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HUNGARY-UKRAINE BILATERAL RELATIONS: PROBLEMS, STAGNATION AND MISUNDERSTANDING

Introduction: The relations between Ukraine and Hungary can be partly defined as stable and friendly. Despite the fact, that both Ukrainian and Hungarian sides declared their wish to develop partnership relations, there are things, which are used by both sides as grounds for political tension. Until 2017, relations between

Ukraine and Hungary were aimed to become more friendly and strategic. The meetings between officials on different levels stressed the importance of these relations. Moreover, since 2014, Hungary had supported Ukrainian sovereignty and territorial integrity on different levels, and Ukrainian wish to join EU and NATO.

Review of recent publications: the problem of Ukraine-Hungarian dialog on the ethnic minority is being discussed and researched by a group of scientists, whom trying to analyse the reasons of the problem and possible ways of solving it. "The history of relations between Ukraine and Hungary as dynamic and the content of political dialog" [13], made by a group of Ukrainian scientists includes in itself the brief history of Ukraine-Hungary relations, reasons of stagnation of political dialog and possible ways of solving it. "Ukraine-Hungarian Relations: A Tale of Mounting Mutual Mistrust" [4], by Pavel Havlíček includes in itself the analysis of bilateral Ukraine- Hungary relations. The book of Christin J. Albertie [1] contains the analysis of Hungarian law on Hungarians, which are living abroad. Also a group of political experts commenting the situation with Hungary and Ukraine: Olexandr Lashchenko with his article [15] for Radio Svoboda points out on main sore spots, that obstruct Hungary-Ukraine bilateral relations. The article of A. Potiha [16] includes comments and analysis on the situation with Hungary passports. But the main publications for analysing the problem are official statements of Hungarian/Ukrainian officials and politicians [2; 6; 10], their interviews [9; 19; 11], legislation [13], that regulate or influence bilateral relations.

Objectives of the paper: understanding the problems in relations between Hungary and Ukraine; highlighting reasons for political tension and stagnation in the sphere of ethnic minority; analysing the diplomatic activity by both sides and its relevant problems.

Results of the research: Ukraine-Hungarian relations suffer from misunderstandings in the political dialogue in sphere of culture and ethnic minorities. Due to Hungarian's specific legislation connected to Hungarians living abroad, it is not a secret, that the way in which Hungary and its government pay attention and support its own ethnic minorities in different countries, can provoke a political tension. As Christin J. Albertie mentioned in her book: "*Hungary was met with criticism of the Status Law almost immediately after it passed through Parliament. Continued criticism from neighbouring countries, the Venice Commission, and the EU Commissioner on Enlargement..*" [1: 998].

The problems with this law have been obvious since the very beginning, but nowadays it has got far deeper. Due to this specific law, Hungary has tensions at the political level with Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine and the EU. The Ukrainian situation was no exception, but a good example of how bilateral relations could be stopped due to these misunderstandings. In 2017 with adopting the law on the education sphere in Ukraine, Hungary's officials began to rethink the problem of Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia region. With this law, it is necessary for children of ethnic minorities to study the Ukrainian language. After adopting the law, official Budapest begin to criticize it, threatening Ukraine to block its movement to NATO and EU. As it was said in the analytical article "The history of relations between Ukraine and Hungary

as dynamic and the content of political dialogue”, the level of main communication was lowered to interdepartmental [13].

In 2018, with the information, which was published in the Internet, it became known, that Hungarian officials in Ukraine used legal uncertainty with the problem of dual citizenship in our country and began to distribute passports of Hungary in their consular office. After this, Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pavlo Klimkin said, that the Consular of Hungary in Ukraine is persona non grata. In his video message, from 1st October 2018, Ukrainian ex-minister of Foreign Affairs, Pavlo Klimkin commented on the situation with distributing Hungarian passports to citizens of Ukraine, that it is a violation of Vienna Convention on Consular Relations and the Consular of Hungary in Ukraine must be recalled [5].

The fifth President of Ukraine, Petro Poroshenko, commenting upon the situation with Hungarian passports said that the disrespect of Ukraine’s sovereignty is impermissible and added that, it is very important to have mutual respect to each other’s sovereignty. His Hungarian colleague, Péter Szijjártó mentioned, that in case of harassing Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia, Hungary would make everything to stop integration of Ukraine in the EU and NATO [13]. Due to these events, the dialogue between Ukraine and Hungary stopped to be mutually respected and effective, but turned into an argument with mutual claims. The problem with dual citizenship for citizens of Transcarpathia became an obstacle in Ukraine-Hungarian relations. The dialogue between two ministers of foreign affairs seemed to be mutual threats exchange.

