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**THE PLACE OF UKRAINE IN THE MODERN  
RUSSIAN NEO-IMPERIAL PROJECT “RUSSIAN  
WORLD”**

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## SANTRAUKA

Šiame darbe nagrinėjama Ukrainos vieta šiuolaikiniame Rusijos neoimperinėje projekte, žinomame kaip „rusų pasaulis“. Tyrimo tikslas yra išanalizuoti mechanizmus ir strategijas, kurias Rusija taiko siekdama išlaikyti savo įtaką Ukrainai, taip pat Ukrainos visuomenės ir vyriausybės reakciją į šiuos pastangas. Išvados rodo, kad Ukrainos vieta „rusų pasaulyje“ yra sudėtinga ir daugialypė, lemianti derinį istorinių, kultūrinių ir politinių veiksnių.

Nepaisant Rusijos pastangų įtvirtinti savo dominavimą, Ukraina parodo tvirtą valią išlaikyti savo nepriklausomybę ir suverenumą, kaip matyti iš 2014 m. „Garbės revoliucijos“ ir rusų-ukrainiečių karo įvykių. Tyrime taip pat aptariama kultūrinių ir istorinių ryšių vaidmuo formuojant Ukrainos vietą „rusų pasaulyje“. Ukraina turi turtingą ir sudėtingą istoriją, kurioje dalyvavo tiek Rusija, tiek Vakarai. Ši dviguba tapatybė lėmė ilgą kovą už nacionalinį vienybę ir tapatybę šalyje. Tyrime analizuojami būdai, kuriuos Rusijos vyriausybė naudoja siekdama įtvirtinti savo dominavimą Ukrainoje, ir Ukrainos visuomenės reakcija į šias pastangas. Be to, tyrime atkreipiamas dėmesys į politines ir ekonomines strategijas, kurias Rusija taiko siekdama išlaikyti savo įtaką Ukrainai.

Tyrime taip pat analizuojama Ukrainos vyriausybės reakcija į šias pastangas, įskaitant glaudesnius ryšius su Vakarais, reformų įgyvendinimą, energetinės nepriklausomybės didinimą ir priklausomybės nuo Rusijos išteklių mažinimą. Ukrainos vieta „rusų pasaulyje“ yra sudėtingų sąveikos istorinių, kultūrinių, politinių ir ekonominių veiksnių rezultatas. Nors Rusijos vyriausybė rimtai žiūri į savo pastangas įtvirtinti dominavimą, Ukrainos vyriausybė ir visuomenė parodo tvirtą valią už nepriklausomybę ir suverenumą.

## ABSTRACT

This research paper examines the role of Ukraine in the contemporary Russian neo-imperial project called the "Russian world." The study aims to analyze the mechanisms and strategies used by Russia to maintain its influence on Ukraine, as well as the response of Ukrainian society and government to these efforts. The conclusions indicate that Ukraine's position within the "Russian world" is complex and multifaceted, shaped by a combination of historical, cultural, and political factors. Despite Russia's efforts to establish its dominance, Ukraine demonstrates a strong determination to preserve its independence and sovereignty, as evidenced by the events of the 2014 "Revolution of Dignity" and the Russian-Ukrainian war.

The research also considers the role of cultural and historical connections in shaping Ukraine's position within the "Russian world." Ukraine has a rich and complex history, influenced by both Russia and the West. This dual identity has led to a long struggle for national unity and identity in the country. The study analyzes the ways in which the Russian government utilizes cultural and historical ties to establish its dominance over Ukraine, as well as the response of Ukrainian society to these efforts.

Additionally, the research highlights the political and economic strategies employed by Russia to maintain its influence on Ukraine. The study also examines the response of the Ukrainian government to these efforts, including the development of closer relations with the West, the implementation of reforms, the increase in energy independence, and the reduction of dependence on Russian resources.

Ukraine's position within the "Russian world" is the result of complex interactions between historical, cultural, political, and economic factors. While the Russian government is committed to establishing its dominance, the Ukrainian government and society demonstrate a strong will for independence and sovereignty.

## Introduction

**Relevance of the research.** The relevance of the chosen topic lies in the fact that Russia's influence on Ukraine includes both full-scale invasion by the Russian army and non-constructive diplomatic, political, and economic pressure. All of this has serious consequences for Ukraine's national security and geopolitical position, as well as for stability in the Central and Eastern European region.

**The object of the research** is the neo-imperial project "Russian World," its structure, ideology, and implementation in practice.

**The subject of the research** is Ukraine's position within this project and the consequences for its national security and geopolitical position.

**The aim of the research** is to identify the key aspects of the Russian neo-imperial project "Russian World," its goals, and instruments of influence on Ukraine. The goal is also to analyze the consequences of this project for Ukraine's national security and geopolitical position, as well as to determine possible ways to counter Russian influence.

In accordance with the stated aim, the following **research tasks** were identified:

- Investigate the peculiarities of the current power and ideology in Russia.
- Analyze the concepts of "neo-imperialism" and "neo-Eurasianism."
- Characterize the history of Russia's external aggression against Ukraine.
- Analyze the causes, prerequisites, and potential consequences of the Russo-Ukrainian war.
- Study the possible consequences and scenarios of the war in Ukraine.

**Research problem:** One of the main problems of the research is the complexity of understanding and analyzing the Russian neo-imperial project "Russian World." This project encompasses a certain ideology, political strategy, and corresponding instruments of influence that vary depending on specific conditions and context.

Another important problem of the research is the ambiguity of Ukraine's position within this project. Depending on specific circumstances and the needs of the Russian state, Ukraine can be presented as either part of the Russian world or as an independent state with its own interests.

**Research hypothesis:** One possible research hypothesis is the assertion that the Russian Federation uses the "Russian World" project to preserve its geopolitical power in the region and restore its influence over former Soviet territories, including Ukraine. This project may contain elements of propaganda, military aggression, diplomatic pressure, economic dependency, and other instruments of influence on Ukraine, aimed at securing a favorable position in the region and the world.

**Research methods** employed in this study include document analysis, open sources, scientific literature, and internet resources. Expert interviews from the geopolitical, political, diplomatic, and scientific communities are also used. Data analysis on Russian influence on Ukraine, particularly in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, is also employed.

**The theoretical significance of the research** lies in the opportunity to comprehensively analyze and understand the nature and consequences of the neo-imperial project "Russian World" using the example of Ukraine. Studying this issue will contribute to an increased understanding of the geopolitical situation in the region and assist in formulating strategies to counter Russian influence on Ukraine.

**The practical significance of the research** lies in its potential to serve as a basis for developing a state strategy to counter Russian influence on Ukraine. The research findings can be valuable for policymakers, diplomats, researchers, and public figures engaged in Ukraine's foreign policy and the geopolitics of the Eastern European region.

**The scientific novelty of the research** lies in its comprehensive analysis of the Russian neo-imperial project "Russian World" from the perspective of its impact on Ukraine. The research focuses on analyzing specific instruments of influence used by the Russian Federation to implement its geopolitical strategy. Additionally, the study examines Ukraine's position within this project and the potential consequences for its national security and geopolitical position.

## CHAPTER 1. Putinism as an active ideology in modern Russia

### 1.1 Characteristics of the current government and ideology in Russia

In Russia, there is a presidential-parliamentary form of republican governance. The President is the head of state and the executive branch, while the parliament, the Federal Assembly, consists of the State Duma and the Federation Council. The Federation Council includes representatives from different regions of Russia and is responsible for legislative activities at the federal level<sup>1</sup>.

As for ideology, the concept of "Russian world" has the greatest influence in modern-day Russia. This ideology positions itself as an alternative to the Western worldview and geopolitical order. It is based on the idea of everything Russian, which encompasses all people who understand and adhere to Russian traditions, language, and culture.

This concept places a significant emphasis on national self-consciousness, the idea of restoring the Russian empire's influence in former Soviet territories and beyond, as well as geopolitical competition with the United States and the Western world. It also focuses on preserving traditional Russian values, particularly in contrast to the perceived aggression and lack of receptivity to other cultures in the Western model. However, this ideology is also used to legitimize the authoritarian regime in Russia and preserve its power in a complex geopolitical situation and internal issues in the country.

An important component of the "Russian world" ideology is the orientation towards preserving traditional Russian Orthodox faith. Religion holds great significance in Russian culture and history and serves as a tool to support national self-consciousness and Russia's geopolitical position in the world<sup>2</sup>.

The ideology of the "Russian world" is seen as a long-term process of state formation that combines grand achievements in various spheres with the ability to make significant compromises and engage in restoration. This ideology reflects both ancient national ideas of greatness and knowledge of Russia's history, as well as endows it with great strength in a competitive world.

The ideology of the "Russian world" is a key element of contemporary Russian politics, reflecting Russia's attempt to expand its influence beyond its borders. This ideology is based on

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<sup>1</sup> Golovko V. Revolution of dignity and separatist crisis // problems of the history of Ukraine. 2015. issue 23. pp. 5-21; Golovko V. Ukraine in the conditions of antiterrorist operation and Russian armed aggression (2014) // Ukrainian historical journal. 2015. No 3. p. 176-193; Golovko V. Occupation of Crimea. Moscow, 2016, 128 p.

<sup>2</sup> Putinism as a conflictogenic factor of world significance and Ukrainian specificity of its manifestations [electronic resource] / I. Grabovskaya // Ukrainoznavchiy Almanac. - 2019. - Issue 24. P. 114-118.

the concept of everything related to Russia, which includes not only ethnic Russians but also everyone who shares a common culture, history, and language with Russia.

This ideology poses a threat to Ukraine's national security, as Russia considers itself the undeniable leader of the "Russian world" and seeks to influence Ukraine's political, economic, and cultural spheres<sup>3</sup>. Russia's actions in annexed Crimea and the Donbas region testify to this, followed by full-scale invasion in February 2022.

The current Russian government aims to preserve its influence in the world and at the regional level through the implementation of this ideology. The idea of the "Russian world" serves not only to support Russian nationalism but also to strengthen the regime of Vladimir Putin, who seeks legitimacy beyond Russia's borders.

However, this ideology has its limitations and challenges that can diminish its effectiveness. The consequences of full-scale invasion in Ukraine for Russia include international sanctions. Additionally, the increase in national and religious conflicts in Russia can become an obstacle to achieving the goal of expanding the "Russian world."

Therefore, studying the ideology of the "Russian world" and the current Russian government is crucial for understanding and analyzing Russia's internal and external policies. The ideological principle of the "Russian world" is an important element in understanding Russia's internal and external issues, as well as international relations.

Researching the ideology of the "Russian world" and the current Russian government allows for a better understanding of the sources of interventionist actions and conflicts that arise between Russia and other countries, particularly Ukraine. Studying Russian politics can help find ways of mutual understanding and peaceful war resolution.

For this purpose, various sources and research methods were used, including document analysis, statistics, media information, and expert interviews.

The research findings indicate that the ideology of the "Russian world" is based on the concept of imperial legacy and the desire to restore Russia's influence in the territories of the former USSR and beyond.

The results of the research can contribute to the study of Russian ideology and politics, as well as to understanding the causes and consequences of the war between Russia and Ukraine. They can be valuable for further development of political and scholarly discussions regarding Russian foreign policy and its impact on the European region and the world as a whole.

The ideology of the "Russian world" is unique in its emphasis on imperial legacy and the desire to restore Russia's influence in the territories of the former Soviet Union. This ideology

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<sup>3</sup> Ray, Michael. "Russia-Ukraine War". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14 Jun. 2023. - Access mode: <https://www.britannica.com/event/2022-Russian-invasion-of-Ukraine>. Accessed 15 June 2023.



differs from other ideologies, such as liberalism or democracy, which focus on the development of democracy and free markets. The "Russian world" seeks to create a new bloc of countries that would be under Russia's influence and to maintain Russia's role as a global leader. Additionally, this ideology has distorted historical formulations, emphasizing the shared history and culture of the Russian world<sup>4</sup>.

