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CONSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY AND NATIONAL VALUES IN THE CONDITIONS OF PERMANENT THREATS TO UKRAINE'S STATESHIP

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The article explores the essence of constitutional identity, its connection with national identity, and the peculiarities of their implementation under the conditions of Ukraine's permanent statehood threats. It emphasizes that, in a broad context, constitutional identity represents a system of certain values, principles, institutions, and traditions that are reflected at the normative and judicial levels, as well as in legal customs and the practice of constitutional implementation. The fundamental element of constitutional identity is values – significant goals and means of achieving them for every nation. Constitutional identity is formed by both national and universal values.

According to the author, national identity, as the identity of the community that constitutes the source of constituent power, forms the foundation of constitutional identity. Constituent power is realized through the constitution, making elements of national identity (such as language, culture, religion, traditions, etc.) integral parts of constitutional identity. National identity embodies the collective identity of the community, while constitutional identity reflects this identity in the constitution. It incorporates the most significant and immutable provisions that express the «spirit» of the constitution. Thus, restrictions on certain types of constitutional amendments are intended to preserve the existing identity of the nation and prevent the removal of attributes without which it would lose its distinctiveness among other nations.

The author pays particular attention to the issue of realizing constitutional and national identity under the constant threat to Ukraine's sovereignty. Modern Ukraine finds itself on a challenging path toward forming its constitutional identity, which, due to historical reasons, has not been fully developed. The individual elements that have emerged during the years of independence have not coalesced into a coherent philosophical and ideological doctrine that would enable the Ukrainian national state to become an equal subject of international law and allow the Ukrainian people (nation) to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

The future of the Ukrainian political nation is directly linked to European identity and the values of constitutionalism, among which the following play a decisive role: personal freedom and dignity, popular sovereignty and minority rights, political pluralism, judicial independence, and the legitimacy of public authority as a whole. Ukraine's aspirations to integrate into the unified European legal space are reflected in the Constitution of Ukraine (amendments of February 7, 2019). This objective stems directly from Ukraine's legal tradition and contemporary state-building practices.

At the same time, the formation of a modern political nation in Ukraine is impossible without fostering a sense of civic patriotism and national dignity. This is crucial both for uniting a multiethnic country into a single people (nation) and for advancing state-building processes. Constitutional identity and national identity should become foundational elements of the political and legal ideology of the modern Ukrainian constitutional state.

Key words: constitutional identity, national values, national identity, civic identity, statehood.

Ковальчук В. Конституційна ідентичність та національні цінності в умовах перманентної загрози державності України.

В статті з'ясовано сутність конституційної ідентичності, її зв'язок з національною ідентичністю та особливості їх реалізації в умовах перманентної загрози державності України. Акцентовано увагу на тому, що в широкому контексті конституційна ідентичність являє собою систему певних цінностей, принципів, інститутів і традицій, що втілюються на нормативному та правозастосовному (судовому) рівнях, у юридичних звичаях та практиці реалізації конституції. Базовим елементом конституційної ідентичності є цінності – значущі для кожного народу (нації) цілі та засоби їх досягнення. Конституційна ідентичність формується як з національних, так і універсальних цінностей.

На думку автора національна ідентичність, як ідентичність спільноти, котра є джерелом установчої влади, складає фундамент конституційної ідентичності. Установча влада реалізується в конституції, тож елементи національної ідентичності (такі як мова, культура, релігія, традиції, тощо) стають складовими ідентичності конституційної. Саме національна ідентичність є ідентичністю спільноти. А конституційна ідентичність є відображенням цієї ідентичності в конституції. Вона уособлює в собі найбільш значущі, незмінні положення, які виражають «дух» конституції. Тому заборона до певних видів конституційних змін призначена зберегти раніше існуючу ідентичність нації і перешкодити видаленню тих її атрибутів без яких вона б перестала бути нескожою на інші нації.

Автором статті особлива увага приділяється питанню реалізації конституційної та національної ідентичності в умовах постійної загрози суверенітету Української держави. Сучасна Україна перебуває на складному шляху формування своєї конституційної ідентичності, яка в силу історичних причин не була сформована. Ті її окремі елементи, які з'явилися в роки незалежності так і не стали цілісною філософсько-ідеологічною доктриною, яка б дозволила Українській національній державі стати рівноправним суб'єктом міжнародного права, а українському народу (нації) реалізувати своє невід'ємне право на самовизначення.

