

**PhD thesis:**

**The international roles of Ukraine in the Euro-Atlantic Area**

**Summary**

The topic of international roles of Ukraine has been important throughout all the period of Ukrainian independence. It has been important for scholars, international community and Ukraine itself. After the USSR collapsed, there were some surges of scholars' interest regarding the issue. Usually, they were of a periodic nature and were connected to the specific events like nuclear disarmament, the Orange Revolution or "gas wars." The new revolution of 2014, annexation of Crimea, Ukrainian-Russian conflict, and Western-Russian conflict have actualized the "Ukrainian topic" once more. A new wave of publications about the Ukrainian crisis has appeared. Usually, the publications concerning the latest conflicts around Ukraine pay attention to the newest historical developments. The annexation of Crimea and war with Russia are in the center of those researches, while consequences of the crisis are the most important. It is logical because of the "temperature" of the topic and a level of threats. However, our research tries to take a few steps back. We seek comprehensive analysis of the reasons and determinants of the Ukrainian foreign policy and its place in the international arena. That is why we try to elaborate a retrospective review of the Ukrainian actions, aspirations, intentions, and consequences for Ukraine and the international environment. For this reason, we analyzed and synthesized international roles of Ukraine in the Euro-Atlantic area. The analysis of the international roles of Ukraine during 1991-2017 is an extensive panoramic view on the international behavior of the state.

There are not many inclusive works about interconnections among different determinants of the foreign policy of Ukraine. That is why this exploration is important and useful. The scientific value of the work could be described through three main points. First, its theoretical and methodological value. The research adds some new aspects of the application of the international role theory. For example, Michael Grossman expressed the suggestion that changes of the declared roles lead to the changes of the real roles. He proved it by the study of Russian international roles.<sup>1</sup> In order to

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Grossman, Role Theory and Foreign Policy Change: The Transformation of Russian Foreign Policy in the 1990s, *International Politics*, 42, 2005, pp. 334-351.

verify this hypothesis, a bigger number of the case-studies is required. So, our research is, in some respect, a continuation of the usefulness and limitations of the international role theory. Moreover, it confirms his hypothesis in the fact that there is a direct connection between declared role changing and its implication on the real behavior of a state. The second point concerns the post-Soviet studies, the Ukrainian studies, and the Central-Eastern European studies. It is worth to mention that Ukraine usually is a subject of the post-Soviets or Eurasian studies.

Still, there is an insufficient number of new research works that explore the "in-between countries," namely the states that are the so-called regional borderlands. Although this definition is usually used by historians, nevertheless, we consider that the state in terms of its geopolitical position is still very useful for comprehensive perspective. Reducing these studies in the Political Sciences field was logical after the two-block system collapsed, but the history of Ukraine is a story about an existence "between." That is why exploring the dynamics and interconnections of Ukraine with different neighboring systems could add to understanding aspects of the geopolitical rivalry and cooperation among different systems and regions. Another important aspect concerns a narrow study of Ukraine especially if one looks into the case-studies about the crisis in Ukraine or color revolutions.

Understanding the motives and logic of Ukrainian behavior could be obtained from understanding Ukraine's international roles. The analysis and categorization of the different state's roles could be a very convenient tool for elaboration of the typology of a state's behavioral patterns. In addition, it makes a broader field to apply the predictive value of the theory. If one understands the sources and triggers of the roles and reactions of a certain state, then it should not be very complicated to construct forecasts of its foreign policy, nevertheless they will not have automatic nature.

There are some empirical dimensions of the research value. For instance, international decision-makers could look deeper into the mechanics of Ukrainian actions. As a result, a more comprehensive understanding of Kyiv by the international politicians could be achieved.

It is worth to mention one more thing: among the Ukrainian research publications on the International Relations we do not find any mentions or references to the international role theory. Despite the fact that there are some works in English where international roles of Ukraine are analyzed, in the Ukrainian (and Russian) language publications the role theory methodological approach went unnoticed. Even though there is a group of scholars in Poland (for instance, Professors Ziemowit Jacek Pietraś, Ryszard Zięba, Justyna Zajęc, etc.), who work and periodically

publish within the international role theory frameworks.<sup>2</sup> A new article in the Ukrainian language is being prepared based on the results of our research. We want to introduce a new methodological approach to the Ukrainian colleagues and share a broad experience that was developed by the Polish school of International Relations in this article.