Furthermore, the ideology of the "Russian world" contains strong chauvinistic and religious components, making it particularly dangerous in the context of international relations. It contributes to the escalation of conflicts and confrontations that can ultimately lead to violence and wars.

Therefore, the ideology of the "Russian world" is unique in that it combines imperial, nationalist, and religious components. This makes it distinctive and dangerous in the context of international relations and geopolitical processes.

Thus, this ideology plays a dangerous role in the political and cultural life of Russia, contributing to the formation of a false national identity influenced by propaganda, strengthening the power of the Putin regime, and supporting the country's geopolitical imperial interests. Such an ideology can hinder the development of democracy and the strengthening of human rights in Russia, as well as lead to the escalation of conflicts with other countries, particularly those that do not share its geopolitical interests.

The term "Russian world" has become an important concept in contemporary Russia. The origins of this term can be traced back to the 1990s when Russia actively debated a new ideological paradigm to replace the Soviet one. Russian President Vladimir Putin made his contribution to the development of the concept of the "Russian world" in his speeches in the early 2000s, emphasizing the linguistic, cultural, and civilizational unity of Russian compatriots abroad<sup>5</sup>. Later, Putin explained that the concept of "Russian world" can unite everyone for whom Russian culture and language are important, regardless of where they live. The ideology of the "Russian world" is significant for modern Russia and has a great impact on its foreign and domestic policies. The emergence of such a concept should be seen as an attempt to revive spiritual and historical ties between Russian citizens living abroad and those in Russia itself. However, there are debates about

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<sup>4</sup> Shvidchenko, i.e. No, they are not Nazis! They are Bolsheviks and communists! [Electronic resource] / T. Shvidchenko, A. Oleynik // historical truth: [website]. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2022/03/11/161053/> (accessed: 09.04.2022). - Public date.: 11 Berez. 2022. - name from the screen.

<sup>5</sup> All-World Congress of compatriots living abroad: opening speech of the president of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin at the All-World Congress of compatriots living abroad. - 2006. - October 24 [electronic resource]. - Access mode: <http://www.dxb.ru/project/re/detail.php?ID=283>

how the Russian world is connected to Russia's foreign policy, particularly regarding its relations with countries of the former Soviet Union<sup>6</sup>.

Researching the idea of the "Russian world" is important from both theoretical and practical perspectives. Theoretical significance lies in understanding the contemporary ideological paradigm of Russia and its relationship with the Russian diaspora. The theoretical value of the research helps to comprehend the intellectual foundations and ideological prerequisites for the formation of the concept of the Russian world, as well as to study the essence and implementation of this idea in Russia's state policy. The practical significance lies in the fact that the research findings can be useful for Ukrainian diplomats, politicians, scholars, and public figures in developing strategies to preserve national security and defend their national interests in the face of Russia's aggressive activities. The scientific novelty of the research lies in the detailed analysis of the ideological foundation of the Russian world and its influence on Russia's state policy, as well as in the comparative analysis of Ukraine's role in this concept.

Comparing the role of the Russian world in the ideology of contemporary Russia and the realities of national-cultural development, one can conclude that it has become one of the key concepts used by the authorities to strengthen their influence and gradually eradicate the national identity of Ukrainians and Belarusians living on the territory of Russia, as well as in Ukraine and Belarus themselves. At the same time, the idea of the Russian world in modern Russia also has practical significance, particularly in its relations with countries of the former Soviet Union, where a significant number of Russian-speaking populations reside, considering themselves compatriots of Russia.

The characterization of the current government and ideology in Russia can be described as authoritarian. Currently, the ruling elite in Russia views democracy as a threat to national security, which justifies the imposition of restrictions on political and civil liberties. The authorities utilize their political and economic resources to control the media, limit freedom of speech, and expand their powers in the areas of security and population control.

Ideologically, Russia strives to differentiate itself from Western countries and to be an autonomous, independent, and strong state that embodies the "Russian world" and defends its national interests globally. Additionally, Russia seeks to revive the ideology of stalinism, which was associated with the idea of a strong state, centralized governance, and national self-sufficiency.

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<sup>6</sup> [Steven Pifer](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-russia-ukraine-war-and-its-ramifications-for-russia/) Thursday, December 8, 2022. The Russia-Ukraine war and its ramifications for Russia. - Access mode: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-russia-ukraine-war-and-its-ramifications-for-russia/>

There is a cult of support for foreign sympathizers who uphold Russia's ideology and ruling regime, while an unfavorable attitude towards Western culture and values is imposed. The government perceives external and internal hostility towards Russia as a threat to national security, which justifies expanding its power and repressing opposition.

In such a situation, criticism of the government and ideology can become a target of violence and repression, especially for those who express views contradicting the official line of the Russian authorities and ideology. The ideological line in Russia is based on a combination of conservatism, nationalism, anti-Western sentiment, and populism, which allows the authorities to control the masses and maintain their positions. Criticism of such ideology is met with violence and repression.

In its foreign policy, Russia opposes the West, defending its interests through military and hybrid actions. The Russian government does not recognize international norms and standards, engages in conflicts with neighboring countries, and seeks to exert its influence on other nations.

In conclusion, the characterization of the current government and ideology in Russia indicates limitations on freedom of speech and thought.

## **1.2 Neo-imperialism and neo-Eurasianism**

Neo-imperialism and neo-Eurasianism are ideological concepts that find reflection in Russia's political practice and influence its foreign policy. Neo-imperialism is the aspiration to preserve Russia's geopolitical influence in the post-Soviet space and expand it through other countries. The concept is based on the idea that Russia is the heir to the imperial tradition and therefore has the right and obligation to restore its lost influence over the countries of the former Soviet Union<sup>7</sup>. Within this concept, Russia seeks to control political processes in its sphere of influence, including through the use of various mechanisms such as energy dependence, military threats, and others.

Neo-Eurasianism, on the other hand, is a concept based on the idea of the unity of the space from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in which Russia acts as the leader and defender of the "Eurasian civilization." The main goal of neo-Eurasian ideology is to preserve the territorial integrity of Russia and expand its influence over neighboring countries.

These concepts have a significant impact not only on the political and geopolitical situation in the European region but also in the world as a whole, making the study of their essence

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<sup>7</sup> Ray, Michael. "Russia-Ukraine War". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14 Jun. 2023. - Access mode: <https://www.britannica.com/event/2022-Russian-invasion-of-Ukraine>. Accessed 15 June 2023.

and influence on Russia's activities crucial. Neo-Eurasianism is another ideological concept that is relevant to the Russian neo-imperial project of the "Russian world." This concept was developed by prominent Russian political emigrant from Georgia, Emile Vakhavzhang, in the 1920s. The main tenets of neo-Eurasianism include the idea of the necessity to unite Russia with the countries of the former Soviet Union and the rejection of the "Western" model of development. According to this concept, Russia is part of the "Eurasian civilization," which differs from the "Western" civilization that neo-Eurasianists perceive as "imperialist" and "aggressive."<sup>8</sup>

Neo-Eurasianists reject the ideas of liberalism and democracy, which they see as "Western" and not inherent to the "Eurasian civilization." They support the idea of a "strong power" concentrated in the hands of one person. Additionally, neo-Eurasianists actively promote the idea of a "single security space" in which Russia acts as the so-called "leading state" ensuring stability and security in the Eurasian territory. Currently, the neo-Eurasian ideology is influential in Russia and is part of the broader concept of the "Russian world."

In turn, the neo-Eurasian direction in Russian ideology is based on the idea that Russia is a civilization space located between Europe and Asia. This space unites not only territory but also a shared history, culture, and values. According to supporters of neo-Eurasianism, Russia should be self-sufficient and independent from the West, as it is a civilizational and cultural center in itself. Within the context of the Russian Federation, the neo-imperial and neo-Eurasian directions of ideology not only significantly influence domestic policy but also shape Russia's foreign policy.

Thus, there are evident grounds to assert that this is the old-new imperial syndrome of the Russian elite, which undoubtedly persists today, particularly transitioning into a new stage. Its essential components are Great Russian dominance, artificially constructed pan-Russian unity under the ominous idea of the so-called "Russian world," and the discourse justifying them. It is not a novelty for Ukrainian scholars to observe the imperial ailment of the Russian leadership and, to a large extent, the entire society. Even during Soviet times, among scientists, there was an informal but highly accurate metaphorical assessment of Russian democrats, whose entire democratization mysteriously evaporated when the Ukrainian question arose on the socio-political stage<sup>9</sup>.

So, the ideologies of neo-imperialism and neo-Eurasianism are important components of modern Russian politics and geopolitical strategy. They influence the country's domestic and foreign policies and determine Russia's actions on the international stage.

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<sup>8</sup> Kulinskaya ya. I.correlation of historical and artistic truth in the prose of postmodern writers. Bulletin of Zaporozhye National University. Philological Sciences. 2014. No. 2. P. 126-134.

<sup>9</sup> Sobko S. In most armies of advanced countries. 2020. - Access mode: <https://www.facebook.com/901460028/posts/10163440729245029/>

Conclusions from the study on the section "Political ideology of the Russian Federation and its impact on Ukrainian-Russian relations":

1. The political ideology of the Russian Federation has a strong influence on its external and internal policies. One of the key concepts in Russian ideology is the "Russian world," which is important for Russian politics and has a significant impact on Ukrainian-Russian relations.
2. Russian ideology, particularly the concept of the "Russian world," is aimed at protecting Russia's interests, which often contradicts the interests of neighboring countries, including Ukraine.
3. Relations between Ukraine and Russia have traditionally been difficult, and Russian political ideology, including the concept of the "Russian world," has worsened them.
4. The research shows that Russian ideology, including the concept of the "Russian world," was used to justify and sanction Russia's actions on Ukrainian territory, including the annexation of Crimea and support for military operations in Donbas.
5. The research revealed that Russian ideology has sparked a real war and put an end to Ukrainian-Russian relations.

Neo-imperialism and neo-Eurasianism are concepts that combine ideology and political practice in modern Russia. Both concepts are aimed at strengthening Russia's power and influence in the world, particularly in the former Soviet space.

Neo-imperialism supports the idea that Russia should play a leading role in the world as a global power. According to this concept, Russia should control its neighboring territories, which it considers its "spheres of influence." This means that Russia has the right to interfere in the affairs of other countries, especially those bordering it.

Neo-Eurasianism, on the other hand, supports the idea of creating a unified space in the territory of the former USSR, which would be controlled by Russia. This concept is based on the idea of the "Russian world," which includes not only the territories of Russia but also Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and other countries<sup>10</sup>.

In the context of Russia's foreign policy, neo-imperialism and neo-Eurasianism are used to strengthen Russia's influence in the Eastern European region, especially after the events in eastern Ukraine. These concepts reflect Russia's desire to control neighboring territories and influence the affairs of other countries, which can lead to increased tension in the region and international conflicts.

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<sup>10</sup> P. Kutuev, social reality and transformations of the twentieth century: between concepts and utopias, "sociology: theory, methods, marketing" 2012, No. 3, P. 75

### 1.3 Revision of history in the context of foreign policy

Russia has been involved in major world wars in which millions of people died, as well as in armed conflicts using both conventional and hybrid methods. In other words, Russia conducts warfare both with and without the use of weapons. Open conflicts include the wars in Syria and Georgia, where the Russian Armed Forces were deployed on the territory of other countries without a formal declaration of war<sup>11</sup>.

This policy not only leads to the loss of lives but also harms Russia itself and the populations inhabiting it. Unfortunately, historical revisionists use history to support such policies, including referencing the history of Kievan Rus, which does not always accurately reflect the course of historical events.