Майбутнє української політичної нації безпосередньо пов'язане з європейською ідентичністю та цінностями конституціоналізму, серед яких визначальну роль відіграють: особиста свобода та гідність, народний суверенітет та права меншості, політичний плюралізм, незалежність судової влади та легітимність публічної влади загалом. Наміри України інтегруватися в єдиний європейський правовий простір знайшли своє відображення в Конституції України (зміни від 7 лютого 2019 року). Ця мета безпосередньо впливає з правової традиції та сучасної державотворчої практики. Разом з тим формування сучасної політичної нації в Україні не можливе без почуття громадянського патріотизму та національної гідності. Воно важливе як з точки зору об'єднання поліетнічної країни в єдиний народ (націю), так і з перспектив подальшого державотворення. Конституційна ідентичність та національна ідентичність мають стати базовими елементами політико-правової ідеології сучасної Української конституційної держави.

Ключові слова конституційна ідентичність, національні цінності, національна ідентичність, громадянська ідентичність, державність.

Problem Statement. In recent years, the term «constitutional identity» has increasingly entered the legal lexicon, appearing in both normative acts and legal doctrine. It has become one of the categories of constitutional law in Ukraine. For Ukrainian scholarly discourse, the concept of constitutional identity is gaining growing relevance, as evidenced by numerous academic articles and even dedicated dissertations. Constitutional identity is gradually occupying an ever-expanding space within the field of constitutional law, both in theory and practice.

The concept of constitutional identity is becoming more pertinent in Ukraine, reflecting its practical significance. It has evolved into a vital component of Ukraine's constitutional and legal doctrine. This is demonstrated by its application in recent years by the Constitutional Court of Ukraine. The term «constitutional identity» was first explicitly used in the Court's decision of July 14, 2021 (No. 1-r/2021) in a case regarding the constitutionality of the Law of Ukraine «On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language [1].»

Moreover, it is essential to consider the external dimension of this issue. In the context of Ukraine's aspirations to become a member state of the European Union, both the government and society will inevitably face the challenge of understanding their constitutional national identity. Therefore, a clear

legal stance from both the Constitutional Court of Ukraine and representatives of the legal academic community – who reflect the perspective of civil society – is crucial in this matter.

In a broad sense, «constitutional identity» should be understood as the persistence of certain values, principles, institutions, and traditions that are embodied at the normative and judicial levels, in legal customs, and in the practice of constitutional implementation. The fundamental element of constitutional identity is values – goals and means of achieving them that are significant for every nation. Constitutional identity is shaped by both national and universal values.

Among scholars studying this issue, there is no consensus on which values are prioritized for constitutional identity and thus define its essence. Similarly, the question of how constitutional and national identities relate to each other remains open.

The purpose of this study is to clarify the essence of constitutional identity, its relationship with national identity, and the peculiarities of their implementation under the conditions of a permanent threat to Ukraine's state sovereignty.

State of Research on the Issue a commonly held view among theorists and practitioners of European constitutionalism is that constitutional and national identities are closely intertwined. National values, such as language, culture, and traditions, find direct expression in the constitution, which serves as the founding act of the people (nation).

For instance, Polish researcher Edyta Krzysztofik argues that national identity forms the foundation for the development of constitutional identity, although the two are not identical. According to her, national identity provides the basis for both the formation and evolution of constitutional identity [2, p. 158]. A similar perspective is expressed by Olena Boryslavska, who asserts that national identity represents the identity of the community, while constitutional identity reflects this identity within the constitution. According to her, the constitution serves as a mirror of the community's shared values, with national identity deeply embedded in its framework [3, p. 3]. This alignment of national identity with constitutional principles underscores the intrinsic connection between the two, while highlighting their distinct roles in shaping the collective and legal identity of a nation.

French scholar Bertrand Mathieu describes the interrelation between constitutional and national identity as follows: constitutional identity corresponds to the inherent elements of national identity, granting them legal force. National identity, in turn, provides political communities with sovereignty, defined by values that give the community purpose and uniqueness. It serves both as a means of separation and dialogue with other nations [4, p. 23].

