# УКРАЇНА ЄВРОПА СВІТ

# UKRAINE EUROPE WORLD

Міжнародний збірник наукових праць Серія: Історія, міжнародні відносини

The International Collection of Scientific Works Series: History, International Relations Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University

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# PREFACE

... a boat... out of it, the earth is clearly visible on all sides... S. Vakarchuk

## **UEW IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE**

**F** or the first time, we offer an edition of the International Collection of Scientific Works *Ukraine–Europe–World* in English to the community and the scientific world. It is as an answer to the latest challenges that are hotly debated among scholars, and the desire to bring the publication closer to the world reader, what was intended at the beginning. In 2008, when the first issue was published in mixed languages, we were interested in the conceptual dimension, a content filling, the publications quality and the possibility of balance according to different criteria. The researches were published in mixed languages such as Ukrainian, Russian, Polish and English, what was fixed legally by a relevant document. Naturally, most of the publications are presented in Ukrainian what will be continued in the future. Still we proceed from the tasks that have been, are and are staying now before our country, the historical science, and the edition first of all. Of course, responding, quickly and adequately, if possible, to the tendencies of the whole scientific space of the present.

Even a brief understanding of the latter makes it possible to state the various in character, discussions on the uncontradictory contradictions (crises and outcomes) generally, in the development of various branches of knowledge, STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics) and STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, Mathematics) totally, on a completely new outcome of mankind and civilization in a planetary context and the aspirations to find answers using new instruments and views on the basic questions of being, simultaneously to ensure a safe development within the regions and states, eventually to save and understand yourself within this period of space and time, if to define them by scientific approaches and categories. All these interpretations and statements were reflected in the Ukrainian historical scientific thought and were supplemented and reinforced by the urgent needs of the Ukrainian sovereign state development.

The Scientific Collection is published in Ukraine. During these years, the country has entered a new round of history which is stormy and multifaceted. Human losses and achievements. The seizure of Crimea and the Donbas and a desperate struggle for their return. Successes and failures in the open international performances and much unknown behind the scenes. As it was noted by a well-known Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda: "The invisible determines reality". And a sequel: "So, let cognize the visible to understand the invisible." The editorial board also worked in this direction, formatting the numbers, introducing new sections, focusing on the topics (UEW, 2017, 20, 6–8).

The scientific results of the original research of both Ukrainian and foreign scientists published in the *UEW* cover a wide range of problems of World History and Ukraine in the world-historical process, elucidate various aspects of the History of foreign countries, World policy and international relations, the place and role of Ukraine in world community, Methodology and Source Study, Historiography, Ukrainian and Foreign Culture, Education and Science, which open Ukraine to the world, and the world to Ukraine.

So, from the very beginning, the founders of the international journal have oriented themselves by two basic principles that have become the priority areas: Ukraine as a component of the European space and world civilization, affirming its way, a civilization place in history and the present day of both Europe and the World, on one axis together. And the second, using the possibility of a wide mutual communication of the *UEW*, it is an edition where the scientists from all over the world can present their research on issues of history, education, culture, international relations, etc.

To some extent, it was achieved, if to analyze the previous publications, for all important professional characteristics. The editorial board members are well-known scholars representing the main scientific and educational institutions of Ukraine and Europe that is professors Yu. Alexeyev, M. Alexiyevets, V. Balyuk, M. Barmak, B. Buyak, V. Bonusyak, S. Vidnyansky, R. Drozd, I. Zulyak, O. Klymenyuk, V. Kravets, A. Kruglashov, A. Kudryachenko. M. Lazarovych, M. Lytvyn, Yu. Makar, P. Myronenko, G. Papakin, G. Perepelytsa, A. Udod, L. Chekalenko, V. Yarovyi, associate professors Yu. Drevnitsky, V. Mysko, and I. Fedoriv.

Among the authors are well-known Ukrainian scholars, foreign researchers, gifted youth, who in the time of publication of the collection of scientific works passes partly to the rank of historians with interesting views, interpretations, as well as its own style. Such a "harmonious balance between the contemporary and future of national science is ... a brand mark of the edition" (UEW, 2018, 21, 198).

The collection of scientific works evolved both in a content, being filled with the headings and subjects, and in a form. All presented photos are original ones as well as it concerns the *UEW* symbol. Scientific papers are accompanied with the information about new interesting and important publications, opinions, and reviews. The headline Nota Bene is also topical; it acquaints you with the significant novelties of historical researches in the original language.

The 5th and 16th issues came out in two parts. They, as well as some others, contain dedications. So, Issue 5: to Honour of Professor M. M. Alexiyevets, Issues 6–7: to the 20th Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine, Issue 9: to Euro-2012, Issue 10: to the 20th Anniversary of the History Department of Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, Issue13: to the 200th Anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birthday, Issue15: to the 75th Anniversary of Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University, Issue 16: to the 1010th anniversary of Dubrovitsa, Issue 17: to the 25th Anniversary of the Independence of Ukraine, Issue 18: to the 150th Anniversary of Mikhaylo Hrushevsky's birthday, Issue 21: to the 25th Anniversary of Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University.

The 20th contains greetings to the jubilee issue. Among them, a greeting of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine Vasyl Bodnar, who writes about the fact that today is again especially important for Ukraine: the history understanding, the construction of its own historical narrative, the ability to defend it argumentatively and persuasively in the international discourse (UEW, 2017, 20, 17). We will add that the 21st issue presents the extensive professional review of publications dedicated to the first decade of founding, which states that "the edition performs successfully the exclusive function of combining organic, rather than artificial, scientific works on the national History, World history and its various branches, Methodology of History, Historiography and Source Studies" (UEW, 2018, 21, 203).

Many original papers in the collection of scientific works are devoted to the outstanding figures who are known and those who opened or, rather, returned to Ukraine and the world in their true quality for the first time. Like the interesting publications of Omelyan Pritsak, in particular, to whom we come back again and again. We will deliberately name him, a creator of the world Ukrainian Studies, whose 100th anniversary the world community celebrated in April 2019. "Science occupies a central place in the system of culture, as its theoretical basis, the amount of experience, the source of inspiration," the creator of "the Harvard miracle" mentioned. The famous scientist's vital credo was a rather ambitious program: "...I would like to give the world

a vision of the history of Ukraine, but not as it was done before, in isolation, but in the system of the world humanitarianism. To bring the Ukrainian revival ... as an international problem on the backdrop of the international history" (Day, 2019, 112-113, 14). As a particle of no less ambitious basic tasks, which were determined by the founders of the presented edition in 2008.

Significantly, since the publication of the International Collection of Scientific Works *UEW*, as a whole, so on separate discourse, ideas and meanings of contained works, a number of scientific projects and powerful books have arisen. First of all, the international research project "Ukraine–Europe–World: historical, political and spiritual aspects of development" (UEW, 2011, 5, 1, 330–331). Within its framework of implementation are the papers, monographs, defended candidate and doctoral thesis, as well as scientific meetings. The international scientific conferences "Europe–Ukraine–Ternopil Region: International Relations, Cooperation, and Security", and "Historical Education and Science in Ukraine: Innovations, Challenges, and Prospects" are among the most significant meetings, their materials were published in Issues 19 and 21.

Today, we ascertain that the International Collection of Scientific Works has its Reader, Author, its own place among the historical editions. *UEW* is covered by the following database services: RISC, Index Copernicus, and Google Scholar.

The current Issue, in our opinion, brings closer to the English-speaking Reader. And it is believed that in fact the journal is gaining weight and importance among the ocean of powerful world editions. By the little steps, together, through the scientific knowledge that works for the present and the future.

> Lesya Alexiyevets Editor-in-Chief, Doctor of History, Professor

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# Наталія Романишин

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# ARTICLES

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## ANTHROPOCENTRISM OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

Summary. The article deals with the philosophical ideological principle, the content of which is the understanding of the world in connection with the inclusion of the Ukrainian person as an amateur factor. It is noted that in the history of Ukrainian philosophical thought the problem of human, his essence and meaning of life is one of the central. Even in the times of Kyiv Rus the human was perceived not only as a part of the cosmos, which is inherent in paganism, but also as the peak of nature. A new manifestation of the human view manifests itself in XVI-XVIII centuries when the national self-determination of Ukrainians awakens, which, in turn, exacerbates the interest of the society to the universal foundations of European civilization - antiquity, Christianity and enlightenment, that is, the ideas of anthropocentrism that were widespread and in Western Europe. A human was viewed not only from the point of sin and salvation, but as the highest value, the creator of himself through involvement in God as a perfect creation, S. Orikhovskvi, K. Sakovych, K. Trankvilion-Stavrovetskvi affirmed the idea of unity of microand macrocosm. Anthropocentrism was conceived as a leading tendency of Ukrainian philosophy and classical literature of XIX-XX centuries. The philosophical and literary heritage of T. Shevchenko, M. Drahomanov, I. Franko, M. Pavlyk, Lesia Ukrainka, M. Kotsiubynskyi, P. Grabovskyi, T. Zinkivskyi, Yu. Vassyian, D. Dontsov, M. Mikhnovskyi is imbued with it. In general, the Ukrainian human in the anthropocentric type of culture positions himself to the world, but not the world to the human. While the world is a background, a human observes the world.

Keywords: anthropocentrism, sociocentrism, world outlook, anthology, human, society, culture.

# АНТРОПОЦЕНТРИЗМ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ І ЦИВІЛІЗАЦІЇ

Анотація. У статті йдеться про філософський світоглядний принцип, змістом якого є розуміння світу у зв'язку з включеністю в нього української людини як самодіяльнісного фактора. Зазначено, що в історії української філософської думки проблема людини, її сутності та сенсу життя є однією з центральних. Ще за часів Київської Русі людину сприймали не лише як частину Космосу, що притаманне язичництву, а й як вершину природи. Новий прояв погляду на людину проявляється у XVI–XVIII ст., коли пробуджується національне самовизначення українського народу, що, своєю чергою, загострило інтерес суспільства до універсальних основ європейської цивілізації – античності, християнства та просвітництва, тобто виникають ті самі ідеї антропоцентризму, що були поширені і в Західній Європі. Людина розглядалася не лише з позиції гріхопадіння та спасіння, а як найвища цінність, творець самої себе через причетність до Бога, як досконале творіння. С. Оріховський, К. Сакович, К. Транквіліон-Ставровецький утверджували ідею єдності мікро- та макрокосмосу. Антропоцентризм замислився провідною тенденцією української філософії і класичної літератури XIX–XX ст. Ним пронизана філософська і літературна спадщина Т. Шевченка, М. Драгоманова, І. Франка, М. Павлика, Лесі Українки, М. Коцюбинського, П. Грабовського, Т. Зінківського, Ю. Вассияна, Д. Донцова, М. Міхновського. Загалом українська людина в антропоцентричному типі культури позиціонує себе світові, а не світ людині, вона фігура, тоді як світ – тло, людина спостерігає за світом.

Ключові слова: антропоцентризм, соціоцентризм, світогляд, антологія, людина, суспільство, культура.

**ntroduction.** Anthropocentrism is a philosophical ideological principle, the content of which is the understanding of the world in connection with the inclusion of human as a conscious activity factor. In the development of philosophy, the problem of human in the surrounding world has always been a leading, and now it plays a decisive role in understanding the modern world. Its formation was associated with its separation from the natural environment, the animal world, with the awareness of himself not only as a representative of the human race, but also as an individuality and personality. The content of the principle of anthropocentrism has been historically changed, based on an understanding of the essence of human within the limits of humanitarian ideas of various philosophical schools and doctrines, as well as in connection with the different levels of development of concrete historical knowledge about human, the results of his self-knowledge and self-consciousness.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Thinking about the essence of anthropocentrism of Ukrainian culture and civilization, the authors relied on the achievement of the historiography of the problem, taking into account that the Ukrainian anthropocentrism and its comprehension have long traditions, whose roots reach the princely age and the Cossack-Hetman times. Any way, this problem arose in the process of the formation of scientific basis of Ukrainian historiography, the foundation of which was laid by M. Hrushevskyi, paying attention to such traits as originality, isolation and organic closeness to European civilization.

The founders of Ukrainian studies and the history of Ukrainian culture were M. Kostomarov, P. Kulish, T. Shevchenko, figures of the Kiev community, the Russian Trinity, the Scientific Society named by T. Shevchenko, and such prominent intellectuals as M. Maksymovich, V. Antonovych, V. Vernadskyi, M. Hrushevskyi, D. Dontsov, D. Doroshenko, M. Drahomanov, I. Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, I. Nechui-Levytskyi, V. Vynnychenko, D. Antonovych, F. Vovk, P. Voropai, V. Lypynskyi, I. Krypiakevych, O. Kulchytskyi, Yu. Lypa, V. Mirchuk, I. Ogienko, O. Potebnia, M. Sumtsov, D. Chizhevskyi, P. Chubynskyi, P. Yurkevych, D. Yavornytskyi and others. In addition, we recall that one of the pioneers of professional Ukrainian studies in Ukrainian anthropology was Fedor Vovk. His scientific works, written and published in French and Russian at the turn of the XIX–XX centuries, are now republished in Ukrainian philosophy and historiography, emphasizing that he became the main philosophical paradigm of Ukrainian studies.

One of the peculiarities of modern Ukrainian historiography is that it increasingly takes over and implements the experience of human-centered and anthropological direction in Western European humanities, a new stage of which has begun in the middle of the twentieth century. The transition from "the history of events" to "the history of humans" is inseparable from the civilization approach to the historical process, which focuses on the priority role of a human in it. In this connection the authors tried to involve as much as possible research on the civilization history of Ukraine, in particular O. Gorelov, O. Motsi and O. Rafaelskyi, as well as two volumes "Ukraine: the civilization context of cognition" by M. Yurii, L. Aleksievets, Ya. Kalakura and O. Udod, individual monographs by Yu. Pavlenko and M. Yurii,

devoted to the civilization comprehension of world history and socio-cultural world of Ukraine. Particular attention was paid to the study of V. Andrushchenko, L. Guberskyi, M. Mikhalchenko, V. Sheik, devoted to the civilization dimension of Ukrainian culture, and local civilization.

The aim of the article. The article is based on the general theory of anthropological understanding of culture and civilization to answer the question: what is Ukrainian human, the priorities of his origin, how the human changed his place in nature and society, culture and spirituality, which evolution has Ukrainian human undergone himself. The authors seek to track the leading trends in the growth of the role of a human in the development of Ukrainian culture and civilization, from ancient times to modernity.

**Results.** Anthropocentrism is a worldview according to which human is the center of the universe and the purpose of all events that are carried out in the world. A human in the anthropocentric type of culture positions himself in the world, but not the world to the human; a human is a figure, whereas the world is a background, a human influences the world, he is relatively active and mobile in the world, and the world is static, a human observes the world, and not vice versa. The general ribbon of anthropocentric paintings of the world is human gnosis, but is indecisive. Probably due to this anthropocentric ontology is a doctrine of the cumulative integrity of being, that being was considered only from the standpoint of the human mind, and the question of whether this single point of view and whether there may be a non-human logos of the world did not arise. Only when the world is "aged" for so many centuries of its awareness, being as the unity has "split up" on the plurality of orchestrated ontologies. Human activity in relation to the world manifests itself in the theoretically established and almost feasible opportunity to influence, modify, adapt to their needs the surrounding world (from the point of view of a human - to improve), with what the civilizational paradigm of human society development is connected with.

Even the fact that each epochal consciousness corresponded with its own outlook, which can be read as an outlook of a human about the world, and in which each of its components (sensory-spatial, spiritual, cultural, metaphysical) was determined by the human conception of the world. This testifies anthropocentrism as a guide for the ensemble of eras from antiquity to the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Just as the soul was the enthalfe of the body (Aristotle), a human became an enthlete of the anthropocentric picture of the world (Vytel, 2009: 203).

Some problems of anthropocentrism have already been established in the philosophy of the ancient society, where they found their logical reasoning in the works of ancient Greek philosophers. Already at that time, Protagor (V century BC) proclaimed a position that retained its significance to this day that "a human is the measure of all things". It was refined by Socrates (V century BC) in the sense that only "a person who thinks is a measure of all things". Of great importance to the development of anthropocentrism was the natural materialist doctrine of Democritus (V–VII centuries BC) about a human as a microcosm; the definition of Aristotle (IV century BC) of a human as the deepest essence of being. Within the philosophy of ancient society, anthropocentrism was essentially ontological, considering a human as the necessary constituent part of the immense Cosmos, as its highest state. Even then, installations have been placed in the interpretation of the world in connection with its alignment with man, or in other words – the anthropocentric idea in antiquity appeared in its embryonic form as a complex of future invariants of future development. Each of the following eras "removed" from antiquity as from the pantry, the elements of its future cultural and civilizational model, and delivered outside the updated version of the anthropocentric idea. In this sense, antiquity was with respect to other epochs as the base system, and without it anthropocentrism is devoid of integrity.

If for anthropology anthropocentric idea is not at all distant, then the collocation "anthropocentrism of the Middle Ages" seems absurd, since it is literally interpreted as the centralized position of a human in relation to the cause which gave birth to it – God, which, of course, is not true. We agree that the medieval picture of the world is geocentric, but the notion of "the picture of the world" fits into the horizons of anthropocentric culture, as it turns out to be much wider than the concrete plan of the epochal expression, which allows speaking of anthropocentrism in a broad sense. A human recognizes himself as a means and meaning of Creation, for the sake of a human, God the Father sent His Only Son to death. God exalted and magnified a human by creating him according to the image of God and raising him to such vertices, from which the mystery of eternal life is revealed (Chikarkova, 2010: 16–26).

Obviously, in the center of medieval aesthetics, there is not only God; it is a twoway inseparable vertically built relationship between Human and God. In the bimonthly unevenly large-scale and axiologically incompatible main binary opposition, the absence of one member means the impossibility of the existence of another. At one pole of the system is the absurdity of being without God and the "deification" of human in the act of salvation, on the other – the impossibility of the existence of a world without human and Christ as the God-man.

Understanding the invincibility of the distance, the inaccessibility and incomprehensibility of God contributed to the development of such a believer's consciousness, which, if necessary, directed a human to God, and all being subordinated to this connection with Him.

Due to this, human emphasized not only God, but also to a greater extent, the attitude of the human to the divine, mortal to immortal, earthly to heavenly, dark to light, false to the truth. By transferring the attitude of "human–God", human began to think of himself as an ambivalent entity, finding himself lower and higher, material and spiritual, isolating his soul from his integrity. The soul of a person acquires the status of an independent of the body of matter, becomes a special organ of communication with God, the only able to feel and understand His will.

This "outburst" of the soul, deliberately "taken away" from its sinful body, is clearly shown by Aurelius Augustine in "Confessions." In his open and frank prayers with God, it appears that there is nothing else but Her (soul) and His – God: "My God! Is there anything in me that can iclude you? Is not the heavens and the earth that you have created, and on which also did you create me? But without You there would be nothing that exists – hence, everything that exists icludes you" (Augustine, 1991: 53–54).

The impossibility of placing in the center of medieval thinking of God apart from human shows the fact that in the main Christian sacrament of Communion there is a connection between human and God. Thus, anthropocentric paradigm in the Middle Ages not only does not disappear, but on the contrary, it finds its further continuation in the reflection of human himself, his inner spiritual essence as a condition of understanding God and practically carried out with the help of the central binary opposition "human-God".

Significant importance in the development of anthropocentrism was the Renaissance, when religious ideas about the materialized person were overcome and new views on its essence and purpose were formed on a consciously humanistic background. This became possible in the process of further individualization of the person, the allocation of human himself not only from another world, but also from the community of their own, the use of dialogue and communication as a means of self-knowledge and self-affirmation.

For man there was a real opportunity to achieve good, beautiful, true, it was necessary only to find the tool of knowledge, raising himself, his abilities and opportunities. The Renaissance person has set himself at the center of the universe. The question of what gave the humans confidence in their forces, suggests the role of medieval self-reflection, which enriched human with the experience of analyzing the self-being of the soul in the world. Therefore, the thesis of Protagoras was raised on shields by a "new human", in which the spiritual power and body spirit were united.

Speaking about the continuity of the anthropocentric idea, we point out that the very idea that the person belongs to the central place in the Divine universe was affirmed by the religious dogma of a human as the summit of Creation. (Vytel, 2009: 205). That is, the cult of God began to be identified with the cult of a human. In particular, M. Kuzanskyi wrote about a human as a "human God", that it is a microcosm, or "human world" (Kuzanskyi, 1979: 271).

During the New Age, the awareness of human of his being in the surrounding world was carried out on the basis of a scientific and humanistic approach. anthropocentrism receives its subsequent development primarily in the field of epistemology and psychology. New European rationalism has divided the world into a free and active subject, and everything else that opposes the subject. In this period, by means of the absolutization of the active role of human, the idea of his possibility of unlimited domination in the world is established. F. Bacon believed that human could and should be majestic. He removes research tasks from the competence of science, leaving them for metaphysics. Increasing the intellectual abilities of people in the era of Enlightenment went along with the development of mechanistic ideas about its nature. According to certain social conditions, J. Laametri believed that a monkey could become a "little Parisian". Thus, sociocentrism was formed as a worldview that continues to dominate in modern philosophy. "Human is born to a society" - the most beloved aphorism of J. Herder. However, the philosophy of the New Age saw in human first of all his spiritual essence, which determines the essence of the very philosophy (J. Fichte). With the development of philosophical thought, attention is paid to the problem of human essence, its place and significance in the world, interaction with the universe. I. Kant believed that human should act as if he was God that is to assume all responsibility for independent decisions and for the consequences of his actions.

With the development of natural science, anthropocentrism gradually left the field of science and focused on theology. The discovery of M. Copernicus and G. Galileo destroyed the notion of human as the center of the universe. The founder of psychoanalysis, Z. Freud, dissipated illusions about the domination of rational consciousness in human behavior. Modern American philosopher and sociologist G. Simon reduces human to an entity for the processing of information and refuses him in any uniqueness. The ideas of exaltation and humiliation have their own outlook. The notion of poverty changes at the turn of the twentieth century by the belief in the infinite possibilities of man, and in the short time – skepticism about its mental abilities and prospects of progress. To some extent, the idea of anthropocentrism was used and developed by the philosophy of existentialism. These ideas coexist, mixed with nature, logo-, theo-, sociocentrism.

Within the perspective of human as "the measure of all things" (Protagoras), during the last century of the development of philosophical thought, three directions of the concept of anthropocentrism were formed. Metaphysical anthropocentrism – human appears as an absolute existence existing in historical space and time (S. Kierkegaard, F. Nietzsche, existentialists); cosmological anthropocentrism – considers human as the center of the universe through the prism of the evolution of nature (T. Huxley, P. Teilhard de Chardin); axiological anthropocentrism – sees in human all possible values (L. Feuerbach, M. Scheler).

Nowadays anthropocentrism has been further developed both in connection with new discoveries in the field of natural and technical sciences, as well as from the standpoint of modern philosophical and sociological approaches. Promoted and developed by natural scientists based on the data of astrophysics, system engineering, artificial intelligence, biology and other sciences, the anthropic principle specified the conditions and possibilities of physical existence of human in the universe. At the same time, a human as thinking material deeply perceives himself as an active factor in the social and environment surrounding his natural environment, all being on the scale of the universe. This determines the idea of a person as a conscious partner of world evolution, makes him responsible for the results of his activities, imposes increased demands on the level of the subjective factor in general, and highlights the professional, organizational, moral and spiritual traits of the individual. Meaning acquires his self-knowledge and self-consciousness, the definition of mechanisms of regulation and self-regulation, the spiritual sphere, the acquisition of knowledge of the functioning of the intelligence, the establishment of control over the results of their activities.

Pointing out the growing importance of the principle of anthropocentrism in the knowledge and transformation of the modern world, it is worth emphasizing the danger of its absolutisation, the need to consider its content only in correlation with the objective laws of being and, accordingly, with all other principles of knowledge and activities of human and humanity. Modern anthropocentrism not only further develops the ideas of the era of revival of human, his properties and place in the world, but also in a certain way returns to the ideological grounds of cosmocrism of the ancient society on the basis of the new, enriched by modern scientific data. The development of anthropocentrism historically reflects a change in its content: at early stages, human acted as the result of the evolution of the world, and then it gradually became an accomplice to the world process, and now - it becomes a decisive factor in its organization.

However, the transition of humanity to a qualitatively new stage of development in the social spiritual and cultural relations – for today only a real opportunity to get out of the global crisis, but not yet implemented state. Difficulties and danger in the implementation of this task are mainly from the human himself: not low level of his consciousness, the lack of understanding by society of the causes and mechanisms of the functioning of natural, anthropological and social phenomena in their interaction as specifically specific elements of a single world being. Humanity must master the full achievements of spiritual culture, the science of wise management and regulation of world processes. This task cannot be solved beyond the modern philosophical knowledge of the world.

In the history of Ukrainian philosophical thought, the problem of human, his essence and meaning of life is one of the central. Even in the times of Kiev Rus people were perceived not only as part of the cosmos, which is inherent in paganism, but also as the peak of nature.

Anthropocentrism of Ukrainian culture has been observed since the very beginning of the existence of the ancient Russian state, which borders on the east with the Great Steppe. The waves of nomadic raids of this steppe element, covering the two continents, could be confronted not only materially but also spiritually. The "Chaos", "the abyss", "outer darkness" of the enemy's Kyivska Rus found an alternative in the "smart oikumen" of the city as a "sophia beginning".

The concept of the sophia world, that is, the search for a reasonable beginning not only in intelligence, but also in the substantive being, which had to be revealed as a book of wisdom, as a meaningful life, was developed by ancient civilization. In the tenth century it was picked up in an unproduced form by Kiev Rus. And it began to produce a new, Greco-Slavic type of European culture. During the Middle Ages, Kyiv acts as a translator of the ancient tradition in Eastern Europe, whose representative was Kiev Sofia. The ideological and artistic concept of Sophia Kiev is unique in combination with ancient and Christian ideas. The theme of Sophia is united in it through the philosophers of Neoplatonism with the idea of ontological optimism and apocatastasis – the blessed return of mankind to the blessed purity of the earthly life. In the paintings of Sophia there are no compulsory for the Christian church scenes of a terrible trial, apocalyptic images, pictures of death – "Laying in the coffin", "Mouring", "Dipping", etc. The scene of the Eucharist, communion with bread and wine, which symbolized the transformation of the carnal into the spiritual, and in the broader sense – the atoning of the flesh, its purification and ascension to the supersensible primitive image, was put on the foreground. The tense conflict of intellect and body that has definitively dramatized the whole system of Western spirituality in Orthodoxy is removed by the concept of "deification of the flesh". This flesh in the Ukrainian mentality is compared not to the alternative of intelligence, but to the spiritual mind (the essence of the soul) which according to Isaiah Kopynskyi's characteristic, leads to God (Krymskyi, 2003: 3).

This clearly manifests itself in the XVI–XVII centuries when the national selfdetermination of the Ukrainian people awakens, which, in turn, exacerbates the interest of society in the universal foundations of European civilization – antiquity, Christianity and enlightenment, that is, the same ideas of anthropocentrism arise that were widespread in Western Europe

Human was viewed not only from the position of sin and salvation, but as the highest value, the creator of himself through his involvement in God as a perfect creation. S. Orichovskyi, K. Sakovych, K. Tranquilion-Stavrovetskyi affirmed the idea of unity of micro- and macrocosm. According to L. Zyzania, the world has four levels and the lower one is subordinate to the higher one. The highest level is human. M. Smotrytskyi and others believed that the indispensable condition for the knowledge of God and unity with him is self-knowledge, since God, like the kingdom of heaven, is contained in the man himself. Knowing God, one can attain bliss not only in heaven, but also on earth, because the mind of human is inextricably linked with supernatural Intelligence (God). The true anthropological retelling in Ukrainian philosophy begins with the work of G. Skovoroda, which emphasizes that man is the main key to solving the problems of being, and the shortest path to God passes through the center of our own Self. In his opinion, in the micro- and macrocosmic one there is one beginning and one end, a common root, which is interpreted as the essence of God. Thus, a human between heaven and earth is trying to unite them. Through self-knowledge, there is a transformation of human and the world, the elimination of world evil.

Although the first steps of Ukrainian civilization were marked by the influence of Byzantium, however, the main principle of Byzantineism was not adopted in Ukraine: the domination of the general over individual. On the forefront of Ukraine's history, there have always been people of free spirit, from which nobody wanted to be a spectator of the world drama, but only its actor. This element of free self-acting of the personality without which it would not be possible to survive under the terms of the civilian civilization (which opposed the barbarism of steppe raids). It fed both the republic of Cossacks and the freaks of the Bursaks, and the manner of traveling detachments and the private initiative of citizens in cities that were granted Magdeburg Law, and the independent position of a woman as a friend in a family, "wife". The same development of free individuality also relied on the boundary civilization of the American pirate prairies, from which the history of the United States began.

As for Ukraine, certain elements of awareness of the values of the person were present already in Yaroslavl Pravda (which established a fine for the offense of a woman and did not apply in the legal sense of the death penalty or corporal punishment). In the context of the development of ideas of representative power there was the constitution of Pylyp Orlyk, and the democratic federalism of the Cyril-Methodius ("The Book of the Being of the Ukrainian People").

Anthropocentrism remained the leading tendency of Ukrainian philosophy and classical literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was expressed in the philosophical and literary heritage of T. Shevchenko, M. Drahomanov, I. Franko, M. Pavlik, Lesia Ukrainka, M. Kotsyubinsky, P. Grabovsky, T. Zinkivskyi, Y. Vassyian, D. Dontsov, M. Mikhnovskyi, V. Lypynskyi and others. It can undoubtedly be stated that Ukrainian anthropocentrism is most clearly expressed in the works of T. Shevchenko. This feature of D. Chyzhevskyi called "the main feature of the whole spiritual personality" of the poet, "the leading feeling in his entire work, the main pathos of his life ... And nature, history, and culture – art, science, religion – all matters and value only and exclusively depending on this universal point of departure – from a person, his experiences, desires, needs, sufferings". (Chyzhevskyi, 1983: 128). Even for the characterization of a nation, the poet chose a particular human figure – "mother", "old mother", "cried mother", Prometheus, and others like that.

A man in T. Shevchenko is an embodiment of both national and actual human, allhuman. The genius poet and thinker saw truly human in the national, and vice versa. Hence his constant appeal and warning: "Be a human being!"

Expressing thoughts about human and his relationship with nature, I. Franko claims that here "... it's not about some individual worlds that have nothing to do with, but that there are only different manifestations of one force" (Franko, 1986: 35). However, the very human, skillfully operating the word, gives things a poetic color, while the things and ideas themselves do not carry aesthetic: "beauty lies not in the material that serves as its basis, not in the models, but in the fact, which impression on us this work makes and how the artist managed to grasp the impression" (Franko, 1981: 118).

Thus, as A. Yaremak emphasizes, the key to realizing the aesthetic ideal in life is the active creative activity of human (Yaremak, 2013: 696–701).

Throughout his life, I. Franko pursued the harmony of the national, universal, considering it as the basic social, and moral value.

"... I love the universal ideals of justice, brotherhood and freedom too much" he wrote in the article "Something about myself" (1897). The writer sought to escape to a height, "where the light can be seen, where the smell of will, where allhuman ideals are revealed (Franko, 1981: 31).

Another representative of the new generation of Ukrainian intellectuals is Lesia Ukrainka. "Lesya Ukrainka's aesthetic views," wrote I. Ogorodnik and V. Ogorodnik, "were characterized by the requirements of the nationality and ideology of art, where the reflection of life should include the dream of an ideal for which the progressive forces of society struggle. She was convinced that art is intended to perform high social and national functions in the life of people, in particular, educational" (Ogorodnik, Ogorodnik, 1999: 437).

Based on the work of these researchers, one can safely assert that both theoretical works and works of Lesia Ukrainka contain research in the areas of ethics and aesthetics.

The writer pays considerable attention to the problem of human, who in his ideological convictions combines two principles: universal and nationally distinctive. She traces these two traits both in art and in reflections on ethical values (Yaremak, 2013: 696–701).

I. Mykhailiak, analyzing the work of the writer, draws attention to the fact that "freedom and determinism in the work of thinker combine national and universal, elitist and mass, content and form. All this diversity has created a unique and individual style, style of writing, aesthetics and philosophy of Lesia Ukrainka".

Humanistic approach and anthropocentric ideas can be traced in many works by M. Kotsiubynskyi. An example of this is the image of the executioner in "Persona Grata",

where attention is focused on believing in human, whatever his inner world would be neglected: "You are better than those who commanded to kill, because they do not cut with the ax, kills who keeps it... Something has trembled Lazar's heart. Joy or sorrow? To her? To himself? ... Lazar was lying in the midst of the ruins and inside him the joy of evil was trembling, that today there will be no punishment and that those unknown who has the power to kill depend on him. "(Kotsyubynskyi, 1979: 214–216). The beauty of human the author reveals through the prism of his moral values, which he carefully analyzes in each work. This belief in the power of spirit is also presented in the work of "Fata Morgana": "The people themselves are making their fate, if only they do not interfere" (Kotsyubynskyi, 1979: 77).

In the nineteenth century, the philosophical thought of Ukraine was aimed at further substantiation and theoretical and political understanding of the place of human in culture and society. In the first years of the century, the idea of an independent of Ukraine became clear (M. Mikhnovskyi, D. Dontsov, V. Lypynskyi). It nourished Ukrainian social and political thought over the next decades of struggle of Ukrainian people for national liberation. According to her national orientation, a human was seen. This anthropocentrism was manifested in the concepts of "Ukrainian lost human" by M. Schlemkevych. It also can be traced in the national elite like V. Lypynskyi and D. Dontsov, the person as the spiritual personality of Y. Vassyian, the personalities of O. Kulchytskyi and others.

**Conclusions.** Summing up, it is worth pointing out that the manifestation of human selfhood and then individuality brought anthropocentric form to the surface. Explication of the cultural and civilizational content of anthropocentric idea has been left in the shadow: the binarism as the inevitable desire of human to a better, just, and beautiful, true so deeply enters into the "body" of anthropocentrism that becomes invisible, merging with its "eidos".

The deployment of anthropocentric type of culture turned out to be final, the idea of human primacy existed until there was space in the real world, not absorbed by cultural practice, and until the world had much to emulate. In the culture of the second half of the twentieth century, which denied the very idea of succession, the entire diversity of "isms" focuses around a single sense of understanding – conceptualism, when cultural consciousness models a new cultural reality according to its cultural canons, based on objective reality.

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# INTERSTATE COOPERATION OF UKRAINE AND THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS AT THE PRESENT STAGE: A TRADE-ECONOMIC ASPECT

**Summary.** The article analyzes the interstate cooperation of Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus in the trade and economic dimension at the present stage. The economic component in the Ukrainian-Belarusian cooperation is a priority; its relevance is also dictated by globalization and integration trends that are taking place in the world at large and the region in particular. It is shown how, despite the dependence on external circumstances and processes, countries develop constructive economic relations in the new geopolitical conditions, guided by the traditions of economic partnership, pragmatic and mutually beneficial interest, thus filling bilateral interstate dialogue with the new content. Given the problems of the study, attention is paid to the legal framework of Ukrainian-Belarusian economic relations, in particular, the characteristics of key treaties and interstate agreements. Addressing the problems and tendencies of trade and economic cooperation between Ukraine and Belarus provided for the analysis of export-import operations in bilateral trade, dynamics of foreign trade turnover between the states, functioning features of joint Ukrainian-Belarusian enterprises, volumes of mutual investments, etc. Their disclosure made it possible to state that Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus maintain the level of strategic partnership in the economic sphere, and are interested in deepening and expanding the bilateral dialogue.

Keywords: Ukraine, Belarus, interstate trade and economic cooperation, foreign trade turnover, export, import.

# МІЖДЕРЖАВНА СПІВПРАЦЯ УКРАЇНИ І РЕСПУБЛІКИ БІЛОРУСЬ НА СУЧАСНОМУ ЕТАПІ: ТОРГОВЕЛЬНО-ЕКОНОМІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано міждержавну співпрацю України і Республіки Білорусь у торговельно-економічному вимірі на сучасному етапі. Економічна складова в українсько-білоруському співробітництві є пріоритетною, її актуальність також продиктована глобалізаційними та інтеграційними тенденціями, що відбуваються у світі загалом, і регіоні, зокрема. Показано, як країни, попри залежність від зовнішніх обставин і процесів, у нових геополітичних умовах розбудовують конструктивні економічні відносини, керуючись традиціями економічного партнерства, прагматичним і взаємовигідним інтересом, наповнюючи новим змістом двосторонній міждержавний діалог. З огляду на проблематику дослідження приділяється увага договірно-правовій базі українсько-білоруських економічних відносин, зокрема, характеристиці ключових договорів, міждержавних угод. З'ясування проблем і тенденцій торговельно-економічного співробітництва між Україно і Білоруссю передбачало аналіз експортно-імпортних операцій у двосторонній торгівлі, динаміку зовнішньоторговельного товарообігу між державами, особливості функціонування спільних українсько-білоруських підприємств, обсяги взаємних інвестицій тоцо. Їх розкриття дало змогу констатувати, що Україна і Республіка Білорусь в економічній сфері зберігають рівень стратегічного партнерства, та зацікавлені у поглибленні й розширенні двостороннього діалогу.

Ключові слова: Україна, Республіка Білорусь, міждержавна торговельно-економічна співпраця, зовнішньоторговельний товарообіг, експорт, імпорт.

**P** roblem setting. In the context of globalization and integration relations that are taking place in the modern world, establishing and deepening international cooperation, in particular, establishing bilateral and multilateral dialogue, are important prerequisites for states joining the world integration processes.

Since independence, Ukraine has been actively engaged in external cooperation, establishing close contacts with foreign countries. Special attention is paid to good neighborly relations with the Republic of Belarus. Both countries share common history, mentality and traditions. There is a good basis between the states for the development of mutual relations in various fields. However, trade and economic bilateral relations are the most dynamic.

The urgency of the research problem, in our opinion, lies in the rather ambiguous nature of relations between Ukraine and Belarus. On the one hand, the bilateral relations are characterized by a cyclical aspect, there is a lack of a stable cooperation strategy, characterized by the different foreign policy vectors of the two countries, and their dependence on the of relation levels with Russia, the EU, the USA, the regional economic integration processes and so on. On the other hand, in Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus there is a lot in common, related in historical, economic and cultural dimensions, that brings the countries closer together. They demonstrate a willingness to meet the challenges on the agenda in Ukrainian-Belarusian cooperation, and look for effective mechanisms for deepening ties.

In fact, the trade and economic sphere in the cooperation between Ukraine and Belarus shows how, despite the dependence on external circumstances and processes, countries develop constructive economic relations in the new geopolitical conditions, guided by the traditions of economic partnership, pragmatic and mutually beneficial interest, filling the new dialogue with the two sides. In view of this, it is important to analyze the dynamics of trade and economic relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus, to reveal the main forms of bilateral economic cooperation in today's international conditions.

At present, the bilateral cooperation between Ukraine and Belarus depends on the position of the latter regarding the war in the east of Ukraine. The impartiality that Belarus recently maintains on this issue, and the fact that Minsk has become a platform for peace talks indicates a new impetus for the development of Ukrainian-Belarusian relations in the future. The situation concerning the war in Ukraine is tense though, and it does have its impact on the bilateral relations. As Belarusian researcher D. Yurchak rightly points out, the pro-European choice of a large part of the Ukrainian elite and the growing anti-Russian sentiment could not but negatively affect cooperation with Belarus, which continues to be Russia's closest ally in the nascent multipolar world. Although the Belarusian leadership seeks to minimize the consequences in Ukraine and soberly assess the situation, it is sometimes quite difficult to do so in the new geopolitical realities (Yurchak, 2018).

Analysis of the study. The historiography of modern bilateral Ukrainian-Belarusian relations is gradually accumulating. Naturally, it is based on the works of mostly Ukrainian and Belarusian researchers. The analysis of monographs and analytical articles has served in theoretical and practical understanding of the problem under study. It should be noted that political relations between Ukraine and Belarus are mainly the subject of scientific interest of researchers, generalizing works are also present, researching multilateral bilateral relations, including economic ones. At the same time, there are fewer papers that comprehensively analyze the trade and economic aspect of Ukrainian-Belarusian relations in the 1990s and 2019. Investigations of H. Maksak (Maksak, 2016; Maksak, 2010), S. Makeyev (Makeyev, 2013), S. Slyshova (Slyshova, 2002), O. Betliy, E. Preigerman (Betliy, Preigerman, 2016), S. Vasylyshyn (Vasylyshyn, 2019; Vasylyshyn, 2016), T. Polyovyi (Polyovyi, 2015), N. Sakir-Molochko (Sakir-Molochko, 2014) and others should be noted among Ukrainian scholars. The authors fragmentarily address the tendencies and problems of Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus in the economic sphere in the current conditions. As to Belarusian researchers, we consider Denis Yurchak's work "Belarus – Ukraine: 20 years of interstate relations" (Yurchak, 2012), published in 2012 well worth

pointing out. The monograph analyses trade and economic contacts of Belarus and Ukraine in the post-Soviet period, in particular, features of bilateral trade, joint ventures activities and more. The collective monograph of the Belarusian scientist Denis Yurchak and the Ukrainian researcher Hennadiy Maksak (Maksak, Yurchak, 2014), where the authors present their own vision on the history of bilateral relations of Ukraine and Belarus in 1991–2013, a factor of 2014 in the violation of tradition, challenges and dangers of effective cooperation, etc. D. Yurchak's article, "Belarusian-Ukrainian Relations in 1991–2017" published in 2018, (Yurchak, 2018), in which the author considers trade and economic factors in interstate cooperation, is quite informative. Our attention was also attracted by works of other Belarusian researchers: A. Tikhomirov (Tikhomirov, 2010), D. Demichev (Demichev, 2000), B. Zalesskyi (Zalesskyi, 2012), E. Buryk (Buryk, 2012) and others.

The purpose of the article is to substantiate trends and analyze the main components of Ukrainian-Belarusian trade and economic cooperation at the present stage.

**Main material presentation**. With the independence, the two countries faced almost identical challenges and had similar starting positions and were particularly interested in developing close and mutually beneficial cooperation (Yurchak, 2018). This is due to the geographical proximity of the two states, the presence of a common border, mutual interest in the production of goods, the absence of conflict in relations, and long economic traditions.

The history of interstate cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus at the present stage states the priority of the trade and economic component in bilateral cooperation. Political differences that occurred in some places had no major impact on the nature of economic relations. This made it possible to increase bilateral trade turnover and to achieve successful results in trade and economic cooperation.

The emphasis on the development of economic cooperation between Ukraine and Belarus is linked to the differences in the foreign policy priorities of the two countries, which has defined the specific character of bilateral relations, in particular, the permanent dominance of the economic component in cooperation (Maksak, Yurchak, 2014: 6; 44).

It should be noted that the contractual legal base of Ukrainian-Belarusian relations now comprises of more than 200 international documents, of which more than half regulates the trade and economic sphere (Contractual legal, 2019). Among the fundamental ones we should mention the Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on trade and economic cooperation, signed in 1992, which provided for further strengthening and development of trade and economic relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus, which are based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and are exercised by concluding agreements between central and territorial bodies of public administration, directly between economic entities, regardless of ownership and organizational subordination with compliance to current legislation in both countries. Moreover, the contracting entities are responsible for fulfilling their obligations. Thus, in accordance with this agreement, every year a Protocol was agreed on the volume and procedure for regulating mutual supplies of the most important types of products between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus (Makeyev, 2013).

The basic document on which bilateral cooperation between the two countries is generally based is the Treaty of Friendship, Neighborhood and Cooperation between Ukraine and Belarus of 17 July 1995 (ratified 16.05.97), which states: "... further development and strengthening of these relations meet the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries and serve the cause of peace, security and progress, and are determined to continue building independent, democratic, states governed by the rule

of law ... seeking to re-establish their relations and strengthen the legal framework between both states according to the realities of international life..." (Treaty, 1997).

It should be noted that since April 12, 1996 the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Belarusian Joint Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation has been functioning. The Commission is one of the most active bilateral commissions existing in Ukraine, which coordinates issues of trade and economic cooperation, industrial and productive cooperation, promotion of mutual trade, cooperation in the agro-industrial and petrochemical sectors, in energy sphere, nuclear energy and electric energy in particular, energy efficiency and energy saving, interregional and border cooperation (Intergovernmental, 2017). The establishment and activities of the Commission, which holds regular sessions in Ukraine and Belarus, have a positive impact on the dynamics of bilateral trade and economic relations, as the institution monitors the state of economic cooperation and outlines its prospects.

On December 11, 1998, the Agreement between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus "On Economic Cooperation for 1999–2008" (ratified on June 30, 1999) was signed, "... on the need for further strengthening and development of equal and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations, effective use of the economic, scientific and technical potential of the two states and enhancing the well-being of their peoples..." (Treaty, 1999). The Parties have agreed on the implementation of the Interstate Program of Long-term Economic Cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus for 1999–2008, which has become an integral part of this Treaty.

Since the mid-2000s, the dynamics of signing bilateral agreements has been somewhat diminished, due to the fact that in previous years a rather broad legal framework was created that enabled the regulation of relations in various fields of cooperation (Yurchak, 2018). Since 2013, both states have been switching to roadmaps for a year or several years that address specific issues of bilateral cooperation, including coordinating economic cooperation and others. In addition, the results of the Intergovernmental Ukrainian-Belarussian Joint Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation have resulted in protocols containing certain directions for deepening bilateral cooperation.

The main dominants of economic relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus, as Ukrainian researcher S. Slyshova notes, are: trade in goods and services; cooperation in the field of the use of branched transport infrastructure (road and railways, merchant fleet and ports of Ukraine); cooperation in the military and technical sphere; implementation of scientific and practical measures to overcome the consequences of the Chernobyl accident; cross-border cooperation; industrial cooperation; creation of joint Ukrainian-Belarusian enterprises (Slyshova, 2002: 13).

The problematic issues at the stage of formation of interstate economic relations of Ukraine and Belarus were: the debt of Ukrainian economic entities to the Belarusian ones (in 1992 Belarusian enterprises transferred to Ukraine funds for the products that have never been shipped to them, although Ukraine at the state level never acknowledged the fact of existence of state debt to the Republic of Belarus), as well as the distribution of property of the former Soviet Union. In addition, in the early 1990s, there were crisis trends in the economies of the two countries, resulting in trade and economic transactions volume decrease between the two countries.

Only in the second half of the 1990's bilateral contacts at the interstate level intensified, and trade and economic cooperation began to unfold. The intensification of Ukrainian-Belarusian cooperation during 1995–1997 was mainly due to a number of objective political and economic factors. However, the dynamics of bilateral economic transactions were at that time influenced by temporary factors, which were related both to the economic policies of the two countries and to the desire of the leadership of the Republic of Belarus to reduce the dependence of its economy on the supply of Russian raw materials and semi-finished products (Vasylyshyn, 2019: 214). In fact, mutual

interest in deepening bilateral relations contributed to the largest trade turnover in 1997, amounting to 1392.9 million USD (Makeyev, 2013). In 1998 however, it decreased by 266 million USD, further decreasing in 1999 by 38% to only \$ 696 million USD (Demichev, 2000: 76). Among other reasons, the decrease in foreign trade in Ukraine and Belarus was influenced by the adoption in 1999 by the leadership of both countries acts that changed the VAT collection scheme for imports (not based on the fact of sale of the goods, but at the time of their customs clearance), which in the conditions of limited working capital of exporters of Ukraine and Belarus, is quite problematic (Demichev, 2000: 77).

In 2000–2001, there was a decrease in the volume of export-import operations between the two countries, which was related, to a large extent, to problems in the Belarusian financial sphere, as well as a decrease in the export of Belarusian oil to Ukraine in 2001.

A characteristic feature of trade between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus in 2002–2008 was a steady increase in trade. In 2008 it came close to 5 billion USD. Although, as noted by Belarusian researcher A. Tikhomirov, trade was unbalanced, there was an alternation of positive and negative balance (Tikhomirov, 2010: 44).

Thus, since 2002, there has been a marked increase in trade between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus, with the exception of 2009, when the global economic crisis occurred, which had a negative impact on bilateral trade.

In 2010, Ukraine was one of the main trading partners of the Republic of Belarus and, in terms of trade, it ranked second among all trading partner countries. At that time, the trade turnover amounted to 4439.9 million USD. The share of Belarusian exports amounted to 2562.3 million USD, its imports – to 18776 million USD with a positive balance of 684.7 million USD (Maksak, 2010). During 2011–2012, trade turnover between the countries increased, in particular, reaching the highest level of 7.9 billion USD in 2012 (Ukraine and Belarus, 2017). Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Belarus to Ukraine Valentin Velichko in an interview in January 2013, revealing the state of development of Ukrainian-Belarusian trade and economic relations in the 21st century, said: "The economic potentials of Ukraine and Belarus largely complement each other, and therefore, the main feature of the Belarusian-Ukrainian economic cooperation has for a long time been the dynamic development of bilateral trade. Over the last decade, trade between the two countries has increased almost tenfold and in 2012 approached a new record figure of 8 billion USD. This achievement is a confirmation that bilateral cooperation has long gone from a "pure" trade to a qualitatively new level of strategic partnership..." (Interview, 2013).

At the same time, the Ukrainian-Belarusian trade cooperation is characterized by periods of rise and decrease in export-import transactions. In 2013, as can be seen from Table 1, the turnover again approached the volumes of 2011, after which there was a tendency of its significant decrease (5.8 billion USD in 2014; 3.5 billion USD in 2015; 3.8 billion USD in 2016). The latter was caused by a general economic downturn in both countries, which was significantly influenced by the situation in Ukraine, the imposition of anti-Russian sanctions by the West and the Kremlin's response to the actions of both the EU and the USA (Yurchak, 2018).

Table 1

Foreign trade of goods and services between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus (USD million)

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	1st Q 2019
Exports	2104,64	1714,5	947,51	985,2	1253,7	1418,2	372,3
Imports	3704,76	4153,92	2527,91	2852,8	3300	3903,2	785,5

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Foreign	5809.41	5868.42	3475.42	3838,0	4553.7	5321.4	1157.8
1 of eight	,		,	,-	,,	,-	,-
trade							
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(Trade and Economic, 2019)

Table 1 shows that since 2016, trade between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus has increased by 16–20%, amounting to 3.8 billion USD in that year, 4.6 billion USD in 2017, and 5.3 billion USD in 2018 (Trade and Economic, 2019). This positive trend is indicative of the search by the states for an effective mechanism for deepening bilateral relations, and maintaining stable and mutually beneficial trade and economic relations.

Therefore, according to the results of 3 quarters in 2015, for Ukraine Belarus was the second partner among the CIS countries in terms of turnover (after Russia) and sixth among the world countries (after Russia, China, Germany, Poland and Turkey) (Maksak, 2016). According to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, among the trading partners of our country, the Republic of Belarus, in the first quarter of 2019, ranked second among the CIS countries and fourth in the world (after China, the Russian Federation, Germany) (Trade and Economic, 2019). According to the Roadmap, developed by Belarus on behalf of two presidents, the volume of trade is planned to be at least 8 billion USD in 2019. Thus, the foreign economic relations of the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine continue to maintain the level of strategic partnership, and the countries are important trading partners (Trade and Economic, 2019).

The tendency characteristic for 2013–2016, as we can see from Table 1, was the fall of Ukrainian exports. Only in 2017–2018 was it possible to achieve growth of Ukrainian exports to the Belarusian market. At the same time, Belarus was one of the main importing countries in Ukraine. Thus, in January – April 2016 Belarus ranked the fourth, with its total imports volume share of 6.8% (791.7 million USD) (Main Trading, 2016). Therefore, the results of bilateral cooperation are ambiguous: on the one hand, Ukraine had a negative balance in trade with the Republic of Belarus. This is explained, in particular, by the fact that Belarus is the main supplier of fuel and lubricants to Ukraine. On the other hand, as noted by the Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Belarus, Ihor Kyzym, a positive trend was the increase of exports from Ukraine to Belarus in the fields of food industry, transport, electronics, and the diplomat noted considerable potential for the export of Ukrainian metal products (Ihor Kyzym, 2019).

By volume of investments Belarus was ahead of Ukraine, in particular, as of January 1, 2016, the volume of Ukrainian investments in the economy of the Republic of Belarus amounted to 4.04 million USD, while the Belarusian entities in Ukraine accumulated investments of 31.47 million USD (Maksak, 2016). As of April 1, 2019, the situation has not changed: Belarus has invested 36.6 million USD in Ukrainian economy (as of January 1, 2019, 33.8 million USD was invested). As of April 1, 2019, the volume of Ukrainian investments in the economy of Belarus amounted to 2.7 million USD (2.7 million USD invested as of January 1, 2019) (Trade and Economic, 2019).

The significant difference in investment volumes is mainly due to the effect of international sanctions on some enterprises, the actual absence of private property in Belarus, which significantly narrows the space for investment and reduces the investment attractiveness of the country (Poliovyi, 2015: 164). At the same time, the dynamics of growth of Belarusian investment in Ukrainian economy is positive, which testifies to the attractiveness of Ukrainian market, and contributes to the deepening of bilateral economic cooperation.

It should be noted that the commodity structure in bilateral trade varies from year to year depending on the level of development of import substitution and displacement of competitors, protectionist measures, temporary or permanent reorientation to the markets of Russia and other countries (Tikhomirov, 2010: 6). In the 1990's the basis of Belarusian exports to Ukraine was tractors, trucks, oil products, refrigerators, bicycles, motorcycles, fertilizers, chemical fibers, polyethylene, textiles, knitwear, shoes, furniture, pile cloth, artificial fur, etc. Traditional articles of import of the Republic of Belarus from Ukraine were ferrous metals and products from them, finished food products, including sugar, tobacco and its industrial substitutes, plastic, rubber, rubber products, products of plant origin, including grain, and other goods (Demichev, 2000: 76). It should be noted however, that in the second half of the 1990's the most rapid was the increase in exports of Belarusian refined oil goods to Ukraine, which sales doubled in kind in 1996-1998 and accounted for 65% of the total price of Belarusian exports to Ukraine at the end of 1998 (Makeyev, 2013). Subsequently, in 2013, Minsk sold about 3 billion USD worth of petroleum products to Ukraine, accounting for almost 70% of total exports to our country (Maksak, 2016). Note that this trend was observed in the following years.

In the 2000s, the main groups of goods exported from Belarus were oil, fertilizers, machinery, equipment, vehicles, textiles, and chemical products. Agricultural products, precious metals and their products, machinery, equipment, mechanisms, chemical products, mineral products prevailed among imported goods. Since 2005 Belarus has been importing Ukrainian electricity. In addition, a distinctive feature is that the nomenclature of goods involved in trade between countries has increased significantly by 2013, which allows us to note the expansion of presence in each other's markets (Maksak and Yurchak, 2014: 28).