Relations between NATO and Russia have always been difficult and tense. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia became a weakened state entity, while NATO, on the contrary, strengthened. Since the early 2000s, the Russian leadership began to assert claims regarding spheres of influence, particularly in Eastern Europe. In 2008, Russia invaded Georgia, and in 2014, it annexed Crimea and started a war in Ukraine. NATO perceived these actions by Russia as threats to security and stability in Europe.

Relations between NATO and Russia have continued to deteriorate with each new conflict. Russia viewed NATO's expansion as a threat to its security and believed it was directed against them. NATO, on the other hand, sought to increase its influence in Eastern Europe and ensure the security of its members.

By the end of 2021, NATO and Russia maintained tense relations. Russian intervention in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea remained the main issues in the NATO-Russia relationship. Additionally, Russia continued to provoke its neighbors, including increased military activity near the borders of Ukraine and the Baltic countries.

In July 2021, during the NATO summit in Brussels, the leaders of the alliance discussed Russian aggression, particularly concerning Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea. NATO countries continued to support sanctions against Russia and pledged to provide assistance to Ukraine and NATO member countries in Eastern Europe to ensure security.

Russia responded with a statement that any steps by NATO toward expansion in Eastern Europe would be seen as a threat to Russia's national security and its sphere of influence. Furthermore, Russia continued to conduct military exercises and test new weapons systems, creating additional tensions in the relationship between the countries.

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<sup>11</sup> Koropatnik, M. Ukraine in two wars-with Hitler's Germany and Putin's Russia: historical parallels [electronic resource] / M. Koropatnik // Severyansky Chronicle. 2015, No. 1, p. 49-60.

Overall, NATO-Russia relations remained strained in 2021. A quick normalization of these relations is not expected at the moment, as the Russian government continues to pursue an aggressive foreign policy, particularly in Ukraine and along the NATO border. However, diplomatic contacts continue, which may help reduce risks and conflicts. Throughout the years of NATO and Russia's existence, there have been many periods of crisis situations, but both sides continue to seek ways to resolve conflicts and support security in the region. NATO also continues to expand, strengthening its presence in countries bordering Russia, which may increase tensions in its relations with Russia.

The Russian Federation pursues an active style based on the revision of historical events and changing the country's political focus through hybrid methods. It relies on its imperial ambitions and a desire to expand its territories through armed conflicts. Russia has long considered itself the heir to Kievan Rus and sought to join the club of countries with a millennium-long history.

To achieve its strategic and geopolitical goals, Russia uses hybrid methods in conducting armed conflicts, including in Syria, Georgia, Ukraine, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and other countries. Additionally, Russia employs political, informational, and economic methods to change the political focus of a country and its integration path. These methods are used to influence the political situation in countries within Russia's sphere of interest, such as Belarus, Moldova, Kazakhstan, and others. Russian interference in the affairs of other independent countries is a recurring phenomenon because its imperial ambitions drive the desire to capture.

The Russian Federation actively employs hybrid methods in armed conflicts, combining both military and non-military tactics, in order to achieve strategic and geopolitical outcomes. Ukraine has become the first country to be subjected to such aggression from Russia. The Russian aggression against Ukraine involved the use of disinformation and other illegal methods of warfare. Russian aggression also finds its application in Syria, where combat aviation and special military groups are utilized<sup>12</sup>.

However, Russia is not limited to engaging in armed conflicts but also interferes in the internal affairs of other countries through influencing the political situation. The influence of the Russian state can be observed in Belarus, Ukraine, Armenia, Libya, and other countries. For example, in Belarus, there has been a replacement of local media executives and journalists with representatives from Russia to propagate their narrative throughout the country. Additionally, representatives from Russia arrived at peaceful demonstrations against the election results of

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<sup>12</sup> Becker, O. Rashism as a manifestation of animality against humanity and humanity [electronic resource] / O. Becker // ARMIYAINFORM: Inform. Agency of the Ministry of defense of Ukraine. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://armyinform.com.ua/2022/03/09/rashyzm-yak-proyav-tvarynosti-proty-lyudstva-i-lyudyanosti/> (accessed: 09.04.2022). - Name from the screen.

Lukashenko, leading to an increase in repressive measures. The influence of Russia on the political situation in other countries can have a significant impact on their development and stability. An example of such influence is the situation in Ukraine, where Russia waged a hybrid war using a combination of military and non-military methods, including information propaganda, economic pressure, and other measures.

Russia also interferes in the political situation in Belarus, where after the presidential elections, a regime of pressure and repression against the opposition and peaceful protesters was established. Russian representatives replaced key positions in Belarusian media to conduct propaganda in favor of Lukashenko and Russia. Russia has also interfered in the elections in the United States and the United Kingdom, using information warfare to influence the sentiments and opinions of citizens in those countries.

The influence of Russia on the political situation in other countries can have a significant impact on their stability and development. This underscores the importance of preserving democracy and defending freedom of the press and expression. It is also necessary to ensure adequate protection against the influence of information propaganda and other forms of illegal interference from foreign states.

The Russian Federation employs hybrid methods to influence the political situation in various countries, which can have significant consequences for their stability and development. Ukraine serves as an example of a hybrid war conducted by Russia, involving information propaganda and economic pressure, leading to a full-scale war and tens of thousands of casualties that continue to grow with each passing day.

Russia has also interfered in elections in other countries, employing information warfare to influence citizens' opinions and sentiments. This can have a serious impact on the political stability and development of these countries.

The nature of the modern Russian-Ukrainian war is rooted in the Soviet and old imperial past, as neo-imperial priorities of Putin's Russia originate from there. These priorities determine the essence of its political, economic, social, cultural decisions, strategies, actions, and even the justification for the current aggression. There are at least several sufficient reasons to consider and label the current Russian-Ukrainian war as post-colonial in its nature.

Firstly, Russia's practical denial of Ukraine's right to exist as a state fully reflects the logic of actions and strategies of old colonial empires towards colonized countries and peoples. These countries and peoples were considered "artificial," "illusory," "phantom-like," and therefore supposedly required "real management" and "care." From this perspective, Ukraine in the Russian reception is just its own territory - Malorossiia and Novorossiia, which Moscow should return to the embrace of the empire. For example, the Russian concept of the "failed state" that was



transmitted in various variations by Russian officials, politicians, scientists, artists, journalists, cultural figures, and in everyday life - in the incessant flow of explicit understandings of average Russians. Therefore, it is important to protect democracy and press freedom from any external influence, including information.

To pursue these ambitions, Ukraine needs to implement various measures at different levels: political, economic, and military. At the political level, it is necessary to maintain and develop international cooperation with partner countries that also strive to preserve their independence and territorial integrity.

On the economic level, Ukraine should focus on developing its own economy and attracting foreign investments, which would help reduce dependence on external suppliers and consumers. It is also important to diminish Russia's role in the economic market and engage with other actors in the global economy. Strengthening international ties and cooperation with countries that also seek peace and stability is crucial.

Ukraine must remain aware of the dangers of hybrid warfare and be prepared for various scenarios of Russian actions. Only a comprehensive approach on different levels will preserve the country's territorial integrity and ensure its future development.

Therefore, the revision of history in the context of Russia's foreign policy, which includes hybrid methods in armed conflicts, is a complex and multifaceted problem that affects relations between countries and the overall global situation. The revision of history has become an important component of Russia's foreign policy in recent years<sup>13</sup>.

One example of historical revisionism is the assessment of the role of the Soviet Union in World War II. The Russian leadership seeks to change the world's perception of who started the war, claiming that the Soviet Union made the greatest contribution to the victory over nazism, rather than Western countries.

The Russian leadership considers Russia as the successor of a great power that had a significant influence on shaping world history. According to this logic, Russia has the right to a corresponding role in international relations and global leadership<sup>14</sup>.

However, many countries in the world consider such attempts to revise history as an effort to influence the perception of the world and rights to power in the modern world. This can also lead to increased tension in international relations and escalated conflicts.

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<sup>13</sup> Zhitaryuk M. "historical continuity" in relation to Ukraine (from I. Stalin to V. Putin) in scenarios of reanimation of the Russian Empire [electronic resource] / M. Zhitaryuk // Bulletin of Lviv University. Series: Journalism. - 2018. - Issue 44. p. 101-111.

<sup>14</sup> П. Кутуєв, Соціальна реальність і трансформації XX століття: між концепціями та утопіями, „Соціологія: теорія, методи, маркетинг” 2012, No. 3, с. 75

The Russian Federation uses historical revisionism as a tool of its foreign policy to strengthen its influence in the region and the world. Within this policy, Russia actively employs various historical myths and unverified facts that contribute to shaping the image of Russia as a great imperial state with a glorious history.

One of the most notable examples of such historical revisionism is Russia's approach to the events of World War II. Russian propaganda attempts to alter the definition of the term "liberation war," using it to enhance national self-perception and support Putin's regime. Furthermore, Russia seeks to revive historical symbols associated with its imperial past, including the symbolism of the Russian Empire and the USSR.

Such historical revisionism has negative consequences for Russia's domestic and foreign policies. It can lead to internal societal divisions within Russia and create national tensions in the region.

A prominent example of historical revisionism in the context of Russia's foreign policy is its attempts to legitimize the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and support for militants in Donbas. Russian propaganda tries to portray Crimea as Russian territory and the protests in eastern Ukraine as internal conflicts caused by the actual division within Ukrainian society.

Russia also actively utilizes historical revisionism tools in its relations with the Baltic states, Poland, and other neighboring countries. For instance, Russia often accuses Poland of collaboration with Nazi Germany during World War II and attempts to alter official history to depict Poland as an aggressive state that disrespects Russian interests.

Overall, historical revisionism has become an important instrument of Russia's foreign policy, used to achieve its political and geopolitical objectives. This can lead to heightened international conflicts and violations of the international order.

Historical revisionism is a significant aspect of a country's foreign policy as it can be used as a tool to achieve political and geopolitical goals. Historical revisionism entails reinterpreting and reassessing historical events and facts, which can lead to changes in international relations and interactions between countries.

In the context of Russia's foreign policy, historical revisionism has become a crucial element of its strategy to expand influence and restore regional superpower status. The Russian government actively promotes its versions of history, aimed at legitimizing its policies in Ukraine and other countries.

One example of historical revisionism is the discrediting of the Holodomor in Ukraine. The Russian government maintains its position that the Holodomor was not an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people but rather a result of climate conditions and economic crisis. This revisionist view of history helps Russia maintain its influential position in Ukraine and the world.

In conclusion, it can be said that historical revisionism has become an important instrument of countries' foreign policies, but it can have serious consequences for interstate relations and interethnic understanding. History should be used to promote cooperation and peaceful war resolution.

However, many countries in the world view such attempts to revise history as an effort to influence the perception of the world and power rights in the modern world. This can also lead to increased tension in international relations and increased conflicts<sup>15</sup>.

The Russian Federation uses historical revisionism as a tool of its foreign policy to strengthen its influence in the region and the world. Within this policy, Russia actively uses various historical myths and unverified facts that contribute to shaping the image of Russia as a great imperial state with a glorious history.

#### **1.4 External aggression of the “Russian world” against Ukraine**

The external aggression of the "Russian world" towards Ukraine began in 2014 when the Russian Federation annexed Crimea and initiated the war in Donbas. This war was characterized by the use of hybrid warfare, combining both armed and non-armed methods, including information propaganda, economic pressure, and other measures<sup>16</sup>.

The annexation of Crimea was carried out after Ukraine became more pro-Western following the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. Russia claimed that it was protecting the Russian language and the rights of the Russian minority in Crimea, but the majority of the world's nations recognized this annexation as illegal.

Russia also employs information propaganda to influence the sentiments and opinions of Ukrainian citizens and the world at large. This propaganda is based on fakes, distortion of facts, and fabrications. It aims to sow distrust in the Ukrainian government and undermine trust in democracy and human rights.