The spokesperson of Foreign Affairs Hungarian Office commenting the conversation between Pavlo Klimkin and Péter Szijjártó mentioned that citizens of Ukraine do not break the law with no reporting the Ukraine government of the fact that they have got another citizenship. Moreover, he said, that P. Klimkin accepted the absence of such law, that forbade the existence of another citizenship [19].

Statements of ministers prove that the problem in relations between Ukraine and Hungary was based on mutual unwillingness to begin an effective dialogue to solve the problems connected with Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia. Both, Ukrainian and Hungarian sides even did not try to listen to each other in order to find a middle ground solution to solve the problem, just pretending of solving something. The will to fulfil interests only in one-sided way, has led to stagnation in relations between Hungary and Ukraine. The new government of Volodymyr Zelenskyi is in tough situation. Stagnation continues, problems are not solved, and the whole situation getting harder.

From the very beginning of Ukraine’s sixth President administration responsibilities, Hungarian government made it clear, that the top priority in Ukraine-Hungarian relations must be solving the problem with the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia. In his interview for *Radio Svoboda*, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs said, that the new Ukrainian government for them is some kind of hope. He made a clear condition about the future of Ukraine’s integration in NATO and EU and the amending the education and language legislation. Nevertheless, Hungary made hopes for the new government in Ukraine their statements remain to be

controversial and aggressive [6]. Despite these facts, the new government made important steps towards education and law legalisation. With the help of recommendations proposed by *the Venice Commission*, Ukraine made law adaptations in order to renew the political dialogue between Ukraine and Hungary.

Unlike his predecessor, a new Minister of Foreign Affairs Dmytro Kuleba is more discreet in his statements about relations between Ukraine and Hungary. With amending the legalisation Ukraine show the will to as D. Kuleba said, “open a new chapter in bilateral relations” [4]. Despite the Ukraine’s compromise, the Hungarian officials do not pay attention to these things, thinking that in Ukraine there is still the anti-Hungarian government. The problem with the minority in Transcarpathia reminded about itself in October 2020. It was the time for Ukrainian local elections to be organized and the problem was, that Hungarian officials despite the Ukrainian legislation, tried to promote the Hungarian party in Transcarpathia, moreover, Péter Szijjártó on the day of elections supported the Hungarian candidate in public [9].

The main problem is, that despite Ukraine’s reaction and judgment, the Hungarian side does not see any problems at all. Their unwillingness to find a win-win solution could be the reason for continuation of the present crisis. For Ukraine it is necessary to understand, that the solution of the problem does not lie in permission of dual citizenship or permanent amending the legislation, the solution is to create a real mechanism of communication with ethnic minorities.

Conclusion: To sum up, one has to admit the fact, that the activity of the Hungarian and Ukrainian officials must be criticized and reviewed. The bilateral relations, which now are in crisis, due to the political tension about the problem of Hungarian minority must be reviewed and discussed. The problem of Ukraine’s integration in the EU and NATO has to be separated from the problem of ethnic minorities. The main officials of Ukraine and Hungary have to show the political will in order to unlock the dialogue between the two countries, in order to renew the connections of different levels.

Ukraine and Hungary have to intensify the dialogue about the problem of the Hungarian minority not only at the political level, but in public too. It is also necessary to separate bilateral relations in the sphere of economic, trading and problems with minorities, in order not to lose possible partnership relations, which are necessary for both sides. All these things will help to come to win-win solutions, but only if both sides will agree to create a mutually respected and effective dialogue.

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ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Introduction. The United Nations is the first intergovernmental organization which is responsible for environmental issues; the UN contributes to solving environmental problems at various levels – global, regional and national; the UN is able to implement a comprehensive analysis of environmental issues; the UN includes the vast majority of countries in the world, and therefore has an effective mechanism for coordinating and combining their efforts in solving global environmental problems.

Review of recent publications. Environmental problems have worsened around the world. In 1972, UNESCO raised the issue of environmental education and upbringing. The corresponding UN Program has appeared. The Stockholm Conference on the Environment adopted recommendations for the development of an international program on these issues, and in 1975 it was established. These problems were also discussed in the USSR: in 1977 in Tbilisi as well as in 1987 in Tallinn [2]. According to the UN documents adopted by the Rio Conference on Environmental Issues (1992), efforts should be made to preserve the biodiversity of all levels of living things, to ensure the functioning of biosphere systems, and the balanced