did later.

“It appeared that the Swedes aspired to develop their grand state intentions at the account of Denmark, Poland and Russia. There were no doubts that those states would come to terms with the loss of territory occupied by the Swedes”, — writes Englund¹⁹.

Therefore, the Swedish empire searched itself for the allies to stand against the opponents, which had more manpower.

Consequently, interests of the Cossack state and Swedish Kingdom coincided. Both parties were interested in manpower

and military power of each other. While proposing the union with Sweden, Khmelnytsky, in essence, did nothing new. He remembered Swedes' intentions on the south flank of their expansion and his proposal was dearly welcomed by the Swedish monarchs. Would the Ukrainian-Swedish union become reality as including Seven Cities, the political map of Europe would have quite different borders. Ivan Mazepa just completed the process started by his grand predecessor.

Lately, certain political rather than scientific circles demonstrate tendency to contrast Bogdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Mazepa, including Swedish vector in their foreign policy. Namely, Sergey Kovalenko writes about this matter. "Bogdan Khmelnytsky was branded to be the person to unite Ukraine with Muscovy, and not so long ago somebody even noted that now 'time of Mazepa' are finished in the relationships of Ukraine with Muscovy and 'time of Khmelnytsky' commences". What do they mean?

«Both of them tolerated Moscow for certain time, and both of them finally came to understanding that it is necessity to break with it for the sake of Ukraine, and both of them enjoyed support of the Swedish kingdom. So what then is difference of 'time of Mazepa' and 'time of Khmelnytsky' in terms of their attitude toward Muscovy? The answer is — no difference», — concludes the historian²⁰.

The same topic was discussed by scientist and publicist Kyrilo Galushka. "By the way, if Mazepa is considered as some antipode of Khmelnytsky in terms of attitude towards Swedish choice, who chose union with Moscow, this is incorrect: if we flash back and remind the last acts of grand hetman, we see exactly Swedes as his allies. Khmelnytsky followed the same logic as Mazepa, because the geopolitical situation of Zaporizhzhia Army in 1707 in many aspects reminded 1657. In this sense, Mazepa probably implemented the 'testament' of Khmelnytsky", — writes K. Galushka²¹.

And Mazepa knew this «testament» much better than anybody else. According to some information discovered by p. Kovalenko, negotiations between Bogdan Khmelnytsky and first Swedish embassy in Ukraine took place in July 1654 «in the court of Bilotserkivski city ataman Stepan Mazepa, and his son, future Hetman Ivan Mazepa, was its witness»²². What young

Ivan learned from those negotiations? P. Kovalenko describes their progress as follows: [Bogdan Khmelnytsky] “among other things said that he desired to maintain peace between the Swedish kingdom and Moscow reign, but when it would come to war of Swedish kingdom against Rzeczpospolita, Ukraine will join the Swedish kingdom against the Moscow reign. This was July 1654. Pereyaslav Council took place only half-year ago. And Moscow managed for this short period of time to bore Hetman so much that he started making such statements”²³. Undoubtedly, retentive youth memory of Mazepa remembered that lesson of diplomacy and geopolitics taught to him by the great hetman in 1654 for his whole life. One half century later Ivan Stepanovich remembered that Bogdan’s lesson.

But let’s get back to Sweden. Its geopolitical aspirations were based, mainly, on its army. Boris Grigoriev of Russian carefully analyzed this phenomenon in his book *Karl XII* published few years ago. “King Karl XII at the beginning of the rule had 34 thousand infantrymen and cavalrymen and fleet of 38 battleships, 8 frigates and 15 thousand sailors at his disposal inside the country, and the Swedish army included nearly 115 thousand persons in all territory of kingdom, including oversea territories and provinces. (Peter I Russia never could afford such army)”, – writes the author. “And everything was great except for one problem: there were not enough people in Sweden. BY density of population, Sweden occupied one of the last positions in Europe, its whole territory, including oversea provinces totaled no more than three million habitants. And what people populated Sweden? 80 percents of population were peasants. There were very few artisans, merchants, bourgeoisies, to sat nothing about scientists in this population. Productivity of the country... fell behind considerably of the productivity of most developed countries of Europe – Holland, England, and France. It was increasingly difficult to master the conquered territories or retain them with such population over decades”, – remarks Grigoriev²⁴. His substantiated conclusion is highly important for us in terms of quantitative and qualitative composition of Sweden population at that time.

So, imperial Sweden was simply unable to protect territory of 900 thousand sq. km without allies in case of war with the countries of the North Union.

Regarding territory of the Ukrainian state conceived by Mazepa, the known researcher of Cossack time Valery Shevchuk outlined its contours based on documentary sources. While analyzing the text of alliance agreement of Ukraine with Sweden of October 29–30, 1708 decreed in Gorki (now village of Novgorod-Seversk district of t Chernigiv oblast), which survived as copy or extracts, he writes in particular: “...Boundaries of [Ukrainian] principality are not established, but it is suggested that all lands conquered by the Cossacks as well as “all that – how it will appear – belonged to the Ukrainian people once, shall be gained and retained in Ukrainian principality”; that is, Ukrainian principality here is considered in all its ethnic territory”²⁵. Consequently, Mazepa made a status quo as formalized in the Korsun agreement of 1657, and he started from scratch as we will see later.

Reunited Left Bank and Right Bank territories should become the basis of Cossack state. Taking into account active colonialist efforts of Mazepa in Slobozhanshina and his aspiration to include Zaporizhzhia Sich, territory of Ukraine should account for 400 thousand sq. kilometers.

We have exact data in relation to the Ukrainian population for 1719. Then 1755,4 thousand Ukrainians lived in Left Bank Ukraine, and – 2138 thousand Ukrainian – in the Right Bank²⁶. V.O. Romantsov, researcher of Ukrainian ethnos of 18th–20th centuries determined number of Ukrainians to total almost 5740 thousand. Thus, Right Bank and Left Bank Ukraine accommodated almost 4 million people; and over 5,7 million people – in the ethnic Ukrainian territory.

For comparison: leading historian estimated that Rzeczpospolita territory in the 17th century totaled 940 000 sq. km²⁷. At that time its population totaled approximately 7 million people²⁸. As we see, over two million of them were Ukrainians.

Let’s have a look at other neighbour too: “population dissemination across enormous space of Russia totaled just 5,6 million people” at the end of the 17th century, – writes Eugen Anisimov. Ph. D in history, professor²⁹. in doing so, he includes approximately 1,5 million Ukrainians of Left Bank Ukraine or Hetmanshchina in Russian population³⁰.

Thus, Mazepa's Ukraine had almost same human resources as its neighbours.

Consequently, state envisaged by Mazepa possessed all grounds to become independent country by territory of 400 thousand sq. km, which was twice as large as Sweden, and mono-ethnic population.

The rightness of the state formation path chosen by Mazepa was confirmed by further development of Ukraine. At the end of the 18th century, when most Ukrainian ethnic lands were included in the Russian empire, German-Austrian historian Johan Christian Engel wrote about Ukraine in his «History of Ukraine and Ukrainian Cossacks» (Galle, 1796) as follows: "Today, the country is equal to the kingdom by its size, fruitful and rich in natural resources one; dividing wall between cultural Europe and uncivilized Asia, nomads camp and entering gate for so many Asiatic hordes wandering in Europe, and just for this it should be admired a lot. History of Cossacks made also large influence upon history of Poland, Sweden, Semigorod. It is impossible to imagine a grandeur or decline of Poland without it. Heirs of Karl Gustav and Karl XII would rule in Warsaw, Moscow and Petersburg up to now, whenever Khmel'nitsky or Mazepa's Cossacks elected to do so"³¹.

Mazepa's state development was interrupted by North War of 1700–1721.

* * *

Now let's see, what Mazepa possessed at the beginning of North War.

As a result of Vilenski ceasefire agreement of 1656, Andrusivski agreement of 1667 and Eternal peace of 1686 between Muscovy and Rzeczpospolita, the state of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky, which territory totaled 200 thousand sq. km³² as calculated by the modern Ukrainian scientists. cm, was divided in two parts; so Mazepa's Hetmanshchina possessed just half of those lands, approximately 100 thousand sq.km. Its population, as was already mentioned, totaled 1,5 million persons. With such geopolitical grounds Mazepa had no chances to speak with more powerful neighbours as equals about the independent Cossack state. Philip Orlik explained Mazepa's train of thoughts the best already after his death.

In the letter to the French ambassador in Istanbul Earl Dezayer (on May 4, 1712), Hetman in exile explained provisions of the Manifest to the European governments of April 4, 1712 as follows: «the small state can not retain its independence between two neighbours without carefully thought out politics»³³.

After the beginning of North War, such «carefully thought out» foreign policy was reduced just to search of optimum ally, which would be able to protect Cossack liberties and independent development of the Ukrainian state by its military power. It was in no way fortuitous that on November 7, 1728 Philip Orlik wrote in his *Diary* lines about Cossacks from the Dutch magazine: “this is nation, which only love to freedom gathered in the territory between Dnepr and Dniester — so, it is no wonder that it is afraid of every yoke and searches for patronage of possessor, which would promote its freedoms the most”³⁴.

At the beginning of North war became it was fully obviously that Peter I would not be instrumental in protecting freedom of Ukraine.

Many documents described that Muscovy, beginning from the time of Bogdan Khmelnytsky (Vilenski ceasefire 1656), constantly violated the treaty provisions of the Pereyaslavsk agreement of 1654. During Peter I rule, limitation of Hetmanshchina autonomy and personal powers of hetman gained all-embracing character. In opinion of this article’s author, Petersburg researcher Tetiana Tairova-Yakovleva described this topic in the most details³⁵. She believed that reform of 1707 played deciding role and became “step to actual liquidation of Ukrainian autonomy”³⁶. Power gradually, but steadily slipped from the hands of old hetman. Mazepa could not stand this situation.

Let us consider now foreign policy situation, in which he found oneself. On the one side — backward and uneducated Muscovy. On the other side — mighty European power — Sweden. Mazepa attentively read the European press. His decision was firm: advanced Sweden will certainly defeat backward Muscovy. Then the decision of old hetman to drift towards Sweden was all but natural.

Situation aggravated in 1705–1706. Article 8 of Warsaw agreement concluded on November 28, 1705 between Karl XII

and Stanislav Leshchinsky provided for returning to Poland of the “east lands» lost by it, that is, obviously, Left Bank Ukraine (Hetmanshchina). And Altranshtadtski agreement signed on September 24, 1706 by Karl XII, August II and Stanislav Leshchinsky included the title of the latter, who became Polish king, as follows: «King of Poland, Large Prince of Lithuania, *Russia*, Prussia, *Kiovy*, *Volyn*, *Podillia*, *Pidliashshia*. *Sivershina*, *Chernigivshina* and so on”³⁷ (Article I of Peace agreement; an italic is mine. — *O.D.*). Consequently, in 1705–1706 the Swedish monarch did not see Ukraine on the map of Europe, — neither Hetmanshchina nor Western Ukraine. Poland should include ‘small Motherland’ of Mazepa — Kyivshina. In the case of realization of this agreement a hetman would lost everything: both power, b lands and lion’s share of the considerable riches. He sure knew content of the Altranshtadtski agreement and applied all efforts to prevent transfer of Ukrainian lands under jurisdiction of Poland. One should note that initial positions of Ivan Mazepa during negotiations with Sweden were far worse than those of Bogdan Khmelnytsky. Karl X at first recognized the Cossack state within the borders of Kiev, Bratslav and Chernigiv provinces, and his grandchild, Karl XII, saw no Ukraine at all.

Russian historiography established a stereotype that Mazepa aimed to turn Ukraine under power of Rzeczpospolita. This stereotype is based on the agreement of Mazepa with Polish king allegedly found in the ruins of Baturin that was burned out by Russians. Clause IV of the document provided for “transfer to Poland of all Ukraine and Siverski region as well as provinces of Kiev, Chernigiv and Smolensk, which all must returned to the domain of Poland. In return, king of Polish promises to promote Mazepa to prince rank and give him the province of Vitebsk and Polotsk on the same terms, which the duke of Courland enjoyed in ruling his dukedom”.

Chernigiv researcher Sergey Pavlenko reasoned that this agreement was a fake, creation of propagandist machine of Peter I³⁸. But even without implicit arguments of Pavlenko it was clear that Mazepa in no way wanted to come back under power of Poland and, while negotiating with Stanislav Leshchinsky, marionette of Karl XII, aimed at reaching the main player on the international scene — Swedish king.

But the modern Russian researchers-propagandists stubbornly continue to impose the improper point of view. Suchwise, senior researcher of Institute of history of RAS V. Artamonov peremptorily declares that Mazepa “openly told in private talks that Hetmanshchina would in any way submit itself ‘under the Poles’ either on good will or after conquest”. “There are no evidence of his utterance about weakness of Rzeczpospolita of that time”, — mentions the historian³⁹.

The point is that such opinion of Mazepa was definitely registered in much detail. It was included in correspondence of known diplomat Jan de Balios, special ambassador of Louis XIV to Peter I. The letter to his relatives dated 1704 read: “...while speaking about Polish crown, Mazepa noted without hesitance that it goes to its decline like Ancient Rome”⁴⁰. This letter was published by Ilko Borshak in 1933 and was well-known in scientific community.

Another extraordinarily valuable history source, published yet at the beginning of 1860s and quoted in many works — the letter of Philip Orlik to Stephen Yavorski, dated 1721. A general clerk and trusted person of Mazepa tells there, in particular, that in the second half of 1706 hetman negatively answered to duchess Dolska request to join combat actions against Muscovy. While listening to her letter, Mazepa said to Philip Orlik: “is it possible to leave living one and join dead one, to depart from one shore and do not reach another shore? Stanislav is not sure of his own capabilities; Rzeczpospolita is split into parts: so what is foundation of mad motivation of this woman?”⁴¹.

In the same letter-confession, Philip Orlik wrote about refusal of Mazepa to respond to proposal of Stanislav Leshchinsky and start combat actions in autumn of 1707. In the letter that hetman ordered to write to Leshchinsky on 18 September of that year, among the reasons for refusal he mentioned that “Rzeczpospolita is still split and has no consent within its parts”⁴².

Does this mean that Mazepa was such a pathological traitor that for the sake of treason itself he was ready to join efforts with «split and torn into pieces by contradictions» state?

We have another eloquent document that testified to the unwillingness of Mazepa to go under power of Rzeczpospolita quot-

ed by Nickolay Kostomarov in his reading-book work. It mentioned letter of hetman dated July 23, 1708 to the Leshchinsky supporter – mister Tarlo, who tried to incline Mazepa to agree to proposals of Swedish king and Stanislav. By that time, hetman has already made his geopolitical choice. He sent Tarlo letter to the Russian state chancellor G. Golovkin so Peter I knew about the course of events. Therefore, careful Mazepa, in order to mask the real intentions, spoke out in a sense that it is «impossible to divert him, hetman, from loyalty to the sovereign», and “Ukrainian people will never want to unite with Poland as they suffered a lot” from them. Mazepa also said that “‘gold liberty’, which Poland boasted a lot, turned in them into ‘ferrous willfulness’. Mazepa disrobed vanity of promises of liberties to the Ruthenia people as Stanislav, whom the Poles named the king, was no more than slave to Swedish king”⁴³. Even if the lines of this letter, which reassured Russian tsar of hetman loyalty, were included for conscious disinformation, Mazepa had no sense to deceive future allies regarding unwillingness of the Ukrainian people to unite with Poland. Moreover, hetman expressly indicated the state of chaos in the political system of Rzeczpospolita and Leshchinsky subordination to Karl XII.

All this means that Russian explorers of Mazepa ‘treason’ did not read classic work of Kostomarov. Why then did they research Mazepa story at all?

It is very indicative that after establishment of direct contact of Mazepa with Karl XII there were no indications of Polish lordship over Ukraine in the documents of hetman or any Swedish-Ukrainian agreement. Obviously, hetman submission to Swedish king, their permanent intercourse influenced the foreign-policy orientation of Karl XII. Since then, any indications about belonging of “Kiyovia, Volyn, Podillya, Pidlyashshya, Sivershina, Chernigivshina” to Rzeczpospolita disappeared from documents contrary to what was mentioned in the Altranshtadt agreement two years earlier.

Almost immediately after taking the Swedish side, Mazepa kept mentioning «Swedish patronage» only and never recalled Poland in the letter to Starodubski colonel Ivan Skoropadski on October 30⁴⁴.

The author was lucky enough to find in the Swedish archives extraordinarily interesting document, which described the first meeting of Ivan Mazepa with Karl XII on October 29, 1708 in Gorki, where allied treaty between Sweden and Ukraine was concluded. Until now, meaning of speech of the Ukrainian hetman during that meeting was described on the basis of two original sources: diaries of monks Petre and Vayhe. The first of them witnessed: «He [Mazepa] asked for sympathy of His Royal Majesty that mercy upon habitants of Ukraine and not to be angry with it for it was for a long time our (Swedish) enemy». The second explained speech of Mazepa as follows: “Asked very submissive that king would not express the just anger, to which led tyrant behaviour of Russians, and upon this area and its habitants, taking into account that they just followed enemy flags not by own free will but being forced to do so under Moscow yoke”⁴⁵.

Our source, that is diary of reports from Royal Swedish main headquarters, draws attention not to the apologies of hetman but to the essence of his speech that Mazepa “submits people and lands under defense of His Royal Majesty against Moscow tyranny, and at the same time he asked to come under rule of H. R. M. with all faithful subjects and property”. The answer of king is extraordinarily important: “H. R. M. also before his and Ukrainian people assured about the release from a yoke. H. R. M. has intention not to spread in all ends of earth his military force to do harm to their habitants so that they carry out revenge against insidious enemy. In every case, H. R. M. wants not only to take under own protection him and all his citizens but also wants to be with those who voluntarily submitted to him in order to get rid of yoke, which repressed them to it. Consequently, H. R. M. had a hope that they also with gladness and voluntarily became under his hand with that they could rejoice to following benefits and profits”⁴⁶.

This is clear now that it reads only about Swedish-Ukrainian union without any mention about Poland.

Eventually, in the Manifest to Ruthenian people of December 16, 1708 Karl XII refuted fictions of Moscow propaganda regarding agreement between him and Stanislav Leshchinsky “so that Ukraine would be occupied by Poland, or we’d take something for us from Polish kingdom...”. “This is Moscow’s coin-

age”, — categorically said Swedish King who was always honest and uncompromising person and who did not have any need to mask his real intentions from anyone⁴⁷.

The latest known universal of Ivan Mazepa is of special interest and it was found by the author of this article in the handwritten department of library of Uppsala University (Sweden). This document is dated by the end of February — end of May 1709. There are all reasons to assume that given universal of Ivan Mazepa repeats the substantive provisions of the so called inviting universal given on November 10, 1708, which text is not extant. Until now, scientists repeated content of inviting universal from the mentioned above letter of Ivan Mazepa to Ivan Skoropadski, universal of hetman I. Skoropadski about loyalty of Ukrainians to the Russian tsar of December 8, 1708⁴⁸, that was answer to inviting universal, and, to certain extent, — manifest of Karl XII as quoted higher. While using these reconstructions, Valery Shevchuk recently wrote: “It is hard to say whether Mazepa in his inviting universal mentioned about intention to submit under Poland...”⁴⁹.

Now we can assert with the high degree of probability that there probably were no such reference in inviting universal. The document in question also was of inviting nature; it was continuation and development of provisions of universal dated November 10, 1708, but it does not contain any mention about Poland. Instead, universal of 1709 expressly formulated request to Swedish king to “accept us, Leader, warriors of Zaporizhzhia and all experienced council of Ruthenia enslaved by Muscovy tyranny, to the insuperable defense and promise to protect our Fatherland by the broken forces, while it gets back to those old laws and freedoms, which existed during Bogdan Khmelnytsky rule of eternal memory”⁵⁰.

Finally, the program papers written by the political and ideological heir of Ivan Mazepa — Philip Orlik, do not include a single reference to Ukrainians desire to submit under Polish jurisdiction. Suchwise, Bendery constitution refers to Rzeczpospolita only in the context that Ukraine concluded pacts about borders delimitation both with it and with Moscow State. Swedish king is the only one referred to as “defender and protector”⁵¹.

In famous *Conclusion of rights of Ukraine* (1712) Orlik wrote only about former «Polish guardianship», but expressed no desire to get back. Instead, hetman in exile outlined the most important points of the Swedish-Ukrainian agreement, where it is written down that king of Sweden is “obligated to defend Ukraine and Cossacks lands attached to the country and immediately dispatch there for this sake supporting troops in case of need and upon request of a prince and Councils”⁵².

In his Manifest to the European governments of April 4, 1712, Orlik also referred to the guarantee of Swedish king to ‘Cossack nation’, not mentioning here a single word of Rzeczpospolita⁵³.

Actually, such union existed and was formalized in the agreement decreed on October 29–30, 1708 in Gorki. Although the complete text of this agreement is not found so far, documents recently discovered in the Swedish archives, in particular Diary of reports from Royal Swedish main headquarters of end of 1708 and universal of Mazepa, written in spring 1709 as well as the fragments published earlier give enough information about its content.

Philip Orlik succeeded to retain the main political and diplomatic results attained by his predecessor. This is confirmed by confirmation by Karl of XII Bendery Constitution dated May 10, 1710, where its creator is named “the Most illustrious Hetman Mister Philip Orlik” as elected by «famous people of Russia and also by Army of Zaporzhzhia».

In fact, in the text of Orlik Constitution as compared with Korsun agreement of 1657 and agreement in Gorki of 1708, territory of Ukraine was considerably diminished. “As every state is formed and become firmly established with inviolable safety of borders, Ruthenia, our Fatherland that in the borders ratified by pacts with Rzeczpospolita and Moscow state shall be reunited: which were regained on river Sluch during Bogdan Khmelnytsky ruling of glorious memory, and should always be protected of Rzeczpospolita and not changed and broken by violence — the most illustrious hetman should care about this”, — is written down in article II of Constitution⁵⁴.

It is clear that this was return to the borders of the state of Bogdan Khmelnytsky of 1649 that included Kiev, Bratslav and Chernigiv provinces of Rzeczpospolita.

The participants of anti-Moscow coalition considered Ukraine exactly within those borders as established by Karl XII together with Philip Orlik in Bendery. Suchwise, in eve of march of the latter to Ukraine that began on January 31, 1711, in universal announced three days prior to that, one of its participants, the younger son of the Crimean khan Mahomet Girey (Geray; in the original text – Gerey) addresses with threats to those, who by «considerable oppressions prepares death and defeat of Polish Republic. and also who is going to bring glorious army of Zaporizhzhia Cossacks and since time immemorial free and independent regions of Ruthenia by fire and sword, by a carnage and robberies under heavy as lead yoke of Moscow slavery»⁵⁵. Further document clearly distinguishes between «Great Leaders» who headed an allied army – ‘glorious mister’ Yozef (Yuzef) Pototsky, who was called “Kiev Paladin (head) and Great Leader of Polish Kingdom” and “Glorious Philip Orlik, Helmsman of Ruthenia and Army of Zaporizhzhia”⁵⁶. At the end of document it reads that “earlier Glorious and mightiest King of Sweden with special favour to Rzeczpospolita and Zaporzhzhia Army, habitants of Ruthenia, already proclaimed by given universals that he would sheathe this sword until he returns freedom and safety to these neighbouring and friendly countries surrounded by enemies from every side”⁵⁷.

So, the above document provides clear difference between two separate “neighbouring and friendly countries” – Polish Republic (kingdom; Rzeczpospolita) and «unsubordinated to anybody» Ruthenia and Army of Zaporuzhzhia. It meant recognition of state sovereignty of Ukraine by the members of anti-Moscow coalition headed by Karl XII. And there are no references to submission of Ukraine to Poland.

Regarding limitation of territory of Ukraine within Ruthenia (Small Russia), one document is known that suggests certain ideas to that extent. The question is special universal-appeal to Right Bank Ukrainians, given out by Karl XII in the eve of Philip Orlik march to Ukraine (obviously Mahomet Girey referred to it). That document was also directed against common enemy. “...Villainous [Muscovy] acts of hostility extend even farther, that Cossacks who are superior and glorious at war, to bring out from the old places of residence and deport into the districts remote from their

most ancient lands”, — specified Karl XII⁵⁸. As addressing Right Bank Cossacks, who considered themselves citizens of the united Ukrainian state, and speaking about their “old places of residence”, Swedish king thus gave them hope that their lands would enter in that state. Possibly, Karl XII considered Right Bank lands as reserve of his diplomacy, “valuable prize” to the most given and useful ally. Yet, he was not able to use this reserve of him. It was done by Peter I who «awarded» by the tsar’s decree of September 23, 1711 Right-bank Ukraine to the ‘given’ ally August II, king of Poland⁵⁹.

It is necessary to note that not only Ivan Mazepa and his followers in Ukraine considered the Swedish option. Great expert of those days Boris Krupnitski also supported opinion of known researcher of that period history Nikolay Andrusyak and noted the “pro-Swedish” attitudes of Semen Paliy⁶⁰. His assumption is shared by modern historian — Ph. D. in history Taras Chukhlib. In the book “Way to Poltava: Ukraine and Russia of times of hetman Mazepa”, he writes about the “hidden foreign-policy orientation towards assisting Swedish king” of Semen Paliy⁶¹. “Taking into account the plans of young monarch of Sweden to split the political elite of the Polish-Lithuanian state (division into Sandomir and Warsaw confederation), his inspiration of Cossack revolt in 1702–1704 looks fully credible. Polish historian I. Yonchak together with I. Kaminsky noticed that exactly revolt of p. Paliy prevented Poland to enter into war with Sweden at proper time. Moreover, events in Right Bank Ukraine delayed conclusion of bilateral Polish-Russian anti-Swedish union”, — correctly notices T. Chukhlib⁶².

So, whatever foreign-policy priorities Semen Paliy set (this theme needs separate research), the Swedish vector of Ivan Mazepa came fully natural; it was supported by considerable part of leading Cossack noblemen. Question is whether it could ensure independent existence and development of Ukraine?

* * *

In order to answer the question, one needs to establish some history parallels.

The Ukrainian political elite was well acquainted with the activity of Brandenburg prince-electors Frederic Wilhelm, whom Bogdan Khmelnytsky engaged in anti-Polish coalition in his last years of life. Frederic Wilhelm during Swedish-Polish war of 1656–1660 used refined diplomacy up to the change of allies (at first he joined Sweden, and then Poland) and succeeded to obtain sovereignty of Prussia, which prince-electors owned as their fiefdom of Rzeczpospolita as formalized in the Oliva peace treaty of 1660. Frederic Wilhelm died in 1688 leaving the independent state with territory over 100 000 sq. km. Brandenburg population totaled 1,5 million people⁶³. Ivan Mazepa knew well this precedent.

As was mentioned before, Ukrainian hetman had the same territory and the same population that Brandenburg prince-electors. Still the offspring of Frederic Wilhelm in two centuries grew into mightiest European power – Germany, Ukraine had different fate. In order to understand why so happened, we will pay attention to some geopolitical aspects of North War of 1700–1721.

Foremost, we will make to attempt to understand why Karl XII turned to Ukraine during combat actions and what were consequences.

Without regard to all convincing proofs that hetman «invited» Karl XII to Ukraine (above all, letter of Philip Orlik to Stephen Yavorsky of 1721, which certified sharply negative reaction of Mazepa to Swedish army entering the Ukrainian territory), anti-Ukrainian propaganda still uses Peter's disinformation that Mazepa «corresponded with Karl XII and promised to him reinforcement and food that in the case of arrival in Ukraine»⁶⁴. This stereotype appeared so convincing that it is repeated by author of mentioned above book about Karl XII Boris Grigoriev as asserting that Swedish king was “expected in Ukraine by a hetman Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa”⁶⁵. Here again we acknowledge effectiveness of Peter's propaganda that still circulates not only in the literary garbage but also in serious popular scientific works. What may the Russian tsar need this propaganda for?

Before answering this question, we shall find out, who was the real initiator of coming of Karl XII to Ukraine. Author consciously does not present reasoning of the Ukrainian scientists about undesirability of such course of events for Mazepa, they are quite

known in domestic scientific community. For the sake of objectivity, we will look at modern Russian historiography.

Tetyana Tairova-Yakovleva:

“Situation developed contrary to Mazepa’s desires. Instead of going to Smolensk and Moscow and leaving Ukraine in the rear and depriving it of becoming ‘scorched earth’, Karl turned southward. As the Ukrainian hetman learned about this, he said the famous phrase: “Devil brings him here!”. This was no play as the many historians considered by mistake. The change of plans of Swedes did not permit Mazepa to maintain a pause later on while keeping neutrality and waiting for development of events”. And farther: “As giving up the plan of marching to Smolensk and Moscow, Karl turned to Ukraine because he was forced to do so without regard to join with Mazepa. The “last Viking”, as Swedish king was called, clashed with Zhovkivsky plan that Peter incarnated in Byelorussia. All villages and settlements, cereal fields were burning on his way. It was impossible to obtain food”⁶⁶.

“Again Peter I overacted Karl XII: he actually imposed upon him own program of actions by proactive steps, keeping him out of the center of Russia. Swedes had the only option: to go southward», — draws the conclusion Grigoriev⁶⁷ on the basis of the Swedish sources.

Modern French historian and writer of the Russian origin Henri Truaya draws attention to the geopolitical aspects of Peter I strategy: “After Russia put him into rage (defeat near Narva in 1700 — O.D.), *he realized the enormous sizes of country, inexhaustible land resources, boundless self-control of the people. Such strong and generous nation can lose ten, twenty battles, he thought, and in the end it will exhaust opponent and bring him to his knees*”⁶⁸.

Later on, Peter I took the geopolitical advantages in full. “Tsar decided to give up a struggle and weaken opponent by successive retreat of troops in the depth of Russia, devastating a country after itself. Large territory, time, hunger and frost will be his allies... During advancement in the depth of Russia, Karl XII soldiers met only burned out villages, empty warehouses, naked deserted fields... An army retreated for long. And it partly used for its necessity everything that it met on its way and annihilated

and burned remaining stocks so that the enemy is not able to use it”, — writes Henri Truaya⁶⁹.

His statement about retreat of the Russian troops “into the depth of Russia» needs clarification. In fact, they retreated into depth of Byelorussia first, and then Ukraine. Geopolitical genius of Peter appeared in that he exhausted the Swedish army in the Ukrainian territory, instead of Russia. Thus, he blew up geopolitical foundations of Hetmanshchina. Most probably, he did it fully consciously.

Tactic of the ‘scorched earth’ in Ukraine resulted in destruction of its economic potential. The Ukrainian human resources were purposefully destroyed at the same time. “Just imagine, how many thousand Cossacks tsar called for unfair war in these years, which decreased manpower and exhausted soldiery fine fellows, as emptying then from defenders so that later it would be easier to oppress and submit them under own rule”, — wrote Karl XII in the above manifest, part of which was definitely drafted by Ukrainians⁷⁰.

Thus, was the main initiator of Swedes turn to Ukraine was not Mazepa but Peter I. It was him who compelled Karl XII to move southward. And later he laid the blame for scorched Ukrainian land upon Mazepa who allegedly encouraged aggressor by the promises.

Karl XII role should not be disregarded in this situation as well. At certain point, Dmitro Dontsov made very clear notice about that. “Young Swedish king, the diplomatic capabilities of whom were underestimated by his successors, hoped, presumably, to weaken Russian onslaught in direction to the Baltic sea by way of supporting old legal-state aspirations of Ukrainians. It was perfect timing for this. Rough actions of Peter I that annulled the old rights of the Ukrainian republic provided by agreements, again put forward people in Ukraine who wanted to whip off hateful sovereignty of tsar by force”, — wrote the publicist in his *History of the Ukrainian State Idea*⁷¹.

The Swedish king should not be depicted as complete ignoramus as did Grigoriev by asserting that he did not consider Ukraine as “clear geographical notion”⁷². There is no doubt that Karl XII, who was interested in military history, studied well wars of the

grandfather — Karl X and knew about the Ukrainian vector of his policy. Young Swedish king operated fully in a spiritual conception of ‘balance of powers’, which disseminated in Europe and in accordance with which he tried to balance forces with Russia by attracting Ukraine to his cause. This was logical in the condition of the «scorched earth», and this was quite possible way for continuation of war in the opponent territory.

One more aspect of the Swedish-Ukrainian relations, namely — attitude of Cossacks toward arrival of Karl XII army is also of interest. «Despite “untolerable relations between the troops of the of occupation Russian regime and Ukrainian Cossacks and population”, as the Ukrainian historian and publicists write presently, there was no second ‘bulavinshina’ in Ruthenia at that time. All Left Bank Ukrainians swore to the ‘large sovereign’ and considered themselves as Russian citizens», — notes mentioned above V. Artamonov⁷³.

And the direct participant of those events testified: “These lands (that is for 10 miles from Starodub. — O.D.), unlike all other places (burned by order of Peter I to the west of that locality. — O.D.), were suitable to life with all stocks intact, and only angered Cossacks prevented Russians from burning or taking everything. Representative of this place came to Swedes camp and offered all necessary supplies”⁷⁴.

So, not all the population kept loyalty to the Russian tsar. There was “very large anger and rage of Cossacks” towards Muscovites. Mazepa outlined his political line too late and people were simply confused by his previous policy of faithful service to the Moscow tsar. For this reason, hetman did not succeed to mobilize all potential of people indignation by the burden of Moscow, which, as we see from the above document, existed.

Now let’s say few words about significance of the Poltava battle and its influence on the result of North War from the geopolitics standpoint.

Yes, its significance is large as it became a turning point in all North War; Peter I finally took the strategic initiative. But in itself, this battle was not that significant: this was important episode, but it did not determine the final result of North War. Even in the case of defeat under Poltava, there were enormous

geopolitical reserves of Peter: territory hostile to the Swedes and possibility to mobilize a new army for continuation of struggle during short period of time. Peter overacted the young opponent: he forced him to conduct battle actions in hostile territory. Karl wanted the most rapid deciding battle and did not realize that even in case of his victory in the battle it decided nothing. Russia even after the defeat would have considerable reserves. And even if Swedes won near Poltava, they, undoubtedly, would sustain considerable human losses. And after that Karl simply would have no troops in the conditions of guerilla warfare (which he, to a great extent, provoked, in particular by the repressions in Slobozhanshina) to move to Moscow.

‘Even taking Poltava did not resolve the situation: would it be possible after taking Poltava to move farther to Belgorod, Kharkov, Moscow? The Russians would keep Nezhin, Chernigiv, Pereyasavl, to say nothing of Kiev, and, even if Swedes succeed to win in the open field, Russians would easily remedy and replenish all losses (would the army be destroyed) and retreat to Kharkov’, — noticed the known Soviet scientist, expert in history of Napoleon wars, academician Tarle⁷⁵. Well, Napoleon entered Moscow — ‘heart of Russia’, after his utterance, and what benefit did he have from it? — Burned out city, hunger and frost. Karl XII faced almost the same situation one hundred years prior to him in Ukraine. Napoleon Bonapart knew about bitter experience of the predecessor and even promised not to repeat the “foolish” errors of Karl XII⁷⁶, and this forced him to escape from Moscow along the broke Smolensk road while leaving almost all army to die.

Swedish king lost the war long before Poltava. This circumstance was mentioned by Peter Englund. From the beginning of 1709, “strategic position of Swedes got gradually worse, and they sustained severe losses. At least one fifth part of army perished without reaching the set goals. The Russian losses were higher, but Russians operated in own country and could easily reinforce army by new recruits and new, clean equipment”, — wrote Swedish historian⁷⁷.

A question is: did Karl XII have some chances to win in war with Russia one on one in Russian and Ukrainian territory in general?

An exhaustive answer to this question was given by Frederic Engels. In the work «*Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism*» (1889–1890), he wrote: “Let us imagine Russia in the middle of the last century. At that time it already occupied enormous territory. The population was sparse but growing like a weed; consequently, only one time provided growth of country power. This population was in a state of spiritual stagnation, it was deprived of every initiative, but within the framework of the traditional way of life it was capable of everything; stable, brave, obedient, able to overcome any burdens and shortages, it supplied wonderful soldier’s material for wars of that time, when large masses decided the result of battle. Country neighboured Europe with only one western boundary and was vulnerable only from this side; it does not have center, which occupation would force it to conclusion of peace, it is almost absolutely inaccessible for the conquest as a result of lack of roads, length of territory and poverty of resources. Such country is in the invulnerable powerful position for anyone who is able to use it as permitting to do such things in Europe, which would bring any other government to endless wars.

Strong, almost unapproachable in its defensive Russia was accordingly weak in the offensive».

Engels expressly marked that power and prestige of Sweden were «undermined exactly by virtue of that Karl XII did an attempt to intrude to Russia; by doing so he ruined Sweden and evidently demonstrated inaccessibility of Russia”⁷⁸.

Development of events after Poltava battle confirms correctness of Engels opinion. Russia failed to gain final victory over weakened Sweden over 10 years. When Peter I made to attempt to conduct offensive war against Turkey, he almost lost not only whole army but also personal freedom and his life during Prut march of 1711.

Peter I built an empire in global scales. He was not going to be limited only to dry lands of Eurasia.

“Russia needs water”. He addressed these words to prince Kantemir (Moldavian owner who joined the side of Peter I in North War time. — *O.D.*) and they became the motto of all his life! The conquest of Azov sea was the purpose of his first war with Turkey, conquest of Baltica — the purpose of his war with Sweden, conquest of the Black Sea — the purpose of his second war against Porta, and conquests of Caspian Sea — the purpose of his perfidious encroachment in Persia. Dry land was enough for the system of local expansion, water was needed for the system of world expansion. Only as a result of transformation of Muscovy from a fully continental country into empire with marine borders Muscovy policy could go beyond its traditional limits and find embodiment in that bold synthesis, that, by combining aggressive methods of Mongolian slave and world-conquering tendencies of Mongolian possessor, provided the vital source to modern Russian diplomacy», — wrote Karl Marx in his currently almost unknown work⁷⁹.

Being blinded by his imperialistic aggression aspirations, noticed one of founders of scientific geopolitics, American Alfred Mehen, “tsar, as seeing exhaustion of Sweden, intended to overmaster it fully. This violation of balance of powers in the Baltic Sea that may result in making it the Russian lake, disturbed both England and France”⁸⁰. Great powers rescued Sweden from the final defeat, however as a result of war with Russia, said Mehen, it turned into «second-rate state»⁸¹. regarding Ukraine, great powers did not care about it at all and it was finally absorbed by the Russian empire.

* * *

This being said, it is necessary to reiterate as follows:

1. Initiative of formation of the Swedish-Ukrainian military-political union developed in Sweden, which lacked human power for realization of the territorial expansion.

2. Hetman Mazepa made attempt to implement the idea of Bogdan Khmelnytsky who in the difficult moment of national liberation revolution tried to form powerful anti-Polish and later anti-Russian coalition that would include Ukraine and Sweden.

3. Swedish direction of geopolitics of Ivan Mazepa has induced nature. On the first stage of being a hetman, he aimed to build the Cossack state including Ukrainian ethnic lands. North War of 1700–1721 hampered embodiment of his plans.

4. While understanding intention of Peter I at first to limit and later to liquidate the autonomy of Hetmanshchina, Mazepa chose foreign-policy course towards Sweden, which was unanimously considered by European political leaders as winner in war with Muscovy.

5. Claim of Russian historiography and propaganda about intention of Mazepa to submit Ukraine to power of Poland is based on the obviously falsified agreement of hetman with Polish king of the Swedish orientation Stanislav Leshchinsky. Any other known document reads nothing of this matter. Instead, clear desire of Mazepa and his like-minded persons to form a strong military-political union with Sweden is traced.

6. The strategy of «burned out land» used by Peter I and not «invitation» of Mazepa compelled Karl XII to turn to Ukraine.

7. Conscious efforts of the Russian tsar to devastate territory of Ukraine and drain blood of its human power undermined geopolitical foundations of the state that Mazepa envisaged.

8. Geopolitical advantages of Muscovy (territory, population) had the deciding influence upon its victory in North War. Poltava battle just accelerated victory of Peter I, but it was not deciding event during their struggle.

9. Far not all Ukrainian population kept loyalty to the Russian tsar, as Russian historiography asserts. There was «very large anger and rage of Cossacks» to Muscovites. Mazepa outlined the political line too late and people were simply confused by his previous policy of faithful service to the Moscow tsar. This was a reason why hetman did not succeed in mobilizing all people potential to fight against Moscow, which is depicted in history documents.

10. As a result of North War, the Sweden lost its imperial character. Instead, new empire evolved in Europe — Russian empire. However mighty European powers, above all — England and France, prevented the conquest of Sweden by Russia and transformation of the Baltic Sea into the «internal Russian lake».

- ¹ *Ensen Alfred*. Mazepa. — C., 1992. — P. 41.
- ² *Tsvetkov S.E.* Karl XII: Biography. — 2000. — p. 20.
- ³ *Ensen Alfred*. Ibid. — p. 42.
- ⁴ Ibid. — p. 43.
- ⁵ *Gerner Kristian*. Ukraine and Sweden: constructing and shared history // Ivan Mazepa and his days. History, culture, national memory. Materials of international scientific conference. — C., 2008. — p. 44–45.
- ⁶ *Doroshenko D.I.* Essay of history of Ukraine. — L., 1991. — p. 273.
- ⁷ *Kovalenko Sergey*. Last rank of large hetman. — C., 2010. — p. 48.
- ⁸ Ibid. — p.50.
- ⁹ *Smoliy V.A., Stepankov V.S.* Ukrainian national revolution of the XVII century / Ukraine through ages. — T. 7. — C., 1999. — p. 193.
- ¹⁰ Secret memorial ftsr Kongl. Maj-ts fullmdgtige Sndningebud till Tzaaren osh Storfursten and Russland. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Handskriftsenheten, 438. — Nordiska Samlingen (Nordin), pdrm 438. — Dokument 13th. — p. 141. — Uppsala, Sverige.
- ¹¹ *Brekhunenko Victor*. How Russia traded by Ukraine. — C., 2007. — p. 9.
- ¹² *Kovalenko Sergey*. Ibid. — p. 99.
- ¹³ *Grushevsky Mihaylo*. History of Ukraine-Russia. — T. X. — C., 1998. — p. 65.
- ¹⁴ Quoted from: *Brekhunenko Victor*. Ibid. — p. 13.
- ¹⁵ Encyclopedia of history of Ukraine. T. 1. — C., 2003. — p. 556.
- ¹⁶ Legal encyclopedia. T. 1. — C., 1998. — p. 576.
- ¹⁷ *Englund Peter*. Poltava. Recital of death of one army. — X. — Stockholm, 2009. — p. 25–26.
- ¹⁸ See for details: *Dubina Alexander*. The geopolitical drafts of hetman Mazepa // Siveryanski chronicle. — 2009. — № 6. — p. 12–55.
- ¹⁹ *Englund Peter*. Ibid. — p. 34.
- ²⁰ *Kovalenko Sergey*. Ibid. — p. 137.
- ²¹ *Galushka Kirill*. Ukrainian nationalism: FAQ for Russians, or who and why invented Ukraine. — C., 2010. — p. 252.
- ²² *Kovalenko Sergey*. Ibid. — p. 76.
- ²³ Ibid. — p. 50.
- ²⁴ *Grigorev Boris*. Karl XII. Or five bullets for king. —, 2006. — p. 59, 57.
- ²⁵ *Shevchuk Valery*. Educated possessor. Ivan Mazepa as builder of the Cossack state and as literature hero. — C., 2006. — p. 148–149.
- ²⁶ *Romantsov V.O.* Ukrainian ethnos: in century old lands and beyond their borders (XVIII—XX c.). — C., 1998. — p. 43.
- ²⁷ *Briukner A.* Slavic nations (Poland) / World history. T. 3. — Ch.I. — SPb, 1911. — p. 419.
- ²⁸ Poland, history. (20092009). Encyclopdia Britannica. Encyclopdia Britannica 2007 Ultimate Reference Suite. Chicago: Encyclopdia Britannica.
- ²⁹ *Anisimov E.V.* Imperial Russia. — SPb, 2008. — p. 10.
- ³⁰ History of Ukrainian SSR. T. 3. — C., 1983. — p. 123.
- ³¹ Great history of Ukraine: In 2 volumes. — Tom II.— C., 1993. — p. 160.
- ³² *Smoliy V.A., Stepankov V.S.* Bogdan Khmelnytsky. Chronicle of life and activity. — C., 1994. — p. 25.
- ³³ *Borshak I.* Oriikiana // Tilling Ukraine. Zb. VII and VIII. — Vienna, 1922–1923. — p. 352.
- ³⁴ Ibid. — p. 350.
- ³⁵ *Yakovleva T.G.* Mazepa-getman: in search for historic objectiveness // Moder times. 2003 № 4, July — August. — p. 54–59; *Tairova-Yakovleva T.* Mazepa. —, 2007. — p. 166–220; *Tairova-Yakovleva T.G.* Ivan Mazepa and Russian empire. History of «treason». —, 2011. — p. 315–336.

- ³⁶ *Tairova-Yakovleva T.G.* Ivan Mazepa and Russian empire. History of «treason». — 2011. — p. 328.
- ³⁷ *Instrumentum Pacis inter Sacras Regias Majestates Sveciae et Poloniae.* Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Handskriftsenheten, Kongl. Placater Resolut. — Ftsrordn. — Osh Pebud MM. — 1705 — 09. — p. 1465.
- ³⁸ *Pavlenko Sergey.* Revolt of Mazepa: myths and reality. — Chernigov, 2009. — p. 85–98.
- ³⁹ *Artamonov V.A., Kochegarov C.A., Kurukin I.V.* Swedish army invasion to Getmanshchina in 1708. — SPb, 2008. — p. 21.
- ⁴⁰ Letter Jan Balyoz about Mazepa // Ivan Mazepa. Artistic-documentary book. — C., 1992. — p. 77.
- ⁴¹ Quoted from: letter of Philip Orlik to the Kiev metropolitan Stephen Yavorsky (1721) // Ogloblin Alexander. Hetman Mazepa and his days. — New York; Kiev; Lvov; Paris; Toronto, 2001. — p. 405.
- ⁴² *Ibid.* — p. 415.
- ⁴³ *Kostomarov N.I.* Mazepa. — 2004. — p. 200–201.
- ⁴⁴ 1708, October 30. — Degtiarivka. Letter of I. Mazepa to Starodubski colonel Ivan Skoropadski about the reasons of transition to the side of Swedish king // Day of hetman Ivan Mazepa in documents / Ed. by O. Pavlenko. — C., 2007. — Doc. № 288. — p. 249.
- ⁴⁵ *Tomashivsky Stephen.* From messages Carolintiv about 1708/09. // ZNTSh. — 1909. — T. 92. — Cn. VI. — p. 75. (Orthography of publication is preserved).
- ⁴⁶ *Diarium aus der Schwedisch. Arme in Severien, 1708.* — Uppsala universitetsbibliotek. — Handskriftsenheten, 55. — Palmskitidsdiske Samlingen af Handskrefne osh Tryckte Handlingar. — Pdrm 55. — Dokument 34. — p. 221, and tysk. — Uppsala, Sverige.
- ⁴⁷ 1708, December 16. — Romni. The manifest of Karl XII to the Ruthenia people // Day of hetman Ivan of Mazepa in documents / Ed. by: S. O. Pavlenko. — C., 2007. — Doc. № 547. — p. 681.
- ⁴⁸ Universal of hetman I. Skoropadski about loyalty of Ukrainians to the Russian tsar // Day of hetman Ivan of Mazepa in documents / Ed. by S.O. Pavlenko. — C., 2007. — Doc. № 380. — p. 336 — 342.
- ⁴⁹ *Shevchuk Valery.* *Ibid.* — p. 234.
- ⁵⁰ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek. Handskriftsenheten. — F. 103. — Handlingar till Sveriges politiska historia, 1704–1709. — Pdrm F 103. — Hdft 1708. — Dokument 25. — p. 272–273. — Uppsala, Sverige.
- ⁵¹ 1710, on April, 10. Benderi — Constitution of Philip Orlik // Universals of Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709). Ch. II. — Kiev — Lvov, 2006. — Addition III. — Dock. № 1. — p. 638, 639.
- ⁵² Conclusion of rights of Ukraine. — New York, 1964. — p.88.
- ⁵³ Manifest of Hetman Orlik to the European governments // Borshak I. Orlikiana. Tilling Ukraine. Zb. VII and VIII. — Vienna, 1922 — 1923. — p. 367.
- ⁵⁴ 1710, on April, 10. Benderi — Constitution of Philip Orlik // Universals of Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709). Ch. II. — Kiev; Lvov, 2006. — Addition III. — p. 638–639.
- ⁵⁵ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Handskriftsenheten. — F141. — Handlingar till Sveriges politiska historia. — Pdrm 141. — p. 120.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibidem.* — p. 121.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibidem.* — p. 123.
- ⁵⁸ Quoted from: *Chukhlib Taras.* Cossacks and Monarchs. International relations of the early modern Ukrainian state 1648–1721 — C., 2009. — p. 488.
- ⁵⁹ History of Ukrainian SSR. V. 3. — C., 1983. — p. 318.
- ⁶⁰ *Krupnitsky Boris.* Hetman Mazepa and his days. — C., 2008. — p. 179.

- ⁶¹ *Chukhlib Taras*. Way to Poltava: Ukraine and Russia in times of hetman Mazepa. — C., 2008. — p. 149.
- ⁶² *Ibid.* — p. 55.
- ⁶³ *World history*. T.V. —, 1958. — p. 408.
- ⁶⁴ *Smolyannikov Sergey*. Ivan Mazepa. Anatomy of treason of Judas way: from glory to dishonor. — C., 2009. — p. 14.
- ⁶⁵ *Grigorev Boris*. *Ibid.* — p. 270.
- ⁶⁶ *Tairova-Yakovleva T*. Mazepa. —, 2007. — p. 215.
- ⁶⁷ *Grigorev Boris*. *Ibid.* — p. 269.
- ⁶⁸ *Truaya Henri*. Peter the Great. —, 2006. — p. 170.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* — p. 179–180.
- ⁷⁰ *Shevchuk Valery*. *Ibid.* — p. 238; Time of hetman Ivan of Mazepa in documents / Ed by S.O. Pavlenko. — C., 2007. — Doc. № 547. — p. 682.
- ⁷¹ *Dontsov Dmitro*. History of development of the Ukrainian state idea. — C., 1991. — p. 17.
- ⁷² *Grigorev Boris*. *Ibid.* — p. 270.
- ⁷³ *Artamonov V.A*. *ibid.* — p. 44.
- ⁷⁴ *Diarium aus der Schwedisch. Arme in Severien, 1708.* — Uppsala universitetsbibliotek. — Handskriftsenheten, 55. — Palmskitidsdiske Samlingen af Handskrefne osh Tryckte Handlingar. — Pdmr 55. — Dokument 34. — p. 221, and tysk. — Uppsala, Sverige.
- ⁷⁵ *Tarle E.V*. Collected works. V. 10. —, 1959. — p. 651.
- ⁷⁶ *Grigorev Boris*. *Ibid.* — p. 270.
- ⁷⁷ *Englund Peter*. *Ibid.* — p. 58.
- ⁷⁸ *Marx K., Engels F*. Works. V. 22. — 1962. — p. 16–17.
- ⁷⁹ *Marx K*. Debunking of diplomatic history of the 18th century. http://scepsis.ru/library/id_884.html.
- ⁸⁰ *Mahan A.T*. The influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783. Twelfth edition. — Boston, 1918. — P. 239.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.* — P. 231.





Valery Soldatenko

He was born on April 13, 1946 in Selidov in Donetsk area. Graduated from historical faculty of the Taras Shevchenko State University of Kiev (1970). He worked as a teacher, senior research assistant in Institute of History of Party, head of department of Institute of political and ethno-national studies of NAS of Ukraine. corresponding member of NAS Ukraine, Ph.D in historical science, professor. Since July 2010 — head of Ukrainian institute of national memory. He published over 500 scientific works, 17 of them — individual monographs on the problems of political, national-liberation movement in Ukraine of the first decades of XX century, creation of the national state. The winner of the International award of V.Vinnichenko and NAS Ukraine.

THE WARSAW AGREEMENT OF 1920. A MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHIC DISCOURSE

Practically since the moment of agreement signing between the Ukrainian National Republic and Second Rzeczpospolita (April 1920) till now, there have been scientific and political debates about its background and essence, and, the main thing — its consequences. It is natural that the process was initiated by those events participants¹.

In due course, the important historical episode found interpretations both in the works devoted to civil war, military interventions in general² and in the studies of events at regional Ukrainian level chronologically marked exactly by 1920³. According to the class approach, conceptual version was given social colouring: «War with bourgeois-landowner Poland», «Defeat of armies of bourgeois-landowner Poland» and so on⁴. Actually, the plot was that the next campaign against the Soviet Republics as organized by international imperialism, first of all by Entente, constant aggression Polish state⁵. S. Petliura's agreement with J. Pilsudski, actions of UNR government officials, of course, were resolutely condemned, especially bribability of East Galicia and West Volyn.

Poland, naturally, also did not stop attempts of provide own vision of what occurred in 1920. the Main interest focused upon finding-out the reasons of failures of east campaign and its consequences for internal political and foreign policy position of Rzeczpospolita⁶. They mostly considered concept of clash of two worlds — the old (bourgeois) and new (socialist), in which the obedient satellite Poland was in the center of war. In such versions, freely or involuntarily, actual role of Ukrainian factors was underestimated as subordinates to global considerations and the processes and their derivatives. And though the battlefield evolved in the territory of Ukraine, they better fitted the general concept of struggle of world revolution against the world capitalism.

The emigrant literature in interwar period continued to “break lances” about assessment of the Warsaw agreement. Thus authors quite often stood on opposite positions, sometimes even manipulate historical material in order just to prove their own righteous point of view. Scientific character becomes less important⁷.

Modern Ukrainian studies of attempt to avoid assessment of events from war point of view (as external aggression). Concepts prevail, according to which UNR Directorate led by S. Petliura in a context of continuation of struggle against the Soviet power in Ukraine (i.e. internal, civil war) considered the Poles as close allies. However, the latter demonstrated inconsistency, instability, which led to defeat of Ukrainian cause⁸.

So, eventually, war at some authors is transformed on opposite intrinsic qualification. B. Gud and V. Golubka assumed this stance followed by O.Kalakura, whose corresponding paragraph of the monograph was named «the Polish-Ukrainian consent»⁹. Some authors who support this idea try not only to justify but also to praise role of S. Petliura in very difficult and controversial historical event (let’s talk about this later while examining facts, events, and documents). Logic development in the designated direction results even in completely positive assessment of J. Pilsudski role in Ukrainian-Polish relations¹⁰.

So, considerable number of aspects of controversial experience of 1920 should be recreated from the scratch while trying not to take somebody’s extreme position under the influence of the newest political conjuncture.

Considering that history is made by masses, and the person has the greatest chance to affect upon course of events in case of deep comprehension of national movements vectors, quite often episodes and social development phases occur when history is made by subjective aspirations, actions of the charismatic politician. Head of UNR Directorate, the Main Otaman of its army S. Petliura played such role in 1920 in national history.

While painfully enduring defeats of 1919, S. Petliura desperately aspired a revenge. And first of all, and, probably, above all, he thought where to find those forces, which would return him personal authority over any part of Ukraine. He did not propose any constructive program of the state development or projects of social transformation. At least they were not publicly offered to the society. Whole essence of considerations and combinations aimed towards one purpose — to destroy the hated Soviet power, which was qualified as absolutely strange to the nature of Ukrainian nations and enforced upon in Ukraine by means of Russian bayonets. Persons who assisted strengthening of Bolshevik regime in Ukraine, were proclaimed mean traitors of national cause, allies of foreign enslavers of Ukrainianhood.

It was possible to destroy the enemy power only with armed efforts, only war, which may bring both victories and defeats. And what is the nature of such military victories and defeats? This means destruction of not only thousands, tens of thousands of contenders, enemies but also of supporters, colleagues, friends. And quite a lot of blood. And quite often — a lot of casual, innocent deaths. All this means inevitable damnations, desire to revenge to those who played leading role in civil war. Probably, none of such persons ever avoided such unenviable destiny even after the termination of combat operations. Eventually, yesterday's heroes repeatedly turned in public consciousness of enough considerable percent of the population to criminals and vice versa.

Did the Head of UNR Directorate, Main Otaman understand this? Most of all, he should understand or, probably, instinctively understood this while considering his plans after returning home. But he rejected doubts and uncontrollably aspired struggle.

S. Petliura's stay in Warsaw where he arrived on December 7, 1919 and met with J. Pilsudski on December 9 was not comfortable. There was an air of Poles enmity to Ukrainians who «have

dared» to go «that far» and attempted to establish statehood in the territories of East Galicia and the West Volyn — «eternal Polish areas».

O. Dotsenko, S. Petliura's former aide-de-camp, in «Annals of the Ukrainian Revolution» mentioned the numerous facts about the Polish terror in the Ukrainian lands in December 1919 — January 1920 and later. His comments in each phrase included terms — «rampage of Poles», «robbery», «cruelty», «mockery», «Polish extortion and violence», «Polish military orgy» and so on¹¹.

I. Mazepa also shares the numerous impressions, which essence is formulated as follows: «Poles behaved in our lands like invaders»¹². He, in particular, presents essence of information received from Head administrator of UNR government I. Ogienko about situation in Kamianets area: «Poles took away and exported everything to Poland: bread, sugar, various military property, leather, stocks of manufactory and other goods. They took even phones from the district administration office and destroyed also all devices. The prices for all items in the market rocketed high. Simultaneously, Poles took all administration in their hands. They began the organized requisitions, arrests, searches. All Ukrainian national signs in the city are destroyed, the Ukrainian flag is removed, Ukrainian signboards are ordered to be draw in Polish language. Eventually, the Polish local commandant Ocetkevich in his address to the population proclaimed Kamianets and the whole district of Kamianets as Polish territory.

While telling me about all this Ogienko said that he and representatives of our government in Warsaw undertake all steps for elimination of these Polish «usages», but so far there are no results of our efforts. He told that nobody carries out our orders, each Polish member of the government acts in his own way»¹³.

Even S. Petliura, being in Poland «for a visit», was prompted to apply to J. Pilsudski with the memorandum. UNR Leader almost in each paragraph assured «the Head of Polish Noblemen» of his respect and love to Poles and humiliatingly asked to cease their willfulness and terror with regard to Ukrainians¹⁴.

The Head of Directorate (however, the latter did not exist — there was just «director») understood that situation was much more complicated. Poles acted in the Western Ukraine as

they wanted, feeling themselves absolute masters and not going to listen to anybody's protests, objections, or requests. And S. Petliura knew that he had no power to change this and eventually had to agree with such behaviour of Poland. And the reason for this was not only his powerlessness. He was going to become a hostage of own line of conduct.

S. Petliura started developing own ideological and diplomatic and political trap since the end of 1918, when Russian staff officers have imposed upon him the strategy, according to which the only possible ally to UNR would become only Entente. Still, he should be too poor functionary not to understand from the first contacts with Entente circles that for understanding with them it is necessary to pay the improbable price. Absolutely unreal would be expectation that Entente would recede from support of plans of revival of uniform and indivisible Russia, for which realization White movement was powerfully prepared and, at the same time, would refuse idea of «Greater Poland», of which West Ukraine always was considered to be indispensable component.

Since the first months of 1919 while choosing «from two harms less», the Main Otaman psychologically was prepared to sacrificing East Galicia with its mainly Ukrainian population. On February 27, he met representatives of the Entente missions General Bertelemy who came from Warsaw in Hodorov for negotiations concerning delimitation line between UGA and the Polish army. The French diplomat made the categorical demand to cease offensive actions against Poland and offered the armistice project, as per which the most part of Galicia with Lviv and all oil fields of Volyn should be cut off Ukraine. S. Petliura recognized that Entente functionaries took the Poland side that their offer «was not quite favourable for Galicia interests»¹⁵. And this did not stop the Main Otaman. «But I insisted on its adopting, — he explained to General-ensign M. Udovichenko, — as by doing so we would reach: a) de-facto recognition of Ukraine by the Entente; b) receive possibilities to create base for delivering ammunition from Europe, and c) base ourselves on Europe in our struggle against Bolsheviks — that is with Moscow. Galicia people with help of Omelianovich-Pavlenko who never understood state affairs rejected those provisions despite the fact that I warned them

about Galler corps that was formed in France. Galica Army suffered defeat»¹⁶.

The presented extract from S. Petliura's letter is quite noticeable from many points of view. In the end of malicious 1919, there were active negotiations with representatives of interventionists in Odessa and Birzul and the Main Otaman unambiguously let know the partners that he and his supporters stand ready for decisive actions.

«Warning» of Galicia representatives «about Galler corps» also attracts attention. This expressly manifests «Masonic style». That is why V. Savchenko remarks: «Petliura regarded his freemasonry as important point in relations with France, which, in his opinion, should open all doors to diplomatic representatives of the Entente states and the USA and finish political crisis in the unrecognized Ukrainian republic»¹⁷. The West was promised that Ukraine of Petliura would carry out active anti-bolshevist policy and establish the allied relations with Poland — and it will be the stability base in East Europe¹⁸.

«Petliura sincerely believed that Ukraine should develop itself independently and even to set an example of the first «Masonic republic». This purpose should be realized with use of Big lodge of Ukraine (7 local lodges, 83 circles, 800 «brothers») and S. Petljura became great master in the spring of 1919¹⁹. Ruling circles of the international freemasonry in France supported not Petliura's «free masons» but their competitors — those who grouped around its contender — S. Morkotun, as representing forces in Ukraine, which in the autumn of 1918 resorted to revival of uniform and indivisible Russia.

Galicia refusal of S. Petliura's persisting offers, despite «warning» «about Galler corps», of course, interfered with realization by the Main Otaman of plans and defeated them. So, direct reaction to a situation in the Ukrainian camp was the telegram to Paris of Z. Nulans, head of mission in Warsaw of the Paris peace conference High Council. In particular, it read: «the Ukrainian government insists on carrying out in Odessa negotiations with representatives of allies concerning military cooperation and recognition of Ukraine by Entente... At any cost, it is necessary by applying method of pressure upon the Hungarian government to prevent supplies to the Ukrainian party of the weapon and ammu-

nitition, which are exchanged for oil products en route of Mokai-Striy. Eventually, prohibition of import of the goods to Ukraine until it obey to will of Entente could be also effective means against Ukraine...»²⁰.

Absolute uncompromising attitude of Entente missionaries did not reduce S. Petliura's desire to reach the agreement with them. On the contrary, it led to readiness to agree for new trade-offs both at negotiations in Odessa, and with the Polish party (contacts here practically continued during whole 1919, and missions changed one another). And the more hopeless the prospect of UNR help by Entente became, the more S. Petliura felt dependence on the only generally possible saving «Polish factor».

And eventually it is impossible not to pay attention to one more point. Just a little more than one month has passed after declaration of the Reunification Act of January 22, 1919, but member of the UNR Directorate, who signed the Conciliarity Universal, has already expressed his readiness to violate its nature. The Main Otaman speaks about UGA without sympathy and not as about the subordinate (even formally) military unit but as about something alien — he warned about J. Galler corps, they did not listened to him, and the Ukrainian Galicia Army suffered defeat (it was an unwanted feeling — «you did not listened — you got a problem!»).

With each new mission sent by S. Petliura to J. Pilsudski as well as during secret meetings with emissaries of the latter²¹, the Ukrainian politician more and more adhered himself to «the Polish chariot». Official Warsaw behaved stubbornly concerning a problem of East Galicia and West Volyn. V. Kurdinovski even concluded the agreement in May 1919 with the head of the Polish government I. Paderevskii who promised Poland wide territorial cessions (border in Galicia should go at Zbruch)²². V. Kurdinovski's arrangements who allegedly went beyond his powers were disavowed by the government of Ukraine. Nevertheless, they added to difficult mutual relations of UNR and ZUNR, and Poles successfully used the agreement text at peace conference in Paris thus achieving recognition of cessation of East Galicia to Poland. In September, Ukrainian delegation led by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine A. Livitski went to Warsaw for negotiations with the Polish government. Even though the then head

of Council of national ministers I. Mazepa asserted in the memoirs that nobody was going to conclude agreements «at the expense of Galicia»²³ and did not give corresponding instructions, the situation developed towards this end. And Head of the UNR Directorate and the Main Otaman only delayed the inevitable accept of the Polish demands as he was forced to abide by UGA potential. Without it, S. Petliura would lose any reliable support in Ukraine long time ago.

Therefore, for example, statement by the next missionary to Warsaw P. Pilipchuk should be considered as careful checking reaction to potential step. On August 23, 1919 the Polish newspapers announced about disinterest of UNR government in East Galicia affairs. Probably, there was also a provocation of Polish journalists who might consciously misinterpreted diplomat words²⁴. Still, it may be quite calculated and often used in diplomatic practice «trial balloon» (with the obviously prepared following attributes of public refutations, withdrawal of envoys, etc.).

In August 1919, just before delegation of P. Pilipchuk dispatched to Warsaw, S. Petliura has personally addressed for the first time with the letter to J. Pilsudski, in which he underlined that «there is obvious extremity of the certain consent between Polish and Ukrainian commands for further struggle...»²⁵.

It should be noted that it was written at the moment of important tension of relations in the cathedral camp and maneuvers of the Ukrainian Galicia army command trying find ways to make understanding with Denikin. Naturally, these motives even more exaggerated by October 1919 when special diplomatic mission led by Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Livitskii was dispatched to Poland. It included also 4 Naddniprian representatives — L. Mihailiv, P. Poniatenko, B. Rzhpetski, P. Mshanetski and 3 Galicia representatives — S. Vitvitski, A. Gorbachevski, M. Novakivski.

