POLITICAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS
OF STATE LANGUAGE POLICY FORMATION:
CZECH EXPERIENCE FOR UKRAINE

Abstract. The article deals with the political and legal aspects of the language policy formation of the Czech Republic and Ukraine in a diachronic section. When comparing the language policies of these countries, the following criteria were taken into account: stay under occupation of other states; was the national language official during the occupation of the country; the largest ethnic group in the country at the time of consolidation of the state/official language; existence of a special law on state/official/national language; the number of official (official) languages in the country; ratification and entry into force of the Euro-
pean Charter; whether special status is given to particular languages of national minorities.

The history of the formation of the Czech Republic over the centuries has been marked by the struggle for the establishment of a sovereign state, and language policy has become a cornerstone of the Czech identity.

Despite the absence of a special law on official (official) language in the Czech Republic, the key to language policy was the displacement of the occupier’s language (German and Hungarian) from the public sphere. The struggle for language has become a marker of struggle for territory, population and sovereignty.

After a long period of linguistic expansion, the Czechs began to renew their language through fiction, theater, created national scientific terminology, published lexicographic sources, formed state institutions on language policy and language planning.

State language policy in Ukraine has been inconsistent, slow, hindering the resolution of problematic issues in regulating language relations, contributing to the emergence of legal nihilism, giving rise to language conflicts, and was used by Russia against Ukraine in 2014. The loosening of the language issue, the delay in the implementation of the language law, threatens the national security of Ukraine, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Today, Ukrainian society faces an overriding challenge, which can be resolved by the Czech experience — to get rid of the colonial past in the language issue.

**Keywords:** state language policy, national minorities, European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, state language.

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**POLITYKO-PRAWOWE ASPĘKTY FORMUWANIA DĘRZAWNOJØ MOŻNOJ POLITYKI: CHESJŚKYJ DOSWID DLY UKRAJNY**

**Anotacija.** Розглядаються політико-правові аспекти формування мовної політики Чеської Республіки та України в діахронічному зрізі. При зіставленні мовних політик цих країн бралися до уваги такі критерії: перебування під окупацією інших держав; чи була національна мова офіційною під час перебування країни під окупацією; найчисленніша етнічна група в країні на момент закріплення державної/офіційної мови; наявність специального закону про державну/офіційну/національну мову; кількість державних (офіційних) мов у країні; ратифікація Європейської хартії та набрання нею чинності; чи надано особливий статус окремим мовам національних меншин.

Історія формування Чехії протягом століття була позначена боротьбою за становлення суверенної держави, а мовна політика стала наріжним каменем будівництва ідентичності чехів.

Незважаючи на відсутність у Чехії специального закону про державну (офіційну) мову, ключовим моментом мовної політики було витіснення з публічних сфер мови окупанта (німецької та угорської). Боротьба за мову стала маркером боротьби за територію, населення і суверенітет.

Після тривалого періоду мовної експансії чехи почали відновлювати свою мову через художню літературу, театр, створювали національну наукову тер-
мінологію, видавали лексикографічні джерела, утворювали державні інституції з мовної політики та мовного планування.

Державна мовна політика в Україні проводилася непослідовно, повільно, що гальмувало вирішення проблемних питань у регулювання мовних відносин, сприяло породженню правового нігілізму, давало привід для виникнення мовних конфліктів й було використано Росією проти України у 2014 році. Розхитування мовного питання, зволоження з реалізацією мовного закону ставить під загрозу національну безпеку України, її суверенітет і територіальну цілісність. Сьогодні українське суспільство стоїть перед надзвичайно завданням, вирішити яке може допомогти досвід Чехії — позбавитися колоніального минулого в мовному питанні.

Ключові слова: державна мовна політика, національні меншини, Європейська хартія регіональних або міноритарних мов, державна мова.

ПОЛИТИКО-ПРАВОВЕ АСПЕКТИ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ ЯЗЫКОВОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ: ЧЕШСКИЙ ОПЫТ ДЛЯ УКРАИНЫ

Аннотация. Рассматриваются политико-правовые аспекты формирования языковой политики Чешской Республики и Украины в диахроническом срезе. При сопоставлении языковых политик этих стран принимались во внимание следующие критерии: пребывание под оккупацией других государств; был ли национальный язык официальным во время пребывания страны под оккупацией; самая многочисленная этническая группа в стране на момент закрепления государственного/официального языка; наличие специального закона о государственном/официальном/национальном языке; количество государственных (официальных) языков в стране; ратификация Европейской хартии и вступление в силу; предоставлен ли особый статус отдельным языкам национальных меньшинств.