The subject of our study is international behavior of Ukraine, its determinants, logic, reasons, typologies, consequences, and roles. The research pays attention to the international roles of Ukraine in the Euro-Atlantic area. This geographical area in our research has a political aspect, that is why under consideration are states and international organizations operating in the region.

Three main groups of roles were selected according to the theoretical approach: (1) roles expected from Ukraine, (2) roles declared by Ukraine, and (3) roles played by Ukraine. The main aim of the study is to synthesize three aforementioned groups of international roles of Ukraine and to analyze their effectiveness and specificity. The work foresees several important academic tasks.

The first task is to define the international position and identity of Ukraine as the main determinants of its foreign policy. The second is to select and analyze the data that indicated international roles. The third is to study the expected roles from Ukraine by the states and other participants (like NATO, the European Union) of the Euro-Atlantic area. The fourth is to analyze the declared roles of Ukraine. The fifth is to explore the real international roles played by Ukraine. The sixth task is to evaluate the roles and to analyze their effectiveness.

The research hypothesis: during its independence Ukraine declared and performed a number of the international roles that differ by permanence, contradiction, and geopolitical orientations. Nevertheless, pro-Western roles are dominant and expressed stronger than others.

Additional hypothesis: The main determinant of the international roles of Ukraine is a geographical location of the state, so to say there is geographical determinism of the foreign policy of Ukraine.

Additional hypothesis: The complicated international identity is also an important determinant of the international behavior of Ukraine.

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<sup>2</sup> Ryszard Zięba, Józef Kukułka, „Ewolucja roli międzynarodowej Polski Odrodzonej”, *Studia Nauk Politycznych*, 1981, No. 4, pp. 77-100. See more: Ziemowit Jacek Pietraś, „Pojęcie i klasyfikacja ról międzynarodowych”, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Międzyuczelniany Instytut Nauk Politycznych, Lublin 1989; Ryszard Zięba, „International Roles of the European Union”, *Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej*, (Wydział Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza), No. 6/2012, pp. 63–78. Justyna Zając, „Efektywność ról międzynarodowych Unii Europejskiej”, *Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej*, No. 8/2014, pp. 49-61. Available at: <http://rie.amu.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/rie-2014-8-049.pdf>; Aleksandra Zięba, *Rola Niemiec w rozszerzaniu Unii Europejskiej*, Wydawnictwo Poltext, Warszawa 2010.

Additional hypothesis: the international roles of Ukraine had an internal contradiction therefore they were ineffective.

The research is written from the constructivist point of view and based on the interpretative approach to a social phenomenon. The main theoretical and methodological approach of the study is the international role theory. The roots of the theory are in the sociology. Nevertheless, it is widespread methodological frames for the study of the foreign behavior of a state and self-presentation of an international actor during different international interactions. To study the roles, we will use a number of research methods, for instance, content analyses of documents and literature dealing with the subject matter, data analysis, comparative analysis, some aspects of the discourse analysis, etc.

International role theory is special interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approach that allows studying the international behavior of a state that stems from its international position and identity. International roles expected from a state are a set of expectations, beliefs, and wishes that international environmental prescribe to a state. International roles declared by a state are the international concepts, functions and aims that a state prescribes to itself. These roles usually exist on the rhetorical level, but they also can be implemented in the actions of an actor. International roles played by a state are factual acts, state activities, and their consequences that a state performs in the international arena.

The structure of the project: Chapter I pays attention to the theoretical and methodological background of the study. It describes the evolution of the concepts: from the social role theory to the international role theory. The chapter also includes an analysis of the source literature. There are different groups of the literature that are interesting for the research and for building theoretical frameworks. As we have already mentioned, the international role theory has a root in the sociological role theory and first was elaborated in this context. The idea was simple: a person in the relationships with others changes (or not) his/her behavior according to the ideas, beliefs, others' expectations and status etc. Later, during the Cold war, scholars were looking for the tools to analyze the behavioral models of states that were united under one international block, for instance, to comprehend motives and reactions of the Warsaw block states. This approach foresees attention to the declared roles and is simpler. Later, the number of objects where the roles theory was applied as an analytical tool became broader. The international organization's types or voting practices of different states in the international forums were considered according to the international role theory apparatus. The popularity of the theory rises together with the popularity of the constructivism paradigm and the identity notion in the International relations. One of the

prominent works that demonstrates these above-mentioned trends is a work by Aggestam Lisbeth on the European “ethical power.”<sup>3</sup> An identity and a status are some of the most crucial notions of the theory that is why, in order to elaborate a set of the international roles, first an identity and status of an object should be indicated and described.

