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*Danylo Stoliarenko*

*Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University*

*Vinnytsia*

*Research Supervisor: Yu. T. Temirov, PhD in History, Assoc. Prof.*

*Language Advisor: O. O. Odintsova, Senior Lecturer*

## THOMAS HOBBE'S IDEAS IN THE CONTEXT OF WESTPHALIA

**Introduction.** The formation of the Westphalian system of international relations was initiated by the Peace of Westphalia, concluded on October 24<sup>th</sup> in 1648 in the form of two treaties, prepared at two congresses which were held in the cities of Westphalia - Münster and Osnabrück. Articles of the Peace of Westphalia laid the foundations of modern world order – they divided the world into national powers and appeared open to the principles of international law and founded the first system of international relations. Main principles of these articles may be found similar to the ideas described in the work of Thomas Hobbes “Leviathan”. Besides that, this philosophic tractate was published in 1651 and may be considered as an approach to reflect and characterise the nature of a state at that time.

**Review of recent publications.** The study of this topic is impossible without the use of theoretical work and research, which is the main basis for our paper. The authors who considered the ideas formulated in Leviathan are: M. Goldsmith [1], M. Goodhart [2], Q. Skinner [4], R. Tuck [7]. Also, the documents of the Peace of Westphalia were used to extract basic ideas of future world order [6].

**Objectives of the paper.** To find out the correlation between ideas of Leviathan and basic principles of the Westphalian system of international relations is the main objective of the paper.

**Results of the research.** Thomas Hobbes's treatise “Leviathan”, which made a significant contribution to political science, and in particular, to the establishment of a realistic tradition in international relations can be considered as the most striking example of the formation of the foundations of early or classical realism

Before highlighting the ideas, which Hobbes formulated, they may be considered as the basis of realism, and it is necessary to find out what this multifaceted and multidimensional scholar represents. As a worldview, realism is a

positivist rationalist objectivist pessimism. As a method, a state-centric approach to the analysis and study of the history of international relations, focused primarily on the topic of conflict and security. As a research program, realism includes the number of postulates. As an ideology, realism can be defined as a system of political, legal, moral philosophical views and ideas that substantiate the central role of the statesman on a global scale.

In traditional science about realism in International Relations, the nature of a state is often described in terms of what can be called Hobbesian system, which has several principles:

1. The state is one entity. “The one who is the secluded part is called a sovereign, and it is said that he has the supreme power, and everyone else is his subject” [3: 188].

2. States are military camps that protect each other with soldiers and weapons. Such states should be considered natural, because they are not subordinate to any general government, and the unstable peace between them will be broken soon [3: 153].

3. In the international arena, states provide themselves with power, which is associated with the notion of “national interest”, either through military strategy or through diplomacy. An integral part of authority is power, which is one of the most important means of ensuring national security.

The theoretical position, according to the majority of the classical philosophers of IR, became real after the Peace of Westphalia, when the first diplomatic congress was hosted in Europe and two peace agreements ended the Thirty Years’ War which divided Europe on religious grounds (the Catholics against the Protestants). It is also the year, when the Eighty Years’ War between Spain and its former- province, which had a religious background too, was finished. The agreements influenced the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, France, Sweden, the Netherlands and their allies represented by the Holy Roman Empire dukes [5]. The Peace of Westphalia created new principles of the European international order based on the recognition of the sovereignty of all States despite their religious differences. Thus, it was a system which completely corresponded to the theoretical structure of the classical political philosophers of the modern era. Their ideas were confirmed by the representatives of the most powerful European States, and they became the basis of the real arrangement of the political space in Europe.

At the same time, as the modern representatives of historical sociology IR note, the sovereignty principle fully corresponded only to the European States, it did not correspond to the colonies and non-European countries (for example, Asian). States were considered as those who had “default” or “divided” sovereignty. However, while IR as a science is completely Eurocentric, this fact did not change the general structure at all; it normally acted with the basic actors and national States which are thought to be sovereign by default. In the case of European States, standards and facts were mostly harmonized, and other cases were regarded as “backward” and “anomalous” things that must be improved (through thought the modernization).

The Westphalian system, in its theoretical position, recognizes the sovereignty of all national States which strengthen the European space, and step by step, it is becoming the basic model of the whole world's political structure.

The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia established three focal principles in regard to IR [5]:

1. A sovereignty of the states. According to the standard of *Rex est imperator in regno suo*, the governor is fully autonomous within his own domain, but not a subject to the political will of anyone else. The settlement recognized the absolute power of governors and linked the personal/dynastic power to a specific territory – a sovereign state.

2. Collective (European) Security with the fundamental task to maintain the peace among the key actors in IR. The concept vacillates from more practical, but an unregulated and anarchical balance of power and an idea of more theoretical aim to establish a kind of regulated world government under the international law and accepted standards of acting.

3. The balance of power. It indicates the relative distribution of power among the states either into equal or unequal pieces. Principally, it refers to the situation, when there is no state which predominates over others, and it means that the policy of balance of IR forces exists granted that unbalanced power is dangerous for the regional or global security.

**Conclusion.** To sum up, Thomas Hobbs' work is probably one of the most important in political science, and in particular to the realistic tradition in international relations theory. It is necessary to emphasize that in the Leviathan secular theory of political power, state and law were developed in a systematic way as well as the fundamental foundations of political realism. Comparing with the ideas described in the articles of the Peace of Westphalia, we may see the resemblance between them and assume that from that time the world lived following the rules of Realpolitik. This is not surprising, since Leviathan was the reflection of the political system at the time of its writing, and the principle of the national States' sovereignty is the main principle of the modern world political structure and, as a result, the Westphalian system is still relevant today.

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*Ruslana Storozhuk*

*Vasyl'Stus Donetsk National University*

*Vinnytsia*

*Research Supervisor: O. P. Ivanytska, Doc. of History, Prof.*

*Language Advisor: V.I. Kalinichenko, PhD in Philology, Ass. Prof.*

## **RELATIONS BETWEEN UKRAINE AND GREAT BRITAIN IN THE POST-BIPOLAR PERIOD**

**Introduction.** Ukraine as an independent state clearly manages its foreign policy integration priorities at the present stage, the success of which will be largely determined by the use of the potential of the bilateral relations of Ukraine with the leading European states.

The relevance of the development of Ukrainian-British relations is based particularly on the significant positive experience of the bilateral cooperation, which has been accumulated since the establishment of diplomatic relations and determined by the status of Great Britain as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, the G-7, the so-called “Nuclear club”, a member of NATO and in general an influential participant in the international relations.

**Review of recent publications.** Questions of the Ukrainian-British relations in the post-bipolar period are the subject of research of such scientists as: N. Yakovenko, A. Grubinko, O. Nepriyskyi, V. Krushynskyi, P. Ignatiev and others.

**Objective of the paper** is to conduct the multilateral research on the development of the Ukrainian-British relations in the political, military, trade and economic spheres.

**Results of research.** As a result of geopolitical transformations at the end of the dramatic twentieth century, due to the radical change in the system of international relations, there were real opportunities for the establishment and development of close relations between independent Ukraine and the United Kingdom. Their prospect was primarily connected with the interest of the countries in the formation of the collective security system, the need to use significant transport and energy capacities of Ukraine as a transit country in the context of energy supply to Europe, a large-scale reform of the economy and social relations in Ukraine with the transition to the principles of the market economy and democratic legal development [1: 48]. All this required assistance and support for our country from the leading countries of the