HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINE IN THE GEOPOLITICAL JUNCTION AREA: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

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Abstract

In this article is being discussed the concept of geopolitical junction zones from the standpoint of historical and geographical development of Ukraine. The most important historical events are considered that influenced on development of Ukraine. In addition in this article is being analysed the formation causes of socio-cultural and civilizational factors and processes. The modern geopolitical position of Ukraine should be based on analyses of historical and geographical development, features and characteristics of socio-cultural space of Ukraine and neighbourly position between the Europe and Russia, Baltic – Black Sea space and Arab Muslim world.
KEY WORDS: geopolitical junction zones, balance of external forces, sub-regional nuclei of nations, ethnogenesis, socio-cultural space.

Introduction

The historical science considers studies of the region, territory, nation or state development history as a linear process. The theory and methodology of political geography, as a constituent part of social geography, allows to consider the process of historical development from the point of view of the nonlinear society development (Тойнби, 1991), cyclical of the social and cultural (civilization) development and economic waves (based on Kondratiev cycles (Валлестайн, 2003) in geopolitics and geoeconomics. The following stages are typical for the history of Ukraine: integration and disintegration, inversion (recurrence), formation of local and sub-regional attraction nuclei, as well as influence of "bifurcation points", events that changed the course of the historical development. Ukraine holds unique geostrategic position, being formed at the junction of several geopolitical regions — Europe, Russia, Arab Muslim world, on the border between East and West. This unique geopolitical position causes the formation of the specific social and cultural space. The Ukrainian nation was formed on the border between the nomadic and settled civilizations. The nuclei of attraction at the initial stage were Ancient Greece and Byzantium but not Western Europe. With its development within the space of the Orthodox Christian civilization, Ukraine was separated from the common process of the European social and historical development at early stages. But at the following stages (XIIth–XVIIth centuries) European influence was quite substantial and coincided with the process of the Ukrainian nation ethnogenesis (since the XVth century). The long process of the cultural and ethnopolitical assimilation and external pressure caused the deformation of the social and cultural and ethnopolitical space of Ukraine. The problem of social, cultural, historical and geographical development of Ukraine is raised by many representatives of the historical, geographical and social sciences – M. Grushevsky (*Грушевский*), V. Dergachev (Дергачев, 2003; 2004), V. Kubiovich (Кубійович,

1938), S. Rudnitsky (Рудницький, 1916), A. Shabliy (Шаблій, 2004), M. F. Yuriy (Юрій, 2004).

The tasks of the article are the following:

- Working out the definition of "geopolitical junction area";
- Analysis of classical and contemporary theoretical developments forming the foundation of this concept;
- Analysis of the Ukraine's historical development main stages, periodization and studying the principal factors that influenced the formation of the social and cultural space of Ukraine.
- Analysis of the contemporary state of the social and cultural space of Ukraine: problems and prospects of the further development.

1. Theoretical basics of the geopolitical junction areas conception

Geopolitical junction areas conception is based on the theoretical approaches to the geospatial regionalization. There are two principal types of regionalization. One of them divides geospace into the regions with precise borders, with the complete inclusion of all the territories, without overlapping and borders' blurriness. The other one proves the existence of the transition areas, having similar features of two or more regions, bordering the transition area. This type became widespread in the last decades of the XXth century. Geopolitical schools of the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Ukraine and Russia have theoretical developments related to the problem of geopolitical space regionalization and the problem of transition areas. The choice of the new definition "junction area" is stipulated by the new approach to the study of regionalization and transition areas between the geopolitical regions. Junction area is considered not only from the geopolitical point of view, but from the point of view of geoeconomics and social and cultural space as well.

The junction area is a geopolitical territory situated on the border between the geopolitical regions and also characterized by the cumulation of processes and conditions of the historical, social and cultural, geopolitical and geoeconomic nature.