A similar perspective is held by Ukrainian researcher Olha Nykorak, who defines constitutional identity as a set of distinctive features inherent to the constitutional order and values of each state. These features simultaneously unite citizens into a single community (people, nation) and distinguish the state (as well as its people and nation) from other states, international and regional organizations, and global nations [5, p. 24]. These views highlight the symbiotic relationship between constitutional and national identity, where constitutional identity codifies and institutionalizes national values, ensuring their legal significance, while national identity provides the ideological and cultural foundation that defines a nation's distinctiveness and sovereignty.

Constitutional identity is an embodiment of constituent power, argue Viktor Kolisnyk, Hryhorii Berchenko, and Tetiana Slinko [6, p. 72]. This perspective is well-founded, as the constitution, being the founding act of the people, serves as the primary source of constitutional identity. It represents the people's will and operates as a mechanism for controlling authority.

A constitution is intrinsically tied to the culture and traditions of the nation, embodying its dreams and aspirations. In this context, constitutional identity can be regarded as a unique collective identity of the nation, articulated or shaped by the constitution. It encapsulates the most significant and immutable provisions, reflecting the «spirit» of the constitution. The prohibition of certain types of constitutional amendments is intended to preserve the pre-existing identity of the nation and prevent the removal of attributes that distinguish it from other nations. Such prohibitions protect the core elements of constitutional identity, ensuring the nation retains its uniqueness and sovereignty.

The Main Material. Modern Ukraine finds itself on a challenging path toward forming its constitutional identity, which, for historical reasons, has not been fully developed. The isolated elements of this identity that emerged during the years of independence have not coalesced into a comprehensive philosophical and ideological doctrine. Such a doctrine would enable the Ukrainian nation-state to become an equal subject of international law and allow the Ukrainian people (nation) to fully realize

their inalienable right to self-determination. These goals were explicitly declared in the *Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine*, adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR on July 16, 1990.

The text of the Declaration, which essentially laid the groundwork for the constitutional identity of the future Ukrainian state, did not fully manifest in the *Constitution of Ukraine* adopted on June 28, 1996. Key provisions of the Declaration, particularly those proclaiming national values, were either absent or significantly altered in the Constitution. This discrepancy is noteworthy, especially since the Declaration explicitly stated that it served as the foundation for a new Constitution. In the tradition of European constitutionalism (e.g., the United States, France, and the Czech Republic), such declarations are regarded as significant constitutional acts and integral components of a constitution.

The divergence between the Declaration and the Constitution is not coincidental. The process of shaping Ukraine's national constitutional identity and drafting its Constitution occurred under the persistent threat to statehood. These threats were not only external and overt (e.g., the war with the Russian Federation beginning in March 2014) but also internal and covert (since August 24, 1991, when the Act of Independence of Ukraine was proclaimed). Internal threats have been particularly insidious, often stemming from populist political parties that covertly opposed the establishment of a strong and stable Ukrainian constitutional nation-state.

This dual nature of threats – external and internal – has significantly influenced the trajectory of Ukraine's constitutional identity formation, impeding the alignment of national aspirations with constitutional norms.

Such a discrepancy between the Declaration and the Constitution is not accidental, as the process of forming the national constitutional identity, as well as the text of the Constitution, took place under conditions of a permanent threat to statehood. These threats were not only external and overt (since March 2014 – the beginning of the war with the Russian Federation) but also internal and covert (since August 24, 1991 – the moment of the proclamation of the Act of Independence of Ukraine). The latter were particularly dangerous, as they were often carried out by populist political parties in the form of a hidden reaction to everything related to the establishment of a strong and stable Ukrainian constitutional national state.

Naturally, this was reflected in the key provisions of the Ukrainian Constitution. In the text of the Basic Law, the concept of «nation» and all phrases related to the adjective «national» (national state, national identity, etc.) lost their original ethnocultural meaning and became predominantly institutional and political. Thus, in the Preamble of the Constitution, the Ukrainian people were equated with the political nation: the Ukrainian people are the citizens of Ukraine of all nationalities. Although, in the preambles of European constitutions, the focus is mainly on the ethnic nation, which forms the foundation of the political nation and the state.

It is precisely according to this logic that the Declaration was constructed, where the first point addresses the self-determination of the Ukrainian nation: «The Ukrainian SSR, as a sovereign national state, develops within its existing borders based on the implementation of the Ukrainian nation's inalienable right to self-determination.» In the second point, attention is drawn to the issue of popular sovereignty: «Citizens of the Republic of all nationalities constitute the people of Ukraine.» To differentiate between the ethnic and political nation, the concepts of «Ukrainian people» (nation) and «people of Ukraine» (citizens) are used here.