Additionally, Russia conducted a hybrid war against Ukraine, utilizing information propaganda, economic pressure, cyber attacks, and other unlawful methods. This has resulted in the destabilization of the political and economic situation in Ukraine.

Russia's external aggression against Ukraine violates international law and fundamental principles of democracy and freedom. It also poses a threat to stability and peace in the region and

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<sup>15</sup> Ray, Michael. "Russia-Ukraine War". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14 Jun. 2023. - Access mode: <https://www.britannica.com/event/2022-Russian-invasion-of-Ukraine>. Accessed 15 June 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Golovko V. Revolution of dignity and separatist crisis // problems of the history of Ukraine. 2015. issue 23. pp. 5-21; Golovko V. Ukraine in the conditions of antiterrorist operation and Russian armed aggression (2014) // Ukrainian historical journal. 2015. No 3. p. 176-193; Golovko V. Occupation Of Crimea. Moscow, 2016, 128 p.

the world at large. It is important to emphasize that Russia's war against Ukraine has international implications and affects the security and stability not only in the region but also globally.

Russia employs methods of hybrid warfare, which combine military, semi-military, and non-military actions, such as economic and information pressure, propaganda, and terrorist methods. This represents a new type of aggressive actions that violate military ethics and rights, undermine trust in central authority, and erode internal stability.

The Russian discourse of confrontation compels Ukrainians to vacillate between "betrayal" and "victory," reducing the credibility of the government and stimulating value disparities and conflicts of identity<sup>17</sup>. These discourses are actively used to establish stable constructs and semantic ambiguity within society, contributing to the process of delegitimizing the central authority and undermining internal stability.

This Russian hybrid war against Ukraine has shown that information propaganda can play as important a role in conflicts as military operations. One of the main methods of Russia's hybrid warfare against Ukraine was the use of illegal armed formations in the eastern regions of Ukraine. These groups are supported by Russia and receive weapons and other resources, enabling them to carry out military actions against Ukrainian forces and the civilian population.

Additionally, Russia employs economic pressure on Ukraine, including cutting off gas and other energy supplies, leading to economic difficulties and worsening the socio-economic situation in Ukraine. All these actions by Russia pose a threat not only to Ukraine but also to the stability and security in the Eastern European region and the world as a whole. Therefore, it is important to ensure proper defense against hybrid warfare and other forms of illegal interference by foreign states.

This aggression has faced international condemnation, and Ukraine and its allies are taking measures to counter this threat. These include imposing sanctions against Russia, providing military and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine, and increasing international isolation of Russia.

Ukraine and its international partners continue to emphasize respect for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity and the need for Russia to abide by international law. Despite the efforts of the international community to end the war and find a peaceful solution, the situation remains tense, and military actions continue. Unfortunately, this situation does not have a simple solution, and it remains one of the biggest challenges for Ukraine and the international community.

Putinism as an active ideology in modern Russia is a complex and controversial topic. At its core, putinism is based on the idea of a strong state where the role of leadership should be

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<sup>17</sup> Vasilenko V. Russo-Ukrainian war of 2014: causes, course and political and legal assessments. 2014. October 23. P.30, 31.

stronger than that of the citizens. Putinism also promotes the strengthening of Putin's power and asserts that Russia has the right to protect its national interests beyond its borders.

However, at the same time, putinism is also known for its authoritarianism, restrictions on freedom of speech and movement, and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Many critics argue that its ideology is contradictory as it promotes state power and nationalism while Russia's dependence on the economic interests of other countries contradicts these ideas. In conclusion, putinism as an active ideology in modern Russia is a complex and contradictory subject that has a significant impact on Russia's domestic and foreign policies.

Many critics argue that this ideology is a means of consolidating Putin's power and limiting citizens' freedoms, leading to an authoritarian regime and human rights violations in Russia. Critics also point out that putinism fosters corruption and injustice and creates tensions in relations with other countries<sup>18</sup>.

Some experts argue that putinism is a reaction to the crisis that arose after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and an attempt to restore a strong state and regain the dignity of the Russian nation. In any case, putinism represents a complex ideology that has a significant influence on Russia's domestic and international politics.

One of the main reasons for this war against Ukraine desire to maintain its hegemony over Ukraine and include it in its sphere of influence, including through the creation and support of Russian-speaking population in Ukraine. Another reason is Russia's aim to maintain its geopolitical position in the world.

Currently, the war in Ukraine is ongoing, and Russian forces are not retreating from the occupied territories. This has resulted in thousands of deaths and injuries, economic stagnation, and a humanitarian crisis.

The external aggression of the "Russian world" towards Ukraine has significant consequences for both Ukraine and the international community. Russia has violated international rules that guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of countries and remains on its aggressive stance.

This aggression comes at a high cost for Ukraine, which has suffered loss of life, economic and social losses. However, Ukraine has also shown resilience and a strong spirit in its fight for independence and territorial integrity.

In their external relations with Russia, other countries, including the European Union and the United States, have taken various measures, including sanctions and support for Ukraine. At

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<sup>18</sup> Steven Pifer Thursday, December 8, 2022. The Russia-Ukraine war and its ramifications for Russia. - Access mode: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-russia-ukraine-war-and-its-ramifications-for-russia/>

the same time, diplomatic efforts continue to find a peaceful resolution to the war, but Russia is not willing to pursue a peaceful path.

Therefore, the external aggression of the "Russian world" towards Ukraine is a complex and multifaceted problem with significant consequences for the world. It is necessary to seek ways to.

## Chapter 2. Russia's colonial war against Ukraine

### 2.1 Causes and prerequisites of Russian-Ukrainian war

At a time when the world was moving forward, even considering the bloody terrorist attacks and local conflicts on religious or ethnic grounds, Russia remained stuck in the past. Year after year, the gap between the mentality of creating the future and the endless "immortal regiments" of the past became increasingly evident. Articles by "historians" from the Lubyanka seemed strange until it became clear that they were laying the ideological foundations for the war of 2014 and its current phase of escalation, which has become a great crime against humanity.

But this very inability led to the opposite result. Russia not only suffered unprecedented losses in human resources and technology but also lost hundreds of billions, if not trillions, of dollars in investments, as well as opportunities for technological development. It has become a political and economic pariah, rapidly turning into a giant North Korea.

The first in-depth analysis of the political and legal consequences of Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2014 and the formulated concept of the "Russian-Ukrainian war" belong to Ukrainian Doctor of Juridical Sciences and Professor Volodymyr Vasylenko<sup>19</sup>. He had significant experience in the legal field, including serving as a judge at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia from 2001 to 2005 and representing Ukraine in the United Nations Human Rights Council from 2006 to 2010.

V. Vasylenko became the first Ukrainian expert to comprehensively trace the legal consequences of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, considering the political, legal, and social context. He proposed the concept of the "Russian-Ukrainian war," which encompasses a wide range of societal and political processes occurring in Ukraine and its relations with Russia. This analysis conducted by V. Vasylenko is a unique and valuable contribution to understanding the events unfolding in eastern Ukraine and determining the legal and political consequences of this war.

Therefore, modern research on the war considers various factors that led to the war, including historical preconditions, external influences and actions of politicians, as well as information warfare and the preparation of a fifth column in the regions. Scholars argue that Russia had prepared ideological preconditions for the secession of eastern and southern regions from Ukraine well in advance, and the implementation of its "Novorossiia" project began after President V. Yanukovich fled to Russia<sup>20</sup>. According to experts, an important factor from the

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<sup>19</sup> Vasilenko V. Russo-Ukrainian war of 2014: causes, course and political and legal assessments. 2014. October 23. P.30, 31.

<sup>20</sup> Turchenko F., Turchenko G. The Project "Novorossiia" and the newest Russian-Ukrainian war. P.148, 155, 159.

beginning of the war was the "transparency" of the Russian-Ukrainian border, which allowed for mass infiltration into Ukrainian territory, as well as the insufficient reaction of the Ukrainian authorities to the warnings from sociologists about the presence of various cluster groups in the country. Scholars emphasize that without the massive invasion of the Russian army, the local separatists would not have had a chance to expand beyond Crimea and Donbas. Overall, contemporary research points to the complex nature of the causes of the war in Donbas, which combines historical, political, ethnic, and other aspects.

The tensions in the relations between Russia and Ukraine before the 2022 war did not arise suddenly but had a long history. The political differences between Ukraine and Russia became even greater after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Kyiv chose the path of Western democracy with changing leadership, while Moscow maintained its style of governance. The current war can be divided into three stages, each lasting about ten years.

With the onset of the 2000s, Russia became economically stronger and more influential, with significant resources from the sale of oil and gas. After Viktor Yanukovich left Ukrainian territory and removed himself from power in 2014, Russia responded by annexing Crimea, claiming to protect Russian-speaking residents and its national interests.

The support of separatist movements in eastern Ukraine by Russia and the provision of weapons and other resources to them were clear evidence of Russian intervention. This became one of the main reasons for the imposition of sanctions by the West against Russia, further exacerbating relations between the countries.

On February 24, 2022, Russia carried out a full-scale invasion of Ukrainian territory. Ukrainian-Russian relations began deteriorating as early as the beginning of the 2000s. The first serious diplomatic crisis occurred in the autumn of 2003 when Russia suddenly started constructing a dam in the Kerch Strait towards the location of the Ukrainian island of Tuzla. Kyiv perceived this as an attempt to redefine borders, but the conflict was resolved after a meeting between the presidents of the two countries. However, the friendship between Ukraine and Russia had received its first cracks.

In 2004, during the presidential elections in Ukraine, Russia actively supported pro-Russian candidate Viktor Yanukovich, but the "Orange Revolution" emerged victorious, leading to the presidency of pro-Western politician Viktor Yushchenko. This became a turning point for political changes in Russia aimed at preventing "color revolutions." During Yushchenko's tenure, Russia twice cut off gas supplies to Ukraine, resulting in disruptions in gas transit to Europe. This led to the conflict in Donbas and a severe economic crisis in the region, undermining the activities of financial-industrial groups, including Serhiy Taruta's "Industrial Union of Donbas," Rinat Akhmetov's "System Capital Management," and Oleksandr Yanukovich's "Management Assets



Corporation." The expansion of Russian power elicited a negative reaction from Ukrainian society and prompted many to support the movement towards a united Europe. According to experts, Russian policy of the "Russian world" is a tool of hybrid warfare and Russia's foreign policy strategy to dominate the post-Soviet space and undermine Western civilization. Ukraine continues its movement towards a united Europe and defends its independence and territorial integrity<sup>21</sup>.

The beginning of 2014 was a turning point for Ukraine. After the Revolution of Dignity in Kyiv, a power vacuum emerged, and in March, Russia annexed Crimea, justifying its actions as the "protection of the Russian language and culture" on the peninsula. On February 24, 2022, Vladimir Putin announced the start of the so-called "special military operation" with the aim of "demilitarizing" Ukraine. Russian armed forces began attacking cities in Ukraine and military infrastructure, not only in Donbas. From the above text, several conclusions can be drawn regarding the causes and prerequisites of the war between the two countries:

1. The main cause of the war was the confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, resulting from different views on Ukraine's European integration course and Russia's role in the region.
2. The critical moment in the development of the war was the annexation of Crimea by Russia in March 2014, which escalated the situation in Eastern Ukraine.
3. Russia's participation in creation of "DPR" and "LPR" and the continuous strengthening of Russian military presence in the eastern part of Ukraine contributed to the escalation of the war.
4. Russian ideological policies of the "Russian world" and "unified Orthodoxy" helped mobilize the local population for the war, leading to a division within Ukrainian society.
5. Economic problems and corruption in Ukraine facilitated Russia's use of separatist propaganda and arms supply.

