

## **The role of Ukraine in stabilization and integration processes in the CEE region**

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The name of the European Union itself means that the main goal of real Europeans is to create not only Western European, but Common European House. Without Ukraine and its Southern and Northern neighbours, i.e. Moldova and Byelorussia, this house will be incomplete, insufficient, asymmetrical and illogical, because Ukraine is the centre of Europe. Even in times of Austria-Hungary, geodesists set up the obelisk of the centre of Europe nearby the city of Rakhiv (Transcarpathian region). So how can something be complete without its centre, like an organism without heart and spine?

The European union that faces the Atlantic ocean has possibility to broaden up only towards the European East. Having united nations and states all over the European civilized area, the EU is becoming the most powerful social and economic, political and spiritual organism of globalized human community. Europe should be united and grouped according to the directives of John Paul II, proclaimed in the city of Hnyesno on June 3, 1997 in presence of the leaders of the Central and Eastern European states. In his proclamation the Pontific appealed to Europeans to strengthen the peace. He said that any nation, even the least significant, shouldn't be left behind the community. The reference of the Pope to human values obtains a new meaning nowadays. Historical understanding and inner necessity of the Pope is manifested in effort to build a spiritual bridge to unite nations of East and West.

The Ukrainian nation and its state organizations have been in the epicentre of the European history for more than 6 millenniums. Archaeological findings and written sources assure the civilization role of our predecessors in the life of the European nations. On the area of present-day Ukraine there was a formational centre of the Indo-European ethnic community. From that starting point people spread to East and West, North and South and gave birth to many nations. At the same time the Ukrainians remained on their rich land with its beneficial mild climate, forming their grain-growing nation and bringing in significant contribution into the European civilization process. Nowadays it is impossible to withdraw the Ukrainian nation and the state from the European integration process. Because this will contradict the logical development of humanity and the needs of security, peace and co-operation between European countries, Ukraine always was, is and will be in Europe. That is why any attempts to separate it from the EU will surely fail. The sooner the EU politicians realize this, the better it will be for all of us. Let us consider the main directions of the European dimension of Ukraine and possible ways of integration into Common European House.

### **UKRAINE IN THE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION PROCESS**

Mild climate, rich and diverse nature assists to the formation of the specific mentality of the Ukrainian nation, nation of wealthy landowners, independent and freedom-loving people. They always were friendly, hospitable, kind, but envious neighbours took it as a sore point always trying

to concur them. The serfdom law did not exist on the territory of Sweden and Ukraine. Corvée was imposed by Russian and Polish landlords. Such features of the Ukrainian people assisted to the formation of high intellectual potential which remains one of the highest in the world (in spite of the fact that a lot of strangers tried to destroy it).

The roots of the Ukrainian nation come from tribes of Tripilya culture more than 6 thousand years ago. The majority of scientists consider Tripilya tribes to be the ancestors of Slavs, especially the Ukrainians. Archeological findings in more than 1200 settlements between the Dnipro and the Dnister proved that the pottery and agricultural implements were the same as in contemporary Ukrainian population on this territory. Deciphering of aerial photographs allowed our topographers to discover the Tripilya ancient cities – Maydanetske and Talyanky (450 hectares), that exceeded the cities of ancient Greece and Rome in area and in development of handicrafts. Our ancestors were the first in Europe to domesticate a dog and a horse, to invent a wheel. These facts were proved by Polish, Czech and American scholars.

The contribution of the Ukrainians into the European and world civilization process is very significant but it is not well known not only by Europeans but also by the Ukrainians. Let us consider the contribution of the Ukrainians to European education, science and culture.

The education in Ukraine has old and famous traditions. It dates back to the times of Volodymyr the Great. There were church and monastery schools, the books were written and translated into old Slavonic language. The education in the period of Hetmanship turned out to be the world phenomenon. Literacy covered 90% of adult population. Philosophy, politics, poetry, music (especially church music) were honoured and respected. Russian Empire destroyed the Ukrainian education, banning the education in the Ukrainian language, printing Ukrainian books and newspapers, organization of concerts and performances in Ukrainian.

