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## The Russian-Ukrainian war and the current state of relations between Ukraine and Poland

### Introduction

The Ukrainian-Polish relations have a long and controversial history: there is a period of coexistence in one state, and confrontation, even hostility, during the struggle for self-determination and territorial delineation. Numerous myths and stereotypes, which were firmly etched in the historical memory of both peoples and formed a certain narrative, prevented the development of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between Ukraine and Poland until the last moment. The Russian-Ukrainian war, which began in 2014 with the invasion of the Russian army troops into the territory of the Ukrainian Donbas and Crimea, and later the full-scale invasion of the Russian army into the territory of Ukraine, started a new phase of relations between Ukrainians and Poles. Polish society, like no other, understands Ukrainians and helps them in every possible way in the fight against the aggressor. This manifestation of humanity and good neighbourliness today forms a completely new format of the future Ukrainian-Polish relations. The future narrative will be based on moments of unity and mutual assistance, understanding and support, joint victories and strategies.

The author aims to analyze the Ukrainian-Polish relations from the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war in 2014 to the full-scale invasion of the Russian army on the territory of Ukraine and the open armed aggression of the Russians, that is, to the present day.

### Development of strategic partnership between Ukraine and Poland

The development of strategic partnership between Ukraine and Poland corresponds to the national interests of both states. Poland is an important ally of the Ukrainian state in international organizations and regional associations. As a member of the European Union and NATO, Poland systematically supports Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic steps towards integration, and insists on the need to maintain an open door policy for new member states. The Republic of Poland is one of the largest contributors to the Social Media Marketing (SMM) of the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Ukraine. An example of successful cooperation between our countries

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is the activity of the Grand Hetman Konstantyn Ostrogsky Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian Brigade (LITPOLUKRBRIG) – a military brigade of the states of the Lublin Triangle, which was created in 2014 from the armed forces of Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine and is named after Prince Konstantyn Ostrogsky.

On September 19, 2014, the Minister of Defence of Ukraine, Valery Geletey, signed an agreement with the Ministers of Defence of Lithuania and Poland on the creation of a joint military unit. It was agreed that the Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Polish military forces will participate in joint exercises, and later, in operations. The technical documentation will be developed within two years, and after the end of this period the brigade must be fully operationally ready (*Україна, Литва і Польща підписали угоду про створення спільної військової частини*, 2014).

On all international levels, the Republic of Poland condemns Russian aggression against Ukraine, defends a firm position in support of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine within internationally recognized borders, insists on the release of political prisoners of the Kremlin and supports the policy of adopting EU sanctions against Russia for the occupation of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol, as well as certain districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions.

Ukraine and Poland actively cooperate in matters of energy security and diversification of energy supply sources, cyber-security, military-technical, and defence industries. There is lively dialogue and cooperation in the cultural and humanitarian spheres. A significant contribution to the development of relations between the two states is made by the large Ukrainian community in Poland and the Polish community in Ukraine.

Trade and economic cooperation is actively developing between the two countries. According to the results of 2019, the level of trade between Ukraine and Poland amounted to 8.03 billion US dollars. This is 6.7% more compared to the volume of merchandise turnover in 2018. The trend of further growth in the volume of bilateral trade between neighbouring countries is maintained (Грабинський, 2000: 88).

Ukraine remains a priority country for Poland in the field of development aid. During 2014-2019, the Polish government allocated humanitarian aid to Ukraine in the total amount of about 8.4 million US dollars. Interregional cooperation, cooperation in the field of education, culture, science, and youth exchanges are actively developing (Грабинський, 2000: 88). More than a dozen important bilateral institutional mechanisms operate between Ukraine and Poland. In May 2019, a Ukrainian business centre was opened in Warsaw, the task of which is to provide comprehensive services to Ukrainian businesses to enter the Polish market.

Ukrainian expert, Yevhen Magda, emphasizes that today Ukraine and Poland need to look for something that unites, not divides. According to him, Russian rhetoric is becoming more aggressive, and Poland, as a member of NATO, feels more protected. Therefore, the slogan “For our and your safety” is not an exaggeration in this case. Many experts in Poland and Ukraine believe that Poland is doomed to support Ukraine. Al-

though its presence in the EU and NATO narrows the space for foreign policy activities, yet as Magda concludes: “We simply have to look for ways to understand and develop bilateral relations” (Терещук, 2021).