История формирования Чехии протяжении веков была обозначена борьбой за становление суверенного государства, а языковая политика стала краеугольным камнем строительства идентичности чехов.

Несмотря на отсутствие в Чехии специального закона о государственной (официальной) языке, ключевым моментом языковой политики было вытеснение из публичных сфер языка оккупанта (немецкой и венгерской). Борьба за язык стала маркером борьбы за территорию, население и суверенитет.

После длительного периода языковой экспансии чехи начали восстанавливать свой язык через художественную литературу, театр, создавали национальную научную терминологию, издавали лексикографические источники, образовывали государственные институты по языковой политике и языковому планированию.

Государственная языковая политика в Украине проводилась непоследовательно, медленно, что тормозило решение проблемных вопросов в регулирование языковых отношений, способствовало порождению правового нигилизма, давало повод для возникновения языковых конфликтов и было
использовано Россией против Украины в 2014 году. Расшатывание языкового вопроса, промедление с реализацией языкового закона ставит под угрозу национальную безопасность Украины, ее суверенитет и территориальную целостность. Сегодня украинское общество стоит перед важнейшей задачей, решить которую может помочь опыт Чехии – избавиться от колониального прошлого в языковом вопросе.

Ключевые слова: государственная языковая политика, национальные меньшинства, Европейская хартия региональных языков или языков меньшинств, государственный язык.

Thesis statement. Each country constantly keeps an eye on the language problems of the society. As a language is one of the factors of the society self-organization and also an inalienable feature of such communities as an ethnos, an ethnic group, a nation, then one of the traits of the self-empowerment of a nation is the state status of its language, which legislatively provides its functioning at all the areas of social life without any exceptions. In monoethnic states, the language status doesn’t cause any problems, in the dependent and multi-ethnic countries the issue of the state status of a language is one of the most complicated social and political problem.

The language policy of the Czech Republic has been developed for many centuries under complicated historical and geopolitical conditions. The choice to analyze the language policy of the countries like Czechia and Ukraine has been conditioned by the point that the history of their establishment as independent, modern democratic countries is similar to each other: firstly, all of them during centuries had been under the authority of other states and their borders had been changed many times; secondly, at the end of the XX century they had to oppose the Communist regime, fight for their nation-building on the basis of European democratic civilization values; thirdly, all these countries had to restore their languages, oppose the language expansion, state their national languages as official ones in their countries, solve the issues of the language rights of different ethnic groups.

Analysis of recent research. Despite the fact that the issues of language policy in Ukraine are of recent importance, there are practically no scientific papers devoted to examining the possibilities of applying the experience of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in regulating language relations in Ukraine. In part, they are covered in the articles by G. Yevseyeva [1], O. Kravchuk [2], G. Meleganych [3], N. Podberezhnik [4].

Results. The “black” epoch in the history of Czechia starts with the political crisis of the beginning of the XVII century preceding the Thirty Years’ War between Bohemia (Czechia) and Austria: in 1620, after capitulation, Czechia became the Austrian province, Czechs lost their rights, property, national originality because of catholicization and Germanization, German
becomes the official language. During almost the whole XVIII century not a single book in the Czech language was published. It was unpopular within the Germanized aristocracy and intellectuals, bald and not worked out to become a literary language [5, p. 33–35]. During the reign of Joseph II, the German language pushed Czech out of education.

Only after the Spring of Nations in 1848–1849, the national rebirth of Czechia began: the Czech language started to be restored, it became the language of science, education, literature, theatre and later the language of the military arts, diplomacy and other areas of social life. In 1918 Czechs together with Slovaks (who also had been in as part of Austria-Hungary) created the Czechoslovak Republic, and Czech Constitution recognized a so-called Czechoslovak language as an official one. They managed to establish it in all the areas of life and also widen among all the social strata.

During the Inter-War period (between World War I and World War II) there were some attempts to establish the idea of “Czechoslovakism”, to create a “czechoslovakian national self-awareness” and the “Czechoslovakian language”. In the districts where there were no less than 20% of not Czech population, the language of a corresponding nationality was used in the state bodies together with the state language.