The Ukrainian school and pedagogical science always was in vanguard of world educational system. Ukraine presented the world such famous pedagogues – enlighteners as K.Ushynskiy, O.Potebnya, A.Makarenko, V.Sukhomlynskiy, H.Vashchenko. The rest of Europe can be proud only of the names of J.Pestalozzi and Y. Kamens'kiy.

The Ukrainian science was and is the integral part of the European and world science. Achievements of the Ukrainian science were and are significant not only on the native land but in exile, in Diaspora as well. In times of Empire mechanics, mathematics, physics, cosmic science were of primary importance. We are proud of the mathematicians M.Ostrogradskiy and M.Kravchuk, the cyberneticist V.Hlushkov, the mechanic S.Tymoshenko, the mechanic and physicist M.Bogolyubov, the physicist I.Pulyuj, the geochemist V.Vernadskiy, the biochemist I.Horbachevskiy, the microbiologist D.Zabolotniy, the first Ukrainian Nobel prize-winner, biologist I.Mechnikov. Especially significant is the contribution of the Ukrainian scholars to the development of cosmic sciences and rockery (O.Zasyad'ko, M.Kybalchych, K.Tziolkovskiy, Y.Kondratyuk, S.Korolyova, V.Hlushko, M.Yangel, V.Cholomey). The humanities have developed not so successful, but still there are such outstanding figures as the philosopher H.Skovoroda, the

philologist O.Potebnya, the historian M.Hrushevskiy, the orientalist A.Krumskiy, the economist M.Tugan-Baranovskiy, the antropologist M.Miklukho-Maklay, the geographer S.Rudnytskiy.

The high level of the Ukrainian culture is testified by antiquity and perfection of Ukrainian language. Linguists call Ukrainian a key to the most ancient language of Sanskrit. In addition to that the Ukrainian folk song is considered to be one of the most significant cultural achievements of mankind. The famous Ukrainian opera singers S.Krushel'nytska, O.Myshuga, I.Kozlovskiy, D.Hnatyuk, Ye. Miroshnychenko were acknowledged by the world. Ukraine gave the world such composers as A.Vedel', D.Bortnyanskiy, M.Berezovskiy, M.Hlinka, P.Chaykovskiy, S.Prokofyev, I.Stravinskiy. V.Avramenko and S.Lyfar have become the coryphaeus of the European ballet.

The Ukrainian theatre became world-wild acknowledged. We are proud of such stage-directors as the Tobilevych brothers, M.Kropyvnytskiy, Les' Kurbas, R.Viktyuk, the drama actors M.Zan'kovets'ka, A.Buchma, N.Uzhviy, B.Stupka. The films of O.Dovzhenko are considered to be the most prominent masterpieces of the XX century. Every well-educated European knows the pictures and sculptures by I.Ryepin, D.Levytskiy, O.Arkhypenko, K.Malevych. Hutsul carving, Ukrainian embroidering, Ukrainian pysanka (a decorated egg) are unique phenomena. This list may be continued but the given information is sufficient to estimate the contribution of the Ukrainians to the European civilization.

Ukraine should gain the appropriate place in all European structures. The policy of our state should be the Ukrainian one and its vector – the European one. Europe should know Ukraine better because Europeans look at Ukraine through Russian or German “glasses”, which humiliate our national dignity and depreciate the contribution of the Ukrainians into European civilization. The talk between Ukrainian scientists and A.Einstein, who was a foreign member of Scientific Society named after Taras Shevchenko, is extremely significant. A.Einstein was asked about unfair awarding of the Nobel Prize to Roentgen instead of I.Pulyuy for invention of X-rays. Roentgen only repeated the printed results of the Pulyuy's investigation. A.Einstein replied, “Who is Pulyuy? The Ukrainian, a representative of the unknown nation. And Roentgen is a representative of highly developed and cultured German nation, so that is why such invention should belong to him.” If the Ukrainian state had existed at that time, the Ukrainians would have worked and brought fame and respect to it in the world.

