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Lesya Alexiyevets

PhD hab. (History), Professor,
Department of the World History and Religious Study,
Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University (Ukraine)
lmalex@tnpu.edu.ua
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0030-3314>

Леся Алексієвць

Доктор історичних наук, професор,
Кафедра всесвітньої історії та релігієзнавства,
Тернопільський національний педагогічний університет
імені Володимира Гнатюка (Україна)



Mykola Alexiyevets

PhD hab. (History), Professor,
Department of the World History and Religious Study,
Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University (Ukraine)
malexiyevets@tnpu.edu.ua
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6128-0438>

Микола Алексієвць

Доктор історичних наук, професор,
Кафедра всесвітньої історії та релігієзнавства,
Тернопільський національний педагогічний університет
імені Володимира Гнатюка (Україна)

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 (historical-chronological, 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 institutionalization. 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 European-and-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-польських 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.

S **statement 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. Kudryachenko, 1993), V. Strutynskyi (V. Strutynskyi, 1998), L. Chykalenko, O. Vasyliiev (Chykalenko, Vasyliiev, 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. Alexiyevets 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 pryntsyipy*, 1990), a Treaty about Neighbourliness, Friendly Relations and Cooperation (May 18, 1992) (*Dohovir mizh Ukrainoiu i Respublikoiu Polshcha*, 1992), the joint communiqué 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 legal-and-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 Ukrainian-

Polish 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 institutionalization 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 significant 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-and-political 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 treaty-legal 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 contingents 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-and-security 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-and-security 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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