The concept of junction areas is closely connected with the theoretical approaches of the classical geopolitics, which initiated the problem of Central Europe positioning in the geopolitical structure of the world. The classical geopolitics of G. Mackinder, N. Spikeman, S. Cohen, K. Haushofer outlined the idea of geopolitical regions and the problem of drawing borders between them (Колосов , 2001). There is no fixed border because in different historical periods geopolitical regions tend to expand and to shrink. This idea is confirmed by the theoretical developments of G. Modelski, V. Thompson, P. Taylor of the world geopolitics cycles conception, and of the related to it hegemony of the leading states, nuclei of the geopolitical regions.

G. Blij and P. Muller (2004) developed the scheme of the world geopolitical structure where they specified transition areas with marginal and peripheral features in relation to the geopolitical region leading state (states), centre of force. Eurasian megaregion is formed by at least 6 macroregions: Europe, Russia, East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Arab Muslim world. There are transition and junction areas between

them, which have common features with the regions they border on. At the present historical stage Ukraine is situated between Europe and Russia.

This marginal position is considered by V. Dergachev (2004) not as a problem but as a peculiarity of the social and cultural space, combining features of two regions, Europe and Russia. Overlapping of two different social and cultural spaces is considered by M. Yuriy (2004) as the basis for the creation of the new element, which is simultaneously integrated into two heterogeneous systems, but has its own components, forming social and cultural space of the junction area. With time this position causes the necessity to integrate into one of the geopolitical regions, which allows to complete the social changes in the junction area.

B. P. Yatsenko (2007) distinguishes "core regions" in each European country, the nuclei for the formation of the "ethnos → state → nation" system. There are two such regions in Ukraine: Galicia and Middle Podneprovie. These nuclei performed attraction function of various intensity in different historical periods. There are two regions in Russia as well: Novgorod and Moscow (Vladimir -Suzdal land) . However, the proc-ess of Novgorod takeover by Moscow promoted the formation of the single nuclei for the state creation. Similar processes were typical for France – a more powerful nucleus assimilated another one, Paris took over the south of France. In Italy the differentia-tion is more significant, there exist the problem of South and North, just as East and West in Ukraine. The reason is the position in the junction area between the two re-gions (Italy is between Europe and Arab Muslim world). Such opinion is confirmed by R. D. Putnam (2001), who searched the social space of Italy. The R. D. Putnam's re-search in practice confirms the concept of the junction areas, which have specific for-mation history of the social and cultural space of the state, region or the territory being studied.

Our theoretical development of the junction areas conception is also based on the idea of the multidimensional geospace (theory of "Big multidimensional spaces" by V. Dergachev, 2003) and hierarchy of the geospace, which consist of the geopolitical, geoeconomic and social, and cultural components as well.

2. Historical and geographical periodization of geopolitical and social – cultural development of Ukraine

Historical and geographical periodization is based both on the generally accepted historical periods' scheme and on regional periods' scheme, developed by us. Geopolitical processes rest upon the concept of the balance of forces between the power centres – nuclei of the geopolitical regions. Junction areas are always situated between such power centres and, geopolitically, they are the buffer between the nuclei states. When centres of force weaken and the effect of the "force vacuum" appears, subregional nuclei in the junction areas become stronger and it stimulates the formation of the state. External factors which influence the junction area space are forced and voluntary integration into the space of one of the centres of force. Forces parity between the nuclei of the geopolitical regions causes aggravation of the critical borders between the regions and stipulates the increase of instability in the junction areas. Social