The first president of Czechoslovakia T. Masaryk justified this idea with the natural right on the national self-building, creation of one nation in Europe based on the language commonness of Czechs and Slovaks. This doctrine of the Czechoslovakian nation was connected to the point that there were more Germans than Slovaks in Czechoslovakia and it was necessary to get rid of the strong aggressive influence of the German language. And though the leading language of the whole state was Czech. This policy didn’t aim to push out or humiliate the Slovak language. At the moment of establishment of the independent Czechoslovakian state establishing the official language was an extremely important step. T. Masaryk clearly defined the grounds for the language policy: even in the regions where there lived up to 90% of Germans, the applications of citizens had to be received in Czech, and the official bodies had to answer them in Czech too.

T. Masaryk directly pronounced that the German population had to be subordinated to the valid state authorities as their ancestors had come to the Czech lands as immigrants and colonists [6].

In spite of the absence of any support from the German deputies in the parliament, he during several years purposefully established the language and cultural policy on the legislative level. The main thesis of T. Masaryk in the development of the national state was about the point that the national idea was the idea of culture. Actually, that’s what Czechs followed when creating a powerful cultural background for establishing the national state with the national language of the indigenous population.

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1 In effekt, an artificial language. Czech was used officially, and Slovak had a minor role. After the World War II this issue hadn't been regulated by the law. Both languages considered to be the state ones: Czech – in Czechia, Slovak – in Slovakia.
The introduction of a single Czech language was intended to support the Slovak language, which was at risk of being displaced by Hungarian.

But professor of Charles University M. Sloboda notices that Slav languages had been used at the same time and they were legally equal, they never reached the real equity [7]. Another professor of Charles University in Prague M. Putny states that Czech was a dominant language, and Slovak was considered as a dialect of Czech. But the will of Slovaks to identify themselves as a nation had been increasing and after 1945 Slovak had been recognized as an independent literary language [7].

Czechs and Slovaks were united by the common language, but Czechs and Germans were separated from each other also because of the language. There were 3 million Czech Germans on the territory of Czechoslovakia, for whom the expansion of the Czech language became a challenge. The discontent of the Germans in the Sudetenland with, among all, the language policy of Czechia was used by Nazi Germany to annex the Sudetenland. Majority of 3 million Czech Germans believed in the idea of “great Germany”, but they were just used for the invasion plans of Adolf Hitler. As the researchers of Czech history notice, “Hitler defined three variants of the national policy in Czech-Moravian lands. According to the first, he considered it to be possible to give Czechs the autonomy within which the equal rights for the Germans of the Sudetenland had to be guaranteed. At that point, Hitler admitted his apprehension that autonomy could lead to the appearance of the source of instability and internal opposition to Germany. The second variant foresaw expulsion of Czechs and putting Germans on their territories. But, according to the calculations of Germans, the length of that process could have reached up to 100 years. The third variant seemed to be the most realistic for Hitler: Germanizing the population of the dominion, in particular, by the mean of assimilation. At that point, Hitler declined the plans of separation of the territory of the dominion and of making German zones within it. In October 1940 Hitler ordered to start preparing “Germanizing the territory and the people” of the dominion, which was being made during the whole war. The final aim was to transform the Czech lands into the consisting and inalienable part of the great German Empire of the Third Reich” [8, p. 209–210]. So, occupation of the territory of Czechia was made with the slogan of setting the national minorities, suffering the discrimination, in particular, the language one, free.

After the World War II and till the separation of Slovakia in 1993 monolingualism had been established in Czechoslovakia officially, but it was bilingual: the Czech language was spread on the Czech territory and Slovak – on the Slovak one.

Up to 1991 Czechs were 62.8%, Slovaks – 31 % of the total population of Czech and Slovak Federative Republic [9]. The majority of Czechs lived in Czech Republic – 81,2% [10].

According to the enumeration of 2011, the number of Czechs in Czechia was 64,3 %, the number of Slovaks decreased to 1,4 %, and 95,4 % could speak Czech [11].

In 1920, at the same time as the Czech Constitution, a law on language
was adopted, which established the principles for regulating the use of languages [12]. In particular, § 1 of this law defines Czechoslovakian language as the official and official language of the republic. In all the next constitutions, including the valid one of 1992 the definition of the official or the state language had been excluded.