Even during the first meetings, the Polish party took stubborn position concerning East Galicia, Holm and Pidliashshia regions, having transformed this issue into the major and key point of negotiations²⁶. Undoubtedly, S. Petliura was informed about categorical and in many cases barefaced blackmailing behaviour of Poles (A. Livitski regularly sent letters to Head of the UNR Directorate). Under these circumstances, his words from the letter to A. Livitski of November 11 were quite descriptive: «We strain

all forces but I am not sure whether this is enough. 5000 pairs of boots and overcoats, 5000 rifles with ammo could salvage us! — now settlement of our relations with Poland could salvage us — give us some basis, communication with the world and prospects. It is very pity that we have not begun these negotiations earlier: circumstances might be more favourable for us for conclusion of agreements with Poland» ²⁷.

In this letter, as well as in previous one of October 30, 1919²⁸, S. Petliura demands speeding up achievement of arrangements with Warsaw. He might get new motivations for this as well. Head of the UNR Directorate reports to A. Livitski about conclusion of agreement between UGA command and A. Denikin. In this light, words of regret concerning delay in intensive negotiations with Poles sound much more clear and formidably. And emotional phrases about salvation look like the direct instruction for accepting the Polish terms. After all, all previous experience of dialogue with the Polish partners proves that they would keep their positions. So, if it comes to necessity to be salvaged (with exclamatory sign), this is not a laughing matter any more and nobody cares about «saving face» and so on.

On November 15, 1919 (by then UGA joining Denikin camp became the proven fact), general meeting of UNR Directorate and government made one more decisive step towards Poland. If S. Litvin is correct (this document is not present in the newest edition of the collection of documents on UNR Directorate and government activity), the meeting resolved: 1) to recognize necessary of giving consent to an establishment of border line between UNR and Rzeczpospolita along Bertelemi line through the territory of Galicia and on small river Stir. The specified border is that maximum, to which the government can go; 2) concerning the demand of immediate basic recognition by the government in the agrarian issue of property principle, the meeting only declared that the final resolution of the principal points for conducting agrarian reform shall be performed by Parliament only²⁹.

So, S. Petliura and his environment have definitively come to necessity of accepting Polish demands (Bertelemi line — «maximum») as basis for development of further relations between two states. The only «trouble» was a public thought of Ukrainianhood, which perceived with alarm and protest the messages of assiduous

attempts to settle relations with Poles, about nature of agreements signed by Ukrainian representatives.

Declaration of December 2, 1919 submitted by mission of A. Livitski to the Polish government was a landmark yet controversial event causing a lot of questions. USDRP Central Committee even organized special meeting to find out its meaning on January 29, 1920, and A. Livitski listened to many critical reproaches, some of which he could not answer in satisfactory way. The declaration included, according to M. Shapoval, variety of points:

«a) UNR borders are established across Dniester, Zbruch and through Volyn,

b) UNR undertakes to ensure rights for the Poles in Ukraine similar to ones that Poles ensure for Ukrainians in Poland,

c) The final resolution of the land issue in Ukraine shall be made by Ukrainian Constituent Parliament, and before that time legal position of the Polish landowners in Ukraine is regulated on the basis of separate arrangements between Ukrainian and Polish Governments,

d) UNR intends to impose economical and trade relations with Poland on the equal basis as soon as possible.

UNR government expects from Poland:

a) UNR Recognition as independent state, support of Ukr. cause before other states and fastest conclusion of contracts and conventions of trade, military, and consular character,

b) in order to form kind atmosphere in relations, it is necessary to urgently resolve destiny of those Ukrainians, who are confined, interned or arrested by Poland for the political reasons,

c) Help UNR in struggle against enemies — with weapon, ammunition and so on,

d) transit through Poland to Ukraine of Ukrainian prisoners, bank notes, military equipment, clothes and so on»³⁰.

Information became known to Ukrainian political and military persons caused not only questions but also frank discontent.

Meanwhile, the Polish party replied to the declaration of the Ukrainian mission: «the presented intents will be satisfied. Now thanks to good will of Masters we can already proceed to entirely sincere cooperation. That Masters have made, will be advantageous not only for both interested nations but also for abroad»³¹.

The content (basic theses) of A. Livitski letter to S. Petliura of December 2, 1919 is also known: «We send you a copy of declaration, which we signed with regret and pain; before doing so I convened assembly of 30 persons, who unanimously expressed themselves in favour of signing the declaration; meeting was attended also by representatives of bourgeois parties; I have assembled them so that in the future Ukrainian bourgeoisie would not charge the modern government of «treason». I saw Pilsudski, who agrees to arrangement of our army in the area of Shepetivka-Polonno. He also agreed to forming in half-official method; he recommends that this task is assigned to the person not below lieutenant colonel of the General Staff. I named Yunakov, Salskii, Petrov. He liked Salskii the most. Poles have learnt about authorities of Makarenko and they did not like this. *They have categorically expressed in favour of that all Supreme Authority belonged only to you.* In Kaments, everything is safe. Administration is all ours, we established with Poles the best relations. I strongly believe that we never had better prospects as now, and so on»³².

Summing up importance of all documents known to him, M. Shapoval states: UNR heads were rather uncompromising when Ukrainian people demanded something, but they very easily made cessions to Polish gentry. They «did not worry what the Ukrainian peasantry and working class would tell, but they precautionary involved representatives of Ukr. bourgeoisie in their affairs so that the latter would not once charge them for “treason”. The petty bourgeoisie easily submits to greater one but is recklessly irreconcilable to labour masses»³³.

S. Petliura and A. Livitski who acted on behalf of Head of UNR Directorate received a lot of reproaches with expressed critical opinions even from the leading Ukrainianhood circles. So, USDRP Central Committee session in Kaments-Podilskii on January 29, 1920 (with participation of I. Mazepa, A. Livitski, M. Shadlun, I. Romanchenko) I. Mazepa has raised an issue: «How it happened that our mission submitted to the Polish government declaration, which resolutely contradicts instructions of our government?»³⁴

A. Livitski offered excuses: «I had very unpleasant feeling about signing of declaration on December 2. I have been forced to submit this declaration considering the requirement of Poles,

but have made it upon the consent from representatives of the Ukrainian citizenship whom I had possibility to see in Warsaw and in Galicia.

Our mission has made all for protection of interests of Ukraine. During the first Polish-Ukrainian session (on October 28) our representatives already pronounced declaration, in which we expressed ethnographic principle concerning borders of Ukraine. In agrarian business, the final decision shall be made by the future Ukrainian parliament. At the same time, our representatives put questions about fastest recognition by Poland of Ukraine's independence and about change regime in the Ukrainian lands occupied by Poles»³⁵. Poles have rejected this declaration as it did not meet the Polish interests. Their delegation demanded that the declaration shall specify about borders between Ukraine and Poland, about immediate streamlining of land ownership issue (for provision of interests of the Polish land owners in the Right Bank) and about provision of the cultural and national rights of the Poles in Ukraine. It was underlined that East Galicia should belong to Poland.

After November catastrophic crash of the Ukrainian front, Poles have started to categorically demand consideration of their terms, otherwise they generally threatened to cease all contacts with UNR mission. «In these conditions, our mission decided to revise the previous text of declaration, — explained A. Livitski. — We considered that we should not break with Poles as our army in that case would have no place to move.

After long meetings, during which Galicia representatives reserved special opinion and finally announced their leaving the mission, we made new draft of declaration, which included certain requests of Polish delegation.

Clear thing, this project exceeded power of our government»³⁶. Therefore A. Livitski immediately left for the government to get new instructions. But on the way to Ternopol, he learnt that the government has already left Starokostiantinov in an unknown direction to the east. While coming back to Warsaw, he decided to consult with members of the UNR Directorate F. Shvets and A. Makarenko in Lviv. Both persons together with V. Starosolskii and M. Kovalevskii expressed in favour of immediately presenting the declaration of the specified content. In Ternopol, the same

opinion was expressed by Socialist Revolutionary representatives A. Stepanenko, V. Kedrovski and P. Hristiuk.

In Warsaw, A. Livitski held meeting for discussion of the declaration draft. It was attended by the minister of land affairs M. Kovalevski (S-R), Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs P. Hristiuk (S-R), Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs V. Starosolskii (Galicia S-D), O. Kovalevski (peop.-republ.), S. Rusova (S-F), L. Staritska-Cherniakhivska (S-F), S. Shemet (khliv.-dem.), B. Gomzin (hlib.-dem.), Yu. Kollard (sam.-soc.). Almost all participants of the meeting after considering a critical situation have expressed in favour of immediate signing the declaration.

This very day, A. Livitski submitted the Ukrainian declaration of above content to the Polish government. «Naturally, the government may opt not to approve declaration of 2 December. — the Ukrainian diplomat concluded. — Then it should face inevitable liquidation of our further struggle. As without support on the neighbouring state we cannot recover the country life. Galicia make an agreement with Denikin at the expense of Podneprovski Ukraine, and we in this situation as developed after November catastrophic crash have nothing to do except for trying to find a way for continuing our struggle at least within Podneprovskii Ukraine»³⁷.

One does not need to possess skills of decoding «smart» diplomatic formulas to understand: the Ukrainian party agreed to the union with Poles at the expense of Western Ukraine while motivating the moral position, among other things, by «UGA treason».

I. Livitski's explanation did not completely satisfy participants of the meeting and the Head of council of national ministers stated on their behalf: «On my way to Kaments, I could not even imagine that we already face the fact of signing declaration of 2 December. All of us lived there, in the underground among enemies, absolutely with different thoughts and prospects. It seemed to us that first of all it is necessary to unite and reorganize our dispersed military forces today. Then we could shortly continue the struggle on the organized front. So, fact of signing declaration on 2 December worried me very much. After all, this is an additional divider in our relations with Galicia Army. We there

work all the time in a direction of unifying both armies. Now, obviously, we have to give up this matter. And as a matter of fact I do not share Livitski's optimism concerning those benefits, which the union with Poland can give us. It seems to me that behaviour of Poles on the Ukrainian lands occupied by them does not promise any good to us.

I state that declaration was presented without the government consent. But now it is not in our interests to formally break our relations with Poland. It is necessary only to closely watch that that Poles, using our grave condition, do not make general advance to Ukraine. In no case we can allow that new foreign forces invade Ukraine. It would again fold back masses from us. The intervention slogan is the most unpopular in Ukraine. Therefore we would better endure anarchy state in Ukraine for quite some time but continue struggle with own forces. It is necessary to demand from Poles immediate recognition of Ukrainian National Republic and termination of their army movement to the east»³⁸.

The Head of council of national ministers himself went to search the remaining units of UNR army, which under command of General M. Omelianovich-Pavlenko performed Winter raid in the backs of Denikin and Soviet armies. However, the contractual mechanism has been already triggered. It moved the case to logic end, and Ukrainian party had almost no influence upon this process. S. Petliura and his inner circle lost one ground after another and agreed to all the new demands of the Poles. They did not see any other way out.

At the beginning of March 1920, negotiations, which lasted in Warsaw since December 1919 in a mode of severe privacy, have considerably activated, though in general they appeared to be extremely difficult and wearisome. Ukrainians, in particular, for certain time did not want to agree to demands of Warsaw to establish the Polish control over the Ukrainian army and the railways and to appoint Poles to positions of assistants of all Ukrainian ministries. Still, weakness, and as a matter of fact — hopelessness of S. Petliura position at negotiations resulted in new acts of the Ukrainian party, which J. Pilsudski considered as a minor partner.

The steps performed by the Ukrainian diplomacy (numerous contacts, negotiations) established a way to conclusion of large-scale secret agreement, the resulting document which made history under the name of Warsaw agreement³⁹. In the concentrated way, final phase of the important act preparation was summarized in I. Livitski speech at USDRP Central Committee meeting in Vinnitsa on May 18, 1920: «I had to sign the agreement on April 22 without obtaining permission for this neither from the council of ministers nor from our party. As I came for definitive instructions in Kamianets, there was no majority of CC of social-democrats party or cabinet of ministers. And the Poles demanded to immediately provide the answer to their draft agreement. Then I decided to address to the Ukrainian National Council in Kamianets that gained increasing authority over the last month. National Council and almost all of its factions expressed in favour of necessity of signing the agreement.

Poles requested appointment in our government of three ministers-Poles. But after protests from our party they have agreed to one minister and one deputy minister. This matter has a long history, it arisen during one of my conversations with Pilsudski. The point is that idea of making agreement with us is supported among Poles only by Polish socialists (Polska Partija Sotsialistichna) and some left groups. And the Seim majority, such as nat.-democrats and some other parties, mostly of the right orientation, were against “the Ukrainian adventure”. They are afraid of Independent Ukraine more than of Soviet Russia.

Pilsudski, during conversation with me, once noted that, say, we lack intellectuals and, thus, we may need to include in our government two Poles and one Russian liberal, and by doing so we can interest broader Polish society in the matter of Polish-Ukrainian cooperation. However, Pilsudski did not so insisted, but we finally had to take his wish into consideration.

Concerning the agreement with the Poles in land matters, we were in a hurry and this matter remains obscure. Probably, appointment of Stempovskii as the minister of land affairs played its role and certain Polish circles calmed down, so Pilsudski somehow

did not push forwards the idea of signing the separate agreement on the land issues.

Concerning the military convention, its text was authorized by our military specialists — Salskii, Zelinskii and others. While considering general grave condition of our army, it was impossible to receive any aid from the Poles without signing the military convention»⁴⁰.

In addition to the fact that the Polish leadership attempted to ensure own national interests for the Ukrainian account, it acted as the tool of the countries of the West, which did everything to make Poland «a necessary barrier between Russian Bolshevism — for all time of its existence — and all Europe»⁴¹. S. Petliura at the meeting with I. Mazepa declared: «Our agreement with Poles is signed with the active help of France»⁴².

It is necessary to notice that J. Pilsudski concluded the Warsaw agreement despite opposition in the Seim (actually, his policy was never completely supported by the Seim) that in general was quite risky step: he put existence of the Polish state on the Ukrainian card as he considered Ukraine as a key to balance of forces in the Eastern Europe. The Soviet Russia, in his opinion, would not win without the Ukrainian ally and without creation of Ukrainian buffer state in the future. From this point of view, S. Petliura and his nearest circle considered J. Pilsudski as the only political force, with which it is possible to deal in Ukraine. For the latter, the Warsaw agreement could mean attempt to muffle negative emotions of very recent military actions concerning the Western Ukrainians and to open new, more positive phase in the Polish-Ukrainian relations: as the policy continuation, which rooted itself in Gadiach of 1658.

I. Mazepa called relations between the Ukrainian National Republic and Poland after signing April agreements of 1920 Polish-Ukrainian union. This was, actually, a title larger part of the third book «Ukraine on fire and revolution storm». This was its main idea. However, I. Mazepa's attitude towards the Warsaw agreement and its consequences was ambiguous. In a delicate way, he attempted to assess it objectively (boondocks, in which Ukrainian leaders led by S. Petliura found themselves) and subjectively (concrete steps of leaders, S. Petliura himself, who were not always perfect).

While attentively weighing all circumstances, which developed very adversely for UNR, the head of the government of that time made conclusion: «The Polish-Ukrainian union of 1920 was a consequence of a tragic situation, which developed on the Ukrainian front in the autumn of 1919. Under the influence of extremely adverse conditions of our struggle of that time, Galicia leadership considered that only union with this or that Russian power enabled them to find a way out for the Ukrainian cause. Galicia representative did not believe in the possibility of making agreement with Poles. Podneprovskii leadership, on the contrary, perceived with distrust both «Red», and «White» Russia, that is why they began to search for the agreement with the neighbouring states in the West — Poland and Romania after November catastrophe of 1919. Moreover, during negotiations in Warsaw, representatives of Podneprovskii Ukraine accepted large concessions with Poles in order not to cease struggle against the Moscow invaders. Poles exploited this situation: they dictated the agreement to representatives of Podneprovskii Ukraine, which they most wanted»⁴³.

Both S. Petliura, and A. Livitski were psychologically prepared for territorial concessions («recognition for expensive price»)⁴⁴. Both considered the union with Poles as the temporary, tactical, anti-moscovite measure⁴⁵.

Among provisions of the signed agreement, the following were most important ones:

«1. While recognizing the right of Ukraine to independent state existence within the territories to the north, east and south as these borders would be designated by agreements of U. N. R. with the bordering parties at those sides, Rzeczpospolita Polska recognizes the UNR Directorate of Independent Ukrainian National Republics led by the Main Otaman Simon Petliura as the Supreme power of U. N. R.

2. Border between U. N. R. and the R. P. P. is established as follows: on the north — from Dniester along Zbruch, and further along former borders between Austro-Hungary and Russia to Vishgorodka, and from Vishgorodka on the north through Kremianetski hills further on line to the east of Zdobnov, then along east administrative borders of Rivenski district further on the north along administrative border of former Minsk provinces to its crossing with Pripiat, and then along Pripiat to its mouth.

Concerning Rivenski, Dubenski and parts of Kremianetski districts, which retrocedes now to the R. P. P., their borders shall be defined later in more details.

Detailed determination of the border line should be translated by special Ukrainian-Polish commission constituted of corresponding specialists.

3. The Polish government recognizes Ukraine territory to the east from the border specified in article 2 of these terms, to borders of Poland of 1772 (before division), which Poland already occupies or will acquire from Russia by arms or diplomacy»⁴⁶.

Points associated with formal aspects and order of functioning of the agreement are of certain interest as well:

«8. The agreement shall be treated as secret one. It cannot be transferred to the third party or be published in full or in parts without mutual consent of both contracting parties, except for article one, which will be declared on signing of this provision.

9. The agreement comes into force immediately upon its signing by the contracting parties.

Signed in Warsaw on 21 April 1920 in two copies, one is made in Ukrainian language and one in Polish language, and in case of doubt the Polish text shall prevail»⁴⁷.

According to the military convention of April 24, 1920 «in case of the Polish-Ukrainian joint action against Soviet armies in the territory of Right Bank Ukraine, located to the east from modern line of Polish-Bolsheviks front, military operations shall be conducted by mutual consent of commanding staff of the Polish Army and the main command of the Ukrainian Army under general command of the Polish Army commanders»⁴⁸. All railways of Ukraine should be submitted to the Polish power, all foodstuff, horses, supplies, etc. should be delivered for the Polish army by Ukrainian government.

So, the Ukrainian army should attack Ukraine together with the Polish army under general command of Poles. Poles took part in operations before Dnieper, i.e. within the boundaries of Right Bank Ukraine only, which they legally considered as own territory within limits of 1772. And now the supposed to recognize this territory as a part of Ukraine. Poles were not obliged to help Ukrainians further to the east from Dnieper⁴⁹.

Many politicians were sure: this sort of fateful act could not be implemented by will of just one diplomatic mission and should be confirmed by the government. In particular, provisions of law of January 28, 1919 were violated, according to which the UNR Directorate had no right to conclude agreements with other states, which concerned changing the territorial borders of Ukraine or imposition of the obligation upon people before other countries.

S. Shelukhin performed the detailed analysis of the April agreement and the military convention with Poland, having made entirely negative general conclusions. The known lawyer took a territorial principle as basis of analysis – an indispensable element of statehood and similarly important factor – the population. «Petliura, – summarized the scientist, – recognizes Poland right to the Ukrainian territory within borders of 1772 to Dnieper without Kiev and a part of Podolsk province. Poland undertook to give to the Head Otaman Petliura and his society approximately 2 provinces of territory from the east Polish border, which is populated by Ukrainians with very little portion of Polish landowners and their servants. Ukraine under the agreement on April 21, 1920 is Kiev and a part of Podolsk with a slice of Volyn provinces. ...Petliura retroceded to the Poles 162 000 km² to the land with nearly 11 000 000 population... »⁵⁰. (It is not known why, but with obvious intention to slightly smooth impression of scales of bribability, S. Litvin provides other figures – approximately 140 000 km² and 8 million persons)⁵¹.

S. Shelukhin was especially offended with legitimizing by means of the military convention of a military campaign to Ukraine. He also should state with deep grief other humiliating consequences of the union with J. Pilsudski: formal-limited recognition of UNR, unequal character of satisfaction of national-cultural needs of the Ukrainian population, the separate rights of the Polish landowners concerning agrarian reform in Ukraine. «Whole agreement of both parties, which created it, – underlined S. Shelukhin, – treats the Ukrainian people only as object, which Poles and supposedly representative from UNR would rule at their discretion exclusively in the Polish interests ...without taking consideration of their needs. This agreement is dictated by disrespect to Ukrainian nation, it tramples down the Ukrainian name, both honour, and dignity. When traitors of Ukrainian na-

tion would undertake to create such act, they would not create anything better against its rights, freedom, independence, and existence. No enemy of Ukraine could make more than those people who acted under this agreement on behalf of the Ukrainian people»⁵².

While agreeing with basic legal assessments of the documents, M. Shapoval cannot restrain from adding own remarks.

Considering the first paragraph of the agreement (about the rights of the Ukrainian party), M. Shapoval writes, how much it is «swindling and scandalous: Poles recognize the UNR Directorate led by Petliura, and when Petliura would be dismissed or died, whether or not the UNR Directorate be recognized? Clearly, it deals with the point, about what Levitsky wrote to Petliura on November 28, 1919 here, and Mazepa implemented in the form of resolution «on 14 February» – the UNR Directorate only led by Petliura. Poles recognize independence of not the concrete Ukraine as a country, but only the right of its people to independence»⁵³.

The second point is: the most part of Volyn has been “cut” from Ukraine in favour of Poland.

The third point recognized the own Ukrainian territories and so on⁵⁴.

G. Shapoval pays attention to the fact that contracts with Poles were prepared in deep secret – «furtively», and «nobody knew about existence of diplomatic acts, except for several traitors»⁵⁵.

The following detail attracts certain interest. During the first personal meeting with J. Pilsudski (on May 16, 1920) I. Mazepa learned thought that it was possible to agree on much more respectful terms for Ukrainians with such moderate politician who generally produced good impression⁵⁶.

Even V. Ivanis, indisputable supporter of S. Petliura, moreover – his obvious apologist, cannot restrain from commenting: «According to this agreement (Warsaw – V. S.), Poland took much more territory of Ukraine that it was authorized, and the most important thing was that according to this agreement the campaign to Ukraine should take place with participation of the Polish army. At that time, all socialist Ukrainian parties were against attraction of any foreign forces. The same parties have psy-

chologically represented the Ukrainian peasantry. It was dangerous not to consider their opinion»⁵⁷.

Losing the positions, the Ukrainian party facilitated federal plans of J. Pilsudski that were a strange combination of pragmatism (imperialism) and romanticism. Ukraine, according to plans of the Polish leader, together with Lithuania and Belarus should constitute new Rzeczpospolita, which organizational and determining (dominating) center without doubt should be Polish state.

The conclusion of the Warsaw agreement had a number of negative consequences. Among them I. Mazepa names destruction of single Ukrainian camp, ever increasing gap between Galicia and Naddniprianshchina, even between Galicia socialists and USDRP. «...When the Warsaw agreement and Podneprovski army started its campaign to Ukraine together with Poles, all of them, except for M. Gankevich, began to say that the further struggle against Bolsheviks is hopeless and that, say, Polish regime in Galicia is far worst than regime in Podneprovski Ukraine under Soviet power.

Almost all Ukrainians in Galicia lived with similar mood at that time»⁵⁸.

I. Mazepa considers leaving by Kherson division (it was formed mainly of Galicia natives and was one of the most combat-ready Ukrainian units) at the end of August 1920 front and march to Czechoslovakia where it was interned as one of very annoying displays of the specified tendency⁵⁹.

But S. Petliura, seemingly, did not pay much attention to such circumstances, as he desired to see Ukraine even torn to pieces and subordinate to Poland rather than Soviet. V. Veriga also added much to this point of view as he time and again reiterated S. Petliura's principal separatist policy, which manifested itself, in particular, in dispatching several diplomatic missions to Poland without the consent with ZUNR beginning from January 1919. The researcher makes a conclusion that "policy of the governmental circles close to S. Petliura is not clear as they refused to make small compromise with President E. Petrushevich in the matter of reorganizing UNR Directorate and UNR government in October 1919 but agreed to total surrender in front of Poland for recognition dwarfish UNR led by S. Petliura»⁶⁰.

Set of the resulted arguments permits at last to make summary evaluation to the Warsaw agreement, to draw a general conclu-

sion that such step could not cause sympathies in broad masses and generated only new dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian state centre, especially of S. Petliura.

However modern publications present other logic too, which supporters are inclined to justify the Warsaw agreement and even glorify its drafters.

S. Litvin tried to do this it public many times. Still, it is not surprising that the agreement at the expense of the Western Ukraine fits the best «conciliar rank of Simon Petliura»⁶¹, in which Head of the UNR Directorate acts as the outstanding diplomat and the international figure of European level⁶².

It is worth noting that the basic arguments for justification of line of the latter (this point attracts a lot of attention in numerous pages of monograph)⁶³ are taken from S. Petliura's works, in particular — from correspondence where he tries to convince many supporters (part of them was shocked by the document content and asked for explanations) because there was no other way out. Thus, S. Petliura does not ignore also obvious lacks of the Warsaw agreement, including cessions, which, as he said, had forced nature⁶⁴. And what else S. Petliura may write?!

He constantly tried to prove that it is better to have Ukraine without the western lands and millions of Ukrainians which live there, than to admit that the republic became Soviet one. In one of his last letters, he insisted once again: «Ukraine as the state — will exist. I think that a way to the Ukrainian statehood goes through Kiev, instead of through Lvov. Only when the Ukrainian statehood will establish itself on the mountains of Dnepr and near Black Sea, only then it is possible to think really about collecting the Ukrainian lands occupied by neighbours. Other policy is dreams; unreal combinations, which will lead to that no Ukraine will exist»⁶⁵. While completely justifying the similar logic, S. Litvin names all those who dare to express critical opinion of the Warsaw agreement — S. Shelukhin, Yu. Tiutiunnik, M. Shapoval — «notorious S.Petliura's opponents»⁶⁶. V. Sergiichuk also criticizes those modern writers who «continue to dispute values of the agreement»⁶⁷.

Following S. Litvin and V. Sergiichuk, B. Doroshenko-Tovmatski also considers that «it is hard to overestimate value of

state-political negotiations of S. Petliura with the Polish leadership and their whole, unconditionally, positive results»⁶⁸.

O. Kalakura maintains somewhat more balanced and dialectic position concerning a discussion subject⁶⁹, whereas R. Simonenko and D. Tabachnik unequivocally negatively assess Warsaw agreement⁷⁰, adding new arguments in discussion around S. Petliura's name, which lasts for quite long time, and, seemingly, tends to aggravation.

T. Zaretska's reasons concerning agreement look controversial. She is impressed, on the one hand, with S. Petliura's courage, as he managed to tame conciliar feelings, which very few people even from his environment could understand⁷¹. On the other hand, the attention is drawn to an embodiment in the document of quite exceptional personal qualities, diplomatic talent of marshal of the Second Rzeczpospolita J. Pilsudski, his inner circle that never cared in their activity neither about internal opposition to plans concerning Ukraine, nor the negative attitude to them from Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Romania⁷². Eventually, it is not possible to avoid asymmetry in conclusion: «the Agreement content displayed inequality of the parties, conditions were dictated by Poles»⁷³.

As quoting authoritative testimonies to convince necessity of positive qualification of Polish-Ukrainian union, T. Zaretska does not notice that from time to time it is possible to draw out of them not such unequivocal conclusions. For example, this concerns G. Yuzefovski's words: «...If not Pilsudski, we would not reach Polish-Ukrainian unity, we would not reach it either, if not Petliura. In the given circumstances of that time, they could develop Ukrainian-Polish «we»⁷⁴. After all, the question inevitably emerges concerning measure of subjectivity in adopting extremely critical decisions, which implied hard tests for millions and millions of people, both Ukrainians, and Poles, and also Russians.

However, public practice is much more important than any most logical justifications and considerations as it eventually verifies political calculations, projects, fidelity of strategy, tactics, performed steps.

It was obvious from the beginning, that joint Polish and Ukrainian performance was condemned to failure. First of all, this union predominantly was and remained «the personal union»

of two heads of state — S. Petliura and J. Pilsudski — and based upon their personal relations and arrangements. Both national leaders had much in common, first of all, that concerned their socialist past (S. Petliura was one of USDRP figures, and J. Pilsudski — the leader of Polish socialists) and mistrust to Russia (both considered Russian imperialism as the main threat to Ukraine and Poland).

S. Petliura and J. Pilsudski even by tactical reasons were able to reject heavy load of the difficult historical past and, contrary to national mentalities and mutual perception of both nations, found in themselves courage to conclude the military-political alliance. The Head Otaman explained in the letter to the general V. Salski that the politician-realist should not be exposed to influences of memoirs on previous misunderstanding and should aspire to cooperation with Poland as to a necessary stage of political development⁷⁵.

At the same time, both leaders never convinced the compatriots of the union expediency and joint Ukrainian-Polish actions did not become the consolidating national factor neither in Ukraine, nor in Poland. moreover, it seems that the allies (S. Petliura and J. Pilsudski), forced to consolidation by circumstances, apparently, not even trusted each other. At least J. Pilsudski, contrary to the military convention, actually hampered development of any powerful UNR army.

Both S. Petliura, and J. Pilsudski met powerful opposition to their plans in own countries. Centuries of misunderstanding, confrontations and conflicts between two nations manifested itself. Polish rights (first of all, «people democrats») and parties of centrist orientation, which enjoyed majority in Seim, were disturbed by the possibility that «the Pro-Ukrainian» policy of J. Pilsudski may only antagonize Russia. Besides, they did not trust Ukrainians, including their allies of Germany and contenders in struggle for East Galicia and consequently acted strongly against support of the Ukrainian independence in any form⁷⁶. Even though Polish socialists desired to see Ukraine independent, they did not approve of the decision of military operations against Soviet Russia and supported peace negotiations⁷⁷. Such position of the Polish political forces as well as opinion of masses constrained

J. Pilsudski, and his east «federational» program had never been developed in details.

However, the mechanism of war was triggered by means of Polish-Ukrainian agreement.

According to J. Pilsudski order, preparation for operation has begun long before signing of agreement⁷⁸. As per memoirs of the chief of the Polish General Staff Stanislav Sheptitski (brother of Andrey Sheptitski), development of the military plan of action in Ukraine was strictly secret. It was developed under a personal control of the Main leader with assistance of two generals: J. Stakhevich, B. Veniava-Dlugoshovski and aide-de-camp S. Radzivil⁷⁹. As of April 17, 1920 offensive force for Ukraine were put to war footing and certain regrouping lasted till April 24. The plan assumed simultaneous assault in three directions — Berdichev, Zhitomir and Rogachiv⁸⁰.

The campaign involved over 50 thousand Polish soldiers and nearly 20 thousand Ukrainian. Together with Poles, Ukrainian military subunits should attack the enemy: Kiev, Volynsk, Zaporizhzhia divisions, the Iron division of O. Udovichenko, a cavalry regiment, Galicia brigade and other troops.

Despite the fact that the plan of military operation was territorially limited to Right Bank Ukraine, deep political strategy was, indisputable, much more large-scale. Destruction of the Soviet power in Ukraine and UNR restoration would put serious blow both upon RSFSR and Bolshevik system as a whole. It would lead to loss by Bolsheviks of important industrial and raw areas, sources of replenishment of army human resources, and formation of base for realization of further anti-communist plans.

Certainly, the Polish soldiery tried to use the most of circumstances inconvenient to Ukrainians (unconditionally, first of all for own benefit). The general international situation, also supposedly gave grounds to optimistic conclusions about strategic attack choice towards Ukraine. The right flank was covered with seigniorial Romania, which was entirely depended on Entente. The latter openly displayed interest in provoking the conflict with Soviet power as it actively equipped army of baron Wrangel and instigated remaining White Guard units to resolute attack upon the Bolshevism from the south of Ukraine. There were real prospects of creation of single anti-Soviet front. And in addition,

S. Petliura assured allies that with the first blows on Red Army its rears experience powerful insurgent movement — natural national reaction to the Bolshevik policy of «military communism».

It also needs to be considered that the leadership of Poland regarded situation as favorable for realization of the old plans concerning expansion of borders of the state to borders of 1772, establishing their rights to East Galicia, Holmshchina, Pidliashshia, West Volyn. «...Poles thoroughly prepared for a campaign to Ukraine, — Yu. Tiutiunnik noted. — The always dreamt about borders of 1772, the Greater Poland «from the sea to the sea and up to Dnieper»»⁸¹. Actually, they did not even hide it much even though placing accents differently in accordance with diplomatic ways.

On April 25, 1920, «Viprava Kijovska» (a campaign to Kiev) started on the basis of the concluded Warsaw agreement, which led to numerous victims and considerable suffering of the people of Ukraine, did not attain the planned results that, of course, constitutes a subject of separate debate but still needs to be considered in the course of general assessment of the complicated document, which caused certain military process and gave signal to its start.

¹ *Skvortsov-Stepanov I. P.* With Red Army to landowner Poland. Impressions and observations. — G, 1920; *Sergeev E. N.* From Dvina to Vistula. A sketch of operation of 4th army of the Western front in July and first half of August, 1920. — Smolensk, 1923; *Kakurin N. E.*, *Melikov V. A.* War with White Poles, 1920. — M, 1925; *Suslov P. V.* Political support of the Soviet-Polish campaign of 1920. — G, 1930.

² *Suprunenko M.* Ukraine in foreign military intervention and civil war. 1918–1920. — K, 1951; *Likholat A. V.* Defeat of nationalist counterrevolution in Ukraine 1917–1922 — K, 1955; *Rubalka I. K.* Defeat of bourgeois-nationalist UNR Directorate. — Kh., 1962; *Karpenko O. Yu.* Imperialistic intervention in Ukraine 1918–1920. — L, 1964; *Slivka Yu.* Struggle of workers of East Galicia against foreign enslavement. — K, 1973.

³ *Kozelskii B. V.* Road of treachery and adventures (Petliura revolt). — Kh, 1927; *Kulik I.* Crush of the Polish plan in 1920. — K, 1940; *Pavlovych M.* War with the Polish gentry (Polish gentry adventure). — Kh., 1920; *Rudnev V.* Crush of White Polish occupations in Ukraine in 1920 — K, 1941; the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in civil war 1917–1920: In 3 vol. — K, 1970. — Vol. 3.

⁴ See: *Suprunenko N. I.* Stories of history of civil war and foreign military intervention (1918–1920). — G, 1966. — P. 372–394; History of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In 8 v., 10 books. V. 5. The Great October socialist revolution and civil war in Ukraine (1917–1920). — K,

1977. — P. 473–491; Essays of history of Communist party of Ukraine. Ed. 4, add. — K, 1977. — P. 318–326.
- ⁵ Zuev F. International imperialism: Organizer of attack of gentry Poland at the Soviet Russia. — G, 1954; Kuzmin N.F. Crush of last campaign of Entente. — G, 1958; History of civil war in the USSR. — V. 5: End of foreign military intervention and civil war in the USSR. Liquidation of last centres of counterrevolution (February 1920 — October 1920). — G, 1960. — 443 p.
- ⁶ Kutrzeba T. Wyprawa Kijowska 1920 roku. — Warszawa, 1937; Wandycz Piotr. Z zagadnień współpracy Polish-ukraińskiej w latach 1919–1920//Zeszyty Historyczne. — 1967. — N 9. — S. 3–24; Wandycz P. S. Soviet-Polish Relations, 1917–1921. Cambridge Mass., — Harvard, 1969; Dziewanowski M. K. Joseph Pilsudski: A European Federalist, 1918–1922. — Stanford, 1969; Lukomski G. Walka Rzeczypospolitej o kresy północno-wschodnie 1918–1920. Polityka i działania militarne. — Poznań, 1994; Polacy w walce o niepodległość ć Ukrainy 1920. — Warszawa, 1997; Torzecki R. Federacja czy wspólna obrona niezależności. Pilsudski i Petlura w latach 1919–1923//Warszawskie zeszyty ukrainozawcze, 1996, N 3. — S. 73–79; Serczyk W. Perspektywy sojuszu Polish-ukraińskiego na tle sytuacji Europy Srodkowo-Wschodniej (1918–1921) // Ibid. — S. 80–87; Klimecki M. Wojnaczy pokój. Polish-ukraińskie negocjacje 1918–1921 // Polska i Ukraina. Sojusz 1920 roku i jego następstwa. — Toruń, 1997. — S. 43–96; Karpus Z. Formowanie oddziałów ukraińskich w Polsce w latach 1919–1920 // Polska i Ukraina. Sojusz 1920 roku i jego następstwa. — Toruń, 1997. — S. 235–246; Wrzosek M. Militarne szanse sojuszu Polish-ukraińskiego w latach 1919–1920 and ich zaprzepaszczenie//Warszawskie zeszyty ukrainozawcze, 1996. — N 3. — S. 136–149; Suleja W. Pilsudski a Petlura // Polska i Ukraina. Sojusz 1920 roku i jego następstwa. — Toruń, 1997. — S. 113–129; Palij M. The Ukrainian-Polish Defensive Alliance, 1919–1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution. — Toronto, 1995.
- ⁷ See: Mirchuk P. Ukrainian statehood 1917–1920. — Philadelphia, 1967. — P. 369–374; Veriga V. Liberation movement in Ukraine 1917–1923 In two vol.: V. 2. — Lviv, 1998. — P. 196–208.
- ⁸ See: Sribniak I. Simon Petliura at the head of the state and armies. To a question on the Polish-Ukrainian mutual relations of 1917–1920//Simon Petliura and the Ukrainian national revolution. — K, 1995. — P. 137–164; Baran Z. East Galicia and the Ukrainian question//Polska i Ukraina. Sojusz 1920 roku i jego następstwa. — Toruń, 1997. — S. 177–189; Lysevich I. Political aspects of the Ukrainian-Polish union of 1920//ibid. — p. 81–99; Litvin M. Polish-Ukrainian military-political dialogue of 1918–1920: From confrontation in Galicia to allied Warsaw agreements// Ibid. — p. 247–259; Krasivski O. Ya. East Galicia and Poland in 1918–1923. Problem of mutual relations. — K, 1998. — 302 p.; Litvin M. Ukrainian-Polish war 1918–1919 — Lviv, 1998; — P. 306–310; Essays of history of diplomacy of Ukraine. — K, 2001. — P. 380–386; Matvienko V. M. Ukrainian diplomacy of 1917–1921: in the territory of post-imperial Russia. — K, 2002. — P. 226–270; Zashkilniak L., Krikun M. History of Poland: from the most ancient times to our days. — Lviv, 2002. — P. 453–454; Krasivski O. Ya Ukrainian-Polish relations in 1917–1923 — K, 2008. — P. 291–327, etc.
- ⁹ Gud B., Golubko V. Hard road to the consent. To a question of origin of Ukrainian-Polish military-political cooperation 1917–1921 — Lviv, 1997. — 678 p.; Kalakura O. Poles in the ethno-political processes in the territory of Ukraine in XX century. — K, 2007. — P. 148–163.
- ¹⁰ See., e.g.: Zaretska T. Juzef Pilsudski and Ukraine. — K, 2007. — P. 104–126.
- ¹¹ Dotsenko O. Chronicle of the Ukrainian revolution. Materials and documents to history of the Ukrainian revolution. 1917–1923. — V. 2, book 5. — P. 237–283; etc.
- ¹² Mazepa I. Ukraine on fire and revolution storm. — V. 2. — P. 170, 173, 175, 185, 189.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Petliura S. Articles. — K, 1993. — P. 194–205.

- ¹⁵ *Petliura Simon*. Articles, letters, documents. — V. 2. — New York, 1979. — P. 520.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ *Savchenko V. A.* Simon Petliura. — Kh., 2005. — P. 244.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.* — p. 251.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.* — p. 248.
- ²⁰ Quot.: *Josipishin Yu.* Simon Petliura: Poland and Entente//at 70th anniversary of Paris tragedy 1926–1996. The collection of memory of Simona Petliura. — K, 1997. — P. 75.
- ²¹ See for more details: *Litvin S.* Court of history. Simon Petliura and Petliuriana. — K, 2001. — P. 346–352.
- ²² Documents and materials on history of the Soviet-Polish relations. — G, 1964. — V. 1. — P. 234.
- ²³ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 103.
- ²⁴ See.: *Litvin S. Ibid.* — p. 351.
- ²⁵ *Petliura Simon*. Articles, letters, documents... — V. 2. — P. 358.
- ²⁶ See.: *Litvin S. Ibid.* — p. 351–352.
- ²⁷ *Petliura Simon*. Articles, letters, documents. — K, 1999. — V. 3. — P. 140.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.* — p. 132–135.
- ²⁹ *Litvin S. Ibid.* — p. 353.
- ³⁰ See.: *Shapoval M.* Great revolution and the Ukrainian liberation program. — Prague, 1928. — P. 193–197.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* — p. 168–169.
- ³² *Shapoval M. Ibid.* — p. 169.
- ³³ *Ibid.* — p. 170.
- ³⁴ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 193.
- ³⁵ *ibid.*
- ³⁶ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 196.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* — p. 197.
- ³⁸ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 197.
- ³⁹ See.: *Shapoval M. Ibid.* — p. 176; *Simonenko R. G., Tabachnik D.V.* the Ukrainian-Polish relations and struggle for unity of Ukraine. XIX — beginning XX centuries. Essays. — K, 2007. — P. 668, 672, etc.
- ⁴⁰ *Mazepa I.* Ukraine on fire and revolution storm. — V. 3. — Prague, 1942. — P. 27–28.
- ⁴¹ *Churchill W.* World crisis. — I., 1932. — p. 176.
- ⁴² *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 27.
- ⁴³ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 5.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* — p. 11–14.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* — p. 19–20.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.* — p. 8–9.
- ⁴⁷ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 9.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* — p. 10.
- ⁴⁹ There.
- ⁵⁰ *Shelukhin P.* Warsaw agreement between Poles and Petliura on April 21, 1920. — Prague, 1926. — P. 14.
- ⁵¹ *Litvin P.* Simon Petliura's conciliar rank//Memory of centuries. — 1999. — № 3. — p. 58.
- ⁵² *Shelukhin S. Ibid.* — p. 15.
- ⁵³ *Shapoval M. Ibid.* — p. 175.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* — p. 175–176.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.* — p. 176.
- ⁵⁶ See: *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 24.

- ⁵⁷ *Ivanis V. Simon Petliura* — the president of Ukraine. 1879–1926. — Toronto, 1952. — P. 128–129.
- ⁵⁸ *Mazepa I. Ibid.* — p. 48.
- ⁵⁹ *Ivanis V. Ibid.* — p. 48.
- ⁶⁰ *Veriga V. Ibid.* — V. 2. — P. 202.
- ⁶¹ *Litvin S. Ibid.* — p. 51–64.
- ⁶² *Idem.* History court: Simon Petliura and Petliuriana. — P. 341.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.* — p. 343–368.
- ⁶⁴ See.: *Petliura S.* Articles, letters, documents. — V. 2. — P. 390, 517; — V. 3. — P. 519, 532, 534–535.
- ⁶⁵ *Simon Petliura.* Articles, letters, documents. — V. 1. — P. 453.
- ⁶⁶ *Litvin S. Ibid.* — p. 345.
- ⁶⁷ *Sergiichuk V. I.* Neoconsciousness of Ukraine. The world's attitude towards Ukrainian statehood: insight in 1917–1921 and analysis of the present. — K, 2002. — P. 545–547.
- ⁶⁸ *Doroshenko-Tovmatsky B.* Simon Petliura: Life and activity. — K, 2005. — P. 480.
- ⁶⁹ *Kalakura. O. Ibid.* — p. 153.
- ⁷⁰ *Simonenko R. G., Tabachnik D.V. Ibid.* — p. 668–685.
- ⁷¹ *Zaretska T.* Juzef Pilsudski and Ukraine. — p. 107–108.
- ⁷² *Ibid.* — p. 108, 109.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.* — p. 106.
- ⁷⁴ *Zaretska. T. Ibid.* — p. 111.
- ⁷⁵ *Petliura Simon.* Articles, letters, documents. — V. 1. — P. 263–264.
- ⁷⁶ See.: *Pavliuk Olexandr.* Ukrainian-Polish Relations in Galicia in 1918–1919//Journal of Ukrainian Studies. — Vol. 23, 1998. — N 1.
- ⁷⁷ *Wandycz Piotr S.* Soviet-Polish Relations, 1917–1921. — P. 190, 196.
- ⁷⁸ See.: *Simonenko R. G., Tabachnik D.V. Ibid.* — p. 680.
- ⁷⁹ *Potocki R.* Idea restytucji Ukrainskiej Republiki Ludowej (1920–1939). — Lublin, 1999. — S. 69.
- ⁸⁰ *Kakurin H, Berends K.* Kiev operation of Poles of 1920. — M.-PG., 1920. — P. 16–21.
- ⁸¹ *Tiutiunnik Yu. Z.* With Poles against Ukraine. — p. 12.





Igor Datskiy

He was born on August 9, 1976 in Lviv. Graduated from the history faculty of Lviv State University named after I. Franca (1998). Candidate of history science, associate professor, manager of department of document science and information activity of the Ternopil National Economic University. Scientific interests: history of international relations.

UKRAINE-POLAND RELATIONS 1919–1920: ROLE OF UNR DIPLOMACY

At the modern stage of development of Ukrainian society, governmental and political forces of country have the mission of consolidation of nation with the purpose of realization of political, economic and social reforms. This process is impossible without the revival and forming of spirituality, national dignity and self-consciousness. Development of civil society, elaboration of the legal state are associated not only with economic and political conversions but also with transformation of social perceptions, options and values. There are good reasons to note that development of modern Ukrainian diplomacy shall not ignore history experience of international activity of Ukraine at time of national-democratic revolution and state-creation processes of 1917–1921, as at that same period foreign-policy strategy of the state development was proclaimed.

The state relations between Ukraine and Poland have long history. Still, poorly researched history of Ukraine-Poland cohabitation in times of Ukrainian national revolution becomes an obstacle on the way of good neighbour relations of two states. This period features both in examples of collaboration, and ambiguous, contradictory and troublesome pages in the relations between two nations.

Research of process of Ukraine-Poland relations forming began as early as during the period between two wars. As the Ukrainian question was the object of heavy cross-national and ideological fight, Ukrainian researchers and political figures, for example

S. Tomashivskii¹ and M. Lozinskii², in their works substantiated resolution of problem with the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination.

It should be noted that both in Ukrainian and Polish historiography the noted problem did not get the proper reflection yet. In times of USSR historians studied them casually within the framework of Soviet-Polish relations³. In addition to that, they consider Ukrainian state formations (UNR, ZUNR) located on ethnic Ukrainian lands as something unnatural, illegal, influenced from outside.

With obtaining independence, the Ukrainian historians began new exploration of international aspects of the Ukrainian question using sources not available earlier. Despite the fact that now works of prominent statesmen of national liberation competition period V. Vinnichenko, I. Mazepa, D. Doroshenko, S. Petliura, S. Shelouhin are accessible again, illustration of course of events and assessment of Ukraine-Poland relations in modern domestic historiography is still controversial⁴.

The problem of Ukraine-Poland relations found its reflection in works of Ukrainian historian I. Sribnyak, O. Covalchuk, T. Zaretska, V. Soldatenko, D. Vedeneeva, B. Soloviova, M. Litvin, O. Krasivskii. Thus, these authors shift main accent towards proving hopeless position of government UNR while concluding the Warsaw treaty.

Military defeats of UNR Army during national liberation competitions at the end of 1919 and failure of Ukrainian diplomacy at the Paris peace conference in the struggle for recognition and granting of assistance by the Entente countries in war with Soviet Russia substantially narrowed the circle of possible allies of Ukraine. UNR leadership and its foreign-policy department considered neighbouring Poland as one of allies, although settlement of differences with it required resolution of quite complicated and ambiguous problems: termination of combat activities on Holm and Volyn fronts in summer of 1919, sovereignty of East Galicia — territories of allied ZUNR, joining of military efforts against the Soviet Russia and other issues. Resolution of these problems was assigned during 1919 to special military and diplomatic mission, in particular, to colonel-general Sergey Delvig (May–June), colonel Peter Lipka (July), vice-chairman of UNR Council of Ministers I. Livitskii (October), who worked in Warsaw. Except for that,

Head Otaman S. Petliura joined the negotiations with participation of the Polish representatives and Head of the state J. Pilsudski in February and December.

Relations between Ukraine and Poland were influenced by quite a bit both positive and negative factors. «State creation process in Ukraine and Poland took place almost simultaneously and in unique geopolitical space, but under various conditions, — fairly observed Kiev historian S. Kulchitskii. — This situation was favourable for Poland as its revival as the states was considered necessary by both sides» that fought against each other in the world war. As far back as 1916, the Central states declared the revival of independent Poland after war. At the same time, the Entente and USA considered Poland to be the principle element of post-war Europe. Unlike Ukraine, Poland was invited as an equal participant to the Paris peace conference and managed to secure support of the Entente and get freedom of actions in the eastern direction for annexing by force of part of Ukrainian territories: East Galicia, Holm and Volyn. Being in a state of war with the Soviet Russia, Pilsudski acted quite passively and, following national interests, did not render assistance to General Denikin, who was supported by Entente⁶.

From the first days of UNR Directorate existence, its leadership realized the necessity of establishing friendly relations with Poland, as Soviet Russia began aggression against Ukraine. In February 1919, S. Petliura during negotiations of the Galicia Army command with delegation of the Entente already has attempted to convince ZUNR leadership to make peace with Poland on any terms that should created advantageous prospects for UNR to gain understanding with Warsaw and the Entente. Still, participant of negotiations in Hodorov, known talented and experienced Galicia diplomat M. Lozinskii believed that S. Petliura acted not decisively enough. «If Petliura more decisively pronounced that it is in the interest of whole Ukrainian People's Republic to end war with Poland and thus it is necessary to unconditionally implement decision of the Entente, this would be a worthy argument for adoption of ceasefire project, because Petliura enjoyed large authority at that time. Still, Petliura did not come forward resolutely in the defense of East Galicia at conference with the commission of the Entente, so did not act decisively on solicitation of acceptance of the Entente commission project. Presumably, he did not realized

yet his late orientation: through Poland to the Entente by any means»⁷.

The first UNR attempt to establish direct contacts and begin the process of settlement of relations was trip of the special delegation that comprised O. Karpinskii and V. Prokopovich to Warsaw sent by the head of government Chehivskii in winter of 1919. But at the height of Ukraine-Poland war, when UNR proclaimed Act of Conciliarism and ZUNR actively supported its Galicia Army to repel aggression from the side of Poland, Polish leadership refused to negotiate with the Ukrainian diplomats. On March 27, 1919 Polish Seim stressed out attitude toward UNR in simple way: «Separation of Ukrainians from the Russian empire will not guarantee to us greater safety of eastern borders. The aggressiveness of Ukrainians is now stronger and more unsafe than of Russians»⁸.

The second delegation headed by colonel Boris Kurdinovskii departed from Odessa upon order of the then UNR minister of foreign affairs C. Matsievich, who negotiated with the representatives of the Entente. At the same time, C. Matsievich established the close relations with the representative of Poland at the Entente command B. Kutilovskii. During negotiations, they realized that Poland would agree to sign a peace treaty with UNR on condition that the latter remove its military units from Galicia and ended combat actions in defence of ZUNR. By then, newly created Holm front of UNR covered the north wing of the Galicia Army and Naddniprovanski military units, in particular, artillery and aviation, took part in fights against Poland.

The delegation of B. Kurdinovskii, who had official powers of UNR government to «enter into the diplomatic relationships with the representatives of Polish Republic for the discussion and signing of agreements and establishment of communication between Government of Ukrainian Republic and Government of Polish Republic» in Warsaw, also included General S. Delvig. During the period of Ukrainian delegation stay in Warsaw, important events happened at the Ukraine-Poland front, which forced B. Kurdinovskii and S. Delvig to expedite negotiations. On May 14, 1919 the Polish troops made wide offensive along all fronts⁹.

Consequently, the Ukrainian diplomats found themselves in difficult situation that prompted to settle for compromise and conclude unpopular agreements. As a result of negotiations on May 24, the parties signed declaration about UNR willingness to conclude

a military-political union on terms advantageous for Poland: UNR withdrawal from East Galicia and Volyn up to Stir river, which brought borders to Zbruch river. The Polish side undertook the obligation to render assistance to UNR Army in its struggle against bolshevists, thus UNR Army subordinated to General Staff of Polish Troops during joint operations. Recognition of Ukraine independence should be postponed till its liberation with the help of Poland and creation of new government. Special clause established that foreign policy activity of UNR diplomatic service should be agreed upon with Warsaw. Even Polish historians, in particular Sevostyan Shaidak admitted that this was unequal partners' agreement and Ukraine could transform into satellite of Poland. It was approved only by group of the Ukrainian politicians, which crowded round Ostapenko and Matsievich¹⁰.

It is important to note that agreements of M. Kurdinovskii in Warsaw ignored the articles of Act of Conciliarism of January 22, 1919, and its declaration and statements were used by Polish delegation in Paris thus affecting the resolution of the Higher Council on Galicia issue. Warsaw immediately sent a telegram to Lloyd George, which was read out at the meeting, about negotiations giving hope between UNR and Poland and union in the struggle against Moscow. That was a difficult moment for UNR, when the Red Army viced it in the small piece of Ukrainian territory in Kam'yanets-Podilskii district and when 50 thousand Galicia Army approached this area before the Poles and could rescue situation, S. Petliura and UNR government renounced results of negotiations under pressure of circumstances and disowned Kurdinovskii as an ambassador for going beyond the verge of powers, following which he left for Paris¹¹.

There were quite a lot opponents of the Polish orientation in Ukraine. Group of Galicia and Naddnieperianska Ukraine representatives formed around president of ZUNR and member of the Directorate since January 1919 E. Petrushevich, which denied any territorial concessions by Poland. Moreover, even M. Vasilko of Bukovina, ZUNR diplomatic representative to Vienna and UNR ambassador to Switzerland in 1919, considered it necessary to settle for compromise for the sake of main idea — to protect the national identity. «As is known, — he wrote in the letter from Bern to the minister (since August 1919 —the head of government) I. Mazepa, — not a single state at the beginnings of its indepen-

dence managed to unite its whole territory, so why Ukrainians of all others... have to build now the state that covers all its ethnographic territories. Ukrainians are compelled to part with all that now blocks the road to go hand by hand with Romanians and Poland who have the same aspirations as Ukrainians, – to prevent formation of old time Russia»¹².

While assessing those time situation, V. Litvin suggests: «East Galicia was a stumbling-stone between Ukraine and renewed Rzeczpospolita the Second. While Ukraine-Poland war proceeded and ZUNR existed, the Ukraine-Poland relations did not have bright perspectives. But after UGA was forced out by Poland towards the left bank of Zbruch, and Supreme Soviet of the Parisian peace conference on June 25, 1919 decreed to submit East Galicia under the temporary ruling of Poland, prospects for the Ukraine-Poland contacts reappeared. Leader of the Polish state J. Pilsudski, being afraid of imperial ambitions of Russia, favourably appertained existence of the Ukrainian state as buffer between Poland and Russia»¹³.

Petliura intended to find understanding with Warsaw as soon as possible and liquidate Polish front. On May 31, 1919 he sent to Lviv representative delegation headed by General S. Delvig with the primary mission to attain ceasefire between UNR and Poland and agree about common actions against Moscow. Speaking on behalf of ZUNR as well, Ukrainian diplomats coordinated the ceasefire demarcation line, which made history as «Delvig Line» (Nezvica–Ostriv–Ternopil–Zalozhtsi) ¹⁴. Consequently, this plan of territorial cession in favour of Poland, drafted at the moment of most success of general May Polish troops offensive, was far worse than the «Bertelemi Line» abandoned by ZUNR leadership. Certainly, ZUNR leadership abandoned it thus giving to Polish delegation in Paris chance to attain advantageous resolution of June 25, which completely deprived Galicia natives of their territory.

On July 23, S. Petliura signed Authority to the head of new delegation, colonel of the General Staff P. Lipko, who departed to Warsaw with the mission to attain ceasefire at the Ukraine-Poland front and appeal to the Entente countries representatives to protect population of Eastern Galicia occupied by Polish troops¹⁵. On August 9, 1919 the Head Otaman personally appealed to J. Pilsudski with letter, in which he mentioned: «The Ukrainian

people in the struggle fight against the enemy of human culture and national identity deserves sympathy and assistance from the next-door neighbours, the more so, by defending the native land from rapists-invaders that attempt to impose upon Ukraine the communist system, which is strange to it, we do not employ white terror on our way. And we advance under slogan of wide democracy and state forming, and we believe that you, admirable Head of Polish State, is the best follower of this slogan in Poland. Still, we did not finish with fighting bolshevists... So, certain understanding between the Polish and Ukrainian command for further struggle fight becomes obvious»¹⁶.

Another delegation headed by P. Pilipchuk left to Warsaw in the middle of August for resolution of borders issue and conclusion of peace agreement. In the statement of August 19 the head of mission acknowledged Polish proposal about the border set by resolution of the Highest Council of Paris peace conference. In an interview to Polish mass media he reported that the matter of Galicia was resolved and UNR government and Ukrainian people crave to set amities with Poland. On September 1, the most important task was accomplished — ceasefire with Poland and, consequently, liquidation of one of Ukrainian Army fronts. Still, in connection with difficult situation at other fronts — Soviet and new Denikin one, ceasefire was reached by painful cession — recognition of border with Poland at Zbruch river. It caused storm of protests of ZUNR followers and Galicia Army troops, and S. Petliura was to take account of this. Consequently, preliminary agreement concluded by Pilipchuk with Poland was qualified by UNR government as exceeding his authorities¹⁷.

In autumn of 1919, especially after Kiev occupation by Denikin troops and successful advancement along Moscow direction, even more Polish politicians, not only from inner circle of J. Pilsudski, realized that White Russia was as dangerous for Poland as for Ukraine. In those days one of main diplomats of ministry of foreign affairs of Poland R. Knol warned premier I. Paderevski that new Russia restored by Denikin will be as aggressive as the Russian empire. Its expansion will be directed westward exactly against new post-imperial countries of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland. By the way, it was representative of Denikin in Warsaw who proclaimed then: «Russia will not forget that when its troops fought with bolshevists, you weakened its action by the conclusion

of ceasefire with Petliura». Even when somebody from the premier inner circle inclined with respect to Russia towards position of the Entente, J. Pilsudski rejected possibility of understanding both with White and Red Russia, considering them as the identical enemies of the national identity. And S. Petliura held exactly the same view as he fully supported ceasefire agreement as concluded on September 1.

On September 26, the joint meeting of UNR and ZUNR governments adopted resolution about dispatching to Warsaw of new diplomatic delegation headed by minister for foreign affairs I. Livitskii. They also approved the Instruction, which delegation must strictly follow, unlike previous delegations. The primary task of delegation, above all things, was to gain the Ukraine-Poland understanding and conclude agreement about close union with Poland. It created favourable terms for further fight with bolsheviks for liberation of Ukraine and new possibilities and prospects of UNR recognition by the Entente countries and granting necessary help in national liberation movement. Special delegation was that powerful for the first time — it included 38 persons, and later counted 97, out of whom four were political advisers, five — advisers-specialists, in particular military, six secretaries and so on. It arrived in Warsaw on October 3 and began active work¹⁸.

It should be noted that Poland leadership quite favourably perceived arrival of the Ukrainian diplomats. This was supported by personal qualities of I. Livitskii and his vision of the relations with Poland. «The next-door geographical neighbours of Ukraine are people of Romania and Poland, — he wrote in one of the documents. — Ukraine in its foreign policy just with the national states of these people tried to establish such benevolent relations, which would not hamper formation of independent Ukraine, and at certain terms would help fastening that independence and facilitating the formal union with Ukraine»¹⁹.

Negotiations with Poland appeared to be quite difficult, although personally J. Pilsudski received I. Livitskii and expressed hope for their success. The problem of borders was most difficult. The Polish side rejected the ethnographic principle offered by Ukrainians and cession of the so called «historically Polish» lands of East Galicia with Lviv occupied during Ukraine-Poland war of 1918–1919 and agreed to the border exceptionally laid on Zbruch river. It based its position upon the known decisions of the Paris

peace conference regarding East Galicia accepted by the Entente in favour of the ally. The Poles did not try to get Volyn, which was within the boundaries of the Russian empire before the world war, and suggested to wait for the conclusions of Paris. In a report to UNR government in the middle of October, I. Livitskii complained that negotiations were almost on idle as «primary idea of necessity of recognizing Ukrainian independence and imposing between it (Poland — Auth.) and Ukraine of the allied relations met support only in the circles of Polish Socialist Party (PSS), partly among lyodovtsi (Rural party. — Author.)... National-democrats close to the government consider existence of Ukraine as undesirable phenomenon and campaign for that government shall make peace with Denikin at the expense of Ukraine».

A few powerful political groups, which had different vision of the Ukrainian problem, formed in the higher circles of Polish society. Belvedere Camp headed by the Head of the state J. Pilsudski and premier E. Morachevski were the supporters of idea of creating federation of independent Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania, which would protect Poland from aggression of White or Red Russia. Other wing — influential National Democratic Party ruled by R. Dmovski and Rural Party considered strong independent Ukraine to be dangerous for Poland and insisted on cession of part of its lands, in particular Holm, Western Volyn, East Galicia and Western Podillia areas. Third group — large landowners in Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania — in general supported idea of renewal of 1772 borders that is to Dnieper river²⁰. So, opposition to J. Pilsudski in the matter of understanding with Ukraine with the prospect of military and political union was quite powerful.

Taking into account this situation, Petliura in a letter of October 30 to I. Livitskii did not insist on the resolution of the very controversial issues and recommended to shift negotiations into the sphere of economic relations — exchange bread, sugar, money for weapon and to return to Ukraine Ukrainian prisoners of war. Head Otaman noted that situation in Ukraine required the most rapid settlement of relations with Poland, prevention of Poland alliance with Denikin, which was strongly supported by Commander-in-chief of the Volunteer Army. «Work of the mission, which you stand at the head of, — wrote S. Petliura, — must be carried out at the most successful rate. Interests of our Republic strongly suggest such fast pace in this work. I am deeply sure,

that Your love to this job and comfort will help us settle Polish-Ukrainian dispute and bring Your hard and difficult work to happy end for Ukraine». Closing words of S. Petliura were very important instruction for I. Livitskii: «For conclusion of peaceful treaty between Ukraine and Poland it is possible to go for certain compromise in the case of necessity because of our difficult situation»²¹.

Head of delegation I. Livitskii realized that for implementation of difficult tasks of saving the Ukrainian national identity it is necessary to use the slightest opportunities taking into account international situation. In the report of those days, he stated: «... any one-sided positions, some one directions of policy are impossible now, or even unacceptable; now the most important is to explore comprehensive direction, so to speak universal one as dictated by objective assessment of circumstances. Any one-sided orientation is out of question now, for example, towards one of the recent world war group». Consequently, without regard to material and other difficulties, his ministry, following interests of Ukraine, tried to develop the network of diplomatic establishments or missions in different countries. Regarding the concrete task — to establish relations with Poland and make necessary agreements — I. Livitskii strongly defended pragmatic point of view: «for the sake of rescue of Ukrainian national identity it is needed to take certain material losses... renounce territorial maximalism and choose a new way in foreign policy, which brought UNR over to the consent with the neighbouring states of Poland and Romania»²².

In November 1919, necessity of concluding union with Poland was realized by almost all UNR leading figures. The corresponding resolution was adopted at the meeting of Directorate and UNR government on 15 November. In the letter to I. Livitskii, Petliura wrote: «We strain every nerves, but whether this will be enough, I am not certain... at this time settling our relations with Poland might rescue us — give us some base and prospects, connect us with the world. It is a great pity that we did not start these negotiations earlier: then we potentially would have the circumstances more contributory for us in the conclusion of agreement with Poland» (underlining by Author.)²³.

A catastrophic situation, which developed on the bolshevist and Denikin fronts of UNR, forced I. Livitskii mission to apply to the Polish side with the draft agreement, which assumed territorial cessions. UNR government acknowledged a border on Zbruch and

left resolution of Volyn fate at discretion of the Paris peace conference. The agreement stated that the Polish government would give equal rights and development of national culture to Ukrainians, return prisoners of war, assist with the weapons and so on.

On December 2, Polish delegation agreed to the Ukrainian draft agreement and declared that Poland would help Ukraine, but signing of agreement was postponed and took place only in April 1920. Ukraine leadership understood that position of the Entente on the Ukrainian issue prevented recognition of independent Ukraine and conclusion of military-political union with Poland. However, establishment of relations at that level by I. Livitskii mission mattered very much for UNR. Firstly, government and part of the Ukrainian army, which did not take part in the Winter march, found shelter in Poland owing to offensive of the Reds at the beginning of December 1919, secondly, UNR diplomacy got opportunity to contact with the representative offices of the Entente countries and other countries²⁴.

The order of UNR Directorate of December 12, 1919 established Military section subordinate to the Ukrainian delegation of Livitskii in Warsaw for development of Ukraine-Poland relations and in connection with the stay on Poland territory of the General staff and military units of UNR Army that required certain contacts with the military department of Poland, and «for management of matters associated with organization of prisoners of war into regular units, organization of material and spiritual assistance to prisoners and internee in Poland, participation in development of projects and conclusion of military conventions between UNR Government and Rzeczpospolita, military expertise under Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission»²⁵.

Pursuant to the reached agreements between General V. Zelinskii and minister of military affairs of Poland General J. Lesnevskii, all Ukrainians –prisoners of war or UNR Army internee soldiers were proclaimed the «soldiers of the military units of friendly state»²⁶.

With moving of the State center to Tarnuv in Poland, the Ministry of foreign affairs substantially revived its activity, although the combat circumstances reduced its staff by almost half. At the end of 1919, 8 persons worked in the central structure of the ministry, 15 – in the office, in Departments: 16 – in general, 14 – in foreign, and 6 officials for the special missions, that is – 59 diplomatic corps workers.

In order to widen diplomatic presence of Ukraine in the countries of the world and activation of department work, Department of foreign relations was reorganized at the beginning of 1920. It established separate departments by the directions of activity: Slavonic nations, Central states, Anglo-Saxon nations, Middle-East nations, Romanian nations²⁷. UNR foreign-policy department attempted not only to keep the representative offices abroad but also to establish new ones. Still, owing to lack of financing I. Livitscomou had to considerably shorten their staff. However, diplomatic service continued active work in new conditions of the government in emigration²⁸.

