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ABOUT THE UKRAINIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE CONDITIONS OF RUSSIA'S FULL-SCALE AGGRESSION AGAINST UKRAINE

The beginning of the 21st century is full of numerous important socio-political processes, various events in the foreign policy activities of states all over the world, where the sovereign state of Ukraine also plays an active role in the international arena.

Since February 24, 2022 Ukrainian diplomacy, like all other spheres of our country's life, has gone into emergency mode. The diplomatic front actively helps the real front: it provides the Armed Forces with the necessary weapons from partner countries, works to weaken the aggressor through sanctions, and negotiates financial assistance to maintain the normal life of the country. And, in addition, it solves the accompanying overriding tasks for the development and reconstruction of the country – the issue of obtaining the status of a candidate country in the EU.

First of all, it is advisable to analyze the concept of "diplomacy". The word «diplomacy» comes from the ancient Greek *díploma*, which was used to designate the letters of credence (a formal diplomatic letter that designates a diplomat as ambassador to another sovereign state), which had the form of double boards. In modern legal and political discourse, there are several definitions of the concept of «diplomacy».

The word "diplomacy" firstly was used in 1645 in England and H. Leibniz in his work "Summary of Diplomatic Law" considered the latin word

"diplomaticus" as the one related to international relations. The term "diplomacy" in the modern sense was first introduced by François de Callier, an outstanding French diplomat of the time of Louis XIV, in his book "On the Methods of Negotiating with Monarchs", published in 1716.

Diplomacy can be understood as:

- implementation of international relations through negotiations;
- activities of the government and special bodies of external relations regarding the implementation of the state's international policy, as well as the protection of the state's interests abroad;
- is the conduct of international relations by means of negotiations, the method by which these relations are regulated and conducted by ambassadors and envoys, the work or art of a diplomat;
- a set of non-military practical measures, techniques and methods that are applied taking into account specific conditions and the nature of the tasks to be solved;
- official activity of the heads of state and government, ministers of foreign affairs, diplomatic missions for border, delegations at international conferences in order to achieve the goals and fulfillment of tasks of the state's foreign policy, protection of the rights and interests of the state, its institutions and citizens abroad.

The main forms of diplomacy should include the following:

- diplomatic conferences, meetings, congresses, which are periodically held on a bilateral and multilateral basis at the level of heads of state, heads of government, ministers of foreign affairs, special representatives;

- diplomatic correspondence in the form of statements, letters, notes, memoranda, declarations, etc.;

- preparation and conclusion of international treaties and agreements on various issues of international cooperation;

- permanent representation of the state abroad, carried out by embassies and missions;

- participation of state representatives in the activities of international organizations and institutions;

- coverage in the press of the position of the state and the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the events of international life;

- the official publication of international acts and documents in relation to which the state has assumed the relevant obligations [1, p.4].

In the current extremely difficult conditions for our country due to the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation, it is worth considering:

- Classic diplomacy (public) – implementation of measures in accordance with the strategic goals of the state's development and the state's development strategy with the aim of forming the state's image at the international level (in peacetime);

- Military diplomacy – a type of public diplomacy that involves the use of all opportunities and communication channels aimed at conveying reliable and truthful information to foreign audiences in order to obtain military, financial, legal assistance and support in the fight against the Russian invader. (relevant for Ukraine since 2014, especially after February 24, 2022). This is a kind of military-political tool for the implementation of the state's foreign policy course on achievement of foreign policy goals, which is a mechanism of relations between sovereign states at the level of the armed forces, based on the mutual exchange

of defense attachés, military, naval and air force attachés. There are three forms of military diplomacy – open, secret and mixed, and the main methods – official and other (working, friendly) visits and negotiations; participation in the work of international organizations; preparation and conclusion of agreements on military issues; military conferences, meetings, meetings.

- Preventive diplomacy is actions aimed at preventing the emergence of disputes between parties, preventing the development of existing disputes into conflicts, and limiting the scale of conflicts after they arise. Preventive diplomacy can use a variety of diplomatic, political, economic, financial, legal, military and other tools to prevent the conflict from developing into a hot phase or to localize it [2]. Such instruments of peaceful conflict resolution are specified, in particular, in Article 33 of the UN Charter: “The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice” [3].

Preventive deployment in response to an appeal by one of the parties to the conflict regarding its transition to the hot phase (in the period between peacetime diplomacy and crisis diplomacy) is considered to be potentially the most effective for avoiding full-scale wars and armed conflicts. Preventive diplomacy failed to prevent Russia's annexation of Crimea, armed conflict in eastern Ukraine, and full-scale war in February 2022. Therefore, in order to stop the genocide of the Ukrainian people, other forms of international intervention against this terrorist country are needed.