Today learning Czech is obligatory for all the inhabitants of the country and the foreigners who want to get Czech citizenship. Education of all levels is provided in Czech, in higher educational institutions English and German are also used, but the education in these languages is to be paid for.

The Czech Republic ratified the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages on the 15th of November 2006, having recognized Slovak, Polish, German and Roma languages as the languages of minorities which had been included to the force of the Charter [13]. At that point, to those languages the country used just p. II of the Charter. The exception was made for the Polish (in Moravia-Silesia region and on the territory of Frídek-Místek and Karvina districts it is also used in education, in the economic and social life, mass media), and Slovak (usage in the same areas as Polish, but on the whole territory of Czechia)².

² Up to now Czechia recognized 14 national minorities: Belarus, Bulgarians, Croatians, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Russians, Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Vietnamese. It gives them the right to develop their culture, traditions and the language, use their language in the contacts with authorities and in courts.

**Ukraine**

The fight for the status of Ukrainian language as the language of the Ukrainian nation and Ukrainian state ran under complicated historical and political conditions with the constant impact of other countries and their languages and it is still running.

The starting point of Ukrainian Slav state-building and culture is considered to be Kievan Rus of IX–XIII centuries. After the Tatar-Mongol Invasion its descendant became Regnum Russia of XIII-XIV century. It was swallowed by the neighboring Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Kingdom of Poland, united since XVI century into the federative Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the territories belonging to Poland, the language of documentation was Latin, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania “Rutenian language was the language of administrative management and court proceeding.

Development of the newest Ukrainian nation became active during the national liberation war of 1648–1657 led by Bohdan Khmelnitsky against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Creation of Kozak state in the Dnieper area became the result of the war, but, because of the internal strife after 1667 appeared to be divided between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Moscovian Tsardom. After he last division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 Ukrainian lands were divided between Austro-Hungary and Russia. The first one received Galicia, Bukovina and Zakarpattya, the second country received the rest of Ukrainian lands. Except for Germanization of the western Ukrainian lands, Galicia suffered Polonization, Magnyarization oc-
occurred in Zakarpattya, Romanization in Bukovina, on the rest of territories Russification of Ukrainian population occurred.

When Ukrainian state was being destroyed by Russian Tsarism at the end of XVIII century in the Left Bank Area and in Slobozhanschina, it was being collaborated with the russification of indigenous population. The Ukrainian language had been pushed out of the Empire government and educational institutions of all the educational levels. Two Tsar’s Acts became the strikes on Ukrainian language — they were Valuyev circular letter of 1863 and Emsky Order of 1876, according to which publishing of religious, teaching and scientific books, bringing to Russian Empire the books written in Ukrainian from abroad without a special permission; publishing original books and translations from foreign languages to Ukrainian, performance of Ukrainian theatre plays, concerts with Ukrainian songs, teaching in Ukrainian in primary schools were prohibited.

Just in the first third part of XX century (till 1930-x pp.) the support of the Ukrainian language had been started, in the 20-s there was issued number of resolutions about Ukrainianization: about opening schools with the Ukrainian language of teaching, increasing of amount of editions of literature of different kinds, magazines and newspapers in Ukrainian, in particular, learning of Ukrainian by the state officials, transferring the documentation into Ukrainian etc. But at the beginning of the 30-s Ukrainization was minimized considerably, its achievements were being liquidated, and on the 22nd of November of 1933 CC of CP(b) approved the resolution about its termination. The backward process on minimization of the functions of Ukrainian and its replacement with Russian had been started, and that process was maintained during the whole Soviet period [14]. Since 1938 an obligatory learning of Russian had been provided in not Russian schools of Ukraine.

Changes in the language policy were also reflected in the language system: in 1928 Ukrainian orthography was established (it was also called “Kharkiv” or “Skrypnyk’s”), but in 1933 it was recognized as “nationalistic” and cancelled. All the next orthographies of Soviet period unified Ukrainian and Russian languages. In May 2019 the government of Ukraine agreed with the new edition of Ukrainian orthography, having taken under consideration the orthography rules of 1928.

After it had been declared independent in 1991, Ukraine didn’t hurry with approval of the language law: the law approved in the USSR “About the languages in Ukrainian Soviet Social Republic” was valid till 2012 [15]. And, though the law gave Ukrainian the status of the state language, it also established expanded powers for Russian in all public areas, which defined its status as the second state language.