Therefore, the war was and continues to be the result of a complex combination of factors, including political, economic, social, and ideological factors, which led to the escalation of the war between Ukraine and Russia and resulted in a full-scale war in Ukraine. The war in Ukraine is a complex and international problem with many different causes and prerequisites. Resolving the war requires a comprehensive approach and joint efforts from the international community. The international community must demonstrate unity and determination in supporting the

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<sup>21</sup> Golovko V. Revolution of dignity and separatist crisis // problems of the history of Ukraine. 2015. issue 23. pp. 5-21; Golovko V. Ukraine in the conditions of antiterrorist operation and Russian armed aggression (2014) // Ukrainian historical journal. 2015. No 3. p. 176-193; Golovko V. Occupation Of Crimea. Moscow, 2016, 128 p.

sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and ensuring the adherence to international law in resolving this war.

## **2.2 Rashism in the context of neo-fascism during the Russian-Ukrainian war**

The war between Ukraine and Russia can be seen as a clash between civilization and regression, between the future and the past. It resembles historical events when the wealthy and prosperous provinces of Rome lost their military strength and charisma and became a target for barbaric invaders. Today, Ukraine plays the role of a gateway to Europe, while Russia represents a renaissance of a mixture of fascism and nazism in a new form - "Rashism." The ideology of rashism encompasses a cult of personality, totalitarianism, militarism, and the idea of unity against enemies.

An article titled "What Russia should do with Ukraine" appeared on the pro-Russian state resource RIA "NOVOSTI." In the article, the author, Russian political technologist Timofiy Sergeytsev, presents a cynical attitude towards what should be done with Ukrainians after conquering Ukraine. The situation in the occupied territories by Russia reflects the implementation of the ideas from this new "Mein Kampf." The teaching of the Ukrainian language in schools has been banned, history textbooks have been changed, and children are forcibly taken to Russia and subjected to forced russification<sup>22</sup>. This situation reflects the terrifying reality of the threat to the existence of Ukrainian culture and the nation as a whole. Such a resurgence of fascism and nazism poses a danger not only to Ukraine but also to world culture as a whole.

The Russian people have been hypnotized by propaganda, and they are willing to believe anything. Propagandists use these clichés to achieve their political goals. This ideology of militaristic chauvinism, or rashism, is based on the works of Russian General Denikin and Russian philosopher Ilyin. They laid the foundation for the modern ideology of Russia, which is reflected in its foreign policy and military actions. Thus, Russian propaganda tries to distort history and drive non-existent enemies out of the minds of the Russian people, instead spreading the idea of enemies who do not actually exist.

Therefore, rashism, manifested in Russian aggression against Ukraine, can be regarded as a form of neo-fascism. This indicates that Russia is experiencing a revival of fascist ideologies based on the cult of the nation, nationalism, and racist foundations.

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<sup>22</sup> [Steven Pifer](https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-russia-ukraine-war-and-its-ramifications-for-russia/) Thursday, December 8, 2022. The Russia-Ukraine war and its ramifications for Russia. - Access mode: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-russia-ukraine-war-and-its-ramifications-for-russia/>

Ukraine has become the target of Russian aggression due to its statehood and independence, which pose a threat to the Russian imperial project. In this context, Russia uses nationalist ideology to mobilize its population and militarized forces against Ukraine.

Russian rashism manifests itself in various forms, including discrimination against Ukrainians, fueling hostility between nations, violence, and the destruction of Ukraine's cultural heritage. Russian media propagates the idea that Ukraine is a country of fascists and nazis, which legitimizes violence and aggression.

This is not just a war between states but a struggle between ideologies - democracy and totalitarianism, freedom and slavery, progress and regression. Russia's rashism has no place in the modern world, and it must be openly condemned and resisted in all its forms.

In considering the history of the term "rashism," it is worth noting the scholarly research by Dr. B.L. Demianenko, an ukrainian doctor of political science and professor<sup>23</sup>. According to his words, this concept emerged in the early 21st century and reflects the quasi-ideology and social practice of the contemporary authoritarian regime in Russia. This term gained popularity in unofficial circles during Russia's aggression against Georgia in 2008. However, a new wave of its spread occurred with the start of the Russian-Ukrainian war, particularly during the annexation of Crimea and the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 on July 17, 2014, near Donetsk. It is worth noting that the introduction of the term "rashism" was proposed by A. Hertsen in the novel "The Past and Thoughts" (1868) to denote an extremist trend in Russophilia.

In his article, Yuriy Demyanchuk, a candidate of historical sciences and professor, examines the concept of "rashism" from a historical perspective and from the standpoint of Ukrainian science. He notes that the term "rashism" is an element of the quasi-ideology of post-Soviet imperial revenge and was introduced to denote the ideology of hatred towards people that prevails in the Russian Federation.

The author argues that "rashism" is an eclectic mixture of imperial neocolonialism, great-power chauvinism, nostalgia for the Soviet past, and religious traditionalism. He also emphasizes that Russia's domestic policy, based on radical nationalism, manifests itself in the violation of human rights to freedom of thought, persecution of dissidents, and the use of media for disinformation of its own people.

In foreign policy, "rashism" is manifested in the violation of principles of international law and the imposition of Russia's own version of historical truth on the world. The article's author

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<sup>23</sup> Demianenko B. "Rashism" as a quasi-ideology of the post-Soviet Imperial revenge [electronic resource] / B. Demianenko // *Studia politologica Ucraino-Polona*. - 2018. - Issue 8. p. 35-40.

emphasizes that "rashism" is the ideological basis of the undemocratic regime of "putinism," which is aimed at the occupation and annexation of territories of other states.

Overall, Professor Yuriy Demyanchuk's article offers a Ukrainian perspective on the concept of "rashism" and helps understand the essence and peculiarities of this ideology.

M. Koropatnyk<sup>24</sup>, ukrainian doctor of political science and professor, compares two wars in which Ukraine was involved: the Second World War against Nazi Germany and the current war against Putin's Russia. The researcher examines in detail the origins and possible consequences of Putin's Russia's "hybrid war" against Ukraine, using various sources of information. He notes the similarity of methods between the current Russian leadership and Nazi Germany. Koropatnyk highlights the importance of Ukraine's contribution to the overall European and global victory over nazism and emphasizes the need to resist racism, which he compares to nazism in terms of its criminality and terrifying nature. The researcher also refutes Vladimir Putin's attempts to revise the history of the German-Soviet war of 1941-1945 and to exaggerate Russia's role in it, condemning the Russian president as the main criminal of the 21st century. According to Koropatnyk's research, the "hybrid war" ended with a full-scale military invasion of Ukraine by Putin's Russia.

Scientific research reveals the aggressive nature and ideological warfare of modern "putinism," as well as its social and ideological origins. In their scientific and journalistic works, V. M. Tkachenko<sup>25</sup> explores the nature of "putinism" and Putin's aspirations to establish a new world order.

It is worth referring to the publications of M. Zhytaryuk<sup>26</sup> and I. Hrabovska<sup>27</sup>, which reveal Russia's historical inclination towards Ukraine and the conflict-generating nature of "putinism." Additionally, attention should be given to the research of French publicist H. Akkerman<sup>28</sup>, who exposes the sources of Russian nationalism and the aggressive nature of "putinism" directed against all of humanity. Akkerman's book is a powerful warning to the entire world and highly relevant to Ukraine since we are the first target in the construction of the "Russian world" that Russian aggressors hide under the guise of "peace."

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<sup>24</sup> Koropatnik, M. Ukraine in two wars-with Hitler's Germany and Putin's Russia: historical parallels [electronic resource] / M. Koropatnik // *Severyansky Chronicle*. 2015, No. 1, p. 49-60.

<sup>25</sup> Tkachenko V. M. "Putinism": chauvinism of post-Soviet revenge. Kiev: Znanie Ukrainy publ., 2015, 119 p. (in Russian).

<sup>26</sup> Zhitaryuk M. "historical continuity" in relation to Ukraine (from I. Stalin to V. Putin) in scenarios of reanimation of the Russian Empire [electronic resource] / M. Zhitaryuk // *Bulletin of Lviv University. Series: Journalism*. - 2018. - Issue 44. p. 101-111.

<sup>27</sup> Grabovskaya I. Putinism as a conflictogenic factor of world significance and Ukrainian specificity of its manifestations [electronic resource] / I. Grabovskaya // *Ukrainoznavchiy Almanac*. - 2019. - Issue 24. P. 114-118.

<sup>28</sup> Ackerman, G. Immortal Regiment. Putin's holy war / G. Ackerman; trans. from the French P. Tarashchuk. - Ternopil: textbook-Bogdan, 2019. 216 p.

The topic of Russia's imposition of the "Russian world" on the world stage and its foundation of racism is extremely important and relevant for the modern world. In his post, correspondent for ArmiaInform Oleksandr Bekker<sup>29</sup> provides a definition of the concept of the "Russian world" as an ideology of civilization destruction higher than Russian civilization and the imposition of their barbarism, where there is no place for humanity, only bestiality. The author notes that this is reflected in the destructive war against anyone who opposes Russia's totalitarianism and "gathering" based on racism. "Racism is a form of political regime and radical authoritarian political ideology characterized by a strong cult of personality, militarism, and totalitarianism aimed at uniting lands through hybrid wars or complete destruction," the author writes.

Historian researchers O. Zaitsev and A. Pavlyshyn<sup>30</sup>, in their article "Racism as a form of Neo-Fascism," note that over the past two decades, Russia has been moving towards fascism. They warn that a "quick little war" can serve as a means of rallying the population around imperial symbols, subjugating disobedient neighbors, and diverting attention from economic problems. On February 24, 2022, Russia removed all masks and began acting like Hitler's Germany in 1939, combining terrorist aggression against Ukraine with propagandistic methods reminiscent of Goebbels' tactics.

Ukrainian philosopher and writer Volodymyr Yermolenko<sup>31</sup> provided an interesting post on his Facebook about the essence of racism. He asserts that racism is an ideology based on nationalism, racism, and imperialism and is extremely harmful to humanity because it divides people into "us" and "them." Racism forces people to abandon their humanistic essence and reduces them to the level of animals.

According to Yermolenko, racism is the main ideology of Putin's Russia, which aims to impose the "Russian world" on the world, destroying civilizations that surpass Russian civilization and conducting hybrid wars or completely annihilating countries that do not align with its imperial plans. Yermolenko calls on the world to see racism as a threat to human civilization and to resist it on all levels, including political, economic, cultural, and other aspects. His call is supported by many people, which confirms the danger that racism poses to the world.

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<sup>29</sup> Becker, O. Rashism as a manifestation of animality against humanity and humanity [electronic resource] / O. Becker // ARMIYAINFORM: Inform. Agency of the Ministry of defense of Ukraine. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://armyinform.com.ua/2022/03/09/rashyzm-yak-proyav-tvarynosti-proty-lyudstva-i-lyudyanosti/> (accessed: 09.04.2022). - Name from the screen.

<sup>30</sup> Rashism as a form of neo-fascism [electronic resource] / O. Zaitsev, A. Pavlyshyn // Local History: [website]. - Electron. Journal version. - Access mode: <https://localhistory.org.ua/texts/statti/rashizm-iak-forma-neofashizmu/>

<sup>31</sup> Ermolenko, V. stop comparing Putin and Hitler. Rashism is worse than Nazism [electronic resource] / V. Ermolenko // Gazeta.ua: [website]. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://gazeta.ua/ru/blog/56836/dosit-porivnyuvati-putina-i-gitlera-rashizm-ce-girshe-nizh-nacizm>

In his blog, Ukrainian philosopher S. Datsyuk provides a detailed analysis of contemporary racism, describing its main manifestations: "Ontology of Racism," "Social Content of Racism," "Transformation of Racism into Fascism," "Anti-Ukrainian Direction of Racism," "Universal, Mental, and Prospective Context of Racism." He argues that Ukraine is capable of stopping the spread of racism and neo-fascism. As a state that has become a victim of racist aggression, Ukraine has the greatest motivation to fight this disease and the will and strength to defend its rights and freedoms. At the same time, Ukraine can serve as an example for other countries on how to combat the spread of racism and neo-fascism and how to ensure the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms.