- Digital diplomacy (online diplomacy/cloud diplomacy/twitter diplomacy) is a new direction of public diplomacy, the main tool of which is social networks (it gained rapid development and use in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic and remains especially relevant for Ukraine during the war). Today, Ukraine includes digitalization

among the priorities of its domestic and foreign policy to ensure internal stability and security and advance its foreign policy course. Digital diplomacy is becoming more and more popular every day, and the main tools for diplomats and politicians are Zoom and social networks (Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram).

At the same time, the basics of diplomacy remain unchanged, only expressed through digital channels. For example, on May 12, 2020, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Dmytro Kuleba, made his first virtual visit to Germany for online negotiations. This event was the first virtual visit of the head of foreign affairs in Europe for negotiations with foreign colleagues. The main topics of the videoconference visit were the deepening of bilateral relations, in particular, Germany's assistance in implementing reforms, countering russian aggression, and the joint fight against the spread of COVID-19. Apart from certain protocol details, most of the main elements of a normal working visit were retained, including a bilateral meeting and a joint press statement. It was one of the first steps towards borderless diplomacy.

Ukraine, both official structures and an active public, has unprecedented opportunities to convey its position, to establish and form an attractive image of the country in the world. Ukrainian diplomacy from the very beginning of our country's independence has always been quite effective, highly professional, and patriotic. However, at the same time, like the state in general, it was too calm, modest and quiet. President Volodymyr Zelenskyy certainly gave impetus to the formation of the new Ukrainian diplomacy. Currently, President Volodymyr Zelenskyi is personally the chief Ukrainian diplomat. As a matter of fact, foreign policy is within the competence of the head of state, and even more so at the present time. The style of foreign policy chosen by Zelensky is seriously different from «classical diplomacy», with its soft and streamlined formulations, mandatory and long bows to the interlocutor or the audience.

Sometimes, during negotiations with partners, the President speaks extremely directly and harshly,

using the approach of «non-diplomatic diplomacy». The most vivid example of this approach is the criticism of the key EU country, Germany, for the insufficient aid it provides to Ukraine and, conversely, for the excessive softness towards the aggressor country. Thus, on March 17, 2022, in a video message to German parliamentarians, the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi, called on Germany to take additional measures to stop russia's aggression. «By invading Ukraine, russia is again building a «wall» through Europe that Germany doesn't notice. Not Berlin, but in the middle of Europe. Between freedom and slavery. And this wall is getting stronger with every bomb that falls on Ukraine, with every decision that is not made for the sake of peace, is not accepted, although it can help,» – Zelenskyy said. He reproached Germany for not understanding what Ukrainians are currently experiencing and said that due to Germany's failure to notice this «wall», some states across the ocean, presumably referring to the USA, have become closer to Ukraine than Germany [4].

Volodymyr Zelenskyy held many speeches and addresses in the format of a video conference before world leaders in order to ensure the support of Ukraine from the world community, for example :

– 25.03. – Speech of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi at the meeting of the European Council [5] ;

– 08.04. Speech of the President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyi in Eduskunta, the Parliament of Finland [6] ;

– 05. 05. Speech of President Volodymyr Zelenskyi at the International High-Level Donor Conference in Support of Ukraine in Warsaw [7];

– 05.06 Speech of the President of Ukraine at the opening of the 26th governmental round table of The Economist [8] ;

– 24.11 Speech of President Volodymyr Zelenskyi at the meeting of the UN Security Council, convened after the missile strikes of the Russian Federation [9].....

In addition to the President of Ukraine, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, ambassadors and

the First Lady of Ukraine, Olena Zelenska, are influential subjects of Ukraine's international activities.

The most important documents that formed the political and legal foundations of Ukraine's international and diplomatic activities are the Constitution of Ukraine, the Law of Ukraine «On Diplomatic Service», the Law of Ukraine «On Committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine», the Law of Ukraine «On the Status of People's Deputies of Ukraine», the Presidential Decree on Regulations on diplomatic missions and consular institutions of foreign countries in Ukraine, Regulations on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine [10-15], which determined the main areas of activity in the international arena.

An important role in the formation and implementation of foreign diplomacy in the conditions of war is played by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the committees of the Verkhovna Rada (for example, the committee on Ukraine's integration into the EU, the committee on foreign policy and interparliamentary cooperation).