The issue is that a nation cannot be based solely on a civic model. It must be founded on the language, culture, and traditions of the titular nation. This thesis is almost word-for-word expressed by the well-known German scholar Kurt Hübner [7]. A modern constitutional national state is a harmonious combination of the established tradition and culture of the dominant ethnic nation and the opportunity for self-expression of all ethnic groups living within the state as its citizens. The role of the cultural factor for the political nation is extremely significant. The stronger the sense of cultural unity, the stronger and deeper the awareness of identity within the nation, and conversely, the weakness or absence of a unifying cultural element leads to the weakness and decline of the nation. A respectful attitude toward the language, historical heritage, and religion of the titular nation by other ethnic groups is an essential condition for the formation of a political nation.

One of the primary means of expressing both national and constitutional identity is language. As practice from constitutional jurisdiction bodies, as well as the European Court of Justice, shows, the state language (particularly for Ukraine) has become a critically important factor in expressing constitutional identity. The language issue became a subject of intense debates during the adoption of the Constitution

of Ukraine. On June 27, 1996, during the meeting, there was an active discussion on how detailed the list of languages should be in Article 10 of the Constitution. It was at that time that the Russian language gained special status, which later led to an artificial political debate about the state and official language. Thus, the language of the aggressor state was used alongside the Ukrainian language in the sovereign state of Ukraine for almost twenty years. From the moment of the adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine until the beginning of the large-scale war, several draft laws were registered, and a number of decisions and rulings of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine were adopted, directly concerning this issue.

By the way, the term «constitutional identity» was first used by the Constitutional Court of Ukraine in its ruling of July 14, 2021, No. 1-p/2021, in the case concerning the constitutional submission of 51 members of the Ukrainian Parliament on the compliance of the Law of Ukraine «On ensuring the functioning of the Ukrainian language as the state language» with the Constitution of Ukraine. In the reasoning part of this ruling, the Constitutional Court of Ukraine stated that «... the legal status of the Ukrainian language as the state language is simultaneously a fundamental constitutional value, an inherent feature, and a key factor of unity (integrity) of the Ukrainian state and an inseparable part of its constitutional identity». Decision of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine in the case concerning the constitutional submission of 51 members of the Ukrainian Parliament on the compliance of the Law of Ukraine «On ensuring the functioning of the Ukrainian language as the state language» [8].

Despite the legislative consolidation of the status of the Ukrainian language as the only state language and the legal position of the Constitutional Court on this matter, the language of the aggressor state still retains a special status in Article 10 of the Constitution of Ukraine. The issue of religion, although traditionally separated from the state, is considered an important component of national identity and is therefore often reflected in the constitutions of various countries. Provisions about religion in modern constitutions are most commonly found in preambles, articles on freedom of conscience, or secularism of the state. References to God or religious traditions are included in the preambles of 80 constitutions (i.e., 51%). Examples of countries with such references include Ireland, Switzerland, Greece, Georgia, Montenegro, and in the restored Constitution of Latvia, where Christian values are mentioned. In the Preamble of the Constitution of Ukraine, there is also a sacred reference to God in the context of the adoption of the Constitution, which embodies not only the Basic Law, endowed with the highest legal force, but also the founding act of the natural law of the Ukrainian people.

The religious question in Ukraine has a direct impact on national identity and the sovereignty of the state. This is due to the fact that, beginning in the second half of the 17th century and early 18th century, there was effectively an annexation of the Kyiv Metropolis by the Moscow Patriarchate, which is canonically part of the territory of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (it is believed that this annexation began in 1686 when Patriarch Dionysius IV of Constantinople signed a decree transferring the Kyiv Metropolis under the supremacy of the Moscow Patriarch). The hegemony of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in Ukraine over the course of three centuries undoubtedly had a negative effect on the processes of national identification and state-building. The restoration of historical justice occurred only on January 6, 2019, when Patriarch Bartholomew I of Constantinople granted the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC) a Tomos of autonomy.