As one of the positive examples of the Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, experts give the holding of the international military exercises “Three Swords 2021” in 2021. For the first time in six years of the existence of the joint Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian brigade, training of this level took place with the participation of all three units, as well as servicemen of the US Army (Терещук, 2021).

As an example of scientific fora organized by specialized institutions, let's mention the scientific event organized by the Polish Historiographical Society with the assistance of the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw and the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, on the topic: “History – is the past reflected or created? Key problems of the past of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the historiographies of the region, 19th-21st centuries” in Rzeszów in 2019. The purpose of the meeting was to continue and expand the discussion regarding the interpretations formulated in the historiographies of the region in the 19th-21st centuries. The event was important for further research into interpretations of historical events, the political conditions of historians' activities, the influence of the political situation on the quality of historiography (*Historia rerum gestarum – przeszłość odzwierciedlona czy wykreowana? Kluczowe problemy przeszłości krajów Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej w historiografiach regionu XIX–XXI w.*, 2019).

Among other scientific international conferences held both in Ukraine and Poland, the following could be singled out: “1918 in the history of Central and Eastern Europe: to the 100th anniversary of the declaration of independence of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the 100th anniversary of the revival of Polish statehood” in Kharkiv in 2018 (*1918 рік в історії Центрально-Східної Європи: до 100-річчя проголошення незалежності УНР та 100-річчя відродження польської державності*, 2018), “1919 in the history of Central and Eastern Europe: to the 100th anniversary of the declaration of separation of the Ukrainian People's Republic” in Mykolaiv in 2019 (Морозова, 2019: 220-223). etc. The collections of conference materials and thematic issues of scientific journals published as a result of discussions between Ukrainian and Polish scientists vividly illustrate the level and state of the Ukrainian-Polish scientific dialogue (*1918 рік в історії Центрально-Східної Європи...*, 2018).

On April 29, 2020, within the framework of the seventh session of the Ukrainian-Polish Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation, the Minister of Economic Development, Trade and Agriculture of Ukraine, Ihor Petrashko, met with the Deputy Prime Minister of Poland, the head of the Polish part of the commission, Yaroslav Govin. It was about trade and economic cooperation, strengthening European integration, increasing investments, improving the business climate (*Українсько-польські економічні консультації*, 2020).

Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine, in the context of the development of Ukraine's national security, the concept of Mizhmorya has been updated. President of Poland, Andrzej Duda, is considering the possibility of forming the Mizhmorya alliance under the auspices of the Polish state. On July 28, 2020, in Lublin, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, Gabrielus Landsbergis, Poland, Zbigniew Rau and Ukraine, Dmytro Kuleba, signed a joint declaration on the formation of a tripartite platform for political, economic, cultural and social cooperation between the represented states, the purpose of which, in particular, is the strengthening of dialogue between the countries, support of Ukraine's integration into the EU and NATO, and joint opposition to Russian aggression in Ukraine. The formed international organization was named the Lublin Triangle (Морозова, 2021).

### **The concept of Mizhmorya**

During the meeting on July 28, 2020, the ministers drew attention to the role of Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania in the process of shaping the modern political, cultural and social realities of Central Europe and emphasized the further strengthening of political, economic, infrastructural, security, defense and cultural ties between their countries. At the same time, the strategic importance of intensifying cooperation between the EU, NATO and the countries of the Eastern Partnership was emphasized, and the importance of effective cooperation within the framework of the Three Seas Initiative, etc. was acknowledged. The ministers with due attention noted the commonality of threats both in the sphere of security and in other spheres, in particular, in the sphere of combating pandemic. The importance of the dialogue between the countries in the parliamentary dimension was emphasized, especially within the framework of the Ukraine-Poland-Lithuania Parliamentary Assembly. The ministers recognized the advantages of tripartite cooperation in the field of security, in particular, the functioning of the Lithuanian-Polish-Ukrainian Brigade; declared their strong condemnation and non-recognition of the attempted annexation by the Russian Federation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol; called on the Russian Federation to withdraw its troops from parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine; confirmed their unwavering support for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine within the internationally recognized borders and called on the Russian Federation to stop its aggression against Ukraine; emphasized strong support for Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations and welcomed its European choice; congratulated Ukraine on granting NATO enhanced partner status; expressed readiness to coordinate their activities in order to ensure compliance with international law, both at the level of tripartite cooperation and within the framework of international organizations (NATO, EU, UN, Council of Europe, OSCE), etc. (Морозова, 2022). In our opinion,

the implementation of the Mizhmorya concept in the form of functioning of the Lublin Triangle is a real prospect for Ukraine.