Chapter II describes two main determinants of the international roles of Ukraine: an international position of the state and its international identity. This chapter has an introductory nature. As we have mentioned, an identity and status, or state's position, have a crucial place in the process in the international roles' identification. In the Ukrainian case, these aspects are even more important. The point is that Ukraine has a very complicated identity in terms of the foreign policy preferences of its people and political elites. In addition, the state has a very uncomfortable geopolitical position. All these together make the primary determinants of the state's international roles. That is why it was studied at the beginning of the work.

Chapter III examines the main roles expected from Ukraine by the actors of Euro-Atlantic community. This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the perceptions and intentions of the main actors toward Ukraine. Obviously, every international subject formulates its expectations to the environment and its actors. The expectations from Ukraine are a very serious determinant of its behavior. This correlation increases because of Ukrainian so-called dependency on the international aids and support. That is why it is very important to indicate how other states and organizations see Ukraine, what would be preferable behavior for them on the part of Ukraine and how they stimulate this kind of behavior. We consider a range of indicators like foreign policy strategic documents, a circumstance of the foreign aid or direct declarations of the policymakers. All of these together formulate a general set of expectations from Ukraine which obviously influences Kyiv's foreign policy and its international roles.

Chapter IV concentrates on the declared roles of Ukraine. To synthesize them we use a content-analysis of the direct speeches of the Ukrainian presidents. These sources are among the most reliable in terms of declared foreign policy concepts. In the post-Soviet states, the presidential position usually has a high level of authority compared to other political institutes. Ukraine is not an exception. There were different periods and models of the political systems in Ukraine (like the presidential or semi-presidential ones), but the President secured his authority to conduct foreign

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<sup>3</sup> Lisbeth Aggestam, “Introduction: Ethical Power Europe?” *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 1, 2008, pp. 1-11. Available at: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144711?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#fndtn-references\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25144711?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#fndtn-references_tab_contents)

policy in every political system. That is why the presidential speeches after analytical deconstruction indicate international roles. In some respect, these roles could be treated as positioning of Ukraine within the international arena. The important thing is that we have organized the results of the analysis in chronological frames and demonstrated the evolution of different roles during the period of Ukrainian independence. This shows different levels of intensity of the role using and is a good source for the interpretation of motives and determinants.

Chapter V finds the factual role of Ukraine. The final part of the roles set reconstruction is an identification of real or factual international roles of a state. It is one of the most difficult parts because it is hard to interpret real acts avoiding a political bias. That is why we decided to construct a sort of the dual approach. One part of it considers Ukrainian factual behavior within the biggest international forum which is the United Nations. There is a clear methodology developed by the US Department of State where they calculate and evaluate voting records of states within the General Assembly and the Security Council. Relying on the results of this approach we synthesized Ukrainian roles in terms of geopolitical orientations. The second part of the chapter pays attention to a few aspects of the Ukrainian presence in the broad political and media discourses. During the last several decades, there were years and events when Ukrainian topics appeared on the pages of the world press: Chernobyl disaster, nuclear arms, revolutions, and wars - all these together are good sources to complete a range of international roles of Ukraine.

Chapter VI estimates roles according to their effectiveness and specificity. There are a few things that determine an effectiveness of the roles. A general rule is that the role conflict decreases the level of effectiveness. When the roles are in deep contradiction, it is hard to talk about successful foreign policy. Ukrainian international roles have a very high level of internal contradictions. The identity of the state produces different groups of political elites usually with contradicting views on foreign policy and geopolitical preferences.

The scope of the research is from 1991 till 2017. It is the period from the Ukrainian independence till three years after the Crimea annexation. The logic of this limitation is simple. To understand the dynamics of a foreign policy of Ukraine, we need to see variables during some period of time in order to be able to analyze the trajectory of the process.