and cultural development of junction areas is related to the matters of the civilization choice – the choice of religion, culture, linguistic and ethnic surroundings, as well as the processes of external and internal influence – assimilation, integration and disintegration of society, modernization, ethnogenesis and formation of the nation (see Fig. 1).
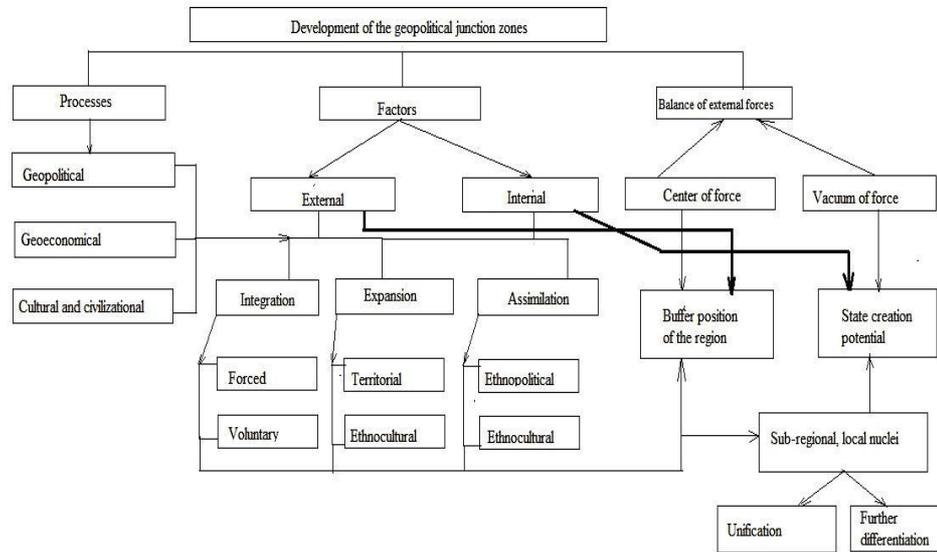

Fig. 1. Theoretical and logical scheme of the interaction of processes, factors and balance of forces, which influence the development of the geopolitical junction areas

Author's own research.

The antique stage of social and cultural development takes place in the period of Ancient Greek colonization of the Northern Black Sea coast and the space integration into the antiquity world. That social and cultural space was a transition area between the two civilizations, a junction where the exchange of goods, cultural achievements and mutual influence took place. Scythia was a military state, powerful centre of force, city- states (poleis) and Bosporus kingdom; it was a geoeconomic periphery and cultural periphery of the antique world. Scythia depended on the trade with the city-states, where the Scythians felt cultural influence. The most dynamic was the period from the IIIrd century B.C. to the IXth century A.D. Weakening of Ancient Greece, decay of the trade, change of the balance of force in the Mediterranean region caused the appearance of the new centre of force, Roman Empire, which by the Ist century A.D. united the majority of territories in the Black Sea basin. Short-term integration into the Roman Empire preserved the city-states, which faced the danger of the constant wars with the Sarmatians, new Iranian language people, who had pushed the Scythians away. Iranian language substrate, mainly of the Scythians who later moved to Podneprovie (agricultural Scythians), later assimilated with the Slavs. Iranian layer is reflected in the language, particularly Ukrainian (Boyko, 2002).

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Rapid progress of Roman Empire in the Ist century B.C. – IIth century A.D. promoted geoeconomic and cultural integration of the Northern Black Sea coast cities with the provinces in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. The cities played the transitory role for the goods from the Central Asia to Roman Empire (northern caravan route).

Decline of the Roman Empire, appearance of the vacuum of force, absence of the centres of force strengthened the process of the great migration of people, which lasted from the IVth to the IXth century across the steppe zone of Ukraine (part of the so called Big Eurasian Steppe). German tribes of the Goths, Turkic tribes of the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars and the Bulgars went across the territory of Ukraine. Instability and considerable people's migration process hampered social and historical development but changed social and cultural space of the region (Boyko, 2002).

Rise of the Byzantine Empire, its territory expansion in the Black Sea basin starting from the 4th century, strengthening of the cultural influence turns it into the regional centre of force. A Turkic state, Khazarian khaganate (founded in the VIIth century and existed till 965) appeared in the Northern Black Sea area. Byzantine Empire and Khazaria were trade, economic, military and political allies. There was a caravan route from the Central Asia to Byzantium across the Khazaria (Great Silk Road). Khazaria was a military state that is why it was the force that weakened the Arab caliphate.