It should be noted that so-called "trade wars" periodically occur between Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus, the most recent taking place in 2013 and 2018. (Lavnekovych, 2018). However, the parties are constantly seeking ways out of them, as they continue to be important foreign trade partners with a fairly high level of exportimport operations.

One of the important forms of Ukrainian-Belarusian economic cooperation is the development of industrial cooperation and the creation of joint ventures. At present, there are about 300 joint ventures with Ukrainian capital in Belarus. There are approximately 100 Belarusian-owned enterprises operating in Ukraine (How Ukraine, 2018).

It should be noted that the following Belarusian enterprises-flagships of industrial production are present in Ukraine: Minsk Automobile Plant, BelAZ, Minsk Tractor Plant, Belenergo, Gomsilmash, Lida Agricultural Machinery Plant. Among the large Ukrainian enterprises in Belarus are the interests of Naftogaz of Ukraine, Leninska Kuznya (Lenin's Forge) Plant, Poltava Turbo-Mechanical Plant, Interpipe Corporation, Donetsk Metallurgical Plant, Kryukovsky Railway Works, Metinvest Holding (Maksak, Yurchak, 2014: 6).

Currently Belarusian tractors are assembled at two Ukrainian factories: Leninska Kuznya in Kyiv and TekhnotorgDon in Mykolaiv. Joint production of elevators, wagons and electrodes is being carried out. In addition, Bobruisksilmash and Lidagroprommash (Valion, 2014: 189) agricultural machinery plants are operating in Dnipro, and the production of agricultural machinery and aggregates from Belarussian components has been organized. Therefore, starting from 2004, every fourth tractor sold in Ukraine has been locally assembled (Maksak, Yurchak, 2014: 29).

Today, Ukraine is cooperating with Belarus to create a large production cooperative in order to enter new markets of the European Union. On this occasion, Hennadiy Zubko, Deputy Prime Minister – Minister of Regional Development, Construction and Housing and Communal Services of Ukraine, said at the First Forum of the Regions of Ukraine and Belarus in Gomel on October 25–26, 2018: "Today the quality of Belarusian and Ukrainian goods allows you to see and explore completely different markets – the markets of the European Union" (Production cooperation, 2018). He stated that the most promising areas for the creation of industrial cooperation are engineering, energy and agro-industrial complex (Production cooperative, 2018).

Joint Belarusian-Ukrainian cooperation was emphasized by Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko, who believes that mechanical engineering is among the promising spheres of cooperation between the countries. He suggested at the First Forum of the Regions of Ukraine and Belarus that "Belarus is ready to share with Ukraine its experience in infrastructure modernization: in the improvement of communal services, renovation of the passenger and special machinery fleet, road construction, in all those areas in which Ukraine has a need" (How Ukraine, 2018). According to him, the Belarusian side is ready for close cooperation with Ukrainian mining and metallurgical complex. In 2017 alone, more than 2,000 tractors, 90 harvesters and 500 elevators were manufactured at joint assembly plants in Ukraine. Meanwhile Belarus buys metal in Ukraine and a wide range of components for its machine-building complex. "Without the participation of the regions of our countries, cooperation projects would be devoid of practical content. However, we can work not only in the markets of our countries. Probably this approach would be too simple for our economies located in the heart of Europe, at the crossroads of major trade routes and involved in major regional integration projects. The focus should be on creating joint ventures that produce products for third-country markets," said A. Lukashenko (How Ukraine, 2018).

Note that the Second Forum of the Regions of Ukraine and Belarus is scheduled to be held this October. This format of cooperation is new, which is important because with the successful implementation of the decentralization policy, more and more regions of Ukraine can enter into direct cooperation with the regions of Belarus (Ihor Kyzym, 2019).

The Ukrainian-Belarusian economic cooperation is multidimensional and covers various forms of bilateral cooperation. In this context, interregional and cross-border cooperation between regions, areas, cities and individuals is important and promising. The presence of a common border promotes closer communication between the two states at these levels, and has a positive effect on mutual interstate dialogue.

Creation of various cooperation projects within the framework of the established cross-border Euroregions has become a new form of regional cooperation for Belarus. In 1998 the Brest region joined the "Bug" Euroregion project, in which the Lublin Voivodeship of Poland and the Volyn Region of Ukraine already participated. Subsequently, in 2003 the leaders of the Gomel, Bryansk and Chernihiv regions announced the creation of a new Euroregion "Dnipro" (Maksak, Yurchak, 2014: 29).

In the context of regional cooperation, mutually beneficial economic projects are implemented, and active border trade is promoted, which contributes to the socioeconomic development of border areas. Although there are a number of problems that make it impossible to fully exploit the potential of the subjects of cross-border relations, the creation and functioning of Euroregions has led to a significant intensification of cross-border links between its participants: regions as a whole as well as various institutions and organizations of these regions (Sakir-Molochko, 2014: 277).

**Conclusions**. It is obvious that the current format of Ukrainian-Belarusian relations takes place in the context of the challenges and prospects facing both countries. It mainly focuses on "topical issues of bilateral cooperation", among which trade and economic cooperation is important. Ukraine and Belarus in the economic sphere reached the level of strategic partnership; the highest turnover between them amounted approximately to 8 billion USD in 2012. Currently, mutually beneficial Ukrainian-Belarusian economic projects are being implemented, joint ventures are successfully functioning, investment in bilateral cooperation is increasing, cross-border cooperation is carried out, which suggests that there is considerable potential for trade and

economic cooperation between states for decades to come. Therefore, both states are interested in deepening and expanding the Ukrainian-Belarusian dialogue.

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# "TO WRITE ABOUT THE FATE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTRY WOULD MEAN WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE": SOURCE STUDY REFLECTIONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN PEASANTRY, 1939–1953

**Summary.** Social transformations in modern Ukraine, the rejection of the totalitarian ideas of the political system have refined a qualitatively new situation in everyday life of the Ukrainian people. The expediency of studying various aspects of the proposed topic, evidenced by the social zeal for the problem being studied. The expediency of studying various aspects of the proposed topic is dictated by the social zeal for the problem being studied.

The reproduction of the everyday life of the Western Ukrainian peasantry requires researchers to work in the most precise manner with interpretation of the source complex.

In contrast to traditional history, the study of life, involves the involvement of a wide range of sources of related fields of science: political science, sociology, ethnology, psychology, etc.

Source materials, of studying the history of everyday life are the official documents of the authorities, personal documents (memoirs, diaries), folk materials (anecdotes, sayings, songs, rumors), as well as elements of the material culture (photographs, posters, household things, farm equipment).

Processing of the indicated source complex allows historians of routine trace the impact of certain events on the daily lives of people, unlock the mechanism of adaptation of citizens to new sociopolitical and socioeconomic realities, eventually to describe the peculiarities of everyday life, peasant mentality, certain behavioral stereotypes, privacy, etc.

Keywords: Western Ukrainian peasantry, everyday life, archive sources, press, personal documents.

# "ПИСАТИ ПРО ДОЛЮ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛЯНСТВА... ОЗНАЧАЛО Б ПИСАТИ ІСТОРІЮ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАРОДУ": ДЖЕРЕЛОЗНАВЧІ РЕФЛЕКЦІЇ НАД ПРОБЛЕМАТИКОЮ ПОВСЯКДЕННОСТІ ЗАХІДНОУКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛЯНСТВА, 1939–1953

Анотація. Суспільні перетворення у сучасній Україні, відмова від тоталітарних ідей політичного устрою обумовили якісно нову ситуацію в повсякденному житті українського народу. Доцільність вивчення різноманітних аспектів запропонованої тематики продиктована суспільною значущістю досліджуваної проблеми.

Відтворення повсякдення західноукраїнського селянства вимагає від дослідників скрупульозної роботи з інтерпретацією джерельного комплексу.

На відміну від традиційної історії, вивчення побуту передбачає залучення широкого спектру джерел суміжних галузей науки: політології, соціології, етнології, психології, тощо.

Першоджерелами вивчення історії повсякдення виступають офіційні документи органів влади, документи особового походження (спогади, щоденники), фольклорні матеріали (анекдоти, приказки, пісні, чутки), а також елементи побутової матеріальної культури (світлини, плакати, домашні речі, сільськогосподарський реманент).

Опрацювання зазначеного джерельного комплексу дає змогу історикам повсякденності простежити вплив тих чи інших подій на щоденне життя людей, розкрити механізми адаптації громадян до нових суспільно-політичних чи соціально-економічних реалій, зрештою описати особливості побуту, селянської ментальності, певних поведінкових стереотипів, приватного життя тощо.

**Ключові слова:** західноукраїнське селянство, повсякденне життя, архівні джерела, преса, джерела особового походження.

**The problem statement.** Social transformations in modern Ukraine, started with the achievement of state independence, the abandonment of the totalitarian ideas of the political system, have led to a qualitatively new situation in the everyday life of the Ukrainian people. Events of Ukraine's revolutions "revolution on granite", "orange revolution", "revolution of dignity" have created a fundamentally new atmosphere which contributes to the interest of a wide range of scientists and the public to the historical past.

An important role in preserving national-state traditions belongs to the Ukrainian peasantry. As V. Kuk pointed out in his work "collective farm's slavery": "To write about the fate of the Ukrainian peasantry would mean writing the history of the Ukrainian people, because exactly the Ukrainian peasantry, which is quite different from the peasants from many other countries, was the core of the Ukrainian nation, was the creator of Ukrainian history (Kyk, 2005: 9).

The expediency of studying the various aspects of suggested subject, dictated not only by social significance of investigated issue, which is that provides opportunity to generalize the past experience, deepen theoretical conceptions, suggest practical recommendations, which have to be put into todays practice, but also by enrichment of scientific knowledge with significant factual material, the possibility of unprejudiced account of events, reconstruction of the processes and more clear image of objective regularity of investigated subject.

By all variability of the historical destiny, western Ukrainian peasantry has become a peculiar indicator of socio-cultural, socio-economic, cultural and religious situation in Ukraine, influencing the political events and processes directly or indirectly.

The publication's purpose. Despite a significant number of scientific works on history of western Ukrainian region, unfortunately, the synthesis work devoted to evervdav life history of peasantry is absent in ukrainian historiography. Considering the scope of publication does not let reveal the whole array of sources of of the problem, we will review some Source Study aspects.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. The methodology of work with original sources during the investigation of history of the Ukrainian people's everyday life is suggested in series of monographic publications titled "From the history of everyday life in Ukraine" established by scholars from Institute of History at the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kulchytskyi, 2009; Danylenko, 2010). The specifics of processing of sources of personal origins are revealed in scientific publication by O. Kolvastruk (Kolvastruk, 2008).

Reproduction of peasantry everyday life is an extremely difficult and laborious process. The researcher O. Kolvastruk savs: "Only with the reproduction of people's lifestyle, their labour and way of life, joys and sorrows, a significant gap between the way how society is reflected in scholars' works and how human is represented here, may be overcome" (Kolyastruk, 2007: 175).

The presentation of the basic material. Working in the sphere of transdisciplinary history of everyday life, scholars rely on various in their origins sources. Conditionally, they can be divided into few big units. As in "traditional" history, an important part of sources consists of the documents of official origins (laws, resolutions, instructions, local government reports etc). The majority of such sources are now stored in public archive funds and scientific libraries. Materials on the subject mentioned in this publication's title are widely represented in documents, kept in the Central State historical archive storages in Lviv city (CSHAL), Ivano-Frankivsk state archives (IFRSA), Lviv (LRSA) and Tenopil reagions (TRSA).

In particular, the documents of the fund 859 "People's Assembly of Western Ukraine" of the CSHAL allow researchers to recreate the process of formation of Soviet power bodies in a Western Ukrainian village (CSHAL F. 859. Op. 1. Act. 1, 3, 5). The picture of the annexation of Western Ukrainian lands by the Soviet Union is

supplemented with a unique collection of documents "Party and political work in a warlike situation" with the stamp "For internal use Ex. № 3596", which is stored in the fund of the rare book of Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine. Among the documents of the publication, it is worth paying attention to the orders of the commander of the Ukrainian Front, Tymoshenko, in which, among other things, it was noted: "we go to Western Ukraine... not as conquerors, but as saviors of our Ukrainian and Belorussian fellows from the oppression of landlords and capitalists "(Party-political, 1940: 8–9)". In another document, soldiers and officers were ordered: "during the stops and rest, to keep order and discipline, without the commander's permission not to remain in the places of crowds, not to gather the crowd around yourself, not to let themselves to provoke you with unprepared and unreasoned answers to questions" (Party- Political, 1940: 10). The directive of the political management of the Red Army signed by Mehlis demanded from the rear units: "to organize the work of military trading, not to allow the officers do shopping and not to let them to buy in large quantities. When the impression is created that the serviceman is going to sell himself and that nothing can be bought in the USSR" (Party-political, 1940: 20). Actually, the materials of the collection confirm by the directive of the Red Army Chief Commissar of the I rank Mehlis the total military custody over the organization and holding of the National Assembly of Western Ukraine. Thus, the document stresses: "to all commissars, political bodies of the units to take the most active part in the preparation and holding of elections" (Party-political, 1940: 23).

The majority of collections of documents in connected with definite problems, that came out during the Soviet period were supposed to form the reader's illusion that the West Ukrainian population, including peasants, "with great joy" met and supported actions of the Soviet government (National Holiday, 1950; The Struggle, 1979; Socialist Transformation, 1980).

Instead, the documents and memories of the eyewitnesses of those events, which are given on the pages of the historic and memorial collections, published by the Ukrainian diaspora beyond the USSR show completely different image of the perception of Soviet reality by the peasantry. For example, the Galician villagers were struck by the miserable appearance of The Red Army soldiers: "blackened from need, shaken like pumpkin, without vitality, barely kicked" (Rudnitskaya, 1958: 18; Berezhany land, 1998; 501).

A broad palette of economic ,cultural and educational life of the Western Ukrainian peasantry reflects the documentary materials of 221 Fund "Executive committee of the Lviv Regional Council of Worker" Representatives (LRSA, F.221). Soviet documents, that reflect the legal basis of reforming agricultural production in the Western Ukrainian ,were published in many thematic compendium: "USSR collection of laws and degrees of the Presidium of Verkhovna Rada" (Collection of laws 1944); "Collection of prior laws, degrees of the Presidium of Verkhovna Rada and resolutions and regulations of the USSR Government" (Collection of the prior 1946). "Prior decisions on agriculture for the years 1938–1940" (Prior decisions, 1940). "The history of collective farm law. USSR and RSFSR collection of legislative materials 1957–1959" (Collection, 1959). The value of these documents is that they reflect the legal norms of the time, and they are presented without bills and later edits.

The Fund documents give you The idea of paying a tax and the realization of various obligations Western Ukrainian peasants R. 1. "Financial Department of the Stanislav Religional Council Executive Committee of Worker's Deputies. Department of State Profit" (IFRSA. F. R.1833. Op.1. Act 818, 833; Des. 4. Act. 1). Researches can receive the information about the peculiarities of socio-economic life of peasants of Western Ukraine from the documents of Fund R. 1833. "Executive Committee of Ternopil Regional Council" (TRSA. F. R. 1833. Des. 6. Act. 2, 4, 5, 6, 11).

You can read the regional specificity of Soviet government provision campaign in Western Ukrainian villages in the Fund 5001 documents. "Drohobych Oblast Committee of the Communist Group" (LRSA. F. 5001. Op. 1. Act. 127); 5030 "Khodorovsky Office of the KP(b)U in the Drohobych region" (LRSA. F. 5030. Op. 1. Act. 188, 190).

You can read about rural way of life, housing arrangement and their influence on frequent fires in Western Ukrainian villages in Fund R-8 documents "Ternopil Regional Prosecutor's Office of the Ukrainian RSR" (TRSA. F. R-8. Des.1. Act. 453).

The mood of Eastern Halvchvna rural population was monitored by the NKVD officers, who found important information in old documents of this department. These documents were not available for many researchers and the public in Soviet Union. A part of the documents from special service storehouses were published on the thematic collections pages at a time when Ukraine became independent. In particular, you can read an information about the reaction of ordinary citizens to the consumer goods and foodstuffs prize in documents collection "Soviet State Security Institutions in september 1939 – june 1941: State Archives Ukrainian Security Service documents" (Danilenko "Kokin. 2009: 284–285). Information about the Carpathian region rural population life in conditions of the Soviet and German totalitarian regimes you can read on the pages of Kogutyak documents collection (Kogutyak, 2009).

Peasant Healthcare data, apart about epidemic infections we can find in fond documents of "Stanislav oblast department of national education executive committee of working politicians in oblast council" (IFRSA. F. R. 3. Des. 2. Act. 1). Statistics about village hospitals and physician payment we can see in "Stanislav oblast department of healthcare executive committee of working politicians in oblast council" (IFRSA. F. R. 3. Des. 2. Act. 1). Statistics department of healthcare executive committee of working politicians in oblast council" (IFRSA. F. R. 3. Des. 1. Act. 4).

Spiritual life of peasantry in period between 1939–1941, that was called "While first coviets" we find in documental inheritance of Ukrainian Orthodox-Catholoc church that reserved in fonds 201 "Metropolitan of Galician Orthodox-Catholic church archbishop in Lviv" (CSHAL. F. 201. Des 1. Act. 31, 32, 33, 104); F. 358 "Andrey Sheptytskii (1895-1944), duke, bishop in Kamyanets-Podilskii, cultural and religion leader, philanthropist, actual member of Shevchenko Scientific Society (CSHAL. F. 358. Des. 1. Act. 7).

In period of nazis occupation 1941–1944, territories of Lviv, Drohobych, Stanislav, Ternopil regions a parts of District Galicia, that was found in August 1941, and was itself a part of General Gubernatoria. Documentation of occupation fonds in state archives of mentioned regions, can show separated espects of lifestyle sphere only fragmentaly. This situation occured because part of documentation was destroyed by retreating nazis in 1944.

Circulars and orders of local german occupation organs can show social-economic life of galician peasantry. In particular we can discover tax size and duties amount. Letters and applications of citizens to official government appear information about possible discounts in tax paying. In german occupation documents we find out that purchase of first necessarity industry products could be done only bu special talons, that approve implementation of norms of supplying rural dad products for German state needs. Such documents we can find in fonds R-35 "Governorship of district Galicia in Lviv. City Lviv"; R-266 "Cooperative farmers union Centrosouz in lviv"; R-1956 "Khyriv sity administration"; R-1986 "Zhuravno district administration"; R-175 "Ternopil financial inspection of district Galicia"; R-188 "Scalat region tax administration" (LRSA. F. R-35. Des. 2. Act. 202, 253; LRSA. F. R-266. Des. 1. Act. 6; LRSA. F. R-1956. Des. 1. Act. 14; LRSA. F. R-1986. Des. 1. Act. 16–25; TRSA. F. R-175. Des. 1. Act. 34, 71, 77, 104; TRSA. F. R-188. Des. 1. Act. 1, 2, 3).

If there are the failure of the supplies norms of the agricultural products, nonpayment in full tax, non-implementation of German administration orders, food speculations or other illegal actions, then the offenders were imposed different fines. It's important to say that the materials of German courts has the very interesting stuff. The part of the acts about fines payment has yellow detachable counterfoil, but the other part doesn't have it. If the counterfoil is on the act, then the fined citizen paid his fine in time, but if there isn't the counterfoil, then we can be sure that the bigger fine or other kind of administrative or criminal liability were used for this citizen (LRSA. F. R-8. Des. 1. Act. 40; LRSA. F. 1952, Des. 1. Act. 69).

The researchers can get the information about the development of a network of the schools, the payments for teachers, etc in the documents of such funds as R-8 "The schools of Galicia district"; R-204 "Kremenets Encyclical School Inspectorate" (LRSA. F. R-8. Des. 1. Act. 1–8; DATO. F. R-204. Des. 1. Act. 118).

The rules of transaction of marital status acts, in particular the acceptance that church marriages is valid are shown in the documents of such funds as R-36 "Stanislav Encyclical Administration" (IFRSA. F. R-36. Des. 1. Act. 2): F. R-176. "Ternopil Encyclical Court of Galicia district" (TRSA. F. R-176. Des. 1. Act. 98). The documents of the last fund also give the opportunity for researchers to trace which religious holidays were allowed to celebrate for local peasants and when by German occupation administration (TRSA. F. R-176. Des. 1. Act. 7).

German authority tried to prevent the spreading of infectious diseases among the soldiers, the officers of the German army that were on the territory of Eastern Galicia, and, of course, among local peasants too. Besides, the fines 60-200 zl. had waited for people who avoided vaccination or hided the infectious diseases. This is evidenced by the documents kept in the such funds as R-174 "Ternopil Encyclical Border Guard of Galicia district"; R-175 "Ternopil Encyclical Financial Inspectorate of Galicia district"; R-35 "The Governorship of Galicia district in Lviv" (TRSA. F. R-174. Des. 1. Act. 19.; TRSA. F. R-175. Des. 1. Act. 958, 988; LRSA. F. R-35. Des. 9. Act. 284, 320).

Particular attention deserves the documents of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, which reflect the reaction of the Western Ukrainian peasantry to the actions of Soviet power r of socio-political, socio-economic, educational and cultural character.

In the funds "Materials of the UIA were found in 2003 in the village of Rogoznina, Yavoriv district" of the Scientific Library of the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, keeps propaganda materials of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. Among the traditional leaflets, which called on the Galician peasants not to support the actions of the Soviet authorities, to sabotage election campaigns, not to join kolkhozes, etc., there are also few quite original, who urged parents and mothers not to give their children vodka: "Parents and mothers, it's a crime to give vodka to your children, and even more a crime to encourage them to drink vodka, you destroying health and the soul of vour children and helping the enemy lay our youth" (SLLNU.  $\Phi$ . RK 357. Des. 1. Act. 17).

In post-war time, by the efforts of the Ukrainian emigration a number of documents, about national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people (OUN, 1955; UPA, 1957; Chronicle of the UPA, 1985, 1989). In the conditions of the Ukrainian independence publishing house Chronicles of the UPA, start up a new series of publications under the general title "Chronicle of UPA. New Series" (Chronicles, 2001; Chronicles, 2012, Chronicles, 2013; Chronicles, 2014). Among the documents of the mentioned publications, the life of the rebels and the local population, the mechanisms of material support of the participants of the national movement Reliance , the type of support reveal the reports of the stationary OUN.

The source-studying research "Booths: money documents of OUN and URA" deserves the special attention. The authors-compilers analyzed financial and economic activity of Ukrainian national liberation movement (Klymenko, 2008). The press of the

researched period is the unique source of investigation of the everyday life history. On the pages of the newspaper professional journalists-propagandists or correspondentsamateurs fixed the facts, events, phenomena that, in their opinion, expressed the spirit of time. Even Soviet regional press sometimes published the information which expressed the real state of affairs in economics and showed the live reaction of citizens. The newspapers and magazines give the researchers the opportunity to trace the features of cultural and sport life by constant headings. The rubric of personal ads is a clondike of the information about what peasants bought and sold, in what they invested money, how the leisure time was, how they equipped their houses, etc.

Detailed analysis of the press in Eastern Galicia in the period of Nazi occupation contained in the source study publication of Lviv historian Kurilyshyn K. (Kurilyshyn, 2007). A comprehensive picture of OUN's publishing activities in the west part of Ukraine is reproduced on the pages of scientific research of O. Stasyuk (Stasyuk, 2006).

All this is supplemented by documents of personal origin: memories, diaries, etc. Documents of this type have a clear imprint of the author's perception of the surrounding world. The view of an ordinary person, a person from the crowd, which often casts off such facts, that official positions have not been noticed and not taken into account. In this context, an individual person is free to choose the object of observation and the angle of his assessment (Post-war history, 2010: 55).

In the fund P. 1576. "Memories of the former Bolsheviks, former members of KPWU and other citizens of the history of the local region are preserved" holds more than 300 testimonies from eyewitnesses, from which researchers can learn about the reaction of Western Ukrainian peasants to the arrival of Soviet power, the crimes of the Nazi occupants.

The same information can be found in the fund F. R-319 "Ternopil regional communist committee of the parties of Ukraine" (TRSA. F. R-319. Des. 2. Act. 27, 110).

The author of the article, co-authored with P. Korinenko and V. Broslavsky, compiled a collection of memoirs of Western Ukrainian peasants on the historical events of the 1930s – 1950s (Starka, 2017).

Among the materials of personal origin special place belongs to rural folklore. Often in folk forms peasants expressed their mood and positions, that they do not dare to speak openly. Among such folk sources we can emphasize songs, proverbs and sayings, anecdotes, rumors (Senko, 1947: 2).

For example, the realities of rural life of the period of the "Great Blockade" 1946– 1947 years are transmitted by the carol "Sad Solemn Eve". The rebellious songs reflect the uncompromising struggle of the Western Ukrainian peasantry with the Soviet and Nazi totalitarian regimes (Spivanyk, 1950).

The researcher of everyday life rural humor, he or she can obtain information of the peculiarities of life, political, spiritual, and other beliefs .In the conditions totalitarian regime, the political anecdote reflect the attitude of society towards important events and occurrences. At the same time, it outlined the ruling mood of the expectations of the nation:

There naked on the road Praises life in Soviet UNION: There are no pants, there is no guni To live nicely in commune. \*\*\*

On the roof sickle and a hammer, And in the house death and hunger. The Jews wonder near house To sign the advance in an hour. \*\*\*

Cussed taxes have gone up, There is nothing to take up \*\*\*

Daddy in the Soviet UNION, mother does the same Children cry on the sole There is no bread, no salo Only movie and spectacle

Where did the butter go? It melted under the sun of the Stalinist constitution (Ukrainian news, 1942: 7)

In some event anecdote were a warning to a lover of a sharp word "when for three words gives five years of arrest" (Lviv news, 1943: 3).

Another contradictory source of research of everyday is rumor. Rumors it's specific kind of communication in the course of which a plot thst reflicts some of fiction events become known to a wide audience. With a described event rumors reflect public opinion general stereotypes as well as the information situation in region. (Dictionary, 2001: 745). Researchers should to remember that rumors usualy are the source of corrupt information. But because of rumors peasants could to prepareb for military actions and mass deportations.

Extra source reconstruction of everyday are subject-matter and image documents of researched period: photos, letters, house cloth and household things.

**Conclusions.** Summing we can stat about reproduction of Western Ukraine the reproduction of the everyday life of the rural population of Western Ukraine requires the involvement of a gorgeous range of sources of diverse origin and conservation. On the basis of this analysis, historians of everyday life trace the impact of events on the daily lives of people, reveal the mechanisms of adaptation of the community to new socio-political or socio-economic realities in the end describe the peculiarities and everyday life, peasant mentality, certain behavioral stereotypes, private life, etc.

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TsDIAL – Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy u m. Lviv [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine.].

DAIFO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivskoi oblasti [Ivano-Frankivsk Region State Archive].

DALO - Derzhavnyi arkhiv Lvivskoi oblasti [Lviv Region State Archive].

DATO – Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopilskoi oblasti [Ternopil Region State Archive].

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## FORMS AND METHODS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE USSR AND ACTIVITY OF SOVIET INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES ON THE TERRITORY OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES (1920–1923)

**Summary.** The article deals with negotiation process concerning formation of diplomatic relations between the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and foreign countries. The main directions were defined and activity of government and party organizations of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in the sphere of subversive operations on the territory of foreign countries were explained.

The role and place of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was defined by its geopolitical position. It has common state border with Romania and Poland and it was the shortest way to the Western Europe. The role of foreign political interests that is the necessity to be recognized officially by European countries, subversive operations on the territory of neighboring countries, liquidation of the top military of the Ukrainian People's Republic and military emigration, disorganization of Ukrainian political emigration have been ascertained.

Keywords: the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, foreign policy, emigration, Europe, border, intelligence agencies.

# ФОРМИ ТА МЕТОДИ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ УСРР І ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ РАДЯНСЬКИХ СПЕЦСЛУЖБ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ІНОЗЕМНИХ ДЕРЖАВ (1920–1923)

Анотація. У статті досліджено переговорний процес щодо встановлення дипломатичних відносин між УСРР та іноземними державами. Визначено головні напрями і висвітлено практичну роботу урядових і партійних організацій УСРР у сфері проведення підривних операцій на території іноземних держав.

З'ясувано, що місце і роль УСРР у радянській зовнішній політиці визначалися її геополітичним становищем – наявністю спільного державного кордону з Румунією і Польщею, через територію якої проходив найкоротший шлях у Західну Європу, а також зовнішньополітичними інтересами – необхідністю офіційного визнання державами Європи, проведення підривних операцій на території країн-сусідів спецслужбами УСРР, ліквідація керівництва армії УНР і військової еміграції, дезорганізація української політичної еміграції.

Ключові слова: УСРР, зовнішня політика, еміграція, Європа, кордон, спецслужби.

**The problem statement.** Realistic foreign policy is the main factor defining vital activity and secure life of a country. Active, systematic, purposeful and continuous process of foreign policy is the guarantee of political and economic security, which makes possible avoiding negative events of interior life of a country, supporting its life and further development. Consolidation of Ukraine as a sovereign state on international stage and its justified aim to occupy its rightful place at geopolitical space objectively causes an increased interest to its historical state-forming process including primary sources of Ukrainian diplomacy as a highly valued treasury of a positive historical experience in interrelations between countries and national traditions at foreign political stage.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. The history of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, State Political Directorate, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and documents about activity of these institutions has not been investigated for a long time. At the same time, former intelligence agencies as a

specific Soviet totalitarian system influenced all sides of social life defining those fundamental processes was going on more than seven decades of its history. It is practically impossible to imagine the history of the USSR as a whole and Ukraine in particular without definition of a place and the role of intelligence agencies in social life. V. Kozlov, the Head of the Main Archives Administration of the Russian Federation, confirmed this opinion. He had a possibility to be acquainted with documents of higher political authority and separate materials from archives of Federal Security Department and its regional managements. He said, "I think nobody knows the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century completely and nobody would know because intelligence agencies were creators of this history to a great extent" (Kozlov, 1997: 237). Document materials in scientific circulation, some liberalization of the regime of public archives and archives of a particular agency allow clarifying the main stages of forming former intelligence agencies, revealing their functions and characterizing documents about their activity.

The presentation of the basic material. The relations of Ukrainian diplomacy with bodies of national security were a noteworthy page. In particular, it was All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission and State Political Directorate of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, which had relations with intelligence and subversive activity of the Soviet intelligence agencies and Communist International with inspiration of revolutionary processes and forced the change of the existing state system in capitalist countries. This historical information is a noteworthy page.

In 1920, during the war between the Soviet Union and Poland, when the Red Army successfully moved into Warsaw, there were real prospects of the use of Russian experience with socialist revolution in Poland and this experience could be further used in other European countries. However, when Polish military campaign failed, it forced Councils of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic opened negotiations with Western countries about peaceful relations. Nevertheless, after this, the Bolsheviks continued the course to overcome "bourgeois" governments of the Western countries (Bilousov, 2001: 71).

The Bolsheviks considered the transition of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic to peaceful negotiations with the West as a forced step it was rest, which should be used to carry out a further battle.

The extension of the Soviet power on the whole territory of Ukraine created favorable conditions for the Bolsheviks to do a party-strategic task – "creating the world socialist republic organizing the world revolution". The Communist International had to do this task. The Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine as a component of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the section of the Communist International took part in attempts to organize export of the Bolshevik revolution to European countries. Therefore, the Communist International and People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs according to the Soviet foreign political strategy acted as two instruments of the double policy: using the first of this they tried to bust up the governments in Western countries and using the second one, they tried to establish business relations.

When the plan to create the Soviet Poland was failed, the realization of the idea about the world revolution in the end of 1920 – the beginning of 1921 reduced its speed. The Bolsheviks made a conclusion that it was necessary to postpone the idea about the final victory of the world proletariat. The change of international situation required the change of the tactic of the Communist International. It was evident that the idea "to break the world capitalism using the Red Army attack" was failed. A considered and planned preparation for a revolution was essential. To make this, it was necessary to have and use different forms and methods of fight. In particular, the Third Congress of the Communist International (June–July/1921), made a conclusion that

"the world revolution is the process, which does not develop according to the straight line". The wide use and systematic combination of legal and unofficial methods of fight was recognized as necessary.

The importance of the participation of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in the Soviet system of the export of the Bolshevik revolution was defined by peculiarities of its military-strategic location. The creation of anti-Bolsheviks front from Poland, Romania and Hungary and a real possibility to organize armed aggression of the given military block against the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (using the common state border) defined three possible versions for the Red Army to attack. The first version is in the direction of Poland across the Eastern Halychyna when the Carpathian Mountains is the only protection and Polish front is cut from Romanian one and their mutual support is impossible. The second version is in the direction to Romania across Bukovyna and the third is to attack Polish front in the south of the Carpathian Mountains in Hungary. The possibility of a simultaneous attack against Romania and Poland was also suggested (CSAPO of Ukraine. F.1, op.20, File 620: 84–87).

The specific of the Soviet political system (combination, de facto, authoritative executive functions between state and party bodies), influenced the foreign political line of the Soviet Ukraine. On the one hand, official one, the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic established diplomatic relations with European countries; on the other hand, unofficial one, the ruling party of the Republic, the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine focused on the export of the Bolshevik revolution to European countries within the context of international communist movement. To realize the secret Soviet policy, it was necessary to combine efforts of the next party members: Foreign Department and Propaganda Department (subdivision of national minorities); state members of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; Special Departments, Registration Department, Foreign Department of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission (since 1922, it was Foreign Department of the State Political Directorate (Foreign Department) – bodies of political and military intelligence, and counterintelligence of the establishments of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.

The most representatives of higher state authority of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic were not only leading party officials of the republic but active participants of international communist movement. Kh. Rakovskyi, the Head of People's Commissariat and People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and an active participant of the 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the Communist International. He was elected to the Executive Committee. D. Manuyilskyy and M. Skrypnyk, the members of the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, participated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Communist International. F. Kon, a participant of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Communist International, signed an agreement with Lithuania on 14/February/1921. He was appointed to the position of the Head of Foreign Department at the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine. In 1922, he was appointed to the position of the Head of Ukrainian Political Directorate, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. During November-December/1922, at the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist International, he was appointed to the position of the Secretary of the Higher Commission of the Communist International. A. Hlynskyi, was appointed for the position of the Head of the Central Office of the Foreign Department during February/1–March/1/1921. Earlier he was the Head of the Ukrainian part of Russian-Ukrainian Delegation. O. Shumskyi was elected as a representative of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine at the meeting of the Higher Commission of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Communist International on 13/July/1921and later he was elected as a representative of the Ukrainian Social Soviet Republic in Poland. Generally, representatives of higher governmental authorities of the Ukrainian Social

Soviet Republic, diplomats, command of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army were active participants of international communist movement directed on the export of revolution (Datskiv, 2013: 538).

The main directions in secret activity of intelligence agencies of the Ukrainian Social Soviet Republic on the territory of foreign countries were the following:

1) in the sphere of intelligence – collecting military and economic information, organization of intelligence service in political societies, disorganization and split of emigration;

2) in the sphere of counterintelligence – accounting of unreliable and counterrevolutionary elements, neutralization of activity of gendarmerie, revealing and destruction of agents of counterintelligence of enemy;

3) in the sphere of diversionary and terrorist operations – diversions, preparation of rebellions under the slogans of "national movement", "organizations of Petlyura", terrorist acts;

4) in the sphere of material and technical, and ideological support – newspapers, leaflets for abroad, documents for agents in abroad, technical support of diversion and terrorist operations (Kupchyk, 2011: 188–190).

The party intelligence service – Foreign department, which support cooperation with security agencies including All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission was created at the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine to realize export of revolution to Poland and Romania on 26/May/1920. Weapon was supplied from the centre (in Kharkiv) to regional departments (in Kyiv and Odesa). Further, by the support of the border guards, it was supported abroad to the Bolveviks rebellious detachments and underground resistance movements. V. Balytskyi, the Deputy Head of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, dealt with cooperation and coordination between All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission and Foreign Department (Kupchyk, 2002: 44–48).

F. E. Dzerzhynskyi, the Head of All-Russian Extraordinary Commission, performing the task of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) to improve intelligence work, issued an order № 169 dated on 20/December/1920 that established foreign intelligence service of the Soviet Army – Foreign Department of All-Russian Extraordinary Commission. Despite of the objection of the Head of People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Socialist Federative Republic H. Chycherin, at the beginning of 1920, at Soviet diplomatic representatives in Germany, Poland, Finland, Baltic countries, Persia and Afghanistan, residents for foreign intelligence are opened and in those countries where there were not diplomatic mission, illegal residents are opened. Less important embassy officials headed embassy residents but they have independent from the ambassador channels of code and courier communication and secret assistants. Ukrainian Diaspora introduced the position of the assistant of the resident in residents of Foreign Department of the State Political Directorate - Joint State Political Directorate in European countries with big Ukrainian emigration (Vednyeyev, Budkov, 2006: 212).

Foreign Department at the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine "About new forms of work abroad" was closed down on 30/October/1921. The process of creating allied nation and attempt of Moscow to have the total control over all institutions of foreign political influence explains this closedown. However, after the liquidation of Foreign Department, the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine concerning the export of revolution to Europe continued. The project about new work abroad dated by 31/October/1921 (V. Mantsev, the Head of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, sent it to F. Markus) shows the following information: the central office of Foreign Department in Kharkiv and Kyiv department should be liquidated. Odesa department was not

liquidated and continued to work as the part of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission. It was "Secret Department of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission". It had control over the next: 1) management of party work abroad, 2) intelligence and foreign counterintelligence. Nevertheless, party work was considered the main and urgent (Datskiv, 2013: 539).

The Central Committee had a control over the Party work of "Secret Department of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission" and All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission had a control over intelligence. The Central Committee appointed the Head of "Secret Department of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission" and he managed party activity and intelligence. Secret Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine and All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission were financed: the first covered expanses for party activity; the second – expenses for intelligence. A member of the Central Committee managed the activity of Secret Department. The position of secretary for foreign affairs was appointed at this department. The office of secret-directive part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine fulfilled the functions of technical department (Kupchyk, 2011: 193–194; CSAPO of Ukraine. F.1, op. 20, File 408: 171).

Therefore, after the liquidation of Foreign Department, Odesa Foreign Department reorganized into "Secret Department" of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission managed the export of revolution to Europe. Further, intelligence agency the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine functioned as the part of security state body.

Khrystyan Rakovskyi, the Head of People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, participated in preparation of the export of revolution to European countries. Researchers write about the participation of the Head and government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in secret subversive operations on the territory of neighboring countries. Kh. Rakovskyi's secretly communicated with Foreign Department of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission (since spring of 1922). Only some aspects of these contacts were traced in testimony of the agent of State Political Directorate Pavlovskyi (Yakshyn), which was arrested in Germany in 1922. Being the Head of Foreign Department of All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Commission, with approval of Rakovskyi, he organized secret residents in Germany, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Balkan countries. He reported about espionage and subversion to the Head of People's Commissariat of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Holovko, Stanchen, Chernyavskyi, 1994: 96, 99).

Therefore, having achieved a positive result in "export" of the Bolshevik revolution to neighboring countries required a close cooperation of party departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine with government institutions.

One can find a confirmation in archive materials that the territory of neighboring countries of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic became the field of activity of intelligence agencies of the Soviet Ukraine at the beginning of 1920. Subversive operations on the territory of Turkey were complicated because of its Islamic religion, strong Islamic feelings of the population and tough Turkish language. Materials are absent in archives, which would confirm meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine concerning the export of the revolution to this country. The meeting of the referents of the Department of Diplomatic Relations of People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic valued at a low rate the prospects of subversive activity in Turkey. At the same time, it should be noted that after the liquidation in January/1921, Crimean Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine with Turkey could still existed (CSAPO of Ukraine. F.P, 4 p, op. 1p., File 682: 56–58).

In the sphere of intelligence operations of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, Foreign Department of State Political Directorate, Directorate of Intelligence of Central Command of Armed Forces of Ukraine and Crimea, and Foreign Agency of People's Commission for Foreign Affairs paid attention to military information in particular, to the possibility of aggression of Poland and Romania against the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. Secret agents of intelligence agencies of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic collected information and reported about organization of different armed formations, their intentions in details concerning the protection of attacks on Ukrainian settlements near Polish and Romanian border zones during 1921.

Secret agents moved rebellious parties, which were formed on the territory of Ukraine, to the territory of Poland and Romania. These subdivisions ruined railway bridges, communications, made armed attacks on banks, Polish and Romanian state institutions and military objects with the aim of disarmament. All combat subdivisions had to form rebel army, which should be later reorganized into regular at the time of planned "national rebellious" on western Ukrainian territory - Eastern Halychyna and Western Volyn during August/1921. The possibility of this appearance and positive result was predicted by party intelligence organization. In directives of F. Markus reported for party intelligence agents it was ordered to organize on the base of national Ukrainian elements, provocative combat detachments, which could act as the army of Ukrainian national Republic. As a result, strong proofs were formed on the base of which Poland could be accused for not fulfillment peaceful agreement, its participation in organization and support of evil combat detachments for the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. Therefore, Foreign Department tried to provoke the war between the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and Poland in order to break down the state system and form the Soviet power. Foreign political project of the forming of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was complicated because the government of Ukrainian National Republic was in exile. People's Commission of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic took measures directed to disorganization of the activity of Ukrainian emigration, which was 40 000 people in the end of 1920 (Troshchynskyi, 1994: 20).

Establishment of diplomatic relations and beginning of the work of authorized representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in Warsaw, Prague, Wien and Berlin that is in centers of the main mass of political emigration supported the fulfillment of the given task by the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. Measures of People's Commission of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in this sphere were caused by the threat because of the activity of Ukrainian emigration abroad in particular the following:

1) discovery the main part of emigrants on the territory of neighboring Poland and Romania and possibility of their quick return to Ukraine for further struggle;

2) availability of military fighters of the army of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in Poland and Romania, the status of interned (that is they preserved military organization) but not war prisoners;

3) existence of organizations of Ukrainian emigration and the government of Ukrainian National Republic in exile on the territory of Poland (Kupchyk, 2011: 216).

After the defeat of the second Winter campaign of the army of Ukrainian National Republic commanded by Yu. Tyutyunnyk, many ordinary people and officials of Ukrainian National Republic without prospects for further anti-Soviet struggle, were forced to be communists, change priorities and guidelines in political activity, radically turned to the perception of Soviet ideology. Therefore, the Bolsheviks used those emigrants who accepted communist positions to organize protest action under the title "movement for the change of signposts" (collection "Change of signposts" appeared in Paris in July/1921) or "turning movement" and was directed for the further split and

liquidation of military and political emigration and neutralization of leaders (Bilokin, 1999: 315). However, state and party leaders of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic did not evaluate the importance of the development of "movement for the change of signposts", which appeared in 1921, the possibility to use it in disorganization of Ukrainian emigration. The government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic paid attention to participants of the "movement for the change of signposts" only in 1922. The main archive material mass dated by this year confirmed this fact.

Authorized representatives of the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic abroad were directed to the following according to the protocol of the meeting of Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine dated by 23/June/1922:

1) start organization of groups of Ukrainian emigration, which agree with Soviet positions according to the example of members of "movement for the change of signposts" and give them the possibility to have their own publishing houses;

2) receive from the representatives of these groups compromise documents about representatives of political and military emigration and members of the Directorate; 3) allow the representatives of these groups entering Ukraine only after their full use abroad (CSAPO of Ukraine. F.1, op. 20, File 1029: 92).

Yu. Kotsyubynskyi (Austria), V. Aussem (Germany), M. Levytskyi (Czechoslovakia), and O. Shumskyi (Poland), authorized representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic abroad, were instructed in details about foreign agencies of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. These instructions concerned disorganization of Ukrainian emigration as it was written in a secret letter of D. Manuyilskyi, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, given to the heads of diplomatic missions dated by 27/June/1922. Ambassadors had to do the following:

1) use the moods of members of "movement for the change of signposts" among emigrants to create a group from former participants of Ukrainian National Republic, which were unaffiliated persons and spoke for the protection of the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and led struggle against slanders spread by the representatives of emigration;

2) those figures had to publish materials compromising the government of Ukrainian National Republic;

3) corresponding figures had to be used fully abroad before entering the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and negotiated with them in such way that not only to make them legal but cut them all ways to retreat;

4) costs for publishing literature about "movement for the change of sighposts" had to be given after complete check of their desire to work in the direction of the schedule of emigration. Bodies of Petlyura press had to be transformed into bodies of "change of signposts" direction after publishing declaration blaming their past activity;

5) special attention had to be paid to disorganization of Petlyura parts in intern camps (achievements of authorized representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in this direction were not considerable), hence, according to the results of fulfillment of this task, the party made a conclusion about the ability to work of diplomatic representatives of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic abroad. Communist parties of those countries had to be attracted, where there were intern camps with Petlyura soldiers. Therefore, each diplomatic mission sent abroad according to the resolution of Organizing bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine dated by 28February/1921, "About forms and methods of communication with Ukrainian communist movement abroad". Official had to define relations with Ukrainian communist groups abroad, their regular support by literature, costs etc (Datskiv, 2013: 543).

To behead political and military emigration (in particular, return to Ukraine and court trials of the leaders of Ukrainian national movement – Pavlo Skoropadskyi, Symon Petlyura, Yuriy Tyutyunnyk and Nestor Makhno, which were rejected to be given an amnesty by Soviet power), intelligence agencies of Soviet Ukraine did a lot of work in illegal revealing, catch and physical liquidation abroad of different dangerous for Soviet power elements and leading political and military persons of the government of Ukrainian National Republic in emigration. Soviet agents had to trace and reveal leading members of Ukrainian National Republic in emigration (Hromyko, 1960: 391). A lot of work was done to trace leaders of Ukrainian national movement in order to exterminate them physically.

To take representatives from socialist and communist parties into parliaments of neighboring countries was an important direction in secret activity of intelligence agencies. Forming Soviet deputy groups, governments of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic tried to support lobbing their own interests in legislative bodies of foreign countries.

**Conclusions.** Therefore, it should be noted that establishing official relations with European countries the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic makes subversive operations. The Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine had the next main spheres of work in secret foreign policy: subversive operations on the territory of neighboring countries, "export" of the Bolshevik revolution to European countries, warning about possibility of military aggression against neighboring countries and army of Ukrainian National Republic, disorganization of Ukrainian political emigration, liquidation of top army of Ukrainian National Republic and top army emigration.

Party and state bodies of authority closely cooperated in export of the Bolshevik revolution to neighboring countries. Foreign Department at the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine – party intelligence service of Ukrainian Bolsheviks had the task of the liquidation of existing political system and establishing Soviet power in neighboring countries with the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.

Undoubtedly, any concrete foreign political service of new formed state adds to the characteristic of the model stated above its peculiar features and completes it with its experience. However, those peculiarities revealed during the existence of the Soviet Ukraine should be investigated in future.

The place and role of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in Soviet foreign policy were defined by its geopolitical position. It was common state border with Romania and Poland, where it was the shortest way to Western Europe. The foreign political interests were expressed in the necessity to be officially recognized by European countries. Subversive operations made by intelligence agencies of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic on the territory of neighboring countries, liquidation of the top army of Ukrainian National Republic and military emigrations and disorganization of Ukrainian political emigration defined the place and role of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in Soviet foreign policy.

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## UKRAINE AND THE INTEGRATION PROJECTS IN THE EASTERN EUROPE

**Summary.** The article is devoted to modern integration projects on the territory of Eastern Europe, in particular to the project of "Russian World" as the most aggressive and problematic for Ukraine integration ideology. According to the author, such integration projects claim to replace the system of nation-states, that developed after the II World War and that is increasingly being criticized by competitors today. The integration project of the "Russian World", like some others, is based on religious rhetoric and considers foreign expansion as missionary, evangelistic activity. Also, Eastern Europe has other integration projects, Ukraine can play a significant role and unite them around itself, becoming a central subject of integration.

Keywords: Integration project, "Russian World", Russian Orthodox Church, national state.

## УКРАЇНА ТА ІНТЕГРАЦІЙНІ ПРОЕКТИ У СХІДНІЙ ЄВРОПІ

Анотація. Стаття присвячена сучасним інтеграційним проектам на території Східної Європи, зокрема проекту "Русского міру" як найбільш агресивній та актуальній для України інтеграційній ідеології. На думку автора, саме такі інтеграційні проекти претендують замінити систему національних держав, яка склалася після II Світової війни та все частіше потрапляє під критику конкурентів сьогодні. Інтеграційний проект "Русского міру", як і деякі інші, базується на релігійній риториці та розглядає зовнішню експансію як місіонерську, євангелізаторську діяльність. Також на території Східної Європи діють інші інтеграційні проекти, в яких місце Росії суттєво нижче, або вона там взагалі не представлена. Відповідно, в цих проектах Україна може відігравати значну роль та об'єднувати їх навколо себе, стаючи центральним суб'єктом інтеграції.

**Ключові слова:** інтеграційний проект, "Русскій мір", Російська православна церква, національна держава.

he contemporary system of International Law has been established after WWII, and its main principles, for example, the principle of the territorial integrity, are connected with the times of Cold War. These principles correspond to the approach in international relations of the 1960s, when there was a rapid formation of independent states in the world, the fall of colonialism, but after the 1970s, the situation began to change when the first ideologies that were intended at implementation of integration projects of state-building appeared. 40 years ago two great secular projects in Iran and China began to change their ideology to the religious or, at least, traditionalist one, and promptly their foreign policy become expansionist, with attempts of integrating culturally approximate neighbour countries. In the late 1990s Russia has started to build its own integration project, called "Russian world", but it become an influent political and cultural challenge in the middle of 2000s, after Russia's government refused the way of European integration. The last 5 years Russian integration project poses an immediate military threat to Ukraine, and Ukrainian political circles are trying to find another opportunity of integration, because it is almost common idea, that the isolated nation-state has not perspectives in the time of globalization. The main purpose of this article is to show ideological base of Russian integration project and the perspectives of alternative projects in the Eastern Europe.

The subjects of research are ideological projects of integration of the Eastern Europe, which could become a response to the project of "Russian world".

The system of nation-states domination has become almost unefficient after the end of the Cold War. Thomas Friedman describes that transit of the subjectivity: "Globalization has its own defining structure of power, which is much more complex than the Cold War structure. The Cold War system was built exclusively around nation-states. You acted on the world in that system through your state. The Cold War was primarily a drama of states confronting states, balancing states and aligning with states... The globalization system, by contrast, is built around three balances, which overlap and affect one another. The first is the traditional balance between nationstates... The second balance in the globalization system is between nation-states and global markets... The third balance that you have to pay attention to in the globalization system – the one that is really the newest of all – is the balance between individuals and nation-states" (Friedman, 2000: 12–13). These types of balancing indicate participation of various types of entities in the globalization, from the individuals to the global transborder community, and nation-states remain only one type of the participants in the process.

Nowadays, there are several integration projects, that are driven by the pursuance of expansion and do not pay much attention to the nation-state borders of the model of the late XX century. These projects show the model of alternative globalizations, because after their conversion to religious ideologies, based on Orthodox Christianity, Islam or traditional Confucian world-view, their relations to the national or language communities transformed toward the expansionist type with potentially global spread (Watersheeds of secularization, 2017). In this case the subject of integration project looks at expansion as at kind of evangelization, and the level of mobilization of supporters become as high as in religious wars. But they usually choose as their enemy not other religion, but Western secularist world-view, and the struggle against secularism becomes a religious virtue.

The competition with the secularist West is not only in the plane of values, but also in the plane of structures. International law, borders and the subjectivity of nationstates, the exclusive right of the state to use force – these elements of the Western world order are violated by new formations of different levels, from individual terrorists and private military companies to globalization projects and military coalitions. The Western project, which formed the basis of the post-war world order, today has powerful alternatives. According to the organizers of the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2019, "we are shifting from a world order based on common values to a "multiconceptual" world shaped by competing narratives seeking to create a new global architecture. We live in a world with new planetary boundaries for its development" (World Economic Forum). These projects-narratives oppose the West as geopolitical centers of gravity, and, in parallel with an alternative globalization, the military expansion of individual states and coalitions, active migration, and political populism grow.

The most agressive and powerful integration project in the post-Soviet area is the project of "Russian world", with Moscow as a center and attractor of integration. Moscow was a religious center in the times of Russian Empire, but that religious tradition has been interrupted in Soviet era. After proclaiming the separation of the church and the state three months after coming to power, the Soviet regime has become not just secular, but was conducting a violent secularization policy over all controlled territories. During the 1920s an alternative Soviet system of non-religious (or anti-religious) rituals began to take shape, religious organizations were deprived of property and many rights, some of them were banned and persecuted. Thus, in 1930s the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was abolished, in 1946 – the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. However, even despite the persecution of the religious

communities, the Ukrainian SSR remained the most religious in the Soviet Union, with about 8,000 religious communities registered in 1990, while in Russia there were less than 4,000 communities. On January 1, 1992 there were already 13217 religious communities in Ukraine, while in Russia the number of religious communities reached such a level only in 1997. Therefore, even in spite of the domination of Orthodoxy in the religious area, during the first years of the independent Russia, the Orthodox integration project for the post-Soviet space was not dominant in the Russian Federation.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union there were two ways of understanding the future of the Russian Federation among the Russian political elites. The first option was to integrate Russia into a Western project with the further entry into pan-European structures. So, in 1994, the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between Russia and the EU was signed. As Russia's political expert A. Sytin notes, at that time Europe saw in Russia an important parthner, whose integration into the pan-European space will help to admire other countries in the region easier. For its part, the Russian regime tried to enter into cooperations between the Russian Federation and the EU have worsened and after 2002 the European integration agenda has been cancelled (Sytin, 2017). The understanding of the values and guidelines of Russia's development was transformed.

Followers of the second variant of the development were not ready to abandon the central place of Russia in the new integration project. Initially, this option was discussed in the intellectual circles, but after the arrival of V. Putin's administration and the refusal of the European integration of Russia the cultural, ideological and military expansion of Russia began to take place on the basis of the integration project of the "Russian world". As the Ukrainian researcher V. Hurzhy writes, "Things have changed since the mid-2000s, when "Russian world" gradually moved from intellectual circles to the Kremlin government offices and the Russian Orthodox Church, becoming one of the main vectors of the Russian foreign policy. This is particularly due to a high attractiveness and high mobilization potential of the concept" (Hurzhy, 2015: 94). And if at first a greater emphasis was placed on language unity, religious rhetoric gradually became more important, because religious rhetoric has a much larger mobilization potential and may offer an alternative to secular Western value system.