The year 2021 for Ukrainian-Polish relations ended on December 20 with a tripartite meeting of the presidents of Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania in the format of the Lublin Triangle. In the village of Huta, Ivano-Frankivsk region, the heads of state adopted a joint statement in which they declared support and solidarity in connection with the migration crisis, called on the international community to strengthen sanctions against Russia due to its ongoing aggression against Ukraine, and once again called on the Kremlin to de-escalate the situation by withdrawal of its troops from the borders of Ukraine and from Ukrainian occupied territories. During the meeting, the strategy of neighbourly relations of the countries was determined and all the challenges that will have to be dealt with in 2022 were outlined.

According to international affairs expert, Dariush Maternyak, 2021 was quite calm for the Ukrainian-Polish relations. He noted the trend towards the restoration of cross-border traffic, including tourist traffic, which became possible thanks to the partial containment of the Covid-19 pandemic. In this context, it is worth noting a gesture on the part of Poland, which handed over vaccines against Covid-19 to Ukraine (Терещук, 2021).

According to Magda, director of the Institute of World Politics, the relations between Ukraine and Poland have become more pragmatic over the past year. He positively assessed the fact that the work of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation resumed in the spring.

### **Cooperation between Ukraine and Poland since the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine**

The eighth meeting of the Polish-Ukrainian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation was held at the Subcarpathian Voivodeship Office in Rzeszow on September 22, 2022. During the event, issues of transport, agriculture, energy, trade, customs, humanitarian cooperation, as well as problems of reconstruction of Ukraine were discussed.

The Minister of Development and Technology of Poland, Waldemar Buda, said that since the beginning of the full-scale war, the intensity of contacts with representatives of the Ukrainian side at the ministerial level has been very high. The chairman emphasized the readiness of Polish business entities to participate in the reconstruction of Ukraine after the end of the war with Russia (Шостак, 2022).

On the Ukrainian side, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Reintegration of the Temporarily Occupied Territories of Ukraine, Iryna Vereshchuk, presided. She emphasized that Poland and Ukraine have a chance to build an alliance of two strong nations, as both states are now actively cooperating in many areas. Vereshchuk also thanked for the help, including the acceptance of refugees and the handing over of weapons. She

emphasized that Poland is Ukraine's advocate at the international forum: "I expect that you will not get tired, that you will continue to support us, and our victory will be your victory" Ukraine (Шостак, 2022).

The representatives of the departments of agriculture and rural development, funds and regional policy, foreign affairs, finance and infrastructure also took part in the meeting. An important topic that was discussed in detail during the meeting was the transportation of Ukrainian products, including agricultural products. The Polish delegation promised to support Ukraine in exporting Ukrainian goods to third countries and importing goods to Ukraine. During the meeting, the need to increase the potential of transport corridors connecting Poland and Ukraine was also discussed, because they represent a reliable and safe connection between Ukraine and the EU. As the Deputy Minister of Infrastructure of Poland, Rafal Weber, stated: "Ukraine is a strategic economic partner of both Poland and the entire European Union. The meeting of the Commission is an ideal opportunity to discuss the solution, as well as to present the effective systemic actions that we have worked out together, and thanks to which we can support Ukraine, develop the transport connections connecting our states. Challenges are ahead of our countries, but together we will be able to overcome them" (Шостак, 2022).

The Ukrainian and Polish parties exchanged information on the economic situation of the countries, taking into account the impact of the war on the economy and international trade. The need for cooperation in bilateral relations and at the forum of international actors was also discussed. The eighth meeting of the Polish-Ukrainian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation ended with the signing of the protocol (Шостак, 2022).

Today, Poland is Ukraine's second largest trading partner, and Ukraine ranks fourteenth among Poland's largest trading partners. The potential for the development of bilateral trade remains huge and can become the basis for deepening interdependence. The association agreement concluded between Ukraine and the EU provides additional impulses and space for bilateral trade.