At the same time, UNR government, Head Otaman S. Petliura and Ministry of foreign affairs continued persistent diplomatic activity with the purpose of conclusion of treaty with Poland and attain its assistance to liberate Ukraine. They succeeded to secure support of J. Pilsudskii, but this appeared to be not enough. The line of important factors, which affected country's leader, especially foreign-policy ones, hampered progress in this direction. He had to take account of the Entente position, which continued to support General Denikin in the struggle for united Russia. And only after his defeat in spring of 1920, fairly notices I. Lisevich, the «Entente, unofficially left the Ukrainian issues to resolve to Poland on its own discretion». Internal factors, which delayed the Ukraine-Poland negotiations through the spring of 1920, were, first of all, contradictions between the political camps. They intended rather to agree with bolshevists than to assist in restoration and recognize independent Ukraine²⁹.

Livitskii and his diplomatic delegation made all efforts for achievement of agreement. During the meeting with Pilsudski, the head of Ukrainian mission was so firmly sure in his rightness that the former instructed his diplomats to take into account position of Ukrainians. He facilitated work on organization of UNR Army. On March 26, S. Petliura convened the wide conference of the army top ranks for discussion of problem of Ukrainian army development in accordance with the European standards «as republican, national, democratic, and apolitical in its nature». The meeting created Higher Military Council and approved organizational structure of the Military ministry and army regulations³⁰.

Not without complications, the agreement was prepared for signature by the heads of the states by April 21. Its draft

was discussed by political leadership in Kam'yanets-Podilskii joined by I. Livitskii who came from Warsaw. Vice-prime minister M. Shadlun, secretary of defense General V. Salskii and others did not deny possibility to adopt the article about borders even in the Polish version of the draft agreement. Somebody believed this draft was quite heavy upon Ukraine, but taking into account situation they considered it acceptable. Only the Central committees of socialist parties strongly opposed the agreement and notified Petliura about the same. Ukrainian delegation in Warsaw on April 20 approved proposal of I. Livitskii to sign agreement³¹.

Articles of agreement as signed on April 21, 1920 by ministers of foreign affairs of Ukraine and Poland I. Livitskii and I. Domb ski, read as follows: 1. Poland recognized the right of Ukraine to independence and UNR Directorate headed by S. Petliura as supreme power; 2. Border between UNR and Poland on Zbruch river, former Russian-Austrian border, to the east of Zdolbunov on Pripiat river. The fate of Volynareas, which were retroceded to Poland, would be decided by Ukraine-Poland commission later; 3. Poland recognizes territory of Ukraine within the limits of Pravoberezhzhia (right bank of Dnieper river), that is to the borders with Russia of 1772; 4. Poland is obligated not to make international agreements of directed against UNR, and UNR government— accordingly against Poland; 5. Both governments are under an obligation to satisfy the national and culture needs of minority citizens; 6. Until UNR Constitution resolves agrarian problem the rights of the Polish landowners in Ukraine shall be protected. It foreseen the conclusion of economic agreements; 7. Military convention is integral part of the agreement; 8. Final agreement, except for Article 1, is secret; 9. The agreement enters into force immediately after its signing³².

Military convention signed on April 24, 1920 by General V. Sinkler with the representatives of the Polish General Staff contained articles that explained aspects of general combat operations in Right Bank Ukraine with the purpose of its liberation from bolshevists. Its key Article 3 read as follows: «In case of general Poland-Ukraine action against Soviet troops in the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine... combat operations shall take place under general command of Commanding staff of the Polish troops». Article 8 regulated procedure of renewal of order in the areas taken during operations, and it also established that military and admin-

istrative authorities shall be formed by the Ukrainian government. True, at the same time it provided for the right of Polish military authorities to guard own rears of the army, in particular to form the gendarmerie units. Article 9 read that the stay of the Polish troops in the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine would be temporary and «after implementation of general plan of general action» they will be returned to Poland. Articles 11–12 of Military convention foresaw continuation of forming Ukrainian military units in the territory of Poland and that the «Commanding staff of the Polish troops undertakes to provide three Ukrainian divisions with weapons ammunition, and uniform, pursuant to norms for Polish troops». It was foreseen in other articles that the Poles should control of railway lines and rolling stock except for armoured trains taken by Ukrainians in combat³³.

In connection with signing political agreement and military convention with Poland, S. Petliura appealed with the statement to the Ukrainian nation. First of all, he noted that for three years Ukraine and its people and army conduct the heroic fight against enemies for the independence, so far without external support. Not one state of the world, except for Poland, marked the Head Otaman, recognized independence of UNR. And now only «Polish Republic became on the real way of help Ukrainian National Republic in its struggle against Moscow bolshevists the invaders, providing opportunity to its army units to be formed in its territory, and this army also goes to fight with the enemies of Ukraine. But now the Ukrainian army will fight not alone but together with the army of Republic of Poland friendly to us. After ending struggle against bolshevists, the Polish troops will be immediately returned to the territory of its Republic»³⁴.

In our view, after Brest just the Warsaw agreement of 1920 was a prominent landmark in activity of Ukrainian diplomacy in defending independence of Ukraine. It has the sizeable layer of historiography — from the analyses by the then political and state figures of Ukraine and Poland to fundamental researches of modern historians of both countries that distinctly proves important achievements and consequences of Ukraine-Poland military-political union. Meanwhile, this event was quite controversially perceived by both Ukrainian and Polish society. Actually, it was expected even in April 1920.

The first to oppose the Warsaw agreements were leadership of socialist parties (USDRP, UPSR, Bund, Poale Zion), which grouped round government of I. Mazepa. At the conference in Kamianets-Podilskii they signed the joint statement, in which they stated: «Socialist parties while supporting UNR government all that time stood on the ground of absolute non-admission of foreign military force in the territory of Ukraine and... can not give their consent for approval of military campaign of the Polish troops in Ukrainian territory». Head of UNR government I. Mazepa in May retired from his office in protest. He wrote later that the Warsaw agreement generated large dissatisfaction with the Ukrainian state center in exile among Ukrainian society, and especially among Galicia population. Accusations were aimed, mainly, towards S. Petliura. M. Groushevskii, V. Vinnichenko, M. Shapoval considered the Warsaw agreement as treason of interests of Conciliar Ukraine. UNR Chief judge of that time S. Shelukhin declared that Petliura had no authority to make decision with I. Livitskii about the agreements without discussion in Directorate. «Character of military agreement, — he wrote later, — is the same as of political one: everything for Poland and nothing for Ukraine. I am certain that really military people like General Sinkler... did this only because of their subordination to the orders of Head Otaman». He personally and political group opposing to Petliura, first of all Galicia natives, were offended by the fact that Poland in fact obtained large part of the country, which accommodated at least 10 million Ukrainians. V. Vinnichenko was also against agreement supported by the Ukrainian communists and Galicia socialists headed by the chairman of All-Ukrainian congress S. Vitik, who even sent a telegram to Moscow from Vienna disgracing Petliura and suggested to immediately begin negotiations with UNR³⁵.

Influential politicians in Poland treated the Warsaw agreement in hostile way too that caused fierce discussions and critical speeches of national democrats and their supporters, who believed that it is more advantageously for national interests of the country to divide Ukraine with White or bolshevist Russia. J. Pilsudski spoke about it quite frankly during negotiations with I. Livitskii. Still, hard will, pragmatism and favourable attitude toward Ukraine, which he did not hide, won and facilitated signing of the agreement. Ukrainian historian I. Lisevich paid attention to the fact that by

recognizing Ukraine and concluding military-political union with it J. Pilsudski did this against the policy of the Entente and began combat actions against bolshevists in Ukraine without the consent of Paris. The Entente countries, especially England, were totally against Polish-bolshevist war, Supreme Council warned Poland on February 28, 1920 that in the case of its attack upon Russia it would discontinue assistance. However, J. Pilsudski did not pay much attention to the Entente. Moreover, he tried to assist UNR gain international recognition. He noted to General Rozvadovski who went to Romania with delegation: «Poland wants on this base to come forward with initiative of joining efforts with Romania for supporting Ukraine in its work on organization of the own state. Romania must follow our example and recognize distinctly, as we did, government of Directorate with Petliura as its head»³⁶.

And still, in our opinion, Warsaw aims and attitude toward Ukraine are most clearly explained in the circular note of High command of Volyn front of March 1, 1920, which read as follows: «Country's leader and Polish government stand on position of absolute weakening of Russia. at present time the Polish government intends to support national Ukrainian motion, to create the independent Ukrainian state and by doing so to considerably weaken Russia by taking from it the most rich in corn and natural minerals territory. The primary purpose of forming independent Ukraine is establishment of barrier between Poland and Russia and bringing Ukraine under the Polish influence and support and, in such way, providing for expansion of Poland in both economic — for developing sales market for own goods — and political sphere»³⁷.

In spring of 1920, after the defeat by the Red army of General Denikin troops, combat efforts of Moscow were concentrated westwards. As covering by diplomatic actions in relation to the Soviet-Polish peaceful negotiations, in particular by notes of Lenin government of February 2 and 22 and H. Racovski of March 6 — Lenin ordered concentration of considerable military forces in Ukraine and Byelorussia, which formed powerful South-West front of O. Egorov and West front of M. Tukhachevskii in Polish direction. «Preparation of Soviet invasion in Poland, — notices Vladimir Litvin, — may be attributed not only and even not so much to whole previous policy of „gathering” lands of empire that disintegrated. In 1920, bolshevists set for themselves even more ambitious aims. The idea was to employ troops 5 million Red Army

for launching of “world revolution”. Soviet mass media already began to call V. Lenin and L. Trotskii the leaders of world proletariat. Poland was interesting for those leaders as place of arms for invasion to Germany»³⁸.

Poland-Ukraine troops topped the Red Army and started the offensive on April 25 on a wide front. The Ukrainian front from Pripiat to Dniester included two armies (3^d and 4th), which in turn included 3^d and 6th Ukrainian divisions, which were joined by the main troops of UNR Army after the Winter Campaign on May 5, 1920, namely: 1st Zaporizhzhya, 2nd Volyn, 4th Kiev and 5th Kherson rifle divisions. They operated under the command of General Omelyanovich-Pavlenko on the south wing of the front. All in all, UNR Army had nearly 20 thousand of bayonets, 1,6 thousand of sabres and 37 cannons. It is worth mentioning that the Red Army had 65,3 thousand soldiers against 143,5 thousand soldiers and commanders of Poland-Ukraine army, that is two times less, thus ensuring brilliant success for the allied troops and 3^d Polish Army supported by 6th Sichova division of Bezruchko occupied Kiev on 7 May. Apart of other things, active actions of Ukrainian insurgent units in the rear of the Reds and anti-bolshevik revolt of two brigades of former Galicia army on Polish front were instrumental in their swift offensive³⁹.

Under pressure of England and France, Poland agreed to cease-fire with Moscow on July 10 and set the border with Russia passing along the line of Bug – Zbruch (the so called Kerzon line). Nonetheless, Poland-Russian negotiations progressed not in favour of Poland. Blinded by victories at the front, the Soviet side basically ignored them. Its armies scored great successes and situation created better grounds for future peaceful negotiations. At the end, Soviet military command, in particular Tukhachevskii, Budennij, Voroshilov were not going to rest on their laurels. In their telegram to the Comintern congress in Moscow in the middle of August, Budennij and Voroshilov wrote that the cavalry army would not stop until red flags fly above Warsaw, Berlin, Paris, and London⁴⁰.

But the known Warsaw battle on August 14–17 and defeat of Tukhachevskii troops made a turning point at the front and Red Army rolled out to the east under the blows of Poland-Ukraine army. At the same time, new round of Soviet-Polish negotiations started in Moscow, where Poland received proposal to annul the

agreements with UNR, remove its army from own territory and so on, which meant its complete capitulation. But Soviet diplomats miscalculated about their capabilities, and during new negotiations on ceasefire in September-October, when the Red army under powerful blows reeled back to east and Pilsudskii, as he then remembered, could continue the offensive in whatever direction and to whatever extent he opted, the poles dictated terms. Still, the Polish society and influential politicians strongly requested to stop war with Russia. On October 12, 1920 the Russian-Polish preliminary peaceful agreement was signed in Riga thus stopping combat actions and drawing the border line in Ukraine of Sarni-Rivne-Radiviliv-Zbruch. Poland undertook to stop support of the UNR armed units and Wrangel. On October 19, ceasefire went into effect.

It should be noted that S. Petliura sent UNR delegation to Riga headed by S. Shelukhin and V. Kedrovskii. He believed that Polish delegation of I. Dombskii would assist its participation in negotiations. But the chairman of Polish delegation notified S. Shelukhin that Poland has already recognized the Soviet government of Ukraine and its delegation. Consequently, UNR delegation could not attend negotiations in Riga, although Soviet Ukraine was represented by the head of government H. Racovskii himself. S. Petliura sent protest to Warsaw against the separate negotiations of Poland with Moscow, as it was major violation of Article 4 of Warsaw agreement, and Poland had no authority to conduct such negotiations without participation of Ukraine, which were surely directed against her. UNR military and political leadership fairly considered negotiations with Moscow behind its back as the treason by Warsaw⁴¹.

Consequently, UNR government and its army remained one on one with a powerful opponent. On November 7, S. Petliura convened enlarged conference of members of government and military command in Yaltushkov. It approved resolution to continue the struggle by forces of 20 thousand Ukrainian army. As a result, Ukraine became the only armed force that sustained war with bolshevists and thus must be the concentrating center of all Anti-Moscow forces. In those days, the treaty was concluded between UNR government and Russian political committee in Poland of B. Savinkov about joint combat actions with his 3^d Army of General B. Peremykin, which submitted to the Ukrainian com-

mand. It should be noted that the Russians by the agreement recognized independence of Ukraine. On November 8, S. Petliura sent letter to J. Pilsudski, in which he mentioned the situation with regret and asked just one thing — ammo. «When you will read this letter, — he wrote, — the Ukrainian army carries out fights with bolshevists for taking line of Bug. I began offensive because this is the only solution in the situation created by Riga treatise, some parts of which are quite unclear for me... the only obvious thing is that I remain alone and that Ukraine has to carry out the very risky struggle before Europe's eyes, which will look in the pose of Pilatus to the „East”. At the end of letter, the Head Otaman expressed hope that «in short time circumstances shall compel to revise the Riga terms, and at the same time revive necessity of joint Poland-Ukraine actions»⁴². Sure thing, Petliura wrote the letter quite diplomatically as only Poland could provide refuge to UNR government and the Army.

Riga peaceful agreement between Poland and RSFSR was signed on March 18, 1921. As per it, combat actions were terminated, Warsaw agreement of 1920 between Poland and UNR was extinguished, border (Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia were retroceded to Poland) was established, national and cultural rights of Ukrainians and Byelorussians in the territory, which was retroceded to Poland were recognized, and so on. As a result Soviet Russia won. Poland was the nearest neighbouring state with border of nearly 1 400 km. Russia's interest was to prevent use of Poland as a bridgehead for the attack from the side of «imperialistic states». Poland became a bridge, which connected Russia by transit ways with Western Europe, and its stay in the Russian empire facilitated development of economic relations.

While summarizing achievements and losses from the Warsaw agreement of 1920 and Ukraine-Poland military-political union, it is needed to note that it appeared to be nondurable and disintegrated under influence of unfavorable foreign-policy factors, above all things. As a result of negative attitude to Ukraine from the Entente, Ukraine-Poland war 1918–1919, in which UNR supported ZUNR, and the Entente supported Poland, ambiguous attitude toward establishment of close union by political groups of both countries, although this was necessitated by the struggle against common enemy — bolshevist Russia, the treaty was concluded with the large delay. Pragmatism of J. Pilsudski also played its role as he

followed interests of Poland foremost and was sure oriented long time towards the Entente, which at large was to decide the fate of his country.

For Ukraine, the Riga agreement and end of Poland-Soviet war marked defeat of national liberation movement of 1917–1921. At the same time, Warsaw attitude gradually changed toward UNR government in exile and internee UNR Army. In Riga, Poland was interested in the presence of the allied Ukrainian army on its territory. It executed control over it and could count on its power in the case of new aggression from Moscow. After signing Riga agreement, the necessity of keeping UNR Army evaded, especially when anti-Polish ideas spread among its soldiers. Except for that, Russia requested to disarm and dismiss Ukrainian military units and, according to agreement, sent special repatriation commissions to the camps in Poland. As assessing the situation, S. Petliura wrote later that agreement concluded by the government of Rzeczpospolita with Ukrainian National Republic government in April 1920, was extinguished by the fact of signing by Poland agreement with Moscow in Riga. By doing so, Warsaw extinguished value of the Ukrainian factor in the system of its east policy.

At the same time, Warsaw agreement was instrumental for Ukraine entering international scene. Due to it and assistance from the side of Poland, the Ukrainian people continued the armed struggle for independence against bolshevists in 1920 and together with the Polish army destroyed the plans of Moscow in relation to advance of the Red Army in Western Europe and expansion there of «world revolution». In addition, all it was instrumental in strengthening independence of new states in the western lands of post-imperial Russia: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. Actually, Poland considerably strengthened its national identity and international authority as a result of war of 1920.

¹ *Tomashivski S.* Under wheels of history: Essays and articles — Berlin: Ukr. Slovo, 1922. — 103 p. — (Lib. Of «Ukr. slovo»; № 15).

² *Lozinskii M.* Galicia in 1918–1920. — Vienna, 1922. — 228 p. — (Ukr. revolution: Secret services and materials; Book 5).

³ *Borshak I.* Polish attack on Ukraine of 1920 in international policy is the // Chervony shiakh. — K., 1925. — № 9. — p. 76–92; 1927. — № 7/8. — p. 109–144.

- 4 *Vinnichenko V.* Renaissance of nations: (History of Ukrainian revolution (March 1917– December 1919): In 3 parts. — C.; Vienna, 1920. — P. 1. — 348 s.; P. 2. — 328 s.; P. 3. — 535 s.; *Mazepa I.* Ukraina in fires and revolution storms. 1917–1921 (Flashbacks). — V. 3. Poland-Ukraine union. End of the armed movement. — *Prague, 1943.* — 231 s.; *Doroshenko D.* My flashbacks about recent past (1914–1918). P. 4. Under Directorate. On strange land (1919–20). — Lviv: Chervona Kalina, 1924. — 104 p.; *Petliura S.* Articles, letters, documents. V. 3 / ed. «Velyky derzhavnik Ukrainy» of V. Sergiychuk; in-t of researches of moder. history of Ukraine in the USA and oth. — C.: Publ. of O.Teligi, 1999. — 616 p.; *Shelukhin S.* Warsaw agreement between Poland and Petliura 21 April, 1920. — Prague: New Ukraine, 1926. — 40 p.
- 5 *Sribnyak I.* Simon Petliura at the head of the state and army: on the issue of Poland-Ukraine relations 1919–1920 // *Mihalchuk V.* Ukraine library of Simon Petliura in Paris: Establishment, development, activity (1926–1998). — C., 1999. — p. 607–609; *Sribnyak I.* Simon Petliura at the head of the state and army: on the issue of Poland-Ukraine relations 1919–1920// Simon Petliura and Ukrainian national revolution: Col.of 2nd competition of Petliura studies in Ukraine. — C., 1995. — p. 137–164; *Covalchuk O.V.* Ukrainian military mission in Poland (July–November, 1920) // *Liberation way.* — 2006. — T. 59, b. 7–8. — p. 140–161; *Zaretska T. Yozef Pilsudskii* and Ukraine. — C.: In-t of history of Ukraine of NAS of Ukraine, 2007. — 288 p.; *Soldatenkov V.F.* Vinnichenko and Petliura: political portraits of revolutionary day. — C.: world View, 2007. — 621 p.; *Vedeneev D.V.* Diplomatic service of the Ukrainian state. 1917–1923. — C.: National academy of SBU, 2007. — 261 p.; *Solovyova V.V.* Diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian national governments 1917–1921: Monograph /ed. O.P. Reent. — Kiev; Donetsk: In-t of history of Ukraine of NAS of Ukraine, 2006. — 394 p.; *Litvin M.* Ukraine-Poland war 1918–1919. / NAS Of Ukraine. In-t of Ukraine studies, In-t of East.-Centr. Europe. — Lviv, 1998. — 488 p.; *Crasivskii O.Ya.* Ukraine-Poland relations in 1917–1923 — C.: IPIEND, 2008. — 544 p.
- 6 *Coulchitskii S.* Problem of border between Ukraine and Poland in a Soviet policy 1919–1921 // Ukraine-Poland: history legacy and public consciousness. — C., 1993. — [Vip.] 1. — p. 188–199.
- 7 *Lozinskii M.* *ibid.* — S. 84.
- 8 *Igacevskii Z.* Government policy, political groups // *Our culture.* — 1969. — № 1. — S. 3.
- 9 *Litvin M.* *ibid.* — p. 354–355.
- 10 *Szajdak S.* Polsko-Ukraiński Sojusz Polityczno Wojskowy w 1920 roku. — Warszawa, 2005. — S. 94–95.
- 11 *Lisevich I.* Political aspects of Ukraine-Poland union of 1920 // *Polska and Ukraina.* — Torun, 1997. — S. 81–84.
- 12 CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3933. — Op. 1. — Spr. 4. — Arc. 20.
- 13 *Litvin M.* *ibid.* — S. 325.
- 14 *ibid.* — p. 310.
- 15 CDIA in Lviv. — F. 362. — Op. 1. — V. 32. — p. 4–5.
- 16 *Petliura S.* *ibid.* — p. 357–358.
- 17 CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3172. — Op. 3. — Spr. 35. — P. 15; CDIA in Lviv. — F. 360. — Op. 1. — Spr. 54. — P. 38.
- 18 CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 2. — Spr. 21. — P. 198; *Matvienko V., Golovchenko V.* History of Ukrainian diplomacy of XX in memoir. — C., 2001. — P. 88–89.
- 19 CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 1. — Spr. 173. — P. 2.
- 20 *Matvienko V.* Ukraine diplomacy in 1917–1921 on the territories of post-imperial Russia. — C.: Publishing house «Kiev university», 2002. — P. 236–237.
- 21 CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 2. — Spr. 21. — P. 198.
- 22 CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 2. — Spr. 404. — P. 4, 212–213.
- 23 *Petliura P.* *ibid.* — P. 140.

- ²⁴ CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 1. — Spr. 173. — P. 50; *Mazepa I.* Ukraine in fires and revolution storm. 1917–1921 (Flashbacks). — T. 2. Kamianets day. Winter campaign. — Prague, 1942. — P. 144.
- ²⁵ CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 1429. — Op. 2. — Spr. 2. — P. 18.
- ²⁶ *Karpus Z.* Wschodni sojusznicy Poslki w wojnie 1920 roku. — Torun, 1999. — P. 24–25.
- ²⁷ *Vedeneev D., Budkov D.* Youth of Ukrainian diplomacy. Start of foreign-policy service in 1917–1923. — C., 2006. — P. 147–149.
- ²⁸ *Matvienko V., Golovchenko V.* ibid. — P. 95.
- ²⁹ *Lisevich I.* ibid. — P. 88–89.
- ³⁰ *Galitska-Didukh T.* Warsaw agreement of 1920 in the context of idea defender // Galicia. History. — Lviv, 2000. — P. 90.
- ³¹ CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 2. — Spr. 245. — P. 124–125.
- ³² *Mihaylik B.* Warsaw agreement in the light of nationalistic criticism. — Winnipeg, 1950. — P. 5–7.
- ³³ *Shelukhin P.* ibid. — P. 28–31; Great October and Civil war in Ukraine. Encyclopaedic Reference Book. — C., 1989. — P. 438–439.
- ³⁴ CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 1429. — Op. 2. — Spr. 8. — P. 1–3.
- ³⁵ *Mazepa I.* Ukraine in fires and revolution storm. 1917–1921 (Flashbacks). — T. 2. Kamianets day. Winter campaign. — Prague, 1942. — C. 33.
- ³⁶ *Lisevich I.* ibid. — P. 93.
- ³⁷ *Meltiokhov M.* Soviet-Polish wars. Military and political confrontation 1918–1939 — Moscow, 2001. — P. 29–30.
- ³⁸ *Litvin V.* Ukraine: time of war and revolutions (1914–1920). — C., 2003. — P. 328.
- ³⁹ *Udovichenko O.* Ukraine in war for the national identity. — Winnipeg, 1954. — P. 142.
- ⁴⁰ RDVA. — F. 245. — Op. 2. — Spr. 3. — P. 32.
- ⁴¹ CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 3696. — Op. 3. — Spr. 49. p. 152; *Matvienko V.* ibid. — P. 268–270.
- ⁴² CDAVO Ukraine. — F. 1429. — Op. 1. — Spr. 2. — P. 2–3.

The article reflects issue of Ukraine-Poland relations in period of national liberation movements of 1917–1921, in particular signing Warsaw agreement between Ukrainian National Republic and Polish Rzeczpospolita in April 1920. Special attention is given to assessment of this agreement by different groups of Ukrainian politicians and modern historians.

Keywords: Warsaw agreement, Ukraine, Poland, conference, P. Petliura, J. Pilsudski.





Oleh Kupchyk,

PhD (History), Associate Professor of History of Historical Faculty of the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University

**TRANSFORMATION OF
INSTITUTIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL
STATUS OF FOREIGN TRADE
DEPARTMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN
SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (USSR)
(1919–1924)**

Effective functioning of any state power authority depends on its proper organizational and staff structure and legal regulation of its activity. This relates to the Foreign

Trade Department of the USSR in the early 1920s, i.e. during the post-revolutionary period when the Government of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR) could not still fully centralize the power, in particular, in the field of foreign trade.

Due to this, the problem of the rights distribution between the subjects of the Union State became a burning problem in the period of its foundation. The dialogue between these subjects is especially aggravating when so far as concerns foreign relations, particularly foreign trade activity, given that the future union subjects have already attained material results before. Such discussion took place in 1922–1924 when, in the process of USSR formation, the Ukrainian SSR urged to establish its own People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (PCFT) and to directly participate in the foreign trade.

Some aspects of functioning of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of Ukrainian SSR (Ukrainian SSR PCFT), the Office of the RSFSR PCFT Commissioner at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and the Office of the USSR PCFT Commissioner at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR were investigated by both soviet¹ and modern Ukrainian historians and legal experts². But hitherto, they were not a subject for separate historical and legal research. Therefore, the **object** of the article is to explore functions, terms of reference and legal status (rights and obligations) of the Office of the RSFSR PCFT Commissioner at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and its officials as well as to trace the work of Councils of People's Commissars of the

Ukrainian SSR and the USSR (Radnarcoms) in terms of the elaboration in 1922–1924 of organizational and legal grounds for the foreign trade activity of the Soviet Ukraine as part of the USSR.

In addition to the national-democratic forces, the final establishment of the soviet power in Ukraine was impeded by the antagonism of European countries, i.e. Germany (which rendered military assistance to the Ukrainian People's Republic - UPR), France and Great Britain (the Ukrainian Black Sea ports were invaded by Antanta). Considering this previous negative experience of confrontation with these countries, the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR attempted to convince both the Ukrainian society itself and the European Community that the Ukrainian SSR is an independent (including from RSFSR) and sovereign country.

Accordingly, it is not a mere chance that the 3rd All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets (by the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR adopted thereby on 10 March, 1919) has vested the Republic with **international legal personality**, i.e. with the capability to become a member of international legal relationship. Its Part «B», Article 6, Chapter 6, guaranteed to the Ukrainian SSR the right to the “relations with foreign countries...”³. But such right did not provide the Ukrainian SSR with the possibility to participate in international trade legal relationship that may be explained only by the insufficient development level of the constitutional right in the then existing Soviet Ukraine.

Moreover, due to the permanent wars with the UPR, the Voluntary Army and Antanta in the south, the Government of the Ukrainian SSR missed conditions for building commercial ties with foreign countries. Consequently, the structure of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR for a long time did not contain the body that would implement the state policy in the sphere of external relations.

Such body in the form of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (PCFT) was established by the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR on 11 June, 1920. This event took place during the soviet-polish war (the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR), fought with Poland), when the Red Army occupied Kyiv again, advancing the attack further to the west. So, there was no possibility to organize and hold meetings of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUTsVK) — a legislative body, within the competence of which was to approve resolutions on the creation or cancellation of people's commissariats. Due to this, the Regulations on the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (PCFT) of the Ukrainian SSR was not developed and approved, and its activity was regulated by the same Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars, pursuant to Article 2 of which it was empowered to “manage foreign trade of the Republic, ensure sole priority of the

state to carry on foreign trade activity as well as to control and protect this state's prerogative"⁴.

However, the executive body which was central by its status and directly subordinated to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (PCFT) of the Ukrainian SSR has existed for a short while. In terms of the further power centralization (launched by the Agreement "On Military and Political Union between the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR" dated 1 June, 1919), this body has got the status of the united people's commissariat (narkomat) according to the "Workers' and Peasants' Agreement between RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR" (dated 28 December, 1920). That is to say, PCFT of the Ukrainian SSR was liquidated, and in future the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of RSFSR was entrusted to pursue the foreign trade policy joint for Ukraine and Russia. In the Ukrainian SSR the direct administration of the foreign trade activity was imposed on the Office of the Commissioners of RSFSR PCFT attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR established on March 1921.

Non-approval during a long period of the Regulations specifying functions, powers and a legal status of the Commissioner may be only explained by the discrepancies as for this issue between the Councils of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR. On 17 March, 1921 the Ukrainian SSR CPC (the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR) adopted the Resolution that has specified the Commissioner's functions. He was vested with the right to carry out export and import transactions in the foreign market (he acted abroad as a seller of soviet goods and as a buyer of foreign goods). However, he was not entitled to procure the goods for export by state orders in the domestic market⁵.

Finally, the Regulations "On the PCFT Commissioners in Ukraine and its bodies" were approved on 27 July, 1921 by the joint Resolution of the Councils of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR. Pursuant to these Regulations, the Commissioner was entrusted to "implement throughout of Ukraine all general measures of joint economic policy of PCFT and general export plan as well as to reveal the needs of the Ukrainian SSR national economy in foreign goods and to take all necessary measures for their timely satisfaction...". This means that the Commissioner administrated the formation and implementation of the government policy in the sphere of foreign trade.

According to these Regulations, the Commissioner was included in the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR as **a People's Commissar**. Organization of the tasks performance was imposed on the **Office**, which, proceeding from the status of the

Commissioner as a People's Commissar, acted as a central executive authority.

For the purpose of resolving the matters within its competence, in the Office of the RSFSR PCFT Commissioner attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR there was founded the Board composed of: the commissioner, the deputy commissioner and the member of the committee. As agreed with the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, they were appointed by RSFSR PCFT and approved by VUTsVK (the ALL-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee).

The Office was the authority **founded on the principle of individual responsibility and undivided authority**. The direct administration of the Office's work was imposed on the Commissioner, and all RSFSR PCFT bodies acting on the territory of Ukraine subordinated thereto. According to the directives of the People's Commissariat (narkomat), he disposed of all its property⁶.

Pursuant to the Regulations, the actions referred to below were included in the competence of the Commissioner, i.e. the Commissioner had to: 1) Organize central and local bodies of RSFSR PCFT in Ukraine, establish the Ukrainian SSR trade representative offices abroad, administrate and supervise their activity; 2) Implement the tasks on foreign trade nationalization, submit for the registration with the Ukrainian SSR CPC decrees and resolutions of the RSFSR CPC related to the RSFSR PCFT activity, control their performance in Ukraine as well as submit the draft laws on foreign trade in Ukraine through the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR; 3) Form and maintain accounting of the export fund, organize its procurement as well as establish the Ukraine's needs in foreign goods and maintain their accounting; 4) Organize acceptance of foreign goods as well as the storage, transportation and deliver of Ukrainian goods to be exported abroad; 5) Take measures on the increase of the export fund, inspect and supervise export goods and, if necessary, participate in the raw materials procurement and processing; 6) Organize work of the Council of Foreign Trade and submit the import and export plan of the Ukrainian SSR for its consideration and approval thereby; 7) Represent the Ukrainian SSR in the Council of Foreign Trade at the RSFSR PCFT with the decisive vote regarding the Ukrainian SSR foreign trade-related matters with the right to challenge the resolutions of this Council infringing the interests of Ukraine in the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR; 8) Develop and submit to the Ukrainian SSR CPC for approval the Ukrainian export and import funds and perform this plan through the representatives of the Ukrainian SSR in foreign missions of RSFSR responsible for the performance of this plan; 9) Develop and submit for approv-

al to the Council of Labor and Defense the export and import plans of the Ukrainian SSR as a part of the general plan of the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR, and participate through its representatives in foreign missions of RSFSR for the purpose of this plan performance; 10) Negotiate with foreign firms and carry on general and special research of foreign markets, enter into preliminary or final (as determined by PCFT) agreements with foreign companies; 11) Carry out trade transactions on goods export and import as well as on their transit, tonnage, etc. on the PCFT's instruction; 12) Fight against goods smuggling, participate in guarding of land and maritime boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR as well as create customs institutions and administer them⁷.

For the purpose of carrying out trade transactions abroad, the RSFSR PCFT Commissioner at the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR appointed **trade representatives** who acted on his instructions and were responsible to him for the fulfillment of the duties imposed thereon. The tasks of the Ukrainian SSR trade representatives abroad included: a) Participation in the performance of the joint plan for the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR related to the import applications, in particular, organization of goods acceptance and delivery, transport expertise, etc.; b) Procurement and exchange of goods for economic needs of Ukraine; c) Conducting of preliminary negotiations with commercial and government trade and financial institutions and firms as well as with public organizations on the Commissioner's instruction or at their own initiative; d) Research (monitoring) of economic situation in a certain country; e) Sales of Ukrainian raw materials and goods; f) Execution of other actions required for trade activities.

Besides, in the countries where there were no diplomatic and consular agents of the Ukrainian SSR, their functions were imposed on trade representatives.

Terms of reference of the Ukrainian SSR trade representatives abroad were determined by their duly executed mandate to be granted by the Commissioner (paragraph 9). In the countries where there were no trade missions of RSFSR, the trade representatives of the Ukrainian SSR acted exclusively in accordance with the instructions and directives of the Commissioner or the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (PCFA) of the Ukrainian SSR, at the same time partially performing his functions (paragraph 10).

In the countries where the RSFSR trade missions were present, the Ukrainian SSR trade representatives were included in the RSFSR trade missions on the following basis: a) they were conferred the rank of a "trade representative of the Ukrainian SSR; b) trade transactions, which affected the Ukraine's interests, were carried out according to the decision of the Ukrainian SSR trade representatives in this coun-

try. In case of discrepancies with the trade representative of RSFSR, the dispute was settled with the participation of the Commissioner of RSFSR PCFT at the Ukrainian SSR CPC.

In the country, where the plenipotentiary representative office of the Ukrainian SSR existed, the trade representative of the Ukrainian SSR was included thereto. Relations between a trade representative and a plenipotentiary representative of the Ukrainian SSR were built through the Commissioner of RSFSR PCFT at the Ukrainian SSR CPC. At the same time, the trade representative of the Ukrainian SSR abroad was entitled to have direct relations with the representatives of Ukrainian trade institutions⁸.

The organizational structure of the Office created in 1921 included the following: the Administrative and Organizational Department with such divisions as: a) General Chancellery, b) Organizational and Instruction Division, c) Revision and Inspection Division, d) Material and General Service Division, e) Staff Board, f) Commandant's Office; 2) the Secretariat; 3) the Legal Department; 4) the Export Department with subdivisions; 5) Import Department with subdivisions; 6) the Customs Clearance Department; 7) the Financial and Accounting Department; 8) the Statistical and Economic Department with Information Subdivision. The organizational structure was changed in 1921 by adopting the Regulations.

As new kinds of work were performed and their volume increased, the Office structure kept changing being supplemented by new structural subdivisions. At the end of 1922 it was as follows: the Commissioner; the Board; the Regulation Departments with such divisions as: a) License Division, b) Export and Import Division (which also included representatives of the Supreme Council of National Economy (SCNE) and the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (PCWPI); the Statistical and Economic Department with such divisions as: a) Economic Division, b) Statistical Division, c) Information Division, the Financial Department; Ukrderzhtorg (the trade structure of Ukrzovnishtorg); Liseksport.

The Board membership was expanded and the Heads of Departments of the Office⁹ were included therein.

The Office of the Commissioner of RSFSR PCFT at the Ukrainian SSR CPC was located in Kharkiv at the address: 4, Veterenarnaya St. Samuil Hryhorovych Bron appointed as the Commissioner headed the Board of the Office. The members of the Board involved: the Deputy Commissioner Boev Ivan Vasyliovych, Polotskyi Olexandr Arkadiyovych, Artamonov Kostiantyn Mykhailovych, Koliukh as well as the Head of the Trade Department Yosyf Moiseyovych Soltanov, the Head of the Export Department Burtman, the Head of the Import Department Gesh, the Head of the Administrative

and Economic Department Koretskyi, the Head of the Economic and Statistical Department Freibkov, the Head of the Financial and Accounting Department Reingand, the Head of the Transport and Material Department Dykanskyi, the Head of the Customs Clearance Department Khrysanovskiy, the Secretary Izrailevych. As of March 1921, the Office's personnel numbered 137 persons. The Commissioner was included in the Board of the Ukrainian SSR PCFT as a member¹⁰.

Recall that on 1 June, 1919 the Governments of the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR signed the military-political agreement, under which five People's Commissariats — military, of national economy, means of communication, finances and labor were merged. They explained that such centralization is expedient as it would allow to more effectively use economic and military resources in the war against the Voluntary Army, Western aliens' partners in the South and the Army of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

After the soviet power was established in Ukraine in 1920, the centralization still continued. But then the true reasons thereof consisted in the attempt of the Council of People's Commissars of RSFSR to concentrate all significant spheres of activity in its hands. Pursuant to the Workers and Peasants Treaty between Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR dated 28 December, 1920, the People' Commissariats for Post and Telegraph, Foreign Trade and the Supreme Council of National Economy were merged¹¹.

In January 1922 the power centralization was continued. Then the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks (CC of RCPB) delivered to the republican party organizations **the Draft Union Agreement**, under which the "autonomization" (transformation of formally independent republics into autonomous republics) was stipulated. Pursuant to Chapter III of this Agreement "International Relations Bodies of Contractual States" (which author was the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of RSFSR G. Chicherin), in future RSFSR has to represent Soviet Republics in international relations. According to Article 20, RSFSR PCFT was in charge of foreign economic activity as well as carried out foreign trade representation (Article 21).

To embody their own interests, Republics were permitted to deal with certain issues of foreign political and economic activity and, for this purpose, were entitled to enter into bilateral interstate treaties on the issues the republics were interested in. The Republican Councils of People's Commissars had to include "special People's Commissariats for Foreign Affairs" (Article 22). However, the Soviet Republics had to agree these interstate treaties with RSFSR (Article 24). The creation of the Ukrainian SSR PCFT was not stipulated¹².

But such outlooks of RSFSR on the structure of all-union and republican power authorities, their competence, rights and obligations were already out of step with the interests of the Ukrainian SSR. And it is no mere chance, because in the early 1920s the foreign policy of the Ukrainian SSR reached considerable achievements, in particular, it established diplomatic relations with democratic Georgia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Turkish, Italy, Germany, and harmonized relations therewith (these countries had Ukrainian representative offices). The Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR planned to further develop such success and considered necessary to have its own People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (PCFT) and People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (PCFA)

But the Constitutional Commission of the Ukrainian SSR created by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks (CC of RCPB) in August 1922 was not a success in protecting its interests in the building of the Soviet Union. In the Draft Agreement on the USSR Formation prepared in October the Commission proposed to the Council of People's Commissars of USSR to establish 10 Commissariats of two categories: all-union (located in Moscow) and union republic (subordinated to the USSR Government not directly but through the Councils of People's Commissars of Republics). The People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade (just as the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs) was referred to the first category¹³.

But the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR kept pressing its point with regard to these People's Commissariats at the I-st All-Union Congress of Soviets (30 December, 1922, Moscow). That's why the delegation from the Ukrainian SSR refused to sign the Draft USSR Agreement submitted by the Constitutional Commission, which finally was taken as a basis. The Agreement itself was delivered to the Expanded Constitutional Commission for the follow-up revision and adjustment, with being planned to be considered and approved in its final version on the following All-Union Congress of Soviets¹⁴.

Besides, the development of Regulations on All-Union and Union Republic People's Commissariats started. With this purpose, on 1–2 February, 1923 in Moscow there worked the special Commission where the Ukrainian SSR was represented by the Deputy People's Commissar V. Yakovlev and the Commissioner of RSFSR PCFT at the Ukrainian SSR CPC S.Bron. When considering the issue "On the Merged People's Commissariats of the USSR" on 1 February, the Commission has decided that they should be of collegial nature. When forming the Boards, the interests of Union Republics should be taken into account. The Commissioners of All-Union People's Commissariats at the Councils of People's Commissars of the Republics were appoint-

ed by the People's Commissariat of the USSR by the submission of the Council of People's Commissars of the Republic. In case of disagreement, the dispute had to be settled by the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. The Commissioners were higher representatives of the appropriate People's Commissariat in the Republic, the government of which they related to. They acted according to the Regulations on All-Union People's Commissariat. In the Councils of People's Commissars of the Republics the commissioners were vested with the advisory vote (V. Yakovlev reserved his own opinion insisting to vest them with the decisive vote).

Having considered the issue "Regulations on the Commissioner of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade", on 2 February the Commission approved the following: to entrust S. Bron with the final wording of these Regulations; to recognize that the Commissioner of PCFT in Ukraine should be included in the Board of the USSR PCFT, and the Commissioner appointment should be carried out on a common basis, i.e. on the agreement with the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR; the funds transferred by the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars of the USSR PCFT shall remain in the ownership of the Ukrainian SSR; the current use of the Ukrainian fund and transactions on foreign commodity exchange should be carried out by the Commissioner of PCFT in Ukraine on the instructions of the CPC of the Ukrainian SSR but with the observance of general directives of the USSR PCFT; to render necessary that representatives of Ukraine were included in all planning and regulatory all-union authorities with the decisive vote. Besides, to introduce representatives of Ukraine into the Customs and Tariff Commission at the USSR PCFT¹⁵.

The Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR started to more often speak to RSFSR CPC on the infringement thereby of the Ukraine's rights and contractual relations therewith (what earlier was hushed up). Then, some official documents were prepared where the information thereon was gathered and analyzed, among which there were presented the "Facts that may be used as examples of non-constitutional attitude of RSFSR PCFA to PCFA of the Ukrainian SSR (only for the recent time)" submitted on 14 April, 1923 by the Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs V. Yakovlev to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and Politbureau of CC of RCPB that included numerous examples of the Russia's violations in political and foreign trade spheres. For example, when the Head of the Italian Mission in RSFSR George Amadori filed to RSFSR PCFA the application on the performance of the trade agreement between Lloyd Triestino and Odessa Province (Gubernial) Customs Department on the warehouses lease, the Russian party delivered to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR the appropriate request

to the point and did not indicate to the Italians that they should address directly the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, with which Italy has also concluded the agreement. And only then, the RSFSR PCFA informed the Italian mission that it delivered the request to the Ukrainian SSR.

The conflict took place in March 1923 when the RSFSR trade representative in Germany B. Stomon'iakov declared himself as a trade representative of the USSR yet before the legal implementation of the USSR. He replaced Russia forms by all-union ones and started to issue licenses for import of good throughout the whole territory of the USSR, including Ukraine, under the signature of the "trade representative of the USSR". On 16 March, 1923 the plenipotentiary representative of the Ukrainian SSR in Germany V. Aussem and the trade representative Ya Shindel forwarded to the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR the letters where pointed out to the illegitimacy of such actions of the Russian trade representative in Berlin¹⁶.

As a result, the Ukrainian SSR policy was reflected in the Draft Treaty on the Formation of the USSR approved on 19 May, 1923 on the Joint Meeting of the Ukrainian SSR CPC Commissions on the elaboration of the Constitution of the USSR. On 23 May, 1923 the Joint Meeting of the Presidium of the ALL-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (AUCEC) and CPC of the Ukrainian SSR approved the Draft Constitution of the USSR. It materially differed from the draft proposed by the Constitutional Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, in particular:

Only three People's Commissariats were referred to the All-Union Commissariats: the People's Commissariat of Military and Maritime Affairs, the People's Commissariat of Means of Communication and the People's Commissariat for Post and Telegraph. But in the Governments of the Republics they were presented not as Commissioners but on the level of the People's Commissariats.

People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and People's Commissariats of Foreign Trade were moved from all-union People's Commissariats to union-republican ones;

The Republican Governments reserved their right to enter into foreign loan and concession agreements, to carry out (within the effective union legislation) the representation in foreign relations on behalf of the Republic as well as to keep up administrative and economic relations with neighboring countries.

At the beginning of June 1923, this Draft Union Agreement and Draft Constitution of the USSR was delivered to the expanded Constitutional Commission of the USSR Central Executive Committee but were not supported thereby.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR kept pressing its point (Kh. Rakovskyi, D. Manuil'skyi, M. Strypnyk, M. Frunze) at the meeting of the Commission of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the elaboration of practical proposals regarding the USSR on 5–6 May, 1923.

In the process of hearing the issue on the number of All-Union People's Commissariats, Kh. Rakovskyi proposed to refer thereto the People's Commissariat for Means of Communication, the People's Commissariat for Post and Telegraph and the People's Commissariat of Military and Maritime Affairs, and to assign PCFT and PCFA to the union-republican commissariats. However, the Commission has declined this proposal. As for the next proposal of M. Frunze to assign the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, People's Commissariats of Foreign Trade and the People's Commissariats of Military Affairs to the union-republican ones, the Commission was set against it (Kh. Rakovskyi and M. Frunze reserved their own opinion). At the suggestion of Y. Stalin, the Commission approved the creation of five People's Commissariats as all-union ones with the Commissioners at the Councils of People's Commissars of republics, thereupon the proposal of M. Frunze to name the Commissioner of All-Union People's Commissariats as "narcomy" was also rejected by the Commission (Kh. Rakovskyi and M. Frunze reserved their own opinion again). At the same time, the Commission resolved to introduce the representatives of the interested republics to foreign representative offices of PCFT and PCFA of the USSR (pursuant to the Resolution of the Plenum of CC of RCPB dated 6 May, 1923)¹⁸.

The Council of People's Commissars of RSFSR and the CC of RCPB attempted to explain their position and actions with regard to the Union formation at the IV Meeting of Officials of National Republics and Oblasts (9–12 June, 1923), Moscow). The Secretary General Y. Stalin accused the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR (Kh. Rakovskyi, M. Frunze and M. Skrypnyk) of the "confederalism" and the wish to separate Ukraine from the USSR and make it independent. The Secretary General argued that unless the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade relate to all-union ones, then "the USSR will not look as a unified state to the outside world". The delegates of the Meeting have criticized the Ukrainian SSR delegation, and its Resolution stated that "the Ukrainians propose to move PCFT and PCFA from the category of the merged ones to the category of directive ones, i.e. to hold these commissariats in the Republics along with PCFT and PCFA of the USSR and subordinate them to the directives of the latter. But if, in our judgment, we are creating one union state, which intends to act as a single whole in the opinion of the outside world, such proposal may not be acceptable. The same concerns

the concession agreements, which conclusion should be concentrated in the USSR". Kh. Rakovskyi was subjected to the especially severe criticism because just he who headed the Constitutional Commission of the Ukrainian SSR CPC¹⁹.

Therefore, PCFT (as PCFA before) were referred to the All-Union People's Commissariats. This was approved by Paragraph 6 of Chapter II (Treaty on Formation of the USSR) of the Constitution of the USSR adopted by the II All-Union Congress of Soviets on 31 January, 1924. Pursuant to p.1 of this Chapter, the following functions were transferred to all-union authorities: the representation in international relations; change of external boundaries of the USSR; announcement of war and conclusion of peace; ratification of international agreements; entering into foreign state loan agreements; pursuance of foreign and domestic policy; and conclusion of concession agreements²⁰.

Subject to the Regulations "On the Office of the PKFT Commissioner in Ukraine", the Commissioner was entrusted with the task to pursue the all-union policy in the field of foreign trade on the territory of Ukraine as well as to "timely satisfy the Ukrainian SSR needs with regard to the foreign trade turnover". For this purpose, all bodies of the USSR PKFT acting on the territory of Ukraine subordinated to the Commissioner.

The distinctive feature is that, to make the foreign trade exchange in Ukraine, the Commissioner received the necessary funds and values (he disposed of) from the Councils of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR. Just for this, the Ukrainian State Export and Import Bureau as well as other special institutions and enterprises for import and export of various kinds of goods have been founded.

The terms of reference of the Commissioner included: to establish local authorities of the USSR PKFT on the territory of Ukraine as well as to administrate and supervise them; to fulfill the tasks of the soviet policy in the field of foreign trade and control the observance of the foreign trade legislation; to regulate the foreign trade turnover of the Ukrainian SSR; to present in the USSR PKFT the Ukraine's interests in the field of trade and customs policy, and as for the attraction of foreign capital;

to carry out general supervision of the acceptance of foreign goods in Ukraine and dispatch of Ukrainian goods abroad.

To facilitate the performance of tasks imposed on the Commissioner, the central authority (the Office) and the local bodies were established. The implementation of these tasks abroad was put on the trade representatives included in the trade representative office of the USSR (in case the trade representative office of the Ukrainian SSR was absent, they were not named as trade representatives of the Ukrainian SSR. — *O.K.*). These trade representatives had to act within the in-

structions and directives provided by the Commissioner and were responsible for the fulfillment of their duties thereto.

The trade representatives were entrusted to exercise control in a certain foreign country over the proper and timely execution by the USSR trade representative office of export and import transactions related to the Ukrainian SSR as well as supervise the direct performance of these transactions and coordination them with the trade representative office of the USSR.

In foreign countries where Ukraine had special economic interests, the Commissioner was entitled to appoint his special representative to be included in the all-union trade representative office according to the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR.

Within the competence of such special representative was: to find out products required by Ukrainian institutions and enterprises as well as the goods that could be of interest therefor, to carry on (with permission of the trade representative of the USSR) negotiations on these goods and products and on the attraction of foreign capital to Ukraine.

The special representative had to act within the Commissioner's directives and was responsible for the performance of tasks thereto. In case of disputes between the Commissioner and the USSR PKFT, the trade or special representative of the Ukrainian SSR and the trade representative of the USSR, the final resolution regarding the issue had to be taken jointly by the USSR PKFT and the CPC of the Ukrainian SSR. The ceiling of loan commitments under trade agreements of the Ukrainian SSR abroad had to be established by the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR by the consent of the USSR PKFT²¹.

So, the implementation of the Ukrainian SSR government policy in the sphere of foreign trade was imposed on the PKFT of the Ukrainian SSR established on 11 June, 1920. However, as the centralization of the power in the field of foreign trade activities was carried out, the pursuance of the soviet policy in this sphere was put on the Commissioner of the USSR PKFT at the CPC of the Ukrainian SSR subordinated to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of RSFSR. The Commissioner was included in the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR as a People's Commissar. The performance of tasks imposed thereon had to be organized by the Office that was the body founded on the principle of individual responsibility and undivided authority. The direct administration of the Office was carried out by the Commissioner. For the purpose of resolving the matters within his competence, in the Office there was founded the Board. Besides, the administrative structure with the central body and

local territorial and trade representative offices of the Ukrainian SSR abroad was developed.

Under conditions of the USSR formation and the power centralization in 1922–1925, the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, taking into consideration the previous achievements in the foreign trade activity (i.e. regulation of trade relations with a number of European countries, foundation and expansion of the activities of the trade representative offices of the Ukrainian SSR), wanted to further reserve its right to directly participate therein. Thus, in the Draft Treaty on Formation of the USSR and in the Constitution, it was proposed to refer PCFT (just as PCFA) to the union republican rather than to all-union People's Commissariats. The Constitutional Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR declined this proposal. It also rejected that both the Commissioner subordinated to the USSR PCFT and the Commissioner of the USSR PCFT at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR were included in the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR with the decisive vote. But it was decided that they will become its members with the advisory vote.

Truth be told, it is quite difficult to enlighten within one article all aspects of functioning the Office of the RSFSR PCFT Commissioner at the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. So, it remains to be perspective to enlighten the exercise by this state body of its legal status in the process of export and import transactions.

¹ *Vasylenko V.A.* Legal aspects of the Ukrainian SSR participation in international relations / *Vasylenko V.A.* — K., 1984. — 208 p.; *Vasylenko V.A., Lukashuk I.* Ukrainian SSR in today's international relations (legal aspects) / *Vasylenko V.A.* — K. 1974. — 85 p.; *Dzhedzhula A.E.* International economic relations of Ukraine in 1920–1922.: Dissertation of the Doctor of History д: 07.00.01 / *Dzhedzhula A.E.* — Kyiv. National University — Kyiv, 1967. — 789 p.

² *Sliusarenko A.G., Tomenko M.V.* History of the Ukrainian Constitution / *Anatoliy Hnatovych Sliusarenko* — K., 1993. — 192 p.; *Rumiantsev V.O.* Ukrainian Statehood in 1917–1922.: National-Democratic and Soviet Alternatives: Dissertation of the Doctor of Law: 12.00.01 / *Rumiantsev V.O.* — Kharkiv, 1998. — 373 p.; *Salyha L.P.* Fight of Kh.G. Rakovskyi for the expansion of the Ukraine's rights during the constitutional implementation of the USSR (May — July 1923) / *Salyha L.P.* // *УІХ*. — 1992. — № 1 — p. 115–124.

³ *Sliusarenko A.G., Tomenko M.V.* Abovementioned work — p. 130.

⁴ *Dzhedzhula A.E.* Abovementioned work. — p. 140.

⁵ The same — p. 140–141.

⁶ Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars "On the Commissioners of PCFT in Ukraine and its Bodies" // *Visti VUTsVK*. — 1921. — 26 August.

⁷ The same.

⁸ The same.

⁹ *Dzhedzhula A.E.* The abovementioned work — p. 149.

¹⁰ Correspondence with the Representative Office of the Ukrainian SSSR in Poland (21 August — 21 October 1922). — Central State Archive of Supreme Executive and Regulatory Authorities of Ukraine — Ф. Р — 4 сч. — Он. 1 сч. — Спр. 56. — pages. 33 .

- ¹¹ *Golovko V.A., Stanchev M.G., Cherniavskiy G.I. Between Moscow and the West: Diplomatic Activity of Kh.G. Rakovskiy / Golovko V.A., — Kharkiv., 1994. — P. 128 — 131.*
- ¹² *Protocols of the Meetings of the Commission of CC of RCPB, the Expanded Commission of USSR TsV on Elaboration of Proposals regarding USSR and the Constitution of the USSR. — Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine. — Ф. 1. — Он. 20. — Сnp. 1639. — Pages 54–55.*
- ¹³ *Correspondence with the Head of the Ukrainian Nationalist Committee in Paris Mr. Morkotun S. on the Committee activity and positions with regard to the Ukrainian Soviet Government (3 May 1922 — 25 May 1923). — Central State Archive of Supreme Executive and Regulatory Authorities of Ukraine — Ф. P — 4 сч. — Он. 1 с. — Сnp. 87. — Pages. 148.*
- ¹⁴ *Rumiantsev V.O. Ukrainian Statehood in 1917–1922.: National-Democratic and Soviet Alternatives: Dissertation of the Doctor of Law: 12.00.01 / Rumiantsev V.O. — Kharkiv, 1998. — p. 369.*
- ¹⁵ *Regulations, Instructions, Protocols and other materials on the union integration of soviet republics and merge of some People's Commissariats of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR (January — December 1923). — Central State Archive of Supreme Executive and Regulatory Authorities of Ukraine — Ф. P — 4 сч. — Он. 1 с. — Сnp. 56. — Pages 28, 40–44, 57.*
- ¹⁶ *Protocols of Meetings of the Commission of CC of RCPB, the Expanded Commission of USSR TsVC on the Elaboration of Proposals regarding the USSR and the Constitution of the USSR. — Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine. — Ф. 1. — Он. 20. — Сnp. 1639. — pages. 1–6.*
- ¹⁷ *Salyha L.P. Fight of Kh.G. Rakovskiy for the expansion of the Ukraine's rights during the constitutional implementation of the USSR (May — July 1923) / Salyha L.P. // ВІСН. — 1992. — № 1 — p. 119.*
- ¹⁸ *Bulletin of the Information Department of the Plenipotentiary Representative Office of Ukrainian SSR in RSFSR. Protocol of the Meeting of Representatives of the Councils of People's Commissars of Union Republics (1923) — Central State Archive of Supreme Executive and Regulatory Authorities of Ukraine — Ф. 1. — Он. 20. — Сnp. 1736. — Pages 46; Session of CEC of the USSR. Union Treaty, USSR // Visti VUTsVK — 1923. — 30 June.*
- ¹⁹ *On activity of the counterrevolutionary Government of the Directorate abroad, Russian and Ukrainian emigrants. On conclusion of trade agreements and establishment of trade representative offices (December 1921 — August 1923). — Central State Archive of Supreme Executive and Regulatory Authorities of Ukraine — Ф. P — 4 сч. — Он. 1 с. — Сnp. 15. — Pages. 125 — 125 .*
- ²⁰ *Slusarenko A.G., Tomenko M.V. The abovementioned work. — p. 68.*
- ²¹ *Regulations, Instructions, Protocols and other materials on the union integration of soviet republics and merge of some People's Commissariats of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR (January — December 1923). — Central State Archive of Supreme Executive and Regulatory Authorities of Ukraine — Ф. P — 4 сч. — Он. 1 с. — Сnp. 56. — Pages 81.*

This article analyses functions, authorities and a legal status of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of Ukrainian SSR, the Office of the Commissioner of RSFSR PCFT at the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian SSR before and after the power centralization in connection with the formation of the USSR in 1922–1924.

Kupchyk Oleg. Transformation of Institutional and Functional Status of Foreign Trade Department of Soviet Ukraine in 1919–1924's

Functions, jurisdiction and a law status of the Foreign Trade Ministry of Ukrainian SSR and the Administration of the Agent of the Foreign Trade Ministry of the Russian SFSR by the Government of the Ukrainian SSR before the creation of the USSR and the complete power's centralization and thereafter in 1922–1924's are found out in the Article.



Volodimir Golouchenko

Born in 1962, in village Kamyani Potoki, Kremenchukski raion Poltava Oblast. Graduated cum laudi from the T. G. Shevchenko National University Kyiv, the faculty of history. Doctor of political science, professor of natural studies at the International Relations Institute, wrote over 80 scientific and methodological articles on international policy and international relations, diplomatic and political history of Ukraine, including "From 'Independent Ukraine' to Union for Liberation of Ukraine: historical sketches of Ukrainian social democracy at the beginning of 20th century" (1996), "History of 20th century Ukrainian diplomacy in portraits" (2001), "Diplomatic history of Ukraine (from ancient times to 19th century)" (2007, as co-author).

VICTORIOUS ENTENTE AND INDEPENDENT UKRAINE: THE SEARCH FOR DIPLOMATIC CONSENT

The overly leisurely pace of Ukrainian Eurointegration, the European Union and North-Atlantic alliance 'fatigue' of listening to Ukrainian top officials' vociferous declarations about their country's "European choice" and ever failing faith in their genuine intentions have brought on the front burner the lessons of our first attempts to make a breakthrough to the West that have been made in the heat of the 1917–1920 Ukrainian revolution. Although at that period, the so-called Brest regional system of international relations in Eastern Europe that had been in place until the end of fall 1918 considerably damped the extent of external policy failures committed by Ukrainian authorities, its breakdown caused by the military defeat of Central Powers resulted in extremely complex and frequently critical political environment for official Kyiv that turned out to be insurmountable. It should be noted though that getting out of these dire straits in such short and overly saturated with dramatic events timeframe when the entire world order system was undergoing dramatic transformations was not an easy task.

Notwithstanding numerous statements made by P. Skoropadskiy government officials on neutrality of the Ukrainian State in the 1st World War and the Hetman's personal decision of rejecting the idea to have Black Sea fleet going under Ukrainian colors into the Entente-controlled Mediterranean Sea (in exchange for favors from official Berlin to have this fleet transferred to Ukraine), Entente kept viewing Ukraine as one of their military foes. The Brest Peace Treaty signed on 27 January (9 February) 1918 among other parties by Central Rada delegates had incurred for the Allies heavy military losses as the Germans had used it as a chance of throwing their divisions to the Western front and creating there considerable superiority. Over the course of the so called spring offensive 21 March – 5 April and 27 May – 6 June 1918 the German troops for the second time crossed Marne river and stopped 56 km short of Paris (where they had already been at the very outset of the WW1). On the other hand, food deliveries from Ukraine saved Germany and Austria-Hungary from imminent food hardships and undermined the sea economic blockade of Quadruple Alliance set up by Entente, for which great nations had had so high hopes.

Since this benchmark the Ukrainian politicians had been doomed to bear for a long time the “Brest Stigma” that had been and is frequently used by the opponents of the Ukrainian independence to label this country as the product of German and Austrian intrigues, a project implemented by Germany to spread its influence throughout Southern Russia. In the long run, these factors played critical role when following a set of military losses suffered by Central Powers the Hetmanate started to search for an opportunity of establishing direct contacts with Entente. These attempts have been facilitated by the activities of the Ukrainian Bureau in Switzerland that had been set up by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine at the beginning of the war. In August 1918, the Union participated in creating the Paris-based Ukrainian National Rada headed by the historian Fedir Savchenko.

F. Savchenko was one of the founders who created the French-Ukrainian “Cercle d'études franco-ukrainiennes” and edited its monthly edition “La France et l'Ukraine”. Savchenko had issued the booklet “Ukraine and Ukrainian Issue” where he broached the subject of Central Rada peace treaty with Central Powers and made an attempt of justifying Ukraine and washing its

blemish of “betraying” the Allies. Apparently, the idea of creating the Ukrainian National Rada (similar to the Paris-based Polish National Committee headed by one of the Polish National Democratic Party leaders R. Dmowski or Czechoslovak National Council of T. Masaryk) has been inspired by circles close to the French Government who contemplated it as a means of getting under control future political processes in Ukraine.

Most interested figures in the Ukrainian National Rada were then Minister of Armament, the socialist Albert Thomas and the Professor in Slavic studies of Sorbonne University Ernest Denis; on 20 August 1918 the Rada representatives were received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Stephan Pichon, a politician close to the French Prime-Minister Georges Clemenceau. Small wonder that at the outset, the French and Swiss media have been rather complacent to F. Savchenko’s organization. According to information of Lausanne-headquartered Ukrainian Bureau the situation in Dnieper area was of interest also to the representative of Great Britain in Switzerland White and councilor of the Italian Prime-Minister U. Insabato who met with the Bureau officials on 20 August. The negotiations revolved around the possibility of creating a political anti-Austrian alliance between Italy and Ukraine and establishing economic ties between the two countries across Dardanelles and the future Trans-Balkan rail road.

At the meeting of Council of Ministers held 15 November 1918, the head of the Hetman Foreign Affairs Ministry D. Doroshenko made a suggestion of informing the Entente countries about internal situation in Ukraine and clarifying the nature of relations it entertained with the Quadruple Alliance and Bolshevik Russia. The government decided to dispatch for this purpose the extraordinary diplomatic missions to Great Britain and the USA (the former Russian ambassador in Beijing Ivan Korostovets), France (the chair of editorial and compliance commission at peace negotiations with RSFSR Mykola Mohilianskiy) and Iași (major general Vladislav Dashkevich-Gorbatskiy), and to allocate to D. Doroshenko’s office 2 million Karbovanets for informational outreach abroad. One of the most important objectives this mission had to meet was to ensure participation of Ukraine in the oncoming international peace conference. However the envoys never left Kyiv mostly due to op-

position of Germanophile elements in P. Skoropadskiy's entourage and the anti-Hetman revolt headed by the Directorate.

The only exception was D. Doroshenko who a month after the above government meeting left for Berlin to negotiate on keeping the German occupational troops in Ukraine (before completion of building up the national army) and stationing two German divisions in Southern Kholm after retracting from there Austrian units with simultaneous introduction of the Ukrainian civil administration. D. Doroshenko not only succeeded in addressing these two issues but also secured from the official Berlin an agreement to allow Ukrainian State establishing diplomatic ties with Entente¹.

From Berlin D. Doroshenko traveled to Berne where he planned to meet with the Italian Premier-Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando and representatives of the British government. The Hetman ambassador in Berne Evmen Lukasevish assured the Ukrainian minister that the scheduled talks had all the prerequisites for being successful but once arrived to Switzerland D. Doroshenko was informed by the French about the critical about-face in Ukraine's foreign policies (the P. Skoropadskiy's message on federal union with non-Bolshevik Russia issued 14 November 1918), changes in the government and his own dismissal. Besides, E. Lukasevish' assertions about Entente's willingness to sit with Ukraine at the negotiation table have proved to be erroneous.

The Hetmanate new foreign affairs minister G. Afanasiev accused his predecessor of "high treason" and insisted on reimbursement of all state funds. D. Doroshenko's privately voiced criticism regarding the purported virtues of following the federal course in Ukraine's relations with Russia have been used as the grounds of kicking him out of the office. D. Doroshenko decided to immediately set off for Kyiv hoping to restrain Hetman from instigating the civil war and play a mediator's role between him and the Directorate. However, by the time the ex-minister was about to cross the German-Ukrainian occupational border in Volyn he found out about P. Skoropadskiy's disavowal and the Directorate rise to power².