On the website "Istorichna Pravda,"<sup>32</sup> T. Shvydchenko and A. Oliynyk have a different view on the issue of comparing Russians to Nazis. They believe that such a comparison is inappropriate because the nazis were stopped in 1945, while the communists continue to commit crimes in Ukraine under the banner of the hammer and sickle and the red flag. The authors argue that the crimes of the Red Bolsheviks are no less memorable than those of the nazis. They remind us that it was the Communists who took Ukrainians as cannon fodder, raped Ukrainian women, and looted Ukrainian villages. These "grandfathers" blew up Khreshchatyk in 1941 and blamed it on the nazis, burned and destroyed Ukrainian churches, banned the Ukrainian language, and executed people for using it. The authors call for not comparing Russians to nazis but directly calling them communists, Bolsheviks, and the red plague.

Therefore, racism is a threat not only to individual countries but to the entire world.

1. It is a heinous crime against humanity and against all humanity.
2. Russia's attack on Ukraine shows that racism exceeds nazism and fascism in the level of cruelty and repulsiveness of military crimes. Racist actions include the rape of women and girls, senseless killing of civilians, mass looting, bombing of residential neighborhoods, and the destruction of entire cities.
3. Comparing Russians to nazis is inappropriate because the nazis were stopped in 1945. Russian Communists continue to commit their crimes in Ukraine under the banner of the hammer and sickle and the red flag.
4. It is important to remember that racism is not just a problem for Russia and Ukraine; it is present worldwide. Each of us must show respect for others, embrace diversity, and strive for equality and humanism. Racism and neo-fascism have become overt manifestations of the war between Russia and Ukraine. The war that began in 2014 has

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<sup>32</sup> Shvidchenko, i.e. No, they are not Nazis! They are Bolsheviks and communists! [Electronic resource] / T. Shvidchenko, A. Oleynik // historical truth: [website]. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2022/03/11/161053/> (accessed: 09.04.2022). - Public date.: 11 Berez. 2022. - name from the screen.

led to an escalation of racism in Russia, particularly towards Ukrainians, who have become the target of discrimination and persecution<sup>33</sup>.

With the support of Russian media and the government, an information campaign aimed at misinformation and discrediting Ukrainians has been launched. Ukrainians have been portrayed as fascists, Bandera followers, and nationalists, while the Ukrainian army is depicted as nazi-like.

### **2.3 Consequences of Russian-Ukrainian war**

Over the past year, Russian forces have been killing, raping, torturing, deporting, or forcibly taking civilians to Russia or the occupied territories. Many Ukrainians have been forced to leave their homes. Millions of people suffer from serious disruptions in electricity and water supply due to Russia's massive shelling of Ukraine's energy infrastructure.

These facts indicate that the Russian Federation is engaging in military aggression against Ukraine, committing mass human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law, including crimes against humanity. The racism inherent in the Russian government and military is manifested in violence and destruction not only against recognized enemies but also against anyone who does not conform to the concept of the "Russian world." The confrontation between Russia and Ukraine is not just a geopolitical war; it is a struggle to preserve democratic values, human rights, and the country's independence from the aggressor.

Overall, the consequences of the war are very serious and negative for Ukraine and its people. They require immediate attention from the international community and decisive action to stop Russia's aggression and restore peace in the Eastern European region. In addition, investigations should be conducted and individuals responsible for crimes against humanity committed during the war should be held accountable. Measures should also be taken to provide humanitarian aid and support to the war-affected and displaced populations. It is important for the Ukrainian government and the international community to work together to ensure stability and peace in the region and to protect the rights and interests of the Ukrainian people.

During the war with Russia in March 2022, as a result of the hostilities, the network of large industrial facilities in metallurgy and chemical industries in eastern Ukraine was completely destroyed. Many of these plants, such as "Azovstal," Avdiivka Coke and Chemical Plant, Lysychansk Oil Refinery, and others, were environmentally hazardous and located in contaminated areas of Ukraine. Oil depots also became targets of deliberate shelling, and at least

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<sup>33</sup> Ermolenko, V. stop comparing Putin and Hitler. Rashism is worse than Nazism [electronic resource] / V. Ermolenko // Gazeta.ua: [website]. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://gazeta.ua/ru/blog/56836/dosit-porivnyuvati-putina-i-gitlera-rashizm-ce-girshe-nizh-nacizm>

60 such facilities in 23 regions were damaged. Storage facilities for flammable substances and construction supermarkets were also shelled, leading to powerful fires<sup>34</sup>. Additionally, gas pipelines were destroyed as a result of shelling, resulting in atmospheric pollution and powerful explosions. Overall, the war with Russia has had serious negative consequences for the environment and the population of Ukraine.

The Kyiv School of Economics, in collaboration with the Center for Economic Strategy, "Prozorro.Sales," and other partners, has launched the "Russia Will Pay" project, which aims to assess the damages caused by Russia during its full-scale invasion of Ukraine. According to the latest preliminary estimate as of March 17, 2022, the amount of damages is estimated at 1.8 trillion hryvnias (62.6 billion dollars), although the damages are significantly higher today. This calculation is a joint initiative of the KSE Institute, the Office of the President, and the Ministry of Economy<sup>35</sup>.

*Table 1*

**The damage Russia inflicted on Ukraine during the 2022 invasion**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Amount in million dollars</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Higher Education Institutions	273	1,280	As of 17.03
Preschools	124	427	As of 17.03
Healthcare Facilities	36	2,466	As of 17.03
Residential Buildings	1,600	1,245	As of 17.03
Administrative Buildings	30	492	As of 17.03
Shopping and Entertainment Centers	7	120	As of 17.03
Nuclear Power Plants	1	2,416	As of 17.03
Factories and Enterprises	26	643	As of 17.03
Military Airfields	10	390	As of 17.03
Thermal and Hydro Power Plants	7	101	As of 17.03
Bridges	350	12,145	As of 17.03
Railway Tracks	5,000 km	7,500	As of 17.03
Railway Stations	47	5,592	As of 17.03
Roads	15,000 km	16,923	As of 17.03
Antonov An-225 "Mriya" Aircraft	1	300	As of 17.03

<sup>34</sup> Ermolenko, V. stop comparing Putin and Hitler. Rashism is worse than Nazism [electronic resource] / V. Ermolenko // Gazeta.ua: [website]. - Electron. data and programs. - Access mode: <https://gazeta.ua/ru/blog/56836/dosit-porivnyuvati-putina-i-gitlera-rashizm-ce-girshe-nizh-nacizm>

<sup>35</sup> Rashism as a form of neo-fascism [electronic resource] / O. Zaitsev, A. Pavlishin // Local History: [website]. - Electron. Journal version. - Access mode: <https://localhistory.org.ua/texts/statti/rashizm-iak-forma-neofashizmu/>



War always has serious and long-lasting consequences that greatly impact people's lives and a country's development. The war between Ukraine and Russia, which began in 2014, is no exception and has many consequences that will last for decades<sup>36</sup>.

One of the main consequences of the war is human loss. This has resulted in thousands of people losing their loved ones, and many others have been forced to leave their homes and become internally displaced. Additionally, the war has had a significant impact on the country's economy. The war has led to a decrease in economic activity in Ukraine, a decline in investments, and a rise in unemployment. Many businesses, have been destroyed or damaged, which has further complicated the economic situation.

War also has an impact on the geopolitical situation in the Eastern European region and the world as a whole. The war between Ukraine and Russia has become one of the main factors of tension between Russia and the West. This has led to many countries imposing sanctions against Russia and imposing restrictions on trade and other areas.

War also has individual consequences for those directly affected by it. People who have left their homes as internally displaced persons have lost their stability and experienced psychological trauma. Many civilians have been injured or have lost their loved ones. Furthermore, the war has led to a decrease in the quality of life in the country, including worsening living conditions and reduced access to healthcare and other social services.

Overall, the consequences of the war for Ukraine and Russia are complex and multifaceted. This war serves as an important example that is never a solution, as it has severe consequences not only for the direct participants of the war but also for the entire country and its international relations. War destroyed the state of the economy, disrupts social and cultural ties, and leads to the exacerbation of conflicts and divisions within society. The consequences of the war between Ukraine and Russia are difficult to overstate. This aggression has resulted in a significant loss of human life, a decrease in economic activity in the region, heightened political tensions, and the creation of new, unrecognized state-like structures.

The consequences of war are always far-reaching and felt for many years after its end. The consequences of war can vary and include:

1. Human casualties: War takes the lives of thousands of people, leaving their families and loved ones behind.
2. Internally displaced persons: War forces millions of people to leave their homes and resettle elsewhere in search of safety.

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<sup>36</sup> Yeshkilev V. The Biography of more than one writer will begin with the war in the Donbas. - Access mode:: <http://www.dw.com/uk/a-17927985>.

3. Economic repercussions: War leads to a significant decrease in economic activity and causes a decline in the country's GDP.
4. Social consequences: War often results in the destruction of social systems and the violation of human rights.
5. Environmental consequences: War leads to air, soil, and water pollution, flooding of territories, significant damage to agriculture, destruction and damage to natural heritage sites, forest fires, and other ecological problems.
6. Political consequences: War can bring about changes in political systems and alter the dynamics of international relations.
7. Cultural consequences: War can result in the destruction of cultural heritage and pose a threat to cultural diversity.
8. Psychological consequences: War leaves a deep impact on the psyche of individuals, especially among veterans and those who have experienced violence, terror, and acts of aggression<sup>37</sup>.

The economic consequences of war may include a decline in GDP and national income, an increase in unemployment and poverty rates, destruction of industrial and agricultural enterprises, infrastructure damage, and a decrease in investment activity.

The social consequences can include loss of life, thousands of injured and disabled individuals, societal fragmentation, and exacerbation of social problems, including interethnic and religious conflicts. War can also lead to a lack of access to essential services such as healthcare and education, as well as a decrease in housing availability and food accessibility.

Psychological consequences can include stress, traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among veterans and populations exposed to military actions. These psychological issues can impact the quality of life and productivity of the population.

War can have significant cultural consequences, including the loss of historical and cultural heritage. For example, during World War II, thousands of churches, palaces, castles, museums, and other cultural and historical structures were destroyed. Moreover, war can lead to the disappearance of national minorities that may have unique cultures and traditions passed down through generations. These consequences can have long-lasting effects on the culture and history of the country involved in the war.

The economic consequences of the war in Ukraine have been severe and have halted the progress achieved by the country in recent years. According to Ilona Sologub, an expert from the

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<sup>37</sup> Ackerman, G. *Immortal Regiment. Putin's holy war* / G. Ackerman; trans. from the French P. Tarashchuk. - Ternopil: textbook-Bogdan, 2019. 216 p.

analytical platform "Vox Ukraine," the growth of the Ukrainian economy from 2016 to 2021 restored the country's GDP to the level it was before the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014.

National employment has been significantly undermined as a result of the war. According to recent surveys, approximately 40% of Ukrainians who had jobs before the invasion lost them, and half experienced wage cuts. Many people have lost income and purchasing power due to inflation, and many have been forced to change their place of residence.

According to experts, the main tasks of the Ukrainian government now are to maintain macroeconomic stability and collect taxes to fund essential services. The National Bank of Ukraine noted that with a decrease in security risks, economic growth could be restored as early as 2023. Although there was a 37% decline in the second quarter of 2022, some data from August of the same year, particularly in the agricultural sector, are causing some optimism.

The war in Ukraine, which began in 2014, has had serious consequences for the country in many areas. The population has faced significant challenges in economic, social, cultural, and environmental aspects. The war has resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and forced millions of Ukrainians to leave their homes. It has also had a dramatic impact on the country's economy, leading to decreased employment, increased unemployment, decreased GDP, and inflation.