Protection and popularization of the Russian language, especially in the diaspora, became the task of the fund "Russian world", created in 2007. Following the example of Western institutions like the Goethe-Institut, the Cervantes Institute, the British Council and even the Chinese Confucius Institute, established several years earlier, the Russian government created a network of Russian centers (by the end of 2017 there were 110 in the world) and Cabinets of the Russian world (144 by the end of 2017). These organizations work as language courses, hold conferences and other events devoted to Russian language and literature, as well as to Russian culture in general. The largest annual event of the fund, the Assembly of the Russian World, also gradually moved from discussing language issues to alternative values, based on religious traditions. As the Head of the fund V. Nikonov stated at the Assembly in 2017: "Ideas, that our global community can offer, lie on the surface: they are fixed in our national code. These are the common human values that are contained in the sacred writings - in their true, but not perverted sense. These are the ideas of true freedom and faith, true peace and justice, true life and human dignity, true sovereignty and independence of the state" (Report, 2017). In many aspects, these topics are similar to the Western worldview, but everywhere there is a "real", that automatically opposes them to "perverted" Western visions, which are not contained in the sacred writings. So, we can see the reference to religious values that are misinterpreted in other paradigms.

And meanwhile, the Assembly in 2017 was held under the general slogan "Ideas of the Russian world for the world". I.e., an alternative value system based on religious orders is offered to the entire global world, not just to the Russian-speaking diaspora. At this stage, we can already state ambitions of global dominance, which it would be difficult to have based solely on language identity.

The participation of the Russian Orthodox Church in the formation of the "Russian world" project began before the election of the Metropolitan Cyril (Gundyaev) as Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. Belarussian researcher S. Aleinikova claims that since the collapse of the USSR, the work of the Russian Orthodox Church in the framework of integration processes was focused on the creation of a "Slavic triangle" of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine (Aleinikova, 2017: 79-80). However, the final design and presentation of the "Russian world" program took place soon after the election of Cyril to the Patriarch, at the opening of the Third Assembly of the Russian world in November 2009. Patriarch Cyril not only became the church speaker of the "Russian world" project, but in fact created a new understanding of this project by his speeches, transforming it into a confessional one. Such a transformation had both its pros and cons. On the one hand, the denominational factor really allowed to appeal to a wider audience, because apart from Russia, the Russian Orthodox Church also has an influence in other states where the Russian-speaking diaspora does not have a clear Russian identity. Already in his speech in 2009, Patriarch included not only Ukraine and Belarus but also Moldova to the "Russian world" area (Speech, 2009). And at the end of the speech it has been separately emphasized, that the Russian language should not become the only one for other peoples of the "Russian world", they must develop their own indigenous languages, which only enrich the common one. Already next year, speaking at the IV Assembly of the Russian world, Patriarch Cyril has added to this civilization area also Kazakhstan. His speech was already more integrationally oriented (Speech, 2010). It is important that in 2010 Moldova was called "Moldavia" instead of "Moldova" and Belarus - "Belorussia" instead of "Belarus", which is feature of imperial discourse and speaks more about the territory of the empire, than about independent modern states. Thus, gradually the agenda of the integration of the Russian-speaking diaspora turned into an imperial Orthodox integration project.

Until the beginning of the military conflict with Russia, the ideology of the "Russian world" was not systematically researched in Ukraine, whereas after 2014, many scholars began to conceptualize this doctrine and its relations to Ukraine. For example, such authors as A. Kolodny, L. Fylypovych, S. Shkil, V. Hurzhy, who devoted their researches to the theme of "Russian world" as a religious ideology. In the period from 2014 to 2019, several complex studies have been published by the National Institute for Strategic Studies, in particular, "Ukraine and the project of the Russian world" (2014), "Information challenges of the hybrid warfare: content, channels, mechanisms of counteraction" (2016), "Putin's regime: Reload – 2018" (late 2018). In these studies important attention is paid to the religious foundations of the integration project "Russian world", the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in its development and promotion abroad.

Similarly, alternative variants of integration projects were not made. It was typical to oppose the European integration and pro-Russian vector, especially since the late 2013 (during the last months of V. Yanukovych's regime), and this opposition has become the political mainstream at the time of P. Poroshenko. The culmination of this opposition in the political dimension are the amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine in 2019, when the idea of integration into the EU and NATO was enshrined in the main law. But the idea of Euro-Atlantic integration has its own negative features. Firstly, in the European Union there are internal isolationist movements developing, including Brexit, the referendum in Catalonia in 2017, and the actual emergence of a block of Eastern European countries within the EU. EU–US relations during the presidency of D. Trump also became more complicated, and this change became a factor of instability. Secondly, the inclusion into such a large-scale integration project, as the Euro-Atlantic, places Ukraine on the

periphery's role in making decisions within this unity. Protection of the interests of Ukraine takes place only in the context of the interests of the all project, and therefore we should take into account the wishes of stronger members, even when it may endanger the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our state.

There are also several other integration projects, that are marginal in Ukraine today, but have a potential for growing in the future. One of them is the Chinese project, called "One Belt, One Road", created in 2013. The main purpose of this project is to develop the global infrastructure network, concentrated around China. In the framework of this project the lesser one exists – "16+1", that unies 16 Central-Eastern European countries from Bulgaria and Albania to Estonia, but without Ukraine. Today the Ukrainian participation in the "One Belt, One Road" initiative is minimal, despite the great economical potential of Chinese project. The second alternative integration project is Intermarium, that may integrate states of Eastern Europe between Baltic, Adriatic and Azov seas. This project does not have such a powerful potential as Chinese one, but the role of Ukraine in it could be much more important. The advantage of Intermarium integration project is in cultural and religious approximity of its participants – all of them have common Christian identity and history, although they had conflicts in history, that could become a challenge for future integration.

**Conclusions.** The time of globalization requires not only internal stability from the states, but at the same time the participation in regional and global integration projects. In the XXI-st century there are several alternative globalization projects like Euro-Atlantic, Chinese and so on, that do not limited by the state borders and try to expand their political and cultural influence abroad. The Russia's "Russian world" project is the most agressive and powerful integration project on the post-Soviet area. It has appeared in the late 1990-s as the project of integrating the Russian-speaking diaspora, but it transformed into religious ideology till the 2010. Today the pro-Orthodox ideology of "Russian world" tries to make influence on the countries of Eastern Europe like Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova. In this situation Ukraine should find another integration project, or make its own one, with the fundamental condition, that the interests of Ukraine will be taken into account in decision-making process. There could be as well global integration projects like Euro-Atlantic or Chinese, as regional projects like Intermarium.

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. WORLD HISTORY

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## THE PRIORITIES OF THE UKRAINIAN-AND-POLISH COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP OF THE MODERNITY

Summary. The aim of the research is to determine and analyse the features and priorities as well as principles of the transformation of the modern system of bilateral Ukrainian-and-Polish relations development in the circumstances of globalization and European-and-Atlantic processes and challenges as well as elucidate the prospects of the intergovernmental cooperation in the continuum of modern geopolitical requirements. The research methodology is based on the usage of historicism and objectivism principles, general-scientific (analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction, etc.), special historical (historicalchronological, historical-comparative, systemic-and-structural, etc.) and other scientific methods as well as interdisciplinary and pluralistic approaches to the study of modern development of the relations between Ukraine and Poland on the basis of the complex usage of historical resources on the problem, both Ukrainian and foreign, mostly Polish ones. The scientific novelty demonstrates new important historical aspects of Ukrainian-and-Polish cooperation on the contemporary stage of its features and vision of the priorities on the prospects of the further improvement. The focus is on the principles and significant trends of the partnership of two states and the periodization of modern Ukrainian-and-Polish relations, their institualization. Conclusions. The modern Ukrainian-and-Polish relations are developing in different spheres in the ascending trajectory, and new challenges have appeared, from the viewpoint concerning the future of Ukraine and Poland interplay, which resulted not only in the modernization of the bilateral relations, but they opened the new extra possibilities for the intense relations between the countries taking into consideration the internal and external political processes.

Keywords: Ukraine, Poland, the Ukrainian-and-Polish relations, partnership, priorities, the Europeanand-Atlantic context.

## ПРІОРИТЕТИ УКРАЇНСЬКО–ПОЛЬСЬКОЇ СПІВПРАЦІ ТА ПАРТНЕРСТВА СУЧАСНОСТІ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – визначити і проаналізувати особливості та пріоритети й принципи трансформації сучасної системи розвитку двосторонніх українсько-польських відносин в умовах глобалізації та європейсько-атлантичних процесів й викликів, а також з'ясувати перспективи міждержавної співпраці у континуумі нинішніх геополітичних вимог. Методологія праці: використано принципи історизму та об'єктивності, загальнонаукові (аналіз, синтез, індукція та дедукція тощо), спеціально-історичні (історико-хронологічний, історико-порівняльний, системно-структурний, ін.) та деякі інші наукові методи, а також міждисциплінарний і плюралістичний підходи до вивчення новітньої розбудови стосунків між Україною та Польщею на основі комплексного застосування історичних джерел, як українських, так і зарубіжних, переважно польських, із запропонованої проблеми. Наукова новизна: висвітлено нові важливі історичні аспекти українсько-польського співробітництва на сучасному етапі його особливостей та бачення пріоритетів на перспективу поліпшення. Закцентовано увагу на принципах і пріоритетних напрямках партнерства двох держав та періодизації сучасних українсько-польськи взаємин, їх інституалізації. Висновки: сучасні українсько-польські відносини розвиваються в усіх сферах висхідною траєкторією, а з погляду на майбутнє взаємодії України і Польщі виникли принципово нові вимоги та виклики, які призвели не лише до модернізації двосторонніх взаємин, а й відкрили додаткові можливості для інтенсивних зв'язків між країнами з урахуванням внутрішньо – та зовнішньополітичних процесів.

Ключові слова: Україна, Польща, українсько-польські відносини, партнерство, пріоритети, європейсько-атлантичний контекст.

**T** tatement of the problem. In the circumstances of the global transformations of the present time, of Russia's annexation of Crimea and aggression in the Donbas, of the Ukraine's foreign policy to the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), our country's cooperation with the Republic of Poland (RP) is one of the most effective means of the European-Atlantic integration from the viewpoint of the Polish experience use, the reserves identification and the mutual development resources, the arrangement of the world order and the achievement of a worthy place of the Ukrainian state and the Republic of Poland in a united Europe and the world. The recent history of centuries-old relations between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples is connected with the formation and implementation of the strategic partnership and cooperation, taking into account the requirements and challenges of the present in the internal and international life, the needs of modernization and effective interaction of the two states, the support of national security and defence. The processes of modern cooperation between Ukraine and Poland lead to searching for analogies, reinterpretation of the important problems and manifestation of the priorities of influence on extending the development of interstate connections, substantiation of answers to the most urgent issues in the new geopolitical conditions.

The study analysis. The need to understand the historical experience of the formation and development of the bilateral Ukrainian-Polish cooperation not only does not weaken over time, but, on the contrary, it intensifies. And it is quite regularly: the naturalness of the partnership between Ukraine and Poland is conditioned by the complicated history of their statehood and mutual relations for the sake of our peoples' future, as well as the necessity to ensure the stability and security on the European continent, taking into consideration geopolitical changes. The study of modern interstate relations is explained by their changeable intensity and variability, which are on the constant move, there is nothing finished in this cooperation, and it develops along with time, reflects the present, the priorities and prospects in the European-Atlantic context. The problems of interrelations between peoples and countries, as in general the international relations, are primordial and, at the same time, always new ones, and, therefore, they require a permanent, thorough, integral and impartial study. The history of the development of the Ukrainian-Polish interstate relations in a new system of international relations prolongs to cause a considerable scientific interest in both Ukrainian and Polish, and often other foreign researchers. The analysis of the historiography asserts that despite the quantitative growth of works on this topic, nevertheless, it should be noted that the literature lacks the scientific publications that would represent the vision of principles and priorities in the Ukrainian-Polish relations of today in the context of the urgent demands and challenges of the global and internal

political transformation processes of the present. The definition of a new vision of the bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland is a vital call of time.

It should be mentioned that the issue of the formation and development of a new type of the Ukrainian-Polish relations began to be studied by the Ukrainian scientists since the beginning of the 1990s in the context of the topical problems of Ukraine's foreign policy, in particular its European-Atlantic aspirations and cooperation. For 1991–2019 in the historiography of the problem, the author's concept contains three stages, which are characterized by its dynamics and intensification. At the initial stage of the formation of the Ukrainian historiography of the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, scientific works were of a general nature, the authors considered them through the prism of a new system of international relations, studied the preconditions and the first steps of bilateral cooperation. The works of O. Ivchenko (Ivchenko, 1997), V. Hlibov and D. Horun (Hlibov, Horun, 1997), A. Kudryachenko (A. Kudriachenko, 1993), V. Strutynskyi (V. Strutynskyi, 1998), L. Chykalenko, O. Vasyliev (Chykalenko, Vasyliev, 1998) and others are devoted to these questions. In authors' opinion, the period of thorough and systematic research of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation began at the end of 1990s. The study of the two states interaction has reached a professionally new level that has the latest theoretical-methodological and source-study grounds, which have guaranteed an increase in the arguments of generalizations and assessments, filling them with the qualitative factual content and conclusions. In this connection, there should be mentioned the works of K. Kindrat and S. Trokhymchuk (Kindrat, Trokhymchuk, 2002), B. Borshchevskyi (Borshchevskyi, 2007), H. Zelenko (Zelenko, 2003), L. Alexivevets and V. Hevko (Aleksiievets, Hevko, 2009), O. Znakhorenko (Znakhorenko, 2004), A. Kyrydon (Kyrydon, 2011), V. Kolesnyk (Kolesnyk, 2009) and others. Their studies reveal the course of relations, the dynamics of contacts between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in different spheres of the social-and-political life. The scientific achievements of the scholars mentioned above have laid a theoretical foundation for further deepening of the relations between both of the countries and became a good precondition for their study.

A synthetic work of L. Zashkilnyak, M. Krykun (Zashkilniak, Krykun, 2002) plays an extremely important role in the study of the presented scientific problem. Their research is a synthesis of the development of the modern Ukrainian Polish Studies. On a broad source basis, the authors have analyzed professionally the socio-economic and spiritual development of the Polish State from the ancient times to the present day, which makes it possible to understand the formation of the Ukrainian-Polish relations within a long historical period.

The works of the Ukrainian and Polish scholars on the research of modern relations between Ukraine and Poland has increased significantly since the mid 2000s. The EU and NATO development has contributed to a better interest in the globalized and European-Atlantic processes in general and in the Ukrainian-Polish context as well. It should be noticed that the majority of problems of the interaction between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland concerns to the bilateral cooperation in accordance with the radical changes in the geopolitical situation on the European continent and in the world as a whole. Among the specific studies on this issue, it should be mentioned the monographs of L. Alexiyevets and I. Ilchuk (Aleksiievets, Ilchuk, 2016), L. Strilchuk (Strilchuk, 2013), M. Yankiv (Yankiv, 2011), N. Buhlai (Buhlai, 2017), etc.

In the context of the topic under study, the publications of the Institute of Ukrainian History of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Zovnishnia polityka, 2014; Zovnishnia polityka, 2017) and the Institute of European Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine [now the SI (State Institution) Institute of World History] (Ukraina v Yevropi, 2009; Ukraina v Yevropi, 2011) are of great importance. The first two publications are organised in the form of an annotated historical chronicle, the source of which are official diplomatic documents, different agreements between the countries on the basis of which the contemporary trends of international relations as well as relations with foreign countries are highlighted. The last two joint monographs edited by A. Kudryachenko, on a wide historical material, reveal a versatile analysis of Ukraine's current relations with foreign states is made, the genesis of international relations in Europe, the role of Ukraine in the system of international relations on the continent as well as examine the regional interests and geostrategic priorities of the independent Ukraine in the prolong prospect.

A monographic research of the historiographic character of N. Chorna (Chorna, 2014) is significant for the national historiography of the Ukrainian-Polish relations of the present. In her work, the author comprehensively and systematically generalizes over the twenty years achievements in the historiography of the Ukrainian-Polish relations at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century. She highlights the main trends, content and tendencies of the development of modern relations between Ukraine and Poland, determines the contribution of scientists and research centres to studying the problem, and signifies the complex character and objectivity of their works.

The Polish historiography on the problems of the Polish-Ukrainian relations of the modernity is represented, first of all, by the works on the foreign policy of the Republic of Poland and its European-Atlantic interests, in which there can be indirectly traced the Ukrainian vector of Polish foreign policy. It should be mentioned that recently the Polish researcher's works are marked by the expansion of the problems of the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. The well-known works of such Polish authors as W. Gill and N. Gill (Gill, Gill, 1994), B. Surmach (Surmacz, 2002), K. Fedorovych (Fedorowicz, 2011), K. Jendrashchik (Jędraszczyk, 2010), A. Mezhwa (Mierzwa, 2009) make a considerable value in the context of the problem under study.

Concerning the contemporary the Russian Polish Studies, it should be mentioned that Russian scientists touch this issue mainly, in connection with the study of other topics, in particular NATO enlargement to the east, Ukraine's accession to the EU and the Alliance. To a certain extent, the Ukrainian-Polish relations have been raised in the works of I. Kobrinskaya (Kobrinskaia, 2000), A. Pushkaryov (Pushkariov, 1998), M. Bukharin (Bukharin, 1996), O. Arbatowa (Arbatowa, 1995). The common feature of the Russian scholars' studies is, even till now, the idea of a negative attitude to the pro-Western policy of Ukraine, they consider it only from the viewpoint of Russian interests, focus on the close relationship of Ukraine and Russia and its non-aligned character.

It should be emphasized that qualitative changes in the historiography of relations between Ukraine and the RP opened up the new additional opportunities for their objective study, demonstration of the main achievements and problems in the context of the new realities, the arrangement of the European and world system of the international relations of the present in accordance with their declared targets of the strategic partnership and cooperation.

**The aim of the paper** is a study of the features and priorities of the transformation of bilateral Ukrainian-Polish relations of the present in the conditions of global processes and challenges, problems and prospects in the practice of relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the context of current geopolitical demands.

**Statement of the basic material.** The creation of a new system of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in modern international conditions is connected with the development of the newest relations between Ukraine and Poland predetermined by the substantial changes in the world at the end of the previous century, geopolitical location, territorial proximity, traditionality of contacts and national interests. For twenty-eight years, they have absorbed both the intergovernmental interaction success and the controversial aspects, sharp discussions and even crisis phenomena, especially in the inter-social communication and different attitudes to the interpretation and celebration of historical events and public figures from the past of both peoples, but in general they can be characterized as dynamic and promising ones. The Ukrainian-Polish relations of the present day are gradually established in accordance with the national values and challenges of international life. A positive experience of the bilateral cooperation between Ukraine and Poland has been acquired.

At the same time, the last few years of relations between the two countries have clearly demonstrated tokens of changes in the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the expressed partnership format, the deceleration of its development. So far as in 2019, the external and internal policy both of Ukraine and Poland, the international content have undergone changes, there is certain "calmness" in the Ukrainian-Polish relations now. This requires an analysis of the preliminary stages of bilateral cooperation, identification of the problematic aspects and priorities of the full realization of the strategic partnership potential and updating the discourse of visions of the bilateral Ukrainian-Polish relations. From the viewpoint of the prospects of developing the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the current system of international relations, the new requirements that led to the reformation of the model of bilateral relations and the consideration of additional opportunities for their intensification in the context of national interests have arisen, taking into account the current domestic and foreign policy priorities. At the turn of the 20th - 21st centuries the world community faced the systemic problems that influenced the development of the strategies and goals of national development and transformation of Ukraine's foreign policy, defining the main trends in its relations with foreign countries and with the Republic of Poland, in particular.

In this connection, in order to understand better the aspects in the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, it is worth considering the creation of legal-and-regulatory grounds for bilateral intergovernmental relations, their institutionalization and the main stages of modern affairs between the two states. This will allow demonstrating substantially a systemic vision of the benefits of building a relationship between Ukraine and Poland in accordance with the requirements of the recent world systemic transformation and the modernized civilization development. It should be remarked that the creation of the treaty-and-legal basis of modern Ukrainian-Polish relations proved to be a long and complicated process that was influenced by the globalization processes. Its development was taking place throughout the whole period of their formation, but, in authors' opinion, the first interstate acts of cooperation were the most fundamental documents which laid a solid foundation for further improvement. The base for a mutually beneficial strategic partnership was a Declaration on the Principles and General Directions in the Development of the Ukrainian-Polish Relations Development (October 13,1990) (Deklaratsiia pro pryntsypy, 1990), a Treaty about Neighbourliness, Friendly Relations and Cooperation (May 18, 1992) (Dohovir mizh Ukrainoiu i Respublikoiu Polshcha, 1992), the joint communique of the Presidents of both countries "To An Understanding and Unity", signed on May 21, 1997 (Spilna zaiava, 1997). At present stage, the legislative base between Ukraine and Poland has more than 350 international treaties that regulate properly all spheres of cooperation between the two states (Aleksiievets, Ilchuk, 2016: 75). The official acts, in particular declarations, treaties, agreements, memoranda, joint statements, protocols, etc., reflect a real state of relations between the two countries. Taking into consideration the course of events, the dynamics of relations, in our opinion, three basic stages of the formation of the legaland-contractual basis of relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland can be distinguished conditionally: the first (1991–2000) is a creation of standard-and-legal documents and the establishment of the bilateral diplomatic contacts and conclusion of The 1997 Basic Treaty, which has testified the development of a qualitatively new cooperation and interest to advance different areas, and has played an important role in the inter-state relations stabilization. The second stage (2004 - 2014) is the UkrainianPolish relations deepening, the acquisition of a constructive and strategic nature, which are characterized by further strengthening of the legal-and-contractual basis according to the new conditions. The third stage (2014–2019) is the intensification of the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the context of the European-Atlantic integration strengthening and global problems in the new historical conditions and developing legal documents. It should be emphasized that the settlement of the legal relations between Ukraine and Poland in various spheres of cooperation have contributed to its deepening, transformation to the strategic partnership level and have opened the prospects for further development according to modern international demands.

The strategic partnership between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland has been formed and has gained a dynamic character owing to the treaty-and-legal and institutional support. It should be mentioned that the bilateral cooperation institutions have been created in Ukraine and Poland that contributed to deepening the relations between the two states as well as to cooperation having equal rights in all spheres. The Advisory Committee of the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland, the Polish-Ukrainian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation, the Ukrainian-Polish Forum, the Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation, the Intergovernmental Coordination Council on Interregional Cooperation, which consisted of two committees: on political and security issues, and the national minorities matters, had been playing an important role in the formation of the institualization of the modern Ukrainian-Polish relations (Aleksiievets, Ilchuk, 2016: 84). The Coordinating bodies such as the Partnership Forum Ukraine-Poland, the International Centre for Student Youth Meeting of Ukraine and Poland, the Permanent Ukrainian-Polish Conference on European Integration, etc. have become well-proven in the multilateral and regional agreements implementation, they have become an important link in ensuring the dynamism and the forwardness of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the national interests and strategic partnership between the two countries (Aleksiievets, Ilchuk, 2016: 203). Now the institutional and legal mechanisms of the interstate cooperation between Ukraine and Poland, the dominant of which is the European-Atlantic component, are successfully functioning.

An analysis of the formation of the newest relations between Ukraine and Poland definitely requires their main stages ascertaining and the significative events identification that will make it possible to distinguish each of them. In defining the chronology of the Ukrainian-Polish relations during 1991–2019, it is worth noting that they were characterized by a variable intensity, intensification and inhibition, the search for compromises and certain alienation. In our opinion, it was due to both internal and external factors, in particular, intra-democratic processes and world situation. There is no doubt that the Ukrainian-Polish relations have evolved from the establishment of interstate cooperation to the intensive bilateral connections, from neighbourliness to, since 1996, a strategic partnership. In view of this, based on the features of political dialogue, its course and dynamics, in the current cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, in our opinion, it is expedient to distinguish four stages: 1) 1991–1996; 2) 1997–1999; 3) 2000–2013; 4) 2014–2019. The initial stage was characterized by the formation of relations between the two states on the basis of the adopted first intergovernmental documents. The recognition of Ukraine's Independence (December 2, 1991), the establishment of diplomatic relations (January 4, 1992), the signing of the basic "Treaty between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland about neighbourliness, friendly relations and cooperation" (May 18, 1992) and the acquisition of a strategic course and partnership after the adoption of the Joint Declaration of the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland on June 25, 1996 became the important events in this context. Within the first phase, an appropriate structure of cooperation between the states was formed and the foundations of the base of the

institutional-and-legal basis in the political, economic and humanitarian fields were laid. Second stage of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation (1997–1999) is characterized by the political contacts intensification with mutual consideration of national interests. The signing of the "Joint Declaration of the Presidents of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland "To Understanding and Unity" (May 1997), which has affected the level of trust between the states, was an important event in the development of the relations between Ukraine and Poland. The third stage of cooperation (2000–2013) is marked by the intensification of the international activities of the two states, especially after the accession of Poland to NATO (1999) and the EU (2004), an active support of the European integration course of Ukraine by the Republic of Poland. In the period from 2000 to 2013, a Ukrainian-Polish dialogue has been continuing, the creation of the Ukrainian-Polish Partnership Forum (February 25, 2011) was its evidence. The cooperation in political, trade, economic and socio-cultural areas on the basis of modernization of the treaty-and-legal framework, respectively, the format of the relationship of strategic partnership had reached a qualitatively new level. The fourth stage (2014–2019) of the Ukrainian-Polish relations is characterized by the Revolution of Dignity and Russian aggression against Ukraine, the strengthening of the European-Atlantic Ukrainian content in its relations with the Republic of Poland, the creation of a new structure of the two states integration in order to ensure peace and national security, the relations deepening in the global system of geopolitical coordinates of the 21st century.

The determination of the main stages of the present Ukrainian-Polish interaction allows us to trace the directions, problems and priorities and establish the factors for its correction in the system of international relations in accordance with the fundamental changes at the turn of the 20th–21st centuries. The Ukrainian-Polish relations have a long and intricate history, the points of intersection of historical and political realities of which include both the internecine wars and the wars of "remembrance", which are connected with the tragic events of the historical past of both nations; they have a number of contradictory aspects of cooperation, which, of course, complicate them. It should be emphasized that the last few years were perhaps the most complicated in the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the recent history, there appeared a sense of the long-term projects absence and ideological emptiness.

This situation, in our opinion, is a result of both the internal changes in Ukraine and Poland, as well as the evolution of the international context. It should be noted that, undoubtedly, despite the complex interlacing of history, politics, and diplomacy, Poland remains an important strategic partner for Ukraine. In this regard, the determination of the studies on the bilateral relations, their priorities and prospects is an important challenge of the present, the paradigm reorganization in the recent system of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation. The political, economic and humanitarian areas are among the main ones in a strategic partnership, as each of them and all of them play a significant role in providing with the states' needs. At the same time, the world is undergoing radical political, economic, social, spiritual and environmental changes. Therefore, at the present stage, in the context of the socio-political global processes and transformations in Ukraine and Poland, Russia's aggression, an issue of determining the key priorities and directions of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation is of vital importance. Today, the bilateral relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland should be subordinated to the solidarity with the problems of European security and a common threat of further Russian aggression, including both military and hybrid forms like political corruption, cyber attacks, misinformation, economic pressure, energy blackmail, etc.

In this regard, in authors' opinion, the strategic partnership and cooperation in defence and national security area are of paramount importance and become the highest priority in the deepening connection between Ukraine and Poland. The new

challenges to the national security, which are transboundary, require the joint efforts of both states and the international community. In these conditions, the task of developing a flexible and differentiated system of relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the military, military-technical and political sphere that would meet the requirements of the modern globalized world and contribute to the strengthening of the role of both states on the European-Atlantic arena, comes to the fore. Further reconstruction of the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the military sphere under the influence of various types of internal and external "structural pressures" requires a radical reformatting of cooperation in peacekeeping operations, NATO projects, the return of successful formats from the past such as "UkrPolBat", etc. It should be noted that the main directions and institutional-and-legal support of the Ukrainian-Polish military cooperation at this stage is the continuation of the previous three decades of successful and mutually beneficial connections between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland on the bilateral and multilateral basis. The foundations of the military-andpolitical cooperation began to be established in the early 1990's, shortly after the return of sovereignty to Poland and the rise of an independent Ukraine. In general, the treatylegal basis of the security-and-defence sphere of both countries contains more than 100 intergovernmental agreements, which have formed a solid foundation of partnership in this area and their further development. It should be noted that the creation of the institutional-and-legal basis of the interstate relations takes place throughout the period of the establishment of relations, but the first documents were the most fundamental acts. Thus, at the beginning of the 1990s, the main areas of military cooperation were defined in the Agreement between the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Defence of Poland on military cooperation (Uhoda, 1993) which provided for the strategic tasks of disarmament, organizational issues related to the functioning of defence departments and to cooperation at the defence industries level of both countries. Then the 1993 Agreement was supplemented by such important documents in this area as: cooperation on the mutual air traffic of military aircraft of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the both states airspace (1994); further development of cooperation in the defence area (1996); bilateral cooperation in the area of training military personnel (1996); mutual supplies of armaments, military equipment and provision of services in the military-technical sphere (1996); scientific and technical cooperation (1996); creation of a joint military unit for a participation in the international peacekeeping and humanitarian activity under the auspices of the international organizations (1997); technical agreement on the participation of the national continents in the Ukrainian-Polish battalion in the international peacekeeping operation in Kosovo (2000) (Polityka zagraniczna). It can be argued that in the context of globalizing changes and challenges, Ukraine and the RP have identified a strategy of military cooperation with an emphasis on the national security strengthening through its reinforcement as a key component of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. The new circumstances have caused a necessity, in a case of need, for the use of military equipment, resources and infrastructure elements of states, the creation and operation of mechanisms and legal base in the new security environment. Poland's accession to the North Atlantic Alliance and the EU laid a good foundation for further Ukrainian-Polish collaboration in the military sphere. The military cooperation of Ukraine and Poland has deepened in the context of the implementation of the European-Atlantic aspirations of our country and the implementation of military reform in the adaptation direction to NATO standards.

The Ukrainian-Polish relations in the military sphere were being agreed with the national interests of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland and the requirements of a new system of geopolitical coordinates. It should be noted that despite the complexity of relations in the military sphere, their positive dynamics is maintained, and from the viewpoint of the aggravation of international situation, especially after Russia's

annexation of Crimea and aggression in eastern Ukraine, their significance is increasing. The security-defensive vector of the Ukrainian-Polish relations of the present day acquires the features of one of their extremely important priority and weight. The equipment and military-technical services modernization, supply of armaments, military equipment and other military products, scientific research and experimental designer works, the creation of new types of weapons and military equipment, their testing on firing grounds in Ukraine and the Republic of Poland remain the important areas of cooperation between Ukraine and Poland in the military-technical plane on a new basis (Uhoda, 1993). The military cooperation was carried out through the joint bilateral cooperation within the framework of the Partnership for Peace Programme, military drills, training of military personnel, organization and holding of exhibitions, conferences, seminars, scientific-and-technical forums and other similar military activities, creation of joint military units (Aleksiievets, Ilchuk, 2016: 192).

The Ukrainian-Polish military cooperation acquired a qualitatively new format after the EuroMaidan (30. 11. 2013 - 23. 02. 2014) and Russian aggression against our country. After the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko election on October 25, 2014, the orientation of Ukraine to NATO and the EU accession has predetermined a new approach to the military cooperation between Ukraine and Poland. In our opinion, it is from this time that the Ukrainian-Polish partnership has revealed itself in keeping to the common position in the international and European security policy and radicalization in this area. During 2019–2014, the military-political dialogue between the leaders of the defence agencies of both countries, the EU and the Alliance became more profound, the participation in the joint military training, the involvement of the NATO instructors in the direct training of Ukrainian troops, and the provision of logistical support for the needs of the Armed Forces of Ukraine that were carrying out the tasks in ATO (Anti-terrorist operation), the collaboration of the Committee on Military-and-Technical Cooperation and Defence Reforming, Civil-and-Military Cooperation and Information Operations, the professional and linguistic training of the representatives of the Ukrainian Armed Forces in the EU and NATO educational institutions, the participation of Ukrainian troops in the NATO Response Force, as well as in the multinational tactical groups of the EU, the continuation of participation in the international peacekeeping operations, the treatment and rehabilitation of the wounded men of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in the medical institutions of the European Union and NATO became more active (Aleksiievets, Ilchuk, 2016: 183). It should be emphasized that, implementing the main directions of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the military sphere, modernizing the mechanisms of the bilateral activity, Ukraine and the RP have reached a qualitatively new level of interaction in the defence-andsecurity area, using them not only in the context of the interstate connections on security and defence issues, but also in the context of the priorities of geopolitical contacts in the process of the European and Euro-Atlantic integration and cooperation with NATO and the EU.

In authors' opinion, defining the new priorities of the Ukrainian-Polish relations of the present time, the problem of the humanitarian component of the two states, in particular, a social dialogue and partnership, the constructive discussions of historians and public figures, as well as broad relations between societies, local communities and societies, the youth exchanges, the monuments and graves honouring and others like that, is of great importance. The development of the social-and-humanitarian cooperation between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples is an important priority from the viewpoint of a large number of Ukrainians living in Poland and Poles in Ukraine. The problems related to the economic emigration of Ukrainians to Poland, their employment and residence in the country, social security, medical insurance, the education documents recognition, and security, undoubtedly, complicate the intergovernmental relations.

The issues of the history and events at the end of World War II, which are interpreted differently by the Ukrainian and Polish sides, traumatizing in addition to that their the consciousness and blocking knowledge and intelligence, remains a complicated matter. The historical past is a heavy burden, it is projecting on the present and is exacerbating as a chronic illness. Again and again, the tragic "events" associated with the "Volyn slaughter", the operation "Wisla", the destruction of churches in Volyn in 1938–1939, crimes in villages Pavlokomi, Sahryn 1944–1945 arise, and the ethnic tension appears. The relations between our states are being shaken deliberately and provocatively by the imperial forces of the Russian Federation, which were aimed at the total domination. Unfortunately, this is still happening today. At the same time, the Russian information-and-hybrid war plays not a last role. The deepening of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the humanitarian sphere is conditioned by the characteristics of modern globalization processes and challenges. The development of further cooperation between Ukraine and Poland requires understanding of the gained experience and the development of a promising paradigm in order to overcome misunderstandings between the two peoples, to create the spiritual foundations for further tread of equal relations and union, to preserve the cultural heritage of both states, to protect the rights and freedoms of Ukrainians in Poland, and the Poles in Ukraine, to perpetuate the memory of the victims of political repressions and to honour the heroes of each of the peoples, etc.

It should be emphasized that the creation of an orderly contractual-and-legal basis and institutionalization contributed to the establishment and development of the humanitarian cooperation during twenty-eight years of the Ukrainian-Polish bilateral relations. It was based on such documents as an Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in the Sphere of Science and Technologies (January 12, 1993), an Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of Poland on Cooperation in the Sphere of Culture, Science and Education (May 29,1997), an Agreement on Cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Ministry of National Education of Poland (July 02, 2001), an Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on the Academic Mutual Recognition of Education Documents and the Equivalence of Degrees (April 11, 2005), etc., which determined the directions of the cooperation between the two countries (Yankiv, 2011: 177). In particular, the educational-and-scientific contacts, the organization of the joint conferences, scientific seminars and symposiums, the scientific-and-educational information exchange, the partnership establishment between universities and research institutes of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS), promoting the education of national minorities, the cooperation in the information area, the cultural values restitution, the humanitarian cooperation development within the regions, etc. became the priorities of the relations development in the humanitarian cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. Recently, the activities of the public organizations, cultural and educational centres and societies in Ukraine and in Poland, scientific and educational forums, and youth associations, which became an important link in the humanitarian interaction of both countries, became of particular importance in the humanitarian sphere. The Ukrainian-Polish humanitarian cooperation, despite of a number of problems of the past, continues to develop in today's conditions of rapprochement and understanding among our nations and countries in the context of global demands and challenges.

**Conclusions.** Thus, the modern Ukrainian-Polish relations have evolved systematically for almost three decades in accordance with the national interests and

global challenges. Despite of the complex and contradictory aspects of the relationship between Ukraine and Poland, the role and importance of the acquired positive experience of cooperation is an important foundation for the development of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in future. Changing the paradigm of relations between the two states, based on the principles of equal partnership and cooperation, relies, as in previous years, on common political and economic relations, but after the EuroMaidan and the Revolution of Dignity and the RF's aggression, the military-andsecurity relations have become a priority in ensuring peace and stability, they have become an integral part of the security architecture on the European continent. In the context of the development of interaction between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, the accumulated experience of cooperation between our peoples and countries in the humanitarian sphere, especially in the continuum of intercommunication and interpretation of the historical past, overcoming the stereotypes, prejudice of emotions, overcoming the contradictions and differences in assessments characteristic of the Ukrainian-Polish dialogue in recent years. Given the priorities and prospects for the relationship between Ukraine and Poland in the global geopolitical coordinate system of today, new challenges are faced before the states and additional opportunities are opened to deepen the mutually beneficial cooperation. Given the practical significance of the cooperation between Ukraine and Poland, the continuation of its study in new historical conditions of today will be a scientific basis for the use of the countries potential for the effective modernization of the bilateral relations and the opening and implementation of opportunities for their intensification, taking into account both the domestic and foreign political processes for a long-term perspective.

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## SOFT POWER AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY

**Summary.** The article describes the meaning of "soft power" and the use of it in countries foreign policy. Facts of Canada's appliance of the concept in the interaction with different countries of the world have been presented. The works of home and foreign scientists have been used in the course of the topic study.

**Keywords:** soft power, hard power, foreign policy, Canada, educational policy, educational-cultural programs, science, education, image of a country, attractiveness.

### М'ЯКА СИЛА ЯК ІНСТРУМЕНТ ЗОВНІШНЬОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ КАНАДИ

Анотація. У статті з'ясовано значення "м'якої сили" та використання її у зовнішній політиці країн. Наведено факти використання концепцією Канади у взаємодії з різними країнами світу. Під час дослідження теми використано праці вітчизняних і зарубіжних вчених.

Ключові слова: м'яка сила, потужна сила, зовнішня політика, Канада, освітня політика, освітньокультурні програми, наука, освіта, імідж країни, привабливість.

**he problem statement.** The beginning of the XXI century had been ushered as a period of active searching for new ways of developing the system of international relations. Within the context of its realization, education, science, technology and culture have become the meaningful domains. Active actors of world politics have launched various international programs, projects, competitions, grants.

The increasing role of education and science is inherent for the modern stage of international relations' formation. They totally impact on their condition and on socioeconomic development both of the whole world and of states and nations. As stated in Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace" (Universal declaration of human rights). That's why educational, cultural and social domains are promoted by the external activities of many countries, the priorities of which are directed primarily on international cooperation, peacekeeping, economic and social growth of countries, preservation of cultural heritage.

Nowadays, Canada is one of the most economically developed, socially secured and politically stable countries in the world. Yearly Canadian educational programs, particularly related with international academic mobility, are becoming popular in cultural diplomacy. Over time, they have turned into the important part of the "soft power" of Canada's foreign policy.

One should be taken into account that a numerous Ukrainian diaspora is located in Canada. Considering the continuous close and loyal diplomatic relations between Ukraine and Canada, the cooperation of these countries is relevant in educational-cultural sphere.

The purpose of the study is to figure out the role of "soft power" in exercising of Canadian foreign policy course at the beginning of the XXI century.

According to the complex purpose, we can single out main tasks of study:

> to characterize the research status of the chosen title;

to analyze the history of involving the concept of "soft power" as a means of state's foreign policy;

▶ to examine the realization of "soft power" concept in Canadian foreign policy.

The object of study is the scope of "soft power's" implementation within the context of Canada's foreign policy realization.

The subject of a study is to determine the "soft power" factor in realization of Canada's foreign policy during the post-bipolar period.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. The issue of "soft power" concept was found in many scholars' works, that represented different scientific views. A significant contribution in elaborating the issue was made by the foreign scholars, such as J. Nye (jr.), J. Akshay, R. Armitage, Z. Brzezinski, R. Keygan, R. Keohane, A. Cohen, S. Lux, J. Mattern, W. Owens, I. Parmar, N. Snow, S. Walt, M. Fraser, F. Fukuyama, P. van Ham, C. Hill etc. The opportunities of using the concept of "soft power" in Ukraine's foreign policy were raised for discussion by domestic researchers recently. Thus, the theoretic level of studying this issue is yet quite meagre in comparison with the USA, China. The theory is concentrated in works of A. Divonchuk, V. Holovchenko, V. Horbatenko, A. Lutsenko, O. Mykhailovska, N. Nikulishyn, V. Panteleyeva, I. Slisarenko, Y. Turchyn, M. Tsyurupa, O. Shevchuk, S. Sherhin, I. Khyzhniak, V. Tsymbalistyy, L. Chekalenko, S. Yurchenko etc.

The presentation of the basic material. According to modern tendencies, the system of international influence is considered as a combination of different means, methods and resources, which the state possesses in order to impact on international environment and on other states on the basis of own interests and goals. The main resources of a state within this context are financial-economic, military-power, political-diplomatic, demographic, international structural-organizational (participation and exact role in international organizations and institutions) potentials etc. The state can have in its own arsenal some means and resources of influence, but it's not the fact that it can manage with them well. Inefficiency of applying the resources of influence can be changed by successful diplomatic actions and also by usage of its analogs. Methods, means and resources of influence determine the potential of an exact state in international system. In world politics the "power" category is relevant in case it gives opportunity to a state to impact on others in order to reach its own goals. The meaning of "state" is being transformed constantly. Promoting the positive image of a country is one of the state's influence instruments, and also the structural element of its "soft power", which is established by the attractiveness of national cultural properties (Semchenko, 2014).

The category "soft power" was proposed by American political scientist Joseph Nye, who is the former Deputy to the US Defense Secretary and the author of world-

famous work "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" (1990) (Nye). However, in 1980-s R. S. Klein – the director of the US Georgetown University Centre for strategy and international relations researches – found a formula of evaluating the total state power: P = (C + E + M) \* (S + W), means "Power" = (Coverage + Economy + Military) \* (Strategy + Willingness). The formula divides the determining aspects into two parts: material and moral. But J. Nye, recalling these factors, had divided the state power into "hard one" and "soft one". The aspects of material part are equal to "hard power", and the aspects of moral part – to "soft power".

Thus, Nye claimed, that scholars were giving too much attention to the concept of "political realism", relying on "hard power" with its military and financial-economic factors. "Power is the ability to affect others to get the outcomes you want. If you do it with coercion or for charge, I call it "hard power". If you do it with attractiveness, I call it "soft power" – explained Nye (Nye). When he set this hypothesis, he was certain that the US have an undisputable advantage in "soft power". In other words, he meant that the image of the USA as the most democratic and affluent country, "the country of opportunities" together with the Hollywood film industry and youth-based culture is quite popular in the world in comparison to the early offers of the USSR within the context of the ideological rivalry (Nye convinced, that after the World War II the Soviet Union had a great stock of "soft power", which meant attractiveness, but it just disappeared after the invasion to Hungary in 1956 and, especially, after the invasion to Czechoslovakia in 1968). At the beginning of the XXI century everything, which J. Nye took into consideration, was well applied to the politics and tactics of international activity and foreign policy vectors of Canada.

The concept of "cultural-ideological hegemony" by A. Gramsci is considered as the predecessor of "soft power". It was written in his "Prison Notebooks" in 1930–40-s. This theory had become very popular among Western European neo-conservatists. Nevertheless, the ideas of "soft power" have their roots in beliefs of ancient Chinese philosophers. Laozi stated, that there's no item in the world, that would be softer and more tender than water, but water can destroy the hardest item. The typical example of "soft power" is female allure in contrast to male "hard power" (Semchenko, 2014).

"Soft power" covers a set of resources and advantages of a state, that exist beyond "hard power". It is described in details in works of J. Nye, C. Gadzhiev, I. Vasylenko, I. Radyk, Y. Leksyutin etc. The attractiveness of "soft power" can be explained by the fact, that its realization is performed without usage of weapons. Using these means is much more prestigious for the state than the instruments of "hard power". That's why the great states are willing to make the "soft power" a part of own foreign policy arsenal for a reason. It is becoming more obvious that it is "soft power", which can contribute to solving the misunderstandings between the civilizations. Its structure consists of culture, the scale of moral universal values, the scientific and educational capabilities, and, of course, peace-loving foreign policy. It is difficult to deny the fact, that it is these options that are attractive for public opinion, and it is these ones that enable to find the allies among the biggest parts of population of different countries (Semchenko, 2014).

In monography "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" J. Nye has given the next definition to "soft power": the ability to get the outcomes you want by own attractiveness, not by coercion". The scientist has defined three basic components of this phenomena:

- $\blacktriangleright$  The culture of a state (by which the state attracts).
- > Political values (whether a state follows them in its domestic and foreign policy).
- External relations (are they perceived as legitimate and morally meaningful) (Slisarenko).

"Soft power" is determined by the capability of state "to impact on world public opinion with materiality and attractiveness of national culture, the ability to persuade others that you're right and winning the sympathies among various classes of people in different countries" (Semchenko, 2014).

In Canada people understand it clearly, claiming that strengthening the positions of the country in the world, promoting national interests by humanitarian means are one of the most important priorities for the country. For instance, a migrant policy (especially considers migrants from Syria) of Canada's Premier Minister Justin Trudeau. With these very actions he assured the world that Canada is "open for everyone". After liberals took power, the agenda of which was different to the "hard power" of former Prime Minister Steven Harper, the state has targeted the usage of "soft power" concept and free trade policy. Instead of participation in military conflicts against the ISIS, Canada has focused on humanitarian aid (Chwalisz).

If we review Canada with liberal government, we might notice, that "soft power" must build on the liberal regime, maturity, universality of culture and powerful instruments of its distribution, progressive educational system, advanced communicational system, national and socio-cultural unity, and also on political liberty, freedom of speech and the ability to adapt and to defend own national identity and own national interests. "Soft power" has become a traditional means of forming a positive image for a state in modern international relations, and public diplomacy is an instrument of "soft power".

Despite inconsiderable expenditures and intellectual efforts, Canada manages to renew its "soft power", which means that the attractiveness of ideas with "Made in Canada" mark, unlike the USA. According to these factors, professor J. Nye, considering the problems of the US in realizing the "soft power" programs, offers a new concept – "smart power": "soft power" + "hard power". During the hearings in Congress Nye defined directly this concept: "The ability to combine "soft" and "hard" powers – stick and carrot, and attractiveness – that's what I call "smart power". Authors think, that instead of invest capitals into counter-terrorism and military actions in Iraq, it would be more beneficial from the economic point of view to sponsor certain international organizations and establishments. It will help to involve several states to international projects (Slisarenko).

The former traditional "hard power" gave ground to "soft power" in XXI century. "Hard power" means intimidating the foe by means of weapon, and soft power means attracting others by means of culture, values, ideas, symbols etc. "Hard power" is a combination of coercion means (military-political, economic, diplomatic). However, in modern world it wouldn't be enough, or in other words it is unacceptable for developing the image and the potential of a state. Now "soft power" is, without exaggeration, one of the main indicators of state's strength. The former communicational system "from government to government" has received a new principle "from country to country".

T. Berger, while researching "soft power" of Japan, highlighted three groups of factors, that determine it: economic influence, membership in international regional institutions and the image of Japan among neighbor countries (Berger, 2010).

As it is defined by the researchers, possessing the attractive culture, following the generally accepted moral norms by citizens, maintaining peaceful foreign policy is not a fact that the state has "soft power". It is true that in literature this definition matches some countries, such as modern Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, which have a great popularity in the world. Nevertheless, we should consider only peaceful, predictable, reliable member-states of international community, that have only positive image, not opposite (Semchenko, 2014).

Some researchers claim, that international image and "soft power" are tightly connected. However, as I. Radikov and Y. Leksyutina highlighted, the meanings "international image" and "soft power" should be distinguished. For sure, some states that have an international image don't even use "soft power", defining it as the creation

and distribution of exact values and norms, own military-political model and their popularization abroad (Radikov, Leksyutina, 2012). Assuming this fact, it should be noticed that the states which possess "soft power" can offer their own system of socio-political values and they are the candidates for the role of a dominant structure in world politics. They are not marginalized, but they are a real powerful center. For instance, the US and China. Nevertheless, the scholars take into account the fact, that foreign policy ambitions of these states were based on "hard power".

European Union also possesses "soft power" and it has the second place in the rate of J. Nye. He thinks, that idea of integration European countries is quite attractive. The success of image technologies and the opportunity to use them effectively as a "soft power" instrument is determined by the necessary mechanisms. J. Nye claims, that the level of "soft power" depends on the capability of a country to use cultural resources effectively in order to distribute own influence and to gain support around the world. Unlike "hard power" with its military, economic and political parts "soft power" takes an attractive look of a country or even an organization and uses certain means. Perhaps so did think the Nobel Committee, which awarded the EU the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 "for the 60-year contribution of the Union and its predecessors in promoting peace and conciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe" (Nobelivs'ku premiyu vruchyly tryom kerivnykam Yevrosoyuzu).

If "soft power" is impressions, which an exact country gives in the world thanks to the visibility of its culture and lifestyle, place in international entertainment sphere, moral values, customs and beliefs, and also the qualities, that are inherent in the country and are unique, we may give an example of charming France. The researchers note, that France is a "seductress country", which seduces others with its elegancy, beauty, sensitive pleasures and happy people. The point of interpersonal relations in this country is in self-development, affairs, lifestyle, intellectual debates, during the elections and strengthening the power in the world. The social sphere development is the main strategy of France, which allows her to remain an influential country (Semchenko, 2014). According to the mission of realizing "soft power" by France, we can determine the typical qualities and way of implementing this mechanism in Canadian variant. It is the popularization of high life standards, comfort, social safety, stable economy.

The authors of a speech highlight 5 ways which the American government should take into consideration, but also which we can prolongate for the Canadian perspective:

Consolidation of old intergovernmental alliances and formation of new ones; search for the partners and formation of international institutions with various functions;

Global development, which is regarded as providing humanitarian, medical, educational, economic and technological support for requiring "third world" countries individually or by international institutes;

Public diplomacy, that is related with distribution of humanitarian exchanges between the US and other countries;

Correction of the mechanisms of economic integration, which must be based in the effective activity of international financial establishment, that are focused on helping poor countries and advancing the economic development of those, which grow rapidly.

Technologies and innovations within the context of ensuring the global energetic security (Semchenko, 2014).

Speaking of Ukraine and the present situation in Crimea and Donbass, J. Nye pointed out, that "the decline of Russian "soft power" has begun" (Putin's Rules of Attraction), but it should be noticed, that both Canada and the US must support Ukraine as one of democratic states in all its struggles to maintain peace.

At the same time the question of strengthening "soft power" arises. It can be implemented by different informational and advertising activities in order to enhance the international image of a state. It includes such elements as public diplomacy, state diplomacy, programs of providing help to countries and humanitarian aid. After that follows the "accountability" of a government concerning the realization of "soft power" concept, which finds its own view in different methods of its appliance. Moreover, in modern age states report to ministries and agencies, that are competent in foreign policy and economic relations, to promote national interests by realizing the previous means.

Nowadays, the USA is the leader in using "soft power". Foreign policy initiatives of the country were confidently supported by many American political values. The experience of the US in creating the political image of a state by cultural means is quite interesting. Mass culture, which has its own level of popularity and attractiveness, can act as "soft power", which facilitates the influence on the people. The US mass culture in its variety of types and genres, trends and symbols is an embodiment of social processes creates in a massive mind a political image of the US as a great power (SoftPower30: United States 2018 Overview). That's why "soft power" was one of significant factors of US's victory in "Cold War".

Speaking of Canada, it should be taken into account that in the last years Canada has gained a status of a globally influential state, because of active social media usage by high-ranking officers (in particular by the Prime Minister), cultural events and Commemoration Days etc. Considering the fact, that Trump's rates are falling down, Canada must take the initiative of an influential super power, using the very "soft power" and acting as a peculiar "liberal peacemaker". For the foreigners Canada is a country good for tourism, work and residence, because the government creates all the necessary conditions. First and foremost, Canada can boast with its citizen freedom level, and the image is increasing due to its "openness" for the aliens.

At the same time there are decreases in the rates of the small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) development and the competitiveness of several enterprises. That's why in this case the Trudeau's government must take into account two spheres of public affairs: external, which is to some extent primary for Canada, and internal, because without supporting it the popularity of the Prime Minister among the people is decreasing (SoftPower30: Canada 2018 Overview).

To sum up the article, we should notice, that in priority "soft power" is a means of public policy implementation in the world by supporting the main rights and freedoms of human, democratic society, providing public and cultural diplomacy and preference to humanitarian means of resolving military conflicts. "Soft power" as an instrument of realizing peaceful diplomacy is an integral part of Canada's external activity, which tends to save peace and stability on a global level.

Having analyzed the research status of the topic, we can make a conclusion, that there are several analytical and monographic works, where the individual aspects are described. The works of famous American scientist Joseph Nye, who proposed the category "soft power" at the beginning of 1990-s, are mostly worth paying attention. At the same time, we point out that there are no comprehensive studies of this topic in domestic historiography.

**Conclusions.** Having observed different sources of information, we have managed to find out the features of "soft power" concept and its relevance, which it received under the post-bipolar world circumstances. Since 1990-s the "soft power" concept has gained popularity in international relations, because it includes means and methods of peace diplomacy, unlike weaponized resolution of conflict and controversial issues. One of the instruments of the concept were various educational-cultural programs, which advanced the development of academic mobility, active information exchange, scientific researches and cultural achievements. The country, where this concept was successfully integrated, was Canada.

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#### SYSTEM OF INTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL SERVICES OF UKRAINE: FEATURES OF INTERACTIONS AND IMPACT ON FOREIGN POLICY

**Summary.** The article covers the history, structure, functions and tasks of the intelligence and special services of Ukraine. On the basis of analysis of the history, tasks and activities, the influence of the Ukrainian intelligence services on its foreign policy was investigated. Intelligence activities are one of the most effective tools of foreign policy, protection of national interests and people.

Keywords: Ukraine, intelligence, intelligence agency, foreign policy, security.