In the context of constitutional identity, an important decision is the ruling of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine from December 27, 2022, in the case regarding the constitutional submission of 49 members of the Ukrainian Parliament on the compliance of the Law of Ukraine «On Amendments to Article 12 of the Law of Ukraine ‘On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations’ regarding the names of religious organizations (associations) that are part of a religious organization (association), the governing center (administration) of which is located outside Ukraine in a country that is legally recognized as having committed military aggression against Ukraine and/or temporarily occupied part of Ukraine’s territory» (the case concerning the full name of religious organizations). The Constitutional Court of Ukraine concluded that Law No. 2662-VIII is in line with the Constitution of Ukraine (constitutional), it has a legitimate legal foundation, as it was adopted in a constitutional manner, it defines a legitimate goal, is necessary for a democratic society, and addresses an urgent societal need in Ukraine [9]. The final decision on this issue was made by the members of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, who on August 20, 2024, voted for the Law of Ukraine «On the Protection of the Constitutional Order in the Activity of Religious Organizations» (No. 3894-IX). The purpose of the law is to prohibit the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine and religious organizations affiliated with it. From the title of the

law, it is clear that the activities of religious organizations may pose a threat to the constitutional order of the state and, therefore, to its constitutional identity.

An important aspect of constitutional identity is the issue of citizenship and civic identity. In Ukrainian constitutional law, the concept of citizenship is seen as a special legal bond between an individual and the state, resulting in shared rights and responsibilities. Depending on whether rights or duties are prioritized, the type of citizenship is determined. If individual rights are prioritized, the system is considered liberal citizenship; if duties are emphasized, it is republican citizenship. In contrast, civic identity refers to identifying oneself with the community of citizens of a national-state entity; it is a phenomenon of conscious and active citizenship, and an awareness of being a member of civil society.

One of the researchers exploring the relationship between citizenship and collective identity is Professor I. Karolewski of Leipzig University. In his work *Citizenship and Collective Identity in Europe* (2010), the author analyzes the mechanism of collective identity formation in modern Europe. Karolewski argues that different types of citizenship correlate with different types of collective identity. He constructs three general models of citizenship, including republican, liberal, and Caesarian, each associated with a distinct collective identity [10, p. 129].

For the constitutional identity of Ukraine, the republican model of citizenship is optimal. This became particularly evident under the extreme conditions of war. Responsibility to society and the state, as well as a sense of patriotism and national dignity, became integral attributes of Ukrainian civic identity. National dignity is not only about respect for one's own nation but also for other peoples and nations. A sense of dignity is an essential and real expression of human and national existence; it is a sign of spiritual self-expression. Without dignity, there can be no struggle for rights, no political self-governance, and no state independence. A citizen deprived of this sense is politically incapacitated, and a people who lack it are doomed to heavy historical humiliation.

The institution of Ukrainian citizenship was based on the liberal model. After Ukraine declared independence on August 24, 1991, one of the first laws adopted was the *Law on Citizenship of Ukraine* (No. 1636-XII, October 8, 1991). The law applied the so-called «zero option,» which considered as citizens of Ukraine almost all individuals who permanently resided on the territory of the former Ukrainian SSR at the time the law came into force (November 13, 1991), regardless of race, skin color, political, religious, or other beliefs, gender, ethnic and social origin, property status, place of residence, language, or other characteristics, and who were not citizens of other states. One could also acquire Ukrainian citizenship through naturalization. According to Article 16, this required: recognizing and adhering to the Constitution and laws of Ukraine (a purely formal requirement); not holding foreign citizenship (the issue of dual citizenship, especially among members of the higher state authorities, was always relevant in Ukraine); continuously residing on the territory of Ukraine for the past five years; proficiency in the Ukrainian language to a degree sufficient for communication (this provision was completely ignored until the 2014 Revolution of Dignity); and having lawful means of livelihood (as of 2024, Ukraine ranks 104th in the world on the Corruption Perception Index) [11].

Thus, the Law, aside from the residence requirement, did not impose any serious obligations on Ukrainian citizens, meaning anyone who wanted to acquire Ukrainian citizenship could do so with minimal obstacles. This also applied to party officials and employees of Soviet intelligence services, who actively hindered the revival of the Ukrainian nation and its statehood. Considering that Ukraine never conducted lustration, a political elite emerged, which, for the most part, was inherently anti-Ukrainian. Additionally, the project of forming a Ukrainian civic identity, based on principles such as collective responsibility, patriotism, and national dignity, cannot be considered successful. By declaring itself the legal successor of the Ukrainian SSR [12] (*Law of Ukraine on the Succession of Ukraine*, No. 1543-XII, October 5, 1991), Ukraine fell into the trap of a prolonged period of «hybrid democracy» of the post-Soviet type. This contradicted the nature of the future Ukrainian national constitutional state, which should have been the successor to the Ukrainian People's Republic (1917–1922).