The new stage of the balance of forces and of social and cultural space formation starts with the migration of the Slavs into the southern territories of Ukraine and to the Balkans in the VI-VIIth centuries. The Slavonic tribe unions in Podneprovie had trade and cultural relations with the Byzantium back in the VII–VIIIth centuries. A. Sidorenko (1992) considers that the Byzantine influence was short-termed but it founded the basis for the future relations. In the IXth century the tribes of Eastern Slavs integrated into the state Kyivan Rus. Rus had close trade and cultural relations with the Byzantium from the first years of its existence. The adoption of Christianity in Rus in 988 strengthened Constantinopol's influence. At the same time Khazaria adopts Judaism, which aggravated confessional relations between Khazaria and the Byzantium, weakened the political of Khazaria and stimulated the rise of Kyiv.

Conversion to Christianity of Kyivan Rus was involuntary, with the eradication of paganism. Kyivan Rus was part of the Christian world, whose cultural influence changed social relations in Rus and promoted rapid cultural development and the development of writing. Constantinopol allowed to use Church Slavonic language, while Latin was widely used in Western Europe (Yuriy, 2004).

Russian geopolitics (Kolosov, 2001) considers that absence of Latin as a language of education and church separated Kyivan Rus from the common social and cultural process in Europe and deepened the cultural gap between Eastern and Western Europe. The great Eastern Schism of 1056 divided Christianity into Catholic and Orthodox branches and secured this gap. Religious border between the Catholics and the Orthodox Christians caused conflicts in the following periods, and they were especially sharp in Rzeczpospolita. Kyivan Rus had buffer position being situated on the border between the settled and nomadic civilizations. The nomadic peoples of the steppe (Pechenigs and Polovtsy) impeded intensive cultural relations between Kiev and Constantinopol.

The regionalization of Kyivan Rus deepened in the XI–XIIth centuries. Subregional neclei were formed and later ethnoses were formed around them, of the Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian people. Kyiv and Galitsian lands became the nuclei for the formation of the Ukrainian ethnos. Weakening of Byzantium, decline of the trade route "from the Varangians to the Greeks", internal atomism and instability became the factor of the Kyivan Rus decay. Territory expansion of Poland (west lands), Hungary (Transcarpathia) incorporated ethnic Ukrainian lands at the very early stages of the ethnogenesis (Sorochan, 1989).

In the XIIIth century Mongol-Tatar invasions accelerated the decay of Kyivan Rus. Back at that time there were three nuclei: Galich-Volynian Principality, Vladimir-Suzdal and Polotsk lands. Mongol-Tatar invasion divided the social and cultural space of the Eastern Slavs. Vladimir -Suzdal land got into the total dependence of the Golden Horde. The relations between the princes and the khans were based on the system of subjugation. Subjugation meant absence of the definite rules, but complete political and economic dependence on the khan. In Western Europe there existed the principle of vassalage, of the relations between the vassal and the king that stipulated definite rights and privileges of the vassal. F. Yuriy (2004) considers that subjugation laid down the foundations of the absolute power as well as the power corruption – princes used power for their personal interests on the grounds of weakening the competitor and widening their possessions.

In Galicia, the influence of Western Europe increased. Lvov was located on the trade route from China and Central Asia to Central Europe. The princes had close contacts with the Roman Pope who had considerable political value in that period. In the XIVth century Poland took over Galicia and Volyn.

Podneprovie in the XIII–XIVth centuries suffered from the constant raids of the Tatars. Kiev lost its strategic position. The bishop of Kiev, head of the Orthodox Church, had to move to Vladimir-Suzdal land, where he kept the status of Kiev cathedral (till the XVIth century). It started the religious expansion of the Moscowian tsars and weakened the influence of the Orthodox Church in Rzeczpospolita. Moscow state got autocephaly in the XVIth century and the principle of the Ecumenical Council decision was not observed and canonical territories were within the limits of Moscowia. Belarus and Ukraine were part of Poland and canonical relations with Constantinopol (Yuriy, 2004).