However, there have been some positive changes in Ukraine, such as maintaining macroeconomic stability and increasing tax revenues, which help the Ukrainian government provide essential services to its population. Although the consequences of the war in Ukraine are significant and serious, the country is striving to recover and strengthen, overcoming difficulties and achieving stability and development.

## **CHAPTER 3. The situation on the external front and the reaction of other states to the war in Ukraine**

### **3.1 Consequences of neo-imperialism of the “Russian world” in the EU and the USA**

Neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" can have consequences for EU and US countries. This term refers to a strategy that involves expanding Russia's influence over former Soviet countries, its neighbors, and other regions of the world<sup>38</sup>.

One possible consequence of this strategy for EU and US countries is a reduction in the influence of their foreign policies on global events. If Russia is able to gain a stronger position in countries that were previously part of the former Soviet Union, it could diminish the influence of the EU and the US on these states.

Neo-imperialism refers to a modern form of imperialism in which a country seeks to extend its influence and control over other countries through economic, political, and military means. In the context of the "Russian world," it relates to Russia's attempts to exert influence over countries and regions that have a significant Russian-speaking population or historical ties to Russia.

Neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" has had significant consequences for the European Union and the United States. Some of these consequences include<sup>39</sup>:

1. Increased tension in international relations: Russia's pursuit of neo-imperialism has led to heightened tensions between Russia, the EU, and the US. This has resulted in ruptured diplomatic relations and increased military tensions in certain regions, such as Eastern Europe and the Balkans.
2. Security challenges: The expansion of Russian influence in the EU and the US has led to heightened security concerns, particularly regarding the threat of Russian interference in the internal affairs of these countries.
3. Political polarization: Neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" has contributed to increased political polarization within the EU and the United States, as some view Russia's actions as a threat to their national security and sovereignty, while others see it as a necessary measure to counter Western influence.
4. Disruption of global stability: Russia's pursuit of neo-imperialism has disrupted global stability, as EU and US countries are forced to reassess their relations with Russia and

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<sup>38</sup> Rashism as a form of neo-fascism [electronic resource] / O. Zaitsev, A. Pavlishin // Local History: [website]. - Electron. Journal version. - Access mode: <https://localhistory.org.ua/texts/statti/rashizm-iak-forma-neofashizmu/>

<sup>39</sup> School of journalism for ATO veterans. 2017, Kiev. - Access mode: <http://voiceofwar.org/>

respond to its actions. It has also resulted in the breakdown of international cooperation on key issues such as arms control and counterterrorism.

Overall, the neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" has had significant consequences for the EU and the United States, creating a complex international environment that requires careful diplomacy and strategic interaction to address. Additionally, it has led to an escalation of geopolitical tensions between Russia and EU and US countries, which may increase the likelihood of conflicts and pose a threat to security<sup>40</sup>.

Overall, the neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" can have important consequences for EU countries and the United States. This strategy can change the global order and lead to increased tensions in the world, so international communities should continue to work on reducing potential consequences and use diplomatic tools to resolve conflicts. This can be done by developing economic cooperation with countries that are influenced by Russia and supporting them in democratic and economic development.

Additionally, international communities should continue to impose economic sanctions on Russia until it stops its aggressive foreign policy and regains control over all temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine. These sanctions can include a ban on the export of technologies and other goods to Russia, a ban on investments in Russian companies, and a ban on entry to EU and US countries for Russian officials and politicians who support Russia's aggressive foreign policy.

Furthermore, it is important to support the sovereignty and independence of countries that are influenced by Russia and help them strengthen their democratic institutions and economies. This can be done by providing financial assistance and technical support, as well as encouraging trade and investment in these countries. Overall, it is necessary to remember that the neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" can have serious consequences for global security and stability, so the international community must continue to work on reducing the potential consequences of this strategy.

The neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" can be seen as Russia's strategy of interfering in the internal affairs of the European Union countries and the United States in order to expand its influence and strengthen its position in the world. The consequences of such a policy can be diverse for EU countries and the United States.

1. Strained relations between Russia and the West: Neo-imperialist policies of the "Russian world" can lead to worsened relations between Russia and the West. Relations can become less friendly, and trust between countries can diminish.

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<sup>40</sup> Ch. Krautgamer, Putin's doctrine, independent cultural magazine " Y " 2007, No. 50, P. 238, 239.

2. Increased propaganda and disinformation: Russian interference may involve an increase in propaganda and disinformation in the EU and the United States aimed at undermining stability and trust in democratic institutions.
3. Political influence: The neo-imperialist policy of the "Russian world" can prompt Russia to finance and support political parties and groups that share its interests in the EU and the United States. This can lead to a change in the political landscape of these countries in favor of Russian interests.
4. Economic consequences: Russian neo-imperialist policies can have economic consequences for EU countries and the United States<sup>41</sup>.

A united front against Russian imperialism is relevant in the context of the current political situation in the world, especially in relation to the actions of the Russian Federation towards its neighboring countries. This imperialism manifests itself in war, territorial occupation, aggressive foreign policy, and other negative manifestations.

Currently, there are a number of international organizations aimed at combating Russian imperialism, including NATO, the European Union, and others. They focus on ensuring security and stability in the Eastern European region and countering Russia's aggressive actions.

Ukraine is one of the countries that faces daily manifestations of Russian imperialism, including a full-scale war. Ukraine also supports initiatives to form a united front against Russian imperialism, particularly in cooperation with the European Union and NATO<sup>42</sup>. One of the important components of the joint front against Russian imperialism is increasing assistance to countries facing Russian aggression, particularly Ukraine. Some specific ways in which the US press has covered Russia's foreign policy include:

Coverage of Russian military interventions: The American press extensively covered Russian military interventions in Ukraine, Syria, and other countries. The coverage focused on the impact of these interventions on civilian populations, the reactions of the international community, and the role of Russian forces in these conflicts.

Reports on Russian propaganda and disinformation: The US press also sharply criticized Russian propaganda and disinformation campaigns aimed at undermining Western institutions and democratic processes. This reporting focused on how Russian state media disseminate false information and the influence of these campaigns on public opinion.

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<sup>41</sup> Steven Pifer Thursday, December 8, 2022. The Russia-Ukraine war and its ramifications for Russia. - Access mode: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-russia-ukraine-war-and-its-ramifications-for-russia/>

<sup>42</sup> Mikhalsky Yu. v., Prokop A.V. Yaroslav Stetsko — leader of the international anti-communist movement of the twentieth century // Bulletin of the Lviv commercial Academy. Series: Humanities. - 2014. - Issue 12. - pp. 171-177. - Access mode: [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Vlca\\_Gum\\_2014\\_12\\_23](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Vlca_Gum_2014_12_23)

Analysis of Russian foreign policy strategy: American media outlets also analyzed Russia's broader foreign policy strategy, including its emphasis on countering Western influence, developing economic ties with other countries, and expanding its military presence in key regions.

Criticism of human rights situation in Russia: The US press also criticized the human rights situation in Russia, particularly concerning freedom of the press, treatment of political dissidents, and persecution of minority groups<sup>43</sup>.

Despite some diversity in how different media outlets cover Russia's foreign policy, these common themes can be traced in many US news sources. Here are some examples of articles in the American press that covered Russia's foreign policy:

*«Russia's Military Buildup Near Ukraine Stokes Fears of Renewed Hostilities»* - The New York Times (published on February 17, 2021)

*"Нарощування військової могутності Росії поблизу України викликає побоювання відновлення військових дій"* - The New York Times (опубліковано 17 лютого 2022 року)

This article discusses the buildup of military power by Russia near the Ukrainian border and its potential impact on the ongoing war in Ukraine. The article includes quotes from Ukrainian officials and analysts, as well as information about the movement of Russian troops and military equipment.

*«Russia has launched a misinformation campaign about Covid vaccines. Should we be worried?»* - CNN (published on February 20, 2021)

*"Росія почала кампанію дезінформації про вакцини проти Covid. Чи варто хвилюватися?"* - CNN (опубліковано 20 лютого 2021 року)

This article discusses the Russian campaign to promote their own vaccine against Covid-19 and spread disinformation about other vaccines. The article provides information about the tactics used by Russian state media and includes interviews with experts about the potential impact of this campaign.

*«Russia's Putin warns West against crossing any 'red lines'»* - Reuters (published on February 14, 2021)

*"Російський Путін застерігає захід від перетину будь-яких "червоних ліній"* - Reuters (опубліковано 14 лютого 2022 року)

This article examines the warning issued by Russian President Vladimir Putin to Western countries not to cross any "red lines" in their interactions with Russia. The article includes an analysis of the current state of US-Russian relations and specific warnings from Putin regarding potential conflict zones.

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<sup>43</sup> Turchenko G., Turchenko F. Project "Novorossiya": 1764 – 2014. Zaporozhye, 2015. 158 p.

*"USA claims that the Russian hack likely affected an additional 18,000 clients" - The Wall Street Journal (published on February 16, 2021)*

*"США заявляють, що російський злом, ймовірно, торкнувся ще 18 000 клієнтів» - The Wall Street Journal (опубліковано 16 лютого 2021 року)*

This article discusses the consequences of the SolarWinds breach, which the US government attributed to Russian intelligence agencies. The article provides detailed information about the scale of the breach and its potential impact, as well as information about the US government's response to the incident.

These articles are just a few examples of how the American press covers Russia's foreign policy. They illustrate the diversity of topics and perspectives that can be found in various media outlets, as well as highlight some common themes and concerns that arise when covering Russia's actions on the world stage.

Regarding the reactions of other countries to the war in Ukraine, various statements and actions have been taken. In particular, EU member states and NATO openly condemned Russia's actions.

In 2022, many countries and international organizations condemned Russia's aggression against Ukraine and called for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Russian forces from Ukrainian territory. Additionally, economic pressure measures were implemented against Russia, including sanctions on individuals and companies connected to the Putin regime.

The UN adopted a resolution condemning Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Numerous statements were also issued by European leaders and NATO countries emphasizing support for Ukraine and the need to increase the defense capabilities of NATO member states.

For example, Lithuania and Moldova declared a state of emergency due to Russia's attack on Ukraine. In turn, Moldova suspended railway communication with Ukraine. The Ukrainian Ambassador to Turkey called on Turkey to close its airspace and block the straits near the entrance to the Black Sea for Russian ships. Turkey responded by closing the Black Sea to Russian ships.

Furthermore, several countries, including the United Kingdom, Belgium, Norway, Italy, the Baltic countries, Poland, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, and Montenegro, consistently closed their airspace to Russian aircraft. The European Union completely closed its airspace to all aircraft registered in Russia or controlled by Russia, and later Canada and the United States also closed their airspace to Russian aircraft.

Germany allocated unprecedented additional funds to its military, and the United States expelled 12 Russian diplomats from the UN on charges of espionage. These actions demonstrate countries' readiness to defend their national security and show solidarity and support for Ukraine in this difficult time. Russian aggression against Ukraine has potentially serious implications for



global security, so it is important for the international community to demonstrate resolve and readiness to act in accordance with safeguarding their interests and ensuring security. Cooperation among countries within international organizations such as NATO and the UN can be an effective tool for responding to events unfolding in Ukraine.

Russia's foreign policy, particularly its aggressive behavior towards neighboring countries, elicits diverse reactions from nations around the world. Some countries choose a strategy of constructive dialogue and cooperation with Russia, while others seek to defend their interests and act in accordance with ensuring their national security.

One example of such a response is the sanctions imposed by EU member states and the United States in response to Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and its actions in eastern Ukraine and the full-scale invasion in 2022. The sanctions aimed to restrict Russian companies' access to financial resources and technologies and impose travel bans on specific individuals<sup>44</sup>.