Regarding the role theory, we based our analysis on the American and Polish schools of this approach. As for the analysis and synthesis of the Ukrainian international roles, there are several sources. First, it is direct speeches of the Ukrainian presidents. Second, it is voting records within the UN. Third, it is an analysis of the foreign policy doctrines of the Euro-Atlantic actors, other

important documents that indicate foreign policy priorities, and documents about international aid to Ukraine. The main unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral international documents signed by the actors have been analyzed as well. There are numerous documents regarding Ukrainian policy in the Euro-Atlantic Area. The EU-Ukrainian Association Agreement is one of the most important.

There are not many researchers who explore the international roles of Ukraine in the Euro-Atlantic Area. Following the analysis of corresponding literature, we can divide the sources of our study into three main groups.

First of all, there are researches which are directly relevant to our subject. For example, in 1996, a group of scholars (Chafetz Glenn, Abramson Hillel, Grillot Suzette) prepared the research titled "Role Theory and Foreign Policy: Belarusian and Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime."<sup>4</sup> The authors analyzed the spectrum of roles, employed by Ukraine and Belarus within the non-proliferation negotiation strategies, and described more than ten such roles (regional leader, anti-imperialist, bridge, independent, mediator-integrator etc.). We should also mention the book of Yuriy Shcherbak, a former Ukrainian ambassador to Israel and the USA. He combined the scientific and diplomatic experience and prepared the work titled "The Strategic Role of Ukraine."<sup>5</sup> In this book he described Ukrainian strengths and weaknesses in terms of geopolitics. There is also an article by Michael Grossman: "Ethnicity and National Identity Externalized: The Impact of Identity on Foreign Policy in Post-Soviet Ukraine."<sup>6</sup> Probably, these works can be considered as the main publications about the international roles of Ukraine.

The second group of scholars explores the foreign policy of Ukraine in general or focuses on its particular aspects. Basically, these are chiefly Ukrainian, Polish, Canadian, and Russian scholars. There is a book "Ukraine, the EU and Russia," edited by Stephen Velychenko and written by a team of IR professionals.<sup>7</sup> The authors describe international issues and Ukraine's potential regarding the EU and its geopolitical coordination. Tomasz Kapuśniak wrote a book titled "Ukraina jako obszar wpływów międzynarodowych po zimnej wojnie," in which he conducted a detailed analysis of the Ukrainian foreign policy.<sup>8</sup> Another significant work was made by a group of scholars from Lublin.

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<sup>4</sup> Chafetz Glenn, Abramson Hillel and Grillot Suzette, "Role Theory and Foreign Policy: Belarussian and Ukrainian Compliance with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1996, pp. 727-757.

<sup>5</sup> Yuriy Shcherbak, *The strategic role of Ukraine : diplomatic addresses and lectures (1994-1997)*, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge 1998.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Grossman, "Ethnicity and National Identity Externalized: The impact of identity on foreign policy in post-Soviet Ukraine", in Santosh Saha (ed.), *The Politics of Ethnicity and National Identity*, Peter Lang, 2007, pp.29-51.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Velychenko, *Ukraine, the EU and Russia. History, Culture and International Relations*. (Studies in Central and Eastern Europe. Edited by Roger E. Kanet.), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Tomasz Kapuśniak, *Ukraina jako obszar wpływów międzynarodowych po zimnej wojnie*, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, Lublin 2008.

This is the book called "Ukraina w stosunkach międzynarodowych," edited by Marek Pietraś and Tomasz Kapuśniak.<sup>9</sup> In this work, the authors explored bilateral and multilateral international relations of Ukraine. Regional issues and European security present another noteworthy dimension of the "Ukrainian topic." In particular, these are the following books: "Polityka bezpieczeństwa niepodległej Ukrainy" by Łukasz Donaj<sup>10</sup>, „Ukraina wobec problemów i instytucjonalizacji bezpieczeństwa Europejskiego” by Yaropolk Tymkiv<sup>11</sup> or "Ukraine and European Security" by Tor Bukkvoll.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that after the Ukrainian crisis, a new wave of important publications occurred. For instance, „Poland’s Security Policy. The West, Russia and the Changing International Order” by Justyna Zając<sup>13</sup>.