In the XIVth century Lithuania started its expansion and annexed the territories of the Western Rus (Belarus) and Southern Rus (Ukraine). Galician land got for Poland. Its existence as a part of Lithuania in the XIV–XVth centuries can be called "soft integration": there was no political, ethnic or religious pressure, Belarusian and Ukrainian lands were relatively autonomous. Social and cultural medium of the Ukrainian nation lived through the period of external influence and conservation of its development (Дністрянський, 2003,).

Lithuanian integration was the period of the Ukrainian lands economic growth, towns development and introduction of Magdeburg law (from the XIVth to the XVIIth centuries). Ukrainian territory held the transit position on the way of goods from Central Asia to Western Europe. Towns developed in Ukraine and cultural centres, frater-

nal communities set up by the Orthodox petty bourgeois, appeared. The European culture had considerable influence over the Ukrainian social and cultural space. At that stage the towns were already multinational and the share of the Ukrainian population was growing (Boyko, 2002).

Integration of Poland and Lithuania (Union of Lublin, 1569), which was formed under the influence of the external factors (Ottoman, Moscow and Teutonic military threat), united most of the Ukrainian lands. The formation of Rzeczpospolita was connected with the growth of the religious and political pressure and the processes of ethnocultural and political assimilation of the Ukrainian people. The pressure on the Orthodox Christians, Polonization of the Ukrainian nobility, enslaving and oppression of peasantry conditioned the appearance of Zaporizhian Sich, which consisted mainly of the runaway peasants (Dvornik, 2005).

The formation of Zaporizhian Sich (XV century) was a unique event for the Ukrainian nation, which was formed in the following periods under the religious pressure on the part of the Catholics, ethnocultural and ethnopolitical of the nobility and urban residents. Sich was in fact a proto -state which took shape of the Cossacks state in the XVIIth century. Sustention of the Ukrainian nation under the external pressure became possible with the appearance of Sich. Cossacks were the sub-ethnic group of the Ukrainians that was developing in the buffer conditions between the Christian and Muslim worlds, between the nomadic (Crimean khanate,) and settled (Rzeczpospolita, Moscow State) civilizations. Besides, the militarized way of life in Sich was the basis for the national liberation movement of the Ukrainians against the Polish oppression in the XVIIth century. Just like Rzeczpospolita, Sich had electiveness of power (democ-racy features, absence of caesaropapism – the union of secular and religious power) (Yuriy, 2004).

There was conservation of social development in Moscow state at that time. The principle of caesaropapism, imported from the Byzantium, and the system of subjugation, borrowed from the Tartars, laid down the foundation for the imperial absolutism. Weakening of Constantinopol as the centre of Orthodox Church became the factor which formed the concept "Moscow is the third Rome". This concept of the XVIth century remains the core of Russian geopolitics in the XXIth century and it has the features of the Asian absolutism, Orthodox messianism, imperial ambitions and the tendency for territorial expansion. This concept was secured by the creation of the Moscow eparchy in the XVIth century (canonical lands without Ukraine and Belarus, which were subject to Constantinopol).

In Ukraine of the XV–XVIth centuries there was a rise of economy, growth of raw materials export to the European markets. Ukraine became the source of raw materials for Rzeczpospolita, its geoeconomic periphery. The Union of Brest (1596) split up the unity of the Orthodox world in Ukraine. Uniat Church was subject to Vatican, Kiev metropoly did not recognize the Union. The Union laid the foundation for the confessional break in the Ukrainian social and cultural space.

In that period ethnic identification (national self-consciousness) appears, ethnic borders, stereotypes, national motivation of the own state and liberation from the oppression are secured.