### СИСТЕМА РОЗВІДУВАЛЬНИХ І СПЕЦІАЛЬНИХ СЛУЖБ УКРАЇНИ: ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ВЗАЄМОДІЇ І ВПЛИВУ НА ЗОВНІШНЮ ПОЛІТИКУ

Анотація. У статті розглянуто історію, структуру, функції та завдання розвідувальних та спеціальних служб України. На основі аналізу історії, завдань та діяльності українських спецслужб досліджено їхній вплив на зовнішню політику. Розвідувальна діяльність є одним із найефективніших та незамінних знарядь зовнішньої політики, захисту національних інтересів, забезпечення безпеки та оборони. Адекватна участь розвідувальних служб у політичному процесі формує базові геополітичні підвалини розвитку держави та перспективні напрями як міжнародних, так і внутрішніх відносин.

Ключові слова: Україна, розвідка, спецслужба, зовнішня політика, безпека.

**he problem statement.** For many centuries, one of the most important components of the state's activity has been conducting intelligence actions to achieve its strategic goals. An error in analysis made by an agent may be too valuable for further development of the state. Or the success of the special services officer may remain unnoticed, although it will make a great success for the state and its population.

However, it is difficult to study the activities of intelligence and special services, because of their secrecy. After all the specifics and importance of their work, the use of secret sources, requiring exceptional confidentiality, naturally requires the classification of most information about their activities, structure and personnel.

In a democratic state, intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies, on the one hand, must be effective in order to protect the democratic values of society and promote its progressive development, on the other hand, they must be politically neutral, to act within the limits of the powers established by law, in accordance with constitutional and legal norms and democratic principles.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. The topic of the article is not studied in the foreign science. As to the domestic literature, a comprehensive study of the activities of intelligence agencies and special services of Ukraine has not been conducted yet. However, the history and activities of the intelligence agencies from the earliest times and till the proclamation of Ukraine's independence have been most widely studied. As for the intelligence services of independent Ukraine, the best this issue is covered in the following works: Vedeneev D., Bukin V. "Special services in the history of the Ukrainian State", 2003; Tsybulkin V., Rozhen L., Vedeneev D.

"Essays on the history of intelligence of subjects of state-building on the territories of Ukraine", 2011; Skrypnyk O. "The Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine: History and Present", 2012; Hvozd V. "Military intelligence of Ukraine at the beginning of the second millennium".

The bibliography of the article consists of normative legal acts, interviews with authorized persons, articles, and information publications. The bases for this article are: Law of Ukraine No. 2229-12 "On the Security Service of Ukraine" (1992), Law of Ukraine No. 2331-III "On the intelligence agencies of Ukraine" (2001), Law of Ukraine No. 374-IV "On counterintelligence activities" (2002), Law of Ukraine No. 3160- IV "On the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine" (2005), as well as information available on the official website of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine (http://www.szru.gov.ua), the Security Service of Ukraine (https://ssu.gov.ua/), the Defense Intelligence of the Ministry of Defense (http://gur.gov.ua/), National Security and Defense Council (http://www.rnbo.gov.ua/).

The publication's purpose. In the conditions of rapid spread of information, conducting effective internal and external state policy requires prompt and complete information, a thorough and thoughtful analysis and forecast. The state must have a reliable tool for influencing political and economic processes both at home and abroad in order to fulfill national interests. Intelligence and counter-intelligence services are those tools. That is why the success of Ukrainian authorities and peace in Ukraine depend on effective and coherent actions of Ukrainian intelligence, as well as on timely, credible and comprehensive information and forecasts of developments for the near future. So, the importance of intelligence activities for the stable functioning of the state, especially in the context of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, determines the high relevance of the study of the formation, tasks, methods and interaction of state bodies that carry out intelligence and counter-intelligence activities, namely: the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine (SZRU), the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), the Defense Intelligence of the Ministry of Defense (GUR MO) and the Office of Intelligence of the Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine.

The presentation of the basic material. Intelligence, which today is an integral part of the functioning of any state, dates back to ancient times. The presence of intelligence can be traced from biblical times and it is the Bible where the intelligence activities were mentioned for the first time, which is considered one of the oldest professions in the world (Pyk, 2017: 28). However, real intelligence, as we understand it now, was born in a new era. At the turn of the 16th-17th centuries, there was an increase in permanent armies and professional diplomats, as well as the creation of the first government agencies that carried out intelligence activities as a result of growth of nationalism (Pringle, Ransom, 2016).

The Ukrainian state did not become an exception. An analysis of the available historical materials of the period of Kyiv Rus, the Galician-Volyn principality, the Hetmanate, the Ukrainian People's Republic, the State Center of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) in emigration, the movement of Ukrainian nationalists and the UPA shows that from the oldest times Ukrainian authorities paid serious attention to the role of intelligence in defending national interests, building interstate relations, planning and conducting military operations. However, a number of unfavorable external factors, internal contradictions between the authorities, the inability to analyze the situation, and, as a result, the unsuccessful decision made by the leadership of the Zaporozhian Sich, all this led to the division of Ukrainian intelligence. Surely the external intelligence during the Soviet occupation was successful, difficultly structured. In those days, many Ukrainian agents gained fame in important secret operations, and although they were working in the USSR, their dedication and skill are an example for current employees of the intelligence agencies of Ukraine. The

importance of studying history is to remember mistakes of the past, but to use only the successful experience of the operation of the special services. And the heroic actions of individual intelligence officers of the Ukrainian state should be an example of patriotism for the younger generation.

After the proclamation of independence on August 24, 1991, the question about creation of new state institutions to protect the sovereignty of Ukraine and solve other tasks in the field of ensuring national security was raised. Foreign intelligence as one of the tools of politics had to undergo a series of transformations: it was necessary to create a new intelligence agency of independent Ukraine, rethink the intelligence doctrine, and develop a new concept of conducting intelligence activities.

Thus, on September 20, 1991, the Parliament passed a resolution "On the Establishment of the National Security Service of Ukraine". In the period from November 1991 to February 1992, thanks to the joint work of the parliamentary committee, few departments of the National Security Service of Ukraine were established: the Main Directorate of Intelligence, the Central Directorate of Counter-Intelligence, the Office "K" (against corruption and organized crime). On March 25, 1992, the National Security Service of Ukraine was renamed into the Security Service of Ukraine (White Book, 2007).

The Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine (SZRU) started its activity on October 14, 2005, the day when the President of Ukraine signed the Decrees "On the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine". Since then, created on the basis of the Intelligence Department of the SBU, it has been functioning as an independent state body. Later, on December 1, 2005 the Verkhovna Rada approved the Law "On the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine". The SZRU was formed to meet principal demands of the Service. It includes HUMINT, SIGINT, operative, analytical, technical, research and development departments, as well as logistics, internal security department and the SZRU Institute. Military intelligence and intelligence of the State Border Guard Service were created in the first years after the proclamation of independence. All intelligence bodies of Ukraine have been developing for all this time. But the most important transformations are happening now. Since the reform of the national security sector has taken place, many legal acts have been adopted in order to bring security and defense activities of Ukraine closer to NATO standards.

So, independent Ukrainian intelligence and counterintelligence bodies have inherited a powerful technical potential and, most importantly, professional workers. But at the same time, part of the workers turned out to be agents of the former member states of the USSR, mostly Russia. Foreign agents should be revealed and punished systematically and decisively. In addition, improvement of the legislative framework is the first step towards the creation of effective intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of Ukraine, but another very important step is the full implementation of the new legislation, control over the activities of the above-mentioned bodies and the effective coordination of their actions. The boundary between the activities of these bodies is blurred, which is, on the one hand, a positive moment, because it allows healthy competition between agencies. But, on the other hand, it requires a strong coordinating body to ensure that the obtained information is complete and verifiable. The direct coordinating body is the Joint Committee on Intelligence under the President of Ukraine, and the general leadership according to the Law of Ukraine "On Intelligence Authorities of Ukraine" is exercised by the President through the National Security and Defense Council. But so far, the Joint Committee has no real influence and power, and therefore coordination is not fully implemented.

The distinction between the functions of intelligence and special services is based on the territorial principle (Zakon Ukrainy N 2331- III, 2001). So, SZRU operates outside Ukraine, GUR MO performs its functions both on the territory of our country and abroad, and the SBU – on the territory of Ukraine. At the same time, the intelligence agencies of Ukraine should work in the atmosphere of cooperation and interaction. But the creation of healthy competition will also have a positive impact on the work of Ukrainian intelligence services (Chernysh, 2015: 196).

Article 4 of the Law of Ukraine No. 2331-III "On the intelligence agencies of Ukraine" March 22, 2001, divides the spheres of activity of the intelligence agencies of Ukraine. Thus, according to it, the Foreign Intelligence Service has the authority to conduct intelligence in the political, economic, military-technical, scientific-technical, informational and environmental spheres. The Defense Intelligence of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine is the military intelligence of Ukraine and carries out its activities in the military, military-political, military-technical, military-economic, informational and environmental spheres. The Office of Intelligence of the Administration of the State Border Guard Service of Ukraine, in accordance with the laws of Ukraine, conducts intelligence activities of border and immigration policy, as well as in other areas related to the issues of protection of the state border of Ukraine and its sovereign rights in the exclusive (maritime) economic zone.

The role of intelligence agencies in the internal and external policy of the states has always been important, whether during the war or in the peaceful time. On the one hand, intelligence services indirectly form the foreign policy of the state, obtain and analyze timely and relevant information, as well as forecast possible scenarios. The information provided and analyzed by the intelligence services are the basis for such documents as the White Paper, the National Security Strategy, the Military Doctrine, etc., which define both the foreign policy and the domestic course of the state. The implementation of such documents is constantly accompanied by the activities of intelligence agencies which evaluate the results and serve as a feedback mechanism. Thus, intelligence forms the vision of a foreign policy trends and influences the decisions made by the high officials.

However, on the other hand, there is a feedback between the leaders of the state and the intelligence services: senior officials implement the chosen policy course through a public mechanism – political and diplomatic, as well as secret - intelligence. Thus, the state leadership sets certain tasks to the intelligence services, and then intelligence became an important tool for defining and implementing the foreign policy course of the state, developing a geopolitical strategy and defense doctrine. After all, the primary task of state authority is the realization of national interests and the provision of national security, and if methods, other than intelligence, cannot achieve these tasks, then intelligence uses its own capabilities. However, sometimes intelligence leads to negative consequences for the country's foreign and domestic policy. For example, if the bodies defining foreign policy don't control intelligence agencies, they begin to act in its own interests. Or if the intelligence or counterintelligence agencies are weak, then there is the risk of turning it into an instrument of political leadership of the country and failure to fulfill the direct functions determined by law. In Ukraine, the process of formation of independent bodies and the institution of state power took quite a bit of time, so the relations of intelligence agencies and state institutions have not yet been formed. Intelligence agencies and their information product often remain behind the political process of adopting and implementing political decisions, but it depends primarily on government leadership. In Ukrainian society, the discussion on the role, tasks and reform of intelligence and special services continues, and a system of democratic civilian control over their activities is being developed.

Today it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the current activities of foreign intelligence, because its results will be known only after many years as a result of the disclosure of archives. But according to the words of the President of Ukraine P. Poroshenko, the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine has proved its ability to take active measures and carry out information and analytical activities. So, responsibility for inaction during the time of the highest threat to Ukraine lies equally on all special services and senior officials who should have taken steps to protect the state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine. Under these conditions, the highest national priority is the further strengthening of the security and defense sector. During the external aggression, the development of the Armed Forces, the National Guard, the Security Service of Ukraine, law enforcement and intelligence agencies is without the condition for the survival of independent Ukraine and its development.

Thus, modern intelligence and counterintelligence agencies of Ukraine have undergone a difficult period of formation, and their history is inextricably linked with the process of strengthening state independence. At the beginning of the creation of the special services, they was developing and acting in parallel to each other, except for the foreign intelligence that was part of the SBU. It was important for the state to pass the law "On the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine" in 2004 and to separate it from the law enforcement agencies of the state, in accordance with the principles of democratic countries. Taking into account the current geopolitical situation and the need of ensuring national security, the state needs to adjust the main tasks and principles of the SZR, SBU, GUR MO. Therefore, each of these bodies are undergoing large-scale reforms. But these bodies, as the most secret structures of the state, are the most difficult to transform. A full-fledged reform requires a political will of the state's authority, as well as the presence of professionals and patriots.

The main tasks of the Ukrainian intelligence and counterintelligence agencies are the obtaining and analysis of information and the provision of it to a certain circle of persons, especially to the highest authorities, as well as ensuring the realization of national interests and national security of Ukraine. In order to carry out functions determined by law, first of all, human intelligence is used, which can secure Ukraine's strong positions in political, economic, technological, military spheres, and can also contribute to the profits from economic and military-technical projects. After all, information that can be gained from illegal positions, almost never can be obtained from the so-called legal positions, even using modern technical equipment. Although the technical support of the special services is at a rather high level, especially radio electronic intelligence, but due to lack of funding, Ukraine can not provide those bodies with the up-to-date developments in the field of intelligence activities that the most powerful intelligence in the world has.

Nevertheless, for the 28 years of its existence, the SBU has many achievements both at the internal and external levels. Even though the Security Service is primarily a structure designed to protect the interests and citizens of Ukraine, however, quite often the results of its activities have impact on the international level, since crimes against peace, life and health of people have no borders. Therefore, there is place for cooperation of special services of friendly states. But in order to ensure regular cooperation between Ukrainian and foreign special services, Ukraine must confirm its European integration aspirations through successful reforms. SZRU, despite short period of its existence, has already fulfilled a lot of tasks which is public now, such as protecting Ukrainian citizens, informing the leadership of the state about probable threats to national security and possible conflicts near Ukraine. So, intelligence has also affected the adoption of certain decisions and actions by the Ukrainian authority on the international arena (SBU report, 2017). However, the most important consumers of intelligence information do not always respond correctly to received data, and promote its activities. This led to the situation in which Ukraine is now - the loss of Crimea and the Donbas occupation by Russian troops. Still, a lot of what the Foreign Intelligence Service is doing now is unknown and will remain secret for decades. But this is exactly the success of the Service – its secrecy. The secret intelligence successes reinforce Ukraine's position on the international arena, while its failures hurt the prestige of the state, putting diplomacy in a disadvantageous position. Unfortunately,

the issue of the interaction between diplomatic service and intelligence agencies is mentioned very rarely, although both structures work in the foreign arena, but use different methods. The realization of such interaction could take place through the involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the work of the Joint Committee on Intelligence under the President of Ukraine. Indeed, in today's dynamic development of international relations and geopolitical processes, intelligence plays an important role in rapid information provision of diplomacy and taking most advantageous political decisions.

**Conclusions.** As security and defense reforms in Ukraine, particularly intelligence agencies and special services, are being implemented in Ukraine the outlook of further research is high enough. Moreover, new information on the effectiveness of these structures appears from time to time. In addition, the Ukrainian intelligence services are important participants in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and are important structures in defending Ukrainian statehood and citizens' security along with the military bodies. Thus, intelligence activities are one of the most effective and irreplaceable tools of foreign policy, protection of national interests, security and defense against enemies. Adequate participation of intelligence services in the political process forms the basic geopolitical foundations of the state's development and perspective directions of both international and internal relations.

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### UKRAINIAN-POLISH RELATIONS OF THE PRESENT IN THE HUMANITARIAN SPHERE (1991–2017)

**Summary.** The paper presents the research of the contemporary state of the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the humanitarian sphere in the context of the latest system of international relations. It elucidates the legal principles of cooperation between the two countries, its institutionalization. Particular attention is paid to the disclosure of the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the field of education and science, as well as the theatrical-and-musical cultural relations. The analysis of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation of the 90s of the XX century – the beginning of the XXI century shows that at the present stage, the two countries have made many steps towards the cultural convergence in overcoming the mutual negative stereotypes that have established historically and served as a certain barrier to international relations for a long time. An important component in the field of culture is the cross-border cooperation between the states which is the main and important link between the two peoples. The humanitarian relationship between the countries is an essential component, without which it is impossible to represent the national culture, education, history, moral and ethical values, and traditions.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, Republic of Poland, international relations, interstate ties, theatrical-and-musical cultural relations.

### УКРАЇНСЬКО-ПОЛЬСЬКІ ВІДНОСИНИ СУЧАСНОСТІ У ГУМАНІТАРНІЙ СФЕРІ (1991–2017)

Анотація. У статті досліджено сучасний стан українсько-польських взаємин у гуманітарній сфері в контексті новітньої системи міжнародних відносин. З'ясовано правові засади співпраці між обома країнами, її інституалізацію. Особливу увагу звернено на розкриття зв'язків між Україною та Республікою Польща в галузі освіти і науки, а також на театрально-музичні культурні стосунки. Аналіз українсько-польського співробітництва 90-х років XX століття – початку XXI століття засвідчує, що на сучасному етапі двома країнами здійснено багато кроків культурного зближення на шляху подолання взаємних негативних стереотипів, що склалися історично і тривалий час слугували певним бар'єром міжнародних відносин. Важливою складовою у сфері культури є транскордонна співпраця між державами, яка виступає головною та важливою ланкою між обома народами. Гуманітарні відносини між країнами є важливим складником, без участі якого неможливо здійснити репрезентацію національної культури, освіти, історії, морально-етичних цінностей, традицій.

**Ключові слова:** Україна, Республіка Польща, міжнародні відносини, міждержавні зв'язки, театрально-музичні культурні взаємини.

**The problem statement.** At present, in today's society, an interest in researching and studying the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the newest geopolitical system has intensified. The problem raised becomes even more important both in scientific and theoretical, and in practical terms. The relations between Ukraine and Poland, which are the major countries of Central-Eastern Europe, have a geopolitical importance as they express themselves by the centuries-old historical past, close cultural relations and also by the territorial proximity and usually a combination of political-and-strategic interests. Since these two countries are so interconnected, it is safe to say that the stability and security of the European continent depends on them. Poland has been and will be one of the most desirable and beneficial

strategic partners for our country. During centuries, some active contacts were established naturally among the population of these countries both in politics and in culture and education. That is, over time, the stable interstate relations have been recognized in the countries. And no matter how contradictory they are. Poland remains a strategic partner of Ukraine. The intensification of interaction in the humanitarian sphere is among the important issues which should be considered first of all. The development of the new forms and types of cooperation in the humanitarian sphere is impossible without taking into account the complexity and contradictory nature of this process. Indeed, it is precisely in this area that the greatest accessibility of the ordinary citizen's participation in the process of international interaction is observed. The Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the field of culture, education and humanitarian interaction is regulated by the existing contractual and legal framework of relations and in general creates opportunities for implementation and development of effective cooperation in this sphere. Many Ukrainian, Polish and foreign scholars have explored this issue. Each of them had its own idea of how the Ukrainian-Polish relations have been evolving for the centuries.

**The publication's purpose** is to study the humanitarian cooperation between Ukraine and Poland which occupies a very important place in the international bilateral relationships. The Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the field of education, culture and humanitarian interaction is regulated by the existing contractual and legal framework of relations and in general it creates certain opportunities for implementation and development of effective cooperation in this sphere.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. Dozens of works of wellknown Ukrainian and foreign authors are devoted to the history of the present day Ukrainian-Polish relations, their development and deepening in the new geopolitical conditions. New historical sources, political and legal justifications are introduced into circulation, enriching the factual basis. The researches of O. Boiko (Boiko, 2006), A. Halchynskyi (Halchynskyi, 2002), O. Kovalova (Kovalova, 2003), O. Horenko (Horenko, 2002), P. Demchuk (Demchuk, 2004), M. Dnistrianskyi (Dnistrianskyi, 2000), L. Deshchynskyi (Deshchynskyi, Paniuk, 2001), S. Vasylenko (Vasylenko, 2000), Ivchenko (Ivchenko, 1997), S. Vidnyanskyi (Vidnianskyi, 2011), and others are among the works concerning the history of the creation of the newest system of international relations, its institutionalization, the legal framework, the organizational forms and the main directions and priorities of the functioning of the European-world organizations. Considerable attention is paid to the foreign policy of the independent Ukraine, the development of its relations with the states of Central and Eastern Europe. The scientific works of K. Kindrat, S. Trokhymchuk (Kindrat, Trokhymchuk, 2002), O. Ivchenko (Ivchenko, 1997), L.Vasiliev (Vasiliev, Chekalenko, 2011), V. Lytvyn (Lytvyn, 2000), V. Derhachov (Derhachov, 1999), M. Alexiyevets and Ya. Seko (Aleksiievets, Seko, 2006) are devoted to the study of the place and activity of Ukraine in the new system of international relations. The evolution of Ukraine's foreign policy during 1991–2006 has been analyzed in such a well-known article by S. Vidnyansky and A. Martynov (Vidnianskyi, Martynov, 2006). Some aspects of the relations of both countries were reflected in the monograph of authoritative Lviv historians L. Zashkilnyak and M. Krykun (Zashkilniak, Krykun, 2002), which is the most thorough description of the history of the Polish state, performed by the Ukrainian scholars. In the context of the history of Central and Eastern Europe, the relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland are analyzed in the work of V. Yarovyi (Yarovyi, 2005). The historical development dynamics of the relationships of Ukraine with Poland in the context of Central Europe is detailed in the publication of I. Melnykova and A. Martynov. S. Antonyuk presents the most profound analysis of the problem of the formation and development of the Ukrainian-Polish relations in 1991–2003. A considerable number of publications and works devoted to the

Ukrainian-Polish relations of the modern period belong to V. Hevko (Hevko, 2005). An important manifestation of the development of the historiography of Ukrainian-Polish relations of modern times was the fundamental historiographic work of the Vinnytsia scholar N. Chorna "Ukraine and Poland: Historiography of the Relations (the end of XX–XXI c.)", who summarizes more than 25 years of Ukrainian and foreign historiography of Ukrainian-Polish relations present, their content and main trends of development.

The researches of D. Pavlychko, S. Taran, E. Bershady, E. Makarenko, V. Glibov, D. Gorun, R. Shpolyuk, V. Borshchevsky are among the first historical works in which the issues and problems of the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the new geopolitical conditions were sufficiently raised.

A monographic work of a well-known researcher in Ukraine L. Strilchuk (Strilchuk, 2013) became quite important for the Ukrainian historiography of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. Other works of scientists who studied humanitarian cooperation between states should also be mentioned, first of all, these are studies of N. Buglay, S. Kulin, Y. Oshurkevich, V. Kirilich.

Some aspects in the humanitarian sphere were highlighted in the publications by V. Lishko, N. Medvedchuk, A. Oleshchuk, V. Petrik, V. Kaspruk, M. Pavlyuk, V. Tyutyun, A. Pivovarov and others. These authors have deeply analyzed the activities of public organizations and cultural centers in Ukraine and Poland, holding joint scientific conferences, round tables, symposiums, festivals of Ukrainian and Polish culture in each of these countries.

Concerning the sources of the present work, it is worth mentioning the normative documents that formed the basis for the formation of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. "Declaration on the Basic Principles and Directions of Development of the Ukrainian-Polish Relations", "Agreement between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland on Good Neighborhood, Friendly Relations and Cooperation", "Joint Declaration of the President of Ukraine and the President of the Republic of Poland", "Declaration of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Republic of Poland on the Principles of the Formation of the Ukrainian-Polish Partnership", Agreement between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland on the Establishment of a Joint Military Unit for Participation in International Peacekeeping, Humanitarian Operations under the auspices of the International Organizations, Agreement between the Government of the Ukrainian SSR and the Government of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in Youth and Youth Exchanges, Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in the Field of Science and Technology, Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Republic of Poland on Cooperation in Education, Science and Education, and Agreement between the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Minister of National Education of the Republic of Poland on cooperation in education, Agreement on Cooperation between the State the Archives Committee of Ukraine and the General Directorate of the State Archives of the Republic of Poland in the Field of Archival Affairs.

The presentation of the basic material. Our relations with the Polish people have positive indicators. We have a lot in common, similarity of traditions, language and culture sonority and it is influenced and contributed to the deepening of relations in various fields of culture. Speaking about the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the educational sphere, it should be noted that this collaboration took place within the framework of national treaties and agreements, as well as on the basis of separate agreements concluded between the educational institutions of the two countries.

An Agreement between the Republic of Poland and Ukraine on goodneighbourliness, friendly relations and cooperation of May 18, 1992 should be noted among the important documents in this area. The greatest attention should be paid to Article 14 of the Agreement, which deals with contacts between schools, educational institutions, scientific institutions, including in the field of exchange of postgraduate students, teachers and students.

It is known that the V.Vynnychenko State Pedagogical University of Kirovohrad and the Institute for Regional Management and Economics of the Baltic Humanities High School in Koshalin are closely cooperating with each other. The universities work well together in a joint educational program, which has rather positive results. So, in 2001, the first collection of works "Identity and Partnership. Scientific studios of the nearest neighbours" in Koshalin, and then another book "Ukraine – Poland: scientific studies partners – neighbours" in Kirovohrad.

Among others, it is worth noting Polish Krakow, which is actively developing the Ukrainian Studies. An important role in the formation of educational relations is played by Krakow University, which has a faculty of the Ukrainian Philology. Also, this university holds the relationships with the leading Ukrainian universities. The cooperation gives an opportunity to get acquainted with the well-known works of Polish scientists and university teachers. The Ukrainian universities in Lviv, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Kherson, Zaporizhzhia, and Dnipro cooperate closely with the Academy of Pedagogy of the National Education Commission in Krakow.

It is worth noting the cooperation of the Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University of Ternopil with universities in Poland. It is safe to say that the Ternopil University is deservedly considered as one of the best pedagogical higher educational institutions in Ukraine. The Programmes of the Double Diploma and the exchange programmes are active in the University. The students attend higher institutions in Europe, which our university has a partnership with. Recently, an addition to the agreement on cooperation with the Yan Dlugosh Academy in Czestochow (Poland) was signed, which provides for the implementation of the semester program of academic mobility. The Yan Dlugosh Academy is a higher educational institution with 40 years of experience among the public higher educational establishments of Poland. Th two Universities expanded their cooperation through the semester Academic Mobility Programme. The project enables the educational process participants to study, teach, practice or pursue scholarly activities in another higher educational institution on the territory of Ukraine or abroad. The main objectives of these programmes are the extension of education, intercultural exchange, training of future qualified specialists (Ternopilskyi natsionavlnyi pedahohichnyi universytet imeni Volodymyra Hnatiuka).

Within the framework of the Academic Mobility Programme, the students of the Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University of Ternopil will have an opportunity to study for 3 months at the Yan Dlugosh Academy for free living in the territory of their student campus and to study the Polish language. The participation in the programmes of academic mobility allows to get a qualitative European education in the chosen direction of study, to expand the outlook in different areas of the European culture, to gain the professional experience and simultaneously get a perspective diploma of the Polish university.

There is a very important relationship in the scientific field for Ukraine and Poland. After all, it is the science which is an integral and constituent part of th Ukrainian-Polish relations. It is through the scientific cooperation that Ukraine's European integration into the European scientific space takes place.

The Ukrainian-Polish scientific cooperation takes place through the signing of various national treaties and agreements. A rather important step in the way of cooperation was the signing in April 1994 of the Protocol on Scientific Cooperation between the National Academy of Science of Ukraine and the Committee for Scientific Research of Poland. As a result of this Protocol, at the end of 1995, there were 87 direct agreements on joint research between Ukraine and Poland, in which approximately 30 Ukrainian institutes and 62 organizations of the Polish Academy of

Arts and Sciences participated. Many joint scientific projects have been developed, numerous works have been written, a number of conferences and discussions have been held in various fields.

A quite striking example is the cooperation between Lesya Ukrainka Eastern European National University and Lublin University of Maria Curie-Sklodovska. Many scientific agreements have been concluded between them, including the agreement that the Ukrainian and Polish scientists pass several times a year the internships at these universities. It is thanks to this agreement that they have an opportunity to exchange their own scientific experience, to work in libraries and archives. It is thanks to the mentioned universities that it is possible to follow the situation and intensive development of the scientific contacts.

The cooperation between Ukraine and Poland is being implemented also among other scientific institutions at a high level. In 1999, the cooperation programme in the field of science and technology included more than 54 joint scientific projects. Most of them paid attention to the cross-border cooperation in science and technology. Among the higher educational institutions which took over the implementation of the mentioned projects, one can name the following: Yuriy Fedkovych National University of Chernivtsi, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Lviv Polytechnic National University, Ivan Krypiyakevych Institute of the Ukrainian Studies, Institute of Geochemistry of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and others.

Among a number of the scientific institutions and institutions that carry out an active and intensive cooperation with Polish institutions, the attention should be paid to the Institute of Carpathian Ecology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which is considered one of the founders of the International Ecological Center together with the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The attention should also be payed to the scientific contacts in the field of medicine. It is worth noting that a number of conferences, seminars, meetings, and exchange of experience and the latest methods of modern medicine were organized within the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation. In November 2002, 10 doctors from Ukraine were trained at the Pope John Paul II Self-Government Hospital in Zavość, Poland. The Ukrainian doctors (surgeons, neuropathologists, endocrinologists) have come to know not only the latest achievements of medicine, but also the general principles of reforming the health system. The Polish doctors also were interested in the Ukrainian medicine on the most common methods of prophylaxis, diagnostics and treatment of various diseases.

Studying the educational and scientific spheres of the development of the Ukrainian-Polish contacts, it is worth noting the literary relations between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland. The literary relations also have a huge impact on the bilateral and multilateral relations that affect the political and economic contacts of Ukraine with Poland and other foreign countries.

It can be assumed that literature is a very important component of the interethnic relations, because there is an intense rapprochement and understanding between peoples with the help of literature. It can be assumed that literature is one of the important components of intergovernmental cooperation, which deepens and expands every year.

In 1991 there was a grand event in Poland, the festival "Poland and Ukraine at the intersection of cultures", which presented the anthology of Ukrainian poetry "Chornobyl Autograph", written by S.Skorkovsky and V.Smach. Other writers were present at this festival, including Natalka Poktov, Mykola Ryabchuk, Leonid Chardranyan, Anthony Zvid, and many others. Over time, S. Skorkovsky and V. Smach presented another anthology "Ukrainian poems about love". Many copies were donated to writers from Kyiv. The Polish writers treated our Ukrainian translators in a respectful manner and began to invite them to the international poetic festivals in Warsaw, Lublin and Poznan.

The great impetus to the development of the Ukrainian-Polish relations was given by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine 1993 concerning the publication of literature in minority languages. The company "Kamenyar" was founded in Lviv, which also published the Polish poetry and prose. Such publications began to attract the attention of readers and scientists, and they were used by students of polonistic chairs and courses.

The present period for the Ukrainian-Polish relations is marked by a significant integration activity in all spheres of life. The activation of integrational artistic and cultural activity is urgent for Ukraine and for Poland. Of course, such activity develops rather difficult and inconsistent. Yet culture and art must move from place to place and start developing actively between the two countries. In the course of time, the Ukrainian-Polish artistic cooperation in a transboundary region becomes especially urgent and important.

The Ukrainian-Polish relations, which have been formed for many centuries, gradually expand the interaction between neighbouring states. It should be noted that today cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland in the field of culture is one of the important directions of the cultural policy of our state. Also, it can be noted that cultural cooperation can sometimes be the main instrument for establishing relations between the states.

The cultural cooperation between the two countries is conducted in different directions, but art, which can include festivals, cultural and artistic events, theater, opera, music, and concerts, is one of the most massive and largest forms of cultural Ukrainian-Polish cooperation. That is, during these events, many people who join Ukrainian and Polish cultures can be attracted.

**Conclusions.** Summing up the experience of the cultural cooperation between Ukraine and the Republic of Poland, we can say that the Ukrainian state, with every step, is increasingly asserting itself in the general context of the European integration with an orientation towards the fundamental values of Western culture.

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### INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING: ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

**Summary.** The purpose of the research is to analyze the evolution of the Cold War peacekeeping activity. To illustrate the main stages of peacekeeping development. To substantiate the impact of World War II conferences on the introduction of peacekeeping operations. To identify the main periods of development of the idea of peacekeeping activity, its event history. The research methodology is based on the grounds of historical-chronological, comparative-historical) methods were used. The scientific novelty is that a structured analysis of the formation and development of peacekeeping activities was carried out based on domestic and foreign sources and separate periods were identified with general key features and their comparisons. Some works of foreign authors are introduced into Ukrainian historiography for the first time. Conclusions. Peacemaking in different forms presented long before the twentieth century and is one of the most viewable and controversial pages in history. The concept has come a long way in becoming and developing. In the context of bipolar confrontation, the UN has developed a method of resolving international conflicts, and peacekeeping operations have become tools of this mechanism. Since the start of the first peacekeeping missions, the basic methods, principles and mechanisms have a long and debatable development.

Keywords: United Nations, Security Council, General Secretary, peacekeeping activity, conflict.

#### МІЖНАРОДНА МИРОТВОРЧА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ: СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ТА РОЗВИТОК

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати еволюцію миротворчої діяльності під час холодної війни. Висвітлити основні етапи розвитку миротворчості. Обґрунтувати вплив конференцій Другої світової війни на становлення операцій з підтримки миру. Виявити основні періоди розвитку концепції миротворчої діяльності, її подієвої історії. Методологія дослідження базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості. Використані загальні методи (аналіз, синтез, порівняння, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-хронологічний, порівняльно-історичний) методи. Наукова новизна полягає у тому, що на основі вітчизняних та іноземних джерел здійснено структурований аналіз становлення та розвитку миротворчої діяльності, виокремлені окремі періоди з ключовими особливостями і їх зіставлення. Окремі праці іноземних авторів вперше вводяться в українську історіографію. Висновки. Миротворчість в різних формах існувала задовго до XX ст. і є однією з найпомітніших і найсуперечливіших сторінок історії. Концепція пройшла довгий шлях становлення та розвитку. В обстановці біполярного протистояння ООН розробила метод врегулювання міжнародних конфліктів, інструментами цього механізму постали операції з підтримки миру. З моменту заснування перших миротворчих місій, основні методи, принципи і механізми пройшли тривалий та суперечливий розвиток.

Ключові слова: Організація Об'єднаних Націй, Рада Безпеки, Генеральний секретар, миротворча діяльність, конфлікт.

**Problem statement.** Many people recognize a number of small problems every morning. For example, It is impossible to start a normal work day without coffee, or if coffee is cold, or there is no warm water in the morning and so on. We were lucky enough to go to school, work, and just live. Unfortunately, millions of people, do not have the pleasure of complaining about cold coffee or cold water every morning, instead they are worried about how to get the essentials to live to see another day.

Given the relevance of peacekeeping activities in the 21st century, it is appropriate to extend the knowledge and understanding of these processes in the context of their sources and development. Given the scale and complexity of peacekeeping operations, it is important to consider how the peacekeeping activity developed during the Cold War, as these missions were completely another from the operations which are conducted today. It is important to get the conceptual background and history of peacekeeping operations by reviewing the historical, political and diplomatic experience that has contributed to the development of peacekeeping in a chronological order.

Over the past half-century, the problem of international security has been first-rate for the international political system. War has always been, and its prevention has been a goal throughout human history. Nowadays, the world is more involved in human rights neglections than ever before and tries to solve them. However, peace is not easy to achieve, as UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar remarked: "Peace – the word evokes the simplest and most cherished dream of humanity... yet our history overwhelmingly shows that while we speak incessantly of peace, our actions tell a very different story" (Javier, 1991).

Peacekeeping, separately peacekeeping operations, are able to participate directly in conflicts without political predicament. International peacekeeping has become a gigantic part of the international community and is one of the main governing institutions of international relations. Peacekeeping operations are the most visible activity of the UN, which prevents and restrains armed conflicts.

The subject of peacemaking became mostly remarkable with the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the bipolar system of international relations. This is generously due to the wish to find a way out of many conflicts, and the need for peacekeeping has increased relatively.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. Researchers in countries such as the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom have taken the lead in the study of peacekeeping about historiography. The theoretical ground for understanding the development of peacemaking during the Cold War is mostly the work of scholars such as D. Jett (Dennis, 1998), W. Durch (William, 1993), A. Fetherston (Fetherston, 1994), I. Rikhye (Henry, 1987), P. Diehl (Paul, 2008), A. Arend (Anthony, 1993). Materials from international conferences are also included to the research.

Among the Russian researchers we can identify: I. Krupyanko (Krupyanko, 2008), T. Kochetkova (Kochetkova, 1995), Y. Zapariy (Zapariy, 2005), V. Rumyantsev (Rumyantsev, 2000). Among the leading Ukrainian researchers dealing with problems of settlement of international conflicts are V. Bruz (Bruz, 1994) and V. Kuchinsky (Kuchinsky, 2004).

The publication's purpose. Exactly, the creation and evolution of peacekeeping is one of the specialize achievements of the UN. Peacekeeping activities of the twentieth century had a traditional character, mostly monitoring the implementation of ceasefire pact. Ways to conducting peacekeeping actions have evolved deeply, selecting a understanding of peace that goes beyond only military concerns. The force of peacemaking, as a tool for de-escalation of conflicts, can be explained by the process of gradual change in peacekeeping operations and the methods of work of peacekeepers that have been deployed in recent decades. That is why it is important to draw the evolution of these processes to highlight the important points that helped arbitrate conflicts in different parts of the world.

**Statement of the basic material.** The Crusades are the first precedents of international collective action in the world history. Several countries have united under the leadership of the Vatican to save the Holy Land from the scourge of the infidels. Just as many states are uniting under the leadership of the UN or other peacekeeping organizations for peace now. It is difficult to attribute to the Crusades the desire for

peace and security as this comparison may be too shallow. This indicate about collective military action focused on stopping the aggressor or stopping the conflict took place in World History up to the twentieth century, though in a somewhat different retrospect than in the modern sense. The Napoleonic wars show that coalitions were formed to suspend the conflict and establish a new order in the post-conflict territory and for returning of the status quo.

The military operation, which was partly similar to peacemaking, was a joint operation by eight states to liberate Beijing during the Boxing Rebellion in 1900. The 1907 Hague Convention elevate the topic of the peaceful resolution of international conflicts: "Foreign conflict parties have the right to offer a peaceful adjustment even during hostilities. In this case, neither side can regard it as an unfriendly act". (Gogosha, 2008).

The number of casualties during World War I was the same as in the period from 1790 to 1913 (Anthony, 1993: 19). A League of Nations was set up to prevent future conflicts, but the number of participating countries was limited. The outbreak of World War II demonstrated the invalidity of this organization.

In the work "Peacekeeping Operations" Paul Diehl highlights the following features of the first joint military operations:

• Operations organized for resolving the crisis and dissolving in its resolution. There were no permanent operations.

• Operated without any management center, often without coordinating with other participants.

• These actions were approved without the involvement of international institutions, because international organizations, as they exist today, were absent (Paul, 2008: 29).

The First and Second World Wars brought an unprecedented number of casualties. The United Nations was founded with the aim to protect the next generations from such awful conflicts. The main goal is to support international peace and security.

The first years of the UN's existence were the start of the development of the peacekeeping concept. The creation of a new peacekeeping system was one of the main issues addressed by the allies of the anti-Hitler coalition. Many documents have cited to the require for an effective common security system. The issue of the creation of common bodies that were supposed to guarantee collective security was discussed at the first conferences that took place during World War II. For the first time, the idea of establishing such an organization was originated at the Atlantic Conference in August 1941 between F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill. It was proposed to create police forces to ensure stability in the post-war world, this concept was called "four police": the US, USSR, UK and China (Kochetkova, 1995: 28).

Further ideas for the formation of an international peacekeeping organization took place during the Third Moscow Conference of 1943, which adopted the Declaration of Four States on the Common Security (Deklaratsiya, 1943). The Dumbarton-Oaks Conference of 1944 played key role, which adopted the document "Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization", which formed the basis of the Charter of the United Nations (Tymchenko, 2012: 235). The collective security system was put on the principle of national quotas in the formation of the armed forces at the disposal of the organization; Items of command and number remained beyond the area of debate (Zapariy, 2005: 15).

Provisions were set up to establish a Military Staff Committee, which is a collegial body and its responsibilities include: strategic leadership of the armed forces, drafting recommendations to the Security Council, regulating arms and disarmament (Dumbarton Oaks, 1944).

The final stage in organizing the foundation of the international security organization was the Yalta Conference, which resolved the issue of vetoes where each

member of the Security Council has one vote, a country that is a conflict part abstains from voting (Krymskaya, 1945).

The epilogue to the introduction of an international organization for peace and security was the San Francisco Conference in 1945. The main features for the maintenance and support of collective security were laid in the UN charter, which was adopted at the conference on June 26, 1945. and specific actions in the event of a threat to peace are enshrined in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter (Peaceful Settlement of Disputes) and VII (Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression).

The creation of the UN meant the running from a multipolar system to a system of regulation of international relations at the supranational level. The focus was on preventing conflicts from occurring and escalating, but such a mechanism was tailored to the interests of the leading powers, in particular the US and the USSR, which in the future led to conflicts and misunderstandings between the peacekeepers themselves, while making important decisions and activities.

If to compare the process of adopting the features of the UN Charter and putting it into practice, we can draw some conclusions. In the end of the debate and the creation of a methods of peacekeeping in the post-war period. The world has changed. And the common threat to all in the form of the militarization of Germany and Japan has disappeared. The world has begun to become bipolar, and it is impossible to calm the great powers by the mechanisms foresee by the UN Charter. We can assume that instead of building a collective security system, the focus was on building regional security. According to the Charter, the UN could only ensure international presence in the tension zone or limit the spread of the conflict.

World politics and the nature of conflict have changed with the establishment of the UN. Conflicts have turned from inter-state into threats originating from the state itself, internal conflicts (Siv, 2008: 4). In response to the new nature of conflicts, peacekeeping organizations changed their approach to peace and security, and gradually shifted from armed intervention to diplomatic, with the least use of weapons, but with the changing nature of peacekeeping, the basic features stayed the same:

- Impartiality.
- Consent to cooperate.
- Proper use of force.
- Unity and international character.
- Respect for the principles of international humanitarian law.
- Respect for local laws and customs (What is peacekeeping, 2016).

The history of peacemaking includes periods of rapid growth in activity and inertia. Henry Weisman identified 5 periods of peacekeeping:

- 1. Nascent period, 1946–1956
- 2. Assertive period, 1956–1967
- 3. Dormant period, 1967–1973.
- 4. Resurgent period, 1973–1978.
- 5. Maintenance period, 1978–1985 (Dennis, 1998: 40).
- This list was supplemented by B. Fetherston, who singled out the sixth period:
- 6. Extension period, 1988 1993 (Fetherston, 1994).
- You can also add a seventh period, according to Dennis Jett:

7. Contraction period, 1993 - 2000 (Dennis, 1998: 41). (The cut-off date is 2000, since this period was suggested by Dennis Jett in the book "Why Peacekeeping Fails", published in 2000).

The number of peacekeepers has increased, the non-military component of the peacekeeping environment has increased, and the number of women involved in peacekeeping activities can be noted precisely with the beginning of the XXI century. There have been changes in methods. In particular we can talk about the next

generation of peacekeeping operations. Peacekeepers create a resistant and safety environment for security and respect for human rights. The tasks of peacekeeping activities include not only the suspension of the conflict and the support for peace in the XXI century. Peacekeepers continue their work after the end of the conflict. They introduce new institutions, facilitate the political process to create legitimate institutions of governance. Conditions for safe movement of people and humanitarian aid are created, protection of civilians is organized, much attention is paid to peacebuilding. In our opinion, the period beginning with the beginning of the 21st century can be called the period of reconsideration or the period of reformation.

The first peacekeeping missions did not include in their name "peacekeeping" (Dennis, 1998: 42): The importance of operations from 1946 to 1956 was that they prepared a resource for further peacekeeping operations. The main function of these missions was to collect information and control the implementation of Security Council decisions. A commission was first set up to settle the situation and gather information, recruited military personnel, then a mandate was given to mediate between the conflicting parties to resolve the conflicts. The most important features of these missions is the limited function of the monitors, which came down to recording and investigating events. The activities of peacekeepers were separated from the political settlement process, although the mere presence of observers led to a reduction in the intensity of the conflict. Another important feature is the limited presence of scales (the number of observers varied from a few dozen to several hundred). A limited contingent of military observers from different countries could not disrupt the balance and deployment of forces in the conflict zone. The first missions had a number of limited functions that were limited to recording and investigating violations, and these tasks were separated from the political settlement, which made it impossible to resolve the conflict. The creation of missions enabled the UN to increase its capacity and increase its strength.

Forthcoming peacekeeping missions have taken place in connection with the recurrence of conflicts in the Middle East. 8 peacekeeping missions were launched in 1956–1967, 4 of them were contemplative. The specialities of these missions were that for the first time the United Nations appropriate temporary management of the territories. Divisions of the civilian police were established and were directly integrated to the civil war. Peacekeeping operations were developed:

1. The peacekeeping mission took place with the mutual agreement of the two parties.

2. Force could only be used in self-defense.

3. Peacekeepers are troops voluntarily formalized by neutral states.

4. Impartiality.

5. The mission should be carried out under the daily supervision of the Secretary-General (Dennis, 1998: 45).

This is the phase of the most active application of the practice of peacekeeping throughout the Cold War. It is this peacekeeping activity has shown that without proper political regulation, peacekeeping missions are not capable of eliminating the causes of the conflict. Peacekeeping operations were considered as a political tool of influence. During this period, peacekeeping operations were used by Western powers to protect their interests. Missions have been a method of maintaining constancy in strategic regions. There has been a development from conflict monitoring to policing and humanitarian assistance. However, we can conclude that the primary idea of these peacekeeping missions was to freeze the conflict and maintain the status quo.

In 1967–1973, peacekeeping stopped in relation to the Congo riots during the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), where peacekeeping became a method of coercion to peace and through the suspension of the UN-1 Emergency Force

(UNEF-1) through a change in Egypt's foreign policy. The Egyptian command began to concentrate its armed forces on the Sinai Peninsula because relations with Israel worsened. Egypt demanded the transferring of peacekeepers from its territory. The organization could not hold the presence of international forces against the will of a sovereign state.

Since 1973, peacekeeping missions have reloaded operations in relation to the escalation of the conflict in the Middle East. During this period, a format of peacekeeping was formed, founded on the features developed in the 1940s – 1950s: separation of conflicting parties, consent of parties to the operation, prohibition of the use of force other than self-defense. All missions operated within the competence of Section VI of the UN Charter. The UN tried to create the preconditions for political settlement of the conflict, minimizing the intervention of major powers.

Peacekeeping activity have declined again in the 1980s. When Israel launched the Lebanon War in 1982, peacekeeping forces that began their mandate since 1978 could do little to prevent bloodshed.

With the end of the Cold War, peacekeeping began to take on new forces. This was influenced by several factors identified by Dennis Jett (Dennis, 1998: 50):

• With the end of the Cold War, the USSR and the US no longer used the UN for their debates and for blocking decisions.

• Changing the nature and amount of conflict. Wars can be fought not against individual states in a holistic sense, but with individual groups of people, organizations. Along with interstate conflicts, there were many internal conflicts. The civilian casualties are increasing. Civilians, not soldiers, become tactical targets.

• Peacemaking has become more in demand and desirable, than the development of the information circle, the speed of information transmission, that is, thanks to the CNN effect, where the world has become a "global village" (Marshall, 2011).

Many new peacekeeping missions have been organized. Since 1993 peacekeeping missions have achieved great success, but at the same time they have had major failures. Peacekeeping missions have failed, for example, in Somalia, Bosnia and Rwanda, but this has not been a barrier to ending peacekeeping operations, particularly in the Middle East.

**Conclusions.** The concept of peacekeeping has got some transformations and has developed, but despite the contradictions between the great countries, the UN has established a system of peaceful adjustment of conflicts. Unarmed observers were placed on the line of demarcation between the conflicting parties, monitoring the situation and investigating violations at the initial stage. The deployment of peacekeepers took place with the consent of the conflicting parties.

Little by little, with the attenuate of relations situation between the US and the USSR in the 1950s – 1960s, the UN expanded its activities in the resolving of international conflicts. In addition to observing the demarcation situation, peacekeepers began to perform police functions and provide humanitarian assistance. Peacekeeping operations were regarded as a political tool of influence. During this period, peacekeeping operations were used by Western countries to protect their interests. These missions were a method of saving constancy in strategic regions, and the primary purpose of peacekeeping missions was to freeze conflict and preserve the status quo.

We could talk about the completion of the concept of UN peacekeeping in the 1960s – 1970s. It was during this period that the USSR began to cooperate with the UN in the field of peacekeeping, and the legitimacy of peacekeeping operations was finally recognized.

Since the creation of the first peacekeeping missions, the basic methods, principles and mechanisms have got a long and controversial development. Since the appearance of the UN Charter, the development of the notion of peacekeeping has evolved on the foundation of an interpretation of the provisions of the Charter, as peacekeeping operations were not explicitly spelled out. Analyzing the activities of the UN, it should be emphasised that peacekeeping operations aimed at isolating conflicts at the regional level and preventing the collision of major powers. Operations are an important tool for international diplomacy.

Peacekeeping is one of the brightest and polemical pages in history. Methods for the settlement of international conflicts including military personnel have been developed throughout the history of mankind. The zenith of these processes was the twentieth century, which was embodied in UN peacekeeping mechanisms. Many peacekeeping operations were carried out during which the concept of peacekeeping was developed.

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# METHODOLOGY, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SOURCE STUDIES

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# INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES IN THE UNIVERSITY COURSES OF HISTORY

**Summary.** The current highly competitive situation at the international arena causes the priority of intellectual assets to every state, especially those that only recently have won an opportunity of independent sovereign development. In recreation of intellectual assets, a significant role belongs to higher education as a social institution of intellectual activities conducive to creation of new non-material values (knowledge). Achieving a high level of competitive advantages of graduates as young professionals requires consistent renewal of knowledge containing the potential of innovative developments. In this regard the role of scholars and university lecturers is growing.

By the laws of synergetics, survival belongs to a complex open system that responds adequately to changes in the environment. The system of university education as a whole, and that in the field of history in particular, can be regarded in this aspect as well. Its perfection has to go on through modernization with timely correlation of the quality of educational services and scholarly research on the basis of analyzing their substance, methods and results.

Recently the Ukrainian historiography witnesses a growing interest in developing theoretical and methodological issues of contemporary science of history. Internal transformation is taking place in the character of intellectual research, as well as growing openness to the global historiographic experience. Throughout recent decades, radical changes occur in all spheres of the science of history, one of the most characteristic traits being the reinforced trend of integrating history with other disciplines. The interdisciplinary tendency is one of the consequences of radical change in the social functions of history in solving problems that are faced by a certain country.

Many years of experience in teaching at various humanitarian faculties of Kiev National Taras Shevchenko University, including such courses as "History of Civilizations", "Modern World History", "Contemporary Political History of World Countries", "The New Political History of Ukraine and Adjacent Lands", "Ukraine in the Context of World History", "Ukraine in the European Civilizational Dimension", confirms the importance of utilizing the opportunities offered by philosophy, sociology, political science, studies of religion, cultural studies, psychology, geography and other sciences. The knowledge acquired by the students are transformed into competences, which assist to better orientation in the contemporary world, building life strategies and tactics at various levels – from personal to statewise.

Keywords: intellectual capital, history, interdisciplinarianism, university, courses of history.

### МІЖДИСЦИПЛІНАРНІ ПІДХОДИ В УНІВЕРСИТЕТСЬКИХ КУРСАХ З ІСТОРІЇ

Анотація. Сучасна висококонкурентна ситуація на міжнародній арені зумовлює пріоритетність інтелектуального капіталу для кожної держави, особливо для таких, які не так давно вибороли можливість незалежного і суверенного розвитку. Значне місце у відтворенні інтелектуального капіталу займає вища школа як соціальний інститут сфери інтелектуальної діяльності, в результаті котрої створюються нові нематеріальні цінності – знання. Досягнення високого рівня конкурентних переваг випускників як молодих фахівців вимагає перманентного оновлення знань, що містять у собі потенціал інноваційних розробок. У цьому відношенні зростає роль науковців та викладачів, які працюють в університетах. За законами синергетики, виживає складна відкрита система, яка адекватно реагує на зміну навколишнього середовища. Систему університетської освіти в цілому, історичної зокрема, теж можна розглядати у зазначеному ракурсі. Її вдосконалення має відбуватися шляхом модернізації із своєчасною кореляцією якості освітніх послуг та наукової діяльності на основі аналізу їх змісту, методів та результатів.

Останнім часом в українській історіографії можна спостерігати зростаючий інтерес до розробки теоретичних і методологічних питань сучасної історичної науки. Відбувається внутрішня трансформація у характері інтелектуальних пошуків, ширшає відкритість до світового історіографічного досвіду. Впродовж останніх десятиріч відбуваються радикальні зміни у всіх сферах історичної науки, однією з найхарактерніших рис є посилення тенденції до інтеграції історії з іншими науками. Тенденція до міждисциплінарності є одним з наслідків докорінної зміни соціальних функцій історії у вирішенні проблем, що стоять перед тією чи іншою країною.

Багаторічний досвід викладання на різних гуманітарних факультетах Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка таких курсів, як "Історія цивілізацій", "Історія сучасного світу", "Сучасна політична історія країн світу", "Новітня політична історія України і суміжних земель", "Україна в контексті світової історії", "Україна в контексті європейської історії", "Україна в європейському цивілізаційному вимірі", підтверджує значення використання можливостей, що надаються філософією, соціологією, політологією, релігієзнавством, культурологією, психологією, географією та іншими науками. Набуті студентами знання трансформуються у компетентності, а ті допомагають кращій орієнтації у сучасному світі, вибудовуванню життєвих стратегій і тактик на різних рівнях – від особистого до державного.

Ключові слова: інтелектуальній капітал, історія, міждисциплінарність, університет, історичні курси.

**he problem statement.** The current highly competitive situation at the international arena urges the priority of the intellectual capital to every state, especially to those that have just recently won an opportunity of independent sovereign development. An important role in the reproduction of intellectual capital is played by higher education as a social institution of intellectual activities, acting to create new immaterial value – knowledge. Achieving high competitive level of graduates as young specialists requires permanent renewal of knowledge, containing the potential of innovative developments. In this respect, the role of scholars and university teachers is growing.

The presentation of the basic material. By the laws of synergetics, survival is for a complex open system that adequately reacts to the change of environment. The system of university education at large, and historical education in particular, can be regarded in this aspect as well. Its perfection has to be carried out through modernization with prompt correlation between the quality of education services and research based on analyzing their sense, methods and results. Research conferences have a strategic aim, consisting in elevating the level of discussion, expanding the range and the agenda of research in the issues that are truly topical. Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University possesses the status of a research institution. This determines its role in the development of sciences, including the science of history. Hence, the activities of the University are targeted at defining the actual field of problems as well as exceeding the framework of traditional probems and methodological approaches already constituted.