The Committee on Foreign Policy and Interparliamentary Cooperation participates in

the preparation of statements and resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada. This is extremely important, because in the first and, accordingly, the most difficult days, it was necessary to form a powerful political and legal position of the parliament. One of the most successful examples is the appeal initiated by the leadership of the Council to the world community with the demand to recognize Russia's crimes in Ukraine as genocide of the Ukrainian people.

Another direction is informing society. Almost every member of the committee regularly gives interviews to international mass media. from almost all over the world. This is important because it is necessary to tell the truth to audiences in different countries. This is one of the effective methods of combating Russian propaganda and the information war waged by the terrorist country [16].

Therefore, Ukrainian diplomacy and the international activities of the President of Ukraine and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine from February 24 to the present time prove their ability to actively influence the course of events related to the Ukrainian people's resistance to large-scale aggression by the Russian Federation.

Владишевська В.В., Гриб А.М. До питання про українську дипломатію в умовах широкомасштабної агресії РФ

Анотація

Актуальність обраної теми аргументується надзвичайною та вкрай важливою роллю дипломатії під час воєнного стану з урахуванням широкомасштабності та жорстокості російського вторгнення до України. В умовах широкомасштабної агресії російської федерації дипломатичний фронт має не менше значення, ніж воєнний фронт, адже саме завдяки дипломатії (як у державному вимірі, так і у публічному) реалізовується цілий ряд завдань, а саме: зброя; санкції проти РФ; кандидатський статус в ЄС; фінансова допомога від Заходу; формування позитивного іміджу держави на міжнародному рівні; формування і зміцнення антиросійської коаліції на міжнародному рівні; донесення достовірної та правдивої інформації іноземним аудиторіям з метою отримання воєнної, фінансової, правової допомоги та підтримки у боротьбі із російським загарбником.

Події останніх років (Ковід-19, повномасштабна війна в Україні) свідчать про те, що українська дипломатія стає більш мобільною, гнучкою, сучасною та адаптивною, яка миттєво реагує на всі виклики часу. Повномасштабна війна, як виклик глобального рівня, в епіцентрі якого опинилась наша країна стала серйозним кроком для активізації та пошуку нових підходів в аспекті здійснення зовнішньої політики Президентом України, Верховною Радою України, Міністерством закордонних справ України.

Українська дипломатія і міжнародна діяльність Президента України, Верховної Ради України, Міністра закордонних справ з 24 лютого і по теперешній час доводять свою спроможність активно впливати на події, пов'язані з опором українського народу широкомасштабній агресії з боку рф. Дипломатичний фронт не стоїть осторонь реального фронту і виконує надважливу місію у декількох вимірах: безпековому, політичному та гуманітарному та інформаційному. Станом на сьогоднішній день, завдяки щоденним зусиллям керівництва країни вдалось досягнути великих успіхів та безпрецедентної підтримки усіма цивілізованими країнами світу на шляху до нашої перемоги.

Ключові слова: дипломатія, превентивна дипломатія, воєнна дипломатія, цифрова дипломатія.

The relevance of the chosen topic is argued by the extraordinary and extremely important role of diplomacy during martial law, taking into account the large-scale and brutality of the russian invasion of Ukraine. In the conditions of large-scale aggression of the russian federation, the diplomatic front is no less important than the military front, because it is thanks to diplomacy (both in the state dimension and in the public dimension) a number of tasks are implemented, namely: weapons; sanctions against the russian federation; candidate status in the EU; financial assistance from the West; the formation and strengthening of an anti-russian coalition at the international level; formation of a positive image of the state at the international level; conveying reliable and truthful information to foreign audiences for the purpose of obtaining military, financial, legal assistance and support in the fight against the russian invader.

The events of recent years (Covid-19, full-scale war in Ukraine) show that Ukrainian diplomacy is becoming more mobile, flexible, modern and adaptive, which instantly responds to the challenges of the times. A full-scale war, as a challenge of a global level, in the epicenter of which our country found itself, became a serious step for activation and search for new approaches in the aspect of foreign policy implementation by the President of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine.

Ukrainian diplomacy and the international activities of the President of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs from February 24 until nowadays have proven their ability to actively influence events related to the resistance of the Ukrainian people to large-scale aggression by the russian federation. The diplomatic front doesn't stand aside from the real front and performs an important mission in several dimensions: security, political and humanitarian, and informational. As of today, thanks to the daily efforts of the country's leadership, it was possible to achieve great success and unprecedented support from all civilized countries of the world on the way to our victory.

Keywords: diplomacy, preventive diplomacy, military diplomacy, digital diplomacy.

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