In parallel with D. Doroshenko's mission the attempts of smoothing out contacts with Entente representatives have been taken in Balkans by the Ukrainian ambassador in Sofia, the first head of the UPR Foreign Ministry O. Shulgin. When meeting with the

US Ambassador Murphy the latter indirectly implied the Entente's opposition to the idea of independent Ukrainian State and its willingness of seeing it as a part of federal Russia. According to O. Shulgin, who also remained in touch with the Entente military officials and diplomatic agents in Thessaloniki, "they just would not listen to my talking about Ukraine, let alone its being an independent country". After a month of persevering efforts and several memos later "the Entente officials tend to be more tolerant to Ukraine although only if it is regarded as being in federal connection with Russia"³. Such message could be interpreted by Hetman as another reason of embracing the concept of federation.

However in Iași (Romanian capital at that time) P. Skoropadskiy was still entertaining hope of getting on Entente's good side by talking to the French Ambassador de Saint-Olère, the British Ambassador G. Barclay, the American Ambassador J. Vopicka and others. On November 3, 1918 he sent there I. Korostovets to probe out the possibility of establishing diplomatic ties with Entente and inform its officials that if the only obstacle for recognizing Ukraine was Hetman the latter would be willing to step down. The Entente's position regarding Ukraine was somewhat different as was demonstrated by de Saint-Olère during his meeting with I. Korostovets: "Ukraine is a part of Russia who we consider, notwithstanding the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, an ally; Ukraine who has never been an independent state cannot pretend, regardless of what the Kyiv Government wants, to have its neutrality officially recognized; by entering into agreement with the Central Powers, Ukraine has breached its alliance with Entente states who therefore cannot trust its statements and declarations reflecting as we suspect only the changes in political circumstances".

Being an experienced diplomat I. Korostovets tried to spark up Entente's interest in supporting Hetman government by using purely practical reasoning: once left without German troops Ukraine with no regular army will have to face the revolt against Hetman instigated by the left national opposition. The ambassador made an unequivocal suggestion to Entente: agree with the Ukrainian government on sending its troops for protection of Dnieper area after withdrawal of the Germans. In the process of these negotiations Entente made it clear that its attitude to Ukraine would depend on assistance that Kyiv would be able to provide to the Allies to "re-

store order” in Russia. Ukrainians were expected to protect their national territory against Bolsheviks and fight shoulder to shoulder with the “loyal troops” of non-Bolshevik Russia. Another stipulation was to immediately discharge from the government all ministers who have compromised themselves by their germanophilic ties (apparently these were ministers representing the Ukrainian Social Federalist Party) by replacing them with those approved by Entente⁴.

I. Korostovets’ report was received by P. Skoropadskiy 9 or 10 November 1918 and most probably was regarded by him as the last straw that broke the proverbial camel’s back, i.e, the reason for drastically changing the country’s political course since the idea of independence allegedly supported by Germans was substituted by the concept of federation advocated by the Allies. Already on 16 November 1918 G. Afanasiev issued the note to the foreign states setting forth the new objectives of the Ukrainian government: restoration of federal Russia by observing all legal guarantees of Ukraine’s statehood; its national and cultural personality and, first of all, by preserving and strengthening its state law and order⁵.

At the Iași conference held 17–23 November 1918 with participation of the Russian anti-Bolshevik representatives headed by the ex-minister of agriculture Alexander Krivishein and the member of the Russian Empire State Council Vladimir Gurko the Entente diplomats demonstrated different position vis-a-vis Ukrainian State. The Kyiv media wrote that “the foreign policy priorities professed by the new Hetman government were accepted with understanding”, “the Entente states agreed to fully support Hetman and his government by all means available”. According to the resolution adopted in the conference, Emile Enno was sent to Kyiv in his quality of “plenipotentiary representative of Entente countries in Southern Russia” (in winter 1917 – 1918 he was one of the Kyiv “team” assigned to the General Commissar of French Republic with the UPR, the Brigadier General George Tabuit).

E. Enno was instructed to make sure that the Germans would stick to obligations they had undertaken in compliance with the Compiègne Armistice signed 11 November 1918 such as to maintain order and discipline in locations they had been holding at the time of cease fire. For Dnieper area it meant thwarting the efforts of “chauvinist Ukrainians”, or in other words squashing any pos-

sible anti-Hetman coups staged by the Ukrainian National Union. On November 21st, E. Enno declared recognition of the pro-Russian Hetman government, informed of his imminent arrival to Kyiv and announced that Allies' infantry would enter Ukraine from Romania and their fleet would moor in Black Sea ports. The next day, in his telegram E. Enno advised the S. Gerbel government: "Entente armies will arrive into your country not as enemies or oppressors but as friends of the people who have been fighting by our side for two years".

26 November 1918, E. Enno left Iași but had to stop in Odesa since the Odesa–Kyiv railroad stretch has already been seized by the Directorate troops. From Odesa the "plenipotentiary representative of Entente countries in Southern Russia" sent several telegrams to the Ukrainian MFA and Hetman's General Staff in Kyiv. As the "Odesa Listok" wrote 6 December 1918 the gist of these messages was to convey that Entente countries recognized the existing Ukrainian government; all disputable and social issues, including the issue of national self-determination would be scrutinized after the Entente military forces and its political representatives come to Kyiv; any encroachments against the existing authorities would be decisively quenched; the Germans had to restore and maintain order in Kyiv and throughout the entire country pending the Allies' arrival; the Entente states would in any event prevent S. Petlura's revolutionary troops from coming to Kyiv.

People in Hetman entourage interpreted these statements as recognition of the Ukrainian State by Entente de-jure, which was voiced by G. Afanasiev in his interview to "Golos Kieva" on 24 November. It should be noted though that according to the minister, in doing so the Entente states had been deviating from normal diplomatic practices but, on the other hand, had been about to send into Ukraine sufficient military forces to keep down any revolts. As to E. Enno, he expressed an unequivocal support to the Volunteer Army's Commander-In-Chief A. Denikin and preconditioned Entente's assistance to the Ukrainians by: fight against Bolsheviks, allegiance to the Allies and Russia's integrity.

The powers endowed on E. Enno who had never made it to the Ukrainian capital also remain a blind spot. The American representative J. Vopicka in his interview to the Ukrainian Telegraph Agency correspondent maintained that Entente delegates in Iași

found themselves cut off from their governments and consequently were unable to correctly convey their policy because of bad wireless communication with Paris and London. With communications restored only by the end of November all meetings in Iași could not be considered official as there was no direct feed-back from the Entente governments.

According to the future secretary of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission to the Paris peace conference Ilko Borshchak, in his speech at the session of the French Parliament held in March 1919 the French Foreign Minister S. Pichon affirmed that E. Enno had neither been appointed by the French government, nor has been the Consul of the French Republic nor has ever been delegated any diplomatic missions. In November 1918, S. Pichon, raised the issue of corroboration between independent Ukraine and Germany and insisted on putting up resistance against separatism, a tool of German infiltration⁶.

Quite understandably, the revolutionary the Directorate where major role had been played by the lead politicians of Central Rada was viewed by the head of the French Foreign Affairs Ministry as “pro-Bolshevik” and “separatist”. This government had been audacious enough to raise and spearhead revolt against Hetman — who had proved his loyalty to Entente — and had been consequently undermining the Russian-Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik block whose shape became clear after publication of P. Skoropadskiy’s “federal message”.

In the meantime, on 13 November 1918 the Allies re-enacted the British-French “Consent on actions in Southern Russia” dated 23 December 1917 which was used as a road map for the Entente armed intervention into the Ukrainian South. During debates in the lower chamber of the French National Assembly on 29 December 1918 regarding the country’s priorities in foreign policy S. Pichon said that according to the telegram sent by the French Prime-Minister Georges Clemenceau on 13 December “the action plan prepared by the Allies is not offensive and its only goal is to restrain the Bolsheviks from coming close to such territories as Ukraine, Caucasus, Western Siberia which are critical for their survival and where the Russian order elements are established. Therefore our priority in this situation is to create and maintain the protective shield around these regions. It is necessary to convey

to the Russian forces that our short-term support has only one objective: provide them with an opportunity of getting arranged and obtain material advantage over their adversaries”.

Consequently, the major idea behind the Entente intervention was to facilitate restoration of the allied Russia by assisting the local “healthy elements” in overthrowing the Bolshevik rule and reestablishing the territorial integrity of the former Empire (with exception of Poland and possibly Finland). At the same time the German influence in the Eastern Europe had to be definitely eliminated and instead the economic and safety interests of WW1 victories countries had to be assured.

For this purpose, on the night of 16 November 1918 the Allies’ fleet crossed Dardanelles and Bosphorus straits and entered the Black Sea (4 British, 5 French and one Italian battleships; 5 British, 1 French, 2 Italian and one Greek cruisers; 6 British and 4 French torpedo boats) under the general command of the French Vice-Admiral Jean-Franzouis-Charles Amet. The chief French military councilor in Romania and the Commander of Danube army, the French General Henri Mathias Berthelot had received an order to launch three divisions and Romanian troops supported by the Allies in the Middle East for invasion in Ukraine through Bessarabia. On 16 December 1918 H-M Berthelot made a statement where he blamed the “Bolshevik kingpins” as well as S. Petlura i V. Vinnichenko for bearing “personal responsibility for any act of hostility and any attempts to disturb peace in the country”⁷.

Quite surprisingly for the Dyrektoriy military commander in Odesa, the colonel of medical service Ivan Lutsenko, on the night of 18 December the Entente assault force landed in the city port accompanied by the land invasion of “volunteer” units who quickly squeezed the Ukrainian troops outside the urban limits. The French General Borius directing the first landing squads openly sided with the Russians and appointed the Denikin’s army Major General Aleksey Grishin-Almazov the Military Governor of Odesa warning the Directorate through in a special memo of imminent reprisals should it decide to venture any acts of hostility against the French-Russian troops in Odesa area⁸.

For the sake of historical truth it should be admitted that the Directorate’s reaction to the Entente intervention was far from being well thought-out and rational. With the successful anti-Het-

man revolt to its credit and tens of thousands insurgents hardened in fights against the German occupants behind its back the Directorate did not spare harsh words. On 27 November 1918 it signed the open letter with a protest note against the French interference in the Ukraine's internal affairs. Its conclusion read: "Openly speaking up against the violence that the Entente states are about to commit once again against the Ukrainian people the Ukrainian democracy pledges to fight to the last man in its ranks for the social and democratic rights of the laborious Ukrainian people and for the national and public form of its existence that has been and will be determined by the Ukrainians".

However the very first trial of strength in Odesa suburbs demonstrated that such overly brazen declarations had been unwarranted. On the other hand, the Kyiv regime that had succeeded Hetman's rule found itself in hot water surrounded by the enemies almost on all borders: in the west it faced the armies headed by Yu. Pilsudskiy, in the south and east by L. Trotskiy and in the south and south-east by A. Denikin; the new foe in form of the regularly Entente troops was the last thing it needed.

On the same day it triumphantly marched into Kyiv 19 December 1918 the Directorate sent an urgent message to Entente states declaring that UPR the Directorate has been done with warfare after returning freedom to the Ukrainians. The note read: "with regard to the above said the Directorate is confident that Ukraine has no need in assistance from Entente states, of which Hetman implored all the countries. the Directorate respectfully requests the Entente states to keep this situation in mind and take appropriate decisions on the presence of its forces in the Ukrainian territory". The document also contained a request to the Allies "to clarify the objectives pursued by landing their troops in Ukraine" without previous agreement with the Directorate⁹.

However, after ill-fated for the Ukrainian troops battle for Odesa the Directorate leadership had to start thinking about the ways of reaching a modus vivendi with Entente hoping that the latter would recognize Ukraine de-facto but rejecting the idea of Ukraine becoming the scene of its struggle against the Bolsheviks. The first attempt of clinching a peace deal with Entente was unsuccessful. According to the message sent by the Austrian Embassy councilor in Kyiv to the Viennese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, when

Major-General Olexander Grekov, the Directorate commander in chief in Katerinoslav, Kherson and Tavria, had arrived to Odesa he was not allowed into the Entente General Staff and by sheer luck escaped the imprisonment by the Volunteer Army.

Theoretically, by the end-December 1918 the Directorate had two possible ways of wriggling from its complex political predicament: either go to all lengths and take Entente on its side or go along with the Bolshevik Russia. The latter option was however associated with certain risks of which the Directorate had been fully aware. Association with RSFSR could have ensured a short-time joint front to oppose the western polish expansion and white-guards assaults from the south and south-east but would have imminently resulted in the loss of the Ukrainian statehood. As to Entente, by the end of 1918 it was still in limbo as to how tackle the Russian issue: it was either to project a federation combining all nations and ethnicities of the former Russian Empire on new democratic principles or to restore the “one and indivisible” tsarist Russia.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian politicians had been unable to employ all the subtleties of international diplomacy to pit one Entente member against the other, in contrast to the Russian monarchists whose well-run organization was deftly used as a tool of exercising pressure on official Washington, Paris and London. From the very start the Ukrainian leadership was torn apart by deep disagreements concerning the priorities that the renowned UPR should pursue on the international arena: the head of the Directorate V. Vinnichenko and appointed by his recommendation on 26 December 1918 the UPR Chairman of People Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs Volodimir Chehivskiy supported the concept of siding with the Lenin government, which was opposed by the Chief Ataman S. Petlura.

Disregarding this schism in an attempt of compelling the French command in Odesa to change its hostile attitude to the Directorate the newly appointed Head of UPR Government V. Chehivskiy sent the secret instruction letter to the Ukrainian ambassador in Switzerland E. Lukasevich where he wrote that in Odesa E. Enno was dealing and wheeling behind the scenes to sabotage relations between the Directorate and Entente and to compromise the entire Ukrainian cause. The ambassador was to asked to inform the Entente government, first of all the French “by acting through dip-

lomatic channels with absolutely no media leaks” that UPR was ready to liquidate or to assume any liabilities or debts for which it was responsible within entire amount indebted by the former Russia, and to reimburse it to France and the all other Entente states through peaceful diplomatic negotiations on all financial and economic issues. The goal was to convince Entente that there was no reason whosoever to fight with Ukraine over its capitals as their restitution could be achieved by mutual agreement and that any possible clash between them would “throw Ukraine in a tight embrace of the Russian Bolshevism”¹⁰.

Approximately at the same time the Directorate has finally sent a note to the international government, primarily to those in Entente counties emphasizing that “all international liabilities and all international law clauses are regarded by Ukraine as mandatory and the legacy inherited by Ukraine from the former Russia on international arena will be assumed in proportion to its economic status”.

Contradictions between the French command in Odesa and Denikin troops over Paris desire to pool all anti-Bolshevik areas within their “zone of authority” (Crimea and Ukraine) had pushed them into embracing UPR the Directorate who by February 1919 controlled most of Ukraine territories as a potential ally. On the other hand, for the UPR leaders the relations with Entente became the first priority in view of ongoing Bolshevik offensive in the Left Bank Ukraine and failure of the Ukrainian-Russian peace negotiations in Moscow. Arrival to Odesa on 14 January 1919 of the Entente Commander-in-Chief in Southern Russia, General d’Anselme and the chief of staff, Colonel A. Freidenberg who immediately stripped the anti-Ukrainian E. Enno of all consular and diplomatic powers facilitated the negotiation process.

It should be noted though that the French Command’s turn-around in its relations with the Directorate did not mean that it was willing to abandon its intervention plans but was rather a change in tactics. The essence of these tactics was defined by A. Freidenberg: “France is a stalwart supporter of the unified Russia. But today we have to focus not on solving specific political issues but rather on taking advantage of all available anti-Bolshevik forces, including the Ukrainians to fight the communists”.

The majority of the French deputies (from center and right center parties) who participated in the above mentioned debates on international policy issues 29 December 1918 have also voted for establishing contacts with the Directorate hoping that it would allow France to spare its efforts in the Northern Black Sea region. In his speech, the Head of the Foreign Affairs Committee at the French National Assembly Henry Franklin-Bouillon emphasized the need of cooperating both with the Russian elements and border nationalities pointing to the fact that already by that time Poland and Ukraine had been exposed to grave safety risks and “tomorrow can be too late”¹¹.

Notwithstanding all this rhetoric the Entente leaders remained reluctant to help out the Directorate. They were rather irritated and concerned with the socialist nature of this regime and first of all by the anti-Hetman mutiny it has instigated. The Prime-Minister of Great Britain Lloyd George at the session of the Big Five (composed of heads of delegations from USA, Great Britain, French, Italy and Japan) held 16 January 1919 directly labeled the Directorate-led revolt the bolshevist, S. Petlura the adventurer and Ukraine the state that was beyond hope as it could never be regarded as an anti-Bolshevik stronghold.

These circumstances reflected on the results of the first round in Ukraine-Entente negotiations held in Odesa between O. Grekov and d’Anselme on 15–19 January 1919. The parties exchanged notes about their intentions and the French after receiving from the UPR delegation the request for support from Entente in fighting Bolsheviks (in particular technical assistance) insisted on the Directorate providing concrete proves of its willingness to cooperate, first of all by lifting the Ukrainian blockade of Odesa.

According to the Soviet historiography the first round of the Ukraine-Entente negotiations is associated with an agreement that got into the hands of the Bolshevik underground intelligence in Odesa through a certain Roytman, the former socialist-revolutionary and political convict later executed by his own comrades for suspected betrayal. Apparently the Bolsheviks did not go deep into studying the document and finding out how legitimate it was but rushed to use it as a tool in their ideological and diplomatic warfare spreading the text of “agreement” among the participants of the Ukrainian Congress of Labor People (Labor Congress) held in

Kyiv on 23 January 1919¹². As expected it produced a great hullabaloo at that time and already as a full-fledged document made its way to serious Soviet scientific publications causing a lot of “headache” to historians who “addled their brains” trying to answer some tough questions.

The above version of the “agreement” proclaimed the intent of UPR of entering on federal basis into “one and indivisible Russia” that had to be reborn; the Directorate would create its coalition government and delegate to it all its rights. The document focused mostly on using Ukrainian troops to fight the Bolsheviks: they had to be placed under the command of special General Staff composed of General d’Anselme and two representatives: one from the Volunteer Army and one from Polish legionaries. The position of the General Staff chief was to be filled by the O. Grekov’s deputy, the former Lieutenant-General of the tsarist army Mikhailo Matviiv. In locations occupied by republican units Volunteer Army could freely form its military detachments, all hostages and imprisoned volunteers had to be liberated. On its side, UPR undertook urgent measures trying to thwart convention of the Labor Congress and creation in its territory of any worker, soldier and village deputy councils, the so-called Soviets. The Ally Command assumed the responsibility of facilitating the access of the Ukrainian delegation to the Paris peace conference and in every possible means supporting UPR in its struggle with Bolsheviks, in particular through military equipment and weaponry supplies¹³.

Referring to authenticity of this agreement that has been allegedly concluded between the Directorate and Entente V. Vinnichenko in his interview to “Vidrodzhennia Natsii” said: “It is absolutely clear for anybody who understands the politics that this “agreement” is nothing but a laugh. No matter how “counter-revolutionary” the Directorate could be it would never accept the conditions of this suicidal agreement”. Being completely certain that the Directorate never signed this document V. Vinnichenko nonetheless was careful and wrote that this could be “either propaganda slander or the result of Bolsheviks’ lack of a more detailed information”¹⁴. The latter admission was caught up by Ilko Borshchak and emigrant researchers who insisted that the mentioned document was a fake concocted by Bolsheviks to demoralize the members of the Ukrainian Labor Congress and bias them against the Directorate.

23–25 January 1919, the second round of negotiations between the colonel A. Freidenberg and UPR mission was held in Odesa; the Ukrainian delegation included the chief of the UPR Main Press and Propaganda Department Osip Nazaruk and the Trade and Industry Minister Serhiy Ostapenko who had been instructed by V. Vinnichenko to go to any length to garner Entente assistance and accept everything except of two issues: Ukrainian independence and agrarian reform. The French party insisted mostly on ousting from the office V. Vinnichenko and V. Chehivskiy who “got too much Bolshevism in their minds” and on temporarily discharging from the Directorate S. Petlura, the “chieftain of rascals”; the other stipulations included drafting a 300 thousand army under French command to fight Bolsheviks and using Denikin officers for recruitment purposes; transferring to French control the UPR finances and railroads; terminating Ukrainian-Polish war in Volyn and Galichina; bringing up the issue of the Ukrainian independence and safety of its western borders for consideration at the Paris peace conference; drafting on behalf of the Directorate an appeal to France with a request of protectorate over UPR (as it has already been done by Poland and Romania)¹⁵.

In reply to O. Nazaruk’s remark that none of these compromises could be considered before recognition of the Ukrainian independence A. Freidenberg tried to placate his concerns by saying that better “recognition than signing the agreement that we suggest is hard to imagine,.. you will certainly come to terms with the Volunteer Army on the issue of your autonomy — you are too small state to be independent”.

After return of O. Nazaruk and S. Ostapenko mission back to Kyiv negotiations in Odesa continued with participation of the UPR Deputy People’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Artem Galip who was joined 28 January 1919 by another vice-minister, a renowned lawyer Arnold Margolin. Both officials were included into the composition of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission to the Paris peace conference and on completion of Odesa talks were to leave for the French capital. Trying to find the common grounds with Entente, A. Margolin suggested to the French party to apply the principle of the “bottom up federalization” that would be built on the basis of “voluntary agreement between equals for construction of state formations that would arise on

the ashes of the old Russia". The memoranda signed by representatives of UPR (A. Galip and A. Margolina), Belarus (head of the Provisional Government Vahnovich), Don ("Otaman of Zimova vilage" Olexander Cheriachukin) and Kuban (head of the Legislative Council Luka Bich) were handed over to the Entente commandment on 5 February 1919.

The authors of the address called themselves "the most stalwart supporters of immediate and thorough reconstruction of the former unified Russia on federal principles" but were forced to acknowledge that evolution of political events after the 1917 Bolshevik revolt had created "insurmountable obstacle for creating such federation from above". Therefore the memorandum authors appealed to Entente countries with a request of providing real assistance and support for "healthy national endeavors" of "Randstaat" states (the "border states" in German), reinforcing "separate national units that have actually evolved". But the anarchy and Bolshevism could be fought mostly by national armies¹⁶.

Another document: the "Political and economic memorandum of Ukraine, Don, Kuban and Belarus" signed on behalf of UPR by representative of the Trade and Industry Ministry Serhiy Borodayevskiy and deputy Navy Minister Rear Admiral Mihailo Ostrogradskiy stated that the tight relations which these states desired for political reasons "are equally strongly substantiated by motives of economic nature". Therefore they urged the Entente Command to ensure the free transit of commodities "across territories that are in fact beyond control of the Ukrainian government", and also to Kuban and from Kuban through Novorossiysk and the Black Sea Province ports. The document also contained the request for transferring Black Sea ports with adjacent areas "as soon as practically possible back under jurisdiction of the Ukrainian authorities who would manage them in a tight cooperation with the Entente Command in Odesa"¹⁷.

Such approach was endorsed by A. Freidenberg who in his communication with the Russian representatives on February, 1 1919 declared: "I can interpret the Petlurists: through independence to federation in the following way: independence spurs up national self-awareness, strengthens self-consciousness which are necessary ingredients to uphold balance within the federation". Touching on the issue of collaboration with the Directorate, the colonel speci-

fied that the major task at that time was to rescue Kyiv from being seized by the Bolsheviks. “If Petlura troops can do it I will help them, — he said. — If I had two divisions I could dispense with Petlura but the problem is I don’t... I am not afraid of Petlura’s claims; I will issue him an ultimatum: I will help Ukrainians but in return they will pledge to me their unconditional allegiance”¹⁸.

The French Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Pichon speaking about prospects of solving the Ukrainian issue pointed out that creation of the independent Ukrainian state could be possible only if the national movement had been supported by all Ukrainians. “Without doubt nobody will propose to Ukraine restoring the union with Russia before the Bolshevik crisis is over”, — he said. Translating this formula from diplomatic into vernacular it can be said that procrastinating with “Bolshevik crisis” increased the UPR chances of getting temporarily recognized although in the long run the federal union with Russia was unavoidable.

Evacuation of the Directorate from Kyiv to Vinnitsa on 2 February 1919 has considerably shaken the France’s confidence in S. Petlura’s military valor and chilled its sympathy for the Directorate. The latter on the contrary after having failed to find common ground with the Bolsheviks accelerated its efforts of seeking aid from Entente. Once moved to Vinnitsa, the Directorate convened on 4 February 1919 the all-national meeting of Ukrainian political parties and members of the Labor Congress committees. The participants drew up conditions of subsequent negotiations with the French Command: 1) Entente’s recognition of UPR independence and sending the Ukrainian delegation to the Paris peace conference; 2) sovereignty of the Directorate; 3) ensuring public power and social reforms in Ukraine; 4) recognition of the Ukrainian army’s autonomy and the right of being represented in the Allies’ high command; 5) non-admission of Russian officers to the Ukrainian army; 6) fight with Bolsheviks only within Ukrainian ethnic borders¹⁹.

The new delegation that had been endowed with written powers to sign the agreement and composed of O. Grekov, the secretary of the USDWP CC Isaak Mazepa, S. Ostapenko and councilor of the UPR Extraordinary diplomatic mission to USA Yulian Bachinskiy arrived to Birzul (now Kotovsk Odesa oblast) on 6 February 1919 to continue talks with Entente under these new conditions. The Soviet historiography maintained that the Directorate representatives had

supposedly given A. Freidenberg the 5 million Karbovanets bribe to garner his favors. But not corroborated by any concrete references in the Soviet literature these allegations are more than dubious.

Plus the French appetites were by far larger: according to information provided from Paris by the head of UPR extraordinary diplomatic mission to the Paris peace conference G. Sidorenko the conditions of helping Ukraine included the following: 1) France obtains the 50-year concession to operate all Ukrainian railroads; 2) Ukraine undertakes to pay France all the debts it was entitled to collect from the Tsar's and Provisional governments; 3) the interest will be paid from the profits from railroads owned by the Ukrainian government; 4) within a year the Directorate will recruit a three hundred thousand army; 5) over duration of five years all financial, trade, industrial and military policy of Ukraine will be conducted under direct control of the French officials.

The Ukrainian party set out its counter-demands which in addition to the above conditions stipulated by the Vinnitsa State Council included facilitation in building Ukrainian settlements in Siberia and restitution to Ukraine the Black Sea Fleet that was controlled by Entente and partially transferred abroad. The reaction of the French was rather vehement and small wonder that this episode was narrated in almost all historian works dedicated to the Ukrainian diplomacy; according to I. Mazepa: "At first Freidenberg listened calmly to Ostapenko, then he flared up and pounced on the requirements that concerned the Directorate's sovereignty. We not only demand, he said, removal of Vinnichenko, Petlura and Chehivskiy but in future we think you will have to concur with us any changes in the Directorate membership. For us, this demand is critical and if it is rejected all other talks will be superfluous. Vinnichenko and Chehivskiy, he added, should be driven away as dogs (*chassés comme les chiens*) for their Bolshevism and Petlura had to disappear since now each rascal calls himself a Petlurist".

Replying to the natural objections of the Ukrainian delegation who said that the Directorate had been recently supported by the Labor congress, i.e. the Ukrainian people, "Freidenberg continued in a more convincing tone by saying that France and Entente have no trust in the present composition of Directorate since if the Directorate is the exponent of the Ukrainian people the French

Command cannot promise any help: if this is the case it will fight both Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian people”²⁰.

Although after certain demarches A. Freidenberg had to somewhat moderate the tone of conversation he still insisted on composing a more balanced UPR government, ousting S. Petlura from the Directorate and releasing the arrested Hetman ministers, which was perceived by O. Grekov – I. Mazepa delegation as an encroachment into the Ukrainian internal affairs. Proclaiming the French demands absolutely unacceptable the mission went back to Vinnitsa empty-handed.

On 7 February 1919, the French Command issued the “General Order No 28” that proclaimed that the Entente had not forgotten the battles fought by Russia at the beginning of the world war and that now the Allies had come to Russia in order to provide to all trustworthy elements and patriots the possibility of restoring order that had been long ago wiped away by devastation from the civil war. On 12 February, the Entente even notified that the Ukrainian-French talks have been suspended.

V. Vinnichenko’s resignation from the position of the Directorate head and his decision to leave the government (S. Petlura sent 11 February the letter to USDWP CC on temporarily leaving the party ranks to continue the public activities), appointment on 13 February 1919 of the UPR centralist government led by S. Ostapenko, the catastrophic events on the Bolshevik front where Ukrainians had lost Left Bank Ukraine and Kyiv and the French had been squeezed by insurgents in a triangle Odesa–Voznesensk–Mykolaiv triggered a new series of negotiations. Already on 14 February 1919, General H.-M. Berthelot came to Odesa on behalf of the Entente Bucharest mission and met there with A. Margolin and newly appointed UPR Minister of Foreign Affairs Kostya Matsievich. On the same day, the representative of the French military command with the Directorate in Vinnitsa Captain Andrĳ de Langeron sent to S. Ostapenko the letter urging Ukraine to issue the manifest with the request for the French tutelage (with attached draft manifest composed personally by Berthelot) and to immediately send to Odesa a committee with the signed document for detailed discussion of the alliance treaty.

Finally, on 17 February 1919, the Directorate with the government’s consent and secretly from leadership of socialist parties sent to General d’Anselme the declaration which read: “Ukrainian gov-

ernment is satisfied that the noble France jointly with other Entente states and the United States of America is ready to support us and engage themselves into a decisive battle against the Bolsheviks... Seizing an opportunity we address the French people and peoples of other Entente states with an appeal of helping us to completely liberate the Ukrainian nation and to restore the Ukrainian statehood". The Directorate asked the French military command "to assume a direct control of Ukraine in military, diplomatic, political, financial and economic areas for the entire duration of the war against Bolsheviks". By the end of the same month K. Matsievich pledged on behalf of the Directorate to closely cooperate with the A. Denikin Voluntary Army in fight against Bolsheviks.

Only on 1 March 1919 General d'Anselme informed S. Ostapenko that he had sent the Directorate declaration of French protectorate over Ukraine to General Berthelot in Bucharest (the conditions of the drafted agreement were beyond jurisdiction of the Entente command in Odesa and required direct approval by the French government), and that he "with regard to the good will expressed by the government of the Ukrainian zone" pending the answer from Bucharest was ready to provide a certain real assistance to the Directorate under condition that S. Petlura and socialist Opanas Andrievskiy are discharged from their offices.

Along with this letter d'Anselme sent to the Directorate the draft agreement which in general traits repeated A. Freidenberg's considerations voiced by him during talks in Birzul. The document stated that the agreement was concluded between the Commander-in-Chief of Ally forces in southern Russia and the Directorate "to fight against the Bolshevism". The enrollment of new members into the Directorate for period of struggle against Bolsheviks had to be concurred with the Commander-in-Chief and the Ukrainian Army was to create a separate unit, with independent internal organization, provided that all troops in the "Ukrainian zone" were to be placed under general command of the Allies. The letter also prescribed that the Allied Command would "control and direct the railroads" and take efforts to "arrange the finances". Besides, the Allied Command would help the Directorate to send its diplomatic mission to the peace conference and would not oppose economic and social reforms "which will not violate the public order". The Allied Command would do its best to terminate the war between Poland and the Directorate and would request that the appropri-

ate international competent commission establish conditions of armistice, occupational borders, resolve the Lviv issue etc. Likewise it would facilitate establishing good-neighborly relations between UPR and Romania²¹.

The S. Ostapenko's government was apparently ripe to sign the agreement under the French conditions but the whirlpool of events interposed. The armed assistance from the Entente never came (troops landed in Odesa were so minor that in a month they could not hold even the city), which was aggravated by the fact that after the Directorate and the UPR government left Vinnitsa on 6 March 1919 and retreated to Zhmerinka and then to Proskurov the Ukrainian army ceased to qualify as an eligible ally in the eyes of the Entente Command. According to A. Margolin, "the draft agreement was already written. All we had to do was to sign it. Suddenly, quite unexpectedly in the end of March the French officials told us that all negotiations about future agreement are terminated as instructed by telegraph from Paris"²². Several days after, the French troops left Odesa.

The most important conclusion for the UPR leaders was that France was not in position to provide Ukraine urgent assistance even if the agreement had been signed. According to one source, already on 13 February in its conversation with the Russian representatives General Berthelot speaking about his talks with the Ukrainians told that d'Anselmey "was instructed not to commit France to any obligations so much so that the Petlurists did not receive any firm promises"²³.

Speaking about the French government it can be assumed that by the end of winter 1918–1919 it paid scarce if any attention to what was happening in the Black Sea region and left its Military Command in Odesa to its own devices. Unsurprisingly this lack of attention to the Ukrainian cause became a subject of sharp criticism at the National Assembly. On 24 March 1919, during debates around situation in Odesa the deputy Lafon in his address reproached the Government: "Now you pick on Ukrainians... you pick on General Petlura who as it appears was almost unknown to the government when I spoke of him in December. You made progress but you pick on Petlura at the time when he is defeated, when he does not exist, when his army does not receive any support from the French troops that are stationed in Russia". Later on, the deputy accused the Minister of Foreign Affairs S. Pichon in making up fake

information about Ukraine and stressed that: “Ukrainian peasants became Bolsheviks because of your policy; the greatest Bolshevik agent in Europe is the French government»²⁴.

On behalf of the Foreign Affairs Commission with the France’s Chamber of Deputies Franklin-Bouillon announced: “At the time when in December we were about to start negotiations with the Ukrainian counterparts Enno was allowed to publicly spread the statements that were a genuine declaration of war... the Ukrainian problem is the most delicate of all... How can you want them not to demand their independence in the face of Bolshevism?.. Further, Ukraine offers to the Allies its help against the Bolsheviks, its representatives did everything to get the Allies’ interested in this. Ukrainian has been in war for a year now; all they need is to get weapons and the country will be rescued. The entire Russian problem will consequently change”.

However the policy of the official Paris was formulated in the letter sent by S. Pichon to the French ambassador to London, one of the Entente architects Pierre Paul Cambon. On 23 March 1919, the head of the French diplomatic corps wrote: “Dismemberment of our ally cannot be the final goal of our policy. Therefore we cannot encourage such dismemberment until each of the Russia components can guarantee its own existence and development; our policy (in southern Russia) must hinge on the only active force there, i.e. the Voluntary Army no matter how mediocre it can be”. The next day, replying to critical remarks from the French parliamentarians S. Pichon said that “the Directorate was unfortunately short-lived and situation in Ukraine remains unclear and undetermined”²⁵.

As a result, the first attempt of the UPR political leadership to find points of mutual understanding with Entente and its Military Command in Odesa has failed similarly to the dispatched by K. Matsievich UPR extraordinary diplomatic mission to the Great Britain which was received by the Foreign Secretary. By the end of the First World War the first priority for France in Eastern Europe was to reconstruct the allied system where Russia was to be reborn as a key link in anti-German military and political block preferably as a democratic federal state. Should Russia find itself depleted through the civil war, economic collapse and public anarchy the Second Polish Republic would come in its place.

Based on these foreign policy milestones proclaimed by France, one of the victorious states after WW1, the official Paris could

not support the Directorate in its policy of strengthening the international and judicial independence of Ukraine and achieving the unity of the Ukrainian ethnic lands. At the same time the French government backed up the Directorate through diplomatic channels (by temporarily recognizing the Ukrainian state) and made certain steps in this direction under condition of including UPR in a future Russian Federation, active struggle of Republican Army against Bolshevism, and transforming Ukraine into a reliable component of the anti-Bolshevik “sanitary border”.

The UPR leadership set too high hopes on the official recognition of Ukraine on international arena and sought political guarantees from the Entente command in Odesa, which however was intent on reaching with the Directorate only a military agreement. This misunderstanding created an immense obstacle for negotiation process while the situation on fronts was getting worse by the day; in spring 1919 the UPR troops hanged by their teeth along the line: Dubno–Kremenets–Starokostiantyniv–Proskurov–Gorodok–Kamyanets-Podilskiy.

In the meantime the Entente leaders were determined to sponsor only the circles and states that had real force and enjoyed considerable public support. The UPR Army defeats and the Directorate’s loss of territorial control completely undermined the interest of the French government and East European Command for the Ukrainian national movement. On the other hand, Odesa negotiations distracted the Directorate from the pivotal international forum of that time, the Paris peace conference, where the principal problems of the after-war world order, including the Russian and Ukrainian issues were solved.

¹ *D.I. Doroshenko History of Ukraine, 1917–1923.* in 2 volumes: Documentary and scientific publication / edited by: K.Yu. Galushko. — K.: Tempora, 2002. — T.P.: “Ukrainian Hetman State in 1918 ». — pages 159, 281.

² *D. Doroshenko My memories of recent times (1914–1920): H* Documentary and scientific publication. — K.: Tempora, 2007. — pages 375–384.

³ *S. Shemet On History of Ukrainian Democratic–Agrarian Party // Agrarian Ukraine.* Book 1. — Vienna, 1920. — page 75.

⁴ *D.I. Doroshenko History of Ukraine, 1917–1923.* — page 283.

⁵ *Voice of Kyiv* — 1918, 17 (4) November.

⁶ *I. Borshchak. Europe and Rebirth of Ukraine (1914–1923) // Chronicle of Red Viburnum.* — 1936. — No10. — pages 5–8.

⁷ *F. Akulov Allied land forces in Ukraine // Black Book* — Kh., 1925 — page 93.

- ⁸ *I Mazepa*. Ukraine in Revolutionary Fire and Tempests — K.: Tempora, 2003 — page 71.
- ⁹ Workers Gazette — 1919, 29 December.
- ¹⁰ Central state archive of Ukraine., Kyiv (the “TSDAVO of Ukraine). — F. 3696. — Op. 2. — Case 7. — pages 1–2.
- ¹¹ Quoted from: *B. M. Gonchar, N.D. Gorodnia*. Relations between France and UPR (December 1918 — April 1919) // Ukrainian historical magazine. — 2000. — No 2. — page 54.
- ¹² *A.I. Gudkovskiy*. French intervention in south of Russia, 1918–1919. — M.-L., 1928. — page 142.
- ¹³ *V. Vinnichenko*. Rebirth of nation: (History of Ukrainian revolution, March 1917 — December 1919): in 3 p. — K.; Vienne, 1920. — P. 3. — pages 252–253.
- ¹⁴ *Idem.* — page 254.
- ¹⁵ *A. Margolin*. Ukraine and the policy of the Entente» (Memorandum by a Jew and a citizen). — Berlin: Publishing house S.Efron, 1921. — page 123.
- ¹⁶ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 3766. — Op. 1. — Case 146. — page 17–19.
- ¹⁷ *idem.* — page 20.
- ¹⁸ *M. Marulies*. Year of intervention: in 3 books. — Berlin, 1923. — Book 1 (September 1918 — April 1919). — page 119.
- ¹⁹ *I Mazepa idem.* — page 92–93.
- ²⁰ *idem.* — page 93.
- ²¹ *idem.* — page 102.
- ²² *A. Margolin*. see above title. — page 124.
- ²³ *M. Marulies*. see above title. — page 219.
- ²⁴ *I. Borshchak I*. see above title. — № 11. — page 8–12.
- ²⁵ *B.M. Gonchar, N.D. Gorodnia*. see above title. — No3. — page 49.



Researches. Essays



UDC: 327 (477) «1918/1924»

Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi
(Chernivtsi)

MYKOLA VASYLKO – A NOTABLE ORGANIZER OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Mykola Vasyenko occupies a special place in a brilliant group of the Ukrainian People’s Republic diplomats. He differed from others by his origin, education, and even the manner of diplomatic activity. As a diplomat he has been already much spoken of. However, the activities of the Bukovynian boyars’ descendant, who had been converted to Romanian in the time of the Moldavian principality, was so varied that it is necessary to further explore this topic. The author sets the objective to analyze M. Vasyenko’s activities as an organizer of Ukrainian missions abroad and reveal some peculiarities of his participation in negotiation processes with foreign countries in 1918–1924.

M. Vasyenko entered Ukrainian diplomacy being a famous Austrian politician with thorough education, knowing several foreign languages, having many friends in the higher echelons of Austro-Hungary. He had been a member of the Austrian parliament, where he gained respect from both his friends and opponents, from 1898 till Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegration. He was elected a deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Club in the parliament in 1907 and became a representative of Bukovyna and Galicia parliamentarians, i.e. the Ukrainian part of the parliament. M. Vasyenko personified a moderate wing among Ukrainian members of the parliament. He took great pains to obtain concession in favor of Ukrainians by means of negotiations, treaties, com-

promising solutions with government authorities. The other wing represented by Social Democrats, radical and national democrats expressed a different opinion on the same matters: to organize opposition and pressure on the government to achieve the objectives. Both wings were not stable, their composition had changed for several times but M. Vasylo had been considered as a pro-government politician. One of the newspapers read: "The Ukrainians won't oppose the monarch till M. Vasylo is an important figure in the parliament". He gained support from the Bukovynian members of parliament. But the MPs from Galicia did not support him in all issues and demanded more radical and decisive actions. Opposing such steps of Galician members of parliament the Bukovynian club dropped out of the Ukrainian Club and then returned again. Such actions took place in 1909, 1912 and 1913. Leaving the Club in 1909 M. Vasylo asserted, "We Bukovynian Rutens are awaiting more attention, but, if our Galician brothers will need our participation, we will support them again in our struggle till we win or die!"¹

M. Vasylo participated in a number of parliamentary activities aimed at development of national rights of Ukrainians in Austro-Hungary. In 1903, when K. Kramarz, the Czech MP, expressed an idea of Austro-Hungary transformation into federation of independent lands, M. Vasylo delivered a speech where he explained why such idea was not acceptable for the Ukrainians because Galicia had been a state inside the state and Ukrainians in Galicia lived under the Polish ruling. In that case autonomy development would worsen the situation for Ukrainians. M. Vasylo offered the autonomy for peoples instead of the autonomy of lands and developed Ukrainians' old idea about establishing an independent state uniting East Galicia and North Bukovyna. His speech had drawn a wide response in the empire. Vasylo returned repeatedly to this idea in his parliamentary speeches later and offered solution of this issue.

He repeatedly spoke on the issues of the Ukrainian university in Lviv and changes to election legislation to the Galicia Sejm, the necessity of strengthening the Ukrainian language use in ad-

ministrative institutions and courts in Galicia and Bukovyna, as well as reform development in Bukovyna.

M. Vasylo often spoke on the problems connected with the Moskvophile party activities in Austro-Hungary in 1905–1906. At the beginning he paid much attention to the issue of Galicia and a union between Moskvophiles and Poles, but later on he touched upon the same problem existing in Austro-Hungary. Much attention was drawn to his speech on December 11, 1909, when M. Vasylo admitted that Moskvophilism had vanished in Galicia and Bukovyna since early 20th century. Only remnants of Old Rutens — Altrutens existed. But after Russian revolution of 1905 and elections in Austro-Hungary (1907) Moskvophilism renewed its development due to Poland support and taking of Russian rubles². M. Vasylo inspired dissolution of Moskvophile societies in Bukovyna in 1910 and strengthening control on taking Russian funds for non-government organizations in Galicia and Bukovyna.

M. Vasylo opposed Russian aggressive policy. In 1911 he declared that in case of military conflict between Austria and Russia the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovyna would support Austria³. This statement was widely discussed in the press, it had both supporters and opponents, but his confidence was respected by many.

The success of the Ukrainian national movement in the pre-war period was tightly connected with M. Vasylo too. The influential Vienna newspaper “Neues Wiener Journal”, describing M. Vasylo’s political portrait, noted: “...Ambassador Vasylo is a diplomat in Austrian domestic policy. He joyfully looks at every situation because he is confident of what happens. As soon as he starts any activity he has always had a plan given from the heavens. He is able to solve any problem and here lies the secret of his political success”⁴.

M. Vasylo was very active both in the Main Ukrainian Council and the General Ukrainian Council, being a head of Bukovynian parliamentary and Sejm envoys during World War I. It took him great pains to establish organizations which assisted Ukrainian refugees. His initiative on establishing the Hutsul vol-

unteers' legion in Bukovyna was much spoken about. He traveled a lot in the highlands calling up Ukrainians, who were not recruited to the Austrian army, to the Hutsul legion. 1,500 people were recruited to the Hutsul Strelets regiment, who had to defend mountain roads and passes⁵. Since its establishment the legion had been under command of Austrian officers, i.e. gendarmerie colonel E. Fischer.

During World War I M. Vasylo became a key figure of the Ukrainian movement. He had a direct access to government officials which was very important in conditions without parliamentary regime. But his loyal attitude towards Austrian authorities earned him many opponents, especially in Galicia. This could explain his retirement from the post of WUR deputy chairman.

M. Vasylo's political and diplomatic talent was revealed during the struggle for independence of Ukraine in 1917–1920. He proved influence and capability to solve the most complicated problems at peace talks in Brest-Lytovsk. Having failed with inexperienced representatives of the Central council at the talks, Head of the Austro-Hungarian delegation O. Chernin in his secret cable to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested to send M. Vasylo (a friend of him) to Brest-Lytovsk to conduct negotiations. But M. Vasylo took a different stand. O. Chernin who was greatly surprised by his behavior noted on February 6, 1918: "The situation became clear because of Mykola Vasylo's (Austrian Rutens leader) arrival and participation. Evidently, he enjoyed the role played by his Russian-Ukrainian friends; he spoke here in a more national chauvinism way, than did it in Vienna. But we managed to finalize the minimum demands from the Ukrainian part"⁶. M. Vasylo put Ukrainian interests at the first place, having informed the UPR delegation about the state of affairs in Austro-Hungary and ordered to firmly keep to Ukrainian demands. O. Chernin being under M. Vasylo's influence decided to sign a peace treaty with the UPR and a secret addendum to it. Undoubtedly, it was great success of Ukrainians and M. Vasylo as a politician. D. Doroshenko wrote: "Thanks to his help Treaty of Brest was signed on favorable for Ukraine terms, and it had to be used properly"⁷.

M. Vasyenko pertained to another achievement — the Austrian state recognized the term Ukrainian instead of Russian. Ukrainian politicians and Vasyenko had fought for it for several years. And in August, 1917, Emperor Carl I officially recognized a national name — the Ukrainian. His order was published by the Ministry of defense on April 13, 1918.

There were many events during 1918. M. Vasyenko stood for the idea of Ukrainian autonomy within the Austrian empire. He participated in the Ukrainian constitutional meeting (October 18–19, 1918) in Lviv and then left for Vienna. He established the first mission of the WUPR in Austria (and Germany). The mission was sponsored by Mykola Vasyenko himself. His objective was to popularize the idea of Ukrainian independence among influential people in Vienna and Berlin. The fact of the Ukrainian embassy presence in Vienna was of great importance because it was the center of foreign policy activities of western Ukrainians. M. Vasyenko was very successful in his diplomatic activities and it was noticed in Kyiv.

After the WUPR and the UPR uniting M. Vasyenko was appointed head of the Embassy of the UPR in Switzerland on May 10, 1919. The task was to develop relations of the Ukrainian government with other states with embassies in Bern. Recognition of Ukraine by neighboring states should have become a result of his work. The end note of the order on M. Vasyenko appointment read: “By this Decree you are authorized to head all our missions in Switzerland, both present and upcoming (political, military and economic) ones; all missions are subordinate to your authority and you will be responsible for all activities before the Ukrainian government”⁸.

Despite the fact that M. Vasyenko was considered as ‘Germanophile’ and attitude from the Entente representatives in Switzerland could be wait-and-see and alerted towards him, he started diplomatic activities very quickly trying to establish contacts with diplomats from Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. To achieve this objective Vasyenko paid both official and private visits, and made everything possible to keep away from Switzerland

those Ukrainian officials who could hinder mission's work. The UPR government was made to change its foreign policy and refused from struggle for Bukovyna and Bessarabia in return for treaties with Romania and other neighboring states, which could assure both recognition of Ukraine and help in struggle against Ukraine's enemies. And it is significant that M. Vasyenko was trying to keep away G. Gasenko, a former head of the extraordinary diplomatic mission of the UPR in Romania, who was famous for his anti-Romanian views when he worked in Switzerland⁹. The reason for such steps was dissatisfaction of the Romanian envoy by Gasenko's interview where he expressed his view on the state of Ukrainian-Romanian relations, interfering (as they considered) with the kingdom's domestic affairs¹⁰.

M. Vasyenko as head of the Ukrainian mission in Bern paid most attention to strengthening contacts with Romania and Poland. That is why he initiated close contacts with K. Matsiyevych, a new head of the extraordinary diplomatic mission of the UPR in Romania. Greeting his colleague on occasion of appointment, K. Matsiyevych presented analysis of events in Romania and its foreign policy activities, stressing on the fact that territories having been annexed by Romania might not be recognized by the Entente and Romania sought an ally in that matter and Ukraine could have become such an ally¹¹.

Concerning contacts with Poland M. Vasyenko in one of his letters to the Ministry of foreign affairs in July, 1919, presented details of his conversation with Major Hurko, a military attaché of Poland in Bern. According to the conversation the prospective relations between Poland and Ukraine depended on General A. Denikin progress, activities of peasant detachments, i.e. events in Ukraine. Analyzing situation in Poland according to attaché's information M. Vasyenko asserted that A. Denikin's statements on annexation of Galicia and Bessarabia had produced negative reaction in Poland and its attitude towards White Guard Russia (it is worth mentioning that not only A. Denikin but O. Kolchak also stated that Galicia, Bukovyna, and Bessarabia must be a part of Russia)¹². Due to the mentioned above Poland considered Ukraine's independence as a very important factor. Thus,

M. Vasyenko noted a twist in Poland's foreign policy, stressing that the head of the Polish government 'supported Ukrainian orientation and opposed Russia'. That is why Major Hurko assured M. Vasyenko that the government of Poland will sign a treaty with Symon Petlyura.

M. Vasyenko correctly assessed the Polish military attaché's words that the Denikin's statement on Galicia was more threatening to Ukraine than a military operation against it, and he concluded that only Russia's irreconcilable position regarding Byelorussia, Bessarabia, and Eastern Czech issues could make Poland and Romania act together with Ukraine. In that case S. Petlyura became a very valuable ally. In final notes of his letter to the Ministry of foreign affairs M. Vasyenko informed that Major Hurko would be appointed a military attaché in Bucharest, where he would intend to collaborate with Romania and Ukraine. He would substitute Attaché Oldovski who would be sent to Bern and who had fruitfully collaborated with K. Matsiyevych because he favored Ukraine.¹³ Thus, M. Vasyenko was optimistic regarding prospective contacts with Poland's military attaché.

M. Vasyenko also set contacts with ambassador of Romania in Switzerland Paclianu in July, 1919. The first contacts gave the ambassador of Ukraine information about Romania's intentions to help Ukraine. M. Vasyenko wrote if 'we (Ukraine) reconciled with Romania on the issues of Bessarabia and Bukovyna, then Romania would be of great assistance for us in our endeavors'. Ukraine expected Romania's assistance in protection of Ukraine's interests before France and compelling the Entente to change the decision regarding the WUPR. The Ukrainian side (M. Vasyenko) hoped that Romania would act together with Czechoslovakia 'to support the plan of maintaining neutrality'¹⁴.

On the same day when the letter was written (July 31, 1919) M. Vasyenko was visited by Mr. Bacek, the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia. Ambassador Baracek asserted that Ukraine should also develop contacts with other neighboring states, besides Russia and Poland. He pushed to develop relations between Ukraine and

Romania assuring that Ukraine would have good relations with Czechoslovakia too.¹⁵

M. Vasyenko's first steps as Ambassador of the UPR in Bern earned positive reflection in political and diplomatic circles of Central Europe states. After having visited M. Vasyenko Ambassador Baracek consulted with E. Benesh, Minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovakia Republic and was instructed (according to Vasyenko the document was shown to him) to 'keep in touch with Mykola Vasyenko and assured in their neutrality in Poland-Ukraine relations'¹⁶. After lunch with the Romanian ambassador on July 31, 1919, M. Vasyenko visited Mr. Paclianu again on August 8, 1919, and the report on that meeting the ambassador sent to Minister A. Temnytsky shortly. During the meeting M. Vasyenko gained promise that Romania would morally support the struggle for recognition of Ukraine's sovereignty and would be an intermediary in Polish-Ukrainian conflict solution. But all this would take place 'if we did not pay any attention to Romania claims concerning Bessarabia and Bukovyna. As for Bukovyna we would manage to save the Ukrainian part of it'. M. Vasyenko had to state a fact that 'Ukraine had never possessed Bessarabia and Bukovyna as its part, and those territories had been forcibly and insidiously withdrawn by Russia and Austria in different times, and Ukrainians inhabited those lands later'¹⁷. Evidently, M. Vasyenko's sincerity was necessary to state a fact, but his hopes to save the Ukrainian part of Bukovyna for Ukraine showed that both Mykhailo Hrushevskyi and Vasyenko made attempts to solve territorial disputes according to existing situation, regardless of so called 'historical truth'.

Heading the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Bern and setting up and maintaining contacts between Romania, Ukraine and France, M. Vasyenko could allow himself criticizing the situation around Ukraine. He asserted that V. Paneyko, the representative of the UPR in Paris, did not carry out S. Petlyura orders aimed at strengthening relations with Romania and Poland. Using information from the Romanian sources he denied the Entente order on blocking Ukraine by Romania.

M. Vasylo had been the head of the diplomatic mission till his death. He spent 100,000 francs of his own savings for the needs of Ukrainian diplomacy in Switzerland during 1919¹⁸.

M. Vasylo was appointed Ambassador of Ukraine in Berlin by the Decree of Prime-Minister of Ukraine I. Mazepa on November 19, 1919. But he did not accept this offer because he was afraid that his appointment to the post in Berlin would wake misunderstanding with the Entente states¹⁹. But according to the Ukrainian government and S. Petlyura's personal orders he had actively participated in the mission's activities in Berlin till its closing in 1923. He worked in Berlin during December, 1919 — January, 1920 and March-June, 1920, setting up contacts with ambassadors of Poland (Mr. Shebeko) and France (de Marcilli) who had not been friendly towards the UPR before, blaming Ukrainian diplomats in German orientation due to delations of some members of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris (A. Galip and others).

M. Vasylo was also responsible for the Ukrainian mission in Italy, and S. Petlyura insisted on his leaving for Rome. But he moved to Belgium not Italy. In July, 1920, the International conference was held in Spa (Belgium) on the Versailles peace treaty and the Entente claims to Germany and representative of only the Entente states and Germany were invited there. The members of the Quadruple Alliance and representatives of the neutral states hadn't been invited there as well. The attempts of the Ukrainian delegation to consider Ukrainian problems were ignored by the official participants.

Such situation made M. Vasylo analyze the work of Ukrainian delegations at the international conferences. Having reviewed the activities of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris he gave a negative assessment of its leader Count Tyszkiewicz, who did not use opportunities to promote an agreement between the UPR and Poland of April 22, 1920 among diplomatic circles, did not maintain close relations with official institutions, and as the 'aristocrat, clerical and anti-Semite' maintained contacts only with individuals²⁰.

S. Petlyura paid much attention to establishing contacts with other states, as well as recruitment for this important sphere of

public service. He suggested the more experienced diplomats consulted and assisted their less inexperienced colleagues. Mykola Vasyenko, besides his mission in Switzerland, was commissioned to carry out political control and be responsible for the embassies in Italy, Germany and Hungary. He was also responsible for embassies funding. He was the ambassador in the rank of minister and had great confidence. In particular, he had been given broad authority to conduct certain activities on behalf of the state. The following document signed by the Chairman of Directory, Head Ataman, Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs has been preserved in the archives: 'Our commissioner Minister Mr. Mykola Vasyenko is authorized to arrange the conferences on political, military and financial nature and take on important responsibilities and this legitimate and authoritative authorization is given him'²¹.

In late 1921 the state of the UPR government in exile and its representatives, as well as all of the Ukrainian emigration abroad was extremely difficult. After all, this was the period after the signing a number of agreements on Western Ukraine (Saint-Germaine, Trianon, Riga), when the Paris conference did not recognize the two delegations (from the UPR and the WUPR) as representatives of the Ukrainian state. The Entente States and the allies decided the issue from the standpoint of their national geopolitical interests. Searching for those responsible for failures of the Ukrainian revolution and mutual accusations were initiated. Mykola Vasyenko suffered from such attacks by those who did nothing and would be never responsible for anything. But S. Petlyura believed him and relied on M. Vasyenko and greatly assessed his diplomatic talent.

Mykola Vasyenko intended to resign in the last year of his life due to superhuman rhythm of life, extreme overstrain, and worsening of his health. But S. Petlyura and head of the Ukrainian government A. Livytskyi persuaded him going on his diplomatic activities. Besides his work M. Vasyenko had to carry financial burden for embassies and diplomatic missions as well as assisting some individuals from Ukrainian emigration. And he went on car-

rying a variety of responsibilities till his death on August 2, 1924, caused by severe asthma and hard work.

A lot of double-tongued evidence, myths, just slander was spread during M. Vasylo's life, and even more after his death. The attempts to blame him in performing secret tasks for Austria and Germany were made; or showing his activities was aimed at his personal enrichment. Archival materials indicate groundlessness of such allegations. Till the last days of his life Mykola Vasylo remained a Ukrainian patriot who worried about revival of the Ukrainian People's Republic and was confident that the Ukrainians would become worthy citizens of Europe and occupy an important place in world politics. He was a diplomat by vocation and did everything he could for development of the Ukrainian diplomatic service in difficult circumstances of the liberation movement and the UPR government in exile activities.

¹ Neues Wiener Journal (Відень). — 1912. — 16 червня.

² Левицький К. Історія політичної думки галицьких українців 1848 — 1914. — Львів, 1927. — Ч. 2. — С.519.

³ Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates im Jahre 1910. XX. Session. — Bd. 1. — S.953–959.

⁴ Расевич В. Зовнішньополітичні орієнтації австрійських українців (1912–1918 рр.) // Матеріали засідань Історичної та Археографічної комісії НТШ в Україні. — Львів, 1999. — Вип.2. (1995–1997). — С.257.

⁵ Neues Wiener Journal (Відень). — 1912. — 16 червня.

⁶ Державний архів Чернівецької області (ДАЧО). — Ф. 283. — Оп. 1. — Спр. 5. — Арк. 31–32.

⁷ Чернин О. В дни мировой войны. — М.-Петроград, 1923. — С. 265–266.

⁸ Дорошенко Д. Мої спомини про недавнє минуле (1914–1918 // Український історичний журнал. — 1993. — № 4–6. — С. 89.

⁹ Центральний державний архів вищих органів влади та управління України (ЦДАВОУ). — Ф. 3696. — Оп.1. — Спр.24. — Арк.14.

¹⁰ Там само. — Арк. 50.

¹¹ Там само. — Оп.1. — Спр.167. — Арк.11.

¹² Там само. — Оп.1. — Спр. 172. — Арк.1.

¹³ Павлюк О. США і східно-галицьке питання на Паризькій мирній конференції 1919 р. // Київська старовина. — 1999. — № 6. — С. 71. 73.

¹⁴ ЦДАВОУ. — Ф. 3696. — Оп.1. — Спр.24. — Арк. 75.

¹⁵ Там само. — Спр. 167. — Арк. 10.

- ¹⁶ Там само. — Арк. 11.
¹⁷ Там само. — Арк. 23.
¹⁸ Там само.
¹⁹ ЦДАВОУ. — Ф. 4453. — Оп.1. — Спр.17. — Арк.168.
²⁰ Там само. — Ф.3695. — Оп.1. — Спр.199. — Арк.41.
²¹ ЦДАВОУ. — Ф.3695. — Оп.1. — Спр.236. — Арк. 44.
²² Там само. — Ф. 3695. — Оп.1. — Спр.125. — Арк.26.

Abstract

The article highlights Mykola Vasylo's (a prominent diplomat of the Ukrainian People's Republic) activities aimed at developing Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad. The author asserts that M. Vasylo began his work at the Ukrainian diplomatic service being a well-known politician in Austria. Much attention is paid to his efforts on establishing the West Ukrainian People's Republic mission in Vienna as well as the embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Switzerland and his efforts as a minister of the Ukrainian state in developing Ukrainian missions in Germany, Italy, and Hungary.

Key words: Mykola Vasylo, the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic), the WUPR (West Ukrainian People's Republic), Ukrainian diplomacy, Embassy in Switzerland, S. Petlyura.





Pavlo Gai-Nyzhnyk

Pavlo Pavlovich Gai-Nyzhnyk is the Doctor of historical sciences, Member of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences.

Born on May 28, 1971 in Dunaievtsy, Khmelniitska Oblast. Studied at the Donetsk Highest Military Engineers and Signal Corps College (1989–1991), graduated from historical department of the Zatonskiy State Pedagogical Institute in Kamenetsk-Podolsk (1995), completed post-graduate studies in the UAS Institute of Ukrainian Grushevskiy Archeography and Source Studies Institute (1998) and doctorate studies at the T.G. Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (2008).

Senior scientific researcher at the UAS I.F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies.

Author of over 250 scientific publications and monographs: “Documentary sources and materials on history of the financial policies implemented by the Ukrainian government (29 April — 14 December 1918). Manual” (K., 2004), “Financial policy of the Hetman P. Skoropadskiy government (29 April — 14 December 1918)” (K., 2004), “Taxation policy of Central Rada, UPR, Ukrainian State, UkrSSR governments (1917–1930)” (K., 2006), “Ukrainian state bank: history of establishment (1917–1918)” (K., 2007) “UPR and WUPR: establishment of state authorities and national build-up (1917–1920)” and collection of verses “Remember me ... Love lyrics” (K., 2006) and “Taste of liberty... Lyrics of life” (K., 2009).

Co-author of the “Scientific and documentary works to 90th anniversary of state service in Ukraine”, collective monographs “Historical sketches of state service in Ukraine” (K., 2008) and “History of state service in Ukraine” in 5 volumes (K., 2009), and expert analytical reports “Banking system of Ukraine: dimensions of the global financial crises” (K., 2009) and “Economic safety of banking system in the context of the reforms in Ukraine: 2010–2015” (K., 2010).

Was awarded the Order of Saint Prince Volodymyr the Great, 3rd Class (2006) and Letter of Commendation from the Ukrainian Ministry of Education (2007).

**OLEKSANDER PALTOV,
DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
IN THE UKRAINIAN STATE (1918)**

Oleksander Oleksandrovich Paltov (1867–?) is an unordinary and somewhat enigmatic person in the history of the Ukrainian state. He played a considerable role in high places of the Ukrainian State mostly behind the scenes and produced the most pronounced influence on Hetman almost to the end of his rule. Memoirs of virtually each important public official related to 1918 include to some extent — greater or less — reference to O. Paltov. Notwithstanding all political twists and turns of 1918 Hetmanate, Oleksander Oleksandrovich always kept hidden behind the screen of the public policy preferring to act in the depth at its hidden engines, which explains why he has remained ‘undiscovered’ by politicians who purport to be historians and by historians who purport to be politicians. So who in fact was this ethnic Russian who, in Hetman’s words, “was genuinely and wholeheartedly concerned about creating Ukraine”¹?

Unfortunately, neither national nor foreign historiography can boast of any studies or researches into O. Paltov’s life. He was born 1867 in Saint-Petersburg in the old noble family. His father and uncle were famous officers of the Guard and one of his uncles was the commander of the Emperor’s yacht. In 1887, O. Paltov graduated cum laude the law department of the Saint-Petersburg University and was left there to pursue post-graduate studies. Later, as a young professor adjunct he gave lectures in Kazan University, before being invited to Petersburg for position of the secretary in the Ministry of Communications². It is also known that in 1900 he served as a vice-director in one of the departments of the Russian Ministry of Roads³ and then as a head of chancellery with



Paltov family coat of arms

the Minister of Roads, S.Yu. Vitte. For some time, before S. Vitte was appointed as the Russian prime-minister he was his secretary.

At the same time, due to high influence and status of his family (or rather the family of his wife, daughter of the Emperor's palace administrator), he was introduced into the Emperor's court and was awarded the courtier title of the Russian Tsar's Groom of the Chamber. O. Paltov was married to Olga Konstantinovna Kolzakova, and had daughter Ksenia (graduated from Smolny Institute with personal Empress award) and son Mihailo. According to some sources, his daughter married one of the American millionaire H. Ford's sons⁴.

When the railroad district committees have been established under the Ministry of Roads the young O. Paltov was dispatched to Warsaw as a head of the district committee. It did not prevent him though from frequently visiting Petersburg. In his recollections, one of Paltov's close comrades of those times B. Steletskiy described O. Paltov as a highly educated and well-mannered person who spoke several languages and "loved so much the bright, hilarious life"⁵. For such tone of life in the Empire capital the wage of the committee head was too frugal. Daring not (and being ashamed of) counting on the fortune of his wife's parents O. Paltov did not hesitate to take random side jobs.

Shortly, O. Paltov found himself entangled in a criminal case and was accused of accepting a 30 thousand rubles bribe for a promise to help a candidate firm in obtaining rights to deliver its goods by the Ural railroads. The scheme was quite skillful. At that time Russia was constructing new railroads at fast (even headlong) pace. This led to severe competition and enormous demand for experts in drafting business notes (a sort of business plans) for new railroad projects. This was the reason why the O. Paltov's acquaintances who had been the candidates under one of the concession tenders allegedly asked him to help them out in compiling a business note for their proposal in exchange for hefty 10 thousand rubles. O. Paltov agreed and shortly the proposal was announced successful⁶.

But hardly the decision on tender outcome has been taken one of the competitors (whose proposal was rejected) came up with a claim that their rival "has won concession by corrupting the [Railroad] Minister's administrator who pulled the strings to get the needed proposal approved"⁷. The claim referred to O. Paltov and the

On photograph: Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Berlin: O. Paltov, V. Kochubei, F. Lizogub (August 1918)



amount of 30 thousand rubles. As it always happens in such circumstances the rumors first spread among the ladies and then made their way to the Ministry. Later on, when O. Paltov has already been transferred to Warsaw the investigation was launched. It turned out that the money was shown in the firm's internal reports and the payment was recoded in the master ledger, but the state auditor found it doubtful from legal perspective and initiated the criminal proceedings which were directed against O. Paltov and not against the firm. Since the accused held high position in court this affair attracted a lot of attention and notwithstanding intercession by top officials in the Ministry of Roads O. Paltov soon had to make depositions. As a result, he was temporarily stripped of his courtier title and had to send in his resignation. Finally it was the Emperor Nicolas the First who intervened and ordered to have this issue postponed until the end of the world war that has just begun. In spite of all these events, O. Paltov kept his position in the Ministry of Roads where he was listed as the chancellery director. Apparently he managed to walk away scot-free from this affair not only because of having high positioned friends in the Tsar Court and in the Ministry but also because of being a mason, in Paris lodge⁸. Throughout the world war O. Paltov remained to be a suspect in an open criminal case. The Emperor's decision about deferral of formal proceedings on this matter was taken in reply to multiple requests already after O. Paltov has been enrolled by the newly appointed Head of Galicia-Bukovina railroads K. SC. Nemeshaiev⁹. During the Russian occupation of the western Ukraine up till February Revolution in Russia O. Paltov has been working as a legal advisor at Galicia-Bukovina railroads directorate¹⁰.