It's worth emphasizing the goals of the faculty of history and of all the historians, namely, facilitating the shaping of new vectors in the public conscience, participating in the development of new discourse of social studies, that enables creating new senses. Also noteworthy is the role of a contemporary intellectual, who defines new issues, offers fruitful theses and expands the spectrum of relevant argumentation to elevate the level of discussion in the society. Discussion is vital to the latter, for without discussion a society turns into a swamp. In current conditions an intellectual is to be defined by the ability to be the first to sense something important, to identify crucial tendencies at the moment when others are not yet considering them, going on with their routine activities. A creative approach is important in developing alternatives, as well as some courage to initiate innovations. The more so, when they are due.

The need of revision, renewal and development of the methodological arsenal and inventory of the historical science is conditioned by its current state, the historiographic situation that has been shaped at the turn of the millennium. Further development and specification of the discipline's methodology is due, at the level of conceptual approaches and methods of research, a kind of a paradigmal shift. Quality increment of knowledge is impossible without mastering the methods of research and the theoretical developments of global science.

On the other side, in the conditions of informational revolution, a new informational environment is shaped, characterized by erasing the border between the scholarly and the educational, the fundamental and the applied knowledge. That is, it is important to expand the introduction of new methods not only into research, but also into the courses taught at universities.

Recently Ukraine is witnessing the growing interest in the development of theoretical and methodological issues of contemporary historical science. An internal transformation is going on in the character of intellectual pursuit, expanded is the openness to the global historiographic experience. Throughout recent decades, radical chance occurs in all spheres of historical science. One of the most characteristic traits is the growing trend of integration between history and other sciences. On the one hand, it's worth considering the fact that the current postmodern age has dealt a lethal blow to the seclusion and self-sufficience of certain disciplines, making interdisciplinarity come true.

On the other hand, reinforcement of interdisciplinary ties manifests the general tendency of modern science, the development of integrative processes, the mutual influence of different fields of knowledge at studing the commpn subject. Currently it is the human and the human society, that corresponding to the general tendency of development of humanities, namely, the anthropologization. For a long time, historical research has been characterized by mainly descriptive approach, and history has existed in the enclave state, so to say. Whereas interdisciplinarity orients at active contacts with other sciences, contributing to the analytical character of the discipline of history.

In his time L. Fevre, a well-known French historian, one of the founders of the "Annales" school, proclaimed: "Historians, be geographers! Be lawyers, sociologists, psychologists..." (Fevre, 1991: 37). The "new historical science" and the anthropologic turn themselves, associated largely with the "Annales" school, are considered to have laid the groundwork of interdisciplinarity. As the result of its founders' struggle with the allies of the old-fashioned, event-based history, prevalently the political and diplomatical history, before the 50s of the XX c. the Western historiography was dominated by the "new history" – the history of "long-lasting structures", economic and social history. The science of history has firmly adopted the concept of "total history", that aims to give a dimensional picture of historical life at its various levels. (Gurevich, 1993: 65).

Since the second half of past century, the scope of interdisciplinary cooperaction an d the chance of partnerdisciplines is changing. If early in the century historians were using the achievements and methods of geogaphy, sociology, economy, psychology, then since the 1960–1980's the interdisciplinary approach is mostly addressed at anthropology, demography and linguistics. Generally, if the anthrolologic turn refers to historical research, the subsequent linguistic turn has broader influence and directs the scientific knowledge towards humanities.

Considering interdisciplinarity in historical research, many Ukrainian and foreign scholars have spoken (Repina, 2003; Mogilnitskiy i dr., 2004; Mizhdystsyplinarni humanitarni studii; Mizhdystsyplinarni doslidzhennia: teoretyko-metodolohichni vymiry; Porshneva, 2005; Sidortsov, 2001; "Steny i mosty"; Suchasni mizhdystsyplinarni doslidzhennia; Adetoro; Slavicek, 2012; Raab, 2015; Ritter, 1986; Rundel, 2014).

The core idea of their studies was: the trend towards interdisciplinarity is one of the consequences of radical change in the social functions of history in solving problems fa ced by a specific country. Two circumstances are noteworthy. First, the growing prognostic function of history, while the society expects the sociohumanitarians, the historians, to explain and forecast the phenomena impredictable and inexplicable from the former standpoints. Second, the growing realization of the fact that the historical knowledge is a potent means of social influence with colossal potential. "Its skilful application is able to set human masses into motion, to change the world map, sometimes even to make impractical employing military means to conquer the adversary's territory – instead, the brains of people of other countries can be conquered. In the current age, this function of history gains even more importance, as the conversion into information society is under way. Respectively, the influence of newest informational means, modern communications, make traditional ways of using history just limitless (Mirskiy, 2001: 518).

This requires an understanding that the historical profession now can not seclude itself in the narrowly positivistic framework of its own expert culture of comprehending the past by "pure" historians. Contemporary science must reflect its subject and methods in the broad interdisciplinary context of elaborating innovations and technologies of learning the past of historic reality, that belongs to the entire complex of related social and humanitarian disciplines. This concerns research and teaching alike. Teaching history must be regarded as a process in progress. With amassing the academic experience of involving other social sciences, it is enriched by the new sense. Regrettably, part of the teaching staff is quite conservative, and narrow specialization prevents the expansion of interdisciplinary courses.

Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University has the status of a research institution. Its practice of teaching is constantly developed and introduces its corrections. Many years of experience of teaching such courses as "History of civilizations", "History of the modern world", "Contemporary political history of world countries", "Newest political history of Ukraine and neighboring lands", "Ukraine in the context of European history", "Ukraine in the European civilizational dimension" at different humanitarian faculties of the University proves the importance of using the possibilities given by philosophy, of sociology, political science, religious and cultural studies, ethnology, psychology, geography, demography and other disciplines. Even in teaching ostensibly usual courses, like new and newest history, interdisciplinarity must be applied in a broader manner. Characterizing a specific state of a specific historical age requires not only retelling the facts but also reviewing such social spheres as economy, political organization, social structure, cultural and ideological fundamentals, giving political and psychological portraits of eminent persons. Or courses in ethnology or history of daily life. Ethnocultural studies help understanding the daily way of life of people of a certain geographic area, identifying main universal features of culture, including not only knowledge and spiritual achievements, but also traditions, stereotypes, beliefs and rituals. An essentially new, interdisciplinary direction emerges, that can be identified as microhistory.

At the same time, the level of macrohistory is reached by the course "History of modern world" (Orlova, 2006), that can be viewed as an integral one. Early in the 2000's, such course was ordered by the management of the Institute of Journalism (as an evidence of evaluating the students' demands, which is very important at the current stage of reforming higher education). It was to orient the listeners in the trends of global development in all domains: economy, politics, social sphere, spiritual spheres, to identify the essence of the industrial and post-industrial societies, globalization, as

well as the place and role of Ukraine in today's world. For many years this course was taught at various humanitarian faculties. Even now a course based on this textbook is read at Kyiv Medical Bohomolets University. "History of modern world" as a discipline could be a starting platform for the future analysis of the various specific problems of the present day not only during class hours, but also in the future at effecting expert research of various levels, as well as in resolving the young specialists' personal issues. This course could as well become a basic introduction in university education in general.

The book was written in 2005, reissued thrice in 2006, 2007, 2008, and posted broadly in the internet. Certainly, some change occurred since. For instance, the chapter on "Wars in the modern world history" dealt with the emergence of asymmetric warfare. At present day, there is the new phenomenon of hybrid warfare. The main danger that it brings is unawareness of its essence. The majority of our compatriots are feeling unsure for not understanding the social revolutions that came to Ukraine. And it's not about the Revolution of Dignity. In this aspect, great importance must be given to the research and popularization carried out by the teachers of the faculty of history, that can be exemplified by publications in the "Mirror of the Week" newspaper, such as the article "Revolution of Expectations" (Orlova, 2018). The latter is a vivid example of the social influence of historical knowledge.

The phenomenon of interdisciplinarity offers broad space to historical thought, that constantly has to seek answers for the complicated issues of the day. The burning problem is actualization of history. O. Savchenko, a known Ukrainian scholar and public figure, has voiced an opinion: "Many researchers as well as politicians construe the current situation (the basic characteristics) of contemporary Ukraine from the depths of history. And a completely erroneous idea predominates: the deeper into history you go, the more present phenomena you can explain. My stance (axiom) is contrary: the more remote the historic events are, the lesser their impact on today is (X=A/Y, where X is the intensity of a historic event's impact on today, A – the scale of a historic event, Y – the number of years between the event and the present day)" (Savchenko, 2017: 8). Regrettably, the great part of Ukrainian historians – researchers and teachers alike – evidently stick to the opposite concept.

**Conclusions.** As for the textbook on the "History of modern world", it might be worth editing, perfecting the contents with regard to the changes that have occurred in the past years, and reissuing. At the practical lessons of this course it would be useful to orient students at specific application of general topics of life of the society as well as that of an individual. The methodology of teaching should emphasize cultivating an integral type of thinking, which is critically important to an intellectual of the third millennium. In general, introducing the interdisciplinary approach into the teaching process would enable raising the level of theoretical and practical training of students, so that they stand up to the demands and challenges of our time. The knowledge they acquire would transform into competences, and those would help them better orient in the contemporary world, build life strategies and tactics at various levels – from personal to governmental.

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### THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF INVESTIGATION OF UKRAINIAN-BYELORUSSIAN RELATIONS (1991–2014)

**Summary.** In the article theoretical and methodological foundations of investigation of contemporary Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations are being analysed by the authors. Methodological grounds of the thesis include a complex consisted of scientific principles, methods and approaches, which directed on comprehensive, integral and objective investigation of the events of Ukrainian-Byelorussian collaboration during 1991–2014. Besides, the importance of methodological instruments is fully thrown light upon, and deals with objective and integral comprehension of relations between Ukraine and Republic of Byelorussia.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, Republic of Byelorussia, methodology, scientific research methods, foreign policy, international relations.

# ТЕОРЕТИКО-МЕТОДОЛОГІЧНІ ЗАСАДИ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКО-БІЛОРУСЬКИХ ВІДНОСИН (1991–2014)

Анотація. У статті автори аналізують теоретико-методологічні засади дослідження сучасних українсько-білоруських відносин. Методологічну основу становить комплекс, що включає наукові принципи, методи й підходи, які спрямовані на всебічне, цілісне та об'єктивне дослідження подій українсько-білоруського співробітництва упродовж 1991–2014 рр. Крім того, комплексно висвітлено значення методологічного інструментарію, що забезпечує об'єктивне та цілісне осмислення взаємин між Україною та Республікою Білорусь.

Ключові слова: Україна, Республіка Білорусь, методологія, методи наукового дослідження, зовнішня політика, міжнародні відносини.

**I** he problem statement. The investigation of the whole ranges of different research components and the choice at the end of XX – early XXI centuries by the new independent states their own foreign policy vector, formation and realization of bilateral coordination between two sovereign countries, their sharing in international relations are based on methodology as a system of scientific principles, methods and manners of historical analysis of the problem mentioned, and the usage of contemporary conceptual and terminological instruments. Methodology of investigation and studying the history of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations allows to analyse and synthesize the knowledge needed on theoretical level. This process means

that a certain part of them are being transformed from the simple list of facts and events, into the entire complex scientific system of historical knowledge from the problem mentioned.

In contemporary science the concept "methodology" has a rather large reckoning of definitions. However, we suppose that the most exactly the definition of this concept was given in "Philosophic encyclopaedic dictionary" (Philosophic encyclopaedic dictionary, 2002). In it methodology means the totality of approaches, manners, methods and procedures used in the process of scientific perception and practical activity to achieve the concrete aim. In scientific cognition this aim means the obtaining of objective and true scientific knowledge, or building the scientific theory and its logical grounds (Philosophic encyclopaedic dictionary, 2002: 374).

The choice of methodological instruments is based on necessity of thorough and objective investigation of foundation and development history of bilateral Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations during 1991–2014, finding of their theoretical and conceptual backgrounds, factors caused the transforming of interstate relations according to contemporary international challenges. As pointed out Ya Kalakura, one of the most famous Ukrainian specialist in methodology, methodological instruments means a system of principles, methods, ways, manners and approaches of scientific cognition (Kalakura, 2004: 26). According to the wide list of instruments for a scientist, to our mind, it is necessary to pay attention only for those which allow to investigate Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations during the period mentioned soundly and fully, with taking into consideration all the factors, events and circumstances influencing on their formation and development.

We would like to highlight, that one of the most important methodological task in historical science is to increase scientific and conceptual significance of methodology in the context of building of investigation theoretical foundations, and also to throw light upon conceptual and categorical apparatus. We would like to point, that in this context is right to study and specify separate terminological questions and some development peculiarities of Ukrainian history, which would be useful for wellgrounded, thorough and objective throwing light upon the main stages and tendencies of formation and development bilateral Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations in new geopolitical realities. In the context of research work, to our mind, the priority significance has the following key concepts: "foreign policy", "international relations", "interstate "political cooperation", links", "economic relations", "strategic partnership". But according to the world experience, key historical concepts are not constant, and are variable. It depends on the status of society development and concrete historical period. We would like to highlight, that most attention in the world history of international relations is paid for interstate activity in the foreign policy and bilateral relations between separate countries. But even now the questions mentioned are actual and debatable. Interstate relations can be characterized by their own specificity, as their content, directions and forms are being influenced by home or international challenges. In such conditions bilateral relations can be characterized as variable and abrupt.

**Purpose of the article** is to analyse theoretical and methodological foundations of investigation of contemporary Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations, and also throw light upon the complex importance of methodological instruments dealing with objective and integral comprehension of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations.

The analysis of the sources and recent researches. Theoretical basis for understanding of content and substance of bilateral relations between Ukraine and Republic of Byelorussia, their permanent development in contemporary geopolitical conditions consists of the research works of the following Ukrainian and Byelorussian scientists: L. Chekalenko (Chekalenko, 2006), M. Doroshko and N. Shpakova (Doroshko, Shpakova, 2011), S. Vidnianskyi (Vidnianskyi, 2004), Yu. Makar (Makar, 2008: 189–198), M. Aleksiievets and Ya. Seko (Aleksiievets, Seko, 2016: 34–49), V. Snapkovskyi (Snapkovskiy, 2013; Snapkovskiy, 2014: 210–239), K. Kamyshev (Kamyshev, 2005: 51–56), V. Ulakhovych (Ulakhovich, 2003: 99–116), V. Shadurskyi (Shadurskiy, 2011: 33–38), O. Sharapo (Sharapo, 2006: 15–22) and others. These works contain great massive of valuable information and analytic materials concerning foreign policy of Ukraine and Byelorussia, the status and problems of contemporary international relations, and also geopolitical changes at the end of XX – early XXI centuries. Researchers propose contemporary theoretical and methodological approaches, and also help theoretical comprehension of foreign policy activity of the states and international coordination.

The presentation of the basic material. The proclamation of independence of Ukraine and Byelorussia in 1991 caused building of theoretical backgrounds concerning foreign policy vectors and interstate coordination between both states. We would like to point, that good relations with neighbouring states were of a key importance for the both sides. To our mind, this task was actual in 1991, and continue to be so now, as in the conditions of contemporary international challenges the question of Ukrainian and also Byelorussian states existing depends on it. In the process of studying of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations is important to specify such key concepts, as "foreign policy" and "international relations". We should point out, that despite the great quantity of scientific research works from the problem mentioned, there is no unitary definition of foreign policy and international relations phenomena.

In Ukrainian diplomatic encyclopaedia A. Subotin pointed, that foreign policy is a system of actions being done by international actor directed on influencing on behaviour of another subjects of international relations, and adaptation to the results of the processes of international system. Foreign policy of any actor does not include only separate discrete acts, but has a character of foreign policy activity concerning formal strategy of behaviour in international surroundings. According to its functional content, foreign policy actuates the interests in individual, corporative and universal aspects, and also in subnational, national, regional and global dimensions (Subotin, 2004: 458).

The author mentioned also gave the definition of international relations phenomenon. According to A. Subotin, international relations is a special form of social relations, taking part in which realize an international subjectiveness of individual or joint actor. The main function of such relations is to realize the civilization and anthropological union of humanity. In contemporary theory there are three macroconseptions of international relations: political science concerning the priority of state as a unitary international actor, and in structure of international relations points the interstate relations; sociological, which considers the international character of a certain transaction depending on the character of its object; systemic, which depends on idea, that any international actor is secondary to the system of international relations. According to the attributive features, the most popular criteria of differentiation of international relations are the following: criterion of geographic localization (global, regional, subregional, local); criterion of time localization (shorttermed, middle-termed, long-termed); criterion of the quantity of mutual actors (bilateral, multilateral, universal); criterion of correlation status of actors (symmetrical, asymmetrical); criterion of the sphere, which is an object of relations (economic, scientific, cultural, military etc.); criterion of character of actor's coordination (coordination, conflict) (Subotin, 2004: 100).

That is why we investigate the interstate links as multifunctional, complex system with its own dynamic structure. The main directions of interstate coordination should take into consideration national interests of all sides, subordinate to the processes of their development, and also to norms of international law. In contemporary conditions Ukraine and Republic of Byelorussia are connected by geographic factor (both countries are situated in Eastern Europe, and were parts of a great state formations), and a certain common interests deal with all aspects of social and political life of both states. According to investigation of Ukrainian-Byelorussian interstate links, contemporary model of bilateral coordination is a many-sided integral system of mutual coordination in different spheres.

Theoretical and conceptual definition of such concepts, as "political relations" and "economic relations" is of a key importance in the context of throwing light upon bilateral Ukrainian-Byelorussian links during 1991–2014. We would like to point out, however, that the separation of main directions, tendencies and forms of relations between Ukraine and Republic of Byelorussia, its detailed analysis depends on the content and substance of the concepts mentioned. So, political relations are, to our mind, one of the part of Ukrainian and Byelorussian activity in international relations, and is a union of different mechanisms and means of their coordination in all spheres of life. Ukrainian-Byelorussian political relations are based on such points, as: bilateral diplomatic coordination, different official and working visits of Presidents, Prime-Ministers, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Parliament Speakers of both countries, leaders of a certain political parties, etc. During such visits the representatives of Ukrainian and Byelorussian political elites usually realize negotiations from a certain questions of bilateral relations, or key international problems. Also they legally fortify the arrangements achieved. We would like to point, that the process of political coordination is useful not only for the rapprochement of both states, but even for the protection from internal and foreign challenges.

Interstate economic relations, as pointed M. Dudchenko and M. Rubtsova, may be studied as a system of different economical (industrial, monetary and financial, scientific and technical etc.) links between national economics of both countries based on international work distribution. Economic links are characterized by coordination of juridical and natural persons of both states. The formation and development of interstate economic relations is determined by strengthening of mutual links and interdependence of both economics. It is specially influenced by scientific and technical progress, liberalization and strengthening of economic globalization tendencies. Interstate economic links include bilateral trade, industrial, scientific and technical, monetary and financial, transport and communicational cooperation (Dudchenko, Rubtsova, 2004: 100–101).

At the beginning of XXI century cooperation between Ukraine and Republic of Byelorussia got new forms of bilateral relations and became strategic. That is why we would like to give a definition of the concept "strategic partnership". According to A. Pyvovarov, strategic partnership is a higher level of trade and economic cooperation, mutual help in foreign policy, effectiveness of state and political, financial and industrial, scientific and cultural elite (Pyvovarov, 2009: 8–9).

During the process of studying of the main stages of formation and development contemporary bilateral Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations we used the following principles: historical principle, objectivity, scientism, systemic and integral principles.

Historical principle is the most important, as it provides throwing light upon the main facts, events and occurrences of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations in connection with a concrete situation, foreign and home policy of both countries.

The next principle used in this work, is an objectiveness. In the process of its usage the author paid attention both to positive and negative factors of bilateral relations.

The principle of scientism was also very important. It helped to avoid the descriptive character and publicistic style in the process of throwing light upon Ukrainian- Byelorussian relations during 1991–2014. Besides, this principle provided the academic level while investigating this topic and using of contemporary theoretical and methodological approaches.

Systemic principle helped us to study the integrality of Ukrainian-Byelorussian cooperation in new geopolitical conditions in the context of interconnection with events taking place during the end of XX – early XXI century.

The integral principle provided throwing light upon the problem investigated according to interconnection of all its aspects. So, in our work we wanted to study the relations between Ukraine and Byelorussia, including such directions of bilateral activity: cooperation in political and diplomatic, trade and economic, scientific and technical spheres; interregional and boundary links etc. We would like to point, that investigation of different aspects of Ukrainian-Byelorussian interstate cooperation helped to integral studying of the problem mentioned and its deep analysis.

The application of the principle mentioned is closely connected with the usage of the following scientific methods: common scientific, special scientific and concrete scientific. From all these methods, to our mind, should be analyzed only those which were used more often to solve our investigational tasks.

During the process of investigation, the most valuable from all common scientific methods became the following: analysis, synthesize, induction, deduction. The basic methods of analysis and synthesize were used in such cases: during all stages of studying of general range of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations; providing of the connection between the whole and its separate parts; throwing light upon the key aspect of interstate coordination. Having analysed the great massive of sources, the usage of the methods mentioned allowed us to unite different information, and to create complex system of knowledge about Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations during 1991–2014.

For the problem analysed historical and chronological method is of a key importance. Its usage allowed us to observe and analyse the major facts and events of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations in chronological order, in dynamics of its development, and also to find the majority and peculiarities of separate stages of foundation and development of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations during 1991–2014. The usage of historical and chronological method allowed to open the internal content of the main stages of bilateral relations, and also to separate few concrete aspects and study them in time sequence.

The usage of historical and comparative method was also quite important. This method helped to understand integral character, mutuality, and even contradiction in Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations, accenting on the searches of common and different features in various stages of development. Historical and comparative method allowed to compare the major events in Ukraine and Byelorussia during the period analyzed, find some regularities, and also investigate the specificity of the status of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations in contemporary conditions.

In the process of throwing light upon the problem mentioned the usage of historical and typological method is necessary. It is directed on the investigation of the topic by separate concrete features, their regulation, finding interconnections between concrete and general. During investigation the Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations, the method mentioned helped to regulate the historiographic and source base of the work, pointing out of the main tendencies and priorities of Ukrainian-Byelorussian cooperation in the conditions of contemporary challenges characterized by their own features and typological levels. The usage of historical and typological method became possible generalization and systematization of concrete events and facts, their division into a few types and throwing light upon some key aspects being characterized bilateral Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations.

Also we should point out the usage of concrete and historical methods, especially systemic and structural, and statistic. Systemic and structural method of scientific cognition helped to the establishment of reason and result links between the concrete facts and events, understanding the real content of interstate coordination, realizing the main tendencies and key links between the countries in the context of international relations.

Statistic method of scientific cognition allowed us to throw light upon the main directions of Ukrainian-Byelorussian coordination (first of all, in the trade and economic sphere) on the basis of the using of analyses of statistic materials, and quantitative indexes of Ukrainian-Byelorussian coordination. The usage of this method allowed us to make some generalized conclusions about the major events and tendencies in interstate coordination which were not represented directly in statistic information. Also we could point out the certain perspective aspects of further widening f of bilateral relations.

**Conclusions.** So, the wide usage of certain theoretical and methodological instruments realized the deep and subjective investigation of Ukrainian-Byelorussian relations during 1991–2014, opening its real content, core, and also the dynamics of formation and development in objective reality. During the period analysed Ukrainian-Byelorussian collaboration is characterized by such indications, as permanent evolution and dynamic changes caused by national interests of both countries, and foreign challenges. The fully usage of methodological instruments in the process of considering this problem allowed authentically, systemically and integrally throw light upon the entire complicated and multifold system of bilateral relations. Also owing to this, the realization of investigation purpose and tasks was ensured.

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# GEOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF POLISH AND UKRAINIAN SCIENTISTS IN THE TERRITORY OF VOLYN AND PODILLYA IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD (1918–1939)

Summary. Based on the study of literary sources, the article analyzes geological and geomorphological studies of Polish and Ukrainian scientists on the surface topography, stratigraphy and lithology of Quaternary deposits, loess strata, Quaternary continental glaciation and glacial deposits, modern physiographic processes in the territory of Volyn-Podillya during the interwar period (1918–1939). It has been established that large generalizing works of a monographic nature on the features of the geological and geomorphological structure, modern physiographic processes in the region during the interwar period did not appear. No systematic research has been conducted. The works were mostly sporadic, often determined by the initiative and interest of researchers. The studies were conducted with significant interruptions and concentrated mainly in areas already known deposits of fossil fuels, salts, phosphorites, etc. Among the geographical research dominated areas such as: study of Quaternary stratigraphy, the history of continental glaciations in the region and the lithology of glacial deposits, the composition and dismemberment of loess deposits, morphological features of the territory, karst processes, the formation of river valleys, marshiness, soil cover, etc. It is noted that the positive features of the ongoing research can be considered in particular the use of spore-pollen analysis for the dismemberment of glacial deposits; mechanical, chemical, mineralogical and petrographic analysis of loess; widespread use for stratigraphy of Quaternary paleontological remains and archaeological artifacts; use in the study of the relief of special geomorphological methods, cartographic material, etc.; a complex approach to the study of glacial deposits and land relief forms.

From the scientific results of this period it is possible to distinguish: the appearance of the first fairly wellfounded schemes of geomorphological zoning of the Podillya in general and of Opillya in particular; the establishment of a clear conditionality of the morphological features of the relief of the territory by the geological structure, the latest tectonic processes and the continental anthropogenic glaciation; thorough studies of loess deposits, in particular, Yu Polyansky, Yu. Tokarsky, S. Biskupsky and others. (dismemberment of loess strata, mechanical, chemical, mineralogical, petrographic composition, genesis); conclusions on the role of glacial deposits in the formation of the Volyn-Podillya relief, frequency and boundaries of individual glaciers, climatic conditions of interglacial eras; significant progress in the study of the morphology and genesis of surface and subsurface karst forms in the sulphate sediments of Podillya and Pokuttia, the appearance of cartographic schemes of individual caves, preparing them for tourist excursion use, etc.

Keywords: geomorphological studies, Quaternary deposits, glacial deposits, stratigraphy, morphology, loess deposits.

# ГЕОЛОГО-ГЕОГРАФІЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ПОЛЬСЬКИХ ТА УКРАЇНСЬКИХ НАУКОВЦІВ НА ТЕРЕНАХ ВОЛИНІ Й ПОДІЛЛЯ У МІЖВОЄННИЙ ПЕРІОД (1918–1939)

Анотація. На основі вивчення літературних джерел в статті проаналізовано геологогеоморфологічні дослідження польських та українських вчених рельєфу поверхні, стратиграфії та літології четвертинних відкладів, лесових товщ, четвертинного материкового зледеніння та льодовикових відкладів, сучасних фізико-географічних процесів на теренах Волино-Поділля у міжвоєнний період (1918–1939 рр.). Встановлено, що великих узагальнюючих робіт монографічного характеру про особливості геолого-геоморфологічної будови, сучасні фізико-географічні процеси в регіоні у міжвоєнному періоді не з'явилось. Систематизованих досліджень загалом не проводилось, роботи носили в основному спорадичний характер, часто визначались власною ініціативою та зацікавленістю дослідників, проводились із значними перервами й зосереджувались переважно в районах уже відомих покладів горючих копалин, солей, фосфоритів тощо. Серед власне географічних досліджень домінували такі напрями як: вивчення стратиграфії четвертинних товщ, історії материкових зледенінь у регіоні та літології льодовикових відкладів, складу й розчленування лесових відкладів, морфологічні особливості території, карстові процеси, формування річкових долин, заболоченість, ґрунтовий покрив та ін. Відзначено, що позитивними рисами здійснюваних досліджень можна вважати зокрема застосування спорово-пилкового аналізу для розчленування льодовикових відкладів; механічного, хімічного, мінералогічного та петрографічного аналізу лесів; широке використання для стратиграфії четвертинних товщ палеонтологічних решток та археологічних артефактів; використання при вивченні рельєфу спеціальних геоморфологічних методів, картографічного матеріалу та ін.; комплексний підхід при вивченні льодовикових відкладів та форм рельєфу території.

З наукових напрацювань цього періоду можна виокремити: появу перших достатньо обґрунтованих схем геоморфологічного районування Поділля загалом та Опілля зокрема; установлення чіткої зумовленості морфологічних особливостей рельєфу території геологічною будовою, новітніми тектонічними процесами та материковими зледеннінями антропогену; ґрунтовні дослідження лесових відкладів, виконані, зокрема, Ю. Полянським, Ю.Токарським, С. Біскупським та ін. (розчленування лесових товщ, механічний, хімічний, мінералогічний, петрографічний склад, генезис); висновки про роль льодовикових відкладів у формуванні рельєфу Волино-Поділля, періодичність та межі окремих льодовиків, кліматичні умови міжльодовикових епох; значний прогрес у вивченні морфології та генезису поверхневих і підземних карстових форм у сульфатних відкладах Поділля й Покуття, появу картографічних схем окремих печер, підготовку їх до туристсько-екскурсійного використання та ін.

**Ключові слова:** геоморфологічні дослідження, четвертинні відклади, льодовикові відклади, стратиграфія, морфологія, лесові відклади.

G eological and geographical studies in Western Ukraine during the interwar period were not systematically, not evenly and intermittently conducted. Moreover, the largest volumes of exploration and scientific research were carried out in territories that were of practical interest at that time, taking into account the presence of already known deposits of valuable minerals, primarily oil and gas, salt deposits, mineral waters, etc. These were primarily the Carpathians and the Precarpathian fore deep. Western Podillya and Volyn (within the current Ternopil, Rivne and Volyn regions) were studied less intensively and the concepts of their geological structure and surface morphology were rather schematic and presented mainly by numerous, but small in volume, scientific reports and articles. At that time, large monographic generalizations about the features of the geological and geomorphological structure of the region were not made.

The subject of this article is an attempt to analyze and summarize the studies of these territories in the field of Quaternary geology and geomorphology. It should also be noted that publications from the listed sections of physical geography are found quite sporadically and in much smaller numbers than articles from purely geological disciplines – mineralogy, petrography, lithology, tectonics, etc.

The works of Polish and Ukrainian geologists and geographers from Quaternary geology and geomorphology in the interwar period focused of the following problems: 1) stratigraphic dismemberment of quaternary strata; 2) the study of traces of continental glaciation in the studied areas, the characteristics of glacial deposits and forms of glacial relief; 3) study of loess deposits; 4) study of the relief of the territory, karst processes, modern peatlands and soil cover.

Stratigraphic dismemberment of Ouaternary deposits. Fundamental works on this issue on the study area are virtually absent. However, it is worth noting that at that time there is a growing interest in the use of spore-pollen analysis for the dismemberment of quaternary deposits, the anthropogenic flora and fauna are studied. archaeological artifacts such as tools of labor and life of the ancient settlers of the region, etc. are used. So, S. Kulczynski (Krygowski, 1934; Kulczyński, 1930), who studied the swamps and peatlands of Polissya in 1923–1940, examined the types of peatlands and their genesis, gave a detailed description of the geological conditions. hydrographics of Polissya, and paid considerable attention to the peatland stratigraphy. So, in Polissya by the method of Post, he distinguished two stratigraphic peatlands horizons: junior, covered with a mixed forest and ancient, covered with pine-birch forest. The first of them corresponds to the Litorino-Sub Atlantic, the second to the Anulovo-Valdievy horizons. Under the layers of the first horizon in Ivanychi and near Kovel, ancient interglacial deposits are recorded, which correspond to Wurm I and Wurm II. Peatlands of the Litorina age are common in Polissya in the river valleys; ancient alluvial and deluvial peatlands are grouped in ancient terraces and watersheds (Krygowski, 1934).

H. Gams, who studied flora and fauna from Staruny (Ivano-Frankivsk region), in his work (Gams, 1935) made an attempt to synchronize glaciation according to literary sources, gave the results of spore-pollen analyzes, as well as paleogeographic maps of glaciation and interglacial eras. Conclusions were also made regarding the territories of Volyn.

J. Polanski studied the flora and fauna of Lviv region, stratigraphy of Quaternary deposits, the structure of the river terraces Podillya, central Polissya and Paleolithic sites Podillya and Bessarabia (Polańskyj, 1938; Polańskyj, 1935). Summarizing the data obtained during the discovery of new Paleolithic sites and his own field observations, he carried out a reconstruction of the medium of the early Paleolithic, submitted a detailed description of the geographical position of the Podillsk-Bessarabian province, its geological structure, the position of the sites relative to rivers, hypsometry, etc. The author refers to Wurm, described by him near Rudok Dryas flora and tundra flora, mollusks and mammals from the river Sian (Lviv region). Loess, river alluvium (6 terraces) and travertines are described for the Yagilnytsya-Chernelytsia district (Ternopil region). Three types of loess of different ages are singled out. Travertines are dated Pleistocene and Holocene.

As a conclusion, it should be noted that the individual reports on the determination of the age of the Quaternary strata were poorly synchronized with each other and a reliable, generally accepted scale, the dismemberment of these sediments during this period was not agreed.

The study of the continental glaciation, in contrast to the previous problem, was the focus of attention of many researchers throughout the entire period. So, one of the first fundamental articles was the publication by J. Czyzewski in 1929 in Krakow about the role of glacial waters in the formation of the Podillya relief (Czyźewski, 1928). The morphological removal of the middle part of the Dniester in the Opillia region has established the last 4 phases of its development. The granite pebbles found on one of the terraces, typical of the Atlantic magmatic province, provided grounds for asserting the participation of glacial waters in the Podillya relief. Earlier, the studies by E. Romer found that glacial waters drained the valleys of the Blazhivka and Dniester rivers into the Black Sea. The vertical position of the pebble found indicates that the glacial waters in the Opillia region flowed 25–40 m above the current level. This value shows the amplitude of the erosion slice from the moment of maximum glaciation of the territory to the deposition of loess.

In 1932, on the basis of a study of glacial and fluvioglacial deposits south of Lviv, W. Przepiorski concluded that melt glacial waters moved along the western and northeastern borders of Podillya (Przepiórski, 1932). Later, in 1938 W. Przepiorski (Przepiórski, 1938) concluded that the Hyrivsko-Lviv Plateau was covered with a powerful glacial tongue, which in the Sambor region reached its extreme southern position. Melted glacial waters flowed along numerous depressions in the main European watershed and the valleys of the Vereshchin, Stavchanka, and Shcherek rivers. The modern valleys were filled with alluvial material, and then they deepened by the waters of the glacier retreating and streamflows. The conclusions were made on the basis of studies of the northwestern part of the Pre-Carpathian region and until 1965 almost did not undergo significant criticism, and the main points are shared by many researchers even now. The positions of the glaciation boundary and some others are discussed in particular. Of the publications that examine the glacial deposits of West Polissya and Volyn, one can single out the message of E. Ruhle, S. Pawlowski, S. Wollosowicz, C. Gagel and J. Korn, R. Krygowski and J. Lilpop.

E. Ruhle studied the morphology and geology of hills and glacial deposits in the upper Pripyat basin [Rühle, 1933; Rühle, 1936; Rühle, 1937]. Polemizing with P. Tutkovsky, he argues that the hills in the northwestern part of Polissya are remnants of the Pre-Quaternary surface, and not the final moraines, as P. Tutkovsky asserted. Describing the composition of the moraine in the quarries of brick factories near the Volodymyr-Volynsky and Ustylug cities, he defines her age as Ryss.

S. Pawlowski, studying the composition of the moraine deposits of the southern Polissya, defines them as a bottom moraine, and also allows for the existence of two glaciation phases in a given area (Pawlowski, 1930).

S. Wollosowicz gives a description of glacial deposits and the boundaries of the maximum distribution of I and II glaciations in the basin of the upper and middle Western Bug (Wollosowicz, 1922. T. 1.), establishes the position of the advanced moraines of Southern Polissya, concludes moving to the south and east of the glaciers  $L_3$  and  $L_4$  (Wollosowicz, 1924).

C. Gagel i J. Korn (Gagel, Korn, 1918) give the results of the study of the moraine material of the lower Quaternary period of Volyn, which is related to the second glaciation and is no different from the North Germanic. A detailed study of the moraine lithology allowed the authors to determine the area of material drift. The research carried out allowed the southern boundary of the last glaciation not directly north of the Warsaw-Bug line and south of the Bialystok-Niemen line, but much north-western or north of the Kholm-Kovel line.

J. Lilpop, after studying the flora of interglacial deposits  $L_3 / L_4$ , reproduced the nature of the change of climatic conditions at that time, made a conclusion about the 3 epoch of glaciation on the middle Pobuzhya (Lilpop, 1925; Lilpop, 1925. R. III; Lilpop, 1928).

R. Krygowski (Czyźewski, 1927, Krygowski, 1934) described the geological structure of glacial hills (kame) in the Pripyat basin, considered the role of melt glacier flows in relief formation processes in the Styr basin.

The study of loess. Among the few studies on the loess cover of Volyn-Podillya, the works of Yu. Polyansky and Yu.Tokarsky are especially attractive. It should be noted that the work on the study of loess is important, considering: a) their almost universal distribution in the territories described; b) the value for the stratigraphic division of the Pleistocene; c) debatable genesis and d) wide use for the production of bricks and tiles. Yu. Polyansky, a famous Ukrainian geologist, geomorphologist, archaeologist, worked in Podilsky Transnistria. His work "Podilsky etudes. Terraces, loess and morphology of the Galician Podillya on the Dniester" (the first part of the monograph "Podilsky etudes") was published in the publishing house Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1929 (Polańskyj, 1938). Being a supporter of the aeolian

hypothesis of the formation of loess, formulated by V.Obruchev and P.Tutkovsky, Yu.Polyansky shows the heterogeneity loess thickness and divides it into three horizons, which are equivalent to three separate glaciations: from below is older loess (Ryss), further are younger loess (Wurm I) and younger loess (Wurm II). These were new ideas about the Pleistocene Podillya stratigraphy.

In addition, Yu. Polyansky identified six uneven-aged river terraces in Podnistrovye: the first is the Holocene, without loess; the second is river alluvium passes into the younger loess (Wurm II); the third is river alluvium passes into the younger loess (Wurm I). The last three terraces lie above the ravines. The fourth is alluvium and loess of dubious age, erosion; the fifth is the alluvium passing in the older loess (Ryss), and the sixth is the river Pliocene alluvium of coverings by the older and younger loess. In the Pleistocene, on the Podillya, two tectonic movements took place, which resulted in two erosion cycles. In the first Pleistocene cycle (Pre-Ryss), relief forms formed above the first terrace. The second, Later Pleistocene orogenic cycle (Ryss-Wurm) determined the formation of young ravine relief forms below the fifth terrace. Yu.Polyansky his made conclusions on the basis of the study of the malacofauna, the remains of vertebrates and the labor tools of ancient people found in loess strata. The main postulates of his works (Polańskyj, 1927; Polańskyj, 1927. N. VII; Polańskyj, 1938; Polańskyj, 1932; Polańskyj, 1935) are relevant now.

The study of the mechanical, chemical and mineralogical composition of loess Lviv, Carpathians and Podillya by Yu. Tokarsky led him to conclude that the formation of loess strata (according to the Aeolian hypothesis) could occur due to the winding of dust first from the northwest, then from the west from the areas of glacial deposits of the continental glaciation. In the studied loess profiles, the author distinguishes four loose covers corresponding to four glaciations [Tokarski, 1935; Tokarski, 1936; Tokarski, 1936; Tokarski, 1936; R. 16; Tokarski, 1937].

S. Biskupski analyzed the petrographic composition of a loess profile from the precincts of Kremenets city. It has been established, in particular, that the relative size of grains (according to the diameter of quartz grains) of individual horizons of this profile is not the same; it shows two culminations. The first is well align with the first culmination of the size of the grains of loess Podillya the whole, the the second is somewhat different from the second Podilsk. In order to establish the marking of horizons in loess, for the first time for Podillya, the method of loess mineral separation in heavy liquids was used (Biskupski, 1937).

L. Sawicki, who studied the loess stratigraphy in Volyn (Rivne region) and Lviv region, concludes that the solifluction of the loess horizons of the "younger" loess in the precincts of Rivne and its subaerial character on Podillya (Sawicki, 1928; Sawicki, 1932; Sawicki, 1934).

In a small article (Gagel, 1924), C. Gagel compares Volyn's loess deposits with those in Germany. He notes that Volyn's loess, which contains 52–72% of "loess grains" with a size of 0.05–0.01 mm, is identical in physical and chemical properties to Germany's loess, but differs significantly from the chernozem regions of Russia. The bedding rock are represented by Senonsky chalk or intermediate loessoid sediments. There is a connection between the deposits of loess with the moraines located to the north.

It is worth mentioning the synthesis work of J.Semiradzki (Siemiradzki, 1924) "Glacial Epoch and Its Traces in Poland" (1929), in which it is noted that there were five glaciation periods in Central Europe, of which only the fourth reached the left bank of Pripyat River. The First Ice Age encompasses England, Northern France and Holland. The Second Ice Age encompasses (L<sub>2</sub>) all of northern Germany and Pomerania to the outfall of the Vistula River. The Third Ice Age (L<sub>3</sub>) covered the whole of Poland in Podillya. The Fourth Ice Age (L<sub>4</sub>) reached only the Malopolsk Upland and the left bank of the Pripyat River, and the Fifth Ice Age  $(L_5)$  did not reach beyond the Masurian lakefront.

D. Sobolev in 1926 published a well-grounded article "Polish-Ukrainian Periglacial Aeolian Formation", where it indicates, among other things, the "extreme to the south of the Malopolsk-Polissya belt of hilly moraine landscape is accompanied from the outside by a zone of boulder and sandr sands, which in many places represent real sandy deserts" (Sobolev, 1925). From the south, this zone is bounded by the loess area. Traces of mechanical weathering are observed in sandy and loess areas.

In the study period, there were also individual reports of researchers who considered alternatives to the then dominant aeolian hypothesis views on the ways of loess formation – deluvial, fluvioglacial, eolifluction and alluvial, as it can be seen, for example, from the works of L.Sawicki and others.

**Study of the relief and modern physiographic processes.** These problems in the interwar period devoted the greatest amount of works. At the same time, along with purely descriptive publications, works appear where conclusions are based on the use of cartographic materials, which allowed researchers to identify fundamental patterns in the morphological features of the region.

So, one of the earliest works can be considered the work of S. Rudnytsky, published in 1924 in Lviv, "Foundations of the Earth Science of Ukraine". "Physical Geography of Ukraine. Book of the First" (Rudnytskyj, 1924), in which two chapters are devoted to Podillya and Volyn. The author presents his own limits of the Podilsk Upland, which are interesting to quote with preservation of the original Ukrainian spelling of that time: "Західну границю Подільської височини творить широка долина р. Верешииі, вкрита багнистими сіножатями й залита великими ставами. Від полудня й полудневого сходу обмежує Подільську височину зразу широка, а потім дуже глибока й тісна долина ріки Дністра. Між течіями Дністра й Бога Поділля понижується і поза лінією Бендери-Ольвіопіль незамітно переходить у Чорноморську низовину. Від північного сходу й півночі можна покласти для Поділля границею ріку Бог, а далі вододіл поміж Дністром та Дніпром, з джерелами рік Горині, Ікви, Стира. Недалеко кіния цего вододілу починається відомий крутий північний беріг Поділля, що йде від Бродів дугою під Львів та відділює надбужанський низ від Поділля". The author describes Opillya and Podillya, which divides into three parts: western, middle and eastern. The boundary between the western and middle ("seredushha", according to the author) passes through Tovtry, and between the middle and eastern – along the valley of the Murafa River. The following is a general description of the surface of a region due to its geological structure. The main features of the region's geomorphology, characterized by S.Rudnytsky, have not been debated by researchers up to now, with some exceptions (for example, the statement about the coral genesis of Tovtry ridge). From the standpoint of the connection of the geological structure and morphology, an extensive description of Volyn is also interpreted. It should be noted that already in the mid-20s of the last century, S. Rudnytsky quite thoroughly, colorfully, poetically and mainly from a strictly scientific position made a generalized geological and geomorphological description of the territories of Volyn- Podillya, as well as of Ukraine as a whole.

At about the same time (in 1925) Ya. Chizhevsky, on the basis of the medium-scale maps of relative heights Opillya built by him, draws conclusions about the boundaries of the geomorphological regions of Podillya (Czyźewski, 1925). Thus, the border between Opillya and Podillya is clearly fixed by a strip of relative heights of 40–60 m wide about 4 km. East of the latter there is a slightly dissected plain (relative heights of less than 60 m), to the west of the value of relative heights they reach 100 m and more. The morphological node between the Roztochchya and the Hologory-Kremenets ridge are the mountains of Gom and Kamula. The relative heights here are 120–160 m, sometimes reaching 220 m. Pobuzha is limited to the Roztochchya and the Hologory-

Kremenets ridge. The western border of Opillya is well fixed by relative heights and passes south of Nikolaev. The absolute height of Western Transnistria hardly exceeds 300 m, the relative heights vary from 40 to 60 m. Eastern Transnistria combines a strip of plains with relative heights at the Dniester to 60-80 m and more. Small Opillya is characterized by a more intensely dissected relief. The relative heights here are 80-100and up to 120 m. Big Opillya is the most intensely dissected area. It is connected with the Hologory-Kremenets ridge by the headwaters of the Gnyla Lypa, and by the lower part of the Zolota Lypa it is connected with the Opillya of Nadnistriansky. Podilsk Opillya in the north is bounded by the Hologory-Kremenets ridge, in the south is bounded to the Big Opillya, and in the east is bounded actually by the Podillya. It is confined mainly to the headwaters of the Zolota Lypa (Czyźewski, 1925). Subsequent works of this author dealt with the analysis of the density of the river synodic on the Podillya (Czyźewski, 1927), and the history of the formation of the Dniester Valley within Opillya (near Zhuravny). Based on the study of river terraces and denudation levels, a conclusion was made about the time of the restructuring of the hydrographic synodic in anthropogen. The author notes that to the level of the 25-meter terrace, the Dniester flowed somewhat north of the current situation with the so-called "Novoselytsky podolom". The deviation of the river to the south is associated with the lowering of the territory of the Pre-Carpathian Trough to the west of this area. A 1: 100000 scale map has been added to the text (Czyźewski, 1928). In another work, jointly with A. Tsirgofer, Ya.Chizhevsky gives the morphological characteristic of the northern margin of Podillva, describes the Quaternary formations such as loess, fluvioglacial deposits, some karst phenomena and their influence on the formation of a hydrographic network. In particular, the morphological characteristics of the valley of the Ikva River are presented, conclusions about the time of the Quaternary formation of the territory are made. The authors note that the formation of the relief of the watershed of the Podillya and its northern margin took place in the Pliocene, and, possibly, at a later Quaternary time. This is evidenced by the distribution of loess deposits, covering both the upper and lower terraces. Materials on one of the tributary of the Styr River give the authors grounds to attribute the formation of this territory to the ice age. Cretaceous and Sarmatian sediments are prone to karst processes that have played a certain role in the formation of the modern relief of the Podillya northern side (Czyźewski, 1936).

The morphology of northern Podillya caused the interest of another researcher, namely A. Yan (1937). The author notes that one of the characteristic features of the Podillya northern ledge is the coincidence of its direction with the Main European watershed. The main relief forming factor of the territory is water. Considerable attention is paid to the processes of erosion, genesis of ravine, their connection with young tectonic movements; the characteristic of landslides and the reasons for their occurrence is given. The accumulative and denudation levels of the northern edge of Podillya are studied in detail, attention is focused on their paleogeographic sense, the main stages of the development of the territory is considered, this is fixed by accumulative and denudation terraced levels (Jahn, 1937).

A. Tsirhopher built a map of hypsographic curves on the chalk surface of the northern part of Podillya between Lviv and Kremenets. It has been established that under modern uplifts, the chalk cover rises, and decreases over the valleys. The relief of the modern surface is formed by Paleogene waters and tectonic movements in the early Paleogene. In the northern part of Podillya, the rivers of the northern basin of the Bug and Pripyat displace the tributaries of the Dniester from the general depressions in the chalk cover (Zierhoffer, 1926).

A. Abankur (1925–1926) described the longitudinal profiles of the Dniester and its left tributary – Seret, Strip, Koropts, Gnizna. Profile analysis showed the effect of deep geological structure on the shape of longitudinal river profiles. This allowed the

morphological method to depict the Podillya tectonics, which in general terms coincides with the constructions of V. Teiseire (Abancourt, 1925; Abancourt, 1927).

A. Cehak (1933) studied the deformations of the longitudinal profiles of Pokuttia and Podillya rivers. He singled out two types of longitudinal profiles of the Pokuttia rivers: simple (undisturbed) and profiles of slopes broken by faults. The nature of the profile line is determined by the relief of the territory and its geological structure. Rivers with concave and convex longitudinal profiles are distinguished. The first are characteristic for the right-hand tributaries of the Dniester on the territory of Opillya, the second are characteristic for its left-hand tributaries in Podillya. The work presents images and descriptions of some of the characteristic river profiles of individual areas of Pokuttia, as well as maps of deformations and the magnitude of the deviation of the heights of these river profiles from the calculated ones (Cehak, 1933).

The generalizing work of D. Sobolev (1933) is devoted to questions of the morphogenesis (in particular, of the Quaternary) of Ukraine, Western Polissya and Podillya. The author notes that during the Tertiary period, two well-marked tectonic cycles were observed in the North-Ukrainian basin. The first is Paleogene, marine; the second is Neogene, continental. By the end of the Miocene and in the Pliocene, Ukraine had a significant change in the geomorphological situation, that is, along with the rise of the platform, especially significant in the west, the sea began to regress. By the beginning of the anthropogenic, the geomorphological reorganization was basically completed. The development of surface forms, due to epeirogenesis, is mainly associated with repeated continental glaciation. Since the beginning of glaciation and after it in the Mindel-Ryss interglacial era due to the lowering of the continental massifs and the increase of the erosion base, erosion in the valley system has changed by accumulation. The author notes that it is not entirely known how the Mindel glacier approached Ukraine. He admits that the glacier was advancing from the north by the Upper Dnipro way. The approaching Ryss glacier in Ukraine apparently took place in two ways: from the west along the Polissya trough and from the north by a Dnieper lowering. Submorainic fluvioglacial sands of the Polissya Terrace and the submorainic freshwater loams of the main Middle Dnieper terrace are stratigraphic terraced equivalents. The author connected the hydrographic network of the Dnieper glaciation area and the periglacial zone with the Ryss glacier and its retreat stages (Sobolev, 1933).

Much attention in the period under review was paid to studies of modern physicogeographical processes, in particular, blatt flaws, karst, erosion, waterlogging and, accordingly, the forms of the relief formed by these processes.

Karst processes that are mainly associated with Torton (Baden) gypsums on Podillya, and in the Polissya with chalk deposits, were thoroughly researched by A. Malytsky (1938). According to the author, on the Pokutsk Podillya, which is the southern part of Podillya on the right bank of the Dniester, stands out among the tertiary sediments. The history of exploration and geological conditions of carstified territories is described. The structure of layered gypsum is characterized. It is noted that gypsum formations are characterized by horizontal and vertical fractures and cleavage cracks through which water circulates. As a result of the destructive effect of water, cracks turn into cavern and other karst forms. The description of the morphology and genesis of karst forms is made. It is noted that the karst of Pokutsk Podillya is at the primary stage stage of its development (Malicki, 1938). Another author's article (Malicki, 1937) describes doline as the main element of the karst landscape of Pokutsk Podillya.

Even earlier (1931), V. Nechai, on behalf of the Lviv State Committee for Nature Conservation and the Central Administration of the Podillya Tourist and Regional Studies Organization in Ternopil, investigated in detail gypsum caves in Kryvche in Ternopil region (Nechaj, 1931; Nechaj, 1933). According to the author, numerous gypsum caves are known in the vicinity of Zalishchyky and Borshchiv, the largest of them in the area of the village of Kryvche Verkhnee. The thickness of gypsum deposits here is about 35 m. Their stratigraphic confinement is Tertiary deposits. The author investigated a number of caves (grottoes) located both in the gypsum layer and in the lithothamnium limestone occurring above the gypsum. The caves are described with sufficient detail: their indicated hypsometric level, presents data on the shape and size, structure, cave formations etc. On the daylight surface there are doline. According to the author, caves in limestone and gypsum formed as a result of erosion and removal of material by atmospheric waters, penetrating deep into rocks through cleavage cracks. An important role in this process was played by the melting of the ice of the last glaciation. The presented plan of the caves and the proposed names of many halls. Shortly after the completion of these works, the Kryvche Cave was organized and open to tourists.

R. Flesharova (1933), describing the caves of Poland, characterizes the Podillya-Pokutsk and Volyn tectonic zones (Fleszarowa, 1933). E. Ryle, S. Pavlovsky and B. Krygovsky are explained by the karst processes of the origin of lakes, ravines, valleys in the west of Volyn Polissya (Krygowski, 1934; Pawlowski, 1930. T. VIII; Rühle, 1935).

The well-known Ukrainian-American geologist I.Olexyshyn studied the surface karst phenomena in Podillya (Oleksyshyn, 1938). He notes that karst phenomena on the Podillya are developed mainly within the distribution of gypsum and are divided into two groups: 1) "vikna" are dolines, constantly filled with water and 2) saucer-shaped depressions, which are filled with water during heavy rains or melt water, and also extensive lowering of the territory, these are "poplavy", often swamped, in which there are groups of dolines measuring 2–200 m in diameter. In addition, a decline is observed with many lakes, marshes and wet meadows. In the south of Podillya, where the thickness of gypsum reaches 40 m, karst phenomena are represented by caves, which are almost not distinguished in relief.

S. Malkovsky (Malkowski, 1930), who studied the Polissya marshiness, he concludes that it is caused by both general and local causes. The general character is due to the flat topography of the whole territory, the local one is due to the delay in the flow of surface water in some areas. In Polissya, drainless areas are located among the chains of dunes located parallel to the directions of most river valleys. This is of practical importance for solving problems of gradual amelioration regardless of river regulation.

In addition to the above characterized processes in the study period, there were also numerous publications of soil scientists, in which Quaternary sediments are considered as source rocks on which soils were formed, the dependence of the soil type on the lithology of the underlying rocks is established. The problems of the structure and genesis of the soils of Volyn and Podillya are, however, a separate subject of research and have not been considered in this article.

**Conclusions.** Even such a rather cursory consideration of the problems of geomorphological research and the study of the Quaternary deposits of Volyn- Podillya during the interwar period makes it possible to identify certain positive features of them, in particular:

- the appearance of works in which the first attempts are made to generalize and systematize the rich factual material accumulated by previous studies;
- application in the study of Quaternary sediments not only purely descriptive, visual methods, but also laboratory studies, spore-pollen analysis for the dismemberment of glacial deposits, chemical and mineralogical analysis of loess, etc.

- widespread use for stratigraphy of Quaternary paleontological remains and archaeological artifacts;
- use in the study of the relief of special geomorphological methods, cartographic material, etc.;
- an integrated approach to the study of glacial deposits and land relief forms.

