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The Ukrainian cause in German political opinion

summary

The subject of the dissertation is the Ukrainian cause in German political opinion, the analysis of which covers the years 1871 - 2019. With the term "Ukrainian cause" the author understands all actions dictated by the national and state-forming aspirations of Ukrainians, aimed at establishment of the sovereign political entity, in particular: forming an independent Ukraine, legitimizing its sovereignty on the arena of international relations and maintaining and stabilizing the institutions of the state. By defining the "Ukrainian cause", the author wishes to

emphasize the broad understanding of this concept, bearing in mind the following triad:

a) entities - the complicated problems of aspirations of Ukrainian migration activists (consciously narrowed to those in Germany and Austria, where Ukrainian emigration had a significant impact on German politics), b) land - the so-called ethnic Ukrainian territories (Eastern and Western Galicia, Bucovina, Transcarpathian Ruthenia, Crimea and Bessarabia) and c) empire - the activities political power centres, often conducting the internal struggle on foreign affairs with each other.

Thus defined, for the purposes of this dissertation, the "Ukrainian question" was presented as an object of interest for German political opinion. It should be clarified that by this concept, the author understands German political ideas, the political interests of the German state and the methods of German policy focusing on the Ukrainian question. It can be seen that over the years, this opinion has undergone a significant reevaluation. From treating the Ukrainian issue as fundamental, to completely marginalizing it. However, in the context of planning and implementing Eastern policy, which is a permanent part of the German state's policy, it cannot be argued that it was irrelevant. That is why the author's main point of interest is the change in the perception of German political opinion on the Ukrainian matter (their causes and effects) over long periods of time. The purpose of the work is to capture and characterize these phenomena in the form of a scientific model.

Each political model is a theoretical abstraction resulting from a defined paradigm, and its intention is to organize reality and give it a general framework in a quest to show the cause-and-effect relationships between occurring phenomena and to enable a future political events to be anticipated with the greatest possible precision. As a consequence of an in-depth

analysis of source materials, historical descriptions and characteristics of phenomena and attitudes of German political opinion from the end of the 19th century to the present day, the author presents the position that there are adequate premises to construct a model representing the Ukrainian cause in German political opinion during this period of history. The chronological order of the dissertation results from the adopted research methodology. The time-frame is marked by 1871, crowning the several-year process of unification of German states, culminating in the proclamation of the Second Reich, a state with the capacity to express opinions appropriate for representing the German position on the international stage. The upper limit, in a model approach, remained consciously open. In the dissertation, it is marked by 2019, when another significant change in the perception of the Ukrainian cause by the German political opinion took place. The division of labor into three parts corresponds with individual historical periods: 1) from 1871 to the end of the World War I, 2) from 1919 to the end of the World War II, and 3) from 1945 to modern times, and thus reflects sinusoidal interest on the Ukrainian matter, comparable to the characteristic of each of the proposed cyclical periods. The chronological division into three cycles was reflected on the basis of observations of phenomena (events) that were crucial for the German perception of the Ukrainian casue. Showing the emergence of the Ukrainian state as an important factor from Germany's point of view in shaping Berlin's eastern policy significantly fills the gap in Polish literature on the subject but also allows for a more effective analysis of the region's political future.

The model proposed by the author serves not only to present the past and current phenomena characteristic for the adopted policy and parties involved and the method of taking action, but allows to determine the indicative phases of intensification of relations between the two entities in the future. This thesis is based on the position that, over the years, Germany has dealt with the Ukrainian issue in a non-uniform, inconsistent and unestablished manner. However, in this volatility one can observe the existing regularity, which is an important element in shaping German policy, which can be presented in the form of a political model - showing the Ukrainian cause as an important point of reference in the concept of German policy, which Germany has used to realize their political interests. By formulating the above thesis, the author has proved that this element of the strategy, despite its considerable importance in mutual relations, is not a permanent political tool, but has been used cyclically and consciously in crucial historical periods. His apparatus can be properly characterized by distinguishing cycles relevant to the problem, which form the basis for the construction of the political model.

The dissertation highlights key moments that have influenced the formulation of German political opinion regarding this issue throughout the years. Multiple aspects explaining why the opinion was not uniform, durable and grounded were indicated in this work. This method of organizing the argument has made it possible to present, in a comprehensive manner, the characteristic variability and its constant, cyclical regularity.

The model has been shown in a graphic form - on a chart with frames defined by two axes. The horizontal axis (time axis) represents key events important for shaping the Ukrainian issue within the German political opinion, the vertical axis (value / quality axis) represents the intensity of the opinion in relation to this issue (low, medium and high). Each of the sections of the relationship between the axes represents its inherent character. This method of data presentation allowed for reflecting the variability of the intensification of the policy against the background of the events studied and for showing its cyclical character.

The model put forward presents three cycles corresponding to the structure of the dissertation. For reasons resulting from the specification of historical phenomena, these cycles are not equal to each other and have a finite characteristic.

As demonstrated in the hearing, the episodes are not uniform. At their basis, there are parts of a defined sine wave that illustrates the motivations behind the German political opinion. Thus, each cycle begins with a low degree of interest in the Ukrainian issue, followed by its slow, irregular qualitative increase, which ends with a dynamic breakdown, heralding the start of the next cycle. The goals of German politics in each of these periods were intentionally motivated, depending on current political interests. The author distinguished these intentions in relation to each of the cycles, as: 1. Crystallization of the Ukrainian question, 2. Instrumentalization of policy, 3. Consolidating policy. The results presented in this research can be seen not only in theoretical but also empirical categories, understood as a practical analysis used to formulate more effective political forecasts. The model can be a set of guidelines for Polish political and public institutions that reflect on the directions of foreign and regional policy. It is a political science tool for further detailed research.

Keywords: Germany, Ukrainian issue, political opinion, political model

Wroclaw, May 18, 2020