#### UKRAINE IN THE EUROPEAN GEOPOLITICAL SPACE

The absence of Ukraine on the political world map was perceived as geopolitical abnormality, as deformation of the world political space, that caused a great tension on the continent, and became a great national tragedy for the Ukrainians. According to the definition of a famous American politician of Polish origin Z.Bzhezinskiy, the peaceful restoration of the Ukrainian independence has become the most significant political event of the second half of the XX century.

Ukraine is the independent state, that was acknowledged by more than 150 countries of the world. The territory of Ukraine (its area occupies 603,7 thousand sq.km) and its population (48

million people) are favourable for all-round development and prosperity as a great European country. Ukraine has very suitable geopolitical, economic and geographical location. It lies on the crossing of transcontinental roads that lead from Western Europe to Eastern Europe and Asia, from Northern Europe to Southern Europe, Near East and Africa. Ukraine faces the Black sea connected with the world ocean. The newly independent state has not learned to make use of its favourable position.

Ukraine has its strategic partners, first of all Poland, the USA, Hungary, Canada, Lithuania. We are looking forward to Russia becoming our real strategic partner though at present it performs two opposite functions – as a nominal strategic partner and as the only real strategic enemy.

For example, rude aggressive action of B.Yeltsyn against Ukraine took place in 1992 when he put under Russian supervision the Black Sea Military Fleet, that was based at the ports of the independent state of Ukraine. At that time Ukraine couldn't respond to this act of aggression. This caused that Russia appropriated 86% of ships of the Fleet, almost the whole property of military bases, and forced Ukraine, despite the Constitution, to form on the territory of Ukraine its own military base.

Hostility of imperial Russia can be traced in its attitude towards the ethnic Ukrainians, the number of whom reaches from 10 to 20 million. This is the only country where the Ukrainian inhabitants do not have any Ukrainian school, theatre, publishing house or state radio or TV programmes broadcasting in Ukrainian.

Coming into existence of the independent Ukraine in the centre of Europe has become turning point in the European political history. Peace-loving and tolerant Ukrainian nation and its state haven't got any territorial and property claims to its neighbours or other countries and nations of the continent. Ukraine expresses claims only to Russia, which has declared itself the only inheritor of the former USSR, having misappropriated all the property and financial funds and does not have any intentions to provide compensation to victims of the colonial terror.

The future political configuration of Europe, its security and prosperity seem to be impossible without an active participation of Ukraine. Together with France, Germany and Poland our state is to become the core point of peace and security in Europe, i.e. to create "the Veimer quadrangle", extending the existing triangle. In his book Z.Bzhezinskiy predicts that Ukraine would become the partner of Veimer Treaty by 2010.

The essence of the concept of "the Veimer quadrangle" lies in its structural completeness, perfection and future prospect. The states of "the Veimer quadrangle" form the backbone of the European security, which stretches from the Atlantic ocean to the Black sea. The population of "the Veimer quadrangle" is 230 million people, bearing a considerable potential taking into account the resource, industrial, intellectual and military development.

The strategic co-operation between the countries of "the Veimer quadrangle" will stop the confrontation between the Slavonic and the Roman and Germanic states in Europe. Two pairs of countries (France and Poland, Germany and Ukraine) may counterbalance the European

interests, because these countries don't border each other and haven't got any reasons for mutual hostility. Care for the common European interests will destroy misunderstanding and the barriers between the countries of the historically built Veimer quadrangle.