The disadvantages of geological and geomorphological studies carried out during the interwar period should apparently be considered as their inconsistency and fragmentation, lack of systemicity in the study of individual territories, the dominance of the morphometric method, and a certain underestimation of lithological and biostratigraphic studies of newest continental deposits.

From the scientific results of this period can be identified:

- the appearance of the first fairly well-founded schemes of geomorphological zoning of the Podillya in general and of Opillya in particular;
- the establishment of a clear conditionality of the morphological features of the relief of the territory by the geological structure, the latest tectonic processes and the continental anthropogenic glaciation;
- thorough studies of loess deposits, in particular, Yu Polyansky, Yu. Tokarsky, S. Biskupsky and others. (dismemberment of loess strata, mechanical, chemical, mineralogical, petrographic composition, genesis);
- conclusions on the role of glacial deposits in the formation of the Volyn-Podillya relief, frequency and boundaries of individual glaciers, climatic conditions of interglacial eras;
- significant progress in the study of the morphology and genesis of surface and subsurface karst forms in the sulphate sediments of Podillya and Pokutsk, the appearance of cartographic schemes of individual caves, preparing them for tourist excursion use, etc.

It should be noted, however, that the complex of geological and geomorphological studies of Polish and Ukrainian scientists carried out during the interwar period laid a solid and reliable basis for modern concepts of stratigraphy, lithology, paleontology of Quaternary deposits, and features of the surface relief of the Volyn – Podillya region.

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# UKRAINIAN AND WORLD CULTURE, SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

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# PRE-MARITAL YOUTH TRAINING IN MODERN HISTORY: FOREIGN EXPERIENCE

**Summary.** The article analyzes the foreign experience of preparing pupils for family life. The emphasis is on three of its components – pre-marital training, sexual education and the formation of conscious paternity. Particular attention is paid to the analysis of each of these components in the leading countries of the world – the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, and Japan. Recommendations on the use of foreign experience in the practice of preparing pupils for family life in independent Ukraine are given.

Keywords: sexuality, foreign countries, pre-marital training, curricula, family culture, resources management, gender socialization, multidisciplinary.

# ДОШЛЮБНА ПІДГОТОВКА МОЛОДІ У НОВІТНІЙ ІСТОРІЇ: ЗАРУБІЖНИЙ ДОСВІД

Анотація. У статті аналізується зарубіжний досвід дошлюбної підготовки школярів. Акцент зроблено на трьох її основних компонентах – дошлюбній підготовці, статевому вихованні та формуванні усвідомленого батьківства. Особлива увага приділяється аналізу кожного з цих компонентів у провідних країнах світу – США, Великій Британії, Франції, Німеччині, Швеції і Японії. Вироблено рекомендації з використання зарубіжного досвіду в практиці підготовки учнівської молоді до сімейного життя в незалежній Україні.

**Ключові слова:** сексуальність, зарубіжні країни, дошлюбна підготовка, навчальні програми, сімейна культура, менеджмент ресурсів, статева соціалізація, мультидисциплінарність.

he twentieth century, in many of its characteristics, can be called a confused age. This is the age of revolutions, wars, social upheavals, scientific inventions, informatization, and so on. This is the period of the most serious tests for the institute of marriage. In the world, there is a global process of changing and breaking of the traditional system of relations between the genders. Relations between men and women in all the spheres of social and personal life are becoming more democratic and equal, and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity are less polar than before.

Unfortunately, in Ukraine, the problem of youth preparation for family life is in its emerging stage. Neither in the family nor in the school there is systematic work on the formation of a future familyman, while in the world's leading countries this issue is being solved more effectively. Therefore, the article was aimed at studying the foreign experience of pre-marital preparation of the school youth in the modern history.

Assessing the history of pre-marital education of the school youth in the leading countries of the world in general and in Western Europe in particular, several long major periods can be distinguished in it. The first of them covers the period from the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the 1920s. This period is characterized by disputes about the goals and content of schoolchildren training for family life and their sexual education, the formation of sexual pedagogy, the first experiments of introduction of special courses in schools, especially in the countries of Northern Europe. However, at this stage, for most research educators one-sided approach was common, often placing the main emphasis on the sexual aspects of premarital training. In this plan, two opposing methodological approaches were distinguished. Within one of them, it was suggested that sexuality should be considered as a self-value, outside of its connection with marriage and childbirth, whereas within the limits of the second sexuality and its manifestations were considered exclusively in connection with the purpose of creating a family and childbirth.

The second period in the history of premarital education of pupils starts from the end of the 1920s. At this time, sexual education becomes a matter of civil organizations. For example, in Germany, premarital and sexual education programs for young people were organized by both Communists and supporters of National Socialism. Both of them used the youth's need for information on family creation, the formation of family values, and preservation of reproductive and sexual health for their political ends. The main point of attacks of public and government organizations in the world countries was directed against prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases, discrimination in society by sex, abortion, divorce, etc. As for school curricula, there were no significant innovations in the preparation of schoolchildren for marriage. However, in some Nordic countries, in particular in Scandinavia, lessons of sexual education were conducted. And in the Ukrainian schools in the graduation classes in the 1920s the course was titled "ABC of Motherhood".

The third period of the history of premarital education takes its countdown after the Second World War. The second sexual revolution that spread throughout the West in the 60–70 years of the XX century has had a significant impact on the development of marriage-family and sexual relations, and therefore on premarital education of young people. Educated young people did not perceive the existing values that their parents followed, which influenced the perception of the traditional model of family and interpersonal relationships. The new generation of intellectuals considered the marriage to be a boring, archaic institution, striving only for sexual entertainment without responsibility, which the family requires. The old morality, which reduced sexual relations to marriage, was viewed by many liberally-minded Americans and Europeans not only as obsolete but also inaccurate. The feminist movement, the decrease in the birth rate, the liberalization of sexual morals, the reduction of the controlling role of the family, the reduction of the role of religious prohibitions, the reduction of fear of unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases contributed to the intensification of sexual activity of women, the emancipation of female sexuality. In fact, most of the changes in marital-family, primarily sexual relations, have affected women in the first place.

The propaganda of the values of the "sexual revolution" has led to the separation of young people from the traditional wisdom and culture of mankind, from the experience of adults, giving them the opportunity to learn from their own bitter experience, pain and mistakes. The rules of sexual morality are changing, social control of premarital behavior of young people is weakened giving young people the opportunity to independently determine the feasibility of entering into premarital sexual relations; expectations and demands of boys and girls grow not only to each other, but also to family life, its sexual component etc. The consequences of the sexual revolution of this period determined the need for foreign researchers to seriously analyze the state of sexual of teenagers in the 80's.

However, very quickly people realized that everything was not so simple. Random sexual contacts can have very unpleasant consequences: sexually transmitted diseases, AIDS, unwanted pregnancies, increased rape rates, frustration, etc. All this forced the educational community of Western European countries to look at the problem of preparing the pupils for family life in a new way. As a matter of fact, the greatest emphasis in recent decades was again made to improve the content and technologies of sexual socialization of youth.

The analysis of some normative documents on the state of sexual morals and familiarity with English pedagogical literature shows that in the United Kingdom there is no single curriculum and program for premarital education and sexual education. However, the desire of the society to lay the basis for the concept of the development of premarital education and sexual education programs is a key idea that they should be implemented in schools, and that the issue is about the type of personality that the school forms, the comprehensive development of students of different sexes, and full-fledged realization in the future of their opportunities in family and social life.

Despite the differences in culture and political and economic systems, many countries in the world have come up with the idea of the need to prepare students for family life through a school education system. In general, we came to the conclusion that in the late XX – early XXI century there was a transition from a classical model limited to sexual education, to a broad version of preparation for marriage and marital life. We noted such trends in virtually all the countries. Despite the different forms, methods and means of preparing a future family person, the content of relevant programs in these countries is similar in their direction: sexual education – in the younger classes and preparation for family life – in the elderly.

Preparation of the school youth for family life in the leading countries of the world usually includes three components: pre-marital training, sexual education and the formation of conscious paternity. Analyzing the first component, it is worth noting that pre-marital training in most of the pedagogical systems we have reviewed (USA, UK, Germany, France, etc.) is conducted in secondary schools through developed state or regional programs.

The main purpose of such programs is to acquire the complex of theoretical knowledge about marriage and intimate relationships with the subsequent formation of practical skills and skills of their application (Family Relations, 2004). The content of work in this direction is defined as the development of skills for building successful relationships: the formation of an effective communicative system; mastering non-standard means of resolving conflict situations; raising a sense of loyalty, a desire to care and promote the individual development of a partner; the improvement of the ability to frankly express their own emotions and thoughts, reasonably defend a personal opinion without provoking conflicts, etc.

Among the most famous and effective programs of premarital education are the following: "The Art of Loving Well", "Connections: Relationships and Marriage", "Building Relationships", "The Marriage – 101" – in the United States of America; "Sexual education and adaptation to life in interpersonal relationships", "Living

together" – in Sweden; "Preparation for family life" – in Japan; "Education for family life" – in Poland; etc.

There are curricula based on the best examples of world literature that shape the behavior of students through the imitation of actions of literary heroes, and programs aimed at developing the necessary practical skills and family life skills in the future. For example, in the United States, the course "Art to Love" gives an anthology of 40 literary works that are differentiated according to the three themes of the course: first love and disappointment; romantic relationships; devotion and marriage. Reading of literary works is accompanied by a discussion of reading, writing tasks, role plays, drawing and musical improvisations, which stimulates interest in new knowledge and increases the level of their learning.

When implementing another program ("Building Relationships"), the family biography method is used successfully: students study the family from which they originate, and make up their biography. By integrating the method of family biography into the content of the course, American educators substantiate the decisive influence of the dynamism and cohesion of the family members from whom we come, on the projection of our future family life (Family Relations, 2004).

In the course of acquaintance, for example, with the American experience of preparing students for family life, we were able to identify the basic laws that could become important benchmarks for the formation of the native concept of premarital education for students of general school:

- poly-vector of the system of youth preparation for family life;

- three-step system of formation of readiness for family life;

- personal orientation of training;
- taking into account the needs, interests and expectations of schoolchildren;
- democratic way of presentation of new educational material;
- implementation of project technology training and education.

Analysis of the programs allowed highlighting the legal aspect of premarital preparation of schoolchildren, which provides for the definition of the legal status of the family and the mastering of the basis of marital and family law (legal registration of marriage, divorce, adoption, protection of children and their rights). The practical aspect of the content component forms the ability of students to reasonably defend their own legal rights and rights of family members, to fulfill the obligations declared by the legal acts of a citizen and a family man. The teacher reveals the specifics of state regulation of the family institution (taxation, social insurance, economic support) and the value of civil rights, emphasizes the issue of legal protection of family members, which collectively educates the students to respect the letter of the law, analyzes the specifics of the drawing up of a marriage contract, grounds for divorce, responsibilities for the maintenance of children, adoption and protection against domestic violence.

Much attention in the preparation of a future family man in many countries is devoted to the formation of family aesthetic culture. For example, French mothers do not hesitate to make their children a comment about the bad taste and sluggishness in their clothes. The French generally have a special sense of taste, the predominance of aesthetic over material. If it comes to the plate – it should look beautiful. The French are well dressed, appreciate politeness.

An important component of American, German, French and other concepts of vouth training in family life – ethical training – characterizes social behavior of a person. Students study the processes of values formation and their diversity in modern society, the main ideologies and social consequences of life choices, the ethics of professional activity and ethical principles as a kind of values that direct human behavior. In Great Britain, for example, considerable attention is paid to the formation of the genealogical culture of schoolchildren. Practically every British family is cultivated with an interest in its own pedigree; make a genealogical tree of a particular family, respect the

traditions and family history cultivation. In the ordinary British family, children learn to identify the hierarchy of family priorities.

Considerable attention is paid to the economic aspects of the premarital education of the foreign youth. In Japan, the subject "Preparation for family life" has already been introduced in elementary school and its task is to inculcate children with knowledge and skills necessary for every day family life. To this end: 1) children acquire knowledge and skills related to the care of clothes, apartments and household maintenance; 2) developing the ability to solve problems of everyday life, forming the desire and ability to live in a good, calm mood.

Thanks to the "American Principles of Food Preparation", students learn about the production and basic types of food, form the skills of optimal selection and storage of food, learn basic cooking techniques and get acquainted with recipes and dishes. The "Interior Design Technology" course is a peculiar basis for the formation and development of homemaking skills for students, the study of the basic principles and stages of the interior design, the development of the ability to select furniture, equipment, accessories and lighting system, carrying out of financial calculations of the cost of realization of design projects and forming of aesthetic tastes of schoolchildren. By choosing "Principles of Clothing Construction", boys and girls study the characteristics of different types of fabric, familiarize themselves with the principles of their use, differentiate different types of materials by their cost and care, and learn to choose material that as much as possible satisfies their requirements, forms skills of working with a sewing machine and master the basic principles of cutting and sewing. (Family Relations, 2001).

German educators pay a lot of attention to the problem of domestic economy, as part of the premarital preparation of schoolchildren. Unlike the Ukrainian school, which currently holds the subject of "Serving work" for girls, in Germany it is either about introducing to certain legal limits of the home responsibilities of adults of both sexes, or the introduction of a school subject that would prepare boys for a successful household activity, focused in the future on the effective involvement of men in family and home duties. According to M. Gorskamper, the best way is to introduce into the school the appropriate compulsory discipline (Ethik und Socialwissenschaften, 1996). In separate schools in Germany, both boys and girls study the subject "Household", which covers all spheres of everyday life: craft (cleaning, apartment furnishings, sewing, repair work, etc.), organizational (organization of holidays, shopping planning, financial budget, time allocation), psychological (care for the younger and older). At the lessons of "Life Science" the students fill in a household passport. In small groups, schoolboys and schoolgirls learn to cook, clean, make lists of product purchases, craftsmanship, sewing, knitting, repairing clothes, etc.

The absence of analogues in Ukrainian practice generates a significant interest in such a component of the foreign system of preparation for family life as family resource management. In the same course of study, US students, for example, study the main types of resources, explore the process of their accumulation, storage and use for basic human needs in clothing, food and dwelling; classify life goals and expectations as determinants of human behavior; get acquainted with the basics of financial planning and the economy of the family, revealing the concept of family income and budget, individual resources and their development by choosing a career, the impact of social and economic factors on the accumulation, distribution and use of family resources, balancing between professional activities and families (Family Relations, 2003). British schoolchildren form the skills to identify short-term and long-term goals, optimal time allocation for work, study and rest, rational use of personal resources, and identification of individual career perspectives. They form the conviction of the need to enrich the culture of rest and respect for the right to independence and the inviolability of personal property or resources.

In French pedagogy, the special attention of educational institutions is given to the formation of financial culture for children, which is necessary for the future family person. A child usually has his/her own box into which he or she puts money, this is the beginning of the formation of the financial culture of a future family person – the children spend their pocket money autonomously, buy their own school supplies independently, and so on. Parents in their education use monetary rewards as an incentive for the activity. French parents give more independence to their children, but at the same time they do not cease to fully control them. Usually French children cannot open the refrigerator when they want, to keep a house in the absence of parents, especially to organize the party without their permission. French parents are shocked by the freedom of children in the United States or in England. All of the above promotes accelerated socialization of children, they become adults early.

Today, in the United Kingdom, there is an active debate on the content and methods of sexual education in schools. Often the question arises whether it is needed at all. And here, as in other countries, the public and specialists were divided into two opposing camps: supporters and adversaries, and among the first two further directions on where it should be carried out: at school or in the family. Preparation of British schoolchildren for family life includes familiarizing them with the educational process with the duties of the family man and the rules of behavior, ethical norms and requirements. Information on the family, marriage, sexual intercourse of young people is included in the curricula, in the content of vocational work of the school.

Our research has revealed the specific features of the system of preparation for family life in foreign countries. First of all, it should be noted that there is no training program containing all the above-mentioned content components. Instead, in a variety of countries and even in different regions simultaneously functions a broad spectrum of educational programs, characterized by their goals, methods of reporting information and orientation to a specific audience of participants. No foreign curriculum for preparation for family life is mandatory. All of them are offered to choose among other school subjects. (Stanley, Markman, 2002).

The second most important component of preparing students for family life in modern foreign experience is sexual education, the main purpose of which is the formation of theoretical knowledge on the anatomy and physiology of the human body and its reproductive system (students study the main aspects of sexuality and sexual orientation, contraception and abortion, pregnancy, child birth, paternity, sexual violence, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases); raising a sense of responsibility in sexual intercourse through the promotion of contraceptive use and the rejection of casual sex, responsible attitude to the health of others; belief in school and the danger of early sexual intercourse, inadmissibility of irresponsibility and frivolity in relationships with representatives of the opposite sex; the ability to differentiate the concept of permitted and prohibited in sexual intercourse; Adequate perception of adulthood, its contents, reliable signs, manifestations and qualities. In many European countries (the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Finland), it is sexual education that is at the heart of young people's preparation for family life.

In the mistakes of sexual socialization, American, British, German and French researchers see the origin of many of the problems faced by modern European countries, namely the violation of the equality of men and women in the social and family spheres, the instability of the family, the disharmonious development of family relationships, as well as those, associated with sexual upbringing of children and youth (high rates of sexually transmitted diseases, abortions among the most reproductive age group of young people, cases of abandonment of newborns and children, neglect of parental responsibilities, crimes committed sexual ground, etc.).

The most interesting discussions about the content and forms of sexual education are in the United States. One can identify the main areas of sexual education in American pedagogy – conservative and liberal. Programs of the conservative education, based on the promotion of sexual abstention prior to marriage, are oriented towards the formation of moral relations between adolescents of different sexes. They are united under the single title Title X ("Postpone sex", "How to reduce risk", "Skills for life", "Be proud! Be responsible!", "Know the truth about AIDS"). Their introduction undoubtedly yielded results, but getting acquainted with them showed that there was a lot of false, distorted information, incorrect recommendations, "horror stories": abortions lead to suicides or infertility; half of homosexuals carry HIV infection; condoms do not prevent HIV in 30% of cases; touching the genital can lead to pregnancy; HIV can be transmitted through sweat and tears, and so on. That is, it can be stated that such programs largely misinformed the youth, giving mostly unscientific knowledge about sexual life

However, some experts in the United States suggested using the orientation of sexual education for keeping in conjunction with the pro-contraceptive approach, arguing that since today's schoolchildren receive the same variety of sexual information through the media, from peers, teaching contraception does not hurt those who are abstaining from sexual relationships, but will help sexually active. Therefore, school sexual education should help schoolchildren to cope with this sexual attack by providing them with information and guidance that is relevant to their age-related development. Moreover, it has been experimentally proved that programs that not only called on adolescents not to hurry with the onset of sexual activity, but also taught them the rules of safe sex, are much more effective than those who promoted only sexual abstention.

The liberal approach is characterized by discussion of the medical and hygienic aspects of sexual education, such as the causes of sexually transmitted diseases, male and female reproductive organs, pregnancy prevention, and the harmfulness of abortions. Due to such biological problems, the material on contraception is introduced and the main strategy of the program is the formation of the skills of compulsory use of contraceptives and the liberal attitude of students to the sexual behavior of other people. Programs of the liberal approach are titled Title V ("Respect for the opposite sex", "The Way to Success", "Choose Better", "Love and Life", etc.).

For this viewpoint, an approach based on the upbringing of a character that is healthier not only because it helps to reduce sexual activity, but also attempts to raise personal and social responsibility and gives young people a chance to see the impact that their attitude to sexuality has on other people's lives.

The most famous of these programs is a program called "Face to Face with Reality", where the main emphasis is on developing the ability to control sexual desire, strengthening the belief that controlling sexual desire is possible, belief that the preservation of sexuality for marriage is a moral value. Another "Best Friends" program showed a significant success in reducing the rates of sexual activity among girls in schools where the program was taught – among the 600 girls aged 13–18, only 1% became pregnant, compared with 25% of those who became pregnant on average in the country.

Programs character formation, or as they are also called "programs of comprehensive sexual education" emphasized on the need to identify and determine the sexual values of a young person. They were based on a positive attitude towards sexual behavior, balanced information on potential dangers and the harmful effects of this behavior, on the idea that young people should live in harmony with their sexuality. From the foregoing, one can conclude that the key issue for American educators today is to determine the relation between the study of sexuality issues and the idea of learning to abstain from premarital sexual intercourse. We think that this issue remains unresolved for Ukrainian pedagogy.

The vast majority of foreign educators believe that a program of sexual education can be considered successful if it has one or more of the following results: delay in the moment of sexual activity; reduce the number of unprotected sex; development of contraceptive use skills. Sexual socialization can only be successful if gender issues are considered and discussed openly as a positive, integrative part of health.

A distinctive feature of the French model of the follow-up of sexual maturation and psychosexual development of children and adolescents was the rejection of the medication of sexuality. The term "sexual education" and "sexual education", disappeared from the program and a new one appeared – "education of sexuality" (L'éducation a la sexualité). The education of sexuality is to provide students with the opportunity to learn and understand different aspects of sexuality in general and their own sexuality. Sexual informing and upbringing of sexuality spreads both in younger and senior school (lyceum, college) in the form of at least three annual courses. In elementary school they are carried out by a teacher within the general school subjects, and in colleges and lyceums by invited specialists.

Despite the traditionally high eroticism of French culture, with school sexual education France was very late, from conversations to the case it passed only under the influence of the HIV epidemic. By the beginning of the 21st century, beginning with the junior grades, pupils studied the subject "Sex education", which introduced to the children of 6–7 years old the process of fertilization, pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding. Thorough, from our point of view, were subject book "Encyclopedia of Sexual Life" for children of 6–9, 9–12, 12–15 years old. The publication caused enthusiastic feedback from scientists and the press.

In the textbook for students aged 12–15 years, the structure of the male and female body is described in great detail. The fertilization process is given at the level of modern genetics, and in this very detail, as for this age, the physiology of sexual intercourse is described. In chapters devoted to the hygiene of sexes, too frankly is written about homosexuality and sexual deviation. In subsequent years, in France appeared other specially designed popular editions for schoolchildren, in which it is not only about childbirth but also about "sexual pleasures". This caused a public protest, and the book and the subject itself were removed from school curricula.

The program guideline compiled by leading French experts lists the main topics that should be discussed: "Human Sexuality", "Law and Sexuality", "Sexual Maturation", "Sexual Identity, Roles and Role Stereotypes", "Contraception and Desire of the Child2, "Prevention of sexually transmitted diseases", "Money and Sexuality", etc. The feature of the modern French model is that the education of sexuality is not a separate subject, but passes through all disciplines, including literature, sociology, history and law.

It is worth noting that gradually French pedagogy from a sexual dominant in the preparation of a future family person goes to a more balanced comprehensive premarital education, starting with preschool age. An important feature of the current school sexology course is its unambiguous orientation towards family lifestyle.

Programs of sexual education in elementary school (5-12 years) of the British school provide for familiarization of children with human emotions, feelings, motivation and behavior in the field of family relationships. Sex questions, reproduction are studied first in the section "Human", and later – in the sections "Plants", "Amphibians", "Mammals". At the end of the twentieth century a number of educators in England made demands to include in the curricula of elementary school information about conception, intrauterine development of the child and childbirth. Particular emphasis was placed on the need to present the material in a special language – using scientific terms. In the programs for sexual education for pupils of the III grade of the British school, the following sections are listed: "Nature, life and gender", "How the organism lives and develops", "The Secret of the reproduction of a person", "Maturation", etc. In class newspaper articles are read and discussed, including sensational titles: "The boy became a father", "A woman turned into a man", and so on.

Studying the conducting of the sex education of schoolchildren in the UK, P. Meredith highlights the principles, the observance of which is mandatory: all information received by children about sex should be given exclusively in the context of marriage and family; teachers should not teach, discuss, and introduce pupils the printed materials that are unlawful and unnatural in sexual practices; things that are obscene in the eyes of the public cannot be used as visual material; street terminology should not be used on lessons, the language of the teacher should correspond to the language of science; discussions, training and instructions on the use of contraceptives should take place in the context of family and marriage; any pornographic and obscene books and other printed publications, films, slides and videotapes should be excluded from the study (Meredith, 1989).

In the German Federal Republic, the subject Sexualkundeunterricht – lessons of sexual education – has been introduced in many lands. It is believed that at home parents are ashamed or afraid to talk about sex, so in schools were initiated conversations on sexual education and it is considered to be important in the development of children. In the 4th grade on the lessons of sexual education are revealed such topics as: Body, its functions, health. Gender differences and functions. Pregnancy and childbirth. Friendship. Love, its perception and expression. Once own sexual needs, as well as the needs of others. Prevention of sexual violence. Cultural differences in the perception of the topic of sexual intercourse.

From the 7th grade, the lessons are even more free and subjects (e.g. phallus, condoms), films, tests, reading on this subject go to the course. And the following topics are discussed: Love and sexual intercourse. Sexual orientation (affiliation test). Reproductive system of the organism (male and female). Women's cycle. Menstruation. Conception and pregnancy. Embryo, fetus and childbirth. Features of contraception. Sexually transmitted diseases.

Educational subjects (literature, history, biology, physical education, labor training, etc.) play an important role in the realization of the basic tasks of sexual education at the German school. For example, in the guidelines for sexual education and curricula for general education in schools and gymnasiums of all the lands of the Federal Republic of Germany there are specific tasks of sexual education. At the lessons of biology in high school in Saxony, pupils expand their knowledge of reproduction and sexuality of a person, get acquainted with important phases of human embryonic development, and realize the responsibility of parents towards an unborn child ("Structure and functions of male and female genital organs", "External and internal genital organs", "Menstrual cycle of a woman and its hormonal disorders", "Sexual maturity", "Conception, pregnancy, childbirth", "Prevention of pregnancy and abortion", "AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases", "Love and Marriage", "Sexual Relations"). At the same time, they develop a positive, responsible image of friendship, partnership, gender roles, etc. A similar situation exists in other lands of Germany.

The worked out documentary materials allow us to distinguish the principle of multidisciplinary in sexual education. It is in the fact that this education should be carried out not only when indicated in the curriculum, but in all classes and in all places of school life, planned and out of the plan, consciously and unconsciously. The questions of sexuality, partnership, relationship of the genders, distribution of roles between them, love can arise in connection with various educational themes. For example, on the literature lesson a topic for discussing can become the expressions of consolation in the interpretation of the poem, on the class of physical culture – the question of coexistence of body and courage, on the lesson of country studies – the

question of the expediency or inexpediency of the law on birth control, and on labor education – the question of the social division of labor between the sexes.

Many modern German educators, as well as directives from most of the lands of the Federal Republic of Germany recommend the separation of boys and girls during the study of specific topics. This is especially true for such topics as "Intimate Hygiene" and "Sexual Violence" (Etschenberg, Karla, 1994). It should be noted that in German schools, during the studying of certain topics, meetings with independent speakers are often practiced. They can be experts from different institutions or even parents who are being interviewed about certain problems of sexual intercourse.

The program of sexual education and premarital training in Sweden was called "Live together". Education on sexuality, reproduction and contraception is carried out in stages and adjusted to the age and stage of pupils' development. Biological, social, emotional and ethical aspects of sexuality logically fit into such school subjects as biology, religion, and social sciences. The subject "Sex education" is taught throughout the course of study. Teachers of this subject are united in the brigades. They are assisted by representatives of public organizations, physicians of family planning centers and school nurses. Sexual education in Sweden is a dialogue. But this does not exclude the use of numerous teaching aids, dummies.

The Swedish Sex Education Program "Sexual Education and Adaptation to Life in Interpersonal Relations" at the beginning of the 21st century is fundamentally different from previous programs, where sexual relations were seen as possible only under legal marriage. There is a rejection of true moral and sexual upbringing, which implies the spiritual preparation of adolescents for love, which, in turn, is the upbringing of intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, moral wealth, of what the complex world of people is expressed: the beauty of thoughts and feelings, inspiration, joy of communication with other people. The prior information emphasis was replaced by educational, the formation of high morality and "non-objectification" attitude towards the partner. Representatives of the Church (Swedish-dominated Lutheranism) have been involved in the upbringing and conduct of classes, and have greatly improved and expanded the use of modern educational means (cinema, television, etc.). Sexuality in Swedish pedagogy is recognized as having an independent value, not only in connection with marriage and childbirth. Adolescent sexuality is also considered normal. Sexual debut is a personal decision of everyone. Another thing is to avoid undesirable consequences and risks, including reproductive and epidemiological ones. Education is based on the principles of safe and responsible sex. Homosexual love is considered normal in Sweden, the country is fighting not with homosexuality, but with homophobia, including – in school environment.

Sexual education in Finland is built into the system of "education for health" and is mandatory. Early sexual education begins in kindergarten and the first six grades of the school (children from 7 to 12 years old). Each school has its own program. The course provides knowledge not only of health, but also of the physical, psychological and social development of adolescents, helping students better understand communication, human relationships, responsibility and care for each other. The seven-grade pupils receive knowledge about genitals and their functions, menstruation, ejaculation, puberty and communication skills. In the eighth grade, students learn about contraception, abortion, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV, sexual intercourse, first coitus, masturbation, dating, gender and sexual minorities, sexual dictionary, sources of sexual knowledge, media sex, sexual rights, sexual harassment and relevant legislation. The most important difference between the Finnish teachers and their American and many European colleagues is the lack of special care about sexual content.

The most liberal model of sexual education is accepted in Denmark, where sexuality is perceived as an important vital value. After the sexual revolution of the

1960s, the country recognized the right of freedom of sexual orientation and began implementing sex education programs at schools. Attendance of such lessons is obligatory, and if they are resisted by conservative parents, they are called to the director. Today in this country, the level of teenage pregnancies is the lowest in Europe.

There is no special lesson in the Danish school that tells about sex-related problems, instead they use an interdisciplinary approach. At different lessons, children are told about how their body changes during hormonal reorganization, about the biological aspects of sex and that it should always be voluntary. In junior classes the pupils are explained that their body cannot be affected without their desire, older children are told how to prevent pregnancy and distribute condoms so that they can try them on at home.

The typical feature of the Dutch model is that young people are not said how and what to do, but they are rather encouraged to think in advance what he / she wants, and develop the necessary communication skills and the preservation of personal boundaries. The focus is on interpersonal relationships. One of the cross-cutting topics of the Netherlands model of sexual education is safe sex, which involves knowledge of contraception and ways of prevention sexually transmitted diseases. The main . "Pill suggestions in this area are: "Birth planning – better protection from pregnancy" does not protect you from STDs" and "Condom – the best protection against STDs". These three preconditions are combined into a general formula, which is sometimes called the "double Dutch method": if you want to have sex, use both a pill and a condom. The leading motive of this section is responsibility, and this requirement is addressed to both girls and to boys. An interesting experience is accumulated in foreign countries and in the issues of the formation of conscious paternity – the third component of the training of pupils for family life. In the most developed and adopted by all British schools the curriculum "Preparation of high school pupils for paternity", the formation of future parents has become an integral part of the school curriculum. It is worth mentioning the mobility of school programs of paternity. If programs of the end of XX century were somewhat idealized and stereotyped, today they are more realistic, meet the requirements of time. At the end of the 20-th – at the beginning of the 21-st century there were transformational changes associated with the democratization of society, the activation of the professional role of women.

Ukrainian researcher N.Levchyk gave a detailed description of the two programs offered by the leading experts for their implementation. One of them – "Parenting Skills", sponsored by the consultants and teachers of the subjects "Home Economics" and "Child Development" by Angela Goodwin and Jenny Patrick, is based on thematic areas. Its purpose is to acquire by students theoretical knowledge, the development of the practical skills and abilities necessary for the successful implementation of parental roles in a modern multicultural society (Levchyk, 2009).

The topics of the first two classes "Parental Relations and Roles", "Choosing a Marriage Partner" are devoted to the moral and psychological preparation of students to the creation of a family and to parental relationships, the right choice of marital partner, the awareness of the students of the value of paternity and the uniqueness of the implementation of parental responsibility, and as well as the study of mutual obligations on the readiness of both young people to become married, to reveal real views on parenthood in boys and girls. At the "Parenting Planning" and "The Behavior of a Couple Before Childbirth" classes, the teacher encourages students to consider the whole range of problems that arise in connection with the decision making by the spouses to be father and mother, indicating the attitude towards the child as the highest value in life of parents and society, introduces students to the repertoire of parental roles and responsibilities in the young family, difficulties in their performance.

The purpose of "Caring for a newborn child" and "Peculiarities of Parents' Care for Kids" is to show students the importance of formal and informal caring for a child and

mother after childbirth and justifying the necessary list of duties. They introduce to the students marital and parental values, the functions of single-parent and large families, their benefits and disadvantages, as well as stimulate discussion about the manifestation of feelings, the rising up the feeling of empathy in boys and girls to mother and child. At the lesson "How much does a baby cost?" the financial aspect of expenses related to the appearance of a child in the family is investigated. The lesson "Educate in the game" is devoted to a game form of development, influence of the game and toys on children's development.

Preparation of pupils for the performance of parental functions is also in the schools of Germany. This problem was investigated by I. Grechin in her PhD work (Hrechyn, 2012). She analyzes the federal program "Time for reflection about children" ("Babybedenzeit"). In this project, girls and boys have the opportunity to live four days with a plausible "baby simulator", which is programmed for round-the-clock care. Teachers who have undergone an advanced training course in this area are accompanied by a project aimed at preventing unwanted pregnancies, adolescents' awareness of their daily parental responsibilities, preventing harsh attitude towards children, training parenting skills and disseminating information about safe and conscious treatment of contraceptives, development of reflection on future family planning. In addition, this curriculum includes children's health, life safety, parenting styles. The developed "baby simulator" allows students to live close to the reality of everyday life, as with a real child. Its needs are identical to the needs of a real infant. In this case, it's about plausibly designed dolls who want to be fed, swaddled and calmed down, they can scold, cough or tear off. The "Baby Simulator" is great for working with adolescents and enabling a holistic experience, thus influencing parenting through their own experience. Along with the usual "baby" (which may have different skin colors), there is also a child with the consequences of parents' addiction and a model with the consequences of alcohol defects. The target group is 13-18 year-old adolescents and youth (Babys sind).

The curriculum of the program includes the following topics: life planning, parental responsibility, baby care, child health, life safety, parenting styles and parenting attitude to the child's life. The main objectives of the program are to familiarize adolescents with the needs of parents and children, various aspects of pregnancy, birth, peculiarities of child upbringing, parental sense of responsibility, relationship with alcohol and drugs during pregnancy, the whole range of services (organization and assistance), practical child care support (Yavorska, 2007: 159). Students of both sexes in some schools are offered volunteering in kindergartens. Teachers help students to acquire various practical skills, such as: making toys for kindergartens.

Thus, the preparation of school youth for family life and sexual education in different countries begins at different times. In the UK, Denmark, Germany, France, Sweden and Japan, they are usually run from preschool. Mandatory sex education includes primary and upper grades in a number of countries (the USA, Germany, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Sweden), and in some cases only begins at the 2nd-grade school (Japan, China). Moreover, the discussion of problems appears both in schools with a common, and in schools with separate education of boys and girls (France).

Today there is no single unified model for preparing young people for marital life. We managed to identify the following main types of future family person preparation:

Type I. Pre-marital education, reduced to sexual education in the narrow sense of the word, is based largely on the Swedish model of the 1960s, which meant exclusively the preparation for sexual intercourse both in and out of marriage. Sexual life is considered autonomously, in isolation from marital life and family. The main goal – the teaching of effective ways of sexual art, prevention of pregnancy, physiological aspects of sexual life, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, etc.

Type II. Preparing for interpersonal relationships between genders is a humanized version of traditional sexual education that provided information on humane sex, taking into account differences in the psycho-sexuality of sexes, about love as a feeling that fills sexual experiences with humanistic content (Denmark, Finland, and Sweden).

Type III. Preparation for marriage and marital life is typical for the United States and Eastern European countries (Czech Republic, Poland, Belorussia), as well as for Latin culture countries (Portugal, Italy). In this model sexual education is combined with the preparation for the implementation of marital roles; it is considered an integral part of the preparation for an adult merger. Matrimonial and family life is interpreted much wider than the sexual coexistence of two persons, is considered in a broad social context.

From the foregoing, we conclude that foreign experience can be successfully extrapolated into Ukrainian practice of pre-marital education of students.

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#### VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO: THE PROBLEM OF THE SPIRITUAL FORMATION OF A PERSON IN THE CONDITIONS OF SOCIO-POLIICAL CRISIS

**Summary.** The aim of the research is to show V.Vynnychenko's position that a human life is a struggle between body and soul, good and evil, wealth and poverty and also that only new people are able to stop the crisis in a society, because they have a clear idea concerning better future, they have specific tasks and goals. Such people consider social perspective through the prism of people's interests, with whom they are closely connected. The research methodology deals with general-scientific (analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction, etc.) and phenomenological methods, method of biographical analysis and other scientific methods as well as pluralistic approach to the study of history of philosophy. The scientific novelty demonstrates the main ways that, according to V. Vynnychenko, will lead to a social transformation of the society and to the welfare and decent of a human life. Conclusions. V.Vynnychenko tried holistically approached to the analysis of the human society and the world by series philosophical trends. Vynnychenko's ideological and socio-philosophical position was influenced by philosophical anthropology, "philosophy of life", existentialism, psychoanalysis. Their synthesis were in the artistic and aesthetic form. Exposing the flaws of the society of that time, abnormal behaviour in the family, the Ukrainian thinker vividly portrayed all the consequences of the wrong way of life on examples of heroes in his works.

Keywords: morality, public order, value, nation, dignity, person, idea, patriot.

# ВОЛОДИМИР ВИННИЧЕНКО: ПРОБЛЕМА ДУХОВНОГО СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ЛЮДИНИ В УМОВАХ СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ КРИЗИ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – показати позицію В. Винниченка, що людське життя є боротьбою між тілом і душею, добром і злом, багатством і бідністю, що тільки нові люди можуть зупинити кризу суспільства, оскільки вони мають чітке уявлення щодо кращого майбутнього, конкретні цілі й завдання. Вони розглядають суспільну перспективу крізь призму інтересів людей, з якими тісно пов'язані. Методологія дослідження пов'язана з загально-науковим (аналіз, синтез, індукція та дедукція і т. д.) та феноменологічним методами, методом біографічного аналізу, іншими науковими методами, серед яких плюралістичний підхід до вивчення історії філософії. Наукова новизна демонструє основні шляхи, що, на думку В. Винниченка, і призведуть до соціальної трансформації суспільства, добробуту і гідного життя людини. Висновки: В. Винниченко спробував цілісно підійти до аналізу людського суспільства та світу завдяки низці філософських напрямів. Ідеологічна та соціально-філософська позиції Винниченка перебували під впливом філософської антропології, "філософії життя", екзистенціалізму, психоаналізу. Їхній синтез відобразився у художній та естетичній формах. Викриваючи вади тогочасного суспільства, неморальну поведінку у сім'ї, український мислитель на прикладах героїв своїх творів яскраво зображав усі наслідки неправильного способу життя.

Ключові слова: мораль, суспільний лад, цінність, нація, гідність, людина, ідея, патріот.

**I** he problem statement. The beginning of Vynnychenko's literary activities started in the early XXth century. It was a period when acute social conflicts and political fight took place. "His stories drew the attention of Ukrainian readers to his unconditional talent and deep knowledge of the life of rural worker. We can feel that the author is close to those people about whom he writes and draws specific Ukrainian humor that shines in almost all his works and provides so much life" (Danko, 1910: 54). Even before the beginning of the thirties of the XXth century Vynnychenko's works were accessible to a wide circle of readers, though they were the

subject of criticism. However, since the 1933 year attitude to the creative heritage of V. Vynnychenko changed. The party leadership did not agree with his criticism concerning the Soviet activity. Under the given circumstances Vynnychenko's works were removed from the libraries and not published. His opponents wanted his name go into oblivion, erase from the memory of future generations. His name was unknown not only in his native country, but also abroad. V.Vynnychenko considered human life as a continuous struggle. His works present socio-community conflicts, destruction of the old social order and reassessment of traditional values.

H. Kostiuk, a researcher of V. Vynnychenko's creativity, expressed the view that the reason for that attitude to the writer depended on his differences with former supporters, he did not want to take into account unacceptable opinion. His restless and desire for success did not like his friends. Vynnychenko could not come to terms with the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalinist repressions. Vynnychenko exposed to the devastating criticism all things that bring harm to his native people. He noted with pain that Ukraine had national independence, culture and science before its reunification with Russia. Vynnychenko was sure that Ukrainian nation will be able to get rid of weakness and gain independence due to the awareness of own dignity, patriotism, desire to be the master of its native land. According to him, the future of Ukraine is in the Federation. National independence is possible because of the first and the most active ranks of fighters for the implementation of the ideas of the World Federation of Nations. V.Vynnychenko approved internationalism because it is the highest development of national consciousness, a higher level of human progress.

**The presentation of the basic material.** The socio-political situation of the late XIX – early XX centuries made the historical influence on the outlook of new people. They doubted in appropriateness and effectiveness of morality, criticized the old social order. They are full of new ideas, eager to implement in life their fundamentally new ideas regarding the development of a new social order, their inner world shines through the way of life, actions and thoughts. These people are not afraid of difficulties, even in the critical moments of their lives. They do not lose their fortitude, overcome danger and win. They were so-called the "children" of a new era, they made their first steps, grew up in the political sense, strengthened their position as a brave and strong people.

Life is impossible without contradictions because it reflects the full range of human being, its inexhaustible variety, weirdness. Emotions and feelings, generosity and nobility, gentleness and loyalty, sacrifice and tolerance play an important role in our life. The problem of human spiritual formation is cross-cutting in Vynnychenko's philosophical view. His works reflect human desire to understand own essence, attempts to make relationships with other people, to get rid of inner disharmony and to achieve harmonious state of mind. "As an artist, Vynnychenko feels wonderful beauty of life: he shows its joy and pain, expertly draws all greatness of human competition with its conflicts and he moves before the eyes of our soul a wavy path of a person that goes to a certain purpose" (Sventsitskyi, 1920: 24).

V. Vynnychenko wrote a number of works, novels, short stories, full of poetic and psychological content. In these works he opened competent criticism of capitalism and socialism in the Bolshevik embodiment, described the future panorama just down. Continuing the literary work, deeply studied modern aesthetic and ethical theories, using them in such works as "Slovo za Toboiu, Staline! " ("It's Your Word Now, Stalin!", "Shchastia" ("Happiness"), "Lysty do iunaka" ("Letters to the Juvenile"), "Konkordyzm" and others. In these works, he appealed to the international community calling for disarmament, world without bombs and barricades, justifying the application of political understanding, environmental cooperation of states with different political systems as an alternative to total annihilation of mankind in disaster wars. Launched his idea of "kolektokrativa" writer considered as the most effective means of overcoming social conflicts and building a just society. He tried to show

some ways concernig relations between states with different social and political systems, establish cooperation between them, to bring together through peaceful economic competition.

In his works, Vynnychenko pointed out the disharmonious coexistence of the singular and the general, the domination of the latter over the individual. For example, in his work called Vichnyi Imperative ("Eternal Imperative"), the thinker noted that there has been a tragic picture in the society of the absorption by a collective of separate individuals living in it. In this statement, he is similar to S. Kierkegaard, who argued that in a society one person is an obstacle to another in achieving their own goals. S. Freud also talked about it and pointed to the repressive nature of culture in relation to a person. According to Kierkegaard, a man of that time forgot what it means to exist, does not reflect on the significance of the conversion into his inner world, which is truly genuine, in contrast to the outside world. The thinker was convinced that many of his contemporaries did not become personalities. Man as a single personality makes himself what he is. The highest person's purpose is to be a singular personality. In the works of Vynnychenko, the central place is occupied by a person, his life in society and those processes that take place in his inner world. The thinker was especially interested in the inner life of the individual, the wealth of the soul and the heart, the psychological processes that take place in it. According to Vynnychenko, mutual understanding between people should be based on kolektokratiya (collective power), since it is a powerful means of overcoming political, economic, and social conflicts. He believed that the division of society into classes, the exploitation of man by man, the imperfect socio-economic structure of the social system are the reasons for social issues. This situation will lead to a catastrophe; therefore, the world social and economic structure, namely, the private-ownership structure in the West and the statecooperative one in the East, needs to be reconstructed into a truly social, cooperative form.

The thinker stated that kolektokratiya can be such form. Management systems, which are based on state or private property, cannot meet the needs of a person, ensure the liberation of his physical and spiritual abilities. In this regard, Vynnychenko emphasized on the restructuring of private ownership into the collective one, kolektokratiya of the entire national economy. For the sake of the welfare of the Ukrainian people, it is necessary that all employees of any enterprise be their coowners, and that profits are to be distributed, in accordance with the law, among all members of the collective. Vynnychenko thought that as a result, such people's cooperative system would rule out competition among nations and exploitation, as well as promote harmonization of relations between people. He considered the idea of kolektokrativa to be his religion, he thought about it day and night, and wanted to be heard both by the Kremlin's leaders and politicians abroad. He sincerely believed that a happy future can be achieved if persistently pursuing it, making every effort to create such a social system, where a person would feel truly human, his opinion would have been considered important, where free individuals would live, who could legitimately use the results of their work. The society of the future must necessarily be based on the principles of humanity and justice. Vynnychenko was convinced that building a society of the future and its success depends on whether there will be ways found to improve human relations and social system. He believed that no one, except for the Ukrainian people, would decide the fate of the nation, and therefore one should not trust it with those who are willing to sell it, to betray it. He reached out to his compatriots, saying that "we will always be a puppet in strangers' hands, unless we have the support in each other. Therefore, the only correct orientation for us, I repeat, is Ukrainian. Not neutral, no, not a policy of passive expectation and impotence, but orientation that is Ukrainian, active, dynamic, creative, organizing" (Vynnychenko, 1915: 16). According to the Ukrainian thinker, the strength of our people is in the organization and development of Ukrainian democracy, in its self-awareness. At the base of the moral system of Vynnychenko is a guideline to engage in physical labour in peace and harmony with other living beings, to be in harmony with the sun, water, and flora. Thinker considered ordinary everyday behaviour, especially the food culture as one of the important manifestations of morality. Vynnychenko closely links "healthy" food (fruit, vegetables, nuts, water), which needs to be cooked without boiling (and if cooked, then only the one that is impossible to eat raw – rice, potato, etc.) to the problem of inner harmony of human life. A person should consume only the food that was produced by nature.

Proclaiming vegetarianism as a world-view principle, Vynnychenko was convinced that when using meat, a person becomes an egoistic being, he considers himself the king of nature. Consequently, "healthy" food is the key to physical and, of course, mental health of a person. Since the perfect society, which he dreamed of, requires harmoniously developed personalities, the health problem of the Ukrainian people occupied an important place in the views of the thinker. Lack of balance between man and nature is the reason for misfortune and illness according to Vynnychenko. He saw the difference between illness and unhappiness in the fact that in case of unhappiness. there is both physical and spiritual imbalance. Vynnychenko believed that, since disharmony penetrated deeply into all layers of society, it is impossible to meet a completely happy and healthy person. Reflecting on the life of a person in that time. Vynnychenko noted that there cannot be a single morality in society, divided into classes, in which there are conflicting, hostile interests. He believed that the true morals that govern the actions of people are instincts, with social and family instincts being the main ones. Vynnychenko, by making the definition of morality more specific, pointed out that it combines instinct and group interests; that's why love to your children can force one person to be a hero, while another person - to be a villain. It depends on the situation or character, sensibility, life position of a person. In addition, the thinker considered the notions of "heroism" and "meanness" to be relative. The rebellious heroes of Vynnychenko seek to introduce a new morality, search for new truths, try to find ways to overcome the gap between their dreams of a better future and harsh reality.

Vynnychenko wanted to immerse himself in the inner world of a person with his views, feelings, sympathies, internal conflicts that are born in connection with injustice, socio-political collision, disharmony in his personal life and society. As noted by I. Konchits, the merit of V. Vynnychenko lies in the depth of psychological research, in the masterful reproduction of the inner world of heroes, their anxieties and doubts. It is worth to emphasize that thanks to his works in which there is significant influence of irrational component on life and human behavior, "Vynnychenko showed that the human psyche is cumulative, that the human spurts include a large number of small quantities, variety of small component motives. What we roughly call the "excitement", "repentance", "fear", "hatred", "love", "regret", "yearning", etc., is only an approximate expression of the complex process, only the total wealth of the forces" (Hnidan, 1996: 95).

Vynnychenko had a tough time accepting the fact that he could not live and work on his native soil. He mentioned broken-heartedly that he would like to write secretively like Shevchenko, but in Ukraine, so his friends would be there with him, so they could share their opinions about his work and chat with him, so readers would always have the opportunity to get acquainted with his works. He wrote that he was more persecuted than Shevchenko, but his belief in a better future, fire in his eyes and a thrill in his heart did not disappear. While abroad, Vynnychenko did not stop thinking about Ukraine, followed the events that took place in it with great interest, it was extremely painful for him to find out about the famine in his Homeland, where fertile soils and hard-working people are in abundance. He was describing in his works all the tragic events that took place in such a distant and at the same time close native land, and he was looking for a way out from the difficult situation for Ukraine and its people, because he could not come to terms with the fact that the Ukrainian people cannot be masters of their own land, freely communicate in the Ukrainian language, develop their culture, keep traditions established by their parents, grandfathers and great-grandfathers, not lose their own essence – the essence of a Ukrainian patriot, who really cares about the fate of his native Ukraine. It is worth to point out that "...in his early plays – Dysharmoniya ("Disharmony"), Shchabli Zhyttia ("Stages of Life"), Bazar ("Bazaar"), etc., there is a quite bright displaying of influence of subconscious desires on conscious activity of the people, and the antagonism of human nature (namely – sexuality, subconscious aggressive impulses) and culture hold the dramatic tension" (Moroz, 1993: 44).

What a strange and unique being is a person. Each of us in our own way understand beauty and ugliness, good and evil, measure the world in their own way, bringing harmony or disharmony into it. A person is special and specific, and that is why it is so difficult for us, and sometimes even impossible, to understand each other. The mystery of the heart and soul of each of us can never be solved, because the innermost desires and passions, cold calculation or sacrificial devotion that doesn't depend on the rational explanation are hidden in the depths of our conscious and unconscious. We quite often admit that "something bigger than us", as V. Vynnychenko would say, guides our thoughts and actions. We sometimes cannot resist our desires, we answer their call, get disappointed, or, conversely, rejoice over our achievements. However, one should not conclude that a person is a weak puppet of powerful instincts, omnipotent mind or unhealthy psyche. Each of us, possessing a specific set of intellectual and mental qualities, is an individual with his specific traits, a life position, emotional states, etc. and we build our own picture of life according to these factors. An invisible war between good and evil, beauty of the body and ugliness of the soul is happening in each of us, and therefore only the spiritually strong person is able to make the right choice, spreading the ideals of goodness, truth and love in the world.

When getting acquainted with the works of Vynnychenko, you can trace not only the fates of the heroes, but also the life and creative path of the author himself, his emotions and experiences, because he passed each work through his heart, he wrote about things dictated to him by life itself. Listening to the voice of his own conscience, analysing everything that was happening in society, he created works that make contemplate over the eternal human problems, see the visible behind the invisible, look for the key to symbolically displayed phenomena and events of those times. His writings induce the complex work of mind and heart, both to analysis and synthesis, as well as to the manifestation of violent emotions and feelings. Thanks to this combination of the rational and the irrational component, you can better understand and feel what bothered Vynnychenko and heroes of his works, focus on the problems of man and society, identify questions about man and the world that were relevant not only during the times of Vynnychenko, but also in our days.

Volodymyr Kyrylovych can with absolute liability be called "the hero of his time", because without fear of opposition from opponents, he declared out loud about the reluctance of using the traditional morality of an everyman. Vynnychenko was an outspoken critic of the then existing regime, pointing to the spiritual degradation of society and suggesting his own ways of resolving the socio-political crisis, as well as the crisis that originated in the hearts and souls of people. Promoting rules of the concordism morality, the thinker sincerely believed that they will be useful to anyone who will take them in their heart and recognize that they are able to contribute to the harmonization of man and the world, increasing the love and goodness. Acting as a hero-rebel, a man who, protesting against the "dark" state of the society in those times, Vynnychenko pointed to the need for fundamental changes in social and political life,

re-evaluation of the traditional moral norms. Position on the problems of man, society and the world made his ideas closer to the ideas of F. Nietzsche, who, advocating for "re-evaluation of all values", was an innovator in the sphere of morals like Vynnychenko.

The dissatisfaction with the contemporary state of society and the unspeakable anxiety for the future are observed in Vynnychenko's worldview. Throughout centuries, the words and views of this thinker sound like a prophecy and a warning that false values, perceived as appropriate, can play an evil joke with us. And then we, having no opportunity, nor a desire to distinguish between truth and deception, will take all that he fought so hardly for as our guide in life. It is guite clear that Vynnychenko, being a thoughtful and original thinker, turned his attention to the major in importance phenomenon of the Europe in those times – decadence, with the consequences of which he fought until the end of his life. His philosophical position was the formation of a person of a new kind - a neo-man. Attempts to find a way out of a difficult situation in which a person appeared at the beginning of XX century, gave birth to "...Vynnychenko as a revolutionary, Vynnychenko as a writer and experimenter. And yet, why the experimenter? Probably because of existential spirit of the era, its intuition was nourished with the sense of the futility of the search in the absence of an exit, and the individual spirit and creative freedom knew and demanded it, and experiment is always a proof of knowledge" (Humeniuk, 2001: 58). Ruling of discordism, which V. Vynnychenko justified as a lack of balance, imbalance, disorganization, disorder of forces in the body and which in art-graphic version became pure inconspicuous spiritual leprosy, a thinker considered as one of the largest catastrophes of mankind. Internal disbalance of the man is traced in his novel Leprozoriy ("Leprosarium"), where it was noted that the life of humanity is a "planetary pit full of patients with physical and spiritual leprosy" (Vynnychenko, 2011: 127). Author of the work worried about loss of balance between man and nature, pointed to the fact that society reminds him of leprosarium, where there is a spiritual decline, disharmony of individuals that are living in it.

Vynnychenko, depicting the negative phenomena of social life, sincerely believed that discordism will necessarily give way to concordism, harmony will win disharmony. He noted with sadness that man lost his happiness, and the Earth became a planetary leprosarium. The author of the novel was convinced that the right way of life can harmonize a person, promote his spiritual and physical health. Throughout his life, Vynnychenko sought to find out how to fill life with a sense of how to achieve harmony with oneself and the world. Vynnychenko believed that Leprozoriy ("Leprosarium") would make people think about their lives, and therefore he was even more actively engaged in writing the novel. According to S. Pohorilyi, "image of leprosarium is a gigantic multidimensional informative mirror: seeing himself in it, the man really would rush to seek the path from the leprosarium" (Pohorilyi, 1981: 183). When a person sees himself like through others' eyes and recognizes that he is ill spiritually and physically, he will try to find ways to overcome his own feebleness, will try to understand the meaning of his stay on Earth.