However, it cannot be said that on the eve of 2022 everything was clear in the relations between Ukrainians and Poles. Oksana Yurynets, an expert on the Ukrainian-Polish relations (the People's Deputy of the 8th convocation) noted that on the way to establishing contacts between Ukraine and Poland, not only presidents, prime ministers, government officials, but also parliamentarians must communicate. She emphasizes the urgent need for an inter-parliamentary dialogue between the Karyns. Yurynets noted that 2021 become a critical year for exporting goods from Ukraine to the EU due to the insufficient number of issued permits (Терещук, 2021).

The Deputy Prime Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Olga Stefanishyna, emphasized that the dispute with Poland regarding road transport is not of a political nature and is a failure of inter-parliamentary diplomacy. She also mentioned

the differences in the approach to historical issues, which Russia uses for provocations between Poles and Ukrainians (Терещук, 2021).

According to Maternyak, an expert on Ukrainian-Polish issues, the goal of the Russians is to “cause tension between Poles and Ukrainians”, but in his opinion, this strategy stopped working a long time ago, and the Russians themselves understand this, so the he does not rule out more serious incidents, with objects of historical memory in Poland and Ukraine involved (Терещук, 2021).

In 2022, during the Russian-Ukrainian war, Polish citizens staged numerous protests against the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Poland accepted the largest number of Ukrainian refugees. In October, the number of departures to Poland exceeds the number of returns to Ukraine by an average of 3-5 thousand Ukrainian citizens per day. The director of international recruitment of the EWL Migration Platform, Marcin Kolodziejczyk, said: “Now, when Europe traditionally has a high production season at enterprises, employers have various job offers for them [...] On average, simple physical work in Poland can now earn 3.5-6 thousand zlotys per month (28-48 thousand UAH)” (*Кількість економічних мігрантів з України в Польщі росте, але масового напливу через ракетні удари немає*, 2022).

About 80% of Ukrainians choose Poland for work, as the economic migrants here have experience, acquaintances or relatives, and in addition, Poland is culturally close to Ukrainians and the language is similar. Over the past five years, the number of labour migrants from Ukraine in Poland has increased fivefold – today it is one and a half million. Since the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war, more than 430,000 Ukrainian citizens have found work in Poland (*Кількість економічних мігрантів...*, 2022).

At almost every discussion panel of the 30th Economic Forum, which dealt with migration, the participants claimed that migrants are necessary for Poland and that the economy in this country cannot survive without them. This also applies to the demographic aspect, because there is a very big demographic problem in small towns. The question of attracting migrants and their integration into Polish society is acute.

Ihor Lisin, the vice-chairman of the “Ukraine” foundation, believes that due to the lack of a clear trend in the direction of robotization and automation of processes in the Polish economy, the need for human resources is only increasing. All developing companies and enterprises need more and more workers. According to Lisin, Poland attracts workers with an easy employment procedure and high, compared to Ukraine, wages (*Кількість економічних мігрантів...*, 2022).

Moreover, Poles positively evaluate the results of long-term migration of Ukrainians: “In this way, long-term migration will slightly reduce the negative consequences of negative demography, but it will also have a positive economic impact, because migrants will earn and spend money where they live, and not send them to the country of origin [...]. Statistics show that the majority of Poles positively evaluate migrants and

their impact on the economy, especially migrants from Ukraine, arguing that this is due to the closeness of culture and language” (*Кількість економічних мігрантів...*, 2022).

The Polish Prime Minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, said: “They say we are taking on some expenses related to refugees from Ukraine. Well, I want to say that if you count the money they spend and the taxes they pay, today I would venture to put forward the thesis that Poland not only does not lose because of Ukrainians, it is Ukrainians who work for Poland” (Корба, 2022).

On the other hand, Poland has suffered significantly in economic terms since the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Poland actively supports Ukraine in the war against Russia, e.g., by transferring to Ukraine Krab howitzers, tanks of the Soviet model and the Polish modification PT-91 Twardy, as well as anti-tank weapons and ammunition for the Ukrainian military. Such support significantly improved the relations between Ukrainians and Poles, however, at the same time, it severely undermined Poland’s economy. In the country, prices for food, heating, etc., have jumped several times. And though, Poles understand this, they fear what will happen next if the war drags on.

Since the large-scale invasion of the Russian state into Ukraine on February 24, 2022, according to the words of the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi, the relations between Ukrainians and Poles “from warm and neighbourly due to Russia’s war against Ukraine have moved to a new stage – strong and historic. Poland’s support for Ukraine, which was manifested in many directions, is exceptional. In particular, unprecedented defence assistance, as well as support for Ukrainian citizens who were forced to leave for Poland, escaping from the war unleashed by the Russian Federation” (*Відносини...*, 2022).