Establishing in Art. 10 of the Constitution of Ukraine of 1996 the status of the state language for Ukrainian hadn’t changed the situation in the language area considerably: the Russian language still had the social status. Legally it was defined among the languages of national minorities and actually, it replaced both the state and the language minorities languages, especially in the places where there was any compact inhabi-
tance of Russian-speaking population and there was no compact inhabitance of any other nationalities.

According to the data of Ukrainian enumeration of 2001 (the last one at the moment), representatives of more than 130 nationalities and peoples lived in Ukraine [16]. The majority of the population according to the nation are Ukrainians — 77.8% from the total number of population, in 1989 — 72.7% (see Table). The second place in number took Russians — 17.3% (in 1989 — 22.1%), the third — Crimean Tatars — 12% (1.9% in 1989) [17]. According to the language preferences, the Ukrainian language had been considered as the language of their nationality by 67.5% of the population of Ukraine (in 1989 — 64.7%), Russian — 29.6% of the population (in 1989 — 32.8%) [18]. And at that point the ethnic Russians were 56%, the rest were representatives of other nationalities assimilated by the language.

Without any developed state language policy, not having provided any real development and functioning of Ukrainian language as the language of the indigenous nation, in 2003 Ukraine ratifies the European Charter of Regional or Minorities languages (in 2006 it became valid), which was expanded on 13 minorities languages including Russian (see Table 1). It was a premature step for Ukraine because there was no society Ukrainian identity, which had been a result of the Soviet past with its russification language policy deepened in the minds. At that time there existed three possible vectors of the state development of Ukraine: 1) European (building sovereign Ukraine with European values); 2) pro-Russian vector (“strong friendship” with Russia and common development on the grounds of “elder-younger brothers” conditions); 3) restoration of Soviet Union. And, when the third variant was just a social construct, the first two variants are still the alternative reality. Strengthening of the Ukrainian language as one of the identity factors on the stage of Ukrainian nation development would have to help strengthening and unionization of the last one.

The Law of Ukraine “About the grounds of Ukrainian language policy” of 2012 didn’t make any better, it, formally pronouncing Ukrainian as the state language, established the usage of 18 languages of national minorities on the territories where the speakers of those languages are from 10% of the population, in all public areas. But, actually, that law was Russification indeed, as established the unlimited expansion of Russian language on the largest part of the territory of Ukraine (especially East, South, Autonomy Republic of Crimea) and pushing Ukrainian out with it, and also discriminated the languages of other national minorities.

The law was recognized as the one contradicting the Constitution in 2018 when the military aggression of Russia against Ukraine had been provided for five years, and the aggression started with the slogans of the liberation of Russian-speaking population in Ukraine. The targets of the aggressor were the territories with the majority of Russian-speaking population — Crimea, Donetsk, Luhansk, Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk.

In the terms of a hybrid war the law “About maintaining the functioning of the Ukrainian language as the state
one” has been finally approved, it was agreed with Venice commission and became valid on the 16th of July of 2019 [19]. But it’s too early to seal the deal in the language issue solution. The Russian Federation initiated the discussion of this law in the UN Security Council on the grounds of the point like it limited the rights of Russian-speaking persons in Ukraine, but no resolution was approved at the meeting of the Security Council on the 16th of July of 2019. In June 2019 the deputies of the pro-Russian party “Oppozytsiyny Block” issued a claim to the Constitutional Court of Ukraine to recognize the law like the one which contradicted the Constitution, and on July 2019 the applied to Verkhovna Rada the law project about recognizing the law to be the one which came out of force. It should be noted that today language policy in Ukraine is being implemented very slowly and reflects the unformed identity of the Ukrainian nation.

The results of the research made are represented in table.

**Conclusion and prospects for further research.** The history of the formation of the Czech Republic over the centuries has been marked by the struggle for the establishment of a sovereign state, and language policy has become a cornerstone of the Czech identity.

The Czech Republic did not adopt a special law on the official (official) language, but the key to language policy was the displacement of the occupier’s language (German and Hungarian) from the public sphere. The struggle for language has become a marker of the struggle for territory, population and sovereignty.

After a long period of linguistic expansion, the Czechs began to renew their language through fiction, theater, created national scientific terminology, published lexicographic sources, formed state institutions on language policy and language planning.