**Conclusions.** "The general pessimism of Vynnychenko's thinking reflected in his anti-utopic positions. The mind of the artist so comprehensively reflects the world around us and supposes for a man not only "light", but also a "dark" future. His novel "Soniachna mashyna" ("The Sun Machine") is a striking example of this fact. The author demonstrated that the noble intentions of a man to build a happy future life did not have any results. Nonclassical features of Vynnychenko's thought are under a general sufficient reason – socio-philosophical study of the nature and the existence of a man, his individual and social life, characteristics and external circumstances of his development, evaluation skills as an artist etc." (Pavlyshyn, 2013: 13). With his works, thoughts and life energy, V. Vynnychenko tried to show a man his real existence,

convinced of the necessity to radically change the situation in the community to build a new order, where all people would have the right to realize their dreams and ideas, have all the chances to go ahead in their development. Vynnychenko was interested in the principle of humanism, tried to make his life according to this life style and he wanted other people to do the same. So, he tried to implement the morality of konkordyzm, because this principle was the main principle of his life. Of course, it is so difficult to do it but all of us have to made all efforts to achieve harmony with our inner world and the Universe, try to be agreed with other peole.

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# THE PHENOMENON OF BILINGUALISM IN MODERN SOCIETY

Summary. The aim of the article is to consider the main parameters that allow us to characterize the phenomenon of bilingualism; to investigate the dynamics of changes in the approaches to the assessment of bilingualism and multilingualism in the scientific field and to define the main tendencies in the language situation on the example of different countries, taking into account the socio-political component; to analyze the concept of "bilingualism" and its classification from a theoretical point of view in the development process of sociolinguistics and to show its connection with related concepts. The methodology of the research is based on the fact that, despite the great interest of researchers in bilingualism as a phenomenon of social reality, the social theory of the phenomenon of bilingualism has not yet developed. Nowadays, there are practically no scientific works in which the questions about social changes, connected with the phenomenon of bilingualism in its global aspect, were systematically studied. Scientific novelty is that the phenomenon of bilingualism as a concept of multifunctional communication in the modern multicultural world is reviewed, the significance of the process of bilingualism in the socio-political perspective is determined. In addition, the study of bilingualism in the social aspect is still undeveloped and sufficiently studied. In the research perspective there is a modern bilingual state of nation-wide communication of Ukrainian society. Conclusions. The variety of interpretations of the notion of bilingualism testifies to the multidisciplinarity and relevance of this problem not only in linguistics. We tried to distinguish a number of typologies of bilingualism, depending on the aspect of its study. We also found out that, in the context of bilingualism, the correlation between interacting languages depends on sociolinguistic, psychological and sociocultural factors, and the fact that the concept of bilingualism cannot be considered in isolation, but only in connection with related concepts - linguistic contact, slang, interference. The socio-political issues of the study of bilingualism cover a range of issues that describe the specific state of social life, in which there is the fact of coexistence and functioning of two languages within a single state and difference in the perception of this phenomenon in different countries on the basis of historical development.

Keywords: bilingualism, bilingual, surzhyk, interference, pluralism.

#### ФЕНОМЕН БІЛІНГВІЗМУ У СУЧАСНОМУ СУСПІЛЬСТВІ

Анотація. Мета статті – розглянути основні параметри, які дозволяють охарактеризувати феномен білінгвізму. Дослідити динаміку змін у підходах до оцінки дво- і багатомовності у науковому просторі та визначити основні тенденції для мовної ситуації на прикладі різних країн з огляду на суспільнополітичну складову. Проаналізувати поняття "білінгвізм" та його класифікацію з теоретичної точки зору в ході розвитку соціолінгвістики та показати його зв'язок із суміжними поняттями. Методологія дослідження базується на тому, що, незважаючи на великий інтерес дослідників до білінгвізму як явища соціальної дійсності, соціальна теорія феномену білінгвізму ще не склалася. На сьогодні є практично відсутніми наукові роботи, в яких би системно досліджувалися питання соціальних змін, пов'язаних із феноменом білінгвізму в його глобальному аспекті. Наукова новизна полягає у тому, що розглянуто феномен білінгвізму як поняття багатофункціональної комунікації у сучасному мультикультурному світі, визначається значення процесу двомовності у соціально-політичному ракурсі. До того ж, дослідження білінгвізму в соціальному аспекті на сьогодні є ще нерозгорнутим та достатньо необґрунтованим явищем. У перспективі досліджень – сучасний білінгвальний стан загальнонаціональної комунікації українського суспільства. Висновки. Різноманітність трактувань поняття білінгвізму або двомовності свідчить про багатоаспектність та актуальність цієї проблеми не лише в лінгвістиці. Ми спробували окреслити ряд типологізацій білінгвізму залежно від аспекту його вивчення. Також з'ясували, що в умовах білінгвізму співвідношення між мовами, що взаємодіють, залежить від соціолінгвістичних, психологічних і соціокультурних чинників та той факт, що поняття білінгвізму неможливо розглядати ізольовано, а тільки у сукупності з суміжними поняттями – мовний контакт, суржик, інтерференція. Соціально-політична проблематика дослідження білінгвізму охоплює коло питань, які описують специфічний стан суспільного життя, за якого спостерігається факт співіснування і функціонування двох мов у межах однієї держави та розбіжності у сприйнятті цього явища різними державами на основі історичного розвитку.

Ключові слова: білінгвізм, двомовність, суржик, інтерференція, плюралізм.

B ilingualism is a very widespread phenomenon in modern society. The article explores what bilingualism is, who is a bilingual, as well as which countries recognize bilingualism by law, and in which it is interpreted ambiguously.

The issue of research remains actual for psychologists, linguists, educators, and historians as the concept of bilingualism appeared with the development of languages. Usually, the ethnic heterogeneity of society and the state is the source of bilingualism. For example, the existence of several ethnic groups on one territory, which use different languages for communication. In the modern world bilingualism has become widespread and needs more detailed study. It is believed that bilingualism positively affects the development of a person and society as a whole. On the other hand, it is considered that bilingualism is quite harmful for socialization at the initial stages of its development.

The purpose of the proposed article is to identify the essence of the concept of bilingualism and determine its role in linguistic communication.

Since the phenomenon of bilingualism is multidimensional, the new approaches to its study appear. The following works were dedicated to this issue: T. Bertagaev, L. Scherba, A. P. Zagnitko, N. P. Shumarova V. P. Belianin, S. Zasekin, A. Bohoroditskyi, A. S. Akhmanov, L. K. Daurov, Y. D. Desheriev, V. H. Kostomarov (Bertagaev, 1972).

Bilingualism is a specific state of social life, in which a fact of the functioning and coexistence of two languages within a single state is observed and recognized. The generally accepted definition of bilingualism was given by the American linguist U. Weinreich. Bilingualism is a practice of alternating use of two languages. The term "bilingualism", as a scientific phenomenon, is regarded as a social phenomenon, that is, a symbiosis of two linguistic cultures in society and an individual characteristic of a personality (Radevich-Vinnitsky, 2011).

A person who speaks only his native language is called monolingual. Those who speak two languages – bilingual, more than two – polylingual, more than six – polyglots.

Depending on the age, bilingualism can be conventionally divided into early one, which is conditioned by staying in a bilingual cultural environment; and late, in which the mastery of the second language takes place at an older age, after mastering the native language, that is, after 10–12 years.

As a social phenomenon, bilingualism is a specific state of social life, which observes and recognizes the fact of functioning, the coexistence of two languages within a single state. State bilingualism is a kind of bilingualism, in which the population of a certain country has two languages that are officially recognized in this country (Radevich-Vinnitsky, 2011).

Bilingualism is quite common, but in order to speak a few languages, first of all, one needs to master a native language perfectly. Every citizen and patriot of his/her country must speak the state language. After all, language is one of the unique features of our nationality, it characterizes the personality and its education in general.

A myth existed in our country that bilingualism in children worsens the process of learning a language, but modern research proves that bilingual and monolingual children have similar cognitive abilities. Moreover, it has been proven that bilingual children have certain advantages.

Bilingualism is useful for brain development. People who own and actively use the two languages have a more flexible thinking, higher concentration of attention, more advanced general language ability, ability to solve problems, and Alzheimer's disease is less likely to develop in such people. This is all due to the fact that we constantly receive information of the surrounding world (various noises, signs, smells, visual images, etc., plus our unconscious feelings that we get from muscle receptors, for example), 99% of these signals must be put off by the brain, because they simply cannot be processed, in general it must make a decision based on 1%; the choice of this decisive 1% is constantly changing and does not directly depend on external conditions. Such "selective attention" includes a number of physiological processes that take place in the forehead area of the cerebral cortex, and ends with the action itself. Teaching "selective attention" and its training are particularly intense in the first five years of our lives. People who speak several languages face a more complex task of choice each time. A person who speaks only one language, after hearing a certain set of sounds, compares it with those stored in his/her memory, and identifies a word based on only one available vocabulary "stock". And for a person who knows several languages, it is necessary to use several different "stocks" to distinguish words. In the modern world, the "rules of the game" change suddenly and the ability to quickly adapt and tune in is very important. Bilingualism does not allow our brain to stagnate, but on the contrary - it is always trained to be on the alert.

In many countries bilingualism is found at the state level. For example, in Europe it is Belgium and Finland, where the official languages are French and Flemish, Finnish and Swedish, respectively. In Asia – India and Indonesia, where in the first people speak Hindi and English, while in the other –Bahala and Indonesian. From bilingual African countries, Cameroon can be singled out where the official languages are French and English. In the Americas, for example, Canada can be used, where the official languages are English and French (Shkorina, 2015).

It is worthwhile to distinguish between regional bilingualism, in which only the population of a certain region has two languages. For example, Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism is common in eastern Ukraine, in the west it is Ukrainian-Polish, Ukrainian-Hungarian, partly Ukrainian-Romanian.

There are two types of bilingualism: official (approved at the state level) and informal (the second language used in everyday life).

Three types of bilingualism are also distinguished:

1. By way of acquisition: natural (domestic) and artificial (educational);

2. By age periods – early, due to stay and livelihoods in a bilingual cultural environment; and late, in which the mastery of the second language takes place at an older age, after mastering the mother tongue.

By the degree of language proficiency: receptive (perceptual), reproductive and productive (generative) types of bilingualism.

For example, one of the goals of learning a foreign language may be receptive bilingualism. (Some people have enough to read books in other languages, but there is no need to speak. This is typical of dead languages.) But the purpose of studying and teaching a foreign language is productive bilingualism.

In psycholinguistic literature there are such symbols as L1 - the first language and L2 - the second language. It should be noted that the chronology of the development of languages has an impact on the formation of the native language of an individual. In most cases, the second language displaces the first one. Therefore, it is sometimes said that one of the languages of the bilingual individual is dominant, that is, the main (Zasiekina, Zasiekin, 2002).

People who speak two languages are called bilingual. They usually show a mix of languages during communication, such as switching from one language to another and borrowings. This is a fairly common practice in communication of bilingual people with each other. In bilingual communication dictionaries of two languages are available and their use is arbitrary. Many of the expressions and words are expressed in one or another language; mixing allows you to use the necessary one, without referring to the translation, which can simply fail to render what needs to be said. Moreover, in other situations bilingual people know that they cannot mix their languages for example, when communicating with monolingual interlocutors), and then they use one language.

Bilingual speakers can also have an accent. It all depends on when they started to learn the language. The presence of accent does not make people less bilingual.

Nowadays many young people are creating families with representatives of another nationality, and since parents often speak different languages, children have everyday opportunity to learn both of them. However, bilingualism, as a phenomenon, can develop also under the influence of social factors. For example, when a child grows only in the Ukrainian-speaking environment, but at a school he/she learns a foreign language and subsequently can use both of the languages. Another major factor is migration, when people leave their homeland and for some time live in a foreign environment, this also contributes to the emergence of bilingualism.

The University of Haifa's research is based on the phenomenon of bilingualism, proving that people who speak two languages are easier to learn the third one. One of the co-authors of the study, Professor Abu Rabia, makes the following conclusions: "Mastering several languages increases the quality of the native language proficiency. This is due to the fact that languages enhance each other and provide tools for improving phonological, morphological and syntactic skills. These skills provide the necessary foundation for learning to read. Our research has also shown that the use of language skills from one language to another is an important cognitive function that facilitates learning. Therefore, it is clear that long term learning will be most successful if it starts at an early age and when it is reinforced by well-structured and essential practice". (Hrozhan, 2010).

Bilingual people can be both bicultural (that is, representatives of two cultures that harmoniously combine them in their lives) and monocultural. Similarly, there are people who are representatives of two cultures but speak only one language.

There are two main types of bilingual people – pure and mixed. Pure are people who use languages in isolation. For example, while working, they speak one language, and at home another. The second type is mixed bilingual. These are people who speak two languages, but do not consciously divide them. In conversation, they do not even notice how they are switching from one language to another. A rather vivid example of such bilingualism is mixing the Russian and Ukrainian languages in the speech. The so-called surzhyk (mixed sociolect). In case if bilingual cannot find the right word in Russian, instead he uses the Ukrainian equivalent and vice versa.

The notions "surzhyk" and "bilingualism" should not be confused. The mixing of languages as a phenomenon is negatively evaluated by modern linguists, which is quite right. However, the phenomenon of mixing languages is quite common in the world. It is obvious that in regions where bilingual situation exists, there is always a mutual influence of languages, which, in turn, can cause their mixing.

The acute problem of linguists, psychologists, and educators in accordance with the dynamics of cognitive approaches to the description of linguistic phenomena and speech processes is bilingualism. That is why a large number of terms is interpreted differently in the light of cognitive concepts.

Bilinguals are said to express their emotions in the first language. Some bilinguals learn both languages simultaneously, so they do not have the first language to express their emotions. Even for those who have mastered the language in turn, not everything is so clear. Emotions and bilingualism create a very complicated and very personal reality that has no established laws.

Some researchers believe that absolutely equivalent use of two languages is impossible. Although bilingual can translate simple things from one language to another, they often encounter difficulties translating terms. In fact, bilingual people use their languages in different situations, with different people, in different spheres of life. If they did not learn these languages formally or did not receive a diploma of an interpreter, they often do not have the translation equivalents from the second language.

The concept of bilingualism is closely related to the phenomenon of interference (from lat. inter – between and ferens (frentis) (the bearer, one, who brings) as a process and result of linguistic contacts. W. Weinreich proposed to distinguish interference in speech and interference in the language, and use the term to call cases of deviation from the norms of any of the languages resulting from the possession of two or more languages, that is, as a result of linguistic contact. Interference is the interaction of language systems in bilingualism, which arises in case of linguistic contacts or in the case of individual learning of non-native language. There is a deviation from the norm and system of the second language under the influence of the native (Shumarova, 2000).

After the markets moved from industry to the information age, there were tremendous opportunities for those who can analyze, collaborate and communicate with people around the world by providing local language services to the client. Such workers can compete for work both in their home markets and in markets where their language skills prevail over those who have only one language skills – like most employees. People who speak only their native language lose their chances of getting a better job or being able to work abroad. Bilingual workers are not limited to the local labor market. As Micheal Schulzler rightly pointed out in Forbes, "the use of English is spreading throughout the world and is becoming less an advantage or a sign that makes a difference. In fact, this makes the new necessary condition for bilingualism".

The development of international contacts affects the spread of bilingualism. In European countries, the progress of bilingual education is related not so much to internal processes, but to the general trend towards integration, the desire for dialogue and intercultural communication. This experience is definitely valuable for Ukraine, as bilingual education opens up new opportunities that extend to education, research, more opportunities for the spreading various inventions, the improvement of medicine, the spread of new technologies and much more.

Foreign languages and the practice of teaching them today are at the center of attention, given the multilingual nature of modern society. Bilingual education is one of the most promising methods of effective education. In many countries with large, multi-lingual communities in the education system, bilingual, long-term and longer learning is set up: Ukraine, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Russia, USA, Finland, Switzerland, and others.

In the course of bilingual education there is an interaction, interpenetration, awareness of the general and specific carriers of different languages and cultures. The imaginative thinking of a child is shaped in close connection with the language, and bilingualism, built on comparative terms, allows us to more adequately understand this and another culture, and therefore, to remove interethnic contradictions.

Belgium is one of the few states in Europe where two languages, Flemish and French, officially co-exist at the state level. After analyzing the situation in this country, we can say that the bilingualism, which was enshrined in the law, has benefited both citizens and the authorities. Finland has two official languages – Finnish and Swedish. The first is 92.2% of the population, the second – 5.6%. Southern Finland is mainly bilingual, but it is difficult to get Swedish services. Knowledge of its officials in bilingual municipalities is weak, so the Finnish Swedes prefer to use Finnish. At the same time, the civil servants in the Aland Islands do not know much Finnish. Although citizens who speak second language regard this as a necessity, as facilitated by economic integration between Sweden and Finland, there is a perception that bilingualism will eventually lead to the erosion of the Swedish minority. In India,

the largest ethnic community – Hindustan, whose language – Hindi is proclaimed as a state, but another language of state communication is English. Cameroon is a former colony of England and France. Officially, the country is bilingual, but few Cameroonians speak either or at least one of the official languages. Canada fully implements the ideas of pluralism and multicultural education. The Constitution of this country guarantees training in two languages. The specifics of the geographical position of Luxembourg have given rise to multilingualism in this rather small area. German and French are recognized as official languages of the country. In everyday life, communicating is, as the locals are joking, in the Luxembourg language, which is based on an amazing cocktail of lower Germanic dialects with the addition of French words and expressions.

Summarizing all of the above, we want to note that in today's world language plays an important role and its differentiation leads to the emergence of a new concept of bilingualism, which has a dual significance for the development of an individual and society. Bilingualism is two languages proficiency at the level of their understanding and free communication.

The question of bilingualism is still debatable, so it must be comprehensively considered.

Language is a way of transmitting information, and bilingualism has become a common phenomenon in the modern world, since knowledge of several languages extends our capabilities. Often, the causes of bilingualism are: the multiethnicity of the country and close proximity to national-like states. At this stage of society's development, language proficiency is the key to success.

By exploring bilingualism it can be said that this phenomenon on the one hand opens up more opportunities for people, but in some cases it can lead to conflict situations. There are such types of bilingualism: state, regional, natural and artificial, early and late, receptive, reproductive and productive.

Bilinguals are people who have the same skills in two languages, they can be both professionals and children from mixed, interethnic marriages or brought up in another country. One can become a bilingual in childhood, but also in adolescence and adulthood. Moreover, many adults become bilingual because they move from one country (or region) to another and are forced to learn a second language. Over time, they can become as bilingual as children who learn languages in the early years (with the exception of the pronunciation of the native speaker). In general, people become bilingual because life requires the use of two or more languages.

Bilingual education provides greater opportunities for establishing direct links with English-language educational institutions on a professional basis, namely, to form a common approach to the study and study of basic school disciplines.

In many countries, the equality of several languages is acknowledged at the state level, which has a predominantly positive effect on society. Today, bilingual education is recognized by many European scholars as one of the most effective means of mastering foreign languages and at the same time is an essential component of the field of cultural education. Among the typical examples of countries with official bilingualism are Canada, Belgium, Finland, India and others. Unofficial bilingualism corresponds to a situation where the official recognition (again because of laws) is only one of the two languages most used by the population of this state. At the same time, unrecognized at the official level, the second language continues to be used by a significant portion of the population fairly broadly.

Language makes the nation immortal, when the language disappears, then the nation disappears. It is worth noting that the study of a new language, stimulates the memory, growth and survival of brain cells.

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### MUSIC THAT ROCKED THE SOVIETS: ROCK 'N' ROLL IN DAILY LIFE OF YOUTH IN WESTERN UKRAINE DURING THE 1960S – EARLY 1980S

**Summary.** The article covers the phenomenon of rock music in the lives of young residents of the western regions of Soviet Ukraine, which differed significantly from the rest of the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the entire USSR. The article demonstrates the peculiarities among which this music was mastered, its existence in the youth society – from fashionable dance music to the core of nonconformitsm to the Soviet system. It was reflected in the names officially and unofficially used for rock music and its performers (Big beat, vocal-instrumental ensemble, etc.), as well as in relation to official factors (from tolerance to the prohibition). Consumers of rock music did not necessarily have to be opposed to the Soviet regime. However, the active "immersion" in rock music, and the related counterculture spheres (from the late 1960s onwards, and more and more), contributed to the formation of an alternative life style, which manifested itself in particular: listening to banned radio stations, the style of clothing that was associated with rock music, space for free performance / listening to rock music and exchanging information and impressions ("tusovka"). Rock music was associated with such manifestations of alternative life in the realities of closed Soviet society as youth subcultures (hippies) or literary and artistic avant-garde. Rock music influenced the dominant mass culture in the Ukrainian SSR. Rock culture modernized the Western Ukrainian youth in the post-war society and brought it closer to their peers in the West.

Keywords: rock music, rock 'n' roll (rock and roll, rock & roll), Big beat, rhythm and blues (rhythm & blues), rock band, VIA (vocal-instrumental ensemble), counterculture, subculture.

### МУЗИКА, ЩО ПОТРЯСЛА КРАЇНУ РАД: РОК-Н-РОЛ У ПОВСЯКДЕННОМУ ЖИТТІ МОЛОДІ ЗАХІДНОЇ УКРАЇНИ ВПРОДОВЖ 1960-Х – ПОЧАТКУ 1980-Х РОКІВ

Анотація. У статті висвітлено феномен рок-музики у житті молодих мешканців західних областей Радянської України, котрі відрізнялися від решти території УРСР і всього СРСР. Показано особливості, серед яких засвоювалася ця музика, побутування її в молодіжному соціумі – від модної танцювальної музики до осердя нонконформізму радянській системі. Це відобразилося як у назвах, які офіційно й неофіційно вживалися щодо рок-музики та її виконавців (біг-біт, вокально-інструментальний ансамбль тощо), так і в ставленні офіційних чинників (від толерування до заборони). Споживачі рок-музики далеко не обов'язково були опозиційно налаштовані щодо совецького режиму. Однак, активне "занурення" в рокову, і пов'язані з нею царини альтернативної чи контр- культури (з кінця 1960-х років і далі щораз більше), сприяло витворенню альтернативного життєвого стилю, виявами якого були зокрема: слухання заборонених радіостанцій, стиль одягу, що асоціювався з рок-музикою, простір для вільного виконання/слухання рок-музики та обміну інформацією та враженнями ("тусовка"). Рок-музика як молодіжні субкультури (гіпі) або літературно-мистецький аванґард. Рок-музика впливала й на домінуючу масову культуру в УРСР. Автор статті вважає, що рок модернізував західноукраїнську молодь у повоєнному соціумі і наблизив її до своїх ровесників на Заході.

**Ключові слова:** рок-музика, рок-н-рол, біґ-біт, ритм-н-блюз, рок-група, ВІА (вокальноінструментальний ансамбль), контркультура, субкультура.

any spheres of public life, including everyday, were under control of the political power, state and ideology in the reclining after-Stalin Soviet society. The society imposed the standards of behavior and appearance. There was a cultural dictate – the centralized mass culture was developing, including

the style of clothing or pop music. In the USSR there weren't much expressions of the alternative, individuality in the everyday life. However, there always were people, that opposed themselves to the pressure of society – recusants (nonconformists), representatives of subcultures, artistic Avant-garde, ideological and political opposition. A more numerous layer of popular culture appeared at the beginning of the 1960s that was contrastive with the dominant official soviet mass culture.

Pop music, which was adopted from the western culture, was a sociocultural phenomenon in the USSR and Ukraine. Its genres in post-war years included jazz, and from the beginning of 1960s – rock music. There is an idea, that western pop and rock music "demolished" the Soviet Union. From this point of view rock music was an example of the "soft" dissident, which together with the distribution of the youth subcultures, such as hippies or punks, overcame a sufficient number of the young people during several generations. Thus a real opposition dominant culture emerged in society.

Rock music in daily life of young people in Western Ukraine under the Soviet regime has not yet been the subject of scientific interest of historians or anthropologists. Panorama of everyday life in Lviv after the World War II, was shown at the popular level by Ilko Lemko (Semenov), together with co-authors (Lemko, 2003; Mykhalyk, Lemko, 2009). Hippie subculture that is closely associated with rock culture was investigated by historian William Risch (Risch, 2005). An attempt to study the development of rock music in the context of Lviv rock bands has been done by former rock activist Yurko Peretyatko (Peretiatko, 1995; Peretiatko, 2006). Finally, I tried to show the space of distribution of rock culture in the life of Western Ukrainian youth using various sources, including interviews, articles in the press etc.

Western Ukraine was a very specific region of the Soviet Union and even the Ukrainian SSR. Therefore, the spread of rock music here had its own peculiarities. Unlike the rest of the USSR, this region in pre-war years was a part of the Polish Republic, Romania and Czechoslovakia, and so the people here were more familiar with the Western pop music. It penetrated also during the Nazi occupation during the World War II (1941–1944). Due to these circumstances jazz and its variants, including swing were more common in this region.

At that time in Ukraine, which was departed, like the rest of the USSR from the West by the "Iron Curtain" there were some official academic pop bands and singers, very few jazz bands, women vocal ensembles, who sang songs in the style of urban romance with a poor instrumental accompaniment: accordion, clarinet/saxophone, guitar and contrabass. After Stalin's struggle against "rootless" cosmopolitanism and its manifestations as "worshiping alien culture", meaning Western culture – jazz started to be accepted and tolerated in Western Ukraine only in the late 1950s.

Jazz, which began to be allowed, as well as the "light" music based on it, was an important precondition for the development of the rock music in Western Ukraine. Thus, in 1960 a young physician Ihor Khoma has invented a new jazz band *Rhythm*, later known as the *Medicus*, in which Volodymyr Kit, a trumpeter, later famous for his performances in *Arnica* and the drummer of the same group Ivan Hospodarets have performed (Medikus, 2000). The ensemble of the young beginner, and now famous academic composer Myroslav Skoryk *Veseli Skrypky* (The Merry Violins), founded in 1963 in Lviv, created Ukrainian pop music of that time on the basis of the jazz styles and its derivative styles. The repertoire of *Veseli Skrypky* included boogie-woogie, hali gali, rock 'n' roll, twist, pop-based western foreign motives.

The existence of the Soviet urban youth subculture of the *styliahy* (or *stilyagi*) that existed at the end of the 1940s – in the 1950s, was an another ground for the spread of the Western pop music. Lviv, as one of the cities with the "European" past, along with Tallinn, Riga, Leningrad and metropolitan Moscow was one of the centers of the Soviet *stilyagi* (Kozlov, 2001). It was a pro-American jazz subculture. Its

representatives were strongly pursued because of their shocking appearance, indifference to Soviet society and love for the American jazz until the end of the 1950s when some liberalization started. Then the Iron Curtain was put down, particularly during the VI World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow in 1957, when the Soviet youth heard not only jazz but also rock 'n' roll, saw live beatniks, jeans and sneakers. After the Festival, jazz was no longer considered a bourgeois "music for fat", and the USSR jazz ensembles began to include into their programs rock & roll and rhythm & blues motives (Kozlov, 2001). These events initiated a free and less inferior generation of the Sixties in the Soviet Union.

Another *styliaha's* merit was the distribution of music through the alternative channels, including the recording of jazz compositions, and later rock and roll songs, and generally Western pop music through an old gramophone on the old X-rays. People who replicated the music in such way and sold it underground were called *fartsovshchyky*. And the discs were called *music on the bones*.

The peculiarity of Western Ukraine was that *styliahy* not only existed here in the early 1960s, but also the fact that a fighting against them of a so-called *druzhynnyky* – volunteer police, has never stopped. The main tool of druzhynnyky against styliahy were the scissors. Once they captured a styliaha on the street, they could beat him up and cut his narrowed down pants, could also cut off his "too long" hair or too bright tie. In addition, druzhynnyky carefully watched for those who danced in a "wrong" way and showed the forbidden dance moves, that is, those that differed from the tango and foxtrot on the dance floors. Violators were traced beyond the dance floor. Therefore, the musicians performed their best crown numbers at the end of a party, when young people began to rage together, and druzhynnyky did not know whom to seize first (Lemko, 2003: 105-106).

However the ban on appearance gradually – closer to the mid-1960s – have become irrelevant. Mini-skirts and jeans penetrated into the street style in the mid-60s, and gradually became a mass clothing (Lemko, 2003: 106-108). That's when the rock and roll music became the music of the mass, and in the Soviet stage music (*estrada*) twist became an official and fashionable style.

Rock music has appeared in Western Ukraine approximately in the 1962 in Lviv. The term "rock music" was not yet used, instead there was a name of Big Beat. In Soviet conditions all rock music was officially called the "big beat" and the rock bands were called – big beat ensembles. Big-beat was an early form of pop music, typical for the UK, which influenced the rock music along with skiffle, rock & roll and rhythm & blues. As mentioned by one of the first rock musicians Yurii Sharifov: "I was present at the birth of what is now called rock music. But even then such term did not exist. During the first years this music was called the big-beat, and in the foreign press the word 'rock' also was not used in those years. 'Rock 'n' roll' – was used, but that was the other category. Many years later, big beat retroactively was named 'rock music'. <...> Rhythm and blues, sang by African-Americans, was also the music, which later became known as 'rock'. All of these events occurred in front of my eyes and were not read in books - I went through it". Yurii Sharifov also speaks about the repertoire of the first Western Ukrainian rockers: "We started performing the music "before The Beatles" – 'The Shadows', for example, that accompanied Cliff Richard <...> Swinging Blue Jeans, Ventures, Les Paul..." (Sharifov, 2003). The difference between the big-beat music and rock and roll was explained in the interviews by Y. Sharifov – big beat is characterized by the strong bass and drums, rock 'n' roll, instead, traditionally lacks the beat foundation. Another important part of the rock music, which made a much bigger impact on it than the big beat was rhythm & blues. Blues was the foundation upon which rock music has evolved throughout its existence. Blues also drew together rock of that time and jazz.

The first rock bands performed at dancing evenings in clubs. One of the first groups was *Electron*, led by Yurii Sharifov, who played in the club of the plant *Lvivprylad*. Yurii Sharifov's band was the first in Ukraine, and maybe even in the Soviet Union which played electric guitars professionally at parties. Significantly, that of all of the Soviet Union earlier (in 1961) the rock band was formed in the pro-Western Latvia. The first big beat group in the neighboring communist Poland was established in 1959. In 1963 or 1964, the Sharifov's band ousted the variety orchestra from the club. Later the band changed its location and was named *Vocal-instrumental ensemble of Lviv radio and television* (Sharifov, 2003).

Among the pioneers of the rock music in Lviv of that time were Volodymyr Boyarskyi, Yurii Pavlov, Boris Pivovarov, Yevhen Struts and others. Characteristic features of Lviv musicians through all these years since the early 60s, were the high skill and the virtuosity of performance. The greatest guitarist of the USSR, according to some estimates, whom BBC called 'Soviet Eric Clapton', Boris Pivovarov started his career in Lviv. He trained to play guitar for 12-14 hours a day at home and, as rumored, even took it to the WC with him (Lemko, 2003: 124). Later he was known for performances with the oldest in the Soviet Union jazz orchestra of O. Lundstrem and with some bands, mainly from Moscow, from time to time returning to the city, particularly in the 1980s, and playing in clubs there. He died and was buried in Lviv in 1995 (Gurin, 2009). Bass guitarist Yurii Pavlov still performs, now in jazz band *Tender Blues* (Lviv). Yevhen Struts participated in the recording of the first Soviet rock album in the Tula band *Electron* (Sharifov, 2003).

The band *Lysy* (The Foxes), ran by Chugunov, first in Lviv began to perform their own works. They established in the student dormitories of the Polytechnic College on the Chysta street, later – as well as Sharifov's band – moved to builders club *Gaz*. Ilko Lemko (Semenov) calls *The Foxes* the most professional big beat band of the city of the 1960s (Lemko, 2003: 124). The name "The Foxes" in the plural, is very similar to the names of the Western rock band at that time: *The Searchers, The Ventures, The Hollies, The Kinks, The Animals, The Yardbirds* and others. Instrumental music, such as the surf rock, dominated in the repertoire of the western Ukrainian big beat bands. Some bands have tried to achieve harder sounding, closer to garage rock. Thus, a group of teenagers from Kremenets of Ternopil region performed at a dance party a song *Wild Thing* by *The Troggs* (Interview, 2010).

"Our first performance was at some school party, where we've shocked teachers and cheered classmates by a song 'Wild Thing' by an English group 'The Troggs'. I did not even know how to adjust my guitar in a proper way, so I've invented my own 'major' tuning when pressing down the strings on one finger (the so-called 'Barre') can be extracted from the major guitar accord. There were problems with the other accords, so the song 'Wild Thing' was a real godsend for me because there were only three accords in it and all of them majeure! My first rock band included four guitarists who all carefully pinned string with one finger", – mentioned about his first rock band from Kremenets that existed in 1965–1968 years, its creator, later well-known rock musician, Victor Morozov. Later, when the guys began playing at dance parties in the local House of Culture, Victor Morozov invented a name for the band "Quo Vadis?" (Interview, 2010). That's how he later named his first Lviv rock band (Romanenko, 1997).

In addition to the above Lviv bands V. Morozov highlights another which was called *Berlin Bubis*, meaning "Berlin boys". *Berlin Bubis* was formed by the Germans, the students of one or more Lviv colleges. Ironically, they, the Germans, made their first rock version of Ukrainian folk song – *Ty zh mene pidmanula*. This version, heard during their performances, prompted V. Morozov to create his own big beat arrangements of folk songs that he performed with *Quo Vadis*? and *Arnica* as, for example *Yak ya spala na seni* and others (Interview, 2010).

Such bands started to appear even in the secondary schools. At first they used acoustic guitars which costed 5–9 rubles, to which they attached electric pickups. In the absence of the access to professional instruments and equipment, they were made by hand. At first there were hand-made guitars, amplifiers and speakers. Then they began to produce more complex instruments after studying various magazines about radio schemes. One of the first synthesizers was made on the basis of a sound generator scheme (Lemko, 2003: 123). Yurii Sharifov made his first synthesizer at school from the accordion keyboard (Sharifov, 2003). Electric guitars were made by hand, for example Victor Morozov and his friends also made such guitars in the mid 60s in Kremenets secondary school. They hewed guitars by the axes and snatched pickups from the street payphones (Interview, 2010).

From 1966 Lviv rockers, thanks to the musicians from the countries of the communist bloc, which began to tour there, began to buy Czech guitars *Jolana*, East German guitars *Muzima* and keyboards (synthesizer) *Ionika*, voice equipment *Regent* and *Vermona*. In the late 1960s power enhancers *Marshall* appeared in the town. However, the equipment and instruments produced by the local artists such as Zaiets, John, Zenyk, Miller, Sereda, and many others were much cheaper (Lemko, 2003: 123). Yurii Sharifov managed to buy one of the first amplifiers *Marshall* and musicians came to visit him and to take a look at it as at a museum showpiece (Sharifov, 2003).

In Western Ukraine there were much more electronic instruments than in the imperial center of Moscow. In the late 1970s the leader of one of the first jazz rock bands of the Soviet Union Alexei Kozlov during his tour visited Chernivtsi musician Gamma Skupinski, where he saw the latest and also expensive even for the contemporary European standards instruments. Kozlov and other Moscow jazz rockers began to buy instruments through their Ukrainian collegues (Kozlov, 2001).

Thus, the main places where young people could listen to contemporary rock music or beat music, and most importantly – to dance, were clubs. Even in the late 1960s the demand and the popularity of the clubs was so great that visiting a club, in which a beat-band was performing was a great problem. Halls were overcrowded. People sometimes stood in line near the cashier window of the builders club *Gaz*, where Sharifov's band and *Lysy* performed, 3–4 hours in advance before the dance to get their tickets (Lemko, 2003: 123).

In the late 1960s the dominant trends which replaced the big beat among the rock bands were blues or blues rock, as well as jazz rock (jazz fusion). The first trend was represented by the group *Oreol* (leader – Oleksandr Balaban) and Trio of Ihor Sulyha, Yurii Sharifov and Yurii Bashmet formed in the late 1960s. Yurii Bashmet (now world-famous violinist) was a guitarist in the trio, Ihor Sulyha (now plays in the famous V. Spivakov's chamber orchestra *Virtuosos of Moscow*) played the drums, and Yurii Sharifov, as always, played bass. The band performed works of Jimi Hendrix, Eric Clapton, *Cream, Led Zeppelin* at the dance parties. This high quality music was copied and imitated, snatched on the tape recordings (Sharifov, 2003). Though the musicians already had their own repertoire, they still played Western songs as close to the original as it was possible, copying "brand" sound. This created in the listener the illusion of presence at the real concert of Western rock stars, and with them – in the Western "free" world.

Visually the evolution of the big beat and rhythm & blues to jazz, of the Ukrainian musicians can be traced on observing Lviv band *Arnica*, which was formed on the basis of groups *Quo Vadis?* and *Eureka* in 1972. Victor Morozov, Victoria Vradii, Volodymyr Kit, Ivan Hospodarets and others (later well-known rock and jazz musicians) performed in *Arnica*. Jazz rock with a strong wind instruments section dominated during the early to mid 1970s. In 1972, the All-Union record company *Melodia* released *Arnica's* album on a vinyl disk, on which in particular was recorded

jazz fusion, progressive and psychedelic rock suite *Vesna* (Spring) for the first time in the USSR (Vinyl, 1972).

Youth had the opportunity to get acquainted with Western music through radio and television. In Lviv, and later in other close to the border areas, the role of affordable translator of Western popular musical movements was performed by the Polish Radio - Warsaw on long waves. With the spread of television, Polish programs could have been viewed, including jazz and rock concerts.

The opportunity to hear high-quality Western pop and rock music appeared also on local Lviv radio. Yurii Sharifov tried himself in the role of radio DJ, and also was the first presenter, who broadcasted western quality "brand" music on the radio. At that time there was a terrible censorship, in the capital of the USSR and in other cities too. Live broadcasts were not allowed, lists of songs and even their texts were checked and censored. Such censorship existed on Lviv radio too, but the editor allowed some tolerance and along with the songs of Charles Aznavour or Elvis Presley *The Rolling Stones* and *The Beatles* and some others were also broadcasted, but still were not perceived by the government and the official culture. These were the first DJ programs of the western music and rock music in Ukraine. However, there was the only program – *Music box* with Martha Kinasevych, broadcasted from 1965 once a week on Saturday and lasted only for 15 minutes. All the texts of all the songs had been previously agreed with the department of the ideological work of regional Communist party committee (Lemko, 2003: 121).

More rock music could be heard from foreign radio, not only socialist and "friendly" countries of Eastern Europe, but also from "capitalist" countries behind the Iron Curtain. These were the so-called "hostile voices" – Western radio stations, which by order of government, were muted by the special generators of noise (*hlushylka*). But the transfer of some radio stations, often in terrible quality, reached the Ukrainian youth as *Radio Luxembourg* from London, Czechoslovakia, Hungarian and Romanian service *Radio Freedom*, including Romanian edition *Europa Liberă* with its music editor and radio presenter Radu Teodor. Russian Service BBC, *Voice of America* and *Radio Sweden* were also listened to. With the popularity of the radio there was a fashion for "radio interception" – recording favorite songs from radio to tape. Of course, the sound quality of these recordings was terrible, it was even hard to guess the name of the song.

Also, there were records, including discs that were brought by the diplomats, the Communist nomenclature, sailors, athletes, and foreign students from abroad. Foreign students were expected after the holidays with a special impatience. In addition, since 1960 in Western Ukraine parcels from the relatives from abroad were allowed (mainly from Poland, USA, Canada). From the mid-1960s people were allowed to go to direct relatives in Poland. So people began to bring brand discs and records of western artists on discs by the Polish recording company *Muza* (Lemko, 2003: 118).

There was a whole layer of enterprising people who illegally traded vinyl records or tape records. Prices on vinyl discs ranged from 40 to 60 rubles, and on some albums, like Jimi Hendrix, reached 170 rubles (At that time – a salary of a well-payed chief of shop of Lviv Bus Factory). Thus, already in July and August of 1967 in Lviv vinyl disk 'Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band' of *The Beatles* could be bought for 40–50 rubles. Two little vinyl discs (EP) of 'Magical Mystery Tour' could be bought cheaper – for 30 rubles. To earn this amount of money an ordinary young Lviv citizen had to work for 4 days unloading train cars (Lemko, 2003: 119).

Since vinyl discs were very expensive, they were copied on reels. In the second half of the 1960s gradually 'music on the bones' was replaced by the records on tape. The cost of the recording was at first 2 rubles and later 3 rubles. People who recorded also compiled the collections of the songs. However, these people were chased by the police and their equipment was confiscated (Lemko, 2003: 117–119).

Other sources of information about western rock music were the foreign magazines, as the Soviet press published only a very small amount of the information and usually of only critical nature, where rock music was portrayed as a syndrome of decline (or "decay") of the capitalism ("bourgeois") society. But there was a bigger amount of the information about Western music in the Polish magazine *Kobieta i Życie* and *Panorama*, and Czech magazine *Melodie*. They could be freely subscribed. The quickest enterprising people copied the covers of the Western magazines and even newspaper photos of *The Beatles*, *The Rolling Stones*, *The Kinks* and other groups. These photos were offered at schools where students could buy them during the school breaks between the lessons for 30–40 cents a piece (Lemko, 2003: 120–121). Later in the 1970s, specialized magazines about popular music from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany became popular, for example – Džuboks, *Melody Maker, Melodie und Rhythmus* and others.

Sociocultural phenomenon of *Beatlemania* (worshiping *The Beatles*) appeared in Western Ukraine in the second half of 1960. It started abroad in 1963 – hysterical/exalted admiration of the music played by *The Beatles* and all the associated with the "Liverpool four". Thus, there were fans of the group also in Lviv. In 1965 *The Beatles* fan nicknamed *Valet* (Jack) was the first in the city, who wore long hair and was the object of imitation of youth. This fashion spread even over the schoolchildren. *The Beatles* fans were also haunted because of the long hair, as previously styliahas were. In autumn of 1966 exalted The Beatles" fans have even paraded the streets, overturned waste bins and sang 'Yellow Submarine'. After the release of the album 'Sergeant Pepper...' it became fashionable to wear tunics and army cap and blow into the tube, and the Soviet Army sergeants were stopped on the street and treated with cheap beer or wine, or so-called *ink* (Lemko, 2003: 116–117).

Thus, the most rapid development of rock music occured in the late 1960s - early1970s, in Lviv. In the early 1970s, the number of quality artists and bands have increased, allowing some of them to gain nationwide, and even Union popularity. According to many people, the best Lviv rock band at that time was *Oreol* that from the early 70s performed in the builders club with its famous lead guitarist Oleksandr Balaban (Oreol). For others, the best was Arnica, formed in early 1972 after the merging of the big-beat band Eureka" (leader Yurii Varum) of pharmaceutical group and the band of Lviv Physics and Mechanical Institute *Quo Vadis*?. The latter group, although an amateur, was the winner of the Lviv Spring" in 1971, but teamed with a professional band Eureka, which at this festival was unsuccessful. Band name Arnica appeared before the zoning selection of the All-Union competition in Chernivtsi "Hello, we are looking for the talents!" It was the symbol of a pharmacy flower, which corresponded to the Accessories group of pharmaceutics. In addition, the name suggested by the worker of the pharmaceutics company Volodymyr Zinykha, was accepted by the young musicians also because in Ukrainian slang it had an erotic name 'kripkostij' (implying erection) and is a natural approdisiac for men and was used to prevent pregnancy by women (Interview, 2010).

Initially *Arnica* (in 1972) included Victor Morozov, Viktor Kanaev, Myroslav Tsyupak (all – vocals, guitar), vocalists Volodymyr Vasiliev, Olga Shcherbakova and Myroslava Vorko, Ihor Hunko (bass guitar), Ivan Hospodarets (drums), Orest Dutko (keyboards), Volodymyr Kit (trumpet), Bogdan Zaiats (trombone), artistic director – V. Vasiliev, musical Director – V. Kit. Later, in 1974–1975 Kanaev, Tsyupak, Shcherbakova, Vorko, Dutko and Kit left Arnica", and Volodymyr Kopot (trumpet), Victoria Vradii (keyboards, vocals), Valentyn Nesterenko (solo guitar), Valeriy '*Perets*' Halycia (keyboards) joined. Victor Morozov became a musical director after Kit's departure (Interview, 2010). Victoria Vradii who began her musical career with *Arnica*, in the late 1980s became famous as *Sister Vika* or simply *Vika* and gained the status of Ukrainian rock legend. One of the songs that Victoria Vradii wrote before

*Arnica* was created and has entered the repertoire of the ensemble was '*Lullaby*' to the words of the executed during the Stalinist terror Ukrainian avant-garde poet and writer Mike Johansen.

In the 1970s the agiotage around the band performances was also very great, especially of Arnica's and several others: "Our band 'Arnica' was super popular. It was the '73 or '74 year. We just played at a police dance club. It was impossible to get there. The real ticket cost was 10 cents, but they were resold for 10 rubles" – remembers Victor Morozov (Romanenko, 1997).

We tried to make a list of the most significant rock bands that existed and legally performed in the 1970s in Lviv, preferably in different 'houses of culture', cafes, international clubs and on dancing floors. In Lviv, except for Arnica and Oreol there also were such bands as the *Prometheus*, *Lvivyany* (Lviv citizens), *Victoria*, *Blicky*, Electron, Mandry (Wandering), Fregat (Frigate), Labirynt (Labyrinth), some of them were underground bands - as Super Vuvky. Rock band Oreol led by guitarist-virtuoso Olexandr Balaban played in club Gaz, Prometheus – in Liap, Arnica – in the police club, Lvivyany with Alec Levinson in Energo (Datsyuk, 2010). The musicians that played in clubs, often introduced the best works of Western rock bands to a young audience. Mandry had in their repertoire in the 1970s, the hits of such groups as Deep Purple, Slade, The Sweet, Pink Floyd, Black Sabbath, Blood, Sweat & Tears, Chicago (Rudnyev, 2008). Thus, we may see a range of styles from hard rock, progressive rock and jazz rock to glam rock. *Mandry* broke up in 1976. In 1975, the famous *Arnica*, the rival of the band *Mandry*, in addition to their own songs, performed pieces of such western blues, hard rock and jazz rockers as Led Zeppelin, Deep Purple and The Sweet. and pop and glam rock like *The Rubettes*.

Communist authorities had to take into account the popularity of rock music among youth. The leader of Oreol Oleksandr Balaban says: "...'Oreol' in spite of the Komsomol still played contemporary music. Besides, Komsomol often spoiled our work, but later they understood that it was better for them to 'adjust' to us <...> Because we've always had enough thankful listeners, and we were liked, so Komsomol changed its mind about whether we were needed" (Kornelyuk, 2006).

Rock music was not an official style, it existed only in the clubs (which also dominated in the 1970s). On radio and television there existed only the official Soviet music. However, after the defeat of The Prague Spring in 1968, the implementation of the ban on rock music has begun. To get legal status and thus get rid of possible persecution some rock bands tried to get an official status. In addition, it enabled bands to have regular performances, the opportunity to purchase equipment and to get salaries. Thus, the so-called *Vocal-instrumental ensembles* (abbreviation *VIA*) started to appear. Yurii Sharifov says: "*VIA emerged when the bands started to be employed in the Philharmonic. It was a purely nomenclature definition, made only "for the paper" – the performer of the vocal-instrumental ensemble played and sang, and received, respectively, more than just an instrumentalist. So, paradoxically, even purely instrumental groups often were called VIA*" (Sharifov, 2003).

Thus, in the second half of the 1960s, and especially in the 1970s a number of rock bands went to work in the Philharmonic – the government agency to organize concerts. These bands were *vocal-instrumental ensembles* (VIA) and received a salary. However, wages for official status were restricting freedom for creativity. The repertoire of the *vocal-instrumental ensembles* for 80% consisted of works written by the members of the Union of Soviet Composers, who had a remote relationship to rock music. To reduce the harm of this status and to perform fewer songs by the Soviet composers, musicians included in their repertoire some instrumental versions of foreign works of rock music and rock arrangements of folk songs.

Band *Smerichka* from Kitsman of Chernivtsi region, established in 1966, was one of the first bands that played pop and rock music and started to cooperate with the

official genres of the pop music (Estrada) and folklore, combining them with their own music in a kind of a surrogate. This pseudo-folklore, which used pop and rock elements and was proposed by the musical director of *Smerichka* Levko Dutkovskyi became a model for the Philharmonic music genre "VIA". *Smerichka* got a job in Chernivtsi Philharmonic, and it was one of the first VIAs. It was followed by the other bands from other regional Philharmonics. *Smerichka* has also created a standard for appearance – concert costume based on traditional village Ukrainian clothes. Ensembles often performed together with the folk dance groups (Brytskyy, 2003: 246–257). Elements of rock music dissolved in such a variety and quasi-folk repertoire.

The "nomadic"/migration of musicians from the cities of Western Ukraine into the entire Soviet Union started- especially from Lviv and a little less from Chernivtsi. Active member of rock and pop life of that time Yu. Sharifov described genre "VIA" and its relationship to rock music: "Then began the harassment and later a new generation grew up in towns and villages which did not feel and understand the urban music. At that time the popularity of Western Ukraine, in particular, Chernivtsi grew – Ivasiuk, meaning pop folk music. All this situation has scattered into many years - rock musicians went to Philharmonic because it gave a status of professionalism, and when they went on tour – they dissipated around the Union. The idea of rock music began to be spoken out. In Ukraine, rock musicians were more forbidden than in Russia - it was impossible to perform, there was no place to perform, and many of the musicians went to Russia. Basically rock music existed in Russia but not in Ukraine" (Sharifov, 2003).

Nevertheless, such tendencies became dominant in the second half of the 1970s. At the beginning of the 1970s, musicians have had illusions about the symbiosis between rock music and the official culture. Rock critics believe that 1971–1972 years were the most flourishing for the rock culture throughout the USSR. Along with the above mentioned rock bands, some VIA used elements of rock music, jazz, funk in their songs based on folk and pop fairly well. These were the Vatra (Bonfire) (Lviv), Smerichka (Chernivtsi), Opryshky (Ivano-Frankivsk). Stylistically they have developed through: folk-pop with some instrumental excursion into the sphere of jazz rock. Band Svitiaz from Lutsk was oriented on jazz rock, Zhyva Voda (Living Water) from Chernivtsi (lead by Sharifov) on funk. Repertoire for Smerichka was created by the composer Volodymyr Ivasiuk, and under his influence other groups also began to take the repertoire of his songs or create their songs similar to his. After a brief rise in the early 70s this trend was gradually spoiled by the multiple "remakes" / variations. The analog of acoustic Philharmonic folk rock with the elements of country music appeared at that time too? For example trio *Marenvch* or *Medoborv* from Ternopil. This genre also suffered some spoiling and became more primitive (Troitskiy, 1990: 345).

However, the authorities began to deliberately displace rock music. This coincided with the persecution of dissidents and various manifestations of dissent in general and of course neo-Stalinist Soviet leadership. After the removal from the post of Ukrainian Communist leader P. Shelest in 1972, began the fight against manifestations of national identity, including the attempts to give a Ukrainian coloring to rock music. This struggle also involved the official bands, which were dependent on the state. National elements, as elements of rock music began to pursue. National elements were seen as a manifestation of the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

The first example of persecution and taking into full control of the official band was *Vatra*, the first band, which worked for the Lviv Philharmonic. Its leader Mykhailo Manuliak tried to combine folk and jazz rock. Their repertoire consisted almost exclusively of Ukrainian songs and jazz rock arrangements of Ukrainian folk songs. In 1971, the group successfully toured Soviet republics of the Caucasus, as it had positive reviews in the press. However, after touring, the KGB started to be interested in the person of Mykhailo Manuliak who had contacts with dissidents and nationally oriented intellectuals. They wanted to persuade him to cooperate. After Manulyak's refusal he

was removed from the leadership in *Vatra* and fired from the Philharmonic. Some Lviv intellectuals who themselves were under the supervision of the KGB wrote an open letter in defense of M. Manuliak and later got to jail, as Ihor and Iryna Kalynets and Stephania Shabatura. Manulyak was offered to break the relationship with Kalynets and change his repertoire. The leader of the band tried to hide the authorship of I. Kalynets and H. Chubai, who also was under the investigation. It also did not help. Mykhailo Manuliak was removed, he was not allowed to go to the Philharmonic, and all the recorded songs of the unreliable poets were erased from the tape at the Lviv radio under the special supervision of the Communist Party official Iaremchuk (Panchyshyn, 1996). After elimination of M. Manulyak, and then the next leader Bohdan Kudla, *Vatra* has gradually turned into a normal Philharmonic VIA without any rock and jazz elements.

Songs performed by *Arnica* also were considered in the category of the false ideological and nationalistic pieces. Thus, in 1972 at the All-Union television contest 'Hello, we are looking for the talents!' *Arnica* debuted and immediately became a winner. Returning from Moscow, musicians hoped for the enthusiastic meeting, but were ordered to immediately disband the team. In the song-winner *Chorna rillia izorana* of the Ukrainian folk genre and claimed by Ivan Franko, the song of the XIV century, officials of Lviv 'culture' found harmful nationalistic echoes. The band was saved by the head of Pharmaceutical Company Vira Vasilieva. She was searching the libraries for the collections of folk songs, showed them to officials and took the musicians on bail. She arranged Victor Morozov as her loader and thus saved him from expulsion from the Komsomol (Troitskiy, 1990: 345).

Instead, Victor Morozov, one semester before graduation of the faculty of the English philology, was excluded from the Lviv National University, together with his friend Oleg Lysheha (now a well-known Ukrainian poet) – their works were published in Grytsko Chubai's literary manuscript journal *Skrynia* (Chest) (Malkovych, 1988: 24).

Some individual songs were prohibited too. Thus, a song by Victor Morozov on the words of Mykhailo Sachenko *Metelyk* (Butterfly) was "found" sexually suggestive and banned by the personal instructions of the Central Committee of Communist Party First Secretary V. Shcherbytskiy. Vocalist of the band *Mandry*, Orest Zhukevych, who performed this song, was punished for the performance of this song (Rudnyev, 2008).