At the joint meeting of the governments of the two states on June 2, 2022, in Kyiv, Zelensky thanked the Poles for their showing their kindness to Ukrainians and announced that Morawiecki, is the true leader of Ukraine’s future membership in the EU. The President of Ukraine awarded him and the Deputy Prime Minister of Poland, Yaroslav Kaczyński, with the state awards for helping Ukraine protect its independence and territorial integrity during the Russian invasion.

Also, during the meeting, bilateral documents on cooperation were signed. In particular, the one regarding the development of Ukrainian communities as an integral component of the recovery plan. According to the communications department of the Cabinet Secretariat, Denys Shmygal said: “Poland’s experience in implementing European practices and effective use of European funds on the way to full membership in the EU will be useful to us” (*Нежигай*, 2022). In addition, a joint declaration on maximum cooperation at the level of border services and a memorandum on strengthening cooperation in the field of energy were signed. Shmygal commented on that: “Poland supports the integration of Ukraine into European energy projects, the development of the gas and electricity market in Ukraine. We agreed to increase cross-border electricity trade and restore the Khmelnytskyi NPP-Rzeszów power transmission line. This im-

portant project will open up additional opportunities to export Ukrainian electricity to Europe” (Гордійчук, 2022).

On May 22, 2022, Duda visited Kyiv, and confirmed Poland’s intentions to support the Ukrainian state in its confrontation with Russia, as well as to lobby for Ukrainian interests in the EU and NATO, as well as to transfer Polish weapons for the needs of the Ukrainian army. According to him, Poland will never leave Ukraine alone. Together with other countries, it will continue to provide comprehensive assistance to Ukraine. Duda also expressed his belief that the Russian invaders will not be able to break the Ukrainians and warned the world community about the impossibility of any concessions in favour of Russia, as this only pushes it to further aggressive actions (Січень, 2022).

The signing of the memorandum on the establishment of a joint Polish-Ukrainian commission on establishing cooperation between enterprises of both countries on June 1, 2022, was of great importance for the development of the Ukrainian-Polish relations. The elected commission must prepare recommendations on the format of creating a Ukrainian-Polish joint enterprise for the production of weapons and military equipment. As the Prime Minister of Ukraine noted: “This will bring our defense and military cooperation to a new level and make it possible to create modern types of defense weapons” (Гордійчук, 2022).

In addition, the states signed a declaration between the Ministry of Funds and Regional Policy of Poland and the Ministry of Development of Communities and Territories of Ukraine regarding cooperation in the development of Ukrainian communities as part of the post-war recovery plan. The declaration of the Ministers of Internal Affairs of Poland and Ukraine on maximum cooperation at the level of border services and the memorandum on cooperation between the Ministries of Energy of Ukraine and Poland on strengthening cooperation in the field of energy were also signed (Гордійчук, 2022).

A joint statement was signed between Poland and Ukraine based on the results of the Ukrainian-Polish intergovernmental consultations. Poland has confirmed its support for Ukraine’s accession to the EU and NATO and has given guarantees that it will make efforts so that Ukraine receives the status of a candidate for EU membership as early as June 2023. It was also agreed to develop the Polish-Ukrainian-British Union and to work on strengthening sanctions against Russia. The representatives of the Ukrainian and Polish sides noted the importance of investigating Russia’s crimes against Ukraine, and emphasized the need to hold the Russian side accountable. The Republic of Poland announced its readiness to participate in the post-war reconstruction of the Kharkiv region. The next intergovernmental consultations are scheduled for 2023 in Warsaw (*Відносини України та Польщі перейшли на найвищий рівень*, 2022).

Despite the rather promising development of the Ukrainian-Polish relations, recently we witnessed the grain crisis in Ukraine (unilateral bans on the import of Ukrainian agricultural products by Ukraine’s European neighbours), which aggravated relations between Ukraine and Poland. Despite the solidarity corridors for the export of Ukrainian

grain, which were introduced by the EU and neighbouring countries, from mid-April 2023, Ukraine's western neighbours, starting with Poland (Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Romania), began to prohibit agricultural imports through their territories. In fact, the refusal to import certain Ukrainian products, including grain, sunflower oil, milk, meat, eggs, honey, etc., was legalized. These events were a serious blow to Ukraine. Oleg Nivyeveskyi, an economist, explained: "Agrarian products are key – at least now – in our exports [...]. This will put pressure on our national currency, state finances [and] the lost income will have to be replenished somewhere. And the same donors will come forward to support our economy" (Зануда, 2023).