The balance of forces in Western Europe changes in the XVII century. Geopolitical weight of Moscow kingdom was growing and political crisis in Rzeczpospolita was deepening. The years from 1648 to 1654 were the period of the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people against the Polish oppression. The main force of the fight were Cossacks with Bohdan Khmelnytsky at the head. Hetmanate could not exist under the geopolitical pressure of Rzeczpospolita and Ottoman Empire. The treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) was a way out of Polish oppression and Ottoman threat. The closeness of the religious, ethnocultural space of Moscovia was determined by the desire to preserve the Ukrainian nation from the assimilation. Hetmanate entry into Moscow kingdom split up the uniform Ukrainian Cossacks in the very first years of integration. On the one hand the political pressure of Moscow increased, on the other hand Rzeczpospolita suggested the creation of the Great Russian principality with autonomous rights according to the Treaty of Hadiach (1658). These contradictions started the division into the Right-bank Ukraine and Left -bank Ukraine between the hetmans. The period of intestine wars called Ruin secured the division of Ukraine between the two centres of force, Poland and Moscovia, in the Eternal Peace Treaty of 1686. Moscow got Left -bank Ukraine and Poland got Right-bank Ukraine. Moscow kingdom advance to the West was the beginning of its territorial expansion to the Baltic Sea, Black Sea and Central Europe.

In the XVIIIth century the pressure of Moscow at the Ukrainian ethnos increased. Russian assimilatory politics was based on the ban of the Ukrainian language, marginalization and russification of the Ukrainian nobility. Towns became the nuclei of the Russian social and cultural influence. The reform of the administrative division destroyed the Hetmanate autonomy and contributed to the blurring of the ethnic borders. Extreme state mercantilism of the Russian Empire and permanent wars in the Baltic and Black seas turned Ukraine into the raw materials appendix of the Empire.

Destruction of Zaporizhian Sich (1775), enslaving of the peasants (since 1760) and of the Cossacks strengthened the political pressure on the Ukrainian social and cultural space. Total dependence on Moscow eparchy, influence of the Russian culture deformed Ukrainian social and cultural space and reinforced its marginalization.

In the second half of the XIXth century national bourgeois revolutions took place in Europe and they influenced Galicia and the territories which were part of the Austria-Hungary. The rise of the national self-consciousness, slackening of cultural pressure and assimilation assisted the revival of the Ukrainian culture, the centre of which was Lvov.

The revival of the national ideas and culture coincided with the economic growth in Russia and simultaneous pressure on the Ukrainian social and cultural space (the ban on the Ukrainian language: Valuev Circular of 1863, Emsk Decree of 1876). The growth of the Ukrainian economics (Donbass, Black sea coast) led to the migration of workers into the industrial areas. They got into the Russian language medium and became russified. In Galicia and Bukovina assimilation by Polish and Romanian ethnoses was increasing.

The downfall of the empires (Austrian-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman) created the vacuum of force in Central Europe. Revival of the sub-regional nuclei around the

ethnoses led to the creation of the national states from the Baltic to the Black sea. From 1917 to 1919, Ukraine was under external occupation: Russian- Bolshevist, German, and Austrian. After the end of the First World War the great powers of Europe (England, France) supported Poland in its territorial expansion (Western Ukraine, Western Belarus, Vilnius region), pursued the policy of the "sanitary cordon creation" between the Bolshevist Russia and the countries of Europe. Buffer position between Russia and Europe for the countries of the Baltic-Black sea space meant new redivision of territories between the centres of force, USSR and Nazi Germany.

Ukraine did not hold its independence (Ukrainian People's Republic, 1917–1920). The creation of the state faced the problem of the absence of the Ukrainian language nation conscious elite, unity, general support of the population. Towns were russified and the peasants, foundation of the Ukrainian state were isolated. The Russian-Polish war of 1918–1920 divided the territory of Ukraine and Belarus between them (the inversion history of the 1686 Great Peace).