### UKRAINE IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SPACE

Ukraine possesses the fifth place in the world due to its income resource potential. The soils of Ukraine are the most valuable national wealth. More than 60% of the territory of Ukraine are covered with fertile black soils, that form the third part of the world stock. Ukrainian land can provide 400-450 million people with food on condition that the modern agricultural machinery and cultural and cropping methods are used. The entrails of the earth are abundant in coal and brown coal, marsh gas, iron ore, manganese and titanium ore, gold, diamonds, amber, high quality building materials, granite and marble in particular. Only 30% of the territory of Ukraine is investigated by the geologists. The climate of Ukraine is mild and favourable for living and agriculture. The Ukrainians are well-educated (2,2 million students are studying at Universities) and law-abiding citizens, which have all possibilities to build the rich and prosperous state in the nearest future on condition of transition to the democratic society and market economy, overcome the arduous heritage of the colonial past. And the heritage is really arduous. The Russian (Asian) political, social and economic society model was imposed for more than three centuries.

The essence of the Asian society model was perfectly disclosed by the Russian scholar and politician Yegor Gaidar in his book "The State and the Evolution". Such model originated from India and China and imposed in the Central Asia and Russia by the Tatars and the Mongols. The political system is based on the absolute authority of sovereigns and dependant on them officials. The Shan Yan's principle "The powerful state – the weak nation" is put into practice. But weak and poor nation constantly revenges its country. The officials concentrate in their hands the property of the country, i.e. lands, natural resources, plants and factories, banks and finances. In this system power and property are indivisible, moreover the power is of primary and the property is of secondary importance.

The very important reason for economic stagnation and depression in Ukrainian social and economic spheres is a colonial type of its economy in the period of its consisting in the Bolshevik's Empire. Colonialists have made the economy of Ukraine completely dependent on the imperial center. Ukraine was to stay as a source of raw resources for Russia.

But the greatest plunder of Ukraine happened before and during the breakdown of the USSR. At the beginning of 1991 the leaders of the CPSU and Russia managed to transfer all savings of the Ukrainians, concentrated in the Provident bank to Moscow, where they were converted into dollars and deposited in foreign banks (that is 150.5 milliard US dollars). Now the government of Ukraine have to pay off these debts to its citizens from its own budget.

The government of Ukraine agreed to adopt a zero variant of dividing property and assets of the former USSR. Russia left itself all the assets, including foreign currency, supplies of gold,

diamonds, platinum, accounts at foreign banks, etc. Such concession of Russia with declaration of the zero variant costs Ukraine not less than 50 milliard US dollars according to rough calculation of economists. In addition to that the stolen Ukrainian Military Fleet, a large property of the foreign diplomatic missions, different enterprises and financial institutions, that were misappropriated by Russia, should be taken into consideration.

The Chornobyl catastrophe is the biggest and the most serious ordeal for the Ukrainian nation. Ukraine has suffered lots of financial and human losses. The station managing and staff selection were under the Moscow control and the Ukrainians paid just money for energy usage.

Under the pressure of Moscow Ukraine has found itself in a specific informational "ghetto". Ukrainian enterprises are being bought up by Russian firms for nothing, in order to get rid of competitors. For the absence of the favourable investment climate the foreign investments are not provided to Ukraine.

The Russian special state security forces, Russian diplomatic corps, financial institutions try to isolate Ukraine from Europe, try not to let the foreign investments in, because they want to gain control over Ukraine by means of introducing petrodollars. At the same time the European Union, World and European financial institutions do not meet their engagements, dealing with closure of the Chornobyl NPS and finishing the building of the Rivno and the Khmelnytsk Nuclear Power Stations. Under the influence of world civilization processes the links between Ukraine, NATO and the EU are strengthening. At the same time the postcolonial links between Ukraine and Russia are weakening. For example, in 1994 trade turnover with Russia formed 47.5 % of the volume of Ukrainian foreign trade, and in 2002 it decreased to 29.4%. On the contrary, the volume of foreign trade with the EU countries has increased.

Ukraine needs Europe, the European Union, NATO to revive its European identity, to build Common European House together with democratic European nations. Europe also needs Ukraine as its constituent part, as one of the significant components of its security and prosperity.