The extreme conditions of the war that Ukraine has been experiencing since 2014 forced a shift in the state's policy regarding citizenship and civic identity. This change has been positively reflected in Ukraine's legislation. For instance, Article 9 of the *Law of Ukraine on Citizenship* (No. 2235-III, dated January 18, 2001), which governs the issue of acquiring Ukrainian citizenship, was significantly amended in 2023. New requirements were introduced for individuals wishing to obtain Ukrainian citizenship.

Firstly, an applicant must not only acknowledge and adhere to the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, as indicated in their citizenship application, but also demonstrate knowledge of the basics of the

Constitution and the history of Ukraine. The examination will be conducted according to procedures established by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. Secondly, the person must not simply «speak the state language to a sufficient level for communication» but must meet a language proficiency standard defined by the National Commission for State Language Standards. To demonstrate this, the applicant is required to pass a language proficiency test. Thirdly, the state has introduced the possibility of a simplified procedure for granting citizenship to individuals who have made significant contributions to Ukraine. This includes foreigners and stateless persons who, in accordance with Ukrainian legislation, have served in the Ukrainian Armed Forces, the State Special Transport Service, or the National Guard of Ukraine, and who have been awarded a state decoration of Ukraine [13].

These amendments to the citizenship law reflect Ukraine's evolving approach to its civic identity, emphasizing knowledge of the state's Constitution, history, and language as key aspects of Ukrainian citizenship. This shift is in line with the country's ongoing efforts to strengthen national unity and identity amid the ongoing conflict.

I consider it appropriate to supplement the aforementioned Law with another provision that will be important in the context of forming civic identity. This is the introduction of a procedure for taking an oath of allegiance to a citizen for persons who have expressed a desire to acquire Ukrainian citizenship. To make this provision effective, legislation should include a norm that holds individuals accountable for violations of the oath of allegiance, specifically in cases where crimes against the national security foundations are committed (such as attacks on independence and territorial integrity, treason), which would lead to the automatic loss of citizenship.

The citizenship oath is a practice followed by the majority of countries worldwide. It is important to note that the institution of the oath was also part of the legislation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR). Anyone who was born and permanently resided in the territory of Ukraine could become a citizen of the UPR and receive a certificate of citizenship. To obtain this certificate, an individual was required to take an obligatory citizen's oath. This provision was explicitly stated in the *Law on Citizenship of the Ukrainian People's Republic* and the *Law on the Registration of Citizenship of the Ukrainian People's Republic*, both of which were adopted by the Central Rada of the UPR on March 2 and 4, 1918, respectively. The citizenship of the UPR was established based on a republican model, meaning that, in addition to rights, citizens also bore numerous obligations towards the people and the state.

Incorporating such a norm into modern Ukrainian legislation would not only align with historical practices but would also strengthen the sense of responsibility and loyalty of citizens, ensuring a deeper connection to the national identity and the state. This step could help instill a strong civic ethos, making it clear that Ukrainian citizenship is not just a legal status, but also a commitment to the nation's core values and its defense.

Conclusions. The future of the Ukrainian political nation is directly linked to European identity and the values of constitutionalism. Among these values, the most important are personal freedom and dignity, popular sovereignty, minority rights, political pluralism, the independence of the judiciary, and the legitimacy of public power in general. Ukraine's intentions to integrate into the unified European legal space are reflected in the Constitution of Ukraine, particularly in the amendments made on February 7, 2019. This goal directly follows from the legal tradition and modern state-building practices of Europe.

At the same time, the formation of a modern political nation in Ukraine is impossible without fostering a sense of civic patriotism and national dignity. This is important both for uniting a multi-ethnic country into a single nation and for the future of state-building. Constitutional identity and national identity must become fundamental elements of the political and legal ideology of the modern Ukrainian constitutional state. They create the foundation for the development of a democratic and stable state capable of defending its independence, upholding the rights of its citizens, and integrating into the European political and legal community.

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