After 1917 revolutionary events in Petrograd O. Paltov ended up in Kyiv where he got to know the administrator of the South-

Western Railroads B. Butenko. His steep climb on career ladder in Ukraine began after meeting with P. Skoropadskiy on the eve of coup d'état which the former commander of the 1st Ukrainian Corps and otaman of Free Cossacks has been staging along with "Ukrainian National Community". According to the general's memoirs, O. Paltov was introduced to him on 25 April 1918 by the member of his organization M. Gizhitskiy, to whom P. Skoropadskiy once mentioned that he wanted to issue a public appeal and needed a qualified lawyer who would prepare a good draft¹¹. It was M. Gizhitskiy who introduced O. Paltov to the head of the Ukrainian National Community. The chief of the Hetman's General Staff claims however that O. Paltov met with P. Skoropadskiy only through mediation of B. Butenko, another member of the UNC and the future minister of roads in Hetman government¹². In fact these two statements hardly contradict. Apparently it was B. Butenko who introduced O. Paltov into the secret organization where he could make acquaintance with P. Skoropadskiy, but the future Hetman, as is frequently the case, remembered the lawyer O. Paltov only by their more important meeting arranged by M. Gizhitskiy that led to the joint work on the first draft of constitutional documents.

P. Skoropadskiy went with his new acquaintance in a separate room where he told him about his agenda and objectives that he aspired to achieve after establishment of Hetmanate. He laid down for O. Paltov main ideas that he wanted to express in his appeal. Olexander Olexandrovich made some notes and went home. As Hetman later recollected, one and half hour later O. Paltov returned with an almost finished text of the future "Charter". All it needed was some small editorial changes and adjustments. The future Hetman was struck by "this clarity of mind and agility when working over such a complex issue". Quite impressed, P. Skoropadskiy started thinking about appointing his new aid as a counselor and deputy state secretary of the future Hetman state, working with him side by side¹³. O. Paltov became a personal counselor to P. Skoropadskiy and kept this position right through to the downfall of Hetmanate.

Over these years, he has drafted not only the Hetman's "Charter to entire Ukrainian people" but also "Laws on temporary state structure of Ukraine" that were published in Kyiv after upheaval and proclamation of the Ukraine State on 29 April 1918. Initially, O. Paltov prepared the proclamation of the Ukrainian

In picture: Official visit paid by Hetman P. Skoropadskiy to Germany (September 1918). Hetman P. Skoropadskiy, Ambassador of Ukrainian State to Germany Baron von Stengel, the Ukrainian State Deputy Minister of foreign affairs O. Paltov



State as Principality of Kyiv and Kingdom of Galicia¹⁴. His chief, P. Skoropadskiy however was strongly opposed to any attempts of absolutizing Hetman's authority. He believed that his dictatorship had to be temporary, pending stabilization of political and economic situation in the country, after which the democratically elected Soym (parliament) would determine the structure of the Ukrainian State and its government. O. Paltov nonetheless stuck

to his creed and, being a convinced monarchist, remained stalwart supporter of monarchy even after institution of Hetmanate. Over the entire existence of Ukrainian State he kept hoping that it would be transformed eventually into one or another form of monarchy.

After coup d'état O. Paltov was promoted to the state counselor with the Hetman's Cabinet of Ministers, the P. Skoropadskiy's envoy and de-facto head of his chancellery¹⁵. In May 1918, he was appointed a deputy minister of foreign affairs (simultaneously reporting to Hetman) and kept public offices till November. When the Hetman government was formed, the Ministry of foreign affairs was at its initial stage. In fact it had to be set up from scratch by enrolling new employees for national departments and staff for the Ukrainian foreign representative offices¹⁶.

According to Director of the Hetman Ukrainian Telegraph Agency (UTA) D. Dontsov, O. Paltov was a typical sample of the "south-western region" who spoke Russian, Polish, German and mediocre Ukrainian. Since the first days of the Ukrainian State and Hetman government his weight in political unofficial and official circles has been enormous, mostly due to his high station and influence on P. Skoropadskiy. At the same time this jovial and boisterous man with rotund face and "tsvikerk" (pinch-nose) on top of his nose had miraculously huge energy. Describing his impressions,

D. Dontsov wrote in his journal on 29 May 1918: “Paltov would do everything: set up press bureaus, appoint eparchs, conceive new regulations for the army. At the same time he is constantly negotiating with the Germans”¹⁷. The last sentence speaks of his clear-cut pro-German orientation that sometimes went far beyond the boundaries of ordinary diplomacy. “When the telephone rings in the antechamber over the staircase housing the office of Kryga and Kochubey, Hetman aids-de-camp, very often the person they want to talk to is “His Excellency von Paltoff”, – wrote D. Dontsov already a month after Hetman revolt; in his words, P. Skoropadskiy’s counselor was a sort of barometer to measure Central Powers’ military and political position¹⁸. The other government official, N. Surovtseva who was a socialist revolutionary hostile to the very existence of Hetmanate as a whole and its proponents in particular had nonetheless to admit that “Paltov was a hardened politician who had an experience of revolving “in high places” (unlike other Ukrainian officials with predominantly educational background)”¹⁹.

P. Skoropadskiy’s confidence in his counselor was limitless although he had to admit of quite often having certain troubles because of O. Paltov. The chief of state was informed that his counselor and the deputy minister of foreign affairs had had financial misunderstandings with the former authorities and that he had even been prosecuted. Hetman insisted on concrete evidence which under those conditions was quite naturally unavailable. Besides, P. Skoropadskiy saw that O. Paltov had no considerable savings and, no matter what Paltov’s adversaries contended, was “positive that over the times of Hetman he had not been detected of doing any disgraceful things”²⁰. Even in emigration P. Skoropadskiy repeatedly stated that O. Paltov had been “a person with outstanding intellectual capacities and comprehensive education, highly industrious, even-minded, always on workplace and devoted to the cause”²¹. And this cause was also his own, remarked the former Hetman.

It was O. Paltov (or the Hetman’s chief of General Staff) who would usually be the first to come into P. Skoropadskiy’s bedroom for the eight or nine o’clock report to the chief of state²². The range of this person’s activities who seemed to be ubiquitous appeared to be limitless. His working hours would extend to one o’clock in the morning when he sat at Council of Minister’s sessions, only to show up at Hetman’s at eight o’clock the next day with a pile of complet-

ed papers²³. It did not prevent O. Paltov though from occasionally “painting the town red”, which was not left unnoticed by Hetman who wondered how come his subordinate had been managing to get all his work duly done. However what P. Skoropadskiy was interested in first of all was the person’s business qualities and not his purported adventures. And O. Paltov had no shortage of such business qualities. He “would broach subjects always broadly and boldly; would not try to mince it and would not be afraid of new approaches if saw that they were reasonable. He had a wide vision which unfortunately most of our ministers have been lacking, — wrote later Hetman”²⁴.

In his description of O. Paltov’s personal qualities and position in Hetman’s government the Chief of the Hetman’s General Staff went even further: “For Skoropadskiy Paltov was a gold mine. It was virtually impossible for him to find any other administrator who could compare with Paltov. The Paltov’s influence on Skoropadskiy was boundless; no single important paper would be signed by Skoropadskiy without his previous consultations with Paltov. All relations with the Germans have been closely supervised by Paltov who acted on Hetman’s behalf. It was Paltov who secretly managed all Cabinet of Ministers doings. Generally speaking all Skoropadskiy’s rational life and actions was sublimed in Paltov.

In political sense Paltov could be referred to the category of non-partisan or all-partisan politicians. He spoke with equal success with Ukrainians, supporting their political views, agree with Cadets and monarchists; and the same time he always managed to turn the topic of debates in such a way that the others were forced to embrace his point of view.

Although his official position was the deputy minister of foreign affairs he would work directly with Hetman going sometimes in the finest minutiae of his personal life such as what to include in lunch menus, what to say in toasts, what guests to invite etc.

Skoropadskiy knew that Paltov had been formally accused but also he was aware of not being able to dispense with Paltov’s services”²⁵.

Speaking about the Ministry of foreign affairs and its chief, P. Skoropadskiy even after downfall of his regime did not consider D. Doroshenko a person who deserved to sit in the minister’s seat. Regretting that he could not replace Doroshenko with anybody else Hetman was consoled by the fact that his deputy was O. Paltov.

The Ministry staff and government officials were quick to notice that the actual head of the foreign ministry in Ukraine was not Dmitro Ivanovich but Olexander Olexandrovich. In particular, the MFA employee N. Surovtseva wrote: "He (Doroshenko) imagined that Paltov helped him in his work by modestly keeping his distance. But I and not only I but all who worked in the ministry were of a quite different opinion: it was Paltov who did the management and Doroshenko very modestly kept his distance"²⁶. She also admitted that "he (Paltov. — *P.G.-N.*) would spend most of the time at Hetman's and from there administer the Ministry's political course and its resources"²⁷. This statement was also supported by P. Skoropadskiy who recollected later that "for almost entire duration of the Hetmanate the foreign policy was orchestrated by myself (Skoropadskiy — *P.G.-N.*), Paltov and partially Lizogub"²⁸.

This is also corroborated by the actual chain of events. O. Paltov was in the epicenter of the foreign policy conducted by the Ukrainian government. He was included in the Ukrainian State delegation to 1918 negotiations with the Great Don Cossack Army. Also, along with Hetman, representatives of the German, Austrian-Hungarian and Ukrainian military command and diplomats he participated in a 26 August 1918 parade of newly created Ukrainian Volodimir-Volyn "bluecoats" division recruited from the former Ukrainian POWs in the Russian army²⁹. O. Paltov enthusiastically greeted V. Lipinskiy's idea of creating an alliance between Ukraine, Germany, Poland and Hungary³⁰. After the Russian-German peace treaty he suggested Ukrainian diplomacy to pay closer attention to Baltic states and to open a consulate office in Vilna (now Vilnius) since "this region lying at crossroads of Warsaw, Moscow and Kyiv interests is important for both economic and political life of Ukraine"³¹.

The special role played by O. Paltov in P. Skoropadskiy's government was emphasized also by the former chief of the General Staff B. Steletskiy, according to whose recollections Hetman "would not take a single step without taking counsel with Paltov" who, in his words, maintained his clout mostly "through hard work and undoubtedly astute acumen"³². Suffice it to say that even appointment of I. Kistiakivskiy as the Minister of Internal Affairs and S. Gerbel as the head of the Council of Ministers was taken by P. Skoropadskiy only after O. Paltov's approval. It was O. Paltov who convinced P. Skoropadskiy to favor the state secre-

tary I. Kistiakivskiy among other candidates (former tsar governors who knew more or less the intricacies of complex administrative apparatus) to position of the deputy minister and then as the minister of internal affairs³³. In the same vein, S. Gerbel who had not been particularly valued neither by the German command nor by Hetman was appointed by P. Skoropadskiy as the head of the Ukrainian State government only at O. Paltov's say-so³⁴.

At the same time he and the Hetman's chief of the General Staff B. Steletskiy, according to the latter, opposed the general scrivener I. Poltavets-Ostrianitsa and foreign minister D. Doroshenko and "did their best [to] smooth out ... relations [with Russia] and make them in the common Russian policies not so harmful". If they felt their arguments falling on dead ears they would invite to the meeting Hetman's wife "who would show up as if on the spur of the moment and being a quite clever woman devised ways of reconciling the opposite parties and persuading her husband"³⁵.

On 17 August 1918, jointly with F. Lizogub, head of the Council of Ministers, O. Paltov left for Germany (accompanied by secretary, prince V. Kochubei), where he held in Berlin a number of meetings and talks on economic, commercial and political issues with the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs von Hintze. These negotiations also touched on ratification of the Brest treaty, Kholmshk, Don, Crimea and Bessarabia problems as well as some issues of financial and economic nature. Some progress was made also in a sensitive issue of national army and fleet. All in all, this visit was quite successful for Ukraine.

However, F. Lizogub and O. Paltov could not achieve the final solution of creating the Ukrainian army and transferring by the Germans the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine. To this effect, at the invitation of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II P. Skoropadskiy went to Berlin on 3 September 1918. Among other members the Ukrainian state delegation comprised also O. Paltov. On 4th September the special Ukrainian State train arrived to the German capital where the high Ukrainian delegation stayed at Adlon hotel. Along with Hetman and the Ukrainian Ambassador to Germany baron von Stengel, O. Paltov visited 5 September 1918 the German Reichskanzler (Chancellor) Count Georg von Hertling and the deputy state secretary von Busche. In the evening of the same day Reichskanzler had an official lunch with the Ukrainian delegation

followed by reception attended by diplomatic corps, ministers and high military and civil officials.

On the same evening, 5 September 1918, the official Ukrainian delegation set off for the Wilhelmshöhe castle 6 kilometers from Kassel where it was awaited by Wilhelm II. After the first meeting took place between Hetman and Emperor when P. Skoropadskiy was awarded the Grand Order of the Red Eagle*. Wilhelm II invited O. Paltov and Hetman delegates to his cabinet. They were also awarded with German decorations³⁶. During breakfast O. Paltov and G. Zelenevskiy sat in front of the Emperor and Hetman in front of the German Kaizer. Interestingly, after the breakfast and general talk with P. Skoropadskiy the Emperor stepped aside with his aide-de-camp and Berhem to exchange notes with O. Paltov³⁷, the fact that also speaks volumes about weight he enjoyed in the Hetman's establishment.

The high confidence of Hetman to his counselor is also corroborated by the fact that P. Skoropadskiy decided not to take O. Paltov

* The Order was founded by the King of Prussia Frederick William II (Friedrich Wilhelm II, 1744–1797). The motto of this Order was *Cincere et Constante* which can be translated as either "sincere and faithful" or "faithful and persistent". For a certain period of time, the order was the highest decoration in this country. It reproduced a red eagle with spread wings. On its chest eagle wore the white-and-black shield (small coat of arms of the House of Hohenzollern). The order had six grades: Grand, worn on the sash by order patrons; I class, the ribbon with the order cross on a sling and star on the left part of the chest; II class, the cross on the neck and star on the left part of the chest; III class, the cross on the sling worn on the left part of the chest; IV class, the cross on the sling worn on the left part of the chest. Medal on the sling worn on the left part of the chest. The order ribbon was of white color with two bright yellow strips on both sides. In some cases though the order was worn on the German Cross sash and black ribbon with three white strips. The latter version was conferred to those who already had three military crosses. The option without swords was awarded to state and public officials. For example, the 3rd class order cross could be conferred for 50 (sic!) years of uninterrupted and irreproachable service to Kaizer. The common practice dating back to the times of Friedrich II was to confer the swords for military merits only. There were also "additions" in form of a separate pair of swords, crown and oak leaf which were conferred for military merits and for multiple awards of same decoration. There was also a variant of the order in form of a laced star that was conferred to non-Christians. Likewise in Russia there was a variant of the Saint-George order that was conferred "to unbelievers".

The most important trait of the order was its restriction within a "club". Unlike other orders enrollment to which was only an award for merits of civil and military nature, the Red Eagle order was conferred to individuals who would exercise influence in high policy and other aspects of the German state. Even after many years after its termination the order remained the symbol of a special status enjoyed by its recipient. The order cavaliers included top level German and Austrian generals, ministers and marshals such as P. Hindenburg and E. Ludendorff.

on his trip to Kiel, Cologne and visit to the Krupp mills but left him instead in Berlin to boost up progress in solving a number of critical issues such as Crimea, familiarizing himself with internal situation in Germany and, in this context, getting more information about leaders of socialist partiers who sat in Reichstag, the German parliament³⁸. In P. Skoropadskiy's opinion, O. Paltov has "failed" this task apparently underestimating the importance that social democratic partiers had in the Germany of that time.

In November 1918, as the world war came to its breaking point and the Quadruple Alliance defeat was imminent (Bulgaria has capitulated and Austria-Hungary has underwent the process of revolutions and the empire break-down) O. Paltov revealed his Russophile positions rather ostensibly. At the same time under conditions of the internal crisis when P. Skoropadskiy had to face the dilemma of either allowing or rejecting convention of the National Congress initiated by the opposition Ukrainian National Union (scheduled for 17 November 1918), O. Paltov advocated against its interdiction. On the contrary, he supported the idea that Hetman had to forestall this move of socialist opposition and convene the Congress himself by changing the composition of its delegates in favor of the non-socialist partiers. The Hetman's counselor considered this to be a reasonable although a risky step and P. Skoropadskiy, according to his memoirs, could in this way interfere with all plots hatched by V. Vinnichenko and Co and retain the power even if "beaten up a little"³⁹. As we know the decision he took was totally different and the overall political course of the state ship underwent critical changes.

On 13 November 1918, P. Skoropadskiy dissolved the F. Lizogub's Cabinet of Ministers and jointly with O. Paltov drafted the new message to the Ukrainian people where the main thesis was to accept the need of adopting the path of rapprochement with non-Bolshevik Russia on federal basis. On 14 November 1918, Hetman declared the Charter of federation with future non-Bolshevik Russia. On the same day he instructed S. Gerbel to establish the new Council of Ministers, free of Germanophiles and independists. In D. Doroshenko's words, the state had to undergo pivotal changes considering recent international events and in beginning of November Hetman discharged O. Paltov who was a reputed Germanophile from the office of deputy minister of foreign affairs⁴⁰. According to the archive documents O. Paltov himself sent in his

resignation from position of deputy minister of foreign affairs, acting state secretary and all other only on 20 November 1918, not in beginning of the month ⁴¹. Shortly after that, on 14 December 1918, P. Skoropadskiy resigned as chief of state. Later, already in emigration, in his recollections about O. Paltov he wrote: “He was genuinely and wholeheartedly concerned about creating Ukraine. [...] I valued him from the very first day and will never change my high opinion about him although there are many of those who would probably blame me for this. As an answer to these critics I can say one thing: if you gentlemen find yourself one day in conditions that I had to go through I would advise you in good faith: take care of all who are clever, educated and laborious for they are few and far between”⁴².

The records about subsequent fate of O. Paltov are quite vague. It is known that in emigration he was quite active in Serbia where he entered the Belgrade Foreign Committee, whose members included prince Gagarin, the former state secretary under Hetmanate M. Gizhitskiy, count O. Bobrinskiy and others and which was purely Russophile and pro-German⁴³. The whirlpool of revolution and civil war has muddled and sometimes completely erased traces of many famous and less famous countrymen. On the other hand, nothing vanishes entirely and the figure of Olexander Paltov, as well as other actors of those turbulent times still awaits its researcher and biographer.

¹ *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — Kyiv; Philadelphia, 1995. — page 150.

² TSDAVO [central archive] of Ukraine. — F. 4547. — Op. 1. — case 1. — pages 83–84.

³ RGIA (Russian state archive). — F. 229. — Op. 18. — case 229. — pages 1–12, year 1903.

⁴ *O. Platonov. Secret history of masonry // [electronic resource]* access code: <http://www.rus-sky.com/history/library/plat1-g.htm>.

⁵ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 4547. — Op. 1. — case 1. — page 84.

⁶ *Idem.* — page 85.

⁷ *Idem.*

⁸ *N. Svitkov. Masonry in Russian emigration.* — seint-paolo São Paulo, 1966.

⁹ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 4547. — Op. 1. — case 1. — page 85.

¹⁰ *D. Doroshenko History of Ukraine: 1917–1923* — v. 2. — page 47.

¹¹ *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — page 149.

¹² TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 4547. — Op. 1. — case 1. — page 86.

¹³ *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — page 149.

¹⁴ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 1064. — Op. 2. — case 1. — page 167.

¹⁵ *D. Dontsov Year 1918, Kyiv.* — K.: Tempora, 2002. — page 190.

- ¹⁶ *D. Doroshenko* see title above. — page 103.
¹⁷ *D. Dontsov* see title above. — page 41.
¹⁸ *Idem.*
¹⁹ Life of Nadia Surovtseva described by herself... // Science and culture. Ukraine. — K., 1990. — page 467.
²⁰ *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — page 150.
²¹ *Idem.*
²² *Idem.* — page 174.
²³ *Idem.* — page 150.
²⁴ *Idem.*
²⁵ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 4547. — Op. 1. — case 1. — pages 86–88.
²⁶ Ж Life of Nadia Surovtseva described by herself..... — page 467.
²⁷ *Idem.*
²⁸ *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — page 169.
²⁹ *D. Dontsov* see title above. — page 133.
³⁰ *D. Dontsov* see title above. — page 84.
³¹ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 3766. — Op. 1. — case 68. — page 47.
³² *Idem.* — F. 4547. — Op. 1. — case 1. — page 61.
³³ *Idem.* — case 2. — pages 16–17.
³⁴ *Idem.* — page 128.
³⁵ *Idem.* — case 1. — pages 135–136.
³⁶ *Doroshenko case* see title above. — page 264.
³⁷ *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — page 276.
³⁸ *Idem.* — page 280.
³⁹ *Idem.* — page 303.
⁴⁰ *D. Doroshenko* see title above. — page 285.
⁴¹ TSDAVO of Ukraine. — F. 1064. — Op. 1. — case 35. — page 203.
⁴² *P. Skoropadskiy. Memoirs.* — page 150.
⁴³ Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie. — case 23 XXIV-4a (11). — No 87286. — page 26.



Diplomatic Life in Pictures

FOREIGN GUESTS VISIT UNIVERSITY «UKRAINA»

May 17, 2011

The Open International University of Human Development *Ukraina* conducted an open day for the Diplomatic Corps. President of the University, Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine P. Talanchuk greeted the diplomats from 16 countries. Distinguished guests were acquainted with the structure of the University, its research activities, scientific and educational potential and the nearest plans. The guests were welcomed by the students' ensemble *Malvy*, they visited a unique convalescent centre, audiences and laboratories, talked to the members of the University Administration and the directors of the institutes. All activities were organized and conducted by O. Krivonos, assistant to the University President. The diplomats were pleasantly surprised by the seen and as Emilio Pevida, Counsellor of the Embassy of Cuba said, "...This is the University of the future. All present today as your guests will be happy to cooperate with you".



Foreign diplomats watched the performance of the student's ensemble *Malvy*



**President of the University, Member of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
P. Talanchuk is making speech**



Foreign diplomats attend a session of the University Academic Board

Wives of the Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ukraine visit Rivne

Iryna Nagrebetska,

journalist

AUTUMN DAY IN THE AMBER COUNTRY

Diplomats are said to be eyes and ears of their motherland abroad while their better halves percept the heard and the seen in the country of accreditation of their husbands mainly with their souls and hearts. Guided among other things with this idea the Directorate General for Servicing Foreign Representations organize a series of excursions for the wives of the ambassadors so that they will have a change to see the beauty of our country, enjoy its spectacular landscapes and learn its history and the present.

One day on sunny October morning the distinguished guests, namely wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Belarus Ms Olga Velichko, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Brazil, Ms. Rowley Younes de Mello, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Morocco Ms. Nesriyu Hamal, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Nigeria, Ms. Amin Ibrahim Kasai, wife of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Netherlands Marhreyt Ms. Walters-Hornhreyt, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Turkey, Ms. Kumiko Alin Merich, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Czech Republic Ms. Markin Pochuhovu, wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of South Africa Ms. Fenter Anna, wife of the Charge d'affaires of Uzbekistan Mrs. Hulandom Faridivnu Yusupova led by the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Natalia Grishchenko, wife of the Director of the Second Territorial Department of the MFA of Ukraine Fabiana Tronenko were received in Rivne, one of the centers of a wonderful Polessie area.

First, they visited the Oblast State Administration where Vasyl Bertash, the head of the Administration, made an interesting presentation of his native land. According to him the Rivne citizens have much to be proud of — this is the unique Peresopnitse Gospel upon which the Ukrainian Presidents oath, and the oldest education institution in Europe the Ostrog Academy, and the Beresteiska battle field, and Lubny medieval

castle and other historical monuments. Sacral and miracle-working icons of the Rivne region also deserve attention and worship.

Among the wealth of the land are the green forests covering 40 percent of the regional territory, rich mineral resources, including basalt deposits from which the pavement of central squares in Paris, Brussels and Moscow is made. So investment potential of this land is still awaiting their discoverers, and the one who first finds the partners among local businessmen and invests money into the regional economic development will win.

The wives of the diplomats highly appreciated the oblast oncological centre, which they visited several days before its official opening. In fact, this is one of the most advanced health institutions in Ukraine for radiotherapy. The Center was build for the money of the regional budget and equipped by the sponsors who supplied to the center the hi-tech equipment, which is not common the European hospitals.

Chief doctor of the Center Gregory Maksymiak made no secret that oblast have high levels of cancer (probably because of contamination of the part of its territory after the Chernobyl disaster) and assured that with the installed equipment it would be much easier to make diagnosis at the early stages of disease and to curb its further development.

Visit to the Amber Museum was the biggest and most pleasant discovery for the foreign guests. This sunny mineral from the bowels of the earth is highly competitive with the amber thrown to the sandy shores by the salted waves of the Baltic Sea. All its facets radiate heat, life-giving energy. Specialists of the Museum told the wives of ambassadors about exclusive healing power of the raw amber — it heals the soul and body and prevents problems. So probably it is a good mascot and a true defender of Rivne area.

The wife of the of the Charge d'affaires of Uzbekistan Ms. Hulandom Yusupova and the wife of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Belarus Ms Olga Velichko together with other women summarised their general impression about the trip saying, "It is impossible to forget the amber country" and highly appreciated the efforts of the Directorate General for Servicing Foreign Representations for their efforts in organizing this trip.



Head of Rivne Oblast State Administration Vasyl Bertash acquaints the visitors with Polissya area



Visit to the advanced oncological radiotherapy center in Rivne



Wives of the diplomats are shown the advanced oncology center which received its first patients.
The chief doctor Gregory Maksymiak



Raw amber in the hands of Natalia Grishchenko, the wife of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. It heals the soul and body, protects against misfortunes



Interesting excursion in the Museum



Is there a woman on earth that does not like shop with amber articles?



The wives of the ambassadors are pleased with a sunny gift of the Polesie land

Ukraine and the world



Mikhailo Soroka,

*Deputy General Director of Ukrinform, Head of Kyiv
Journalist Union with the National Journalist Association*

EURO-2012: TEST AND CHANCE FOR UKRAINE

This footage has been repeatedly demonstrated by different TV channels across the globe. Surely enough, most frequently in Ukraine and Poland. The President of the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)

Michel Francois Platini takes from a large envelope a sheet of paper which carries two words: “POLAND, UKRAINE”. At the same moment part of the audience: the delegations of these two countries, explode with joyful: Victory!

This event took place on 18 April 2007 in Cardiff, the capital city of Wales. This day, the UEFA Executive Committee decided to accept the bid filed by Ukraine and Poland to host the finals of the European Football Championship in 2012. The other shortlisted contestants fighting over the right to host Euro-2012 included Italia and the tandem of Hungary and Croatia. The Ukrainian-Polish bid was supported by seven of eleven of the Executive Committee members.

It goes without saying this victory gave rise to a burst of joy not only for the audience where the UEFA verdict was announced but also produced a whole wave of delight and enthusiasm in both countries. The European football championships are known to rank third among all other sport events by their level of popularity, importance and scope in the modern world, right after Olympic Games and world football championships. And, what is more important, they provide a splendid chance for each country hosting the continental championship, first of all for its economy.

Brief background check

Back in 2007 we believed we had a plenty of time on our hands. The officials at all levels — primarily in the cities who competed for the right to hold the European Championship 2012, — would not spare optimistic, soothing assurances. The general public in Ukraine felt reassured especially after the new stadium complying with Euro standards has been opened in September 2008 in Dnipropetrovsk, the first arena in Ukraine and Poland that was ready to welcome the participants of the 2012 finals (later Dnipropetrovsk along with Odesa were deleted from the list of contestants).

If the situation with the stadiums in Ukraine, contrary to Poland, was more or less adequate the infrastructure remained to be an issue. Mass media in some European countries, especially those who contended for hosting Euro-2012 started to publish features about possible replacement of Ukraine with another country such as Italy or neighboring on Poland Germany. It is quite plausible that this was a purposeful campaign inspired by the rivals.

At its meeting in Bordeaux on 29 September 2008, the UEFA Executive Committee decided to withdraw from its agenda the issue of possible withdrawing Ukraine and Poland from Euro-2012 list, although with certain reservations. In the same French city Ukraine came out with an official statement: the Euro-2012 is for us a national project, socially important and apolitical. Its successful implementation is a top priority for all branches of state power, all political forces and strata of society.

At its subsequent sessions the UEFA Executive Committee confirmed its decision to grant to Ukraine and Poland the right of holding the continental football championship. In May 2009, this decision was reiterated in Bucharest: the Executive Committee maintained the format of “4x4”, i.e., the equality between the two countries in terms of host cities: four in Poland: Warsaw, Wrocław, Gdańsk and Poznan and four in Ukraine: Kyiv, Donetsk, Lviv and Kharkiv, which had to it till December to substantiate their bid.

The turning point for the Ukrainian contestant cities was 11 December 2009, at the UEFA Executive Committee meeting on the Portuguese Madeira Island where the right of our “top four” cities to host the European Championship finals was irrevocably confirmed.

This was the first part of historical for Ukraine Euro-2012 chronicles. It was followed by exacting monotony of daily work entangled with hot political battles during presidential elections and ensuing transformations across all state power levels, including the highest one, the presidential. Another stick in the wheels of the European Championship preparation was the global financial crunch. All these events quite naturally had interfered with the progress of works, which UEFA closely supervised. The experts would not hesitate to come up with criticism. But after Madeira, the European Football Associations had no more questions regarding the Ukraine's capacity of accepting the European championship.

In censure of attention

Each of the above Ukrainian cities launched a large and versatile preparation program. Few of the items seem however to be of first priority.

Stadiums. The first city of the four approved by UEFA that reported on constructing the new stadium was Donetsk. It was the first not only among Ukrainian but also Polish cities shortlisted for the championship. The grandiose gala opening of "Donbas Arena" took place in August 2009. Now this is one of the best sport arenas on the continent and first in the Eastern Europe that has been built in compliance with all UEFA requirements to five star "elite" stadiums. Its overall capacity is 51 thousand viewers. The design and exterior looks are spectacular. Its roof is slanted from north to south following the line of the natural landscape. The external spot lighting after sunset transforms the stadium into a singular diamond. "Donbas Arena" has launched and successfully tested its own modern IT-infrastructure, comprising the uninterrupted power supply system that among other things heats the stands. The spectators can enjoy LCD screens with overall area of one hundred square meters, each. The football field meets the highest quality standards. Underneath, it hides the draining, sprinkling and heating systems. Here, on the Donetsk stadium the local football team "Shakhtar" has been playing its home games since the autumn of 2009, including the European Champion League quarter finals against an incontestable favorite and the winner of 2010–2011 season, the Spanish Barcelona.

On the footsteps of “Donbas Arena” Kharkiv opened at the end of 2009 after a complete overhaul the city stadium “Metallist”, which had hosted the first international football games in the far-away 1927. Since that time on, the stadium underwent a series of renovations. In 1967, the first in the then USSR water drainage system was installed in its field. The current reconstruction can be viewed as unique since the roof overhanging the stands instead of resting on top of the tribune supports is underpinned by 24 pillars surrounding the stadium bowl-like shape. The sheer weight of the structure reaches the staggering three thousand tons! Reliability of the roof is corroborated by the fact that it can withstand the impact of a magnitude eight earthquake. After the recent reconstruction the capacity of the stadium stands reached 41 thousand seats. The totally renovated and refurbished stadium of Kharkiv “Metallist” is standing ready to host the Euro-2012 games.

In Lviv, the initial idea was to reconstruct the existing stadium “Ukraine”. However, it was decided some time later to build from scratch a new arena in the city suburbs, in Striy direction. At the first stage there were certain delays in stadium design schedule. The owners had to replace the initially selected contractors. The cash flows for construction remained quite meager and took long time to get stabilized. The total of these factors had resulted in breaking the stadium construction schedule. Now all delays are a matter of history. The new Lviv stadium satisfies all UEFA requirements. Its roof has been made by taking into account the local color and resembles the lace of the national embroidered shirt. Its upper and lower tiers are separated by a promenade. The visibility is greatly facilitated by the absence of “blind spots”. The stadium, whose stands can hold 33 thousand spectators will host four Euro-2012 games and after the championship will become an intrinsic part of the old Lviv.

All things said, the NSK “Olympiyski” will undoubtedly be the leading Ukrainian football arena in the coming European championship. Its field will be the place where the Europe 2012 champion will be declared. The stadium at the slope of Cherepanova Mountain, in the very heart of the Ukrainian capital, was built in 1941. Unfortunately the ceremony of its gala opening scheduled for 22 June did not happen: this was the day Germany declared the war. The first games at this stadium took place after liberation of Kyiv. In 1967, after its reconstruction the stadium became one of

the biggest in Europe and across the globe (103 thousand seats). In 1980, it hosted several final games of the Moscow Olympics. By now the NSK “Olympiyski” has lived through the third reconstruction, more profound than the one in the 60s – 80s of the last century. A large scope of work has been completed in the stadium bowl. Brand new central stands and sub-stand rooms have been arranged. The designers and constructors had to preserve the versatility of this arena to make it capable of hosting not only football games but also athletic competitions. The stands are covered with an original covering: suspended roof is made of the semi-transparent synthetic membrane shielding all spectator seats. The total capacity of “Olympiyski” stands is 69 thousand seats.

Airports

Only four years ago none of the four Ukrainian cities qualified and had sufficient capacity to accept all the passenger flows anticipated for Euro-2012. According to the experience of the previous continental championships the similar tournaments are attended by tens of thousands of fans (arriving mostly by air). Kyiv will certainly be the principal Euro-2012 air gates to Ukraine. These days, the city airport “Boryspil” accounts for hefty 70 percent of all passenger transportation in the country. Such capacity is however insufficient to accept all guests of 2012 European Championship. To amend this, it was decided to revamp “Boryspil” and supplement the current (and modernized) terminals «A», «B» and «C» with two others: terminal «F» (900 pass/year/peak) and terminal «D» (3000 peak hour passenger capacity). By the end of the day, throughput capacity of “Boryspil” is expected to reach 6250 peak hour passenger capacity in 2012, which according to the estimates is more than sufficient for accept all foreign visitors coming to the footballs games in the Ukrainian capital, especially the finals.

The airports of three other Ukrainian cities earmarked to host the continental championship had also to go through difficulties of reconstruction. In Donetsk, the new set of terminals and the state-of-the-art 4 kilometer landing strip were constructed, so that now it can accept the biggest airplanes. After renovation, the Donetsk airport became second in Ukraine. Its capacity completely satisfies the UEFA requirements: 3100 passengers per peak hour. The airport “Lviv” has been and is the biggest in the west-Ukrainian region. On the eve to Euro-2012, it was supplemented with a new termi-

nal meeting all international architectural, technical and construction norms, and its landing strip was extended to 3,5 kilometers. In the days of the continent championship it will accept 1900 passengers per hour. The first terminal of the “Kharkiv” International Airport was opened on 28 August 2010. Along with this structure, the design includes reconstruction of the old airport building, construction of the new landing strip, capital overhaul of the apron and landscaping of adjacent areas. Throughput capacity of the Kharkiv airport will be 2500 passengers per hour.

Hotels

As a matter of fact, each of four Ukrainian cities experienced different problems with offering accommodation for the championship guests. Least of them were evident in Kyiv and Lviv. In the capital of Ukraine, for example, there are 108 hotels of different comfort level, including four five-star hotels. According to the UEFA requirements, the host country must provide 7300 rooms of 3–5 star category rooms to receive target groups (referees, teams, guests, sponsors and journalists). In Kyiv, these requirements will certainly be met. Almost the same situation is in Lviv: the ancient city is ready to board all championship visitors. If the flow of guests is too great, it is expected that the slack in hotel services could be picked up the near-by Ternopil, Truskavets and other towns. Unlike previous cities, situation with hotel services in Donetsk is not so rosy: along with the group tournament games it will also host one of the semi-finals. The city requires 5,4 thousand hotel rooms to make fans, teams and honor guests feel at ease and comfortable. Along with the city capacities the hotel resources of neighboring cities will also be tapped. The same approach will also be applied in Kharkiv. Before recently, the most considerable problem for Kharkiv has been the lack of five-star hotel space. This problem was successfully solved after construction of the hotel “Kharkiv Palace” in the center of the city.

Fan zones or hospitality areas

Not all fans — both in Ukraine and abroad — could buy the tickets to oncoming events. Many of them want to attend the games if not at stadiums at least not far from them, especially at the time when their favorite teams are playing. This opportunity is provided

by arranging the so-called fan-zones where the guests have all conditions to sit back and relax watching the games on big TV screens broadcasting on-line. I, for example, even now recollect with pleasure staying in one of such fan zones arranged right next to the Brandenburg Gates during the days of the 2006 world football championship in Germany.

Hopefully the hospitality areas will be warmly remembered by the “ticketless” guests of Euro-2012 in Ukraine, too. The biggest fan zone will be arranged in Kyiv, at Independence Square and on Khreschatyk Street. It will be large enough to hold almost 90 thousand fans at one time. The area will include one big screen TV (8,2x14,6 m) and two additional TV screens (6,7x11,9 m). Along with broadcasting the games the Kyiv hospitality area will offer such entertainment as concerts, especially rock and jazz music festivals, world star performances, competitions ... Fan zone in Donetsk will be placed in the alley next to FC Shakhtar Stadium. Its area (9,34 hectares) is sufficiently spacious to seat 80 thousand fans. Similarly to Kyiv it will include the main TV screen (120 sq. m) and two additional screens (50 sq. m. each). The city is expected also to hold a football tournament between the fans from different countries at the FC Shakhtar Stadium during the European Championship 2012. As entertainment, it will host various contests, concerts, fireworks, laser shows... In Lviv, fan zone will be located at the greatest city square in Svoboda avenue. Its total area will be 20 thousand sq. m., sufficient to collect and entertain up to 35 thousand football fans. The guests will be able to follow games on two large-screen TV and attend different on-stage events. In Kharkiv, the hospitality area will be arranged at the Svoboda square, the largest in Europe. There will be three TV screens to broadcast the football games and (next to hotel “Kharkiv”) a stage for professional and amateur performances. The square will be able to hold up to 45 thousand fans at one time. It should be mentioned though that fan zones will be open not only during the games but throughout all the time of the European football championship.

Stadiums, airports, hotels, fan zones are, as we have mentioned, main facilities that the host country has to have in place to meet the UEFA requirements. But the Euro-2012 preparation program is by far more extensive and includes roads, transportation network, security, medical support, tourism, entertainment, volunteer support, convenient crossing of state borders. All of these issues must

be addressed at high level by taking into account all small details. Because in the long run each small detail has a potential of becoming a great problem.

Informational support

Special attention should be paid to one of the issues that relates directly to the operations of the Ukrainian national information agency Ukrinform and which the author of this article had to deal with over the last three years as the Agency deputy general director and supervisor. I am talking about informational support of the Euro-2012 preparations and games in Ukraine. To this effect, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has set up within Ukrinform an Information Center “Ukraine-2012”. The initial stage of the center activities were rather complicated since for a lengthy period of time they have been greatly underfinanced and lacked necessary logistics: space, computers, equipment and employees. To keep the centre afloat, Ukrinform was forced to use labor and technical resources of its operational subdivisions. It should be noted that this practice exists even today: information support of Ukraine’s preparation to Euro-2012 is the business for the entire agency.

According to the government’s resolution the Information Center has to accomplish five tasks: monitor public opinion and mass media on issues regarding Euro-2012, spread in national and foreign media information about progress of Ukraine’s preparation to the European football championship, disseminate information about investment tenders and championship-related projects, create a designated web-site and publish a special bulletin. However, only a few months after this governmental resolution has been issued the agency went beyond the scope of the above tasks to achieve larger, more versatile and systematic exposure of Euro-2012 preparation in Ukraine.

Even before setting up the Information Center, at the end of July 2008, Ukrinform sent letters to the heads of governmental agencies responsible for preparation to and hosting Euro-2012 in Ukraine, with a proposal to cooperate. The letters included a request to keep in touch with Ukrinform on all events related to Euro-2012. Since the request was left unheeded we had to send reminder letters in the second half of August 2008 with an attached tentative format and content of information requested. After this,

some agencies started rather regularly sending to Ukrinform respective information.

Since August 2008 up till now the Information Agency keeps monitoring the public opinion and publishes information about Ukraine's preparation to the European championship.

Each week the agency publishes a special bilingual (in Ukrainian and Russian) edition of "Information Center "Ukraine-2012"" that eventually became a sort of Ukrainian chronicles on progress of European Championship 2012 preparations. This edition is prepared by the editorial staff of Special Editions Department on the basis of materials provided by Information Center employees and by the agency reporters stationed primarily in Oblasts what will host the Euro-2012. The bulletin sheds light on many issues: official and national events related to Euro 2012, concrete efforts and actions in these regions.

In its all-Ukrainian press-center and the "Ukraine-2012" information center that has recently been fully equipped in compliance with all modern requirements, Ukrinform has held over hundred briefings and press conferences of governmental officials, Football Federation of Ukraine, regional governments, local self-government agencies have been held on Euro 2012 issues as well as a number of presentations, round tables, scientific seminars and workshops.

As it was stipulated in the government resolution, in September 2008 the agency created its own web-site <http://euro2012.ukrinform.ua>. Since the first days the web-site has been providing miscellaneous and diversified information. It was broken down into a number of columns and sections, which could be categorized into three parts. The first part was information about events. Here the agency published the daily collections of prompt notes about the progress of European championship preparations. The second part included miscellaneous materials related to Euro-2012, mostly comments and analyses. The third part of the site was the proprietary materials (prepared by Ukrinform staff) on the history of the past European championships and the real facts of setting up continent championship in Ukraine and Poland. The wide variety of topics is easier to imagine by their titles: "News", "Press monitoring", "Digest", "Web-Broadcasting", "Euro championship sponsors", "Host cities", "Stadiums", "Airports", "Blogs", "Quiz", "Poland, our partner" and others. Also, the web-site provides a real-time video image of stadiums under construction, is used as a

playground for the contest to select an unofficial Euro-2012 mascot, broadcast video coverage of various press conferences and briefings. The initially purely Ukrainian-speaking versions of the site were supplemented with the English version in May 2009, the Russian version in July 2009 and by the Polish version in September of the same year. The web-site of the Information Center is permanently improved. Today another refinement stage is in progress: we implement a set of measures to transform the web-site into a portal, although in certain respects it has already some features of a full-blown portal. The popularity of the web-site is growing: by daily visits it holds its place among top twenty of sports web-sites. About ten thousand of viewers enter the site daily to learn the news offered by the Information Center.

Another noteworthy priority in following the Ukraine's Euro-2012 preparations is the live link-ups with the cities that have completed (Dnipropetrovsk and Odesa) or are in the middle of their preparations to the Euro-2012 finals. The first of such live link-ups was held on 19 December 2008 with Lviv. To put it in place, the agency staff was sent on a business trip to Lviv where they set up video link with the Informcenter. On the other end, the guest of the agency was the head of the Euro-2012 Executive Directorate with the Ukrainian Football Association Ivan Fedorenko. On December 2008, the link-up conference was held between Information Center and Donetsk. On 22 April 2009, the same project was extended to Odesa. At the end, before the December meeting of the UEFA Executive Committee on the Portuguese Madeira Island where the final decision was to be pronounced about the definitive number of Ukrainian cities to host Euro-2012, the video conference was arranged with Donetsk and Lviv. On 27 November 2009, the video conference linked Kyiv (Information Center "Ukraine-2012") and Warsaw where the participants on both sides discussed the progress of Ukraine and Poland on the eve of the continental championship and possible cooperation and mutual assistance programs.

Another activity of the Information Center was publication of a specialized magazine "Ukraine-2012". Within a brief timeframe, the agency developed the dummy layout, identified authors, provided for high quality of English dubbing, created and implemented the distribution system. The magazine is a monthly edition published in 20 thousand copies. So far, it remains the only all-Ukrainian periodical publication that delivers in Ukraine and abroad a general

picture of Ukraine's preparations to the continental football championship.

The agency has created the database of electronic addresses (over a thousand) to distribute materials related to Euro-2012. The principal end users include central and regional public agencies and local governments, Ukrainian and foreign diplomatic institutions, national and international mass media (agencies, TV and radio-companies, desks of newspapers and magazines, Internet editions), the civil, sport and charity organizations (UNESCO, UEFA, Ukrainian Football Association). The electronic address database is constantly updated and extended. Jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Agency determined over four hundred recipients of Euro-2012 information in foreign countries, including popular sport editions, European TV and radio channels.

In September 2008, Ukrinform signed with the Polish Press Agency (Polska Agencja Prasowa — PAP) the protocol of mutual intent to cooperate in publishing materials describing both countries' efforts and arrangements to host the oncoming championship. The first steps toward implementation of these agreements were discussed at the 29 November 2008 meeting in Warsaw between Ukrinform representatives and PAP managers. In November of the same year the Agency sent to Poland its correspondent Yuriy Banahevich whose assignment was to keep track of what was going on in our neighbor country and publish materials about Ukraine — Poland cooperation in Euro-2012 preparations. Along with the common information, he sends back home weekly reviews of the European mass media publications devoted to the 2009 European Championship. He also set up a series of interviews with the Polish Football Federation managers on the progress of this country to the continental championship.

Ukrinform has established business relations with the German Society for Technical Cooperation (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische — GTZ), which was created under the auspices of the German government to coordinate the official support of the project "Preparations to UEFA Euro-2012".

According to the Cabinet of Ministers Resolution, along with the Information Center the Ukrinform had to set up a network of similar information centers in the offices of local authorities in across oblasts and cities earmarked to host the European championship finals. To expedite this project, the Agency prepared stan-

dard draft concepts of the regional information centers and issued methodological recommendations on how to run these centers. These draft concepts have been approved by the Board of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Committee of Ukraine.

Today we can state that the Cabinet of Ministers Resolution about the informational support to Ukraine's preparation and organization of Euro-2012 is fulfilled to full extent. The overall staff assigned to this task, along with sixteen full-time employees of the Information Center "Ukraine-2012", includes the employees from a number of the Agency structural subdivisions who are responsible of various tasks: creative and organizational, economic and financial.

The way it was in South Africa

No sport event especially of such grandiose scope as the FIFA World Cup can happen without proper information and advertisement support. If the experience of the South Africa is taken for example (which is quite useful for Ukraine) such promotion campaign must have its particular stages, emphases, logics, differential approaches and well-defined targets or objectives. We are not going to judge how well the World Cup 2010 sponsors have managed to do their job. But based on my personal observations (as an employee who had been accredited to the championship and visited South Africa in this timeframe) I have all reasons to assert that information and promotion component had played a critical role in garnering the overall success of the World Cup 2010.

In my opinion, this campaign had two clearly defined targets: internal audience: the local population and the external audience: the international community (meaning of course those interested in football). The informational and promotional campaign launched to support the South African world championship had started even before FIFA decided to assign this honorable and responsible mission to the RSA in May 2004. At the first stage, it was necessary to convince the broad public in the country, which was by far the easiest part, and the members of the FIFA Executive Committee meaning the entire football community that organization of this event in South Africa would be a feasible feat. After favorable for RSA decision was adopted in the Swiss Zurich the emphases in this campaign were placed on raising the public awareness of the goal to achieve high quality standards in preparation to the World Cup 2010 thus

raising the image of the country and Africa as a whole. On the other side, the aim of this campaign was to present South Africa as an economically developed, socially and politically driven, rich in natural resources country attractive for tourists. The campaign was managed by the RSA Organizational Committee on preparation and holding the world football championship. In its work, the Committee commissioned informational and promotional resources of all interested organizations and structures: national, provincial, municipal, departmental, media, civil, sport etc. Each of them has made their contribution.

As to the internal audience, the principal effort has been made by the cities shortlisted to hold the championship finals. Each city had its own organizational committee. Their press-centers assumed coordination of information support at the regional level. Johannesburg organizational committee had to face the most difficult task: first, it had to deal with two stadiums and second, one of these stadiums, the “Soccer City”, was the leading sports arena that had been selected as a venue of World Cup finals and opening and closing ceremonies.

Johannesburg has passed the test with flying colors. Staring from the OR Tambo International Airport down to the “Soccer City” the atmosphere was permeated with happy mood of the oncoming championship. The World Cup 2010 advertisement banners, posters and symbols were ubiquitous. At the same time the overall promotion was not obtrusive. It was thoroughly thought out, well performed and managed to create among the local residents and international guests the festive atmosphere of being part of a significant event in Johannesburg’s life.

During championship Pretoria had its own “football image”. The fact that this was the city hosting the world championship was highlighted by an enormous football perched right next to the city TV tower and seen from any corner of the city. Noteworthy, the entire city was embellished with the championship symbols, most of which could be seen on the road to the Loftus Versfeld Stadium, one of the venues for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. During games, the performances held on the stage in front of the stadium attracted hundreds of fans. The emcees maintained a constant feedback between the stage and the audience, awarded various prizes, presented the winners, invited the audience to improvise. In the championship press-center the journalists were offered a set of printed

materials and CDs about the city and its architectural highlights. Volunteers and stewards were forthcoming and polite; always there to help you out. The overall environment created at the Loftus Versfeld Stadium was warm and cordial. That could be even felt at such critical for the South Africans event as game against Uruguay. To go further, the South Africans had to win with a high score. Unfortunately for them, this score was made by Uruguay. The local fans who had hooted loudly and ardently: Bafana Bafana, the cozy nickname given to the national RSA football team, accepted this defeat with disappointment but without an excessive tragedy and treated the Uruguay spectators with sufficient amiability.

One had to make only a few steps in the Cape Town airport to know that the city was to welcome the world championship: the airport building was full with kiosks, shops and stands selling the World Cup items. The hotel where I stayed was also abundant with championship paraphernalia: from free books and booklets to the hall with a big screen TV set broadcasting the games. The hotel was connected to the stadium by shuttle buses and the hotel employee at the entrance provided detailed information about city routes, interesting tourist attractions and excursions. The championship decorations were all over the city, especially in its center adorned with a huge advertisement panel on the skyscraper and the fountain with mock-up footballs.

Similar picture could be observed in each of the nine South African host cities. Press-services and advertisement divisions of the local organizational committees would provide all information about the cities, their progress of preparing to World Cup 2010 and – at the time of the championship – keep updated the National Committee and the FIFA press-service as well as local and international media.

It should be mentioned that this promotion campaign has been gaining momentum by the day and had its own benchmarks. For example, exactly three hundred days before kick-off the so-called championship “countdown” began: since that time on, each day the updates of the RSA progress to World Cup 2010 was reported through diverse communication channels, primarily, media. The TV news on the top South Africa channels began with positive by nature and content tidbits on on-going preparation.

During the “daily countdown” the preparation process was demonstrated in its dynamics. The local TV would broadcast plots

about commencement of stands construction at a certain stadium. Some time later, the viewers were shown the same footage and the new one, with a real advancement in building the same stands.

The sponsors of the promotional campaign made their best to target certain audiences. During the championship no effort was spared to make everybody, in South African provinces and among all strata of population, live the atmosphere of the future football holiday. Achieving the social consensus, national unity and boosting up the patriotism among the diverse, poly-ethnic and socially heterogeneous South Africa that had set off on the path of democratic development only 17 years ago is incontestably the greatest prize this country has won in this world championship.

The propaganda of World Cup 2010 in other countries across the globe also targeted different audiences. Initially the championship sponsors tried to bring information about the World Cup and host South Africa into absolutely all countries. Later however the attention was focused on the contestant countries whose national football teams had won the tickets to the World Cup 2010 finals since they were supposed to produce the greatest flows of the visitors and fans. As soon as any of the national teams made it to the finals this team, the country it represented, the history of football in this country and its current development became hot subject in all mass media channels throughout RSA. The RSA Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructed the South Africa embassies in thirty-one countries who had delegated their national teams to RSA, on making there supplementary presentations. On the eve and during the World Cup championship these embassies have received additional diplomatic human resources and funds to implement these measures. As one of such actions, the Embassy of the South-African Republic in Ukraine had expressed its regrets that the Ukrainian national team could not overcome the last barrier on its journey to RSA since otherwise it would have obtained considerably far more extensive information about RSA and bilateral relations between our countries would have been significantly promoted.

The logic of the campaign sponsors was to gradually prepare the world community and South Africans to the future championship and keep their interest always at its highest. This goal was successfully achieved: the World Cup awareness and propaganda program reached its crest by the last days of the countdown. After that, during the championship, South Africa and its ten stadiums became

hot news on TV screens and radio waves, in headlines of newspapers and magazines across the globe. The promotional, advertisement, image effect that RSA was aspiring to achieve was immense and will last for many years to come.

The South Africa world championship ranked third in the history of the world cups by game attendance (after the World Cup 1994 in the USA: 3,59 million spectators and World Cup 2006 in Germany: 3,36 million spectators). The overall proceeds from ticket sales in RSA totaled 3,18 million. We know that the World Cup 2010 sponsors expected even greater number of fans attending this global event. This did not happen because of several reasons, including: great distance of South Africa, negative effect of the global financial and economic crisis and — what is more important — the broadly disseminated in the world mass media materials about an adverse crime situation in the RSA (fears which obviously had been overrated). For Ukraine, we have to be prepared to face — likewise to RSA that had been censured for high rate of crime — similar criticism of, let's say, insufficiently prepared infrastructure (such attempts have already been made). This makes all the more urgent the task of constantly expanding thorough diverse channels, primarily through information materials information elucidating real capacities of Ukrainian infrastructure that is totally adequate and ready to accept Euro-2012.

Let's discuss conditions that had been created for the mass media representatives at the World Cup 2010. The total of about 14 thousand journalists had been accredited to this sport event. Their accreditation applications had been filed mostly through the football federations (associations) in their respective countries. The applications and questionnaires submitted by e-mail had been accepted until the end of January 2010, after which they had been reviewed by FIFA press-service and World Cup 2010 Organizational Committee (FIFA and OC Media Team) until 1 March 2010. Afterwards, the candidates had to pass through electronic accreditation for 48 tournament games. There was one condition: within one day any journalist could apply to attend only one game (accreditation to play-off games took place after group tournaments). The letter of the FIFA press service about accreditation with the journalist's passport data was equivalent to RSA entry visa. Besides, on the FIFA web-site a special media channel (protected with a password) was opened for accredited journalists; it provided a va-

riety of information about the championship and the host country, especially addresses of hotels where mass media representatives had been recommended to stay. From these hotels the journalists could get to stadiums and airports by designated buses.

During the championship the standard media centers operated at the stadiums around the clock; here the journalists had all necessary working conditions and could always get hold of reference information they needed. The only problem was with providing seats on media stands to press representatives who for different reasons could not get their accreditations or were too late. The procedure of distributing additional tickets would drag on almost to the first minutes of the game, created much ruckus and cost a lot of nerves. In our opinion, it should be improved until Euro-2012.

In our perspective, the information support of the World Cup 2010 preparation and games was consistent, coherent, systematic and dynamic. We have highlighted only individual factors of South African practices. We think they merit to be studied by all who are involved in organization of 2012 European championship in Ukraine.





Petro Talanchuk,

President of the Open International University of Human Development 'Ukraine', Doctor of Engineering, professor, member of the International Academy of Higher Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, member of the National Union of Journalists of Ukraine



Vitaly Karpenko,

Chief editor of the newspaper 'Vecherny Kyiv' 1985–2000, Honoured Journalist of Ukraine

NON-JUBILEE REFLECTIONS IN THE JUBILEE YEAR

They are not only contemporaries but also active participants of the turbulent events that preceded the restoration and the first twenty years of the Ukrainian independence. Peter TALANCHUK, the known scientist, Doctor of Engineering, a former rector of the Kiev Polytechnic Institute, the deputy of the USSR Supreme Council, the first Minister of Education of the Independent Ukraine, currently a director of a unique Open International University of Human Development 'Ukraine' and Vitaly KARPENKO, a journalist and a writer known in Ukraine and to Ukrainian Diaspora, the people's deputy of Ukraine of the first convocation, the chief editor of the popular newspaper *Vecherny Kyiv*, professor of journalism have a lot to remember and to consider about on the day of the twentieth year of the independent Ukraine.

Thus, we propose a dialogue of these two public figures, politicians and scholars about times of struggle and hope.

Overture to independence

Vitaly Karpenko. Ukraine marked the 20th anniversary of its independence. It is a good time to remember how all began. It began, I think and you will agree, with the so-called perestroika proclaimed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev.

We both were standing for perestroika. We sincerely believed in it, but in fact it was not the reconstruction of the state structures as we thought it to be, but merely a change of paints on its facade. I guess the Communist Party or the then Soviet leadership did not think that facade would be only the beginning and the desire of freedom would shake the whole Communist Party system to its very foundations. And yet the proclaimed policy for democratization and glasnost gave people a chance to inhale a breath of fresh air of relative freedom.

At that moment you were elected among other contenders to the position of a rector of the prestigious Kiev Polytechnic Institute and I as an editor of 'Vecherny Kyiv' was using this opportunity to communicate truth to people, to criticize the Communist Party reality to the extent possible, to speak much more than before.

We have a lot in common: we believed in perestroika and cared for weak seedlings of democracy. The newspaper supported the so-called Narodny Rukh (People's Movement for Perestroika), and you risking your position and the party membership certificate so powerful at that time provided the assembly hall of the Institute for the first Congress of the Narodny Rukh, in which the Communist Party leadership saw an opposition to the only righteous 'guiding and controlling' Communist Party.

We did not know each other personally at that time but we closely followed the new developments in the society and knew about each other activities. The new law on elections, though favouring the Communist Party (notorious one hundred peoples' deputies were appointed to the USSR Supreme Council directly by the CPSU), yet was more democratic than all previous ones. Its main feature was in the offered alternative. Previously only one candidate (a communist) had been elected by 99.8% of 'votes' and the new law while keeping the provision on nomination of one candidate allowed registering several candidates at the election district.

At this moment, as Gorbachev used to say, "things got going". The peoples' initiative inspired by democratization became uncontrolled by the communist officials. Many election districts, among others registered progressive and patriotic people who then were elected to the legislative bodies. Such persons as a scientist

Valery Grischuk, a writer Vladimir Yavorivsky and the rector of the Polytechnic Institute Petro Talanchuk known for his democratic views as well as others were elected to the USSR Supreme Council.

The trick of the Kyiv city administration, which reserved for itself one-candidate election district, did not work: Konstantin Masyk, the first secretary of the City Communist Party Committee balloted for the Kyiv national district and Valentyn Zgursky, head of the Kyiv City Communist Party Committee balloted for Darnitsa raion were not elected in the first round. During re-election with 33 competing candidates two persons were competing at the end — non-partisan economist Chernyak and the editor of ‘Vecherny Kyiv’, the then communist Karpenko. Chernyak from the Narodny Rukh was finally elected. I was not disappointed in the result because I received more than 470,000 votes (it is almost as much as the number of ‘Vecherny Kyiv’ subscribers, so you could conclude that the newspaper was on the right track and had the broad support of the citizens. Eventually this played a positive role in my life because I won the first round of elections to the Ukrainian Parliament while all other districts in Kyiv were on the second voting round...

Peter Talanchuk. One may agree that perestroika was not only the overture to the Ukrainian independence, but also a prelude to the collapse of the Soviet empire. Then, after a long period of stagnation, we all felt a fresh wind of democracy. Therefore, the hopes for changes though within the communism system were great. Unfortunately or fortunately, they did not come true since perestroika woke a desire of people to the national freedom and independence. The greatest merit of Mikhail Gorbachev was that he unintentionally awakened the national aspirations of the peoples and, ultimately, the Soviet Union collapsed ...

V.K. Yes, perestroika gave a start of a powerful national movement, which was impossible to curb neither by propaganda nor by force. As a result the communist empire called the Soviet Union disappeared from the map. Former soviet republics transformed into independent states.

It is well known what we have achieved for the historical period of 20 years. Formally, we are released from the Moscow de-

pendence, but not from the dictatorship of Moscow. Ukraine was recognized by the most countries as an independent state. We have our own state institutions: parliament, government, armed forces, judicial system and diplomatic corps. Yet most of our citizens are dissatisfied with these realities, because it is hard to give unambiguous assessment to the achievements. Better to focus on what we **failed** to achieve and why.

P.T. Frankly speaking, the results of our 20 years state building are very modest. Moreover, now more than ever there is a real threat to lose independence of Ukraine once again. By the way, the situation in our society may be determined by many terrible **FAILURES** in their different manifestations: failed to realize, failed to implement, failed to stop, failed to provide, failed to defend, failed to reach, failed to clean, failed to create, failed to build, failed to unite, failed to receive, failed to eliminate, failed to overcome and many others.

These **FAILURES** may be specified:

- failed to implement the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine, which is the basis for self-governance provision in a new Constitution;
- failed to implement the rule of law in the life of citizens of Ukraine;
 - failed to build civil society and the law-governed state;
 - failed to provide proper, fair and impartial justice;
 - failed to write our own history;
 - failed to create a highly profitable domestic market economy and, therefore, appropriate living conditions for the citizens;
 - failed to bridge enormous gap in profits between the rich and poor;
 - failed to become a member of the European Union because of political conflicts;
 - failed to eliminate interference of the USA and RF in the internal affairs of Ukraine;
 - failed to protect its territory near the Zmeiinyi Island in the international court;
 - failed to investigate high profile murder cases (Gongadze, Hetman, Alexandrov and more than thirty journalists, etc.);

- failed to defend the right to possess nuclear weapons;
- failed to take advantage of the land assets and land use allowing to a complete collapse of the agriculture in Ukraine, the former breadbasket of Europe and other states. Today we export buckwheat from China, potatoes from Egypt, and the pig's fat from Poland;
- failed to use the most skilled people in the society and the most talented and dynamic scientists to building own economy. As a result nearly 8 million workers, 200 thousand engineers, scientists multiply the wealth of foreign countries. The list may be continued

Too much is left undone because Ukraine was governed by incompetent ineffective persons (either “say what Ukraine you need and you will get it” or, “we have what we have” types). Again this notorious **failure** resulted from the fact that the Ukrainian society is neither politically nor economically structured as appropriate. Basically, there are three forces deciding Ukrainian fate: the pro-Ukrainian, pro-Russian and a handful of oligarchs. With pro-Ukrainian party is all clear: they fight with one another to fear foes. The pro-Russian force is definitely the fifth column in our rear. Its goal is to absorb Ukraine or, better say, to subordinate elites and to create single value and content domain of the country whose resources are needed to implement political, economic and geopolitical plans of the Russian leadership.

V.K. I agree with you and would like to specifically emphasize that discord is our biggest problem. The entire history of the national liberation movement in Ukraine from Khmelnytsky until now is marked with black labels of discord and betrayal. It always destroyed Ukraine and ruined its supreme interests – the national. Disintegration of the Ukrainianhood in Ukraine and in the world is the largest stone on the neck of our Independence and the biggest sin in the soul of the national elite. After all we have in Ukraine fifty political parties, about twenty of them declare themselves Ukrainian, however, they are incapable to unite for the sake of Ukraine.

The situation in the Diaspora is not much better. People who gave their lives to the national idea, shed blood, died, lost in exile seem to have nothing to argue about, but they are divided into

various groups (Bandera, Melnyk, uerdepisty, hetmanitsi, dviykari and others).

This is a sad reality and it has a direct relationship to the problem of unity or fragmentation of the Ukrainian patriotic forces. Look how skilfully this reality is used to persuade the public that unification is impossible, say, because this is our Ukrainian mentality and nature to be in the command. Not only outspoken Ukrainophobes, our adversaries, but also fellow democrats are repeating on every street corner that “where two Ukrainian come together, three hetmans appear” breeding mistrust in the hearts of those who still hope.

I reflected a lot about the idea of Ukrainian unity, which, seems to be so logical and feasible at first glance but in practice is transformed into insurmountable wall – neither to pass around, skip or break. During the years of independence I wrote a lot of articles on this subject and published three separate books. So today I may say with certainty: that the problem of Ukrainian unity is one of the most difficult, which appeared not today and not yesterday. It is not confined purely to the Ukrainian mentality or ambition of the leaders, it is not specifically Ukrainian, as it concerns the very existence of not only the independent Ukrainian state, but also of the Ukrainian nation, or if you want, the Ukrainian ethnicity, because very powerful forces both within the country and outside it are not interested in it. Therefore, unification needs not only to change mentality or ambition of the leaders, but something deeper and more essential, namely to fight the resistance in all fronts – theoretical, ideological, organizational, financial and in the everyday life.

P. T. Unfortunately, these “anti-Ukrainian tendencies in the Ukrainian state” are supported by the political forces of neighbouring countries. There are notable efforts of the “fifth column” to preserve the ‘Soviet way of life’ (authoritarian power, ‘unity with Russia’, ‘confrontation of the West’), to broadcast the Russian TV channels, circulate newspapers, literature and others, to promote the myth of ‘the Russian world’, disrespect to the values of freedom, civil rights and free business, to speculate on anti-western stereotypes, to lobby through ‘concerned officials’ the decisions to provide access for Russia to markets and information

space of Ukraine. Artificially invented structures like CIS, Evraz, a single economic space, customs union, etc. are proposed where the Russian Federation will play a leading part. Discounts for resources (especially energy) are offered in exchange for control of the Russian side over strategic enterprises and industries and even transfer of economic sovereignty of the country to 'supranational' bodies, where the Russian Federation has a majority of votes. Obstacles are created for the European integration of the former Soviet Union republics or former socialist states on the basis of the natural economic interests. State monopolies, oligarchs and businessmen related to the Russian government (supported by it) are expanded to the markets of the neighbouring countries. The tax system on the 'poor pay for the rich' principle is implemented, the use of the Russian language is encouraged, schools and universities with Russian language teaching are supported and so on. The 'Russian way of life' in contrast to the western way of life is inoculated in the mass culture', the 'common Soviet past' is speculated about while Ukraine achievements in culture and history, prominent figures of the nation are mocked. The activities of religious, cultural, «Cossack» and other pro-Russian organizations are supported in every possible way.