The tension between Ukraine and Poland increased after the statement of Marcin Przydacz, the head of the International Policy Office in the administration of the Polish president. In an interview with Polish mass media, he noted that Ukraine should appreciate Poland's help and support. The statement was made in the context of a conversation about the further ban on the import of Ukrainian grain through the territory of Poland. The reaction of the Ukrainian side to such a statement was the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine on August 1 to Polish Ambassador, Bartosz Cichocki, for a conversation on this matter. In turn, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded in a mirror manner – summoned the Ukrainian ambassador for an explanation. The meetings took place publicly, accompanied by discussions in social networks and expert circles of both countries, and caused a lot of emotions from both the Ukrainian and Polish side. Krzysztof Sobolewski, the General Secretary the pro-government Law and Justice party, referring to the fact that on August 1, Poland celebrates the anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising, posted on his then Twitter account: "The appeal to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish ambassador is playing with fire, and especially on August 1, it is simply impudence and cannot remain without a similar response" (Топон, 2023). And former Prime Minister, Beata Szydło, called the reaction of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs strange and called on Kyiv to refrain from such steps in the future: "Instead of being indignant and making absurd gestures and statements, the Ukrainian authorities should listen to the opinions coming from Poland" (Топон, 2023). These indignations of Polish politicians were followed by the statement of Morawiecki, who called the summoning of the Polish ambassador to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine a mistake and emphasized that this should not have happened: "We will always protect the good name of Poland, its security, and the interests of any other country will never prevail over the interests of Poland" (Топон, 2023). And Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pavel Yablonskyi, added: "We are guided by the policy of Polish national interests. We support Ukraine to the extent that it corresponds to Polish national interests. That's how it was and that's how it will always be" (Топон, 2023).

The situation in the current relations between Ukraine and Poland was clarified by Zelenskyi, who on August 1, 2023, published a statement in which he thanked Poland for its support and called on the parties to refrain from emotional responses: "Ukraine

is fighting for its freedom and that of the whole of Europe, and we are grateful to every nation that helps. We greatly appreciate the historical support of Poland, which together with us has become a real shield of Europe – from sea to sea. And there cannot be a single crack in this shield” (Топон, 2023). He called on both sides to be united and not to spoil the relations: “We will not allow any political moments to spoil the relations between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples, and emotions should definitely cool down. The freedom and well-being of our peoples, the values of our Europe and the victory over the common Russian enemy are above all” (Топон, 2023).

Thus, the Ukrainian-Polish relations in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2014-2023 are quite promising. The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 only intensified them. Poland remains one of the main partners of Ukraine. The country supports Ukraine in the confrontation with Russia, and also lobbies for Ukrainian interests in the EU and NATO. The Ukrainian-Polish cooperation in the military, political, economic, social and cultural spheres break the established myths and stereotypes from the Ukrainian-Polish history and forms a new narrative around the relations between Ukraine and Poland. The issues of joint victory over the aggressor, defence of European values, economic and cultural cooperation, etc., come to the fore in the Ukrainian-Polish relations today. Poland’s historical role in supporting Ukraine during the Russian -Ukrainian war gives reason to believe in a fundamental change in the perception of Ukrainians in Poland and Poles in Ukraine, the Ukrainian-Polish relations, and the place of Ukraine and Poland in Europe and the world.

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**Abstract:** In the article, the author raises "the problem of Ukrainian-Polish relations and the change of the Ukrainian-Polish narrative in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2014 and the full-scale invasion of the Russian army on the territory of Ukraine in 2022. The research methodology is based on a systematic method of examining the problem, general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis of sources, as well as methods of content analysis, discourse analysis, expert survey, etc. The author comes to the conclusion that Russia's aggression against Ukraine brought Ukraine and Poland closer together. This gives reason to hope for further cooperation and understanding.

**Keywords:** Ukraine, Poland, Russian-Ukrainian war

Article submitted: 14.04.2025; article accepted: 26.05.2025.