The third group of scholars explores Ukrainian foreign policy in the context of Ukraine’s bilateral relationships with the country which was the main subject of their research. Ryszard Zięba in the book "Polityka zagraniczna Polski w strefie euroatlantyckiej"<sup>14</sup> explored Polish-Ukrainian relations. The Ukrainian case is comprehensively studied in the book "The Euro-Atlantic Security System in 21st Century: From Cooperation to Crisis" by Ryszard Zięba.<sup>15</sup> Andrzej Szeptycki wrote the book: "Ukraina wobec Rosji. Studium zależności."<sup>16</sup> The authors from the University of Śląsk have written a solid collective work entitled *Implikacje konfliktu ukraińskiego dla polityki bezpieczeństwa Polski. Aspekty polityczne, wojskowe, gospodarcze oraz społeczne*.<sup>17</sup> There are other similar works where scholars explore German-Ukrainian, USA-Ukrainian relations etc.

Ukrainian foreign policy is dependent on the seasons of the year. During the summer Kyiv chooses a pro-American orientation. In the autumn, the course is adjusted to the EU direction. When the winter approaches, Ukraine comes close to Russia. This joke was popular among Ukrainian political

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<sup>9</sup> Marek Pietraś, Tomasz Kapuśniak (red.), *Ukraina w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, Lublin 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Łukasz Donaj, *Polityka bezpieczeństwa niepodległej Ukrainy 1991-2004*, Łódź: Wyższa Szkoła Studiów Międzynarodowych, Łódź 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Yaropolk Tymkiv, *Ukraina wobec problemów i instytucjonalizacji bezpieczeństwa europejskiego*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Tor Bukkvoll, *Ukraine and European Security*, Chatham House Papers, the royal institute of international affairs, Pinter Pub Ltd, London 1997.

<sup>13</sup> Justyna Zając, *Poland’s Security Policy: The West, Russia and the Changing International Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Ryszard Zięba, *Polityka zagraniczna Polski w strefie euroatlantyckiej*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2013.

<sup>15</sup> Ryszard Zięba, *The Euro-Atlantic Security the 21st Century: From Cooperation to Crisis*, Springer International Publishing, Cham (Switzerland) 2018.

<sup>16</sup> Szeptycki Andrzej, *Ukraina wobec Rosji: studium zależności*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Katarzyna Czornik, Miron Łakomy, Mieczysław Stolarczyk (red.), *Implikacje konfliktu ukraińskiego dla polityki bezpieczeństwa Polski. Aspekty polityczne, wojskowe, gospodarcze oraz społeczne*, Regionalny Ośrodek Debaty Międzynarodowej, Katowice 2015.



observers during the presidency of Leonid Kuchma. It indicates Ukrainian dependency on the Russian energy supplies and its unstable foreign policy. A closer glance at the Ukrainian foreign policy behavior will show that this joke makes sense in a broader perspective. Instability and a lack of clear directions of the foreign policy movement of Ukraine was not just a short tendency in the early history of the young state. This phenomenon could be seen during the whole period of the Ukrainian independence. Even now, when the pro-Western direction of the foreign policy is dominant, we do not know exactly how it will look like after the next election.

The Ukrainian-Russian war 2014 highlighted a problem of the comprehensible analysis of this conflict with complicate multilateral participants. The revolution, annexation and war provoked a range of studies of these phenomena. Some of these studies have strict methodological limitations which do not allow to consider the conflicting actor's behavior from different perspectives.

There are studies constructed upon one international school of thoughts, for instance, neoliberalism. This is a fruitful approach to comprehend one actor's motivation or behavior as it is, for instance, with the EU engagement into the crisis in Ukraine. But if we used only this approach, we probably couldn't interpret the main Russian interactions. For the analysis of the Russian foreign policy, the most suitable tool is the political realism lenses.

The case with the Ukrainian foreign policy is more complex. Kyiv arranges its international activity according to different determinants and it is not easy to situate this activity in one paradigm, especially when its foreign policy has a high level of inconsistency. To conceptualize such a complicated subject a special theory called the international role theory has been used. This approach allows to see a state's international activity from different perspectives. For instance, from the perspective of international expectations of others or from the point of view of the state's self-presentation. These perspectives could also be considered as different types of Ukraine's international roles: expected, declared, and played. For instance, the third chapter is devoted to the roles which the main Euro-Atlantic actors expect from Kyiv. We identified four main expected international roles: a democratic and stable state, a pro-Western, pro-Russian and neutral state. The fourth chapter considers the main roles declared by Ukraine. There are eight of them: the role of a participant of the CIS; the role of a member of the West; the role of an active regional player; the role of an independent state; the role of a reliable partner; the role of an element of a security architecture; the role of a special neighbor of Russia; and the role of an anti-imperialist actor. The quantity of them stems from complicated determinants, especially from the heterogeneity of the international identity, intricate international environment and weak condition of the Ukrainian

state. In the fifth chapter, the roles played by Ukraine are elaborated. There are roles played by Ukraine in terms of geopolitical orientation, e.g. pro-Western, pro-Russian and neutral. The non-proliferation example and regional troublemaker roles were also indicated and elaborated in this chapter. The sixth chapter is concentrated on the process of evaluation of the roles effectiveness, their state of interconnection and certain specific features.