The combined action of these **failures** may lead to a disaster. We can receive the greatest **failure** of all – the loss of independence. We should stop complaining and blaming others. Each of us must realize that the state and the nation are personified in him. Therefore, the passport should have the column about nationality – I identify myself Ukrainian and am proud of it.

V.K. Fully agree. Unfortunately, the nationality column in the passport was removed by the VR of the first convocation, which is not good in view of the national interests. Analysis of all activities in Ukraine after restoration of the independence evidently shows that they were aimed not at strengthening but at the overall weakening of the Ukrainian national state. This conclusion is confirmed by real successes gained not only by the countries of the former Warsaw Treaty (Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland), but also by the Baltic states, the former Soviet republics with their much worse starting conditions as compared to Ukraine.

Upon a close view, you can see that everything goes as if according to the developed scenario that involves the elimination of Ukraine as a nation state. This scenario seems to be based on the following pivots:

1. Fragmentation of the Ukrainian society in all areas: economic and social (few very rich and lots of poor), political (over fifty small political parties, many of which are artificially created), spiritual (many religious denominations and sects, four varieties of the Orthodox churches, two being under Moscow), administrative (the idea of autonomous entities like the Republic of Crimea and non-existing republics of Donetsk and Novorossiysk, etc.), ideological (artificial division of the population and easterners and westerners, sticking labels of 'Bandera, 'nationalist' in the negative sense inspired by the communist propaganda.

2. Denationalization of the society (diminishing of the national factor, justification of the international 'brotherhood', the emphasis on formation of the so-called political nation from all ethnic groups living in the state.

3. Continued de-Ukrainization of the society because, as you have noticed, the displacement of the Ukrainian language from the governing and public structures and narrowing the scope of its use in everyday life, through the dominance of Russian books, growing quantities of Russian and Russian-language periodicals in the Ukrainian consumer market, distortions in language regarding the benefit to the foreign language in electronic media, and simply said — the gradual expulsion of the official language from television and radio.

4. Moral decadency in the society, especially in relation to youth, primarily through print media (Russian language yellow, erotic, pornographic newspapers) and electronic media (TV is full of militants, scenes of violence, blood and sex).

These are facts... Whether one likes it or not, such situation cannot be ignored when it goes about unification. One should know whom to unite, for what purpose and which opposition to expect. That is why the process of creating integral Ukrainian nation unification, so vitally needed today, can not be achieved overnight — it is a long-standing process. This is a difficult task requiring every effort to be taken and every day work for which

one should be ready theoretically, organizationally, ideologically, and if you like, physically.

Are we currently ready for this?

Only after honest answer to this question regarding these realities, considering strengths and capabilities, one can proceed to develop the unification program, determine the sequence of actions, the framework and fundamental structures of the future unity. We must have a strategy and tactics of this work, clearly see the ultimate goal and transitional passages. Finally, we should not only define the program guidelines and prevent them in simple, understandable, attractive form for the masses. The challenge is while preserving the national framework, to remove some annoying radical postulates and to disclose the essence of the national idea in such a way that it would be accepted by the general public and be a uniting factor for the East and West, North and South of Ukraine.

Thus, sharing belief in the future consolidation of the Ukrainian society underlain by the Ukrainian national idea, I am deeply convinced that only belief is too little to achieve the goal. We need active and purposeful actions of every Ukrainian to make this belief come true. No more sitting and waiting, no more hesitations — it is time to start this hard, painstaking, but necessary work. Only we can do it — no one else.

Our roots are in remote ages

P.T. I agree with de-Ukrainization activities that you mentioned and would like only to add that our history is being shamelessly stolen. Without knowing the true past, it is impossible to build the future.

The history of mankind knows few examples when a powerful ethnic group first created a powerful empire, with which the world reckoned and Europe sought for support and eventually it lost its greatness, and later — statehood. Time of the Great Ruins came and immediately the same ethnic group began its irreconcilable struggle for recovery and for formation of the state of a new type based on human rights and freedoms.

This is how historically the ideology of the law-governed state came into existence — not on the principle of subordination of na-

tions and total dependence and violence, but on a gradual development of the commonwealth of nations and states. Such is now the Council of Europe, the European Union, the United Nations being under currently reformation. But the struggle continues for many centuries and its consequences are felt today. This is Iraq, Egypt, Libya and others.

Let us remember how it all began in our history. The problem of the origin of any people is one of the most crucial in its history. It is impossible to build a strong foundation of the national society and the united state without addressing this problem. The history must be true, based on research and correspond to the historical facts of all peoples, societies and formation of the states.

However, it is extremely important that the history is written by the nation itself but not dictated by foreigners, as Taras Shevchenko put it. History is a self-cognition of people. So, the national consciousness is the decisive and consolidating factor of every ethnic group. The historical consciousness of the people, which is understanding of their unique role and destiny is the core of the national consciousness. When people forget their history, they cease to understand their difference from neighbouring ethnic groups, dissolve in them and disappear from the arena of history.

Eventful and heroic history consolidates, unites and strengthens the people, making it more resistant to assimilation with their neighbours. To subdue the people it is not enough to win it, it is necessary to rewrite its history. This is how the ancient thinkers aphoristically put it. Unfortunately, the invaders were rewriting the history of Ukraine from ancient times, denying the people in its own historical being. The Polish gentry regarded Ukraine as a province in Poland, and the Ukrainian language as a Polish dialect. The Imperial Moscow for centuries, and even today sees Ukraine as its southern province and our language call the Russian dialect.

In response to such an aggressive and cynical policy the famous Ukrainian poet Lina Kostenko with the national pride wrote:

*Stolen name will never be the name of villain.
What would be your name without us?
And Russ and Ross, and Lybid are silent.
Their lips are sealed.*

*Mystery of silent pantomime
And Russ and Ross, and Lybid are barely alive.
Empire never changes its imperative,
It only changes words!*

Conquerors have always tried to deprive the oppressed people of their history, appropriating its brightest pages. Thus, the official Russian imperial history declares the Kiev Rus the first stage of the Russian national state, shifting the origin of the Ukrainian ethnos to the late Middle Ages.

Absurdity of this and other similar statements is obvious. How could the state of the Russian people appear in the 9th century, if by the unanimous opinion of the most Russian researchers, the Russian people appeared in the 12th century? Who founded Moscow if not the Grand Prince of Kyiv Yuri Dolgoruky, which actively developed the Kiev Rus, was the Prince of Rostov and Suzdal creating conditions for establishment and formation of the Moscow Rus due to the high culture of Kyiv as 'Mother of all Rus cities'!

New historical, legal, archaeological and linguistic evidence confirms the early (and you can explore the ancient Slavic) concept of the Ukrainian people established by the Ukrainian historian Hrushevsky, his teacher V. Antonovich, the Tatar historian A. Krymsky and the Russian philologist A. Shakhmatov. The core idea is that the roots of the Ukrainian nation dated back to the 5th century when the Slavic community was split into separate branches. In the 9th–10th century the parent Ukrainians founded a new type of state – the Kiev Rus, which created the favourable conditions for further formation of the Ukrainian ethnic features.

The development of the Slavic branch of the Ukrainian ethnic territories of Dnieper area, Kiev area, Podolia, Volyn, Prykarpattya is traced by the scientists from Tripoli culture to a new era and the Prague culture of the 5th–7th centuries. Historical background of Kyiv, which is older than 1500 years is under investigation. It is time to explore various concepts and hypotheses on the earlier development of the Ukrainian people, which should give new results and conclusions for restoration of truth about our Ukraine.

Meanwhile, researchers believe that at the end of the 5th century the first authentic Slavic ethnic community known by archaeologists as the Prague culture and by the Byzantine chroniclers as Sklavins came into life. In the 5th century the Prague people moved to the middle Vistula. Here it gave rise to the ancestors of Poles — the Dzyedzytska group. From Volyn and Prykarpattya the Sklavins moved to the valleys of the Dniester and Prut and further to Danube and the Balkans giving rise to the southern Slavs. Moving along the Danube they occupied Elbe basin initiating the history of the Lusatian Serbs. The Prague people who in the 6th–7th century came to the Central Europe from the Ukrainian Carpathians were also the ancestors of Slovaks.

In the 8th century the Prague culture transformed in the Ukrainian lands between Middle Dnieper, Pripjat and Eastern Carpathians into the Luka-Raikivska culture. Its monuments were left by the ancient Ukrainian tribes of annalistic Volyn people, the Croats, the Drevlyans, the Polyans, the Uliches, the Tivertses. These peoples were the direct precursors of the Kiev Rus in the 9th–10th centuries. Continuity of historical development from ancient Sklavins of Volyn to modern Ukrainians gives reasons to believe that Ukrainian people dated back to the 5th century AC. Consequently, the archaeologists observed dispersal of the Slavs in the 6th–8th centuries from their ancestral home limited to the east by the Middle Dnieper in the west — by the Carpathian Mountains, in the north — by the Pripjat river in the south by Dniester and Southern Bug. The single Slavic community, as the Russian linguist O. Shakhmatov believed, along with their parent Slavic language was dissolved in the 6th–8th centuries in the process of the Slavs dispersal. So when in the 9th century the ancient Kyiv began to unite the neighbourhoods into a single state Rus, there lived the related Slavic tribes.

As Nestor the Chronicler wrote, “All nations have their own laws and customs of their ancestors, each — its own habit”. In other words, the Slavic genesis should be considered as a separation from the Slavic peoples from the ancient Ukrainian genetic tree, which only since the end of the 5th century developed on the ethnic Ukrainian lands in the centre of Volyn. Modern archaeological research indicates that movement of the ancient Slavs by

the Kyiv province along the Upper Dnieper in the 5th–8th centuries formed the Balto-Slavic community, known to archaeologists as Kolochynska culture.

As for the formation of the Russian ethnos, its history began somewhat later in the 9th–12th centuries when the Slavic-Balts of the Upper Dniester (Kryvičy, Radimiches) along with immigrants from southern Rus moved to the east in the basin of the Upper Volga and Oka, occupied from the beginning by Finno-Ugric people. Due to expansion of Muscovy to the west in the 15th–16th centuries the Pskov-Novgorod subethnos was assimilated with the Russian.

In the process of colonization of the Baltic and Finno-Ugric lands natives from the Kiev Dnieper area suffered significant influence of local non-Slavic population. This significantly changed the code of their ethno-cultural complex, which led to some peculiar, though allied East nations.

Ethnic specificity of Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians is originality attributed to the historical path of each of these peoples up to their forced unification by the Russian Empire. Also, each of the above East nations has separate historical destiny from the moment of entering the historical arena that had been before the collapse of Kiev Rus in the 18th century. In other words, modern scientific evidence confirms the opinion of Academician Hrushevsky “There is no common Russian history as there is no common Russian nationality.”

V.K. Now the truth about our history is gradually returning to the people. At the time of independence we learnt a lot of new and true facts about our mother country and its people. Previously the history was interpreted by the Moscow propaganda. In 1996 the editorial board *Vecherny Kyiv* first published in the paper and then issued an original book by Oleksiy Bratko-Kutynsky *The phenomenon of Ukraine*, which turned everything upside down. The author proved, in particular, the seven specific features of Ukraine. Briefly, they are reduced to the following statements:

1. Despite the lack of physical boundaries (mountain ridge, insularity, etc), even position at the crossroads of the ‘Great Migration’, in spite Turkic neighbourhood pressure, Mongolian, and Russian invasion, despite all this — our ethnogenesis contin-

ues in the same limits — for tens of thousands of years. Analysis of the Ukrainian traditions, lifestyle, attitude, mind, national holidays, customs, rituals, tales, myths and folk art as compared with the data of archaeology, history, anthropology, ethnography, world mythology suggests that long ethnogenesis in the territory of Ukraine covers one and the same sustainable people, that is, our ancestors, parent Ukrainians. By the way, the appropriation of our ancient name 'Rus' by Moscow has no grounds. In the old Italian map (1508) the territory of modern Ukraine is presented under the name Rus, Muscovy was not recognized by Rus. So the myth of the big brother is completely destroyed

2. According to the scientists, the Earth has icosahedron-dodecahedron power frame, projected as a vast network of triangles and pentagons. So, Kiev is situated in the centre of the European power triangle. Indian yoga recorded here especially pure high-energy fields. Hence there is Holiness (proximity to high-energy space) of our land and the phenomenon of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, which since ancient times attracted pilgrims who came for justification to the caves with imperishable relics of ordinary people stored by hundreds of years.

3. We have unique soils in the Dnieper and Dniester area, the only place in the world where the black soil zone stretches by 500 km. No wonder German exported our soils by railcars.

4. Large areas of the Ukrainian lands (Vinnitsa region, Zhytomyr) since the appearance of the first plants and animals (the Silurian age) were never flooded by waters of the seas or oceans. So, for hundreds of millions of years the fertile soil was being built up preserving the world's richest genetic pool.

5. Another mystery of Ukraine is in full inconsistency of high ideological outlook of the Ukrainian ethnos and primitive conditions of its life. This paradoxical fact is still waiting for its researcher.

6. Ethnic formation richness. If the vast majority of the Indo-European nations formed from one or two sub-ethnics, the Ukrainian people were formed by five now existing Aryans groups: Indoarias, Pelahians, Sytoiranians, Celts, Gauls, Teutons and Slavs.

7. Finally, the seventh feature is a mysterious passionarity of the Ukrainian culture, ideology, symbolism and its attachment to Ukrainian lands. Such violent attacks and attempts at total extermination and assimilation suffered by Ukrainians would hardly be endured by any of the existing nations.

You can argue with some statements of the book in detail, but in principle they emphasize the uniqueness of our land, our people and our history. We have a lot to be proud of.

P. T. Of course, we need to restore and study the science about ourselves in order to build a civil society and a law-governed state for peaceful purposes of civilized cooperation. This should be done not on unproven historical myths of the Ukrainian origin, which is also a dangerous political activity. It is enough to remember the sad experience of our eastern neighbours who built Russia on the historical myth of Moscow as the Third Rome, or Ivan the Terrible as a descendant of the Roman-Byzantine emperors. It was the policy on declaration of dynastic rights of the Moscow princes for all lands of the Kiev Rus and Byzantium, which justified the imperial expansion in Belarus, Ukraine and the Balkans.

Unfortunately, this myth survived till our times and was a high price paid not only by Ukraine, but also by Europe. One of the causes of the World War I was Russia's claims to ownership of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Or ardent love of modern Moscow to Serbian brothers is also relics of the same imperial myth. With Serbs Moscow makes its last desperate attempt to hold its position in the Balkans so cherished by many generations of the Russian imperialists.

The obvious fallacy and the imperial thrust of this pseudo-historical concept is one of the reasons of ideological crisis and a permanent and logical collapse of the Russian Empire, whose features are prominently manifested in the recent decades by real actions of Russia — the war in Transnistria, Chechnya, Georgia and others. In reality this means that now as before *Empire never changes its imperative, It only changes words!* Therefore, any such «patriotic» feelings can not be a justification of historical myth-making to enslave other peoples.

For us, the Ukrainian people, the modern historical period is the Renaissance of our true history and we must follow this path

of Ukrainian truth. Only a true history can be a reliable solid foundation of the Ukrainian society, independent Ukraine and its law-governed state, which will provide us with the rights and freedoms inherent to the times of Cossack fights for our future and the future of coming generations.

We need to take care of creating conditions for development of Ukrainian science, especially in the areas of history, law, economics, archaeology, natural and technical sciences. Also we need to make comparative studies to find out the real heritage of our nation and the world famous Ukrainians, which is of great importance for our country, while they are embedded in the history of other peoples and states, which requires research and determination of their contribution to the European and world culture.

Until Ukrainian historical science wins a prestigious position in the world as American, Anglo-Saxons, Polish and others., until the Ukrainian historical science participates in the global scientific process and becomes a science to the world until the world not only learns but also hears the voices of millions as a warning to their fate, the charlatans-messiah and all sorts of nouveau riche will continue inventing that the Ukrainian Prince Dir, “known in Western sources as Attila Hun” conquered Rome (as if our only problem is to receive satisfaction from Italians for destruction of the culture).

Since Ukrainian studies have the task to deepen and spread information about Ukraine as unique in its intelligence and historical culture and respected member of the human family, we must explore the world. Then our people will be seen in the context of the European and world civilization. Works of the international specialists on Ukrainian studies should be translated and published in our country and our experts should work in cooperation rather than in confrontation of ideologies.

There is another important task in the formation of national consciousness – the study of the Ukrainian people, its true history, not distorted by political deformations. The Ukrainian historical science was for a long time taught and promoted so that many people perceive it as another propaganda and a political show or campaigning about these or other important positions of power issues.

The laws were applied even worse — as a will of the ruling class and the basis and instrument of state violence against citizens. This is evidenced by numerous reprisals. Therefore, there is a strong immunity against propaganda. You can take as an example of the policy of the Bolshevik regime, more precisely, its beginning and development. Many people do not know or do not believe that Lenin built his entire policy on blood terror, the sacramental “Hang, necessarily hang at least 100 kulaks!” He commanded to hold hostages or to search all Kharkov to find out what for example, Ukrainian writers and other intellectuals were doing.

Not everyone knows that one of the first decrees of the leader was the expulsion of Ukrainian intelligentsia to the marginal areas of the RSFSR. “Don’t handle Ukrainians with kid gloves”, said ‘great communist’ of Ukraine O. Shlikhter. If Ukrainians knew this would they tolerate that the streets of many towns and villages in the Central, Northern, Eastern and Southern Ukraine have the monuments to another slaughterer of the Ukrainian people- Lenin? Or the guides at the Poltava Battle Museum — would they tell the visitors with such passion about the victory of Peter the First, in particular over Ukrainians? If the history of Ukraine was really written truthfully, would we stand those who try to drag us back under Russian Empire though they do not say that aloud? They quietly occupy decision-making positions in government for implementing this plan at the right time...

Based on historical experience, one important issue should be emphasized — the perception of Ukraine in the world, the attitude to its fate, the desire to integrate it into the world community regarding our national interests. It is noteworthy that Europe and America were indifferent to the fate of Ukraine and its problems. The theme of the USSR and Russia was much more prestige as the USSR is a direct heir of the tsarist Russia so the West solved the problems that arose with 1/6 of the world through dialogue with Moscow, St. Petersburg, through envoys from the kings of Boris, Peter, Catherine, V. Ulyanov and then Boris, Putin, Medvedev ... It was profitable and efficient, and more radical. The historian, who glorified and still glorifies empire and its leaders was and is guaranteed success while the historians who researched the history of Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine and Buryatia (especially Ukraine)

were automatically considered provincial without any interest from the scientific community or from politicians deciding the development strategy. The Western historians, political scientists, political leaders very well know about the famine in 1933 and the repression of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Anyone who studied the map of the Soviet empire, in the first place saw a large territory called 'Ukr.SSR, from where the spirit of death was reigning. They knew, but nothing serious was done to change the situation for the better.

Unfortunately, today the situation is the same. The Western states together with Americans and Russians prepared a diplomatic toy and gave it to us (special relations between Ukraine and NATO, priorities and relations with the U.S., 'strategic' relations with Russia) so that we would by happy and in return voluntarily refused from the nuclear weapons. Would ambitious France be happy with the fact that there appeared some Ukraine, larger in the territory and approximately the same in population, but with much more powerful nuclear capacity? Of course not!

In addition to nuclear weapons we also added uranium so that the nuclear predators did not think that we have our national pride and our vision. Or don't we see ever growing, sincere pressure and brutal intervention of the U.S. and Russia in the internal affairs of Ukraine, which is still weak? When on earth will we and our the authorities take this into account and make serious conclusions?

We are Ukrainian people

VK Obviously, when we realize themselves as a full-fledged and strong Ukrainian nation. Common definition of the nation supported by the communist ideology was based on four main features — common economy, territory, language and psyche. However, such a definition, first, does not include genetic (anthropological) factor in formation of the nation. Second, such very important factor, as *mental*, is limited to the culture and way of life, but actually it is much broader including spirituality in the broadest sense, ethnic specificity and religion.

Marxism-Leninism treats the nation as a product of the capitalist mode of production, divides the nation into bourgeois and

socialist, that is anti-historical. His theory of “convergence of nations under socialism through their development to erase national differences, eliminate national barriers» to a full merger of nations, education etc. and formation of a single universal community called ‘the Soviet people’ does not hold water. Historical practice — the collapse of the Soviet Union, ethnic conflicts (Baltic, Karabakh, Chechnya-Ichkeria, Tajikistan) denied this theory.

Nevertheless, we were taught that nationalism is a purely bourgeois ideology in the field of ethnic relations promoting the supremacy of national interests over the social interests, the proclamation of national intolerance. Even a special term ‘Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism’ was launched into circulation. In Soviet times Ukrainians who spoke Ukrainian language were recognized as bourgeois nationalists, which equalled them to the enemies of the people.

However Ukrainians living in Ukraine since the days of old spoke Ukrainian. The current situation with language knowledge is a sad consequence of a long-term policy for russification and displacement of the Ukrainian language with the language of the colonialists.

Nationalism can not be interpreted unambiguously negative, as did Marxism-Leninism, it is a concept generally positive, if not to equate it with chauvinism, especially Nazism.

For example, the Webster’s New World Dictionary provides the following definition of the ‘nationalism’.

Nationalism is:

1. loyalty and devotion to a nation; narrow and egoistic patriotism, chauvinism.
2. The doctrine that the national interests and security are more important than international considerations.
3. The defence of the national independence.

Therefore, we can determine the Ukrainian national idea, as the will of the Ukrainian people to build a national state, to be its master, to assert themselves politically, to provide high living standards for the entire community.

A well-known politician and patriot Levko Lukyanenko, imprisoned in the soviet camps for 27 years for his national views

rightfully remarks that the definition of the term ‘national idea’ has not yet been developed and one can see its various formulations in the scientific literature. He himself offers a brief and capacious definition of ‘national idea’ as a “conscious establishment of the nation in all its manifestations of ethnic identity.”

Statement that there is no nation without the state is also below any criticism. If we proceed from the same communist postulate that the main feature of a nation is its economic and territorial organization, then it looks like it is impossible for the nation to exist without a state, because the state is such a form of self-organization of society, which is impossible without territory and without a single economy. However, the essential feature of the nation is not only and not so much its territory and economy, as its ethnicity, mentality, spiritual unity and psychic distinctiveness and history dated back in remote ages.

For more than three hundred years Ukrainians lost its statehood, but that does not mean that these three hundred and more years there was no Ukrainian nation. However, for more than three hundred years it was not official. In extremely difficult conditions of brutal colonization, russification, polonization and often with open ethnocide the Ukrainians preserved their language, their specifics, their mentality, their uniqueness, their traditions and their culture. Now the Ukrainians received a statehood and now their historical purpose and their sacred duty is to build a national state. However, we care about what independent state we have — with or without Ukrainians.

P.T. Yes, indeed there are forces interested in the elimination of the Ukrainian national identity. It is done already in the Ukrainian passport and it is only left to change the state passport — the Constitution by replacing national identity by the citizenship. Such political games are not new. Back in the USSR the Constitution proclaimed a special formation ‘Soviet people’ and declared it as a political nation, a conglomerate of all nationalities living in the state. Despite all these efforts to cast in the Soviet furnace a new political nation, the USSR collapsed and conditional ‘Soviet people’ were disintegrated into to self-sufficient nations.

What threatens Ukraine now?

In the passports of citizens of Ukraine there is no record of nationality, so there is no legal grounds for national self identification of Ukrainians. Now they want to destroy the very concept of indigenous people. It is only left to degenerate Ukrainians and to engraft stepsons from other nations on the Ukrainian parent tree for selecting the Ukrainian hybrid of cosmopolitans who are very accommodating to the political condition, do not care about the fate of Ukrainian land and do not share the cultural traditions of indigenous people, their national spirit. Long-term experiment with mechanically mixed society failed so may be the scenario of using the parent nation under the title of state to create mechanically mixed society with immature consciousness, lack of orientation and party-denominational dogmas will gain success.

Destructive processes of mixing has already begun: about eight million social outcasts, Ukrainian illegal emigrants left Ukraine to seek fortune in the world while almost the same number of illegal immigrants from around the world came to Ukraine. Social structure in Ukraine is not incomplete — there is not middle class, which should be a backbone of the society forming its independent forces capable of creating the national state. Instead, dependent state administration in the declared ‘sovereign, independent, democratic, social law-governed state’ conducts a social experiment: forms indifferent society — ethnic-free political nation unified under the title ‘the people of Ukraine’. The term ‘citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities’ immediately withdraws from political reality the term ‘Ukrainian nation’ as an ethno-cultural-spiritual community and title native Ukrainian nation.

These attempts are useless. The Ukrainian people were, are and will be indigenous ethno-cultural-spiritual community in their native land and the main factor of state building in Ukraine, no matter what political experiments are conducted on it. No other nation will live in this land, despite attempts to change the spiritual and natural-historical process. The essence of the people is determined by Single Spirit through its collective heart and nature of their native land through its productive activities. It is the sacred name ‘Ukraine’, which defines natural and spiritual psychotype and the idea of social order (the national idea of state) of the in-

indigenous people living in this land and, despite all the historical deformations preserving and multiplying the independent force of its self-organization by the law of a continuous living.

Ukrainians are the dominant ethnic title group in Ukraine, accounting for 78% of Ukrainian society. The native Ukrainian people (nation) should become a factor for consolidating the representatives of other nations. The Ukrainian society, the socio-political and legal state is based on indigenous cultural traditions of the Ukrainian people and on the universal moral principles.

The Ukrainian society is the socio-political-legal self-organization of different ethnics with civic and ethnic identity (each minority has, in addition to civic identity, their ethnic identity).

Ukrainian people (nation) is mono-ethnic ethno-cultural-spiritual core of the integral Ukrainian society with national and civic identity. The essence of the Ukrainian national identity is a spiritual type of Ukrainian human with primacy of heart as a leading factor in the moral life.

Morality and spirituality are the essence of life on the principle of the Ukrainian native natural and cultural national tradition. Because it is spirit that fills the individual's life all the living space of the people with higher sense. Abstraction from morality, spirituality leads to degeneration. The cause of the current social crisis in Ukraine is in the isolation of people from the spiritual traditions of culture and simulation of financial civilization. The financial civilization based on the primacy of mercantile mind focuses on the external form of life and leads to destruction of the spiritual tradition of culture, based on the primacy of the heart.

The essence of morality is in achieving moral maturity of human in the trinity of true thinking, true expression and righteous act, which is the second, spiritual birth of a person in the system of his native culture. Every man and nation should have its own moral resistance in the spiritual will of his heart and moral efficacy of his mind. Spiritual will is a measure of human and people independent power.

The state should not recognize any political or religious ideology as mandatory, because all of them represent the party or confessional interests of particular social groups as corporate. Only national state ideology provides integrity of spiritual and social val-

ues and legal guidelines for every citizen and the whole Ukrainian society.

The idea of independence may be true provided that at least two requirements are met: it should be the idea shared by the nation, and its carriers should be ready to choose the path of development from selfishness to **commitment**, to care more for Ukraine than for himself. At the same time, rights, freedoms and obligations of the citizens should be balanced and guaranteed in this situation.

The life of the nation, its spiritual state and welfare depend primarily on the level of national consciousness. It is not only independence that we need but also the Ukrainian statehood thinking and the corresponding behaviour of every citizen.

The urgent task of higher school

V.K. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian statehood thinking was not and is not inherent in our state power institutions. Domination of the Russian language in the state authorities, disgraceful remarks of some Ukrainian ministers towards Ukrainians, mass closure of Ukrainian schools in the regions, particularly in Donbas while the Ministry of Education is trying to blame regions for this refusing from its own responsibility (what is the Ministry without responsibility?). You can continue the list of facts.

However, I would like to digress from the national Ukrainian problems and to speak about small Ukraine, your creation — Open International University for Human Development, also known as *Ukraine*.

It would be illogical not to talk about it because it is the first and only higher education institution in Ukraine focused on education for people with disabilities. Thousands of young people who, because of disability could not enter the existing universities and used to be outcasts, graduated from the University *Ukraine* and now successfully working in various fields of production — material and spiritual.

Two years ago the University celebrated its ten-year anniversary. At that time we already had a powerful team of professors and teachers. There are almost 48 000 students studying in its 24

geographically separated units: 15.6 thousand of full-time, 23,000 of part-time and 8,4 thousands of extra-mural students.

I witnessed the establishment of the University. I know that the creation of this institution was a real challenge with the then leaders of the state who did not understand and did not support your long-term program of development of the higher education proposed by you in the position of the Minister of Education, with only very few ideas implemented in practice. It was a truly titanic work. You started from scratch and created a powerful institution of higher education, consolidated the like-minded people and built modern educational facilities among the high pines on the outskirts of Kyiv. How it is no longer remote area – the nearby subway station provides reliable communication with the centre of the city. All this was created without a single hryvnia from the state budget, which is unfortunately true. For who else besides the government should support this unique initiative which takes care of education of people with disabilities? It is primarily the task of the state.

This year, when Ukraine found itself in the so-called demographic gap with dramatic decrease of the number of entrants by half, the university successfully passed the admission campaign worked in comparison with the state universities, not to mention the private higher schools, many of whom were left without students. However, I would like to talk not so much about the successes and problems, but to hear your opinion about the further development of the university in the context of trends not only Ukrainian, but also the world higher education, so about the development areas of university *Ukraine*.

P.T. We can talk about it a lot about it because we are constantly searching for new ways. However, several areas are worth mentioning.

The first problem is a demographic challenges and their impacts on the future of University *Ukraine*.

According to the demographic trends, the world's population will age even more over time. By 2050 the proportion of people aged 65 will be three times greater and 1.5 billion (or 16% of all humanity). At the same time the population of the Earth increases

quite rapidly, largely due to growth in the countries of equatorial Africa and Asia (China, India).

As for Ukraine, during the next decades, the population will only diminish. According to the World Bank in 2025, the Ukrainian population will be reduced down to 37 million, and the UN claims that by the middle of this century our country will have only 26 million people.

Ukraine is among the twenty countries with the oldest population. Over the proportion of persons aged 60 years we rank 11th place. However, despite the fact that we have a large number of people going over a 60-year threshold, many of them do not survive till the age of 65. Meanwhile in the Western Europe and the U.S. a share of people aged 60 years is much bigger than in Ukraine.

Over 20 years of independence Ukraine received the mentioned demographic gap resulted from the f unborn children (up to 5 million people).

With this in mine I would like to outline the areas where we need to move.

First, to overcome the demographic risks faced by the state, one should create high-quality economy, which requires increasing the number of working citizens. Depending on the economic development there will arise more and more opportunities to create new jobs, increase wages. It will foster the need for skilled workers and increase the number of entrants.

Second, successful development of the economy would create the conditions for mass returning of our citizens from abroad. But the most radical, in my opinion, step in this direction would be unprecedented development and implementation of the project *Return to the historical homeland*. It is about creating attractive legal and social conditions favourable for 20 million Diaspora Ukrainians and would help many people to remember where their roots are, and to foster a desire to return to the land of ancestors forever. Biological potential of Ukraine, its territory and high quality legal support on the one hand, industrial, business experience and financial capacity of the Ukrainian Diaspora, on the other, once united, would create a great breakthrough in the Ukrainian society so that we would forget about the 'Asian ti-

gers', 'Japanese miracle'. History would witness unprecedented synergies, which could receive the the name 'Ukrainian explosion'. Let us recall the same experience of Israel, China, Poland. Such a project or program could be developed by scientists of University *Ukraine* with support from the appropriate government agencies. In the process of developing this program can be executed dozens of doctoral and master's theses in the field of law, economics, sociology, ethnic psychology, etc. would be defended.

Thirdly, in order education complies with the needs of economy it is necessary to develop a long-term (15–20 years) forecast of the labour market in line with its qualification and structural requirements. After completing this task, we can form a system for vocational and professional orientation to meet the requirements of the market economy. Even in highly developed countries (like USA) state is responsible for training the workforce while private business is actively involved in this process. Current admission to universities in Ukraine does not contribute to a productive career. Permission to apply to five universities in three specialties rather resembles Russian roulette than motivated selection of a profession by a future specialist.

Dynamic human needs in the new goods and services lead to rapid changes in technology and production processes, which in turn require an adequate response in training new efficient specialists, retraining of existing staff, whose profession is outdated and is no longer needed in the modern production.

Hence there is a need for advanced large-scale life-long training of population to replace the current system of postgraduate education with a wide range of courses, master classes, business games and others. In the years of independence we have almost forgotten about the advanced qualification courses. If you look at the percentage of employees firms that finished these courses, the statistics is not on our side: only 5%, whereas, for example, in France and Sweden this figure is one-fold higher. Is not that one of the reasons for our economy stagnation for so long?

In organizing this large-scale training system one should drastically change the approaches to assess the quality of knowledge and to develop criteria for training specialists to meet the European requirements. One needs to develop selection methods

based on the results of practical testing questionnaire to know the potential of the contender and then to create a customized training program. We should refuse from idolization of the state diplomas, because, first, one can buy them on the black market like cucumbers, tomatoes or chicken, and, secondly, they provide official stamp for usual mediocrity.

While developing the long-term forecast of the labor market we should consider the primary use of high technology in the traditional industries of Ukraine (metallurgy, chemistry, energy, agriculture) and expand the training of high-tech knowledge in these areas as well as train specialties of the 5th and 6th technological levels, which will determine the economic development after 2020. These tasks can be most successfully solved by restructuring the training system towards a sustainable 'university – college – vocational school – business' combination.

Fourth, it is necessary to draw public attention to the problems of pensioners. After retirement people start to feel their worthlessness. So, it is very important for pensioners to maintain their own importance, their significance in the society. It is good when a person, regardless of age, can continue his or her professional activities, so psychologically such person feels very comfortable. This is the reason, according to statistics in different countries, for increased life expectancy. Our Ukrainian professors, and academicians are working in old age, sometimes after 80 years. As for the pensioners, in our country they remain two options – grandchildren and dachas. Many people are trying to find their self-implementation in this sphere but this is a very low level of using a human potential.

In the West retirement means the second stage of active life. It is not surprising, because there women live 18–22 years after retirement and men – 16–18 years. That is why they create all sorts of courses, lectures and even special universities for senior citizens, organize meetings of elder peers, create evening and night clubs for them. Pensioners are active travellers contributing to the development of tourism. I think it is time to return to the idea that I proposed 10 years ago – an *Institute of Generations Harmony* with branches and to begin its serious promotion.

Fifth, college training is a significant reserves for pool of students for higher schools in general and for University *Ukraine* in particular. Successful study at college allows graduates to continue their studies at the third course of the selected qualification

College as a structural unit of the University was created to implement a system of graduated training for cross-curricula and programs for: ensuring the collaboration of structural units of the University *Ukraine*, together with affiliates; effective use of the teaching staff, teaching and laboratory facilities, teaching provision, social infrastructure.

The concept of the college include the development of the structure of specialties, which trains young professionals and is associated with the modern trends of science, technology, manufacturing processes and related qualifications relevant in the 21st century.

Experience proved correctness of this choice. In 2011 another 10 professions were licensed: information of an enterprise, commercial activity, maintenance of computer systems and networks, software development, journalism and information, organization of tourist services, publishing and editing, organization of services in restaurants and institutions trade organization manufacturing, hotel and restaurant business.

The results of admission shows the increased number of those wishing to study in the college for short term training due to their previous qualification training.

Our cooperation with vocational schools was positive this year: 50 graduates of these institutions have become the college students. Interesting that these are engineering professions, such as ‘Maintenance and repair of motor vehicles and engines’, ‘Software Development’, ‘Maintenance of computer systems and networks.’

Finally, what I would like to focus on our initiative to create the Higher School for Political Leader at the University. The deputies corps at local councils at all levels in Ukraine counts 225,154 thousand people, proportionate to the number of entrants – in 2011 there were just over 200,000. Provided effective organization and planning we can attract for education at least two people from

each village council, and forty people from every rayon council making up in total about 40 thousand people.

By implementing this idea, we will have obvious benefits. First of all, will improve the political education of the people's deputies, which is important for the society. For the university it will be an additional source of funding for its future development.

That is my vision for the future as you asked about.

V.K. Very interesting observations. May God bless you and all of us to successfully implement these plans. Thank you for meaningful conversation. I hope that the tackled problems will be interesting for the readers.

PT I hope so too. Thank you very much!





Teofil Rendyuk

Candidate of Historical Sciences, diplomat, author of more than 50 scientific works published in different languages in Ukraine, Russian Federation, Republic of Moldova, Rumania and Hungarian Republic.

Born on 7 July 1955 in village Ostrytsia, Chernivtsy Oblast.

1978 to 1990 — the researcher at the Institute of history and Institute of social and economic problems of foreign countries at the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

Since 1990 works in public service. In 1992 was appointed the first secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine in Rumania. Was assigned as one of the officials in charge of developing the contractual and legal bases of bilateral relations, worked with Ukrainian delegations visiting Rumania and — as an expert — participated in the negotiation process and signing

ceremony of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Ukraine and Rumania dated 2 June 1997 and exchange with Ratification Instruments on 22 November of the same year.

In 2003–2005, held the position of the Head of Department for National Minorities, Religion and Ukrainian Diaspora, at the Cultural and Humanitarian Cooperation directorate of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Upon his return from the long-term mission in Rumania Mr. Rendyuk works in the central office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

UKRAINIAN MILITARY AND POLITICAL EMIGRATION TO RUMANIA IN PERIOD BETWEEN WARS: UNKNOWN PAGES IN THE HISTORY OF DIASPORA

Ukkraine is one of the countries that has a numerous diaspora dispersed for various reasons (including those of tragic nature) in a dozen of countries across the globe. Over the years of the country's independence the top leadership of Ukraine, members of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, heads and employees of the Ukrainian ministries and departments, including the Ministry of culture and tourism, Ministry of education and science, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finances, State Committee of Ukraine on Nationalities and Religion, the National Academy of Sciences with its specialized institutes, the Fellowship “Ukraine — the world”, the Ukrainian non-governmental orga-

nizations, Ukrainian journalists and many patriots have put in a consolidated effort in collecting, systemizing, studying and publishing unique materials about our compatriots residing abroad. Collaboration of the reputable team of the Ukrainian politicians, diplomats, scientists, ministry and department officials, mass media employees resulted in thorough studies and multiple publications of various formats for scientific and national spiritual needs of national and foreign communities about the background, initial stage and four subsequent waves of the worker, political, military emigration spanning more than one hundred years of our history: since the 90-s of XIX century till the first decade of the XXI century. As concrete outcome of this fruitful collaboration, a number of interesting and valuable candidate and doctor theses have been published on the issues of the Ukrainian diaspora, numerous scientific works, thousands of articles, features and materials have appeared in the national and foreign mass media etc. A considerable share of these scientific works and publications dealt with the history, stages and activities of the Ukrainian emigration in Canada, USA, Western European countries, Latin America and Australia.

However many strata of unprocessed information about life and activities of our compatriots in some neighboring countries remain unknown for the national and foreign Ukrainians. While the studies in history and life of Ukrainian emigrants after the war in Poland and Czechoslovakia are sufficiently comprehensive, the fate of the Ukrainian diaspora in the Balkans during 1920–1944, in particular its Rumanian component remains the uncharted terrain. This is due to complexity associated with studies in this domain, which on one side is explained by obscure conditions under which the Ukrainian political and military emigration was formed in this period in Rumania, by the adverse attitude of the royal Great Rumania toward the Ukrainian national interests provoked by its 1918 incorporation of Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia territories and by Rumanian – along with German – occupation of the central and southern Ukraine during the World War II when Rumania was one of the countries who fought against the Soviet Union (1941–1944), and on the other side by the systematic efforts of Moscow that aimed not only to physically eliminate the so-called “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists” in Rumania right after the 1944 Soviet Army invasion into the terri-

tory of the neighbor country but also to liquidate any documentary archives about the Ukrainian military and political emigration in Rumania in 1920–1944. Therefore, the studies and publications of truthful facts and materials on this segment of the Ukrainian diaspora as yet unknown in Ukraine appear to be urgent, timely and beneficial for the national science, society and political life. They are intended to supplement information about our foreign compatriots, render its more truthful and eventually help creating an idea about role and place of the foreign Ukrainians in the world history.

Our article is dedicated to this scarcely explored subject. In this context it should be mentioned that after defeat of the Ukrainian national and liberation movement in 1917–1920 Rumania along with Poland and Czechoslovakia became since 1921 one of the focal points for the military and political emigration that fervently supported the Ukraine state sovereignty and could not reconcile themselves to the idea of a Soviet rule in their motherland.

The backbone of the Ukrainian military emigration in Rumania was one of the S. Petlyura Liberation Army regiments under the command of colonel Gnatt Porohovskiy (*Photo 1*), born in 1888, in village Dobre, in Kyiv region, the graduate of the Military Academy in Vladivostok (1911). In 1917–1920, Porohovskiy commanded the Fourth and Eighth Cossack regiments and Isiasla regiment in S. Petlyura army, held the position of the chief of staff of revolutionary troops in Volyn, special commissions ataman at the Command of the South-Western front etc. In 1920, under the onslaught of the Bolshevik forces his Second Reserve Shooters Brigade had to retreat to Poland.

After a year-long stay of the Ukrainian prisoners of war in Polish camps abundant with such hazards as typhus that decimated many Ukrainians (finding their burial places, in particular in Kalish, was possible only in independent Ukraine that established the State Inter-Departmental Commission on memorializing the victims of war and political repressions), G. Porokhovskiy managed to receive the permit for the transfer of his three thousand men-strong military unit to Rumania. The search for their traces led to the descendants of the Ukrainian military emigration of that time, specifically the daughter of colonel G. Porokhovskiy, Olga Andrich-Porokhovskiy (born in 1933, resident of Bucharest),

Photo 1. Colonel Gnatt Porohovskiy.

In 1917-1920, he commanded the Fourth and Eighth Cossack regiments and Isiasla regiment in S. Petlyura Liberation Army, held the position of the chief of staff of revolutionary troops in Volyn, special commissions ataman at the Command of the South-Western front etc. In 1920, under the onslaught of the Bolshevik forces his Second Reserve Shooters Brigade had to retreat to Poland. In 1921, he initiated the transfer of his three thousand men-strong military unit from Poland to Rumania by which colonel G. Porohovskiy rescued from typhus not only his service men but also their families



who not only wrote extensive memoirs about her father and his entourage [1] but also donated to the Ukrainian museums and archives numerous materials about arrival, stay and activities of the Ukrainian military and political emigration in Rumania during 1921–1944 as well as documents about the destiny of its individual representatives in the 50–60-s of the 20th century.

Study of the voluminous factual materials and archive data as well as numerous meetings held in 1992–2009 with many representatives of the Ukrainian military and political emigration in Rumania and their descendants made it possible to summarize and prepare the unique and previously unknown in Ukraine data about our compatriots in the neighboring Rumania.

It should be noted that right after their arrival on 1 November 1921 and internment of the regiment personnel in a special camp in area of Brashov (*Photo 2*) and with a certain assistance provided by the head of the extraordinary diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Rumania Kostiantin Matsievich (*Photo 3*), colonel G. Porohovskiy was received by the King Ferdinand I of Romania where he discussed with the King the possibilities of improving living conditions for the Ukrainian military emigrants in Rumania. The Rumanian party agreed to provide necessary support and the Ukrainian regiments were moved to quarter in cities Fagaras and Oradea Mare that at that time had been more suitable (*Photo 4*).



Photo 2. Panoramic view of the Rumanian city Brashov where on 1 November 1921 the Ukrainian regiments under command of colonel Gnatt Porokhovskiy was stationed (the place is marked in the upper part of the photo by letter «X»)

The core of the Ukrainian political emigration in Rumania was composed of diplomatic corps staff in Rumania in 1918–1922: the extraordinary diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, General commissariat of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, Consulate general and Military attaché office at the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian State in Rumania who were reluctant to return to Ukraine after the Bolshevik occupation. The most prominent role among them was played by the head of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission K. Matsievich, military attaché at the UPR Mission general S. Delvig, first representative of the Ministry in military affairs of the Ukrainian Hetmanate in the Dniestr-Prut region the lieutenant colonel P. Mamchur (*Photo 5*), press-attaché of the UPR mission D. Mayer-Mikhalskiy, doctor of medicine O. Mikhalska and others, who stayed in Rumania along with their families over the entire duration between the two world wars.

In the early 20-s of the last century they were joined by political emigrants from Ukraine who had to leave the country under pressure of the Soviet authorities. This group was represented by professors M. Galin and V. Trepke, political writer D. Ivashin-

Photo 3. Head of the extraordinary diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Rumania, UPR minister of foreign affairs, professor Kostiantin Matsievich



Gerodot (*Photo 6*), politicians and men of letters: brothers Ilia and Mikhailo Gavrilyuks (*Photo 7*), I. Usenko and many others.

In 1922, the S. Petlyura Ukrainian Committee on issues of assistance to the emigrants in Rumania was established to coordinate main streams of the Ukrainian emigration in Rumania, build and maintain contacts with fellow countrymen in other countries, search



Photo 4. Commanding officers of the G. Porokhovskiy Ukrainian regiment after completion of quartering process in Rumania



Photo 5. The first military attaché at the General Secretariat of Ukrainian State in Rumania, representative of the Ministry of Military Affairs of Ukrainian State In Dniestr-Prut region (1918–1919) Lieutenant Colonel Pavlo Mamchur

for families and friends reported missing in the previous combats and numerous transfers and arrange better living conditions: convert to peaceful lifestyle, study the Rumanian language, search for new jobs, provide feasible financial help to the most vulnerable and organize cultural life. Its first chairman was D. Ivashin-Gerodot [2] replaced — after 1923 suspension of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission in Rumania — by its former head

K. Matsievich who chaired this Committee before the Second World War. At the initial stage, the Committee was accommodated in spacious premises of the UPR Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission in Rumania that remained intact until present days and is located in the center of Bucharest at: 72, Calea Dorobantilor (*Photo 8*). Later the Committee had to move to another quarter of the Rumanian capital where it operated till 1944 p. (*Photo 9*).

Soon enough, the Ukrainian Committee on issues of assistance to the emigrants in Rumania became the principal organizational structure for this category of Ukrainians. In 1929, for instance, the Committee's lists of registered members included over three thousand Ukrainian



Photo 6. The Ukrainian political emigrant in Rumania, political writer Dmitro Ivashin-Gerodot

Photo 7. The Ukrainian politician and cultural agent, member of the Rumanian Parliament from the Ukrainian national minority Ilko Gavrilyuk

emigrants. With time, as the Ukrainian emigrants started to settle virtually all over Rumania the Committee had to set up its branches in the regions of the compact residence. In the 1930-s, the largest centers of the Ukrainian emigration in Rumania were located in such cities as Bucharest, Brashov, Pitesti, Bacau, Giurgiu, Vatra Dornei, Piatra-Neamt etc.

Both political and the military streams of the Ukrainian emigration in Rumania maintained tight relations with respective executive boards and the international organizational structures, primarily with the Ukrainian Government and Administration of the Ukrainian Military Fellowship in Paris. The scientists maintained such contacts with the Ukrainian Economy Academy in Prague, Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, and the educational workers — with the Fellowship “Enlightenment” in Lviv. Participation of Ukrainian emigrants in Rumania in respective meetings, conferences and other events held on international level was a routine practice. For example, in 1925, K. Matsievich sent a personal letter to the then Rumanian minister of foreign affairs where he requested the Rumanian consulate to issue him without delays a visa upon his return from Czechoslovakia where he had to deliver a report at the international workshop [3]. This format of communication with a public official of such level can be viewed as an evidence of high reputation that the former head of the Ukrainian Mission enjoyed in Rumania. As to the colonel G. Porohovskiy, on many occasions he visited Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Great Britain and other countries that hosted the Ukrainian emigrants.





Photo 8. The building in center of Bucharest, at: 72, Calea Dorobantilor, that accommodated the first extraordinary diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Rumania, 1918–1922 and where the S. Petyura Ukrainian Committee on issues of assistance to the emigrants in Rumania established in 1922 functioned at the initial stage of its activities. Today, this building is owned by the Embassy of Turkey in Rumania

The UPR Government in exile also exhibited interest to the welfare of the compatriots in Rumania, in particular their possibility of supporting the common cause of fighting the Soviet authorities from abroad, as testified by the visits paid to Bucharest by the head of the UPR Government O. Shulgin (*Photo 10*) and the minister in military affairs V. Salskiy.

Of special importance is the fact that the scientists-representatives of the Ukrainian emigration in Rumania since their arrival to this country in the early 1920-s launched a quest for collecting all data on traces left by Hetman I. Masepa in Rumania for the purpose of systemization and dissemination among all Ukrainians. They not only discovered the obscure details about the Ukrainian Hetman in Rumania but also propagated them among the

Photo 9. The building where the S. Petlyura Ukrainian Committee on issues of assistance to the emigrants in Rumania was stationed in 1924–1944 at: 30. Cuțitul de Argint (silver knife) Str. in Bucharest. Here, on 20 September 1941 the Rumanian police made a round-up to arrest Committee members suspected in collaboration with the Ukrainian National Government in Lviv



Ukrainian emigrants of the period between the wars, which helped strengthening the historical memory about I. Masepa. This process, however, according to the doctor V. Trepke, had come across certain obstacles at the initial stage because of hardships the emigrants had had to face during their stay in emigration so much so that the time when they could tackle this issue at full extent came later.



Photo 10. The visit of Bucharest by the Head of the UPR Government in exile O. Shulgin (center) with his wife (left) and his meeting with the colonel G. Porokhovskiy (right) with his wife

It should be noted that in late 1920-s — early 1930-s the historical fate of I. Masepa became the object of scientific research of two Ukrainian emigration structures who acted in parallel. On one side it was the Administration of the Ukrainian Military Fellowship in France who requested colonel G. Porokhovskiy, representative of the UPR Army in Rumania, to find out the details of I. Masepa's burial in Rumania and on the other side, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw asked doctor V. Trepke to approach the same subject. Due to the brilliant coordination of mutual efforts between the leadership of political and military emigration in Rumania in 1929–1932 the Ukrainian researchers could visit Galati and meticulously investigate all circumstances surrounding the Rumanian traces of I. Masepa which eventually enabled them to use the collected data and publish a number of significant features in the weekly "Trizub", among which there were articles by M. Galina "The grave of Hetman Masepa", V. Popereshniy "About grave of Hetman Masepa", V. Trepke "Vestiges and Memoirabilia of Hetman Ivan Masepa in Rumania" [4] etc. Besides, in 1933 in Lviv the XII annual almanac "Chervoa Kalina" [5] was published under the editorship of Levko Lepkiy (1888–1971) where V. Trepke printed the impressive three articles devoted to I. Masepa: "To memory of Hetman Ivan Masepa", "Searching for the grave of Hetman Masepa" and "Pilgrimage to Hetman Masepa's grave". These articles and publications by other authors on this subject brought to light a score of new aspects associated with the Moldavian period of Ukrainian Hetman's life; the post-mortem path of his body to Galati and the significance of I. Masepa role as a symbol of the new wave in the Ukrainian national liberation movement of 1920–1930-s.

For us, the notes made by V. Trepke about his personal impressions about research into I. Masepa traces in Bendery and village of Varnitsa (now Moldova) are really fascinating: here Ukrainian Hetman spent the last years of his life and was initially buried (before being moved to the Danube city of Galati where the remains of the Ukrainian people's great hero rest till these days). Specifically, during his 1932 special trip at the request from the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, V. Trepke wrote down some local observations about Masepa. At the then Akerman street the scientist has found an ancient building where I. Masepa lived

during his stay in Moldavia. “This building, — summarized V. Trepke, — is called the “Masepa’s House”. Although in Bendery of 1930-s nobody could confirm to the scientist whether I. Masepa had really resided there the very fact of people remembering over 200 years the Ukrainian Hetman was significant. “The building that is now called the “Masepa’s House” used to be one of the biggest and most remarkable in Bendery at that time, — wrote V. Trepke, — without any doubts it had been either a Turkish official residence of sorts (such as commandant’s office) or the residence of the Bendery bashaw (military general-governor). Evidently it had been visited by Hetman Masepa and Charles XII of Sweden”[6].

Another version of I. Masepa’s purported place of residence is that most probably the Ukrainian Hetman stroke camp close to village Varnitsia, north of Bendery fortress. Later, following the potent flood of Dniester river Charles XII of Sweden also arranged there his camp which he called “New Stockholm”. The surrounding territory was occupied by Ukrainians, Swedes, Poles and Moldavians who accompanied Hetman and the Swedish king and could not quit the military service. At the same place the above mentioned doctor V. Trepke saw in 1932 the monument that “had been erected by mutual efforts of the Rumanian government and Swedish embassy and represented a small obelus carrying the inscription “Carolus XII Rex Suediae”... Below, on the very bank of Dniester river there are three wells in shape of a triangle of the kind that could be observed in Ukraine: with a wooden shaft and a crane. These wells are baptized as “Masepa’s wells” and used by the local resident even these days. They must have been dug by Hetman cossacks to memorize his soul and his good name after his death” [7].

But the third — combined — version of I. Masepa’s stay in Bendery cannot be excluded either. It was made by V. Trepke who in his observations admitted that: “when Hetman had fallen seriously ill he could not stay any longer in the camp tent. It is quite possible that because of this illness he accepted hospitality and lived in that building and possibly even died there. In any event the fact that the name “Masepa’s House” remained in the memories of the local habitants over all this time and was not erased by the century-long rule of the Russians in Bendery clearly testi-

fies that this building is tightly connected to the name of Hetman I. Masepa” [8].

As for many researchers the place of I. Masepa’s first burial has remained for a long time an issue of discussion some certainty into this issue was brought by the above-mentioned doctor Trepke who visited the village Varnitsia in 1931 at the special request of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw. He provided the following description of Varnitsia church: “At the outskirts of village Varnitsia there is a small and very old church but just looking at it one cannot certainly say if this was the same church where the last rites have been administered to I. Masepa’s body. Most importantly, it is located at exactly or almost the same place where there used to be a Varnitsia church where the Hetman’s body laid in state in 1709” [9].

We believe that the doubts of V. Trepke were unwarranted since what he saw in fact was the church dated back to the early XVIII century, which unfortunately was destroyed a year after (1932) as a building too decrepit and inadequate for religious rites. On its place a new church was erected that is in service up to the present time.

Equally emblematic are V. Trepke’s observations regarding the last burial place of Masepa’s body in the Rumanian city of Galati. It should be noted that at that time the Saint George church was one of the few stone orthodox shrines in this Danube port city. Perched high on the river bank it impressed the local residents and city guests by its grandeur and splendor. This was somewhat unusual for the XVII–XVIII century Moldovan churches as it had a large belfry tower on top of the former fortress that was later reconstructed into a church. The baroque ledge had two stories and a facade with porthole windows, which was typical for many similar architectural structures of that time. As a whole, the Saint George church was an outstanding cultural building of the medieval Galati.

The location of the church reminded the Ukrainians who accompanied the body of the dead Hetman from Bendery to Jerusalem in March 1970 the steep banks of Dnieper river, which – in their opinion – had to fully compensate for the lack of possibility of burying him in the Motherland. Noteworthy in this respect are the memoirs written by doctor V. Trepke who wrote after his visit to

Galati in 1932: “Saint George monastery surrounded by the high wooden stockade is located at the steep bank of Danube river; from the wide... harbor stretching to the very river bank, with the steamboat quay underneath ... one can enjoy the wonderful, almost limitless view of Danube, which – as uncountable centuries before – “runs smoothly along” hiding in its depths the secrets of the human and, in particular, Slavic and Ukrainian history. A green slightly covered with silver river meadow crawls at the other bank of Danube stretching almost to the foggy blue feet of the Balkans closing a spanning view. A passenger enthralled with the splendor and breathtaking beauty of this scenery unwittingly travels in his mind to the Dnieper banks with limitless meadows stretching beyond the horizon, like the massifs of vast mountains. Looking for a decent place to bury the Hetman his satellites quite predictably decided to select the Saint George monastery that is located in this wonderful location. If he had no opportunity of resting in peace over his native Dnieper was to lie at least in a place that resembled the motherland, where the old Danube had to slowly bring home the silent messages about Hetman’s fate – over the Black Sea to Ukraine” [10].

At that time, the Ukrainian political emigrant in Rumania learned that “during the service rites in this church the name of Hetman Ivan Masepa was named among the founders. But nobody knows since what time and at whose request”, – summarized V. Trepke. He was the first who attempted to substantiate relation between the Galati Saint George church and the neighboring Jerusalem Church of the Pure Virgin, equally old and canonically subordinated to the same Church Holy Sepulcher, the church that among certain believers is called the Masepa’s church: since for certain period of time the coffin with Hetman’s body was kept in this church. This could not be left unnoticed by the local residents and visitors to Galati who day in day out traded their goods on the market located below at the square between two fortress churches or who crossed the Danube river right in this place. Here the locals and visitors revolved in crowds, witnessed events and spread rumors about what happened in the churches nearby. Besides the tomb stone bore a rather complex hatched in stone image of the Hetman blazon: one head eagle and most probably was be manufactured in the workshops of the Pure Virgin Church or

rested for some time right at its walls in plain view to all visiting believers. This maybe explains the fact that certain Galati residents identified almost to the present days the Pure Virgin Church with the memory of Ivan Masepa. This is because we share the opinion of V. Trepke who wrote that: “The Pure Virgin Church is one of the monuments that – although not related directly to the name of I. Masepa – for us, Ukrainians, is a historical memorial” [11].

From our perspective, the colossal work performed by representatives of Ukrainian emigration between the two world wars who have kept and consolidated historical memory about I. Masepa merits special attention of modern researchers. Let’s recite the quote from one of V. Trepke’s articles that accurately determines an objective of returning to Ukraine the remains of I. Masepa and other honorable sons of the Ukrainian people: “The Ukrainians must search for and find all precious for them monuments, mark their places and remove any remains of these great departed they find to Ukraine, to bury them in the People’s Pantheon” [12]. Totally in support of this V. Trepke’s opinion I think that it is time to return the remains of I. Masepa. I myself brought on 25 November 2009 the capsules with soil from his tomb and monument place in Galati to the reborn Hetman capital, city of Baturin and to Kyiv museums.

Since the beginning of the Second World War many representatives of the Ukrainian emigration joined the Rumanian army and began fighting the USSR hoping to liberate Ukraine from the Soviet system.

However, during the war the members of the Bucharest branch of the Ukrainian Committee on issues of assistance to the emigrants in Rumania came across certain troubles associated with participation of Rumania in confrontation with the Soviet Union, in particular with its occupation of the southern and partly central Ukraine.

The reason for the sharp turnaround of Rumanian authorities with regard to all Ukrainians, including the Ukrainian emigrants was the real political situation at the initial stage of the World War when the idea of Ukrainian independence became quite feasible, with the core of Ukrainian future state created in 1941 in Lviv. Rumania took this news extremely badly. In M.

Antonescu's opinion (namesake of I. Antonescu, the 1940–1944 Rumanian dictator-marshal, his first deputy and the acting head of the Rumanian Council of Ministers who substituted marshal in the first months of the war when the latter participated in military operations against the USSR. — *Auth.*) that he had voiced in the absence of the dictator at the session of the Rumanian Council of Ministers on 20 August 1941, was that Rumania had to take resolute actions to protect itself against brazen claims of restoring the Great Ukraine. According to M. Antonescu, such claims pushed the Rumanian gendarmerie and security service into watching very closely the “doings” of the Ukrainian emigration in Rumania. Therefore the measures had to be undertaken to prevent if possible the following: communication between people; press issued outside of the Rumanian boundaries and disseminated hand to hand; literature of the Ukrainian “irredentist” nature, biographies of T. Shevchenko and S. Petlyura; magazines, pamphlets, brochures and propaganda distributed by the Ukrainian emissaries sent to Rumania from Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Yugoslavia disguised as artists, icon-painters, journalists, scientists, students, instructors; baptism, marriage, birthday gatherings and meetings where the past of Ukraine had been allegedly glorified through songs, poems, dances, tales from the old and wise etc.

The Rumanian gendarmerie implemented a set of precautionary measures such as: identification, persecution and arrest of the Ukrainian leaders; surveillance over Ukrainian movement proponents; seizure of propaganda materials; overall supervision of the Ukrainian intellectuals and students; ban imposed on the national symbols and signs made in Ukrainian language; oversight of libraries and expropriation of the Ukrainian literature; interdiction of entry into Rumania for Ukrainians coming from other territories.

Beside the analytical and preventive work the Rumanian law enforcement authorities would not neglect more radical remedies such as arrests of predominantly local nationalists and exponents of the Ukrainian national ideas; everybody who was rumored to speak for Ukrainian churches, schools, newspapers etc was not spared.

Such situation frightened the Rumanian officials of that time to the extent that M. Antonescu “personally deemed necessary to

ban or disband any Ukrainian association in the national territory of this country...". The first victim was the above mentioned politically neutral S. Petlyura Ukrainian committee on issues of assistance to the emigrants in Rumania [13]. Since the first days of war many Committee members, including colonel G. Porohovskiy, volunteered into the Rumanian army hoping to achieve liberation of Ukraine from the Bolshevik yoke. All this however was disregarded and at request of M. Antonescu on 20 September 1941, "an inspection was performed in the premises of one of such associations as its activities run counter the Rumanian national interests" [14]. This association was located in Bucharest at: 30. Cuțitul de Argint (silver knife) Str.

After the Soviet Army entered the territory of Rumania in 1944, many of the Ukrainian emigrants paid with their lives or by their freedom for the very fact of being in emigration and personally participating in the anti-Soviet activities. Colonel G. Porohovskiy was one of them. His daughter O. Andrich-Porokhovskiy later recalled these events: "Black clouds accumulated over the Ukrainian committee. It had to suspend its activities. The Ukrainian would sit frightened at their homes trying to keep quiet. Terrible hearsays had been spread. NKVD had set off to arrest the Ukrainian emigrants... the hideous terror had been launched against the Ukrainians. The heads of Committee had been hiding somewhere... in the meanwhile the news had been awful. Many our friends, the active members of the Ukrainian emigration movement had been incarcerated. Quite a lot of them — as I have learned later — perished in the Soviet concentration camps. Only meagerly few had returned ten or more years after, undoubtedly very ill" [15].

It should be noted that the similar fate was reserved for many other representatives of the Ukrainian military and political emigration in Rumania who had managed to escape the Bolshevik persecutions in early 1920-s but could not evade the tragic death after the Second World War.

Today, only a few descendants of Ukrainian emigrant reside in Bucharest and some other Rumanian cities and villages. They can be usually identified by slightly Romanized names: Saichuk, Sheichuk (derivative of the Ukrainian name Shevchuk), Laurusuk (Lavryuk), Chernenku (Chernenko), Guachenku (Diachenko),

Kunesku (Kunevich), Manchur (Mamchur) etc, and by their Ukrainian traditions, books and readiness to speak in their native language. This is why they willingly attend the cultural events held by the Ukrainian party in Bucharest, visit religious rites in Ukrainian language and — what is more important — notwithstanding their advanced age they do their best to hand over to their heirs and descendants all the best in their Ukrainian spiritual souls. This is the safest guarantee of that knowledge and history of our compatriots who had immigrated to the neighboring Rumania (still unknown to many in our country) have all the chances to become the legacy of all Ukrainians.

1. *Andrich-Porokhovskiya O.* Colonel Gnatt Porohovskiy — Champion of Ukrainian independence. Memoirs. Manuscript. — Bucharest, 2007. — 87 c.

2. *Idem.* — page 4.

3. Comitetul Ucrainian pentru asistența emigranților Ucrainieni din România. — № 3. — 5 februarie 1925 // Ministerul Afacerilor Străine. Registratura Generală. — № 06581. — 6 februarie 1925.

4. *V Popereshniy.* About sepulcher of Hetman Masepa // Trizub. Journal. — Vol. 40 (248). — Issued in VI, 26 November 1930. — pages 12–16; *V. Trepke.* Vestiges and Memorabilia of Hetman Ivan Masepa in Rumania // Trizub. Journal. — Vol. 36 (344). — Issued in VIII, 18 September 1932. — pages 3–11.

5. Historical calendar- almanac Chervoa Kalina of 1933. — Lviv, 1933. — 123 p.

6. Ref.: *T.G. Renduyk* Ivan Masepa: Hetman of Ukraine — Moldova and Rumania. — Bucharest: PRINTECH, 2008. — pages 56–57.

7. *Idem.* — pages 57–58.

8. Ref.: *Rendiuk T.Gh.* Hatmanul Ivan Masepa: căile ucrainene-moldo-române. — Chernivsti: Bukrek, 2009. — p. 57.

9. *Ibid.* — page 69.

10. *V. Trepke.* Pilgrimage to Hetman Masepa's grave // Historical calendar- almanac Chervoa Kalina of 1933. — Lviv, 1933. — page 23.

11. *V. Trepke.* Vestiges and Memorabilia of Hetman Ivan Masepa in Rumania // Trizub. Journal. — Vol. 36 (344). — Issued in VIII, 18 September 1932. — page 4.

12. *V. Trepke.* Searching for Hetman Masepa's grave // Historical calendar- almanac Chervoa Kalina of 1933 pik. — Lviv, 1933. — page 18.

13. *Rendiuk T.* Emigrația ucraineană în România interbelică // Magazin istoric. — Serie nouă. — № 4 (505). — p. 26–28.

14. Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri Guvernarea Ion Antonescu. Vol. IV (iulie-septembrie 1941). — București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2000. — P. 347–348.

15. *Andrich-Porokhovskiya O.* Colonel Gnatt Porohovskiy — Champion of Ukrainian independence. Memoirs. Manuscript. — Bucharest, 2007. — page 12.

Стаття присвячена актуальній темі — вивченню невідомих дотепер в Україні достеменних фактів та матеріалів про витоки, формування, організаційне становлення та долю української військової та політичної еміграції в Румунії протягом 1918–1944 років як одне з джерел діаспори у цій країні. Вперше досліджується тісна взаємодія між основою української військової еміграції в Румунії — полком Визвольної української армії під командуванням полковника Гната Порохівського та представниками політичних, наукових, культурних, журналістських та громадських кіл, які в силу незалежних від них обставин у 1918–1920 роках минулого століття були вимушені залишити Україну, опинившись на території сусідньої Румунії.

Ключові слова: українська військова та політична еміграція, Надзвичайна дипломатична місія Української Народної Республіки в Румунії, Український комітет з питань надання допомоги емігрантам в Румунії, культурологічна діяльність емігрантів, зв'язки із співвітчизниками в європейських країнах.

Article is devoted to the topic — the study of still unknown in Ukraine exact facts and materials about the origins of the formation, organizational development and the fate of the Ukrainian military and political exile in Romania during 1918–1944. For the first time, the close cooperation between the Ukrainian military base emigration in Romania — Liberation Ukrainian army under Colonel Gnat Porohivskiy, and representatives of political, scientific, cultural, media and public opinion that due to circumstances beyond their control, in 1918–1920-ies last century were forced to leave Ukraine, being in a neighboring Romania.

Key words: Ukrainian military and political emigration, Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic of Romania, the Ukrainian Committee on providing assistance to migrants in Romania, culture activity immigrants ties with compatriots in European countries.





Vyacheslav Yaremchuk

Born on May 5, 1959 in Kiev. In 1981, he has graduated from historical faculty of the Lviv state university of I. Franko. He worked as the teacher at the Lviv State University, Kiev State University, Kiev National University of Technologies and Design. The candidate of historical science (1988), senior lecturer (2005). Since 1992 and up until now he is the research assistant of Institute of Political and Ethno-national studies of I.F. Kuras of NAS of Ukraine.

The author of over 100 scientific and teaching -methodical publications on the issues of history and political science, Ukrainian national movement, and activity of the Ukrainian political parties published in Ukraine, Russian Federation, Belarus. The co-author of collective study «Ukrainian idea and political movements in Ukraine in XVII-XX centuries», «Conciliarism of Ukraine»,

«Ukrainian choice: political systems of XX century and search for own model of social development», «Events and persons of a revolutionary time», «Political transformations in Ukraine: from plans to reality», etc.

THE FACTOR OF «AUSTRIAN CIVILIZATIONAL MISSION» AND UKRAINIANHOOD

The history demonstrates to us many examples of the public phenomena, which became powerful catalyst of national state creation. Piedmont played a similar role in struggle for independent Italy, Prussia — in the course of composing the unified Germany. Owing to difficult consolidation of historical regularities and coincidence of circumstances, Galicia, one of Austrian most underdeveloped provinces, facilitated creation in the last one-third part of XIX century of the national intellectual-ideological environment («All-Ukraine spiritual Piedmont»), which has celebrated considerable influence upon consolidation of Ukrainian nations, the Ukrainian political movement. As M. Grushevskii mentioned on this occasion, for the Great Ukraine, «Galicia... really became a window into the world, which did not permit it to fall asleep in darkness of prohibitions of that time»¹. This leading part in national revival, which did not match neither historical nor geographical center of the Ukrainian territory and was an abnormal

phenomenon, the West Ukrainian Piedmont played up until the end of First World War. By the way, the similar part the western region of Ukraine played during the newest development of the Ukrainian state in 1990s too.

As is known, Ukrainians belong to those European people, whose historical past was associated with a foreign occupation and loss of own statehood for many centuries. Similarly to Transcarpathian region seized in X century by the Hungarian feudal lords, in the conditions of general decline of Kievian Rus and Galitsko-Volynsk princedom, Galicia and Bukovina in XIV century had the same destiny. The mentioned events were accompanied by destructive processes of sociopolitical oppression, foreign colonization, assimilation of the indigenous Ukrainian population, its alienation from participation in political and economic life and loss of national elite.

Despite certain improvement of cultural life of Ukrainians in Polish-Lithuanian time during XIV – beginning XVII century associated with dissemination of the European humanistic ideas of the Renaissance and Reformation, the so-called Polish «cultural-civilizational mission» resulted in general decline of the Ukrainian people, who, according to M. Grushevskii's felicitous expression, had been thrown at the crossroads of the coming political events as ethnic mass without national identity, without traditions and even without name². The Ukrainian society with incomplete social structure, which was constituted mainly with peasants and clergy similar to them by the status and cultural level, faced the threat of definitive denationalization.

In such conditions, western Ukrainian lands have passed under a hand of the new master – Hapsburg empire. In XVI century, Austria subordinates the Hungarian kingdom, which included at that time Ukrainian Transcarpathian region. As a result of the first division (1772), the monarchy acquired Ukrainian-Polish territories, which became part of administrative unit under the name not used since XIV century – «Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria (Volodymyria)». In 1774, Bukovina was attached to the empire as well.

Inclusion of the Ukrainian lands into the Hapsburg monarchy coincided with change of the empire's political regime – actions of the educated absolutism, number of social and economic reforms at the end of XVIII century, in particular, abolishment of serfdom,

which facilitated evolving the symptoms of the Ukrainian national life awakening. Necessity of self-preservation and balance of imperial political system have led to the situation where Vienna, as using «divide and rule» principle in order to restrict absolute power of the local feudal lords, was forced to support among others the Ukrainian community as well. With granting to Ukrainians of the certain social rights, developing assistance for national education and equalization of rights of Greco-catholic clergy with Catholic one, the basic area of Ukrainianhood — Galicia, became the area where undivided Polish domination was discontinued causing the future Austro-loyal orientation of the national political movement.

There are good reasons to notice that one and a half century of the Ukrainian lands submission to the Hapsburg empire had quite controversial consequences. On the one hand, Ukrainianhood, especially after establishment of the constitutional system in 1848, for the first time had an opportunity, still limited, to be involved as an object in the political processes, which assisted forming modern political nations and gaining experience of participation in the state affairs. Impressing successes of Ukrainianhood of the western region in the social and political sphere (creation of the national organizations of educational and economic orientation, party system, publishing activities) in its way caused extreme interest and requirement for inheritance among the Ukrainian community of Russia doomed to political passivity.

Yet on the other hand, the empire's Ukrainian minority still considerably lagged behind the leading national elites as despite formally guaranteed general civil and the national rights its full participation in the political relations system was extremely complicated owing to existing double standards. In addition to general backwardness and enslaved position in social and economic sphere, which prevented full enjoyment of the rights and freedom, the situation complicated owing to position of Vienna and Budapest concerning protection of the exclusive nations, first of all — Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs. Owing to the mentioned circumstances during existence of the Danube empire, despite acting constitutional mechanisms, Ukrainian ethnic issue was not resolved (in a narrow sense, strengthening status of minority as a part of Austro-Hungary, in wider sense — creation of the national state). According to the geopolitical interests of Vienna, Ukrainian issue was unable to trigger corresponding political resonance not only in

Europe but also within empire, which became one of the main reasons for defeat of state creation competitions at the beginning of XX century.

Let's remind that immediately upon submission to the Austrian empire Ukrainians-autochthons turned to be «the national minority» divided by borders of the administrative units. With formation of Austro-Hungary (1867), Austria included Galicia and Bukovina as separate crown territories with their quite different political systems, and Hungary enclosed Ukrainian Transcarpathian region, which did not represent even a separate administrative unit. According to the data of 1910 census, Ukrainians totaled 3.99 million persons. Galicia accommodated over 3.2 million (39.9 % of the region population, 62 % – in East Galicia), 305 thousand in Bukovina (38,3 % of the region population, 65 % – in Northern Bukovina), and 472 thousand in Transcarpathian region (56 % in the ethnic Ukrainian territory). In the Austrian part of empire Ukrainians constituted 12.5 % of the population, in Hungarian – 2.3%³. Situation even more aggravated owing to Ukrainians' communing to the dominating national elites in regions – to Poles in Galicia, Romanians – in Bukovina, Hungarians – in Transcarpathian region.

For the benefit of the dominating nations of empire, provincial Ukrainian territories were assigned a part of raw-material producing appendage to «the hereditary lands» of the monarchy. The existing semi-colonial status contained growth of productive forces of Galicia, Bukovina and Transcarpathian region so they remained the most economically backward and poor regions of Austro-Hungary. It led to preservation of the obsolete economic-economic relations, insignificant development of the industry and trade, weak urbanization, the lowest level of living standards and the highest excessive labour in empire, which in turn constrained ascending development of Ukrainian nations and its political self-realization. By virtue of the specified circumstances, up to 94 % of the Ukrainian community in Galicia and Bukovina at the beginning of XX century were engaged exclusively in agricultural industry (for reference: Romanian speaking community – 90 %, Serbo-Croatian – 86,9 %, Slovenian – 75,4 %, Polish – 65,6 %, Czech – 43,1 %, German – 33,5 %) ⁴.

Existing national and sociopolitical discrimination became the reason for the lowest representation of Ukrainians in bodies of

government both at the level of empire and regions in representative and administrative bodies. Legal, administrative, and political norms of Austro-Hungary formed throughout last centuries while partially modernized over its last period and served for strengthening dominant positions of German and Hungarian minority, aristocracy, and large land owners in both parts of the empire.

Only necessity of internal strengthening the «patchwork empire», which was torn apart by national conflicts, forced Vienna in extreme need to pay attention to Ukrainians too. Regarding Austria, the Ukrainian problem was treated mostly in a context of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Galicia and much less intensive national rivalry in Bukovina. In Hungary, which in all ways advanced processes of continuous magyarization, the oppressed Ukrainian minority was generally ignored.

It is owing to such situation that one may explain large success of national representation when Ukrainian minority received 37 mandates of total number of 383 deputies in the first Austrian parliament of 1848. After all, this was time when Vienna tried and gained support of the Ukrainian party in struggle against dangerous liberally-revolutionary movements of Poles and Hungarians. Still, with stabilization of a political situation, «attention» to the Ukrainian problems disappeared that had negative consequences upon Ukrainians. Suchwise, 12 Ukrainians were elected to parliament in 1861, 4 — in 1885, 8 — in 1891, and 10 — in 1901. Ukrainians just very rarely attained minor representation in Hungarian parliament (State Assembly).

Ukrainians were extremely insignificantly represented in the public administration sphere too. This being said, just 25 Ukrainians out of 6 293 employees (0.39 %) were employed in all-empire central executive bodies and the Austrian government as at January 1, 1914. For reference: Germans — 75 %, Czechs — 10.3 %, Poles — 4.9 %, Hungarians — 4.4 %, Romanian — 0.4%⁵. It is clear that they occupied minor positions there.

Situation at the regional level — in the crown territories — did not get any better. According to the 1914 data, there were just 25 high-ranking governmental officials — Ukrainians for 300 Poles in Galicia. The situation was similar in Bukovina too. In 1900, the regional authorities included just 169 Ukrainians. They constituted 9.2 % of all employees, considerably capitulating to other nationals:

to Germans — by 5.4 times, to Romanians — by 1.2 times, to Poles — by 1.44 times⁷.

Introduction of «wide provincial self-governance»⁸ in 1870s carried quite controversial consequences for Ukrainians as it concerned exclusively Austria. It triggered aggravation of struggle for domination in polyethnic crown territories, intensified desire of the «state» nations to absorption of weak minority, which included Ukrainians as well. As a result of the previous domination, despite formal equality of Poles and Ukrainians, Galicia has turned to the «Polish» province at the end of 1870s, where state administration, legal proceedings, bodies of regional and district self-governance, education and culture was captured by the Polish circles, which continued Polonization policy. Suchwise, during the first election campaign to Galichskii Seim in 1861 Ukrainians managed to acquire just 49 deputy mandates out of 150 (the largest percent during 1861–1913), and in 1876 just 14 Ukrainians were elected to Seim, in 1883 — 11, and in 1899 — 16⁹.

German bureaucracy hold administrative governance in Bukovina for quite a long time, which was gradually «diluted» in due course by representatives of other nations — Romanian, Jews, Poles, partially Ukrainians. The situation in the region developed in more favorable way for the Ukrainian minority, however no ethnos got any notable advantage there thus making any monopoly for power impossible.

Position of Ukrainians something improved at the beginning of XX century, when with introduction of general voting right to the Viennese parliament in 1907 32 deputies were elected. Positions of Ukrainians in the Seim gradually strengthen as well. Still, despite increase in the Ukrainian representation in legislative and representative bodies and new and quite uncertain prospects associated with this situation, the Ukrainians at the beginning of XX century still were removed from the dominating political processes. Variety of the demands by the Ukrainian community that concerned establishments of real equality with other people, grounds for national self-governance, pressing social and economic problems, which transformed the Ukrainian problem into political one, were not resolved.

In consideration of the above realities, the Ukrainian party and political elite on the eve of XIX-XX centuries declared its pursuit for democratization of political system of the state, ex-

panded Ukrainianhood participation therein and resolution of the Ukrainian issue, which national leader saw as formation of a national-territorial autonomy with East Galicia and Bukovina within the borders of federal Austria. The issue of the Hungarian Russia did not discussed in a practical vein up until 1918. The national autonomy was regarded as the relevant mechanism, which should enable Ukrainians to dominate in the local executive and legislative institutions thus ensuring achievement of free and unlimited development of the Ukrainian nations. The thesis about political independence of Ukraine in its conciliar sense was considered by leading political parties — national democrats, radicals and social democrats as a matter of remote future. The mentioned national slogans were entirely within the framework of socially accepted norms of the Austrian society and general evolution of Austro-Hungary, which, according to I. Kripiakevich, at the beginning of XX century stood at the brink of political system move towards reorganization of the state in accordance with principles of nations' federation¹⁰.

This being said, similar vision of resolution of an ethnic issue were inherent to other not sovereign nations of empire as well. More specifically, in addition to desire of revival of independent Poland, leading Polish political forces paid main attention to achievement of a wide autonomy of Galicia. Czechs mostly wished consolidation of the lands of St. Vaclav crown (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia) in a national autonomy, at the best to become the third equal partner in a triune monarchy. Serbo-Croats declared quite similar ideas of trialism, except for creation of own state.

Just beginning of the First World War attracted certain interest of the government to the Ukrainian issue. Necessity of internal strengthening of Austria fostered the government initiative (August 1914), which expressed intention to divide Galicia into separate Ukrainian and Polish parts after victorious end of war¹¹. There were also more complicated projects of Austria modernization, which also influenced destiny of Ukrainians. In order to strengthen German positions against the Slavic majority, politicians proposed to form of Austria two groups of the territories — West-Austrian (German-Czech) and East-Austrian (Polish-Ukrainian) with own parliaments of two houses. The structure of the latter, where Ukrainians gained cultural and national autonomy, should include Galicia, Bukovina, Kongresova Poland, Volyn and Podolia. Regarding

problems of the Ukrainian autonomy, Vienna intended not to fall outside the limits of indistinct promises as assuring Ukrainians of its commitment to their cause. In any case, either way of satisfying Ukrainian aspirations, even not of strategic nature, should cause chain reaction, which would break balance of forces and integrity of empire.

With the advent of the new strategic partner — Poland, an issue of Ukrainian autonomy was completely removed from the agenda of political life. According to the manifesto of Germany and Austro-Hungary emperors (November 1916), they proclaimed formation of Kongresova Poland on the territory regained from Russia. Intention to keep integrity of the monarchy forced Vienna to agree to increase of the autonomous rights of indivisible Galicia as well, which in practice meant preservation therein of the Polish dominant positions. With loss of support from Vienna, Ukrainianhood appeared to be entirely helpless and during 1916–1918 applied struggled feverish efforts towards preventing absorption of the Ukrainian territories by Poland.

By the way, in days of war Bukovina also became object of imperialistic expansion and inconsistent actions of the Austrian government, which crossed out its state development intentions. Enemy blocks — Entente and Central states considered Ukrainian Bukovina territory as subject of negotiation for the potential ally — Romania. Only entering of the latter into war as part of Entente in August 1916 eliminated the real threat of absorption of Bukovina by Romania with the consent of Vienna.

So, year of war, on which Ukrainians placed their hopes with regard to establishing ultimate conditions for change of their position in political system of Austro-Hungary, creation of own state, brought about unfortunate but entirely foreseeable reality.

Events in Russia — February revolution of 1917 and expansion of state creation processes towards Dnieper Ukraine practically took Austrian Ukrainians out of «boondocks», which considerably influenced activation of national movement in the Western Ukraine as well and saturated it with state creation and conciliar essence. Still, notable losses, which Ukrainianhood incurred during war time, Russian occupation of considerable territories of Galicia and Bukovina, which lasted through the second half of 1917, constrained this process. Indecisiveness in protecting the national interests by Ukrainian party and political elite, first of all by

UPDP leaders, who continued to profess traditional Austria-loyalist tactics within a legitimate constitutional field played its negative role as well. First of all, it concerned Bukovina political leadership led by M. Vasyliok, which confirmed unbreakable loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian state with own actions and casted doubt upon probability of joint struggle of east and western Ukrainians for national liberation and objected to expediency of consolidation of all Ukrainians in one state¹².

At the same time, necessity of increasing efforts for struggle against absorption of the Ukrainian territories by Poland uncontrollably radicalized Galicia political movement while strengthening centrifugal vector therein. The above was proven by policy statements of the highest political representation of Ukrainians of Galicia — parliamentary fraction (UPR), which united leaders of all leading Ukrainian parties in the province. Thus, UPR leader E. Petrushevich declared in May 1917 the idea of creation of Ukrainian «state organism» within Austrian state¹³ and at the end of 1917 this requirement was supported by threat of inclusion of all West Ukrainian territories to the just formed UPR¹⁴.

However, unlike the Larger Ukraine, where revolutionary democracy situation in some cases turned to anarchy and permitted to practically embody principles of the Ukrainian autonomy, and in due course — statehood, these processes in Austro-Hungary were continuously blocked by the central government. In the conditions of indulgence to much stronger nations-competitors, the Ukrainian demands as well as numerous rounds of negotiations of Ukrainianhood political leadership with the emperor and the government during 1917–1918 concerning resolution of Ukrainian issue were futile. The authorities were unable to satisfy Ukrainian demands and did not wish to assume any obligations.

As a result of the above events, Ukrainian national leadership lost the last hopes for any legitimate resolution of Ukrainian issue and for the first time in its history diverged from legal actions in the second half of 1918 and initiated practical secret preparation for executing its right to self-determination. During the night of November 1, 1918 (at that time Czecho-Slovakia, Serbo-Croat-Slovene state, and Hungary proclaimed their state independence), revolt mounted in Lviv in accordance with order by the Ukrainian National Board (Constituents) established on

October 19, 1918. This very day the Ukrainian administration managed to accomplish formal recapture of the power from the imperial deputy, which permitted it to actually and legally become successors to Austria in the Ukrainian territories. The history of West Ukrainian people opened new page — struggle for formation of the independent Ukrainian state on its own territory, which in the conditions of continuous military destruction, international non-recognition and beginning of foreign intervention looked as almost hopeless. However, at the expense of the achievements gained during the previous period, more specifically, high level of consolidation of national organism, legitimate national political elite, monolithic party system, experience of participation in political and parliamentary processes, WUPR it was possible to quite effectively create and protect own statehood during as long as over 250 days, which was an achievement that not all the new East European states managed to repeat.

¹ Grushevskii M. the Illustrated history of Ukraine. — Reprintne reproduction a kind. 1913 — K, 1990. — With. 509.

² See.: Grushevskii M. History of Ukraine-Rus. — K, 1913. — V. 1. — p. 3.

³ Nationalitäten und identitäten in Ostmitteleuropa: Festschrift aus Anlab des 70. Geburtstages von Richard Georg Plaschka. — Wien-Koln-Weimar-Bohlau, 1995. — S. 56; Trainin I.P. National contradiction in Austro-Hungary and its disintegration. — M: AS of the USSR, 1947. — p. 109; Historical preconditions of reunion of the Ukrainian territories / exec. editor. F.I. Steblii. — K: Naukova dumka, 1989. — p. 308; the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian studies. In 2 vol. / under gen. edit. of V. Kubiovich. — V. 1. Book 1. — Munich; New York: Scientific organization of Shevchenko, 1949 — p. 170. Dobrzhanskii O. National movement of Ukrainians of Bukovina in second half of XIX — beginning of XX cen. — Chernovtsy: Zoloti litavry, 1999 — p. 70, 74; Botushansky V. Position and class struggle of peasantry of Northern Bukovina during imperialism. — K: Naukova dumka, 1975 — p. 110; Popik C.D. Ukrainians in Austria 1914–1918. The Austrian policy in the Ukrainian question of the period of the Big war. — Kiev; Chernovtsy: Zoloti litavry, 1999 — p. 143.

⁴ See: Levinskii V. Essay of development of the Ukrainian working class movement in Galicia. — K, 1914. — p. 1; Subtelny O. Ukraine: history / transl. from English Y.I. Shevchyuk; intro. of S.V. Kulchitskii. — K: Lybid, 1991. — P. 273; Historical preconditions of reunion of the Ukrainian territories. — p. 308; Trainin V.P. *ibid.* — p. 129; Dobrzhanskii O. *ibid.* — p. 81.

⁵ See: Trainin I.P. *ibid.* — p. 182.

⁶ See: Subtelny O. *ibid.* — p. 273; Makarchuk S. Ethno-social development and national relations in the West Ukrainian territories during imperialism. — L, 1983. — p. 86.

⁷ See: Dobrzhanskii O. *ibid.* — p. 85.

⁸ See: Grushevskii M. What autonomy and federation do we want//Grushevskii M. What are Ukrainians and that they want. — K: «Znania” of Ukraine, 1991. — p. 123.

- ⁹ See: Trainin I.P. *ibid.* — p. 142; the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian studies. In 2 vol. / under gen. edit. of V. Kubiovich. — Vol. 1. Book 2. — p. 486.
- ¹⁰ See: Kripiakevych I. *World history*. In 3 books. — Book 3. *Contemporary history*. — K: Lybid, 1995. — p. 229–230.
- ¹¹ See: Golubets M. *Great history of Ukraine. From the most ancient times till 1929*: in 18 writing-books. — Lviv, 1935. — Writing-book 16. — p. 750.
- ¹² See: Brytskii P., Dobrzhanskii O. *Bukovinians at diplomatic service UPR and WUPR*. — Chernovtsy: Publishing house «Zoloti litavry», 2007. — p. 47–49; *Bukovina in a context of the European international relations (from old times to middle of XX century)* coll. monogr. / V.M.Botushanskii, S.M.Gakman, J.I.Makar, et al.; under gen. edit. Of V.M.Botushanskii. — Chernovtsy: Ruta, 2005. — p. 405, 406.
- ¹³ See: *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des osterreichischen Reichsrates im Jahre 1917 und 1918. XX II Session*. — Wien, 1918. — Bd. 1. — S. 35–36; *Situation with Ukrainians//Business*. — 1917. — 31 May (18 May old style). — p. 1–2; *State and legal suggestions of the Ukrainian ambassadors regarding state and legal status of Galitsko-Volodymyrskye Kingdom //Business*. — 1917. — June 2 (20 May old style). — p. 1.
- ¹⁴ See: *Conciliarism of Ukraine. From idea origination to the first attempt of realization* / I.L.Goshuljak, I.I. Drobot, V.V.Krivosheia, V.I.Kucher, M.I.Obushny, I.A. Piddubnii, V.F.Soldatenko, V.P.Shevchyuk, J.I.Valjalshchik, V.D.Jaremchuk. — Book 1. — K: Library of the Ukrainian, 2000. — p. 62.





Alexander Danylenko

Born in Lviv in 1978. Graduated from the historical faculty of Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv (2000), postgraduate courses (2001). Ph.D. (history) (2005). Associate professor of Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv (since 2006). Author of over 100 scientific works.

INTERNATIONAL FAMINE RELIEF TO UKRAINIAN POPULATION IN THE 20S

Socio-economic and political reasons of famine in Ukraine in 1921–1923 were widely featured by periodicals of the 20-s [10] and covered by Ukrainian researchers [1; 8]. However, the external aspect was not tackled sufficiently enough even though the historians mention the major international organizations and missions [6] functioning in the Ukrainian provinces at that time. The archives contain the documents and records about coordination between the Soviet government and the international institutions and about contribution of the latter in providing relief to famished *peasants*. Food, material, technical, medical and sanitation-and-epidemiological aid came from public, governmental and cooperative organizations of both Europe and America.

Ukrainian society suffered the disastrous effects of the two wars running and Bolsheviks' revolutionary transformations. Socio-economic situation was aggravated by the fierce drought in the southern provinces of the UkrSSR, which led to both corn poor yield and famine of the rural population; while there was a possibility to avoid its monstrous shapes, geography of propagation and great life losses, especially, among children. Corn failure was obvious, however unacceptable methods of making corn storage (such as retreat-blocking detachments, revolutionary tribunals, hostage institutes, etc.) were in use in Ukrainian villages over the sec-

ond half of 1921; that caused not only great loss of life, but also great cattle losses, winter crop planting disruption and decline in agriculture. Western countries were aware of the bad time in the Soviet Russia, but stuck to a passive let-alone principle after the active and longstanding period of military intervention; and some of them resorted to commercial embargo hoping for the next revolution from below, i.e. mass protests of the famished peasants. They really seized the whole Ukraine, although 'atamanshchina' hadn't yet reached the nationwide organized resistance movement.

International relief supplies were not received in a day. They were delivered gradually, unsystematically and selectively. The Red Cross International Committee initiated a conference representing twenty states and private organizations which was held in Geneva on August 16, 1921 and discussed the measures of rendering food aid to Russia. On August 27 the respective agreement was signed in Riga by F. Nansen, Norwegian scientist and public man, and G. V. Chicherin [4, p. 108]. As an international petitioner, Dr. F. Nansen addressed private and state cabinets for assistance. On September 9, 1921 he reported on the situation in the famished areas of Russia at the Third Assembly of the League of Nations. On September 30 the resolution was adopted on the need to overcome famine, addressing public organizations and granting aid for the Transcaucasian republics [4, p. 108]. The League of Nations did not support the official status of the agreement between F. Nansen and the Soviet Russia and also abandoned the idea of the governmental aid, adjourning consideration of the question right down to the Economic Forum in Brussels to be held on October 16, 1921. Such was the first step in the direction to arrange the international famine relief for the RSFSR regions, because nobody suggested Ukraine yet.

The Soviet power in Ukraine, following the orders of Moscow, was engaged in 'pumping' bread from starving peasants, its delivery to the Volga regions. On August 4, 1921, just on the eve of the Geneva Conference, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (CC CP/b/U) informed the province committees (hubkoms) about the difference between "... the calls to combat famine in Russia and combat bad harvest in Ukraine, where the aid to places hit by the crop failure can be provided entirely by their own provincial and district means" [3, p. 31]. Expectations for their own means and acceler-

ated fulfillment of unrealistic agricultural tax in kind, which resembled a usual surplus appropriation system of the war communism period, as well as non-recognition of Ukraine as a famished republic by the international community and the 'federal government' just intensified the catastrophe. The RSFSR Government demanded from the UkrSSR Council of People's Commissars the data on "...the amount of bread that Ukraine should give to Russia" [3, p. 34], despite the famine in the Ukrainian towns and villages.

Seed and food aid from Ukraine to the Volga population continued until the new harvest, but in autumn of 1921 the UkrSSR Council of People's Commissars began to allocate bread for the southern regions of Ukraine suffering from famine. Ukrainian central and local authorities learned that the official Moscow addressed the European countries and America. "We know — the resolution of the V-th Congress of Soviets in Poltava region emphasized on December 4, 1921 — how some of these countries — some openly, others secretly — have tried to use famine for new conflicts against the Soviet power. We have only the consequences of the ARA (American Relief Administration) useful operation and Dr. Nansen, the scientist" [3, p. 53].

So, judging by the cited document, they had the information at the local level about food relief supply for Russia. Accusations against the "capitalists", including "French rentiers" cited in the resolution of the Poltava Congress of Soviets concerned the commercial proposal by J. Nulans, Ambassador of France to Russia, Chairman of the Supreme Council Commission of the Entente, on providing famine relief in exchange for the international obligations of the RSFSR to return the debts of the tsarist government after the pre-visit of the European experts to the Soviet Russia. The requirement of the French politician was supported by the representatives of 19 European Governments participating in the economic conference in Brussels in October 1921 [9, p. 90–91]. During the second half of 1921 Ukraine did not receive any food relief supplies from Western countries, since their attention was focused exclusively on the Russian regions that were officially considered famished.

The first official document of the Ukrainian government on the international assistance, except for the transactions through the Red Cross, was an agreement with the ARA, signed by V.D. Hoover and H.G. Rakowski on January 10, 1922 in Moscow. It appeared

that the RSFSR had an agreement dated August 20, 1921, signed in Riga, but H. Rakowski, as the UkrSSR People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs and the head of the government, diplomatically claimed that Ukraine had no obligations under this agreement, and therefore asked the ARA for the urgent food and medical assistance to Ukrainian population [3, p. 63]. The ARA employees were granted: complete freedom of movement through the territory of UkrSSR; formation of the corps of professionals, even from the former Americans detained after 1917; free delivery of goods from ports to the destination places; exemption of customs duties and confiscations; guarantees of food and medicine targeted delivery; train tickets and cars; reliable information about famine of the population. Conditions proposed to the ARA management by the Ukrainian party were quite acceptable: food distribution regardless of the nationality, religion, political or social origin, avoiding political and commercial activities, customs inspection of packages, no alcoholic beverages.

The second step of Ukrainian government towards the official recognition of the southern provinces of Ukraine as starving was Rakowski's position paper on the status of the agricultural tax in kind fulfillment in the UkrSSR addressed personally to V.I. Lenin on January 28, 1922. The Ukrainian leader denied accusations of the Russian federal authorities that Ukraine had deliberately left grain for their own needs, since one third of the agricultural tax in kind was sent to Russia and the rest was distributed between the Red Army, transportation and industrial centers of Donbass, and therefore "... I must admit: regarding the food and seed requirements of our starving provinces we have manifested criminal negligence" [3, p.79].

H. Rakowski used the term "Ukrainian famine", the features thereof appeared in June 1921; however All-Ukrainian Central Executive Commission (VUTSVK), to avoid spread of "panic", cancelled "for political reasons" the resolution of the Ukrainian economic meeting at the UkrSSR Council of People's Commissars on the need of expert examination of the southern provinces. "Ukraine has not submitted any request for assistance to either Russia nor abroad, — emphasized the head of the Ukrainian government, — and various international famine relief committees were allowed to Ukraine only in January and only after they themselves meddled there with the RSFSR consent. The matter is that

80 percent of individual parcels are sent from America through England and are designated for different persons arriving in Ukraine. In the result we allowed the ARA operation in Ukraine; besides we were offered and we accepted panicky that the agreement signed with us provided that all the ARA proceeds from individual parcels would go solely for the benefit of the starving Volga peasants. However, we cannot apply the blind eye to the horrors of famine in Ukrainian provinces, to unprecedented murrain of cattle there, to terrible fever, we cannot and tearing off from the meager share of our commissariat, allocated for the first time 10 million rubles to help the starving. This amount is ridiculous. Therefore, we ask the RSFSR Sovnarkom to allocate 40 million rubles to the Ukrainian budget to help the starving". [3, p. 84]. Therefore January 1922 has become the starting point after which the international assistance through the ARA began to come to Ukraine. The UkrSSR Sovnarkom actually declared famished the southern provinces of Ukraine.

Judging by the current newsletter of the Central Commission for famine relief which worked at the VUTSVK headed by G.I. Petrovsky, an official attempt to launch the international aid for the famished peasants in Ukraine was the agreement with American and Dutch Mennonite famine relief committee from October 21, 1921 [13, f. 20, inv. 1, case 8, sheet 24]. They were obliged to provide food relief for the starving population of Zaporizhya and Catherynoslav province amounting to \$50,000 USD. The issue of providing financial assistance from the American Mennonites was also discussed at the VUTSVK Presidium on November 21, 1921 attended by G.I. Petrovsky, A.V. Ivanov, M.O. Skrypnyk, D.Z. Lebed, S.F. Buzdalin and others. The meeting also focused on creation in Ukraine of the Agricultural Union of Dutch immigrant successors [11, p. 22]. The debate that emerged at the Presidium meeting covered organizational principles to form similar association of Mennonites in Ukraine. In particular, G.I. Petrovsky did not deny its formation, provided the Union would import equipment from America and avoid counter-revolutionary activities. A.V. Ivanov and V.I. Yermoshchenko were in favor of establishing famine relief Committee at the Mennonite Union. However, M.O. Skrypnyk, the UkrSSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, strongly objected this idea, since in his opinion, "... here is not a famine relief, but an attempt to create a counter-

revolution” [11, p. 24]. Despite such discussions, the UkrSSR government did not refuse Mennonites’ financial assistance, which actually began to flow only in 1922.

In late 1921, given the disastrous situation in the UkrSSR southern regions, the government managed to establish systematic aid to the starving peasants of Ukraine, attracting exclusively own resources and the efforts of the Central Committee of Dopgolod, Ukrevako, Narkomzem, Narkomohoronzdrav and VUTSVK. International assistance was limited to random receipts from the Red Cross and the Mennonite aid. Only on February 15, 1922 VUTSVK adopted a resolution “On Operation of Foreign Famine Relief Organizations” entrusting the Central Committee of Dopgolod at the VUTSVK with the general supervision over fulfillment of the republican government agreements with international organizations and the authority of plenipotentiary representative in relations with them [7, 1922, # 7 , art.122].

On March 1, 1922 VUTSVK issued another resolution “On Criminal Proceedings against Rendering Famine Relief”, under which governmental officials, individuals, managers and employees of public organizations were inflicted penalty for failure “...to fulfill obligations on rendering famine relief” [7, 1922, #9, art. 155]. On April 12, 1922 VUTSVK demanded from local authorities exercising of various addresses/appeals of the international famine relief organizations within 48 hours [7, 1922, No 18, art. 286].

In fact and in law, the conditions for active operation of foreign humanitarian missions on famine relief were created in Ukraine; however, their expansion in the southern provinces was prevented by the decisions of the Central Committee at the VTSVK RSFSR. For instance, on February 15, 1922 plenum of the Dopgolod Central Committee at the All-Russian CEC limited the ARA operation by the Volga region only. Therefore on March 9 the UkrSSR plenipotentiary representation in Moscow addressed G. Petrovsky with the proposal to appeal at the CC RCP(b) against the decision of the Russian government on actual ban of the international NGO operation at the UkrSSR territory. Motivation of the ban was the fact that the ARA tended to create their offices “...at the peripheries of the Soviet Republics” [3, p. 103]. It turned out that the Dopgolod CC acting at the RSFSR VTSVK did not take into account the January agreement signed by Rakowski with

the ARA, i.e. actually illegally intervened into international relations of the UkrSSR Government with foreign NGOs.

Delay in international assistance, and most importantly, seizure of Ukrainian grain by food detachments resulted in mass dying out of peasants and workers in the southern regions of Ukraine in spring 1922. In May 1922 G. Petrovsky reported to the RSFSR CEC that the number of famished persons in Ukraine reached 6.6 million, of which children constituted 40 percent, therefore he insisted on permission to prohibit exporting the Narkomprod freights from the Republic [3, p. 116]. Only 7.5 percent of the total starving population were managed to meet the aid from the state reserves. "The aid supplied by foreign and other private organizations — emphasized G. Petrovsky in his letter of May 24, 1922 — will cover 8 percent in the future of the total starving population, provided the plan to arrange public catering at the expense of foreign aid commissions is fully realized" [3, p. 117].

Real assistance from the ARA started arriving in June 1922, when its food offices covered 75,000 children in Mariupol district, although 300,000 poods of grain from Zovnishtorg (Foreign Trade) and 200,000 poods of unused freights from F. Nansen's mission [3, p. 134] remained in the port. Interdepartmental bureaucracy, on the one hand, and ignoring by the Russian government of the international agreements between the UkrSSR People's Commissars and public humanitarian missions, on the other hand, were worthy of new victims for Ukrainian population of the southern provinces.

Socio-economic and political situation in 1921/22 round the "Ukrainian famine", which was not less than the "Volga" one, was presented quite exhaustively and detailed by M. Syrota, member of the Dopgolod CC at the VUTSVK. "Famine in the Volga region has easily overridden everything — he stated on June 30, 1922 — and therefore the Ukrainian famine went into the background: it was little talked about and written even fewer" [3, p. 136]. Ukraine fulfilled agricultural tax in kind "saving the Volga region, the breadbasket of the RSFSR", restricting to "famine telegrams", i.e. informing the central government of the coming famine, and the federal government was slow to declare Ukraine famished. By March 1922, according to M. Syrota, "the line to combat famine in Ukraine may be characterized as the 'Volga'," because two-thirds of the food collected in Ukraine were directed to the Volga region. "In December last year — emphasized M.

Syrota — a question was raised on the development of foreign aid to the famished people in Ukraine. Foreign organizations themselves addressed Dopgol (Famine Relief) repeatedly with the requests for famine relief in Ukraine. However, the same bias on the size and complexity of famine in the southern Russia and a number of political considerations did not allow foreign Dopgol organizations to prove their work. Major attention of the large foreign aid organizations was attracted to the starving Volga region, Ukraine was covered by minor Indopgol (Foreign Famine Relief) organizations with little aid capacity and significant nationalist-religious tinge; the latter circumstance braked sufficiently fast contact between the Dopgol state bodies and foreign organizations. Within the last three months, when the representatives of international organizations through personal visits found the famine in Ukraine being significantly severe, the aid from foreign organizations to the famished started developing. However, the development of foreign aid to the famished is too slow, and although its coverage exceeds the Dopgolod operation, but does not cover 45 percent of total famished, as is the case in the Volga region” [13, f. 1, list 2, case 897, sheet 178].

Lengthy description of the situation round the international famine relief described by M. Syrota, witnesses to the reasons for delay and specific terms of its real supply — April, May, June 1922. Aid concentration in the Volga areas significantly improved nutrition and medical services to population, while the local resources in Ukraine were sufficient for 3 months, therefore M. Syrota proposed “... shifting the focus of Dopgol foreign organizations to Ukraine” [13, f. 1, list 2, case 897, sheet 178]. Their leaders also felt expedient concentrating on the work in the southern Ukrainian provinces, however, the federal government did not allocate funds for their operation, and the Dopgol CC at the VUTSVK was forced to issue loans from its own reserves, and insisted the foreign aid to come directly to Ukraine.

In fact, the ARA real aid started arriving in May 1922, and the food stations were created, but the lack of adequate medical and food supply during the peak of famine in January — May led to disastrous consequences. For example, in early summer, in Zaporizhia province 15 percent of children died, 20 percent suffered from tuberculosis and up to 55 percent had malnutrition [3, p. 149]. If the RSFSR could significantly curb famine, then in Ukraine it was on-

ly gaining the destructive strength, but the so-called federal center tried to diminish the scale of Ukrainian famine in 1921/22.

Similar tendency of ignoring Ukrainian famine was observed at the International Congress of public organizations and famine relief missions, held on July 9–10, 1922 in Berlin, attended by 200 foundations, in addition to the ARA and the Amsterdam Trade Union [3, p. 151]. Dopgolod Central Committee of the RSFSR was represented M.M. Krestinsky and P.G. Smidovych, Dopgolod Central Committee of the UkrSSR — by V.H. Aussem, N.M. Kalyuzhny, M. Levitsky, i.e. the UkrSSR plenipotentiary representation in Germany. The Russian delegation, reporting on the famine, did not mention a word about Ukraine, in spite of preliminary agreement with Ukrainian colleagues. The Report of the UkrSSR Dopgolod Central Committee, delivered at the Congress by Levitsky, raised interest in the press and representatives of the international organizations, because they received the information about the threatening situation of the starving population in Ukraine. An optimistic speech by P.G. Smidovych about the end of famine combating in Russia did not affect the final decision of the Congress; the resolution thereof contained the proposal by the Ukrainian party on rendering food assistance to Ukraine.

After the meeting in Berlin of the representatives of international organizations to aid the famished, Norwegian delegation raised the famine issue at the next meeting of the League of Nations; and on July 22, 1922 its Council instructed the Secretary-General to collect and publish information about the disaster in Soviet Russia [4, p. 108]. While the diplomats consulted and the representatives of the Russian Dopgolod CC persuaded international agencies on the need to render aid to the Volga population, the mortality rate in Odessa region exceeded the European 7 times. The ARA representation established there parcel transfer from America only, and there were no other forms of foreign aid. On September 2, 1922 the UkrSSR plenipotentiary representative at the international famine relief organizations asked the UkrSSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (NKZS) to issue permit to V.P. Neyfeld, the U.S. citizen, to visit the southern regions of Ukraine for personal study of the situation aimed at determining the size of the required famine relief [13, f. 4, list 1, case 63, sheet 85]. On November 9, 1922 the Dopgolod CC plenipotentiary representative at the international famine relief missions attracted attention of the UkrSSR NKZS

to careless delay of Ramzeyer — Nansen mission representative in Shepetivka [13, f. 1, list 2, case 105, sheet 4] that violated the international obligations of Ukraine and its current legislation on the promotion of foreign famine relief missions. Ukrainian government issued visas, sought to create favorable conditions for the foreign aid missions in Ukraine.

On January 28, 1923 Professor F. Nansen and his deputy Frick arrived to Kharkiv to find out the consequences of the famine in Ukraine and agree upon the ways to overcome them. “It should be noted, — mass media stated, — that Nansen’s organization worked and is working in Ukraine via Ukraine Cross” [5, p. 21]. Nansen respected the Ukrainian Red Cross operation and mentioned it at the Geneva Conference in January 1922. Nansen mission had ten organizations; in March 1923 they distributed in Ukraine 256,500 food rations, in April — 252,000 and since the aid commencement — 12,100,000 food rations [3, p. 192]. This famous scientist and explorer delivered 20 Swiss and 12 Italian tractors to Ukraine with 24 thousand poods of seeds and the adequate working capital. During April the Nansen mission provided aid to 50,000 famished persons. It had in its disposal 36,000 poods of rye, 41 barrels of fish fat, 232 poods of cocoa, 335 boxes of “Maggie” soup briquettes; it acquired 70,000 poods of grain for urgent assistance to peasants on the basis of 5 poods per family [3, p. 194]. Its representatives gathered 15,000 gold rubles to purchase food as well as charitable donations from various organizations, even clothes for children. The mission operation was conducted mainly through the Red Cross system in the European countries and was focused on Catherynoslav province.

The World Jewish Relief Organization (Werelief) made an adequate contribution joining the Nansen mission with 10 million francs as of May 1923 and feeding about 9 thousand children. 17,200 poods of food, 11,300 packages of clothes and 67 poods of medicine were acquired from its funds; 1,400,000 food rations were distributed [3, p. 196]. Werelief and the International Union for Child Aid (IUCA) also operated through the Ukrainian Red Cross [2, p. 28]. Simultaneously food relief was supplied by the following International organizations to Ukraine: the European Aid to Students, the World Union of Baptists, Swiss Aid Committee in Bern, Czechoslovak Aid Mission. In August 1923 the Dopdit (Child Aid) Central Committee received from Nansen mission or-

ganizations 4 carriages of plates and dishes to be supplied to children's homes [13, f. 283, list 1, case 75, sheet 28]. The Nansen mission representation in Ukraine with its central office located at 2, Sadovo-Kulykovska Street, Kharkiv (International Committee for Russian Relief. Nansen Mission), assured the Ukrainian government that its organizations will maintain eight child care institutions for 380 children. On December 12, 1923 J. Desson, IUCA chief commissioner in Ukraine, and Mr. Adler, Werelief authorized person, informed the Child Aid Central Committee on supply of the sets of clothes and linen for children's homes [13, f. 283, list 1, case 75, sheet 180].

The activity of international famine relief organizations in Ukraine was focused in the areas of Catherynoslav, Odessa, Donetsk, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Poltava and Kremenchug provinces. ARA was the first to launch its operation. Since March 1922 it provided food and medical aid to Ukrainian peasants and workers and distributed 136 million of food rations in 1922 and 45 million of food rations during five months of 1923, as well as medicine worth 4,000,000 golden rubles. [3, p. 190]. In late June 1923 ARA completed its humanitarian mission and rolled up its operation in Ukraine.

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee "Joint" provided important logistics and financial assistance to Ukraine. In May 1923 under its support eight dozen tractors worked in Odessa and Catherynoslav provinces; the Committee allocated 800,000 rubles to acquire seeds and 843,000 rubles to purchase horses, 965,000 rubles to restore herds of cows [3, p. 191]. Total expenditures to acquire seeds, livestock and equipment accounted for about 4 million rubles, and 250,000 golden rubles to acquire clothes. Along with the "Joint" that acted on a lending principle the American Mennonite Aid (AMA), deployed an active work focusing mainly round Zaporizhyya with 37 tractors and distributing over 7 million food rations among the population. The International Workers' Famine Relief (Mizhrobdopgol) operating through the trade unions distributed in Ukraine 383,000 food rations [3, p.192]. The European Committee for Student Aid distributed 263,000 rations in March-June 1923, thus covering four thousand students of Ukrainian high schools.

Since the mid of 1923 the International aid to Ukraine was gradually rolling up, focusing on medical and domestic supply to

children's homes. Separate international organizations have terminated their humanitarian aid; the others were engaged in one-time actions. For example, the International Union for Child Aid distributed about 3 million rations during October 1922 – May 1923 [3, p. 192], but did not suspend international relations with Ukraine. In 1927 IUCA continued to cooperate with the Central Commission for Child Aid at the VUTSVK, interested in the work of the Gorky Labor Settlement (Colony) where the famous pedagogue A.S. Makarenko worked [13, f. 283, list 1, case 424, sheet 446]. “Review of the Gorky Colony and the adopted system of getting the young offenders accustomed to labor processes left quite good impression, – noted V. Verlin, IUCA delegate, in his letter to the UkrSSR Child Aid CC. – The International Union for Child Aid with great interest got familiarized with the governmental and public work carried out at present in Ukraine to protect children's life and health and prevent and liquidate homelessness. I have already informed to Geneva on your desire to exchange publications and offered to send “Revue Internationale de l'enfant” to your address” [13, f. 283, list 1, case 424, sheet 446]. The IUCA representative was interested in homelessness statistics in Ukraine, which was the social consequence of the famine in 1921–1923 and partial crop failure in 1924.

“Joint” representations continued their operation in Ukraine, though on commercial and not on the voluntary humanitarian principles.

In addition to the above-mentioned international organizations, public committees for famine relief were formed in some European countries. On April 19, 1923 at the initiative of the Ukrainian Public Committee in Czechoslovakia and Ukraine Famine Relief Fellowship under support of Alice Masaryk, spouse of the President of Czechoslovak Republic, donations were collected during the concert in Prague. They managed to collect over 9,000 korunas, of which 300 korunas donated the President Tomas Masaryk personally, 100 korunas – his wife, the papal nuncio, and other participants of this event [13, f. 3931, list 1, case 2, sheets 4–13]. Folk songs and compositions by Lysenko, Verdi were performed at the concert.

The Committee for famine relief in Ukraine organized by the Ukrainian community in Berlin also rolled out active operation. The archives of this Committee preserve the letters by its trea-

surer I.I. Myrny to S. Smal-Stotsky and other persons requesting transfer of donations, as well as subscription lists of their receipt. Various amounts were mentioned — from 300 Italian liras to 65 thousand DM. Funds were collected from all over Europe where Ukrainians lived and then were distributed as targeted assistance through the ARA representations in Ukraine.

Some foreign banks remitted money transfers to the account of the Committee for famine relief in Ukraine: Union Bank (Filiale Berlin) — 109,000 DM, Nordische Bank für Handel und Industrie — 60,000 marks [13, f. 4427, list 1, case 1, sheet 19]. Judging from the list of food rations sent through the German Red Cross in October-November 1922, the aid was addressed to Ukrainian scientists, educational scientists Peter and Sergyi Yefremov, Vladimir Durdukivsky, Sofia Korolenko, Dmytro Yavornytsky, Pavlo Klepatsky, Valerian Pidmohylny, Hryhory Kosynka, Yelysei Riznychenko.

Exhausting grain procurement in Ukraine since the lean year — 1928 exercised under the principle of Stalinist surplus appropriation system resulted in the next famine in some southern areas of the UkrSSR. In this connection, public committees for famine relief to Ukrainian peasants emerged again: in Prague headed by the renowned scholar and educator C. Siropolko and in Paris led by the public and political activist O. Shulgin. The archives keep correspondence between them about fundraising. They appealed to the national Red Crosses, attracted their attention to the famine in Ukraine. Active members of the Prague Committee for famine relief to peasants in Ukraine included Z. Mirna, K. Matsievich, S. Rusova, P. Fedenko, S. Siropolko, D. Chizhevsky [13, f. 3931, list 2, case 4, sheet 7].

Both committees had humanitarian and agitation orientation with the elements of political campaign. In particular, on March 7, 1929 S. Siropolko and Z. Mirna transferred to the Czechoslovak Red Cross Presidium the memorandum on famine in Ukraine. “In view of this fact, — their statement noted — the Committee would like to address the Czechoslovak citizens known by their sincere sympathy for Slavic people to contribute donations for the benefit of the suffering population in Ukraine and therefore allows itself to ask the Czechoslovak Red Cross Presidium for the consent to it. The Committee requests for the Czechoslovak Red Cross Presidium allow approving in every case the individual requests

of the Committee to companies and enterprises in Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, so that, as the Presidium thinks necessary, donations to the benefit of the famished people in Ukraine would be directed to the address of Czechoslovak Red Cross" [13, f. 3931, list 2, case 5, sheets 1–2].

Representatives of the Ukrainian Academic Committee, the organizers of the Committee for famine relief in Ukraine, hoped for constructive support of the Western politicians and intellectuals. In particular, P. Fedenko while preparing the text of the appeal, mentioned the initiatives by G. Hoover, F. Nansen, V. Quisling, an American professor G. Fischer and the other famous figures who took the trouble of providing financial support to the famished in 1921/22 [13, f. 3931, list 2, case 3, sheet 14]. Some of them continued contacts with the Soviet state. On July 18, 1925 the newspaper "Vesti VUTSVKU" (VUTSVKU News) informed that F. Nansen and his secretary captain V. Quisling arrived in Moscow to discuss the issue of Armenian refugees return to the USSR from Turkey and Greece [12]. In 1942 V. Quisling published the book entitled "Russia and We" where he described the socio-economic and political situation in the USSR in the late 20s, drew attention to the return to the policy of war communism [14], but did not put a word about the famine in southern areas of Ukraine in 1928/29. To draw attention to the problem of the West, Ukrainian public committee for famine relief published a pamphlet by P. Fedenko "Famine in Ukraine" translated into French and sent to the government officials in France, America and Britain [13, f. 3931, list 2, case 7, sheet 28]. This action did not find sufficient support among public organizations and governmental circles of European countries, though the famine in 1928/29 had tragic consequences, and was a "dress rehearsal" of Holodomor in 1932–1933 in Ukraine.

Thus, having analyzed the documents and materials relating to humanitarian contacts of Ukraine with the Western world, in particular, the activities of the international organizations for famine relief in Ukraine in the 20s, we note the overwhelming public and not the governmental status. In 1921, Ukraine did not receive any international aid for the starving peasants and workers. The European countries were solving their own social and economic problems, and public institutions were formed upon the initiative of the International Red Cross and personally of the Norwegian scientist F. Nansen, who raised the issue of the Soviet famine

at the meetings of the League of Nations and various conferences. The real aid from the international humanitarian missions in Ukraine fell on March 1922 – June 1923, although the UkrSSR Council of People's Commissars had the agreements with the American Mennonite Aid (October 1921) and the American Relief Administration (January 1922).

During the second half of 1921 the party and Soviet authorities of the RSFSR obliged Ukraine to “combat” famine in the Volga region, persuading international organizations in the absence of Ukrainian famine and focusing their activities mainly on the Soviet Russia territory. Ukrainian government tried to combat famine on their own; however, because of the federal agricultural tax in kind fulfillment in the amount from one third to two thirds of the harvested Ukrainian grain, it lacked the current and reserve funds. In order to replenish them, H. Rakowski concluded an agreement with the ARA on January 13, 1922. The Dopgolod CC at the All-Russian Central Executive Council blocked implementation of the agreement. This only increased the number of starving and famine victims in the southern provinces of Ukraine. The actual financial assistance from the international organizations fell on the period of mass starvation, on its peak, and therefore turned out to be insufficient and incidental, though it rescued tens of thousands of children and adults being the evidence of functioning of the international relation system between foreign public organizations and Soviet state authorities.

Activities of the international missions were completed mostly at the end of 1923, though some of them continued humanitarian relations through the Red Cross until the end of the 20s. The lack of intergovernmental agreements on food relief to the RSFSR and the UkrSSR is explained by a certain isolationist policies of the Western countries that did not rush to conclude the agreements on economic cooperation with the Soviet republics, elucidating the issue of the tsarist debts return and the nationalized industrial enterprises. In general, although the international aid to the Soviet Ukraine to liquidate famine in the 20s, especially in the 1921–1923, was realized through the NGOs, it was an important factor in overcoming its consequences of humanitarian, economic, and moral-psychological nature.

-
1. Veselova O. M. Holodomors in Ukraine: 1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947. Crimes against people. 3-rd edition, suppl. / O.M. Veselova, V.I. Marochko, O.M. Movchan. — Drohobych: “Vidrodzhenya” Publishing company, 2008. — 273 pgs.
 2. Report of Ukrainian Red Cross Association in 1923/24. — Kh., 1925.
 3. Famine in 1921–1923 in Ukraine. Collection of documents and materials. — K., 1993.
 4. Ten years of Soviet diplomacy. Acts and documents. — M., 1927.
 5. To Prof. F. Nansen's visit to Kharkiv // Bulletin. — 1923. — # 1–2.
 6. Zhurba M.A. Ethno national and international aspects of the activity of public associations in Ukrainian villages. (20–30-s of the XX century) / M.A. Zhurba. — K.: Ed. Bull. VAC of Ukraine «Scientific World», 2002. — 499 pgs.
 7. ZU of Ukraine. — 1922. — # 7. — Art. 122.
 8. Movchan O.N. Foreign famine relief to Ukraine in 1921–1923 // Ukrainian Historical Journal. — 1990. — # 10.
 9. Polyakov Yu. 1921 — victory over famine / Yu.A. Polyakov. — M., 1975.
 10. Serbyn R. Famine of 1921–1923 and Ukrainian press in Canada. Sources from the newest history of Ukraine / compiler R. Serbyn. — Kyiv; Toronto, 1992. — 643 pgs.
 11. Agricultural union of successors of Dutch immigrants in Ukraine (1921–1927). Collection of documents and materials / compiler.: V.I. Marochko. — K.: Institute of Ukraine's History, NAS of Ukraine, 2000.
 12. Fritiof Nansen in Moscow // VUTSVKU News. — 1925. — July 18.
 13. TSDAVO of Ukraine.
 14. Quisling Vidkun. Russland und wir. — Oslo, 1942.
-

International Famine Relief to Ukrainian Population in the 20s.
The article deals with the questions of international famine relief to Ukrainian population in the twenties.

Keywords: UkrSSR, Ukraine, famine, international aid.

Diplomacy in the eyes of journalists



Petro Kolomyets,

Former head of the Foreign Economic
Section of the 'Polityka ta chas' journal

THREE DESTINIES OF ONE PUBLICATION

Talking about consistency of institutional and creative development one should say that the journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine *Na Dopomogu Agitatoru*

(Assistance to Agitator) was the precursor of the modern journal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine *Zovnishni Spravy* (Foreign Affairs). Truth be said, publication of the journal was soon terminated because of occupation of Ukraine by the fascists invaders. In 1944 the publication was renamed under the title *Bloknot Agitatora* (Agitator's Notes). In 1969 the journal after reformatting received the title *Pid Praporom Leninismu* (Under the Leninism Flag) and was issued twice a month in Ukrainian and Russian for mass circulation. The journal featured communism building in the USSR, social, political, economic and cultural life of the Republic and also provided information for agitators and propagandists.

By the way it is worth remembering that in the Soviet Union almost all adult population of the country — employees and students were involved in political information sessions, where ideological officers had their own hierarchy: political information officers reported about the latest events in the country, agitators explained for the employees the latest decisions of the Communist party and the Government and supported various initiatives while propagandists organized and conducted political education through a network of political education entities. Most often educational sessions were formal but attendance was good because controlled by the communist party bodies and heads of the enterprises and institutions. The already mentioned *Bloknot Agitatora* issued under

the auspices of the department for promotion and propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine published articles on various subjects and also provided methodological recommendations to assist political information officers for conducting political information sessions and trainings. At the same time similar departments of the oblast communist party committees also organized publication of the like journals. However, supreme party leadership in Kyiv was not always satisfied with ideological and political level of these publications. In order to avoid duplication of information for the 'fighters of the information front' the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine approved creation of the journal *Pid Praporom Leninismu* instead of numerous *Bloknot Agitatora* issues.

The department for promotion and propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was responsible for the new journal. The head of the department, Leonid Kravchuk, eventually the first President of Ukraine, was supervising the new publication. Yakov Lavrenko, the editor of the paper *Zakarpatska Pravda*, organ of the Zakarpatie Oblast Communist Party Committee, was appointed to a position of a chief editor of the new journal. The editorial office included several sections and the section for the Marxism-Leninism propaganda was the leading one. The section of international life received a secondary status and its chief editor was not even the member of the editorial board. However, in order to balance the bulk of monotonous methodological materials of the journal with 'readable' staff its leaders did not restrict the number of publications in this section.

The journal *Pid Praporom Leninismu* had a sizable reward fund and, in addition, received accreditation from the State Commission for Academic Degrees and Titles in the sphere of social and economic sciences. Therefore, scientists from academic institutions and university teachers were well motivated to publish their works in the journal and to assist in the development of methodological recommendations for certain subjects of the political education system (in the latter case using the assistance from journalists working in the editorial office). The Editorial Board included senior party officials and heads of the academic institutions in the sphere of humanitarian sciences. The materials for publications were thoroughly screened at various levels, which caused unnecessary fuss for the authors and editors. However, familiarity and work with reputa-

ble people had an influence on the fate of the editorial staff members. Thus, a high-class journalist Vladimir Shlyaposhnykov later became a press secretary for the first President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk.

It turned out that the section of international life used to have the smallest number of publications. The image of the section during the lifecycle of the journal was maintained by two wonderful journalists and organizers – Arkadyi Sidoruk and Ivan Onishchenko, the latter now deceased. Arkadii Sidoruk, polyglot, famous for his excellent interviews over the telephone with many famous people of the world before he came to the journal, had maintained close collaboration with the well-known specialists of international relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, TASS staff members and Moscow academic institutes. After Arkadii Sidoruk promoted to the position of RATAU-TASS agency correspondent at the UNO, New York, a position of the head of the section was occupied by Ivan Onishchenko, the former employee of the USSR Embassy in several countries, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukr.SSR. He preserved the business contacts with the Moscow international relations experts and involved for cooperation practically all career Ukrainian diplomats working at the MFA of Ukraine and abroad. Ivan Gryshchenko, father of the current Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, was a prolific author of the journal for many years. International journalists in the country recognized the journal *Pid Praporom Leninismu* as a leading edition in this sphere in Ukraine.

Eventually the Gorbachev era with his ‘new thinking’ started. After many years of editing the journal its chide editor Yakiv Lavrenko retired and his position was occupied by Grigory Maksimenko, the former secretary of the Young Communist League of Ukraine Central Committee, who as Komsomol leader was not dogmatic in his outlook. The journal began to publish new materials expanding its informational domain. They included materials about Holodomor 1933, repression against outstanding figures of culture at the end of 30s of the 20th century. The history of the Great Patriotic War was also shown from somewhat different angle. Economic publications became more realistic approaching the contemporary situation. The journal was transforming into a public and political edition with a wide range of materials featuring the complicated and versatile period in the contemporary history. The

audience of the journal was large and it was published in mass circulation of 30–40 thousand copies a month. Eventually, the journal *Pid Praporom Leninismu* was registered under the title *Politika ta chas* (Politics and Times)

After the known events of August 1991 new era started for the Ukrainian Soviet party press. Most newspapers and journals were taken under the umbrella of the new central and local authorities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the sovereign Ukraine became the founder of the *Politika ta chas* journal. One can say that this choice was mostly conditioned by long-standing permanent creative links of the journal staff with the Ukrainian diplomats lasting for several decades. The chief editor of the journal Grigorii Maksymenko started his diplomatic career in the newly established Embassy of Ukraine to Bulgaria. The staff of the journal elected Leonid Baydaka, PhD, a distinguished journalist Ukraine, who served as a deputy chief editor of the journal for many years, as his successor.

It is known that the formation of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and its diplomatic missions around the world took place under difficult conditions: a young state was not given sufficient funding, the qualified professional staff was in shortage and there were difficulties with the equipment of foreign representations. The *Politika ta chas* journal also experienced hard times both in funding (though the MOF was doing its best to finance the journal) and in reformatting as the task was to create the first professional journal in the sphere of international relations of the Independent Ukraine.

Finally by the end of 90s the new edition was finalized. Now the journal had about 20 permanent headings ('Bilateral relations', 'Problems of the National Security, 'Messages and Comments', 'In the countries and regions', 'Foreign economic relations', 'Protocol', 'Memories' and others) where the bulk of the materials were published.

Every issue of the journal presented the heading 'Diplomatic Dossier', published orders on appointment of new ambassadors of Ukraine to the foreign states and information about accreditation of foreign ambassadors to Ukraine. Often, the editorial boards organized round table discussions involving diplomats and various experts from the state authorities and research institutions. The editorial board also initiated the English version of the journal enti-

tled *Politics and the Times*, which was edited by Arkadii Sidoruk, who came from foreign trip to already sovereign Ukraine.

The bulk of the authors' collective included research workers from the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations of the NASU of Ukraine, teachers of the Institute of International Relations of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv and eventually specialists from the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of Ukraine. The following Ukrainian diplomats took active part in creation of the journal: Yuriy Kochubey, Volodymy Chorny, Eugene Svnarchuk, Yuriy Kostenko, Borys Tarasyuk, Mykola Makarevich, Andriy Veselovsky, Igor Turiansky, Yuriy Sergeev, Igor Kharchenko and many others. It is owing to the assistance from some diplomatic missions of Ukraine abroad that has helped the journal to overcome financial difficulties and to expand subscription. However, weak contacts with independent experts whose pool was rapidly developing in Ukraine may be considered among serious shortcomings in the policy of forming the copyright asset of the journal.

By the mid of this decade the *Politika ta chas* faced a serious staff problem. Practically all creative workers of the editorial staff reached retirement age and mobility of the journal noticeably slowed down, forms of the material presentation and the policy of the journal were lagging behind the requirements of modern time. This problem was solved with appointment of a new editor Taukach Olga, a former employee and one of the leading editors of the First National TV Channel, a popular TV moderator. The journal *Politika ta chas* changed its format almost at once and became colored approaching the best world editions. In 2007 the journal was registered under the title *Zovnishni Spravy* (Foreign Affairs) specifying its specialization with the MFA of Ukraine being its founder. According to the summary of the journal, it is published in English and Ukrainian, the scope of problems includes international relations, geopolitics and international economy. The Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of Ukraine is the co-founder of the journal, which provides assistance from highly qualified experts on various issues of the international life and foreign economic relations. The writing team was expanded by independent experts, representatives of the recently create research and analytical institutions as well as by foreign political writers.



Sergii Braha,

Chief Editor of the 'Uryadovyi Kurier' Paper

COMPONENTS OF THE INTERVIEW WITH A DIPLOMAT

«Uryadovyi Kurier» is one of few national daily papers that systematically highlights foreign policy activities in Ukraine. The news journalists use for this purpose interviews with the ambassadors of foreign countries to Ukraine.

Generally, interviews with ambassadors are very rare published in the western press. In most cases there may be comments on concrete extraordinary or sensational events. Once one Ukrainian diplomat who worked in one of the Western European countries complained to me that he wanted to give an interview to a local paper but the local journalists did not recognize him as a source interesting for the readers. Such position of the western mass media is fully justified. The ambassador is not an independent personality, a news maker, since he is representing the leader of his state before the leader of the state he is accredited, so he is authorized to express only official views and ideas.

It is interesting that certain piety to the foreign ambassadors and interest to the interview with them were preserved in the countries of the former Soviet Union with their totalitarian past. It is because in such state artificially isolated from the world it was habitual to consider a foreign ambassador as a person capable to have a crucial impact on the policy of the country of his accreditation while his meetings, trips and statements were scrutinized

not only by the security services but also by the local mass media. Moreover, attitude to the foreigners as to special people behind the 'iron curtain' typical for the Soviet Union is still in the mentality of people.

There is another reason by which an interview with the ambassador may be not interesting for the reader. Usually, a diplomatic rank specifies not only a special content but also a special style of speech. Often in their statements the ambassadors use long elaborate sentences of official coloring while their critical remarks are wrapped by euphemisms diminishing their negative connotation. A journalist observing professional ethics should be very precise in reproducing his interview with the source. The embassy press-services are usually very exacting in case of interviews with the ambassadors. In my experience there were cases when a press-secretary of the diplomat often communicated the wish of the chief to reproduce a conversation without changing a single word (!) in it. The editorial staff usually understands their desire because diplomatic interview, especially that of an ambassador, is politics and any inaccuracies in it may lead to serious consequences in the bilateral relations.