Some songs on the words of famous poets were prohibited too. In the list of banned authors were Bohdan-Ihor Antonych, Oleksandr Oles, Vasyl Symonenko and others. Union of Composers of the USSR imposed a ban on recording and broadcasting the Ukrainian folk songs in the rock groups' variations. Editors of TV and radio were instructed not to let in the air anything that had a rock coloring. The argument for refusing to allow radio and television broadcasting of any new music, which sometimes was active even in the 1990s, was "unprofessionalism". These measures have achieved a goal: the extinction of Ukrainian rock music has become a matter of time. In those years, Ukraine had no private studios for recording high-quality rock music, there were no rock clubs and other unifying structures. The only way to recognition remained free concerts in the "schools" and houses of culture on the outskirts of ther cities (Troitskiy, 1990: 342). So the government pushed rock music at the periphery.

In addition to the officially controlled VIAs in the second half of the 1970s there was a layer of independent rock bands. Its main habitats were youth "hangouts" and hippie subculture. The location of Lviv rockers and later hippies was an abandoned monastery of Discalced Carmelite (now – the Church of Michael the Archangel) located on Lysenko street and Darwin along with the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

It was called the Holy Garden and even formed in October 12, 1968 the Republic of St. Garden. Rockers, hippies, local hooligans, *chuvaky* (dudes), girls – *hnvdly*, simply an alternative youth were hanging out there. Young nonconformists, some of whom went there for several years, decided to create this kind of commune-free territory, a place to hang out. This place was a parody (banter or *stiob*) over the communist state, instinctive protest against it. Originally it was called "the Republic of the underdeveloped Bashkirs", later renamed simply into the Republic of the Holy Garden. The Garden was located in the central part, high on a hill, surrounded by neighborhoods and monastery walls, and therefore hard to be reached by the druzhvnnvky. The courtyard of the monastery became a real bastion for all the freedom-loving people (Olysevych, 2011). The slogan-greetings in the Garden was "Srav pes!" ("Dog pooped!" or "Dog shit"). And the reply was: "Na KPRS!" (on Communist Party of the Soviet Union). There were different variations of the slogan, such as "Dog pooped on a red clover!" Or "Dog pooped! Barbed wire on red clover!". In these obscene slogans veiled hints on the communist system and its repressive policies and the iron curtain could be seen (Risch, 2005: 580-581). One of the Garden's members Kazik painted with a white paint a coat of arms against a green flag, which was the Ukrainian trident of Carmelite monastery church tower. Under the trident there were depicted two crossed leaves of a walnut – a sacred plant of the Holy Garden, and a football between them (Lemko, 2010). There was also the anthem of the Holy Garden, written by Ilko Lemko.

*Republic* was permeated with the spirit of rock music. It got its name in the memory of the abandoned monastery of a *Holy* (Sviatyi) – Serhiy Mardakov that lived near the monastery. He was also a *Prime Minister of the Republic*, and the first and the last president was in the 1975–1981 biennium Ilia Semenov – *Il'ko Lemko* [Lemkos – were the western ethnographic group in Ukraine – *V. O.*). Also, there was the unofficial positions of *Ministers* (Olisevych, 2011; Lemko, 2010)

Band *Super Vuyky* was the important part of this place, it was formed in 1975. It was a Nonconformist underground rock band. Its name *Vuyky* (The Uncles) or "Super Vuyky" implies its meaning. The name "vuyko" at that time was used to call "old-fashioned" (*hillbilly, country bumpkin, hick*) people of Galicia, who were not assimilated into the "progressive" Soviet society. American historian William Risch sees in this name a form of protest (Risch, 2005: 580). Instead, one the first members of the band *Vuyky* D. Kuzovkin – *Kazik* explains this name as the depiction of the realities of socio-cultural relations, including conflicts in the urban area in Lviv. In the minds of the newcoming occupants the word "vuyky" was a figurative designation of local Western population. Soon the native-born people of Lviv (often these were the children of mixed Ukrainian-Polish families) called rural indigenous peoples whom they long and hard. Gradually, the word *vuyko* was replaced by a word *rahul* (primitive villager). Thus, if a rock band, of which we speak, existed now, it would be called not *Vuyky* but *Rahuli* (Kuzovkin, 2011).

*Vuyky* played mostly blues and hard rock, partially art rock. In the first period of their existence, they carefully copied such western bands as *Led Zeppelin*, *Deep Purple, The Doors, Focus, Rainbow, Nazareth* and others. Their music director was a student of Lviv National University Ilko Lemko (solo guitar). The administrator was *Sviatyi*, who also was the rhythm guitarist and partially a vocalist, sound technicians were *Pinochet* (Yurii Rodionov) and his assistant *Kaptar* (Marek Adamovskyi). The first equipment of this band was homemade. Almost all the rockers were self-taught, but quickly reached a high performance technique because of daily rehearsals. They continued (according Lemko): three hours on a solo guitar, three hours on a piano and three hours together. Actually rehearsals as well as performances (sessions) took place in the Holy Garden. Charismatic leader of the band was the drummer and vocalist, an Argentine immigrant of Ukrainian descent Juan Carlos Kotsiumbas or *Carlo*. His

specific rock vocal was described as one of the greatest in the USSR. His voice possibilities Carlos disclosed in the song *Telegram* of the Scottish rock band *Nazareth*. After the collapse of the *Super Vuyky* band, Carlo got on drugs and died in 1984. After his death, the community of the Holy Garden also broke down.

Soon Vuyky gained a cult status among hippies of the USSR, some came specifically to hear this rock band. Although the primary Vuyky's audience were the hippies, but heavy rock played by this band was not very hippie music. During this period, Vuyky tried to reproduce as accurately as possible the original versions of rock songs, and in this they have achieved technical perfection. However, it has also caused the first crisis in the band. Dmitry Kuzovkin – Kazik didn't like the repertoire. He suggested to play some easier, closer to the glam rock music like T.Rex, Smokie or early Dawid Bowie. This could have attracted a much larger audience and popularity, not only cult status, which Vuyky already had. Not convincing the rest of the group Kazik came out of its membership in 1978 (Kuzovkin, 2011).

Improvised sessions appeared several times in the Holy Garden, and were visited by young people from different parts of the USSR. Some of sessions grew into minifestivals and gained a considerable publicity: June 10, 1976 – with 100 people who came from different cities of the Soviet Union and two more in 1977 – the first involving 300 participants and the second September 18, 1977, in the memory of Jimi Hendrix. The last session that was held in the memory of the cult figure of rock guitarist Jimi Hendrix in September 18, 1977 ended with mass arrests (up to 500 people). The point is that on the Sept. 17 there was an officially celebrated date the so-called "The reunification" of Western Ukraine from the USSR and the influx of hippies from all over the Soviet Union, according to Party authorities prevented ceremonial activities (Olisevych etc, 2002: 151–152).

Later Vuyky created its own repertoire in English and Ukrainian languages. Own songs were: Bashkirs Rock, To Be Pocket (1975), Bad World (1976), Hot Shock (1978), We all walk in the garden (the anthem of the Republic of the Holy Garden). This song, as well as Here I am, a dude, Looser, Plain, Statistics, written during 1979–1981 were the main repertoire of the band Vuyky – one of the first among the independent rock bands. A song The Red Clover Blossomed (1979), which had a satirical anti-Soviet content grew very popular. The slogan "Srav pes!" was borrowed from this song (Peretiatko, 1995: 7–8). Vuyky's fans drew this slogan all over the walls of the houses in Lviv.

Besides the Holy Garden, *Vuyky* could appear only in clubs and on the periphery of the city and in schools on graduation parties. First their appearance was in May of 1975 in a club in Lysynychi in the outskirts of the city, after it the group became known. In 1976–1978 *Vuyky* performed at the club in Sykhiv, then in the club of the Glass plant, club *Energo* at Stryiskyi Park (1979). It was there when for the first time the band played to the public their own repertoire. However, soon after the fight during a performance, the restaurant administration refused their services. The group became popular among urban youth, but the excitement frightened the staff of the clubs. According to Yu. Peretiatko, a rock connoisseur, *Super Vuyky* was accompanied by the cyclical developments of the script: excitement – full room– provocation – the refusal of the administration of further cooperation (Peretiatko, 1995: 11). Even greater success has accompanied *Super Vuyky* in the club *Liapa* at the railway station. There for the first time together with the band has performed one of the most famous rock singers of the Soviet era *perestroika* Viacheslav *Nazareth* Sinchuk (Lemko, 2010).

*Vuyky*'s performances at the prom parties at schools also caused a great excitement. Often during the performances they were switched off the electricity, and some of them ended crackdown by police. Therefore, to speak again *Super Vuyky* tried to hide under other official names (*Rhythms of the Carpathians*, a Chilean group *No pasaran*! etc.). On November 12, 1981 when the management of secondary school number 60 turned off the electricity during the speech *Vuyky* and called the police, the musicians were arrested and their equipment was confiscated. After that outraged students, graduates staged a public disorder. In fact it was a spontaneous demonstration (Dzhuboks, 2011: 73). After this incident, rock band ceased to exist. However, many future rock stars, who continued the tradition of Ukrainian-"banter" on Soviet reality already in the late 1980s came out from the Garden, in particular the rockers of the future band *Hadiukiny Brothers*.

Another hard rock group that gained a cult status in Galicia, was *Hutsuly* (Hutsuls) from the town Kosiv of Ivano-Frankivsk region. They were founded on the eve of the new 1970. Apparently, it wasn't a coincidence that the band appeared in such provincial place. Through art educational institution Kosiv College of Crafts. Some college students played in the band *Hutsuly*. *Hutsuly* performed hard rock and early heavy metal. They also listened to "hostile voices" – Western radio stations. In addition, their colleague Volodymyr Boyko (later Doctor of Science, Professor in Kyiv), who then was studying at Kyiv University, got records of the rock bands from the foreign students. *Hutsuly* at first copied the songs of Western rock bands, sometimes replacing the original texts by the texts of their own on the Hutsul dialect. The most famous work was the processing of song *Paranoid* (with a fragment of the song War Pigs) by *Black Sabbath*. They also played instrumental works, then began to do some hard rock style versions of folk songs and then made and carried out their own works (Hutsulskyi, 2009).

*Hutsuly* stubbornly refused to acknowledge the official status only for a short time they settled down in Khmelnytskyi Philharmonic, which allowed them to get the necessary equipment. This did not prevent *Hutsuly* from performing at any parties and even at weddings in Hutsul region. Sometimes they had concerts in other cities, including Lviv in 1974–1975 years: first at the Institute of arts and crafts, and in the international clubs. Special success had a guitarist of *Hutsuly* Iaroslav Ududiak (a.k.a. *Slavko Gyeba*). This group combined 'heavy' rock with mock-grotesque texts on current issues that were sung in Hutsul dialect, such as *Once I went to Kosiv, About Jeans, Limousine 'Zhiguli', Teeth, my teeth. Hutsuly* managed to perform in the District (rayon) House of culture.

Interestingly, that in this Nonconformist group there have played several musicians who later played in professional VIA: Valeri Lenin Tkachenko (guitarist in Svitiaz), Volodymyr Prokopyk (leader of the group Smerichka). Rock band Hutsuly also avoided accusations of nationalism and persecution by the KGB. According to group member Liubomyr Havrysh, "...there were article written against us, we were dispersed, summoned to the Communist Party, questioned by the KGB, because then in the 1974 we've hung national flags over the district committees of the party, the KGB chief visited and questioned <...> Well, what about us? We are musicians, not politicians! We loved everything here, because we were born here!" (Hutsulskyi, 2009). However, there was a lot of opposition, while in 1978 the band was dispersed, until 1988, when it recovered (Rokonada).

For the youngsters rock music was an expression of freedom, an alternative to the dominant Soviet culture. This music was perceived as a breath of freedom. Common listening to the new album or broadcasting were practiced. Thus, after the *White Album* of *The Beatles* I. Semenov and his friends gathered in the attic of a house, made an electricity there and listened to the entire album, which consisted of two discs. The best song was chosen with the help of a poll (Lemko, 2003: 122).

The audience of rock music was mainly an alternative youth, hippies, punks, young intellectuals, the bohemia. Thus, Lviv poet Hrytsko Chubai and his entourage promoted jazz and rock music. To this group, in which Chubai was a leader and a senior fellow, later belonged well-known Ukrainian intellectuals and literary bohemia, including Oleh Lysheha, Victor Morozov, Mykola Riabchuk, Yurko Kokh, Vlodko

Kaufman and Yurko Vynnychuk. Perhaps by chance, the son of H. Chubai Taras later became a rock musician, a leader of the band *Plach Ieremii* and set to music many poems of his father. Almost all of the surrounding Hrytsko Chubai people were not from Lviv, but the provincials. Rock music has influenced not only their individualities, but also reflected in their future life (Moskalets, 2006).

The possibility that legally allowed to listen to the quality rock and pop music were the performances of the musicians from communist bloc countries, such as the concert of the Polish composer, musician and singer Czesław Niemen in 1976 in Lviv. Yugoslav pop musicians Sasha Subota and Ivica Serfezi often toured there who performed the songs alike Frank Sinatra. Especially popular among the fans of rock music were the Hungarian rock band *Locomotiv GT*, *Corvina*, *Illés*, *Omega*, *Piramis* (Datsyuk, 2011).

In the late 1970s, except blues, fusion and hard rock, there spread psychedelic rock, progressive rock, art rock and heavy metal. However, at the same time, with the fashion to style disco, in the clubs and dancing floors live performances of rock bands began to become displaced by the magnetic recordings, light shows discos and kind of DJ discos (Lemko, 2003: 131).

In the worst situation rock music was, as well as the new trends of Western pop music, in 1983–1984. At that time the prosecution of the rock music around the USSR, even around Moscow became very powerful. All-Union Scientific-Methodological Center of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR recommended to ban any playing of the tape recordings of the Soviet "amateur rock groups in the works of which the distortion of the Soviet reality was depicted and the ideas, alien to our society were propagandized". Into the list of such bands "that by its activities may harm the ideological and moral and aesthetic education of youth", were included some Western and Russian rock bands and Ukrainian bands Winter Garden (Kyiv) and Kord from Chernivtsi. It was recommended to check the recording studios and the discotheques. The reason for this recommendation and the ban was the fact that "the interest of the foreign tourists in the works of some amateur Soviet rock groups grew rapidly, and the fact that the radio broadcasts of their works in foreign countries became very popular..." (Spisok, 1984). At that time a number of bands that had an official Philharmonic status and tried to play rock music were ousted from Ukraine. Among those was a Lviv band Oreol with its leader Olexandr Balaban. The group was expelled from Ukraine – into the RSFSR and the Caucasus, and in 1984, stopped to exist in general (Oreol).

*Punk rock* suffered a special persecution in the context of persecution punks. In the USSR, punks, with their exotic appearance, had been accused of sympathizing with the ideology of fascism. The first punks in Lviv appeared in the late 1970s. These were the guys nicknamed Piston, Mustafa, Tykhyi, Banan. The spread of the punk subculture was in the early 1980s. From 1981 punk has been distributed among hippies in the Holy Garden. There have been the attempts to play punk rock in addition to hard rock, for example by Sasha 'AC/DC' and his rock group Baza (Olysevych, 2011). Another center of the *neformal* (unofficial) life was *Virmenka* – a coffee shop in the city center, where artists, hippies, punks, and others gathered. When an Estonian rock group Magnetic Band came to the city in September of 1982 punks were already the main enemies for the police and they have been thoroughly caught out from the crowd. Estonia at the time was the legislator of the punk style throughout the USSR. In addition, heavy metal started to spread all around the country.

Cultivating new styles became visible in close to the Polish border industrial town Novoiavorivsk of the Lviv region, which became a powerful center of the alternatives in the 1980s. The city gave birth to a New Wave and post punk band *Skryabin*. The constant leader of this group Andrii *Kuzma* Kuzmenko together with Ihor Iatsyshyn created the group *Lantsiuhova Reaktsiya* (Chain reaction) in 1983, which played punk and hardcore at school parties in Novoiavorivsk. The speakers were hung on the polls. Both – a guitar, and vocals were connected to such speakers (Istoriya, 2007). In neighboring Galicia regions, particularly in Bukovina and Volhynia the rock movement took place very sluggishly.

Thus, as written by K. Stetsenko the history of rock music in Ukraine in general to the mid 80s was a history of disease and extinction. Cultural, psychological and, especially, the political conditions of the 1970s – the early 1980s did not contribute to the birth and the development of original rock bands, competitions and festivals (Troitskiy, 1990: 345).

However, before the legalization of rock music during the *perestroika* there remained a number of rock groups, mostly in Lviv and its surroundings. In the middle of the 1980s there were such rock bands: folk rock *Lions*, glam rock *Skify*, art rock *Sobacha Radist* from Horodok, hard rock *KooP*, *KooP-2* and *Povtornyi Karantyn*, *Pershe Prychastia*, heavy metal *Apteka* and others. In Ternopil since the 1970s, until 1986 there was a blues and hard rock group *T-34*. Ihor Sazonov, a musician-virtuoso played drums in this band.

A new renaissance of rock music that was in the second half of the 1980s was associated with a half-legal rock groups of the previous time that got a chance to leave the *underground* and spread the style *new wave*, social satire and the so-called '*stiobrock*'. *Lviv rock club*, the 'informal association' was founded and officially recorded for the first time in Ukraine in 1986 in Lviv and, unlike other Soviet rock clubs was not ruled by the local Komsomol committee. And already from 1987–1988 Western Ukraine was one of the important centers of this movement in Ukraine and the USSR. Among the rockers, nonconformists and even representatives of independent amateur organisations there was an impression that rock music caused many young people to the verge of *homo sovieticus* consciousness and to obtain democracy in the society during *perestroika*. Activists of *perestroika* listened to rock music.

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### HAIRED VS BALDHEAD: CONTACT BETWEEN "METALHEADS" AND "GOPNIKS" IN SOVIET UKRAINE, 1987–1991

**Summary.** The aim of the research. The paper highlights main aspects of contacts between members of subculture of Heavy Metal music and youth culture of "gopniks", conflict between them. The article analyzes process of contact and that aftermath for forming of narrative of culture in Soviet Ukraine and in Ukraine since 1991. It rated the role of contact for forming of youth culture space of Ukraine after collapse of the USSR. The research methodology is based on the usage of general-scientific methods, special historical methods (chronological, comparative), Synchronic method of linguistic (used for highlight main meaning of "Gopniks" slang) and Empiric knowledge. The scientific novelty demonstrates revision of contact between "Metalheads" and "Gopniks" in late Soviet Ukraine (1987–1991) and independent Ukraine (1991–2000) and meaning of this for development of culture of modern Ukraine in new millennium. Conclusions: The paper highlights aftermaths for modern Ukrainian culture of contact between "Metalheads" and "Gopniks". The development of contact between them is analyzed. The view of the corresponding process that started from conflict between young "Metalheads" and "Gopniks" and ended by forming a cultural platform for modern culture in Ukraine is created.

Keywords: Ukrainian SSR, Ukraine, counterculture, contact between cultures, Metalheads, Gopniks.

### ПАТЛАТІ ПРО ЧОТКИХ: КОНТАКТ МІЖ "МЕТАЛІСТАМИ" ТА "ГОПНИКАМИ" В РАДЯНСЬКІЙ УКРАЇНІ, 1987–1991

Анотація. Мета дослідження. У статті висвітлено основні аспекти контакту між представниками субкультури Хеві Метал музики і культурою молоді – "Гопниками", конфлікт між ними. Проаналізовано процес контакту та його наслідки для формування культурного наративу в УРСР і в Україні з 1991 р. Подано оцінку ролі відповідного контакту для формування культурного простору молоді в Україні з 1991 р. Подано оцінку ролі відповідного контакту для формування культурного простору молоді в Україні після розпаду СРСР. Методологія праці базується на використанні загальнонаукових методів, особливих історичних методах (хронологічний, компаративний), синхронічному лінгвістичному методі (використано для висвітлення основних значень сленгу "Гопників") й емпіричний досвід. Наукова новизна: продемонстровано перегляд контакту між "Металістами" та "Гопниками" в пізній УРСР (1987– 1991) та незалежній Україні (1991–2000), його значення для розвитку культури сучасної України. Висовки: Висвітлено наслідки контакту між "Металістами" та "Гопниками" та "Гопниками" для культури сучасної України. Проаналізовано розвиток контакту та конфлікту між ними. Створено картину відповідного процесу, який розпочався з конфлікту між молоддю "Металістів" та "Гопників" і завершився формування культурного підґрунтя для культури сучасної України.

Ключові слова: УРСР, Україна, контркультура, міжкультурний контакт, Металісти, Гопники.

**P** roblem Statement. Nowadays culture is influenced by many counterculture elements. For example, heavy metal music was countercultural movement in music back to 1970s, nowadays we have heavy metal music as part of culture, maybe mainstream culture. This made metaphysical issue of culture in modern world, Ukraine, in that case, isn't an exclusion.

Analysis of the research. Mainly, contact between Metalheads and Gopniks isn't investigated in Ukrainian academic history, some aspects was highlighted in cultural investigations but they're don't give us a view of problem in general. Mostly points of contact between Metalheads and Gopniks, and aftermaths of that contact, were highlighted in fiction like "Cult" (Lybko Deresh, 2001) or "Idolatry to Reptile" (Lybko

Deresh, 2002), in same case "Pacyky" (Anatoly Dnistrovuy, 2005) and articles with different scientific level in internet (Choma, 2001).

**Purpose of the article** is to make view of aftermaths of contact between Melalheads and Gopniks in late Ukrainian SSR (1987–1991) and Ukraine (1991–2000) for development of culture in modern Ukraine. To make narrative of that process in general. Make basis for next deeper and more fundamental investigation.

**Presenting main material of research.** The time for Perestroika in the USSR was marked by a number of social changes, among which the counter-cultural movements, which were called "subculture". The most part of they was taken from West, mainly from USA and GB. Beginning in the late 1970s, the USSR began to gain popularity rock and heavy metal music with which closely associated subcultures that were sometimes called "Haired". In the last years of 1980s, the corresponding subcultures became massive not only in the USSR, but also in Ukrainian SSR (Crucial 1980th, 2014).

Alongside this, internal counter-cultural movements of the youth were formed, in particular, so-called, "Gopniks". Etymology of word "Gopnik" is still subject of discussion, because there is no consensual or obvious definition for that word. Among the numerous hypotheses are the following:

- At the end of XIX century, in St. Petersburg the State Society of Charity was organized, where children were cared for small hooliganism and theft. Accordingly, the abbreviation of the institution G.O.P. gave the name to children – "gopnik"(Sindalovsky, 2009);

- In the Russian slang is synonymous with the word "robbery" – "gop-stop". Samename was a rather popular song written in the genre "Russian Chanson" by Alexander Rosenbaum, which was recorded on the album in 1982. "In Memory of Arcadia Sevenogo". The relevant song and musical genre were quite widespread among the gopnik. On the basis of this fact it is possible to assume the probability of restoration of the word "gopnik" precisely to people – representatives of the corresponding counterculture (Crucial 1980th, 2014).

The image of a rocker or metalist in the USSR was not particularly different from the Western-borrowed specimen.

The image of Gopnik, contrarily, was not widespread outside the USSR. Usually, they were young people who had bowed and shaved, or left very short hair. They are dressed in a cheap sport clothing, which was usually pirate "adidas / reebok / puma / other brand of sportswear", shoes or sneakers, or shoes, cap "duck"(Gasevskaya, 2016).

Gopniks adhered to criminal behavior, including hooliganism, petty robbery, and violence (both physical and moral).

Typically, gopniks performed gop-stops in relation to "weak victims" – people with a non-athletic figure, often in glasses for sight. Rarely victims became casual walkers. Gopnik called his victims "loh" (Deresh, 2002).

Gopniks rarely named themselves like "Gopnik" so much that the word "pacan" was used. By this word they also called other boys / men who were not members of the gopnik.

Among the Gopniks was a certain gradation of cool, which was called "chetckost". The more a pacan was corresponded to the image and behavior of the gopnik, the more he was cool, respectively, had greater authority within his company (Deresh, 2001).

Unlike rockers and metalheads, gopniks gathered in groups of 3 or more people, which was their element of communication – to survive together. They gathered in the courtyards near houses where they spent their free time, practicing, mainly, either by drinking alcohol, or by "gop-stop" passers-by, unpleasant people (Choma, 2001).

However, among the Gopniks of the Time of Perestroika, there was a separate category, the so-called "Luber" (from the name of the city in the Moscow region –

"Lyubertsy"). They differed from other gopniks of open hostility to all the western culture. They radicalized in the subculture of the Gopniks the irreconcilability with the appearance of other and Western music and clothing (Gromov, 2006).

Representatives of the Gopniks, as a rule, position themselves as "anti-subculture", one of the main ideas was "not stand out among the masses" (Gasevskaya, 2016). This was the first reason that conflicts arose. Most conflicts between gopniks and rockers / metalheads were due to the long hair of others. It looked like this: The rocker or metalist goes through one of the yards on the territory of which there are gopnikov. They meet his gaze, approach him (in the majority of them it was the men) with the shout of "o-pa-cha" and surround them. They ask him the question: "Hey pacan! Why do you have long hair?" Whatever the rocker answered, it ended with a fight, sometimes with the use of cold weapons, which led to injuries of varying severity, rarely to death, and robbery of the victim (Gasevskaya, 2016; Crucial 1980th, 2014).

There was a certain dislike for the musicians. Goping for themselves as representatives of the criminal world, the Gopniks loved the "Russian Chanson," which was quite rooted in the criminal environment of the USSR and remained after its collapse (Choma, 2001). Any western music (sometimes, western pop music) was seen as something unworthy for their society. If the passerby was not particularly long hair, however, carrying any rock / heavy metal album with him was enough, this was a good reason for the "gop-stop" (Crucial 1980th, 2014).

Later, when in the USSR economic problems and poverty came to a peak (1989–1991), the gop-stops moved on to the appearance before the theft of money or even food. Widespread among Gopniks were the phrases: "Is there 500 rubles? And if I find it !?" or "Are you sorry for the pacans?" It was at this time that conflicts with the Gopniks in the USSR gained the greatest magnitude (Gromov, 2006; Crucial 1980th, 2014).

Due to the increase in the number of conflicts with gopniks, part of rockers and metalheads began to "mask" the representatives of the appropriate subculture to reduce the risk of street harassment from the first (Deresh, 2002).

On the other hand, some Gopniks met closer to Western music and ceased to be so radical to musical preferences and clothes of other people. Some of them began to listen to classical rock bands like The Beatles (Gasevskaya, 2016), Bon Jovi (Very Wonderful, 2011) and others. Something like this happened with heavy metal music. Evidence of this is the viral online video "Lute Kipish with Bass" where Gopnik talks about the death metal band Obituary (Fierce uproar with Bass, 2010). However, this was not a rule in the Gopnik subculture (Choma, 2001).

The aversion to rock and heavy metal music was also caused by ignorance of foreign languages by gopniks. In this aspect, the fans of the Russian rock and heavy metal (which also included a significant part of the rock music of the Ukrainian SSR and Ukraine after 1991) were more coherent with the Gopnik.

In the time of the USSR there was no gradation among Gopniks according to the ethnic principle. Gopnik from the Ukrainian SSR was identified from the state of the RSFSR or the BSSR. These were people who were not, at that time, identified from national movements, on the contrary, if these people were interested in politics, it was pro Soviet (Gromov, 2006). However, as a rule, gopniks did not care about political issues. In this regard, most gopniks resembled a large part of rockers and metalists, who were also not very worried about political issues (except for rejection of the Soviet authorities to accept rock and heavy metal music, which forced the latter to go into a kind of "opposition" to Soviet power).

On the other hand, within the Ukrainian SSR, the Gopnik subculture developed unevenly. Kind of Gopniks like "Lyuberts" in the Ukrainian SSR in the late 1980s and early 1990s were less. They was concentrated on large cities such as Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipro (then Dnipropetrovsk) (Crucial 1980th, 2014). Others, like Gopniks, were called "Beadles", "Ragulis", "Khlobs", and, as a rule, they were people who were only similar to the Gopniks on the outside, in the rest, they were poverty that they could not, or did not want to look "Western" (Jeans, white short-sleeved shirts, fashion jackets and other clothing that was associated with the West). The popularization of the "Russian chanson" in the Ukrainian SSR did not actually happen, it was, rather, the trends of the 1990's, while, in the megacities of popularity, the music was acquired in the middle of the decade, in small regional centers in the late 1990's, and in smaller settlements in the early 2000's. Before this "Russian chanson" replaced the Soviet pop stage (Choma, 2001).

If we step back from the yard of the criminal behavior of the youth of the Ukrainian SSR during the time of perestroika, we observe that most of them looked "Western" and listened to rock and heavy metal music. Long hair for men was popular. This was especially noticeable in small oblast centers of the Ukrainian SSR, such as Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk, Rivne, Chernivtsi, etc. In large cities, the beginning of the stylization of youth under the Gopnik began in the last years of the 1980's, more active at the beginning of the new decade. This was mainly due to the overwhelming poverty of the population at that time (Crucial 1980th, 2014). However, this process accelerated with the achievement of independence in 1991 and in the middle of the decade, the Gopnik subculture gained its peak in Ukraine with all the features that are described above.

At first, the Gopniks of the Ukrainian SSR did not pay particular attention to the appearance, and especially to music. The main idea was hooliganism and petty robbery. Basically they stole the money, later, with the proliferation of players, they tried to steal them, usually using the phrase: "Hey pacan! Give me a listen!" If the potential victim gave the player a hand to Gopnik, then this thing was "confiscated", and given the problems with the law enforcement agencies at that time, the return of the thing in a legitimate way caused a number of complexities that often made it impossible for the relevant process (Crucial 1980th, 2014).

With the mass spread of the Gopnik subculture in Ukraine after 1991. the conflict between subcultures that took their origins from the west and gopnik deepened. The reasons for this were unchanged – the crisis of the economy of post-Soviet Ukraine, from which, besides all, the leak took another reason – the spread of criminal behavior among young people, raising the general criminal level in line with the problem of alcoholism and drug addiction at this time. This led to problems in families where parents were interested in other care than in care and education of them children. Usually these problems were reduced to administrative or criminal liability. Often, parents were fed with surrogate alcohol, which was a through phenomenon of the 1990s, sometimes leading to death from overdose. Family violence also took place. All of this shaped the nihilistic and misanthropic views of the youth towards other people who, together with poverty, demanded that they survive rallying together, relying on internal rules and aggression against others, in combination with small-scale criminal offenses. It is at this time that the "Russian Chanson" with its, often criminal lyricism, replaces pop or rock / heavy metal music (Choma, 2001; Crucial 1980th, 2014).

This situation continued until the beginning of digitalization of society in the late 2000s and early 2010, especially with the expansion of the Internet. Gradually, all this became irrelevant. Most of the Gopniks, who were interested in politics, switched over to skinheads in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Part of the Gopniks of the 1990s was scattered among rock and metal music, rap and electronic music, often mixing all of these genres of music. Another part, due to their lifestyle, died of diseases of the internal organs caused by overweight alcoholism, who were injured by street fights (Gasevskaya, 2016).

**Conclusion:** The main result of the contact between the "haired" and "Baldheads" in the Ukrainian SSR during the time of the Perestroika was the formation of a cultural

plot from which the Gopniks borrowed street criminal behavior, which was used by a part of rockers and metalheads, and they (some of them), respectively, unpretentiousness in the style of clothing and external unattractiveness to eliminate conflicts in appearance with courtyard gopniks. Formed from economic poverty, this cultural platform began to gain new ground since 1991. Among the Gopniks, criminal behavior and differentiation "own-stranger", which was carried out in appearance, clothes and musical preferences, deepened. On this basis, the "Russian chanson" is gaining popularity among the Gopniks, which, in the eyes of rockers and metalheads, made them enemies. The corresponding hostility was most evident in the gop-stops of rockers and metalheads in the first place, through long hair, and then through music and clothing. Being in conflict with various countercultural movements, the Gopnik subculture, as rather destructive, degenerated in the late 2000s and early 2010s, whose representatives switched to counter-cultural movements that developed alongside the Gopnik subculture with which they actively fought in the Ukrainian SSR of Perestroika (to a lesser extent) and in the independent Ukraine at the end of the twentieth century.

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# THE RHETORIC-AND-PROSODIC STRATEGIES OF THE ENGLISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE

**Summary.** The aim of the research is to determine and analyse the rhetoric-and-prosodic strategies in the utterances expressing viewpoint in English political discourse. The research methodology is based on the usage of the principle of anthropocentrism; communicative and cognitive-discursive approaches; basic grounds of the theory of language, linguistics of the text, general theoretical fundamentals of phonetics and phonology on the mechanisms and patterns of functioning of phonetic means of suprasegmental level of speech in actualisation of oral speech. The scientific novelty demonstrates linguistic characteristics of public political speech; presents the study of intonational actualisation of English political speech; determines certain prosodic strategies of the viewpoint expression in English political discourse. Conclusions. The results of the research showed that the intonation strategies in political discourse allowed the speaker to convey the speech essence to the audience, paying attention to informative moments, and also reflected the dynamics of his emotional state change.

Keywords: political discourse, viewpoint, rhetoric-and-prosodic strategies, intonation, auditory analysis.

### РИТОРИКО-ПРОСОДИЧНІ СТРАТЕГІЇ АНГЛОМОВНОГО ПОЛІТИЧНОГО ДИСКУРСУ

Анотація. Мета дослідження – визначити і проаналізувати риторико-просодичні стратегії вираження точки зору в англомовному політичному дискурсі. Методологія праці: використано принцип антропоцентризму; комунікативний та когнітивно-дискурсивний підходи; базові положення теорії мови, лінгвістики тексту; загальнотеоретичні положення фонетики і фонології щодо механізмів і закономірностей функціонування фонетичних засобів супрасегментного рівня мови в актуалізації усного мовлення. Наукова новизна: висвітлено лінгвістичні характеристики публічного політичного мовлення; здійснено дослідження інтонаційного оформлення англомовного політичного мовлення; визначено окремі просодичні стратегії вираження точки зору в англомовному політичному дискурсі. Висновки: інтонаційні стратегії у політичному дискурсі дозволили промовцеві донести до аудиторії сутність виступу, звертаючи увагу на інформативно важливі моменти, а також відобразили динаміку зміни його емоційного стану.

**Ключові слова:** політичний дискурс, точка зору, риторико-просодичні стратегії, інтонація, аудиторський аналіз.

**Solution** tatement of the problem. Present day conditions of expanding the intercultural contacts requires an increased interest of the linguistic researches in general and phonetic ones, in particular, in identifying the features of building successful communication in different areas of public life and, in this context, the specificity of political speech adequate prosodic organisation.

It is known, political communication is characterised by strongly pronounced rhetorical nature. Rhetorical competence helps speakers convey their views, present them to a wider audience, make contact, position themselves in a favourable light, convince the audience of the correctness of their views and encourage specific action. So, this contribution focuses specifically on the way in which politicians linguistically / prosodically encode their beliefs, interests, biases, and points of view in a wide range of political discourses (Aleksiievets, 2017).

The study analysis. There is now a growing interest in the discourse studies, political discourse, and the intonation of discourse. It can be considered as a social request, aimed to study the features of political thought and actions, as well as those linguistic and rhetoric-and-prosodic means politicians employ to impact, persuade and control public opinion. In contemporary world together with the global spread of democratic principles of the state structure, political discourse, its various features and nuances as well as its linguistic presentation is of central importance. It is proved by the studies of native and foreign linguists dedicated to different problems in this sphere (A. Belova, R. Blakar, P. Chilton, A. Chudinov, T. van Dijk, O. Issers, V. Karasik, L. Nahorna, Ye. Sheigal, L. Slavova, R.Vodak and others (See: (Aleksiievets, 2017)). The specific characteristic of public political discourse, according to Ye. Pavlova (Pavlova, 2010: 2), is its pragmatic focus on the public opinion managing, on the formation of a certain assessment of information in a mass addressee, and a given emotional reaction to it.

We shall point out here that political discourse is a public discourse based on the political picture of the world, aimed at its formation, change, use to induce people to a definite political activity (Pavlova, 2010: 16). Its field of activity is predetermined by the sphere of politics, characterized by a specific set of communication situations, typical models of speech behaviour, certain topics, a set of intentions and speech strategies. According to N. Kirvalidze (Kirvalidze, 2016), political discourse is a discourse of a politician and if we view it within the professional framework, it can be considered as an institutional form of discourse. This means that only those discourses can be qualified as political which take place in such institutional situations where the speaker expresses his/her opinion as a political debates, etc.).

At the same time, it is necessary to mention that success in public speech presentation depends to a great extent on its intonational organisation. Analysing the problems of intonation and discourse, A. Wichman mentions that the use of prosody to signal global structures in spoken texts is currently of great interest because of its potential application in technology (Wichmann, 2013: 7). We can declare the role of intonation in political technologies.

The results of many works show that the effectiveness of politician's speech is determined, on the one hand, by the specificity of a certain speech, relevant stylistic and genre norms, and on the other, by the author's intention. Also, it is important that all structural and the content elements of the presentation should be adequately organised prosodically. Since it is established that in oral speech it is intonation that is the key to the speaker's intention correct interpretation by the audience.

As we see, prosodic means of public speaking are the important factor that determines a degree of pragmatic influence on the audience, as well as they help the speaker reach the set goal.

So, **the aim of the current paper** is to experimentally determine and analyse the rhetoric-and-prosodic strategies in the utterances expressing viewpoint in English political discourse using methods of phonetic research.

**Statement of the basic material.** In communication the speaker wants to realise two types of goal: first of all, he thinks about the result of the message, that is about its effectiveness, and, at the same time, he calculates "the price" of different approaches which are more or less relevant to the communicative situation. It allows us to consider speech communication in terms of universal strategy (the goal) and specific tactics (its achievement), i.e. as a strategic process, the basis for which is the choice of optimal linguistic resources. The messages transmission in it can be considered as a series of the speaker's decisions. Most of them are unconsciously, or automatically, accepted, but a number of situations require a conscious search (Issers, 2008: 9–10).

First of all, it should be noted that the concept of "strategy" is widely used in the studies of various areas of discourse analysis. T. A. van Dijk considers strategy as a "property of cognitive plans" and emphasizes that, unlike the rules and principles, strategy is characterized by "flexibility" (Deik, 1989: 272–273). The strategies implement communicative goals in the process of the socially-caused engagement and are "relevant" to the "choice" that enables the person to achieve these goals" (Deik, 1989: 272). The choice of strategies is based on the analysis of the communicative situation and forecasting its outcome.

It should be also specified that strategy means the cognitive aspect of communication with the help of which the optimal decision of the communicative tasks under the conditions of the information insufficiency about the partner's actions is controlled (Issers, 2008: 100).

Investigating the problems of public presentations, Ye. Freydina (Prosodiia, 2015: 22) remarks that in concern the rhetorical discourse that strategy (discursive) is a set of planned moves that serve the optimal realization of the speaker's intention in the process of his interaction with the audience. The linguist continues, "The crucial factor in any public speech is the ability of the speaker to build a rapport with the audience, to establish and maintain contact and to monitor the reaction of the listeners. Numerous interaction strategies are aimed at expressing the speaker's attitude, facilitating the perception of the speed and maintaining contact" (Prosodiia, 2015).

At the same time, the analytical review of current theoretical studies has shown that prosodic organisation of speech is explained by its close relationship with other levels of discourse production, the ability to transfer the real sense effectively, to be a reliable source and conductor of information as well as to perform a specific communicative impact on the interlocutor (Kalyta, 2001; Kalyta, 2007; Shtakina, 2011). Investigating this problem, Postnikova (Postnikova, 2011: 137) notices that modern political communication is considered as a special communicative process with the national, volitional, and spiritual character, and the prosodic means play the key role in the implementation of the communicative strategies and semantic models in it.

It should be noted that the oratorical intentions of informing the listener with the speaker's ideas, the desire to win and convince the audience are implemented through the prosody, which serves as a conscious and purposeful tool of influence, and even a certain communicant's image is created. In this case, it is characteristic that with the help of the specific use of the prosodic components the highlighting key moments is not only carried out and the meaningful text distribution is created, but the perlocutive effect realised by the intonation means is achieved (Postnikova, 2011: 113; Steriopolo, 2004; Shtakina, 2011: 224).

Considering the ideas outlined, in the context of the proposed research, the intonation strategy is interpreted as a complex of intonation means aimed at achieving the communicative goal.

The results of previous investigations have revealed that political discourse possesses a special rhythmic and melodic organisation, which is subordinated to a number of extralinguistic and linguo-cultural factors such as conditions of communication, language variant, specific features of language personality. The English political discourse is characterised by a set of prosodic parameters, namely: the terminal tones diversity (falling, level, rising, compound, and complex tones); the highlighting of the most significant components of the utterance due to widening or narrowing of range; the distinct rhythmic organisation; the speech tempo variations: from slow to fast; the high frequency of logic, syntagmatic, and pragmatic pauses; the loudness modifications: from moderate to high; the timbre variations: from soft to tense.

On the basis of the carried out auditory analysis, the typical features of the intonation strategies of the viewpoint expression in Barack Obama's Victory Speech

(Obama, 2012), presented in November 6, 2012 in Chicago after his final election for a second term; which the orator used so effectively, include:

• the falling and wavy tone movement within a single intonation group: It moves forward  $\S$  because of you.|| It moves forward  $\S$  because you reaffirmed the spirit that has triumphed over war and depression, the spirit that has lifted this country from the depths of despair  $\S$  ..., what helped the speaker sound emotionally and persuasively;

• the checked scale and the low falling tone: and we rise or fall together as one nation and as one people. []];

• the emphatic scales usage: *the best is yet to come*, in particular, the sliding scale, in the combination with the low falling tone, the moderate loudness and the slightly accelerated tempo serve to express the main idea;

• the combination of rising tones with short pauses which highlight every word into a separate intonation group, the increased loudness and the accelerated tempo: *It doesn't matter* § *whether you're black or white* § *or Hispanic* § *or Asian* § *or Native American* § *or young* § *or old* § *or rich* § *or poor*, § *abled*, § *disabled*, § *gay* § *or straight*. I that creates the effect of the increasing and enhancing the speaker's viewpoint;

• actually the pauses as an intonation strategy of enhancing the semantic weight of the speaker's point of view, creating the effect of emotional growth, dynamism and brightness: To,night, in this evlection, vou, the American people, revinded us that that while our voad to have been vard, while our journey has been vong, we have picked our selves up, we have fought our way vback, and we know in our hearts that for the United States of America, the best is yet to come.

• the high loudness and strict rhythm: We are,  $\S$  and for ever will be,  $\S$  the "United States of America, ], when the speaker reaches the climax owing to the broke up division of the utterance into syntagms, the high pitch, the accentuation of important parts of the utterance;

• the combination of two falling tones and perceptual pause  $(\xi)$  that we live  $\xi$  in the greatest nation on earth that emphasize the semantic value of the word and the whole fragment together with the increased loudness and the accelerated tempo, etc.

The speech is generally captivating with a high degree of emotionality, natural in such a situation, persuasiveness and a variety of linguistic means that are used by the speaker. However, these intonation strategies are perhaps the most powerful means of conveying the feeling of the President, his attitude to the audience, which is also in a state of emotional uplift. The idea of the United States of America unity, its people and their future is a leading one in the speech. It begins and, emotionally growing, ends by this.

**Conclusions.** The results of the research presented in the current paper showed that the intonation strategies in the analysed speech allowed the speaker to convey the essence of the speech to the audience, paying attention to informative moments, and also reflected the dynamics of change of his emotional state. The prospects of further research are seen in the study of the role of prosody in making the politician's image and his individual style.

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# REVIEWS

# SOURCES OF LAW OF UKRAINIAN HETMAN STATE: TEACHING GUIDE / S. I. BUDNYK, V.Z. PRUS, O.V. SHKURATENKO. KYIV: MARCH-A, 2017. 242 P.

### ДЖЕРЕЛА ПРАВА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГЕТЬМАНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ (ВІЙСЬКА ЗАПОРОЗЬКОГО): НАВЧ. ПОСІБНИК / БУДНИК С. І., ПРУС В. З., ШКУРАТЕНКО О. В. КИЇВ, 2017. 242 С.

he emergence of a new teaching guide on History of State and Law of Ukraine, which is focused on the sources of law of the Hetman state, is an extremely necessary and useful thing. The course of History of State and Law of Ukraine and, in particular, its section on the Ukrainian law of the 2nd half of the 17th century – the first half of the 18th century is highly important in shaping the



national consciousness and statesman-like attitude of the youth. Without a profound and comprehensive analysis of the most important legal monuments (sources of law), it is impossible to learn about the historical and legal heritage and to create scientific and legal thinking which is essential for studying and applying laws. This teaching guide will make it possible to study legal acts of the aforementioned period in more detail and to become acquainted with the process of formation of the areas of Ukrainian law.

In the preface to the publication, the authors clearly defined the goal and intentions as well as the methodological principles they followed when writing the guide. The first section dealing with the present state of the scientific study of the topic is insightful. Apart from the relevance mentioned, due attention is

paid to clarification of the methodological and theoretical foundations of understanding the sources of law. The effective combination of the legal and historical research methods is worth mentioning. The present state of scientific research of the sources of law has been addressed comprehensively and the notion of a source of law in historical and legal thought is explained in detail. A positive aspect of this part of the work is a rather detailed construction of the definitions of sources of law and their classification (p. 37–44). Quite reasonable consolidated information presented at the beginning should be highlighted – the use of various names of the Cossack state such as the Hetmanate, Zaporizhian Host, Ukrainian Hetman state as well as Cossack Ukraine, which are all commonly known; also, its chronological framework and territorial boundaries are focused on. It is stated that the publication will mostly deal with the sources of law of the 18th century Left-Bank Hetmanate.

Particularly noteworthy is the attempt to study the sources of legal awareness that had an impact on the formation of the Cossack legislation, namely: customary law, Lithuanian statutes, Magdeburg Law and church law. In this same part, such source of law as the *Pacts and Constitutions*... by Pylyp Orlyk is described. However, it appears that it would have been more reasonable and logical to study this document in the next section, where Hetmans' legal acts are studied. For, as the authors say, the *Pacts and Constitutions*... were an attempt to generalize the social and political system that had been created in the period of existence of the Sich and the Zaporizhian Host, which lasted a century and a half. They were a logical extension of Hetmans' previous acts, even though they differed from them (p. 60). In our opinion, the review of the *Pacts and Constitutions*... after a detailed characteristic of the 1654 March Articles and treaty

articles would have shown the development of Ukrainian law in respect of Hetmans' legislative acts more vividly.

In the second part, which deals with the legal acts of the Cossack state, the authors analyze documents of the Hetmanate government and legal acts of the General Military Staff (starshyna). Analysis of legal acts issued by the Hetmanate authorities starts with the Universals. Due attention is given to the explanation of the term itself – its literal translation, origin, and establishment of its meaning. Having described the definitions already used in the domestic encyclopedic editions and monographs, the authors give their own interpretation of the Universals as regulatory legal acts of the Hetmanate government of the second half of the 17th century – the first half of the 18th century, which acts regulated the public relations by establishing (revoking or amending) legal provisions, prescribed the rights and duties of specific participants of legal relations, determined the responsibility level of individuals and social ranks for offenses committed by them (p. 67). The information about the structure of a Universal, manner of its dissemination, punishment for failure to comply with the same, etc. looks interesting (p. 69).

The guide points out that such legal acts as orders and instructions were similar to the Universals; Hetmans' letters and charters are mentioned as well as the scope of their application. These documents are characterized by the same principle as the Universals but not as extensively. However, it is emphasized in the publication that the Universals were of particular importance and "they were the most common legal acts" (p. 74). While emphasizing the traditional classification of the Universals into general and special ones, the authors of the guide take it a step further and offer a more in-depth classification by the subject of legal regulation; in particular, they singled out the following: Universals dealing with military issues and day-to-day governance, land Universals (which protected and secured the private ownership of land), protective (taking under Hetman's personal protection), Universals that were related to the legal status of the Cossacks, clergy, peasants and town dwellers. In particular, as to the latter, the authors suggest the interesting idea that "sometimes the status of town dwellers (living in towns using Magdeburg Rights – N.R.) was even more privileged than that of the Cossacks, especially during the rule of Hetman I. Mazepa" (p. 89).

Noteworthy is the emphasis made in the guide on the socio-economic development of the young state and, consequently, the legal acts relating to it. In particular, there is a description of Hetman Universals that allowed engagement in a certain branch of economic activity (flour milling, alcohol distillation, saltpeter production, glassmaking, etc.) as well as exclusive right to pursue a certain trade.

Also, there is a characteristic of Hetman acts that regulated the Hetmanate's judicial system. Special attention is given to Hetmans' efforts in contributing to the proper functioning of the judicial system. However, according to the authors, despite the Hetmans' efforts, the Hetmanate's judicial system was far from ideal. In the conclusion, the authors reasonably prove that the Cossack state, being autonomous, had its own legal system, which is an important characteristic of a state (p. 104).

The subsection entitled "Legal Acts of the General Military Staff (starshyna)" shows the latter's place in the governing bodies and describes its composition and functions. The guide pays great attention to the status and competence of the General Staff (starshyna) Council, provides a detailed analysis of legal historians' opinions of this issue and clearly identifies several viewpoints: some believe (M. Hrushevsky, O. Lazarevsky, K. Okynashevych) that it was an advisory collegial body under the Hetman, others consider that it was a clearly structured independent body which acted within its competence, operating concomitantly with the Hetman and was a full-fledged legal subject (M. Slabchenko). The authors themselves tend to think that the General Staff (starshyna) was not an independent subject of legislative initiative and did not issue legal acts in its own name but only executed Hetman's instructions,

except for the Universals that were published in the times of P. Polubotok. The guide points out that the existence of a body the Hetman had to reckon with when issuing legal acts proves that there were elements of democracy in shaping the legal framework of the Cossack state (p. 113).

The third section entitled "Extension of the Russian Legislation to the Legal System of the Ukrainian Hetman State (Zaporizhian Host)" starts with the subsection dealing with provisions of Hetmans' treaties made with the Russian tsars. This subsection pays great attention to the Treaty of Pereyaslav signed by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1654. This treaty is still believed to be one of the most contentious issues and is often the subject of debate. Therefore, despite the analysis of the most widely used opinions: the traditional Russian opinion (there was no equal treaty; Ukraine became a part of Moscovia and the tsar granted certain privileges to the Hetman and Cossacks) and the Ukrainian opinion (it was a bilateral treaty whereby the Moscow tsar's protectorate was established), more attention should have been given to this question; also, the construction and evaluation of the treaty in the modern Ukrainian historical and legal science should have been explained in more detail. The history of signing and creating the March Articles is described in detail, and the Articles are thoroughly analyzed from a legal perspective. There is a comparative analysis of draft Hetman articles submitted to the tsar and those approved.

The guide tells about the following treaties concluded by Hetmans with the Moscow tsars, which treaties are referred to by the common name "treaty articles". The authors emphasize that the treaty articles are constitutional acts since they determined the legal status and general provisions of the administrative and political system of the Ukrainian Cossack state, confirming its autonomous status (p. 118).

It will be interesting for future lawyers, historians and all those who take an interest in this subject to learn that the treaty articles were always made up of two parts: the basic agreement (which was based on the March Articles) and new supplements. It is reasonably recalled that at the time of signing the agreement with Yu. Khmelnytsky in 1659, the first part was already falsified by Moscow in order to limit the autonomy. Particular attention is given to the characteristic of the treaty articles of the 18th century Hetmans, starting with Hetman I. Mazepa (1687) and ending with the "Authoritative Ordinances" (Reshitelnye Punkty) by D. Apostol (1728); however, similar acts issued by the Hetmans in the second half of the 17th century, namely I. Briukhovetsky, I. Mnohohrishny, I. Samoylovych were overlooked. It seems that they should have been addressed as well in the context of analyzing the process of continuous growth of the Russian laws' impact on the Hetmanate and destruction of its autonomy.

The subsection "Legal Acts of the Tsars, Little Russia's Order and Collegium of Little Russia of the Russian Empire" quite reasonably starts with the information that from the beginning of the 18th century, absolutism was established in Russia as a form of government of the state, which had a significant effect on the Hetmanate's legal status towards restriction of the Hetman power. With the establishment of absolute monarchy, law was recognized as the only legal source of the Russian Empire (p. 141). The authors present a classification of the forms of law and look at its main forms: manifesto, regulations, decree, statute and charter.

The guide clearly identifies the main trends in the extension of the Russian legislation to the legal system of the Ukrainian Hetman state, when gradual limitation of the Hetman's power and authority occurred due to a series of reforms conducted by the Russian authorities in the spheres of state power organization, military, socioeconomic, cultural and religious spheres. Detailed description of the reforms makes it possible to conclude about the intentions of the Russian Empire to wipe out the autonomy of the Hetmanate, destroy the effective legal sources and take control of its legal system. Legislative sources of the Russian law in administrative, judicial practice and of the current legislation of the tsars are addressed separately, and their classification is presented.

The following subsection deals with systemization of the laws of the Ukrainian Hetman state in the first half of the 18th century. Having specified their reasons, the authors of the guide analyze the attempts to harmonize the current Ukrainian laws. Primary focus is on the collection entitled "Laws under Which People of Little Russia Litigate". Legal sources can be traced, the structure is presented, certain sections of the collection are described in detail, and its huge impact on the subsequent development of Ukrainian jurisprudence is pointed out. Also, information is presented about other attempts of codification, where their structure and role are analyzed in detail. The authors of the guide specifically highlight the fact that none of these documents ever gained the status of codification act or was introduced, because the Russian government was not interested in the development of independent Ukrainian law. The strengths of the publication are the conclusions, which can be found in each section and subsection; thanks to this, the information can be structured and learned more easily.

In view of the above, the guide under review makes a good impression, the material is presented consistently, logically, and its continuity and intra-subject links are ensured. The text of the narration complies with the standards of the Ukrainian literary language and is clear. However, it should be mentioned that the text is densely packed with quotations from Russian-language documents. In our opinion, their quantity should be reduced; instead, texts of the documents should be placed at the end of each subsection together with assignments related to them. The applied practice of listing questions at the end of each subsection for self-control purposes is effective from the viewpoint of methodology. This encourages a more in-depth comprehension of the material and prevents its mechanical memorization. At the same time, the teaching guide would be even better if its methodological component was broader and included materials for self-leaning presented in a more meaningful way: terminological dictionary, tests.

We would like to mention the immense amount of work done by the authors of the guide and, in particular, point to the use of new interesting facts related to the content. The authors of the guide managed to touch upon numerous pressing issues which are often left out in the scientific methodological literature dealing with the issues of history and theory of state and law. The guide will be useful for students, teachers, researchers and all those who are interested in the problems of the history of Ukrainian state and law.

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