Years of the Bolshevist regime of 1921–1939 were accompanied with the red terror, famine of 1921–1922 and at the same time with the process of Ukrainization in the 1920-s. Ukrainian schools, language, culture were restored. But the Bolshevist power destroyed the church – Uniate, Orthodox and Autocephalous. 1930's were tragic years for the Ukrainian social and cultural space. The process of Ukrainization was stopped. Ukrainian elite was subject to repressions. Peasants, who were the backbone of the Ukrainian renaissance, were demoralized by the artificial famine (Holodomor) of the Soviet power in 1932–1933 (about 5–7 million people died). Resistance movement of the peasants against collectivization and against power as a whole was crushed in the bud. Considerable part of the Ukrainian nation gene pool was destroyed (Boyko, 2002; Yuriy, 2004).

During the Second World War resistance movement against the German and Soviet occupation grew up in Western Ukraine (1939). Ukrainian insurgent army emerged. UPA intensified its activity in the post-war years of the forced "sovietisation" of Western Ukraine but was defeated by NKVD. In 1946–1947 new famine, struggle against UPA, intensification of the new political pressure in the Ukrainian SSR stopped the processes of the open struggle for the own cultural space. The period of 1950-1980-s was characterized by the repressions against the Ukrainian elite – poets, writers, human rights activists. Assimilation of the Ukrainians was total, the number of Russian language schools many times exceeded the number of the Ukrainian schools/ Marginalization of the Ukrainian culture, spread-up of "Surzhik" (Ukrainian language with the considerable borrowings from the Russian), migration of the Rus-sian and the Russian-speaking population in Ukraine intensified the regional differ-ences.

M. Dnistryansky (2003) proves that Ukrainian nation at that time could not modernized and cannot be modernized at the present stage due to the absence of the Ukrainian language city medium. Most of the towns speak Russian language, and they are the centres of the social and cultural development. Restoration of independence in 1991 did not assist considerable social and cultural integration. Overlapping of the social and economic crises aggravated the problems in society. Religious break-up

(existence of three Orthodox churches, Moscow, Kiev, Autocephalous, and Uniate), the problem of the city and the country, Russian and Ukrainian language, political orientation (West and Centre mainly support European and South and East Russian vector) deepen the crisis. At the present Ukraine is in the "grey area" of the unidentified geopolitical vector.

Conclusions

Analysis of the Ukrainian social and cultural space development allows shaping the notion of the nature of the junction area, to consider the integration processes of the heterogeneous elements of two geopolitical regions, Europe and Russia. Ukrainian territory in all the historical periods was the buffer zone between different civilizations: nomadic and settled, Christian and Muslim, and now between the EU and Russia. The value of Ukraine is that it is the indicator of the geopolitical changes in the space from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.

Weakness of the Ukrainian authority, support of the pro-Russian moods by the part of the Ukrainian society deepens the political break-up, which is reflected in the social and cultural space. The idea of the nation unity on the ground of the common language, cultural, religious integration is the necessary basis. But this idea does not find support in the Russian language medium. The absence of the quick Euro-integration processes complicates the entry of the Ukrainian social and cultural space into the European region (the problem if identification is as a marginal state).

Integration completion is possible with the affiliation to one of the geopolitical regions – Europe or Russia. Europe supports the versatility of the European cultures, multiconfessionalism. Russia continues the assimilation of the so-called "small nations". So, the logical place for Ukraine is in Europe. Europe is also one of the nuclei of the world economy.

Problems of the modern social and cultural space of Ukraine:
- Cultural differentiation between the city and the country (Russian language and Ukrainian language);
- Relative marginality of the Ukrainian culture;
- Confessional fragmentation of the Orthodox Christians;
- Absence of the efficient programme of the authorities aimed at the development of the Ukrainian social and cultural space;
- Low efficiency of the governmental policy.

Integration of the Ukrainian society should be based on the following postulates:
- Well-defined policy of the integration into Europe;
- Intensification of the Ukrainian influence in the informational, cultural, scientific and educational, political field;
- National economical egoism;
- Intensification of the control over the centrifugal tendencies (especially in Transcarpathia, Bukovina, Crimea);

- Development of the rural territories with the demographical potential of the Ukrainian language society;
- Growth of the military potential (security policy);
- Democratization of the society, intensified control over corruption, openness of the power and of the society as a whole.

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