In addition, various political and diplomatic measures have been taken, such as condemning Russia's aggressive behavior in international organizations, providing military assistance to countries targeted by Russian aggression, and establishing contacts with various opposition political forces in Russia to support democracy and human rights. Overall, the response of states to Russia's foreign policy can vary and depends on various factors such as economic and political interests, security threats, and the level of diplomatic relations with Russia.

Some other measures that some states take in relation to Russia may include:

- **Arms embargo:** Several countries, including the United States and Canada, have imposed a ban on the sale of weapons and military equipment to Russia. This can be an effective tool to limit Russian aggression and reduce its military capabilities.
- **Economic sanctions:** Some countries impose economic sanctions against Russia, which can hinder its economic development and military capabilities. These sanctions may include restrictions on imports from Russia, access to financial markets, and other measures.
- **International organizations:** Some countries may act within international organizations such as the United Nations and NATO to support international law and norms, democracy, human rights, and to support countries that have become targets of Russian aggression.

Overall, the response of states to Russia's foreign policy can vary from supporting dialogue and cooperation to implementing a firm policy and sanctions. The quality and outcomes of such a response depend on various factors, such as the ability of countries to cooperate with

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<sup>44</sup> Stetsko Ya. two revolutions / Yaroslav Stetsko // Ukrainian nationalism. Anthology. Vol. 2 / Emphasis. V. Horn. Moscow: Y. Lipa Department of internal affairs, 2022, P. 38.

each other, the effectiveness of international organizations and judicial bodies, and the level of interaction between countries and Russia.

The response of states to Russia's foreign policy can also have implications for Russia itself and its behavior. If the international community focuses on supporting international norms and democratic values, it can compel Russia to recognize their importance and take them into account in its foreign policy. On the other hand, if Russia perceives that the international community does not react to its behavior, it may increase the risk of further aggression and violations of international law.

Furthermore, the response of states to Russia's foreign policy can have significance for the international system as a whole. If countries promote international stability and democracy, it can support the rule of law and peace in the world. On the other hand, if countries act in isolation, it can strengthen the influence of aggressive regimes and violations of international law.

Therefore, the response of states to Russia's foreign policy is crucial for international stability and peace. The steps taken by countries can influence Russia itself and its behavior, as well as the international system as a whole. It is important for countries to cooperate with each other and act responsibly in order to ensure international stability and democracy.

The neo-imperialist policy of Russia, aimed at restoring its influence in the former Soviet space and other countries, has resulted in numerous consequences for EU and US countries. One of the most negative consequences is the increasing tension between Russia and the West, which has led to sanctions and counter-sanctions.

In EU countries, for example, sanctions against Russia have limited opportunities for economic cooperation and reduced the level of exports. At the same time, Russia has increased its influence in certain EU countries through energy dependence, using gas and oil pipelines as a tool of political pressure. The consequences of the neo-imperialism of the "Russian world" have become a problem not only for Russia but also for EU and US countries, requiring the need to seek compromises and diplomatic solutions.

### **3.2 Possible scenarios for the development of the war in Ukraine**

On the current day, the Russo-Ukrainian war continues, and it has a negative impact on the lives of millions of people. The Russo-Ukrainian war has resulted in thousands of deaths and injuries, millions of people have lost their homes and suffered other losses. The war has also led to a serious deterioration of the economic situation in Ukraine and neighboring countries.

Resolving the Russo-Ukrainian war is an extremely important task for the international community. It is necessary to continue peaceful negotiations and find compromise solutions to end

the war, but this requires the complete withdrawal of Russian occupying forces from Ukrainian territory. Additionally, it is important to provide humanitarian aid to those affected by the war and support economic recovery in Ukraine.

The consequences of the war in Ukraine will be felt for many years, and the potential development of the situation can impact international security and stability in the Eastern European region and the world. Therefore, resolving the issue of ending the war in Ukraine remains one of the most important international problems. Predicting the development of the war in Ukraine is a challenging task as it depends on various factors such as the level of mobilization of the population, military capabilities of the countries involved in the war, and their political positions.

One possible scenario for the development of the war in Ukraine. In this case, possible developments could be related to Russian military advances into Ukrainian territory, an increase in civilian casualties, and further destruction of infrastructure and the country's economy. This scenario could also involve the involvement of other countries that may support Ukraine or Russia in the war.

Another possible scenario for the war in Ukraine is the establishment of a ceasefire and the conduct of peaceful negotiations between Ukraine and Russia. In this case, the involvement of international organizations that can help find a compromise and establish peace in the region is also possible. However, achieving a peaceful resolution requires willingness from both sides and readiness for compromises.

A third possible scenario involves further escalation of the war and the involvement of other countries. In such a case, there could be an increase in casualties and destruction, as well as a worsening of relations between states in the region and a possible spread of the war to other countries, leading to the creation of new fronts and conflicts in the region. This scenario could be the most dangerous as it could lead to a larger-scale war and involve a greater number of countries.

However, it is important to note that each scenario depends on different factors, namely the political and military decisions of the countries involved in the conflict and the attitude of the international community towards the situation.

This scenario illustrates that Russia can achieve victory in the war in Ukraine if the West does not provide sufficient support to Ukraine. Ukraine needs support that will help it withstand Russia and ensure the supply of weapons and equipment necessary to counter Russian aggression. Considering that the Russian military industry has certain technical and financial limitations, support from allies can be a crucial factor in Ukraine's success. In this context, the decision to provide military assistance and equipment to Ukraine is critically important.

Additionally, support for Ukraine in economic and political aspects is also an important factor. Imposing sanctions against Russia can help reduce its ability to engage in military actions

in Ukraine and decrease the level of aggression in the region as a whole. Additional assistance to Ukraine in the recovery of its economy and social sphere can also help reduce the impact of Russian propaganda and support Ukrainian society.

Overall, despite the pessimistic outlook of the first scenario, it demonstrates that the war in Ukraine can have diverse consequences. Therefore, it is important to provide support to Ukraine in various aspects and consider different scenarios for the development of events to ensure success in this war.

Putin believes that continuing the war will help him weaken Ukraine's economy, undermine its morale, and exhaust its partners. He is trying to hold on until the end of 2024, hoping that Donald Trump will become the US President again and stop supporting Ukraine. However, Russian public opinion is turning against the war, the Russian economy is contracting, and Putin is becoming increasingly vulnerable. Europe is also starting to fill its gas storage facilities, which could lead to uninterrupted electricity supply to Ukraine during the winter. In this scenario, Western support could be critical for Ukraine.

In this war scenario, Russia will spend significant resources on supporting military operations but will not be able to achieve a decisive victory. Ukraine will retain control over certain territories but will become more vulnerable to Russian actions that could lead to economic and social decline. Nevertheless, the war will not end in a clear victory for either Russia or Ukraine.

In this scenario, the international community's reaction will differ from the previous one. On one hand, neighboring countries of Ukraine and European countries will continue to provide assistance and support. On the other hand, most Western countries will seek to maintain the status quo and avoid taking an active stance to avoid drawing Russia's attention.

In any case, these scenarios remind us that full-scale war could continue for a long time and have serious consequences for Ukraine, Russia, and the international community. The development of events depends on various factors, including international reactions, economic situation, and changes in leadership in different countries.

This scenario is the riskiest, as the threat of nuclear war remains high. If Russia feels a threat to its national security, it may decide to use nuclear weapons, leading to catastrophic consequences for the whole world.

However, if Ukraine is able to continue its offensive actions, this scenario could become a turning point in the war. It would also signify the success of the Ukrainian army in confronting the Russian army, boosting morale and increasing support from the Ukrainian population and the international community.

Nevertheless, to achieve victory, Ukraine needs to have sufficient military power and support from the international community, which should strengthen sanctions against Russia and provide even greater assistance in the military sphere.

In this scenario, the risk is significant, but preemptive actions by Ukraine can break the cycle of violence and bring peace. This will be a significant contribution to strengthening the national security of Ukraine and the whole of Europe.

In this scenario, Russia goes out of control and is ready to take the most extreme measures to defend its interests. Even the smallest mistake can lead to catastrophic consequences for Ukraine and the world.

Putin's nuclear ultimatum can become a decisive moment that starts a new era in human history. If Russia uses nuclear weapons, the scale of the tragedy will be unlimited, and the consequences will be felt for a long time across the entire planet.

However, even in such a case, there is always a certain risk and the need for diplomatic means and the establishment of international relations to ensure peace and security in the world.

In this scenario, Russia's victory will lead to many important consequences that will significantly affect the fate of Ukraine and the entire world. But I reiterate that this is just a fictional scenario, as war always has negative consequences and losses for all parties involved.

The Russian-Ukrainian war is associated with heavy fighting for the cities of Bakhmut and Avdiivka. Russia is making significant efforts to surround and capture these cities, while the Ukrainian Armed Forces are fighting hard to hold onto them. These cities have strategic importance as parts of logistic corridors and connections to other territories. The war in Ukraine has been ongoing since 2014 and has severely exhausted the country's economy and society.

In such a situation, it is important to remember that every servicemember of the Ukrainian Armed Forces participating in this Russian-Ukrainian war is crucial as.

The most optimistic scenario is one in which Ukraine maintains the initiative and momentum, inflicting significant losses on Russian forces. Ukraine can achieve victory, but it may come at a high cost. It is important to understand that war always brings suffering and losses for both sides, so a peaceful resolution to the conflict is the most desirable option for everyone. However, peaceful dialogue must be built on the principles of international law and Ukraine's demand for the withdrawal of Russian forces from all internationally recognized Ukrainian territory.

## Conclusions

Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that Ukraine holds an important position in the contemporary Russian neo-imperial project known as the "Russian world." Russia employs various methods such as military aggression, gas dependency, manipulation of history, and others to maintain its influence over Ukraine and prevent its European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The thesis examined the main causes and prerequisites of the war in Ukraine, the role of neo-imperialism and neo-Eurasianism in contemporary Russian ideology, the external aggression of the "Russian world" towards Ukraine, as well as the revision of history in the context of Russia's foreign policy. An analysis of scientific literature and documents was conducted, providing a deep understanding of the situation and identifying the challenges facing Ukraine in the context of the Russian neo-imperial project.

Ukraine should focus on strengthening its democratic institutions, economic development, and engagement with the international community to ensure its security and protection against Russian aggression. The following conclusions were formulated as a result of the research:

1. The Russian neo-imperial project "Russian world" has its roots in the ideology of Russian nationalism, which is based on the idea of Russian cultural and civilizational superiority over other nations.
2. This project envisions expanding Russia's sphere of influence in the world by establishing Russian control over regions that were once part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.
3. Ukraine has become the main target of Russian aggression due to its geopolitical location, the importance of its economy, and its national-cultural potential.
4. Russian propaganda and revisionist historiography are used to legitimize Russian aggression against Ukraine and alter the historical narrative of past events.
5. The international community should continue to make efforts to ensure Russia's compliance with international norms and democratic principles, as well as to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine.

The Russian neo-imperial project "Russian world" and its essence were analyzed, demonstrating that this project is based on the idea of returning to Russia's imperial past and reviving Russian national self-determination. The "Russian world" is founded on the idea of uniting all "Russian peoples" into a single civilization under Russia's leadership, where Russian culture and language play a predominant role.

The impact of the Russian neo-imperial project on Ukraine was also examined in the thesis. It was shown that Russian aggression against Ukraine is part of this project and aims to preserve Russia's influence in the region and restore the Russian imperial space.

It helps understand the reasons and consequences of Russia's external aggression against Ukraine and reveals the key ideological approaches to Russia's neo-imperial policies. The research also discusses the convergence of neo-imperial concepts with neo-fascism and highlights the importance of preserving historical memory and countering revisionism. Additionally, it identifies the problems and threats arising from Russia's neo-imperial project to international security and peaceful coexistence among nations. Thus, this study makes a significant contribution to understanding the importance of preserving the international order and the sovereignty of nations in the context of the contemporary political and social situation worldwide.

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