The international roles which are most frequently used were indicated and grouped according to the topic. Thus, we got a set of different roles, which in different combinations and according to internal and external policy trends, could be treated as a special type of foreign policy behavior, its tactics and determinants simultaneously.

The set of the Ukrainian international roles and their intensity isn't constant. Our research was elaborated upon a few hypotheses. The first hypothesis was about the roles that could be differentiated according to the level of contradictions, permanence and political orientations. There are a lot of those roles but the pro-Western one is dominant among others. The second hypothesis states that the geopolitical location of Ukraine is one of the most important determinants of its international roles, so the Ukrainian foreign policy experiences a huge influence of the geopolitical determinism. The third hypothesis considers the international identity of Ukraine as another pillar of its foreign policy and international roles. The last supposition was about the internal contradictions of the roles as a source of their ineffectiveness. In general, we could conclude that all the hypotheses were verified and proven.

The Ukrainian international roles indeed have a high level of internal (within declared roles) and external (among expected, declared, and played roles) contradictions. This feature usually provokes a conflict of roles that has a direct influence on their effectiveness. In short, a lot of Ukrainian roles are ineffective because of the high level of contradictions. We could also state that the geopolitical location and international identity of the state are the main determinants of the roles and most of their (roles) features are the consequences of the characteristics of those determinants.

The analysis of the roles indicates that despite the existence of plenty of international roles, there is a group of dominant ones. They could be defined as pro-Western roles. It is an important outcome. There is a big corpus of texts on the foreign policy of Ukraine that explores the subject using the interpretation of the most important foreign policy developments related to Ukraine. The main sources of the researches are the foreign policy documents and bilateral or multilateral international treaties. The international role theory allows to see the subject in the so called 3D perspective. So, when we compounded the roles expected from Ukraine, the roles declared by Ukraine and the roles played by it in a retrospective analysis, we saw a clear trend of the pro-Western movement of Ukraine. During its independence, Ukraine has been performing movement

westward, despite any presidency or international conjuncture. There was a different speed and intensity of the movement, but the general trend was stable.

There are a lot of reasons for this trend: the soft-power of the West; the promotion of democracy; the fear of Russia; the pulling power of capitalism and a free market; the influence of the western financial system and corporations and so on. Despite different reasons for the pro-Western trend, the important thing is that for the comprehensive solution of the contemporary conflictual and dangerous situation in Europe connected with the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, one should take into account this trend. Any radical movement could provoke more mess than we already have in the region.

One of the main values of the international role theory is its potential to construct assumptions based on previous behavior patterns. Jacek Pietraś defines it as the predictive value of the theory. The evolution of the roles shows that for more than 15 years Ukraine moved on the pro-Western trajectory. Two last revolutions were caused by the attempts to push Ukraine back or aside. At least, those were the perceptions of the protest participants. They perceived the authorities in Kyiv in 2004 and in 2013 as politicians close to the Kremlin. The revolution of 2013-2014 had a clear geopolitical nature. This feature allowed to mobilise people who had pro-European views as well as those nationalists who had anti-Russian views. In 2004, the situation was similar.

These two revolutions could be treated as an example of patterns that have a potential for recurrence. A huge range of activities of the Western countries in order to promote democracy and western values, investments in the civil society, closeness and attractiveness of the EU influenced the Ukrainian perception of the West and made Ukraine very eager to become a part of the West.

Add to these reasons the security concerns because of the Russian assertiveness or aggression towards its neighbors and you will get an explanation why the trend of the pro-Western roles is dominant. The domination of the pro-Western roles in the Ukrainian foreign policy is just a repercussion of the general convictions of a large number of Ukrainians. There is another part that has alternative views and foreign policy priorities. Nevertheless, the people with pro-Western outlook managed to accumulate sufficient political and social resources to establish stable pro-Western roles of the state and support an integration into the Western structures.