According to the censuses of the Czech population, like Ukraine, they are mostly homogeneous: in the Czech Republic almost 2/3, and in Ukraine, more than 3/4 of the population consists of indigenous people (see Table). The Czech-speaking population is predominant in the Czech Republic — 95, in Ukrainian almost one-third less (Ukrainian — 67,5 % in 2001, 61 % — in 2011).

Both countries have opted for a one-language-one language policy model, and the language rights of national minorities and ethnic groups are governed by separate laws and a European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which they have signed and ratified. However, none of them is definitively settled.

The Czech Republic has fewer problems than Ukraine: the major part of its population is Czechs, the largest minority is Slovak and its language is freely used throughout the Czech Republic, and vice versa. The only exception is education: in Czech state institutions, education is provided in Czech.

Ukraine has a very difficult situation with defining the status of the Russian language: according to the Constitution of Ukraine, it has a special status discriminating other languages and their speakers. The situation with a special status for the language which for a long time was spread in Ukraine, is opposite
Comparing characteristics of the political and legal aspects of the language policy of Czechia and Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Czech Republic</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Being occupied by other countries</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Was the national language official when the country was part of another country</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A year of independence obtained (after the collapse of the empire/after the communist regime was ruined)</td>
<td>1918 / 1993</td>
<td>1918 / 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The most numerous ethnic group (according to the enumeration data)</td>
<td>Czechs:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991 – 62,8 %</td>
<td>(in Czech and Slovak Federative Republics);</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(81,1 % in Czech Republic)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2011 – 64,3 %</td>
<td>Ukrainians:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1989 – 72,73 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 – 77,8 %</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2011 – no data</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Presence of a special law about the state/official/national language</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Number of official (state) languages</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The most spread language (according to the censuses)</td>
<td>Czech – 95,4 % (enumeration of 2011)</td>
<td>Ukrainian – 67,5 % (enumeration of 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 % – 2011 [20]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The Charter ratification/entering into force</td>
<td>2006/2007, minority languages: Slovak, Polish, German, Roma</td>
<td>2005/2006 minority languages: Belarus, Bulgarian, Gagauz, Greek (new Greek), Hebrew (idish, Crimea Tatarian, Moldavian, German, Russian, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, Hungarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(year, regional languages/national minorities languages)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Special status of a minority language</td>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>Russian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to Czechoslovakian one: if due to creation of Czechoslovakian language both languages had been saved from Magyarization (especially it’s relevant to Slovakian language) and now they do not push each other out in their countries, the Russian language has always been expansive according to Ukrainian (which was the direct feature of the imperial politics of Russia to Ukraine), and the process of Russification in Ukraine has never stopped (neither before 1991, nor after), that’s why giving its special status to Russian threatens
to push Ukrainian out of the language space of Ukraine.

State language policy in Ukraine had been conducted inconsequently, slowly and it slowed down the solution of troublesome issues in regulation of language relationships, assisted the birth of the legal nihilism, gave reasons to language conflicts to appear, which was used by Russia against Ukraine in 2014 and now Hungary is trying to use it. Impairing of the language issue, slowing down the realization of the language law threaten the national security of Ukraine, its sovereignty and territorial entirety.

Now Ukrainian in Ukraine is a symbol of its European choice, a civilization sign to progress and value of Ukraine as a state.

Ukrainian society is faced with the overriding challenge — for the existence of the Ukrainian state itself, it is necessary to rid the colonial past of the language issue, as the Czech Republic did. The law on the state language has been adopted today, ahead of the law on the languages of national minorities and indigenous peoples.

Considering the Czech experience, the following are the most important measures of state language policy in Ukraine:

– to ensure implementation of the Law “On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as State” adopted in 2019 in the public spheres to which it applies, and to establish state control over its implementation;

– in the law on national minorities and indigenous peoples whose project is being drafted, it is necessary to stipulate which national minorities are recognized in the territory of Ukraine and by what criteria (number of representatives, duration of residence, etc.);

– in view of the above, it is necessary to amend the Law of Ukraine “On Ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages”, which, contrary to the declared goals of the Charter, imposes on the state a considerable amount of obligations for special protection of those languages which are not endangered and leaves outside languages that really need special protection and support (for example, Karaite, Roma).

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