However, it is no so rare when an interview with the ambassadors becomes the highlight of the newspaper materials. There are a few professional secrets, or, more precisely, the components of success in conducting such interview. First, the interview should have an information reason, not just a conversation about the state of the bilateral relations, because monologue about "deepening and expanding cooperation in all areas" not only makes sleepy the journalist, but also makes the reader after the first few words of the interview to hastily turn the page over. It is better when the subject matter of the interview is open for discussion and not related to signing of some agreement. Second, these are the questions for the interview. Press service of any embassy prior to the appointment for an interview asks the journalist to send a list of questions beforehand. It is advisable to outline the theme of the conversation without going into details while in the course of the interview to formulate them at such angle, which may be of interest to the newspaper readers. Besides, the interview rarely lasts longer than an hour, and with time for translation, it will be even shorter.

Therefore, the task of the journalist is to prioritize his questions, formulate them clearly and concisely and, most importantly, to interrupt a person without hesitation, even if it is an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, once the conversation drifts away from the area of his concern.

Fortunately, among foreign ambassadors there are many interesting and vivid personalities. So, if a journalist meets with such diplomat, then even the issue of bilateral relations in his answers sounds vividly and interestingly. Paradoxically, but there exist a regularity that the more problems are in the relations of Ukraine with a certain country, the more probability is that this interview will be the highlight of the issue. The last and may be the most important is the following: a journalist who writes on foreign policy issues should be a little of a diplomat himself. Primarily, it requires from the journalist to be knowledgeable on foreign policy issues, be able to communicate, be interesting to talk to, have a critical ear to what is said and always have a question up his sleeve.





Rostyslav Sossa

Rostyslav Sossa was born in 1956 in Ternopilsk Oblast (the Ternopil Region). He graduated from the Geography Faculty of the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University (1979). Doctor of Geography (2004), the winner of the State prize of Ukraine in Science and Technology (2009). Director of the State Scientific Production Enterprise "Kartographia", Editor-in-Chief of the scientific periodical "Journal of Geodesy and Cartography", the President of Ukrainian Cartographic Association. The author of 200 scientific works (including 9 monographs, and 1 textbook for high school) in the issues of development and establishment of national Cartography, and History of Mapping in Ukraine.

CARTOGRAPHIC COMPONENT PART OF DELIMITATION OF THE KERCH STRAIT

The delimitation of the Azov Sea and the Strait of Kerch remains the unsolved issue of Ukrainian-Russian negotiations on the delimitation of the state border between Ukraine and the Russian Federation. Disputes of Ukrainian and Russian experts in international law in regard to the legal status of the Azov-Kerch area of water, and later long-term talks of official delegations concerning the same issue resulted in the signing of the Treaty on Ukrainian-Russian State Border between Ukraine and the Russian Federation of January 28, 2003, in which the status of the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait is defined as the one of internal waters of both states.

Unilateral construction by the Russian side in 2003 without any agreement with Ukrainian authorities of a dam nearby the Ukrainian Island of Tuzla led to drastic deterioration in relations between the two countries. Complicated negotiation process resulted in signing of the Agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on cooperation in the use of the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait of December 24, 2003. The 1st Article of the Agreement states that "The Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait historically are the internal waters of Ukraine and the Russian Federation". Ratified on April 20, 2004 by the parliaments of both countries the Agreement

defines the foundations of legal regime of the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait. The delimitation of the Strait of Kerch is not even mentioned in this document, as the sides maintained opposite views. Only at Ukrainian-Russian talks in March of 2004 on suggestion of the Ukrainian side the sides agreed upon the necessity of drawing of the state border not only in the Azov Sea, but also in the Kerch Strait.

Thus, today the key issue of the Ukrainian-Russian negotiations is the establishment of the passage of the state border line across the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait.

The issue of delimitation of the Kerch water area, although lying in the legal sphere also possesses the cartographic aspect. This article tackles the cartographic component part of the solution to the issue of the passage of the Ukrainian-Russian border line.

Before we start to present the basic materials we should mention the fact that the earliest monument of geodetic activities of the Kyivan Rus times, the so-called Tmutorakan Stone, mentions the Kerch Strait. The Stone was discovered by the Zaporizhzhian Cossacks — the first settlers in Kuban in the end of August — the beginning of September of 1792, when they started to dismantle the old Turkish fortress on the sea-shore near the stanytsia (village) of Taman. The finding of the stone provoked great interest in historians and philologists, as it carried the inscription in Ancient Russian (Ruthenian), thus representing one of the earliest written records of the Kyivan Rus period. The Stone of Tmutorokan was erected in commemoration of a very important event of that period — the first measuring of the distance from Tmutorokan (Taman) to Korchev (Kerch). In translation into English the inscription on the stone reads in the following way: “In the summer of 6576 (1068 AD) Prince Hlib measured [the distance] across the sea over the ice cover from Tmutorokan to Korchev [and it equals] 14 thousand sazhen ”.

After the break-up of the USSR the administrative border between the former Soviet Republics the Ukrainian SSR and the RSSFR gained the status of the state border between Ukraine and Russia. It was done according to the norms of international law, bilateral agreements and the norms of the national legislation of Ukraine and the Russian Federation. In the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation of May 31, 1997 the sides covenant to respect territorial integrity of each other and “ratify the inviolability of the existing

borders between them” (Article 2)¹. This provision does not specify any differences in the passage of the state border on land or water area and is valid in regard to the entire Ukrainian-Russian border. The Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation “On the order of enacting of the Law of RF “On the state border of the Russian Federation” of April 1, 1993 implies that before signing the treaties on the passage of the state border with the adjoining countries, the border of the Russian Federation with the former union republics should acquire the status of the state border (Point 2)².

State borders and administrative limits are graphically recorded on numerous cartographic materials, which had been regularly published in the Soviet times. Thus no difficulties exist in the drawing of the state border between Ukraine and Russia in the Strait of Kerch along the line of the administrative border between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSSFR. This is the stand that Ukrainian side consistently takes in regard to the delimitation of the sea state border in the strait.

The problem of the delimitation in the Kerch Strait arises first of all because of the location in this area of the island of Kosa Tuzla. The state border, as it is presented on various maps and in the number of atlases, passes in-between the island of Kosa Tuzla and the Taman peninsula, and the navigation route passes in-between the island and the Crimean peninsula. Because of this Russian ships passing through the Strait of Kerch have to enter Ukrainian maritime state territory, and that implies the payment of the appropriate pilot and channel fees for the passage. This requirement causes the aversion of the neighbouring country and is the main reason of the delay in the process of the delimitation of the state border in the strait.

The earliest maps show Tuzla as an island. There are many Russian maps of the 17th – 19th century, on which the spit, which branches from the Island of Taman in the direction of the Strait of Kerch, consists of a chain of islets³. Only in the end of the 19th century the island partially joined the Taman peninsula. Although it is a commonly acknowledged fact that the Resolution of the All-Union Central Executive Committee (ACEC) of August 13, 1922 the spit of Tuzla (the island of Serebnii) was integrated into the Crimean Oblast (region)⁴. In 1925 a strong storm washed out the spit, creating a strait, which in the following decades reached the width of 4 km. Taking into account the presence of the above-mentioned

Resolution of the ACEC of 1922, one can conclude that even before the erosion of the spit in 1925 it was not continuous, but consisted of separate islands, or maybe the recollections of the washing out of the spit in 1925 are incorrect.

By the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR of January 7, 1941 the island of Kosa Tuzla (the then name according to the Decree is the Island of Serednia Kosa (Middle Spit) [of Tuzla]) was conclusively seceded from the Temriuk Raion (district) of Krasnodarskyi Krai (the Krasnodar Land) and subordinated to the Crimean ASSR (in the administrative and economic sense – to the Kerch Town Council of Workers' Deputies). After the deportation of the Crimean Tatars from the territory of the Crimean Peninsula by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June 30, 1945 the autonomy was replaced by the Crimean Oblast (Region). According to the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of February 19, 1954 "On the transfer of the Crimean oblast from the composition of the RSFSR to the composition of the Ukrainian SSR" the Crimean Peninsula with the relevant maritime areas became a part of the Ukrainian SSR. The Decree of February 19, 1954 states "the integrity of the economy, territorial proximity and close economic ties between the Crimean Oblast and the Ukrainian SSR".

The Island of Kosa Tuzla is comparatively small. Before the dam was erected, the construction of which the Russian side started in the end of September in 2003, its length equaled almost 7 km, and maximum width was 600 m; the elevation of the surface above sea level does not exceed 4 m. Small depth of the strait between Island Kosa Tuzla and the Taman Peninsula, the average of which was 30–90 sm, allowed Russian builders to construct the dam at a very quick rate – by 100 m a day. In spite of the vigorous protest of the Ukrainian side, only after the telephone conversation on October 23, 2003 of Presidents L. Kuchma and V. Putin the construction of the dam was terminated (102-m-distance separated the dam from the line of the state border, and the length of the constructed part was 3 750 m). A small closure channel, which was left after the end of construction works, grew several times bigger in two years time; the sea washed out almost a kilometer of the island's territory and its length decreased correspondingly.

Nevertheless, let us return to the practice of mapping in the Soviet epoch, because the credibility and accuracy of the represen-

tation on the created before 1991 maps of the state border between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR are very important to us.

Cartographic activity was strictly regulated in the USSR, especially in the post-war time. Three departments were engaged in the most important cartographic tasks: state civil cartographic and geodetic service (topographic mapping of the domestic territory, production of maps for the wide circles of population), military topographic service of the Armed forces of the USSR (topographic mapping of foreign territory, cartographic support of the activities in delimitation and demarcation of the state border), navigational service of the Navy (sea charts). Civil and military services closely cooperated in the sphere of the meeting the requirements of the state and defense with topographic and other maps. It should be mentioned that in the administrative sense cartographic and geodetic service (the Main Board of Geodesy and Cartography at the Council of Ministers of the USSR) was subordinated to the military-industrial establishment, due to which the levels of secrecy in cartography had been high.

Reorganizations of the state cartographic and geodetic service of the USSR were held as early as in 1935 and then in 1938 with the aim of the increase in the volume of topographic, geodetic and cartographic activities. Since then gradual monopolization by the state of cartographic sphere starts, and the system of state geodetic control is established for the purpose of the centralized accounting of all cartographic activities and the advance in their quality. After the establishment in 1967 of the Main Board of Geodesy and Cartography at the Council of Ministers of the USSR (MBGC of the USSR), the network of Territorial Inspections of the State Geodetic Supervision (TISGS), which had controlling authorities, and in Moscow the Central Cartographic and Geodetic Fund (CCGF) was created in order to carry out the unified technological policy in the issues of concentration, accounting, storage and use of topographic, geodetic and cartographic materials. At the same time security measures in this branch become stricter.

The Regulations on the Main Board of Geodesy and Cartography at the Council of Ministers maintain that, while managing topographic, geodetic and cartographic activities, the MBGC of the USSR in accordance with the established procedure provides for the correct graphic representation on maps, which are published, of the state borders of the USSR and of foreign countries, the limits of

the shelf of the USSR, the administrative borders of the Republics, Krai (Lands), Oblasts (Regions) and Raions (Districts).

State borders and political-and-administrative and administrative limits are shown in details particularly on topographic and political-and-administrative maps of the Soviet period. Military and civil departments had been guided by numerous guidelines, manuals and instructions in the process of geodetic survey and production of topographic maps, which had been published regularly with the fixed scales⁵. The MBGC of the USSR established regular production of the administrative Oblast maps, rather unified and standardized in regard to their contents and graphic means, in accordance with the requirements of the approved Union guidelines in drawing and edition of the administrative maps of the autonomous Republics, Krai and Oblasts⁶.

The maps, which were being prepared for print in the USSR, underwent preliminary examination in the TISGS for the correctness and accuracy of representation of the elements of the map's contents, as well as the compliance with the security measures. All kind of maps underwent the procedure (censorship): secret topographic and thematic ones, thematic maps for internal use, thematic for general use (political-and-administrative and administrative, tourist, educational, etc.).

Alongside with the TISGS the institution of maintenance of the Pilot Reference map with the scale of 1:100 000 with the purpose of systematic monitoring of the changes, which take place on the sites and their representation on topographic and other maps, compiled and prepared for print, was established. In accordance with the Regulations on the Main Board of Geodesy and Cartography at the Council of Ministers and the Regulations on the Territorial Inspections of the State Geodetic Supervision of the USSR, approved by the Decrees of the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR, the Regulations in the Order of Tackling the Issues of the Administrative and Territorial Division, approved by the Decrees of the Presidia of the Supreme Councils of the Union Republics of the USSR the guidelines in regard to the Pilot Map had been worked out⁷. The latter established the order of collection of the official data concerning the political-and-administrative division and building developments together with the procedure of monitoring of these elements on the topographic map with the scale of 1:100 000 covering the territory of the USSR. The monitoring was carried out on the sheets of a topo-

graphic map with the scale of 1:100 000 of the last year of edition in regard to the period in-between of the reprints of the sheet. One of the main purposes of the monitoring was the guarantee of the correctness of the representation on the published maps of the state border of the USSR in accordance with international treaties and the materials of demarcations and re-demarcations, and the political-and-administrative division of the USSR in accordance with the Decrees of Presidia of the Supreme Council of the USSR, of the Union and Autonomous Republics and the Decrees of the Executive Committees of the Krai and Oblast Councils of People's Deputies, as well as the timely representation on maps, published by the MBGC of the USSR, of administrative and territorial transformations (changes of the administrative status of localities, of their types, renaming, etc.).

Thus, the Pilot map with the scale of 1:100 000 is an important normative and legal document that shows the location and presence of the republican administrative border between the Union Republics of the USSR, which acquired now the status of the state border between Ukraine and the Russian Federation.

The Pilot map, which shows the passage of the border in the water area of the Kerch Strait, was created on the basis of the topographic map with the scale of 1:100 000, compiled in 1967 and published in 1969. The graphic representation on the map of the state borders, the administrative borders between the Union and autonomous Republics, administrative limits between Krai, Oblasts and the primary administrative units is made in accordance with the requirements of the then in effect normative technical guidelines⁸. According to the later requirements the border on a topographic map was drawn as a series of units with gaps, if the border line coincided with linear objects (roads, rivers, straits, channels etc.), and an uninterrupted conventional sign, if the border line did not coincide with linear objects of the area. Also the borders, which pass along big water areas (seas, reservoirs, and big lakes), are represented by the series of units, reproducing all the turns, reflected in the scale of the map⁹.

On the Pilot map with the scale of 1:100 000 the republican borders between the Ukrainian SSR (the Crimean Oblast) and the RSFSR (the Krasnodar Krai) are verified in the bottom by the signatures of the responsible state officials: "By this I attest the correctness of the graphic representation of the admin. borders of the Crimean Oblast as of 25.12.1972: the Deputy Chairman of the

Crimean Oblast Executive Committee V. Semenchuk” (signature, seal); “By this I attest the correctness of the graphic representation of the admin. borders of the Krasnodar Krai as of 25.12.1972: the Deputy Chairman of the Krasnodar Krai Executive Committee N. Yeliseiev (signature, seal). The document is dated June 18, 1973 and meets the requirements of the *Guidelines on the Pilot Map with the Scale of 1:100 000*, approved by the MBGC of the USSR on March 18, 1971⁷. Thus the administrative border in the Strait of Kerch separates the sea area around the Island of Kosa Tuzla from the offshore strip of the Taman Peninsula of the RSFSR, by this confirming the ownership of Island Kosa Tuzla by the Ukrainian SSR and the passage of the state border line through this part of the Kerch Strait.

As we know, the contemporary state border line in the Kerch Strait appeared for the first time on the Pilot map in 1958, when the authorities of the Central Cartographic and Geodetic Fund of the MBGC of the Internal Ministry of the USSR ordered to take into account the changes in the passage of the administrative limit (after 1954 — the border between the Union Republics) in accordance of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR of January 7, 1941 “On the secession of the Island Sredniaia Kosa [Middle Spit] (of Tuzla) from the Temruik Raion of the Krasnodar Krai and subordination of it to the Crimean Oblast”. To this Pilot map with the scale of 1:100 000, the nomenclature sheet *L-37-98. Taman* (the Third edition of 1952), on which in the process of re-edition the changes of the administrative-and-territorial division of January 7, 1941 had not yet been taken into account, the appropriate corrections had been made¹⁰. The series of units of conventional signs representing the administrative limit between the Crimean ASSR and the Krasnodar Krai, passing between the Island of Kosa Tuzla and the Crimean Peninsula and corresponding to the administrative-and-territorial division of the RSFSR before January 7, 1941, had been crossed out, and the series of units of conventional signs of the border, which now became the administrative border between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR as a result of the administrative-and-territorial changes of January 7, 1941 and February 19, 1954. The border between the Union Republics started to pass between the Island of Kosa Tuzla and the Taman Peninsula, having acquired the current configuration.

Thus, we can arrive to the conclusion that the practice of division of water objects of topographic maps between the administra-

tive units of the state was normalized in the Soviet times, which was shown by the appropriate conventional sign on the Pilot map. Taking into account the provisions of the Treaty between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on gaining by the republican borders of the status of the state border, the administrative limit passing through the water object in our case also gains the corresponding status and divides the sea surface according to its state ownership, which is marked by the conventional sign on the Pilot map.

-
- ¹ *The Treaty* on friendship, cooperation and partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation of May 31, 1997 // Official bulletin of Ukraine. — No 20. — P. 518.
 - ² *Bulletin* of the Congress of the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation. — 1993. — No 17. — P. 594.
 - ³ *Travnikov A.I. Kosa Tula i strategicheskie interesy Rosii (Kosa Tuzla and the strategic interests of Russia / A.I. Travnikov.* — Rostov-na-Donu: Feniks, 2005. — P. 112–113.
 - ⁴ *Ibidem* — P. 220.
 - ⁵ *Sossa R.I. Toopohrafichne kartohrafuvannia terytorii Ukrainy (1920–2002 rr.) (Topographic mapping of the territory of Ukraine [1920–2002]): Bibliographic index. / R.I. Sossa.* — Kyiv: SSPE *Kartographia*, 2003. — 128 p.
 - ⁶ *Sossa R.I. Kartohrafuvannia administratyvno-terytorialnoho ustroiu radianskoï Ukrainy u mizhvoiennyi period (Mapping of the administrative-and-territorial division of Ukraine in the interwar period) / P.I. Sossa // Rehionalna istoria Ukrainy (Regional history of Ukraine).* — 2010. — Issue 4. — P. 149–166.
 - ⁷ *The Guidelines* in the Pilot map with the scale of 1:100 000. — Moscow, 1971; *The Guidelines* on the Pilot reference map with the scale of 1:100 000. GCINR — 17–213–88. — Moscow, 1988.
 - ⁸ *The Instruction* in compilation and preparation for print of topographic maps with the scales of 1:10 000, 1:25 000, 1:50 000, 1:100 000. — Moscow: the EPD of the MTS, 1960. — 140 p.; *Conventional signs, samples of fonts and abbreviations for topographic maps with the scales of 1:25 000, 1:50 000, 1:100 000.* — Moscow: the EPD of the MTS of the USSR, 1959. — 80 p.
 - ⁹ *The Guidelines* in cartographic and map editing activities. Part 1. Compilation and preparation for print of topographic maps with the scales of 1:25 000, 1:50 000, 1:100 000. — Moscow: the EPD of the MTS, 1978. — point 287; *The Guidelines* in cartographic and map editing activities. Part 2. Compilation and preparation for print of topographic maps with the scales of 1:200 000, 1:500 000. — Moscow, the EPD of the MTS, 1980 — point 330; *The Guidelines* in cartographic and map editing activities. Part 3. Compilation and preparation for print of the topographic map with the scale of 1:1 000 000. RCR-3. — Moscow, the EPD of the MTS, 1985 — point 267; *The Guidelines* in cartographic and map editing activities. Part 4. Compilation and preparation for print of city plans. — Moscow, the EPD of the MTS, 1978 — point 204.
 - ¹⁰ *Travnikov A.I.* The mentioned book. — P. 254, 256.



A fragment of topographic map scale 1:200 000 L-37-XXV (Arshitsevo). Moscow, MBGC, 1982



A fragment of topographic map scale 1:500 000 L-37-B (Krasnodar), Moscow, MBGC, 1991

The Diplomatic dossier*

ПОЧЕСНЕ КОНСУЛЬСТВО РЕСПУБЛІКИ МАЛЬДІВИ В УКРАЇНІ		THE HONORARY CONSULATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES IN UKRAINE
вн. Кроваградська, 100Б, Київ, 03069, Україна		100B Krovogradska str. Kyiv, 03069, Ukraine

Вих. № 2 від 12.04 2011р.

Генеральному директору
Генеральної дирекції
Київської міської ради
з обслуговування іноземних представництв
пану Кривоносу Павлу Олександровичу

Шановний Павле Олександровичу!

Почесне Консульство республіки Мальдіви в Україні висловлює Вам свою повагу та має за честь проінформувати Генеральну дирекцію Київської міської ради з обслуговування іноземних представництв про офіційне отримання паном Лірінгом Аларієм Власовичем ексекютури №198 від 30.10.2010р.

Цим листом висловлюємо Вам свою пошану та повідомляємо адресу Почесного Консульства республіки Мальдіви в Україні:

*вул. Кроваградська, 100Б,
Київ, 03069, Україна*

Почесний Консул республіки Мальдіви в Україні користується цією можливістю, щоб відповісти Вам задоволення в своїй високій посаді.

З повагою,
Почесний Консул
республіки Мальдіви в Україні


А.В.Лірінк

* Documents are applied on the original



EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN
KYIV

7, Panfilovskiy per., Kyiv, Ukraine, 03015
Tel : (380 44) 200 24 10, 268 93 63
Fax : (380 44) 268 05 31
E-mail : embassy@pak.gov.pk

Директору Генеральної Дирекції
з обслуговування іноземних представництв
Кривоносу П.О.

Шановний Пане Олександровичу!

Посольство Пакистану в Україні закликає Вашою допомогою та участю в роботі виконувати Ремонтні роботи щодо реконструкції резиденції посольства Пакистану по вул. Десні України 21, м.п. 71 будинок/панельне професійне та в той же час здійснювати школярів Керівник ремонтних робіт Унікальній Олександр та його помічник Прямі інак безпосередньо виконати значущу роль у швидкому завершенні ремонтних робіт одночасно надати шкільно-ремонтні ремонтні Команда робітників під керівництвом цих людей востанок заміривши, що професіоналізм та майстерність співробітників ГДПД не тільки в суміш.

На додаток, Посольство Пакистану в Україні, висловлює спокійна завдяки керівництву ГДПД та співробітників допомогти.

Зорієтування наслідком, Посольство Пакистану в Україні висловлює Генеральній Дирекції задоволення у своїй широкій повноваженням надати на новий етап нашої співпраці.

Посол Пакистану
Ахмед Новаз Салім Метал



[Handwritten signature]
18.04.2011



**ПОСОЛСТВО РЕСПУБЛІКИ ТУРЕЧЧИНА
КИЇВ**

28 травня 2011 р.

Наву Чаллы КҮТІВОНДОН
Генералмайор Дарыкыны
Т, III

Сал. 1951/55

Шт. командиром Генералмайор Дарыкыны,

Поздравляю вас с праздником Победы от 28 травня 2011 р. у цьому році з нагоди
президент парламенті республіки Туреччини у місті Анкара. Досягнути
хотіли бачити з вами зустріч в місті Анкара у 1945 році, і нагадавши про велику
победу над нацистською системою фашизму і війною.

На сьогоднішній день ми всі в Туреччині і в Україні Дарыкыны і Дарыкыны і у
всім світі з великою радістю відзначають цю велику перемогу. Сподіваюся
вас на зустріч з нами в місті Анкара, щоб відсвяткувати цю велику перемогу і
побачити вас і вашу сім'ю в місті Анкара.

Характерно про це повідомити про те, як величезна увага у цій
великій перемогі і з нагоди цієї великої перемоги і з нагоди цієї великої

İsmail BARAN
Кермек
Заступник Кермекчи Мійі

ПОСОЛЬСТВО КОРОЛІВСТВА ДАНІЯ
Київ

Директору ГДП
пану Кривоносу П. О.

Україна, Київ - 1, 01901
вул. Б. Хмельницького, 56
Тел 044 200 12 60
Факс 044 200 12 81
E-mail: jevamb@dan.dk



№

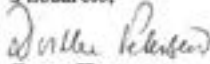
5 квітня 2011 року

Шановний пане Кривоносе!

Посольство Королівства Данія в Україні у особі своїх співробітників хотіло б висловити подяку співробітникам Сектору культури та туризму Дирекції Колцентр за проведення для співробітників дипломатичних місій в Україні 2 квітня 2011 року чудову екскурсію до міста Чернігіа.

Бажаємо Вам та Дирекції успіхів та наснаги у Вашій подальшій роботі.

З повагою,


Дорте Петерсен

Заступник Голови місії та Консул




Анітта Грауг

Аташе з консульських та адміністративних питань
Посольство Королівства Данія в Україні



ЧЕСЬКИЙ ЦЕНТР

ČESKÉ CENTRUM

Одержувач:

ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОМУ ДИРЕКТОРУ
ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЇ ДИРЕКЦІЇ
ПО ОБСЛУГОВУВАННЮ
ІНОЗЕМНИХ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦТВ
Кривоносу Павлу Олександровичу

Київ, 17.05.2011 р.

Шановний Павле Олександровичу,

Чеський центр у Києві при Посольстві Чеської Республіки в Україні засвідчує Вам свою високу повагу і висловлює Вам і Вашим працівникам велику подяку за якісний ремонт та сумлінну працю в нашому офісі під керівництвом головного інженера Морозова Олександра Матвійовича та виробника робіт Петрухіна Івана Івановича за адресою: вул. Івана Франка, 24-а.

З повагою і надією на плідну співпрацю

On!
І Секретар Посольства ЧР в Україні
Директор Чеського центру в Києві



Паносі П. О. Кривоносу
Генеральному директору
Генеральної дирекції з обслуговування
іноземних представництв
вул. О. Гончара, 84
01054 м. Київ

Ihre Referenz: ZG19-695
Ihre Nachricht vom: 27.04.2011
Unsere Referenz: 632.6.ZUG/0011
м. Київ, 17.05.2011

Шановний пане Генеральний директор,

Щиро дякую Вам за Ваше листя від 27.04.2011, в якому Ви звертаєтесь до мене з проханням надати інтерв'ю для телеканалу «Тоніс», а саме для програми «Журфікс». Із-за моєї відсутності в Києві я відповідаю Вам з затримкою, за що прошу вибачення.

В період свого перебування в Україні я постійно намагався давати інтерв'ю журналам різного формату. З останніх це, наприклад, журнали «Народний депутат» та «Доміндекс». Завжди я дуже цінував таку можливість контакту з медіа.

Оскільки через декілька тижнів я закінчую свою дипломатичну місію в Україні, я прийняв рішення більше не давати інтерв'ю. Але я був би Вам вдячний, якщо Ви повернетесь до цього питання трохи пініше до мого послідовника. Для нього була б нагода використати ці контакти в своїй подальшій праці.

Сподіваючись на Ваше розуміння, прошу прийняти, шановний пане Генеральний директор, запевнення у моїй високій повазі.

Посол Швейцарії

Георг Цублер

вул. Козятинська 12,
P.O. Box 114
Kyiv 01015
Telefon: +380-44-25-161-25, Fax: +380-44-25-014-45
kie.verteilung@eda.admin.ch, www.eda.admin.ch/kyiv

Посольство Республики Ирак
в Украине



Embassy of the Republic of Iraq
in Ukraine

سفارة جمهورية العراق / كیف

Number: 161

Date: 07.06.2011

الرقم:

التاريخ:

Генеральному Директору
Генеральної Дирекції Київської
міської ради з обслуговування
іноземних представництв
пану Кривоносу П. О.

Вельмишановний Павло Олександровичу!

Засвідчую Вам свою високу повагу та щиро дякую за поїздку до Одеси, яка відбулася з 03 по 05 червня 2011 року за участю керівного складу МЗС України та глав дипломатичних місій в Україні.

Поїздка, яка була організована на найвищому рівні, з насиченою програмою відвідування історичних місць та різноманітних куточків Одеси, зустрічями з представниками державної влади Одеської області, екскурсіями, пішymi прогулянками, цікавим спілкуванням - залишила надзвичайно приємне враження.

Прийміть мою подяку Вам та Шановній Дирекції за хорошу організацію такого візиту та сподівання на подальшу плідну співпрацю.

Шорш Халід Саїд

Надзвичайний та Повноважний Посол
Республіки Ірак в Україні



भारत का राजदूतावास

कीव

Embassy of India

Kyiv

Kyiv 862/2/2008

19 травня 2011 р.

Генеральному директору
Комунального підприємства
„Генеральна дирекція Київської
міської ради по обслуговуванню
іноземних представництв”
Кривоносу П.О.

Копія: Директору Товариства з обмеженою
відповідальністю „Градобуд-К”
Скульбіді С.Р.

Шановний Павле Олександровичу!

Посольство Індії в Україні засвідчує свою повагу Генеральній дирекції Київської міської ради по обслуговуванню іноземних представництв та має честь звернутись з наступного приводу.

Архітектурна майстерня „Рален” та Будівельна компанія „Градобуд-К” виконували роботи по розробленню містобудівного обґрунтування „Будівництва, експлуатації та обслуговування комплексу будинків та споруд Посольства Республіки Індія в Україні на вул. Віктора Забіли, 4 у Голосіївському районі м. Києва” та будівництву паркану. Дані роботи були виконані якісно, відповідально та претензій з боку Посольства Республіки Індія до виконаних робіт не мають.

Посольство Республіки Індія в Україні висловлює Вам, Павле Олександровичу, щире подяку за підтримку у виконанні робіт по розробленню містобудівного обґрунтування, відповідно до умов договірних зобов'язань, які виконані якісно та відповідально.

Ми високо цінуємо сумісну роботу з Вашою організацією та просимо відзначити Архітектурну майстерню „Рален” та Будівельну компанію „Градобуд-К” ^{по заслугі}.

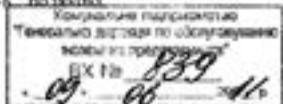
Будемо раді співпрацювати з Вами в надалі.

З повагою,

Надзвичайний та Повноважний
Посол Республіки Індія в Україні



Sanjiv Kumar
Сан Джоті Сваруп Памас





Embassy of the State of Kuwait
Ukraine

سفارة دولة الكويت
أوكرانيا



Генеральному Директору ГДП
пану Павлу Кривоносу

Від імені Посольства Держави Кувейт в Україні засвідчую Вам свою високу повагу та маю честь вітати Вас зі знаменною для нас подією – святкуванням 15-ї річниці встановлення дипломатичних відносин між нашими дружніми країнами.

Особливо приємно, що ця подія співпадає з 50-ю річницею Дня Незалежності Кувейту, 20-ю річницею Дня Визволення та 5-ю річницею сходження на престол Його Високості Еміра Держави Кувейт.

Від себе особисто та від імені дипломатів Посольства радий подарувати вам компакт-диск національних кувейтських мелодій та пам'ятний сувенір, які виготовило Посольство спеціально до цих дорогих для наших сердець подій.

Маємо надію, що наші двосторонні відносини й надалі зміцнюватимуться та розвиватимуться заради добробуту наших народів та процвітання наших держав.

Користуючись нагодою, висловлюємо Вам побажання міцного здоров'я, а також успіхів в особистому житті та на професійній ниві.



Юсеф Хусейн Аль-Габанді

Посол Держави Кувейт в Україні

Міністерство
зарубіжних справ України

Дипломатична академія
України

Діловодство, вул. П. Жолубенка, 2



Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

Diplomatic Academy

2, Pribuda, Zolubenska str., 01021 Kyiv

04.07.2011 № 319/2011

На № _____ від _____

Генеральному директору
Генеральної дирекції
з обслуговування іноземних представництв

Ш.О.Кривоносу

Шановний Павле Олександровичу,

Дипломатична академія України при МЗС України висловлює щирі вдячність Вам і співробітникам Генеральної дирекції, які брали участь у забезпеченні візиту до України делегації Дипломатичного університету Китаю МЗС КНР за надання організаційної і матеріально-фінансової допомоги. Делегація у складі Президента зазначеного університету Посла Чжао Цзяньцзюня і його заступників професора Тон Сінь та професора Тан Цзіюня перебувала у Києві 28 червня - 2 липня 2011 року з метою обговорення питань розширення співпраці у сфері підготовки кадрів для зовнішньоволітичних відомств України та Китаю.

У цьому зв'язку, просимо передати особливу вдячність співробітникам ГДПП О.Ю.Квицькому, А.В.Хоровещай, О.І.Болюко, О.А.Тимонової, С.М.Кривоносу, а також О.Б.Шамрай (екскурсовод) та О.І.Литвиненку (фотограф) за проявлені компетентність, професіоналізм, оперативність та забезпечення високої якості наданих послуг:

- замовленні та обслуговуванні китайських партнерів у Залі офіційних делегацій аеропорту «Бориспіль» під час зустрічі/проводів зазначеної делегації;
- транспортному обслуговуванні комфортабельним мікроавтобусом під час перебування делегації в Україні;
- проведенні екскурсій по місту Києву з відвіданням Києво-Печерської лаври, Музею кошової України, Музею мікромініатор, Музейного комплексу «Мистецький арсенал»;
- харчуванні членів делегації у ресторані «О'Панас» та організації фуршету в Дипломатичній академії;
- фотографуванні під час офіційних зустрічей у Дипломатичній академії України.

Користуючись цією нагодою, висловлюємо сподівання на продовження нашої подальшої плідної співпраці.

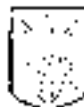
З повагою,

Ректор

проф. Б.І.Гуменюк

МИНИСТЕРСТВО
ЗАКОУДИНИХ СПРАУ
УКРАЇНИ

Майдан Незалежності, 1
01601, Київ, Україна



01 79 98 99 17 17 fax 27 9 18 86
e-mail: zakon@zakon.gov.ua
zakon@ukr.net

MINISTRY
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF UKRAINE

Mykhailivska str.,
Kyiv, 01018, Ukraine

№ 17/кркв.2011 р. № 211/2 від 17.05.11

Генеральному директору
Генеральної дирекції з
обслуговування іноземних
представництв

П.О.Кривоносу

Шановний пане Директору!

Ночу викладаю Вам свою подяку за надане співробітництво під час проведення щорічних урочистих сесій «Стандарт перекладення Дня Європи» у місті Києві.

Цього року співкулаки Дня Європи відбулися на величавоїм розширенні співпраці між Україною та Європейським Союзом. Попри деякі серйозні виклики ідей європейської інтеграції та формування позитивної громадської думки щодо участі вступу до ЄС ми зможемо зберегти на шляху європейської інтеграції України.

За співпраці МЗС та інших європейських партнерів урочистості в столиці відбулися на високому європейському рівні, що є важливою підмогою у встановленні європейського зв'язку України.

Переконаний, що цей приклад успішної співпраці Міністерства акредитованих справ України та Генеральної дирекції з обслуговування іноземних представництв матиме успішне продовження у майбутньому році.

Завершив: Міністри -
керівник апарату

П.А.Кривчук

**Пісня
Республіки Індонезія
Київ**

27 лютого, 2011

Гімназичній пані П. Кривонос!

Мені б хотілося висловити подяку Вам за щодня увагу та теплі побажання з нагоди мого Дня народження. Насправді, це велика честь для мене.

Також я дуже вдячна за лист та фотографії, як Ви нам люб'язно надіслали. Дійсно, нам було дуже приємно, що нас запросили взяти участь у безкоштовній поїздці в Одесу. Дуже вдячна та надію можливість зустрітися з Міністром закордонних справ, а також та відвідати деяких історичних місць та за часом у прекрасними пейзажами.

Користуючись цим нагодом, щоб подякувати Вам пані П. Кривонос за приділену увагу та поновити Вам запевнення у своїй вісній повазі!

Посол Республіки Індонезія

Нінінг Суніні сіа Рохадіат



AMBASADA RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ
NA UKRAINIE
Wydział Konsularny

ПОСОЛЬСТВО РЕСПУБЛИКИ ПОЛЬША
В УКРАЇНІ
Консульський відділ

ul. B. Chmielnickiego 60
Kijów, 01901

вул. Б. Хмельницького, 60
Київ, 01901

☎ +380 44 284 00 33
☎ +380 44 234 99 89

✉ klpow.amb.wk@msz.gov.pl
🌐 www.klpowkg.polemb.net

29.07.2011

Пан Павло Олександрович Кривонос
Генеральний директор ГДП

Вельмишановний Пане Олександровичу!

Дозвольте висловити подяку за отримане запрошення і дуже вдачу поїздки до Одеської області у складі керівного складу МЗС України та глав дипломатичних місій, що відбулася 3-5 червня ц.р. та за отриманні на загалу примірник журналу „Зовнішні справи МЗС України” і диск з фотографіями.

Ще раз дякую за різноманітну програму, змістовні зустрічі та незабутні враження від Одеси.

З повагою,

Керівник Консульського відділу
Посольства РП в Україні

Рафал Вольскі
Рафал Вольскі
Перший Радник





**ПОСОЛЬСТВО
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ
В УКРАИНЕ**

г. Киев *08/08/2011г.*

Генеральному директору ГДИП
Кривоносу П.А.
Зам. директору дирекции
«Колцентр» ГДИП Кийкову А.Ю.

Посольство Российской Федерации в Украине и представительство Россотрудничества в Украине выражают благодарность Генеральной дирекции Киевской городского совета по обслуживанию иностранных представительств и заместителю директора дирекции «Колцентр» Кийкову А.Ю. за высокий профессионализм сотрудников и просят отметить работу Евграшкиной Н.М., пунктуального, ответственного, внимательного к людям специалиста, которая несёт достойное звание сотрудника ГДИП. Хочется отметить последний случай, который Надежда Михайловна решила, не взирая на сложность. Изыскала возможность обеспечить отъезд из г. Севастополя Первого Секретаря Посольства - зам. директора Россотрудничества Царёвой И.Г. 01 августа 2011г., для которой очень важно было вернуться в Киев 02.08.2011 года, а через все возможные каналы обеспечения железнодорожными билетами это не удалось сделать (в том числе ж/д касса ГДИП). Евграшкина Н.М. регулярно сообщает и привлекает сотрудников Посольства на спортивные турниры и культурно – массовые мероприятия, которые организывает ГДИП. Интересуется просьбами и принимает заявки на экскурсии по историческим местам Украины

Пользуясь случаем, разрешите за свидетельствовать Вам своё почтение и выразить надежду на дальнейшее плодотворное сотрудничество.

Первый Секретарь Посольства
зам. руководителя «Россотрудничества»



И.Г. Царёва
И.Г. Царёва



EMBAJADA DE MÉXICO

Kiev, a 20 de octubre de 2011

UCR01107

Señor Pavlo Kryvonos
Director General de la
Dirección General de la Alcaldía de Kiev para Servicios a las
Representaciones Extranjeras

Estimado Señor Kryvonos,

Permitame saludarle atentamente y agradecerle el envío del disco con el programa de televisión de la Sra. Daria Kariakina "Zhurfix" sobre el viaje de los Jefes de Misiones Diplomáticas a Odesa, entre el 3 -5 de julio de 2011. Tengo la confianza de que dicha información así como los viajes organizados por el GDIP fortalecerán las relaciones de Ucrania con otros países.

Sin más por el momento, aprovecho la ocasión para reiterarle las seguridades de mi alta y distinguida consideración.

Atentamente,

Berenice Rendón Talavera
Embajadora



EMBAJADA DE MÉXICO
KIEV, UCRANIA



Oleksandr Detsyk,

Director General of Ukrinform

LESSONS THAT WE OFTEN SKIP

This year Ukraine has celebrated 20 years of its independence. On the one hand, there is one more decade of being proud because we have our statehood contrary to all predictions of ill-wishers. On the other, we feel somewhat sad and uncertain about what we did and what we should have done and about whether the life we live is the one we strived for. The point is not in the fact that these feelings are shared by the majority of Ukrainians but in their source and in the way to treat them. In fact, we are talking about our self identification, understanding of our place in the world and our own civilized choice.

Every Ukrainian has his own answer to this question. Without monopoly on the truth I would like to touch upon a rather narrow segment of the public policy — informational. Since Ukrinform is the national state agency, along with purely journalistic activities it is pursuing the information police of the state.

Now it is not a secret that in Ukraine certain industrial groups have their own media corporations. Among other things they pursue own information policy and even wage information wars. Large and even medium-size enterprises long learnt how to influence the information market because the power of this impact is important not only for sales of products but decisive for investment attractiveness of the enterprise.

What about the state though?

For example, every day we hear accusations in corruption, poor investment climate, unreliability, delayed reforms and incompe-

tence of not a certain individual but the whole country. What is the response of the state in such situation?

Government officials admit that the information component with all importance of the initiated internal social and economic reforms is a real weakness. In order to make reforms successful, especially the reforms related to the life and wealth of each citizen, like pension, land, educational and health care reforms the people should at least understand their fundamentals.

Instead, government initiatives often stalled on the top, while ordinary Ukrainians as before face impudence of local bureaucrats. It makes an impression that people continue to live in routine conditions created by real not declared policy. They often do not have enough information to understand the ongoing transformations and to feel the 'wind of change'.

Therefore, we are facing the need for evolution transformation of the whole society and its every individual and the information policy of the state is called to shape the conscious, strong, self-sufficient, humane, fair Ukrainian proud with his citizenship.

We are not talking about propaganda; we are talking about evolution of the outlook.

We, Ukrainians, have to make our civilized choice in reality.

To my opinion, there is a fundamental difference between the West and the East. The social structure in the West is designed so that an individual is in the center of the universe while the bureaucratic apparatus is revolving around and serves the interests of this individual. Human in such a system is the supreme value of the society where the state provides services to meet the needs of this human.

In the society we inherited from the Russian Empire and the Soviet times the situation is totally opposite. The state is in the center of the universe while interests of the ordinary Ukrainians, often deep in their consciousness, are subordinate to the state interests and revolve around the state. This gives grounds for any state clerk who confidently identifies himself with the state to stand not for a person but above him solving own problems at the account of such person.

So, every one of us should answer the question where we are and where we go — to the East from where we came or to the West where we want to be. This question should be meaningful not only for diplomats who pursue the state policy for European inte-

gration but also for every Ukrainian. However, it is impossible to form the 'critical mass' of the public consciousness in support of the European choice without public communication means and without the coordinated state information policy. Certainly, in this case the state should and is obliged to create conditions for freedom of speech, free exchange of ideas between people where any attempt of manipulating facts by a journalist is viewed as a lack of professionalism and for providing the citizens, consumers with objective and unbiased information so that they themselves can make their conclusions using their experience and common sense.

The same coordinated policy is required for international integration of Ukraine.

For example, let us remember the gas crises of 2009 when Gazprom officials blamed Ukraine for stealing gas (!!). Ukraine in this situation did not give assessment to these brutal accusations and kept denying them. Is this a state information policy and protection of the state interests?

This is not about the information policy of Russia who managed since the Soviet times to preserve and develop appropriate powerful information apparatus that may be used both for 'internal consumption' and for waging information wars with the neighbors. This is about a possibility and a need for the coordinated resistance of Ukraine to the informational attacks and about capacity of the state to protect own informational interests. By the way, Russia provides a good example of protecting own interests in the information sphere in the first place. Then again — the problem sits within the country.

Let us look into the history. What if not manipulation of the public consciousness one may call the speech of the American President in Kyiv in 1991 about "self-destructive nationalism" and about "freedom, which is not identical to independence"? Who and under what pretext persuaded Ukraine to destroy its strategic and tactical nuclear weapons and on which diplomatic shelf is being covered with dust the famous Budapest protocol about nuclear safety guarantees for Ukraine? Who provoked the 'chain armor' scandal, which threw Ukraine decades back from the European and Euro-Atlantic integration and who apologized when no Ukrainian radars were found in Iraq? Finally, who forms the image of Ukraine as 'artificially created state capable for self-organization by no other way than under colonial supervision?

All our contemporary history, the history of our independence, is the history of 'blowing ups' on the information 'mines' upon which Ukraine stumbles with persistence of the blind and will continue to stumble unless we learn lessons that our numerous strategic and less strategic partners teach us.

The Ukrinform Agency called to provide the state information policy could not but made the same mistakes as the state. Now we are facing a situation when some journalists devoid of determination to compete on the market of information services and as a result the Agency was forced out from a considerable segment of the media space.

Now we are living through 'evolution of outlook'.

Our Agency is the information tool of the state and like the state should meet the interests of every Ukrainian citizen who wants to live a decent life for himself and his children in his own country.

Now we are trying to restore positions lost in the information market protecting thereby the interests of the state and its citizens without gush and overreaction, every day with everyone doing his business. So, the reforms in the Agency are inevitable as the reforms in the state.

We are choosing not structure or technologies that are very important in the intellectual epoch — we choose a new outlook, which is more than an ambitious task.

In this respect I would like to mention that owing to the previous head of the Agency Viktor Chamara we managed to form and preserve effective state information structure thanks to circumstances and sometimes contrary to them.

Creation of a network of press centers abroad that are successfully working now in nine countries is an informational breakthrough for Ukraine into the external world. In certain times even an intention to create such network was a brave idea while its practical implementation may be without exaggeration called a civil achievement.

With assistance from the state, which more and more appreciates potential of Agency's own correspondents Ukrinform may create conditions so that the network will work most effectively and develop further. These are the diplomats that may assess practical significance of the Ukrainian information presence in the world. The main thing is not to skip lessons provided by the history.

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine

NAME	COUNTRY	LOCATION
Natalia Taradayko	Republic of Austria	Donetsk
Yaroslav Hartsula	Kingdom of Belgium	Lviv
Ahunu William Edmond Dossa	Republic of Benin	Kyiv
Ihor Drotiak	Republic of Belarus	Lviv
Ivan Avramov	Republic of Bulgaria	Zaporizhzhya
Potro Malekh	Republic of Brazil	Lviv
Arak Tovmasyan	Republic of Armenia	Yalta
Oleksandr Skrypnyk	Republic of Armenia	Rivne
Yurij Chorni	Georgia	Zhytomyr
Lev Kudzhaidze	Georgia	Lviv
Yurij Ovcharenko	Republic of Ecuador	Kyiv
Ihor Sergeev	Republic of Estonia	Simferopol
Nver Mhitarian	Republic of Colombia	Kyiv
Oleksandr Kuznetsov	Union of the Comoros	Kyiv
Oleksij Lysenko	Republic of Cote d'Ivoire	Dnipropetrovsk
Victor Harapko	Republic of Lithuania	Uzhgorod
Sergij Petrynenko	Republic of Lithuania	Simferopol
Mykola Novykov	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	Kyiv
Mark Andrew Rait	New Zealand	Kyiv
Valerij Palchuk	Oman	Kyiv
Ihor Balenko	Republic of Peru	Kyiv
Oleg Svydnarchuk	Republic of Seychelles	Kyiv
Tamara Lysenko	Slovak Republic	Donetsk
Larysa Malekh	Republic of Hungary	Lviv
Viktor Pavlenko	Republic of Hungary	Simferopol
Valerij Kovalenko	Republic of Filipinas	Kyiv
Karl Sturen	Kingdom of Sweden	Kherson

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Austria
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Yaroslav Nokonechj**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Bolivia
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Vladimir Jose Tordoya Rohas**



**Honorary Consul
of the Bosnia and Herzegovina
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Andriy Vasylykovskij**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Armenia
in Ukraine (Kharkiv)
Armen Aslanian**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Guatemala
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Oleksiy Goncharov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Guinean Republic
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Ramin Mansurian**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Equatorial
Guinea in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Roman Chelnokov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Ireland
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Volodymyr Saj**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Iceland in
Ukraine (Kyiv)
Kostiantyn Malovanyi**



**Honorary Consul
of the Hashemite Kingdom
of Jordan in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Muhammed Aburajuh**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Kazakhstan
in Ukraine (Lviv)
Galyna Masliuk**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Kazakhstan
in Ukraine (Odessa)
Viktor Bohaty**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Kazakhstan
in Ukraine (Zaporizhzhya)
Sergiy Grechnyj**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Cyprus
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Yuriy Getmanenko**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Cyprus
in Ukraine (Mariupol)
Kostiantyn Balabonov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Latvia
in Ukraine (Odessa)
Olena Aleksenko**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Lithuania
in Ukraine (Zhytomyr)
Yevgen Lavrov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Lithuania
in Ukraine (Lviv)
Vitaliy Antonov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Lithuania
in Ukraine (Kherson)
Viktor Popov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Maldives
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Andriy Lirnyk**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the United Mexican States
in Ukraine (Lviv)
Ivan Shkrum**



**Honorary Consul
of the Kingdom
of the Netherlands
in Ukraine (Donetsk)
Ihor Golovan**



**Honorary Consul
of the Kingdom
of the Netherlands
in Ukraine (Lviv)
Bogdan Pankevych**



**Honorary Consul
of the Federal Republic
of Germany
in Ukraine (Lviv)
Myroslava Diakovych**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Federal Republic
of Germany in Ukraine
(Odessa)
Oleksandr Kyfak**



**Honorary Consul
of the Federal Republic
of Germany in Ukraine
(Donetsk)
Viktor Kalashnikov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Panama
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Danylo Kurdelchuk**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic
of South Africa
in Ukraine (Odessa)
Larysa Poplavska**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Russian Federation
in Ukraine (Chernihiv)
Vagif Aliyev**



**Honorary Consul
of the Syrian Arab Republic in
Ukraine (Odessa)
Ali Mukhammad Issa**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Slovenia
in Ukraine (Lviv)
Yulia Mizrakh**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Slovenia
in Ukraine (Kharkiv)
Anatiliy Bondarenko**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Kingdom of Thailand
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Myhailo Radutskyj**



**Honorary Consul
of the Tunisian Republic
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Gennadiy Samoylov**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Turkey
in Ukraine (Dnipropetrovsk)
Ihor Hanin**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Hungary
in Ukraine (Donetsk)
Sergiy Kyrychnko**

Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine



**Honorary Consul
of the Oriental Republic
of Uruguay in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Olena Podoleva**



**Honorary Consul
of the Central African
Republic in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Oleksandr Bondarenko**



**Honorary Consul
of the Republic of Chile
in Ukraine (Kyiv)
Volodymyr Polyachenko**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Address of the President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich to Ukrainian Citizens on Occasion of 20-Year Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine	6
Kostyantyn Gryshchenko. Independent Ukraine. Twenty Years on the World Arena	11
Diplomatic recognition of Ukraine	22
Oleksandr Shulga. Foreign Policy of Independent Ukraine. Summing-up the Twenty-Year Period	49

EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY AMBASSADORS OF UKRAINE TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Australia. Valentyn Adomaitis	176
The Republic of Austria. Andrii Bereznyi	177
The Republic of Azerbaijan. Oleksandr Mischenko	178
Algerian People's Democratic Republic. Valerii Kirdoda	180
The Argentine Republic. Oleksandr Taranenko	181
The Kingdom of Belgium. Ihor Dolhov	182
The Republic of Belarus. Viktor Tikhonov	183
The Republic of Bulgaria. Mykola Baltazhi	185
The Federative Republic of Brazil. Ihor Hrushko	187
Vatican. Tetyana Izhevska	188
The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Volodymyr Khandohii	189
Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Oleksii Shovkoplyas	191
The Republic of Armenia. Ivan Kukhta	192
The Gabonese Republic. Serhii Mishustin	193
The Republic of Guinea. Andrii Zaietz	194
The Hellenic Republic. Volodymyr Shkurov	195
Georgia. Vasyl' Tsybenko	196
The Kingdom of Denmark. Mikhailo Skuratovsky	197
The Republic of Estonia. Viktor Kryzhaniv's'kyi	198
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Oleksandr Buravchenkov	200
The Arab Republic of Egypt. Valerii Hryhorash	201
The State of Israel. Hennadii Nadolenko	202
The Republic of India. Oleksandr Shevchenko	203
The Republic of Indonesia. Oleksandr Sirenko	205
The Islamic Republic of Iran. Oleksandr Samarskii	206
Ireland. Serhii Reva	208
The Kingdom of Spain. Anatolii Scherba	209
The Italian Republic. Georhii Chernyavskii	210
The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Sergii Pas'ko	211
The Republic of Kazakhstan. Oleh Diomin	212
Canada. Mikhailo Khomenko	213
The Republic Kenya. Volodymyr Butyaha	214
The People's Republic of China. Yurii Kostenko	215
The Kyrgyz Republic. Volodymyr Solovei	216
The Republic of Cyprus. Oleksandr Dem'ianuk	217
The Republic of Korea. Vasyl Marmazov	218
The Republic of Cuba. Tetyana Saenko	219
The State of Kuwait. Volodymyr Tolkach	220

The Republic of Latvia. Anatolii Oliinyk.....	222
The Lithuanian Republic. Valeriy Zhovtenko.....	224
The Republic of Lebanon. Volodymyr Koval'.....	226
The Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Mykola Nagornyj.....	227
The Republic of Macedonia. Yuri Honcharuk.....	228
Malaysia. Ihor Humennyi.....	229
The Kingdom of the Morocco. Yaroslav Koval'.....	231
The Mexican United States. Oleksii Branashko.....	232
The Republic of Moldova. Serhii PyrozHKov.....	233
The Federative Republic of Nigeria. Valerii Vasyliie.....	234
The Kingdom of the Netherlands. Oleksandr Gorin.....	235
The Federative Republic of Germany. Natalia Zarudna.....	237
The Kingdom of Norway. Oleksandr Tsvetkov.....	238
The United Arab Emirates. Yurii Polurez.....	239
The Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Oleg Shevchenko.....	241
Republic of South Africa. Valeriy Grebeniuk.....	243
The Republic of Poland. Markiyani Malskii.....	244
The Portuguese Republic. Oleksandr Nykonenko.....	245
The Russian Federation. Volodymyr Yelchenko.....	247
Romania. Markian Kulyk.....	248
The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Petro Kolos.....	249
The Republic of Serbia. Victor Nedopas.....	251
The Syrian Arab Republic. Oleg Semenets.....	252
The Republic of Singapore. Pavlo Sultanskyi.....	253
The Republic of Slovakia. Oleh Gavashi.....	255
The Republic of Slovenia. Mykola Kyrychenko.....	257
The United States of America. Oleksandr Motsik.....	259
The Kingdom of Thailand. Markiyani Chuchuk.....	260
The Republic of Tunis. Valerii Rylach.....	261
The Republic of Turkey. Sergey Korsunskii.....	262
The Republic of Turkmenistan. Valentyn Shevaliov.....	263
The Republic of Hungary. Yuri Mushka.....	264
The Republic of Uzbekistan. Yurii Savchenko.....	265
The Republic of Finland. Andrii Deschitsa.....	267
The Republic of France. Oleksandr Kupchishyn.....	268
The Republic of Croatia. Oleksandr Levchenko.....	269
The Czech Republic. Ivan Grytsak.....	270
The Republic of Montenegro. Oksana Slyusarenko.....	271
The Swiss Confederation. Igor Dir.....	272
The Kingdom of Sweden. Evhen Perebyinis.....	273
Japan. Mykola Kulnych.....	274

EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY AMBASSADORS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO UKRAINE

The Republic of Austria. Wolf Dietrich Heim.....	276
The Republic of Azerbaijan. Einulla Yadulla oglu Madatli.....	277
The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. Mokhammed Bashyr Mazzuz.....	278
The Argentine Republic. Lila Roldan Vazquez de Moine.....	279
The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Mohamed Asef Delavar.....	280
The Kingdom of Belgium. Yana Zikmundova.....	281
The Republic of Belarus. Valentyn V. Velychko.....	282
The Republic of Bulgaria. Dimitar Vladimirov.....	283
The Federative Republic of Brazil. Antonio Fernando Cruz de Mello.....	284
Holly See (Vatikan). The Reverend Father Vecheslav Tumor.....	285

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Robert Lee Turner	286
The Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Ho Dak Min Nguet	287
The Republic of Armenia. Andranik Enokovych Manukyan	288
The Hellenic Republic. Georgios Georguntzos	289
Georgia. Grigol Katamadze	290
The Kingdom of Denmark. Michael Borg-Hansen	291
The Republic of Estonia. Yaan Hein	292
The Arab Republic of Egypt. Yasir Atef Abdel Kade	293
The State of Israel. Reuven Din El	294
The Republic of India. Radjiv Kumar Chander	295
The Republic of Indonesia. Nininh Suningsih Rohadiat	296
The Republic of Iraq. Shorsh Halid Said	297
The Islamic Republic of Iran. Akbar Gasemi-Aliabadi	298
The Kingdom of Spain. Jose Rodriguez Moyano	299
The Republic of Italy. Pietro Giovanni Donnici	300
The Republic of Kazakhstan. Zhumambayev Amangeldi Zhumambaeovich	301
Canada. G. Daniel Caron	302
The Kyrgyz Republic. Borubek Chyybylovich Ashyrov	303
The Republic of Cyprus. Evahoras Vrionides	304
The People's Republic of China. Chzhan Siyun	305
The Republic of Korea. Kim Ying Tszhun	306
The Republic of Cuba. Felix Leon Carballo	307
The State of Kuwait. Usef Hussein Al-Habandi	308
The Republic of Latvia. Atis Sianits	309
The Republic of Lithuania. Piatras Vaitekunas	310
The Republic of Lebanon. Usef Sadaka	311
Great Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya. Feisal Atiya M. Alshaari	312
The Republic of Macedonia. Atso Spasenoski	313
Malaysia. Teon Ban Chuaha	314
The Kingdom of Morocco. Abdelzhalil Saubbri	315
The United States of Mexico. Berenise Rendón Talavera	316
The Republic of Moldova. Ion Stevile	317
The Federative Republic of Nigeria. Ibrahim Pada Kasai	318
The Kingdom of Netherlands. Pieter Jan Wolthers	319
The Federative Republic of Germany. Hans-Jurgen Heimsoeth	320
The Kingdom of Norway. Olaf Berstad	321
The Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Akhmed Navaz Salim Mela	322
Palestina. Mohammed Kasem Assad Al-Assad	323
The Republic of South Africa. Andris Fenter	324
The Republic of Poland. Henric Litvin	325
The Portuguese Republic. Mario Zhizush Dush Santush	326
The Russian Federation. Mikhail Yu. Zurabov	327
Romania. Ionescu Kornel	328
The Kingdom of the Saudi Arabia. Judyia Z.M. Alhazal	329
The Republic of Serbia. Dushan Lazich	330
The Syrian Arab Republic. Mohammed Said Akil	331
The Slovak Republic. Pavol Gamzhik	332
The Republic of Slovenia. Natasha Prach	333
The United States of America. John F. Tefft	334
The Republic of Tajikistan. Shukhrat Muzafarovych Sultanov	335
The Republic of Turkey. Akhmet Byulent Merich	336
Turkmenistan. Nurberdi Amanmuradovych Amanmuradov	337
The Hungarian Republic. Michael Bayer	338
The Republic of Uzbekistan. Batyr Pulatovych Yusupov	339

The Republic of Finland. Christer Michelsson	340
The French Republic. Jacques Faure	341
The Republic of Croatia. Zelko Cirinic	342
The Czech Republic. Ivan Pochukh	343
The Swiss Confederation. Georg Zubler	344
The Kingdom of Sweden. Stephan Gullgren	345
Japan. Toichi Sakata	346
The European Union. Jose Manuel Pinto Texeira	347

REPRESENTATIVES OF UKRAINE TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Head of Ukraine Mission to the United Nations. Ihor Dolgov	351
Representative of Ukraine to the European Union. Kostyantyn Eliseev	352
Permanent Representative of Ukraine to UNESCO. Oleksandr Kupchyshyn	353
Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the UN and other International Organizations	
Department in Geneva (Switzerland). Mykola Maimeskul	354
Permanent Representative of Ukraine to International Organizations in Wien (Austria).	
Ihor Prokopchuk	356
Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations. Yurii Sergeev	357
Permanent Authorized Representative of Ukraine to the CIS Coordinating Institutes. Ivan Bunechko	358
Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe. Mykola Tochytsky	359
CONSULS-GENERAL OF UKRAINE IN FOREIGN STATES	360
CONSULS-GENERAL OF FOREIGN STATES IN UKRAINE	361

PERSONALITIES OF THE UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY

Mariya Vitushok. Ivan Gryshchenko	362
Anatoliy Denisenko, Vasil' Turkevich. Gennady Udovenko — the man of the globe	365
Rector and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary Leonid Gubersky	369

DIPLOMAT'S TRIBUNE

Serhiy Pirozhkov. Ukraine and Moldova: move to the European Union after 20 years of Independence	373
Yuri Kostenko. From friendship and cooperation to strategic partnership	385
Yuri Kostenko. The visit that opened new horizons of cooperation 409	
Oleksandr Kupchyshyn. Twenty years of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and France	424
Mykola Kulynych. Twenty years of Ukrainian-Japanese Cooperation: overall results and prospects	446
Oleh Voloshyn. Russian initiatives on enhancement of CIS effectiveness in 1998–1999 and the reasons for their failure	461

DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY OF UKRAINE

Borys Humenyuk. National diplomacy today: new challenges and missions	472
Viacheslav Tsivaty, Nataliya-Tereza Anoshyna. The diplomatic service and the diplomats of Great Britain: historical traditions, modern institutional model (experience for Ukraine	492
THE DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY OF UKRAINE – SCENES OF LIFE	505

GENERAL DIRECTORATE TO RENDER SERVICES TO FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES

Pavlo Kryvonos. For diplomats and about diplomats	507
Oleksii Kyikov. Ukrainian routes of foreign Diplomats	512

CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY

Vasii Durdinets. Defending national sovereignt	534
Volodimir Evtukh. Prospects of Ukraine's cooperation with European and Transatlantic structures in the context of Ukrainian identities	545

Georgii Kryuchkov. Problems of the National Security and defense of Ukraine in the context of non-alignment policy.....	561
Sergiy Nagorny, Denis Nagorny. The russian initiatives on establishing «GAS OPEC»: conclusions for Ukraine.....	576
Leonid Shklyar. Current priorities of the foreign policy of Ukraine.....	610
Yuri Shapoval. The road 15 years long.....	622

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Viktor Andruschenko. Training of a New Teacher for the United Europe of the 21st Century.....	649
Kostyantyn Balabanov. Multy-vector international cooperation of the modern university.....	656
Volodymyr Bekh, Yulia Bekh. System of State and Public Aministration as a product of democratization of the world community social development.....	678
Yevhenia Yuriychuk. Foreign electoral power legitimating in Post-Soviet area by parliamentary assembly of the council of Europe.....	692
Alexander Derzhaliuk. International experience of executing parliamentary control and expediency of its introduction in Ukraine.....	713

FROM THE DISTANCE OF CENTURIES

Alexander Dubina. Geopolitical aspects of the Swedish-Ukrainian union at the beginning of the 18th century.....	734
Valery Soldatenko. The warsaw agreement of 1920. A modern historiographic discourse.....	766
Igor Datskiv. Ukraine-Poland relations 1919–1920: role of UNR diplomacy.....	795
Oleh Kupchuk. Transformation of institutional and functional status of foreign trade department of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) (1919–1924).....	817
Volodimir Golovchenko. Victorious entente and independent Ukraine: the search for diplomatic consent.....	832

RESEARCHES. ESSAYS

Oleksandr Dobrzhanskyi. Mykola Vasylo — a notable organizer of the Ukrainian people's republic diplomacy.....	856
Pavlo Gayi-Nyzhnyk. Oleksander Paltov, deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ukrainian State (1918).....	868

DIPLOMATIC LIFE IN PICTURES

Foreign guests visit university «Ukraina».....	882
Iryna Nagrebetska. Wives of the Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the foreign countries to Ukraine visit Rivne.....	884

UKRAINE AND THE WORLD

Mikhailo Soroka. EURO-2012: test and chance for Ukraine.....	890
Petro Talanchuk, Vitaly Karpenko. Non-Jubilee Reflections in the Jubilee Year.....	907
Teofil Rendyuk. Ukrainian military and political emigration to Rumania in period between wars: unknown pages in the history of diaspora.....	936
Vyacheslav Yaremchuk. The factor of «Austrian civilizational mission» and Ukrainianhood.....	955
Alexander Danylenko. International famine relief to Ukrainian population in the 20s.....	966

DIPLOMACY IN THE EYES OF JOURNALISTS

Petro Kolomyets. Three destinies of one publication.....	982
Sergii Braha. Components of the interview with a diplomat.....	987

ACTUALITY

Rostyslav Sossa. Cartographic component part of delimitation of the Kerch Strait.....	990
The Diplomatic dossier.....	1003
Oleksandr Detsyk. Lessons that we often skip.....	1020
Honorary Consuls of the foreign countries in Ukraine.....	1024

UKRAINA DYPLOMATYCHNA — 2011

SCIENTIFIC YEARBOOK

The 12th issue

Compiling editors:

*Leonid Gubersky, Pavlo Kryvonos,
Borys Gumenyuk, Anatoly Denysenko,
Vasyl Turkevych*

Founders:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine,
The Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine,
The Directorate General for Servicing of International Representation,
The Historical Club *Planeta*

Publisher:

The Directorate General for Servicing
of International Representation

The issue is recommended by the Academic Council
of the Diplomatic Academy at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of Ukraine as a training manual. Protocol No 1 of October 8, 2011

The State Commission for Academic Degrees and Titles of Ukraine approved the
Yearbook as a professional publication on political and historical sciences

Director of the Information Publishing Center (IPC) *Planeta*

Halyna Denysenko

Layout and makeup by *Sergii Krasnikov*

Corrector *Vira Karpenko*

Editor *Inna Andriychuk*

Translated into English by *Alla Gorskaya*

Composing and prepress by IRC *Planeta*

Address of the Editorial Board: Kyiv, Striletska st., 16;
for correspondence — Kyiv-34, PO 32;
Tel. 482-38-06

Printed at the State Publisher's "Presa Ukrainy"

Kyiv, prospect Peremogy, 50.

Format 60×84/16. Signatures. 71. Signed for printing: 2.11.2011.

Pressrun: 1000 copies.