On the other hand, we can see that not every element of the pro-Western role has a unanimous support among the Ukrainians. For instance, the idea of the NATO integration is far from the majority approval, especially if we look at regional dimensions. Moreover, NATO membership of Ukraine increases controversy among the Western states. Russia firmly opposes any NATO

enlargement. Moscow is not going to tolerate NATO's movement eastward and shows it very clearly regardless of the price both for Russians and for others.

This leads us to the inference about the scope of potential compromise in the triangle "the West-Ukraine-Russia". Any rapid change of the Ukrainian movement to the West provoked by politicians or external factors gives a rise to nationwide protests. Today the politicians who are treated as non-European have no serious chances to win the election. Furthermore, if someone attempted to change or stop the integration process after the election, this could provoke their resignation.

To a large extent, this pattern was set by the Western states and organizations who work hard for the democracy and liberal values promotion among the Ukrainians. On the other hand, a big number of Western states do not want Ukrainian membership in the EU, let alone in NATO. Simultaneously, Russia demonstrates readiness to start a war and sets up zones of frozen conflicts only to stop Western approach to its borders.

This Moscow's determination and threats are a convincing strong argument for a big group of the EU members against the Ukrainian integration. Here we come to a kind of stalemate. Ukraine cannot stop the movement to the West because its social-political structure after 27 years of democracy promotion has already produced pro-European opinion-leaders and decision-makers and any change in this path could provoke a new revolution. At the same time, Russia proved that it is ready to start a war to prevent this process. Also, most of the European states and the USA lost their persistence regarding Ukrainian membership at the Euro-Atlantic political and military structures.

The analysis of the effectiveness of the international roles brings us to the question of practical implications of the explored foreign policy patterns of Ukraine. One of the most important and controversial questions is connected to the nature and ways for potential resolving the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. The international role theory is suitable for changing analytical perspectives and looking at the subject from different points.

Such a multi-perspective approach allows taking into account the perception and positioning of engaged actors. It is interesting because in the multilevel conflict among groups of actors there is no common perception of the situation, moreover, different perceptions are often a source of conflict. So, the attempts of placing the conflict in the complicated web of international actors' interaction are useful and theoretically fruitful. There are researches which try to analyze the

subject from different perspectives. Some of them use bipolar theoretical frames, others - multipolar.<sup>18</sup>

As it was mentioned above, the international roles of Ukraine to a large extent are ineffective because of self-contradictions and a high ability to provoke international conflicts. They are ineffective in a sense that the declared aims and real intentions of Ukraine revealed during the roles analysis cannot be reached, at least in the contemporary international situation. Frankly speaking, becoming a full member of the Western world in a traditional connotation (with the EU and NATO membership) cannot be achieved. Today, the Ukrainian movement to NATO looks like an element of domestic policy games. Obviously, there is a strategic goal for Kyiv to obtain the membership, but it is hard to imagine this for a state in war or with a Russian army based on its territory.

This Gordian knot could be resolved by the taking into consideration all the actors' aspirations and their "red lines" or the lowest level of potential compromises. For Ukraine, this red line is the European integration. The form or time of the integration does not matter; what really matters is a permanent movement westward.

The prominent thinker of social democracy Eduard Bernstein once said about this political doctrine: "The movement is everything, the final goal is nothing." The Ukrainians perceive European integration as a step-by-step plan to put in order and secure their state. Otherwise, there is a big risk of losing the statehood. The red line for Russia is probably the NATO membership of the post-Soviets republic. At least, this red line has a vivid reflection in the acts, documents, and deeds of the Russian Federation. Obviously, Moscow opposes any kind of the Western approach, but the military component is treated more seriously than political or economic. For the West, the red line is a full-scale war in Europe. Even the borders reshaping is not so unacceptable as a potential war.

So, it looks like there could be a common ground within the triangle. General agreements could include an idea that Ukraine could become the EU member but it should not seek to obtain the NATO membership. It is obvious that today it looks illusory, especially when there is a war going on. Nevertheless, it is a responsibility and duty of the academic community to explore the past, evaluate the present, and think about the future.

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<sup>18</sup> Vicki L. Birchfield, Alasdair R. Young (Eds.), *Triangular diplomacy among the United States, the European Union, and the Russian Federation*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 232.