З.С. Зовнішні справи

**Свідоцтво про державну реєстрацію
друкованого засобу масової інформації**
Серія: КВ № 24816-14756 ПР від 31.03.2021 р.

**Журнал включено до
Переліку наукових фахових видань України (Категорія «Б»)**
з історичних наук (Наказ Міністерства освіти і науки України № 1188
від 24 вересня 2020 р.)

**Журнал представлено
у таких наукометричних базах**:
Google Scholar, НБУ ім. В.І. Вернадського,
Фахові видання України

F.A. | Foreign Affairs

**Certificate of State Registration
of the Print Media**
Series: KV No. 24816-14756 PR dated 31.03.2021

Journal included in List of Scientific Professional Publications of Ukraine (Category "B")
in Historical Sciences (Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine No. 1188
of September 24, 2020)

**Journal is presented
in the following scientometric databases:**
Google Scholar, VNLU, Professional publications
of Ukraine

ЗМІСТ/CONTENTS

Evangelia Petrychenko[*]

University of Nicosia

24005, 46 Makedonitissas Ave., Nicosia, Cyprus

Alla Sydorchuk

Chernivtsi National University

58012, 2 Kotsyubynsky, Chernivtsi, Ukraine

Anish Trichina

Czech Technical University in Prague

166 36, 1580/3 Jugoslávských partyzánů, Prague, Czech Republic

Ukraine's European Integration in the Context of War

Abstract. The relevance of the study is due to the need to conduct an investigation of the conditions, features, and prospects of Ukraine's European integration during the war, and an examination of the status of a candidate country for EU membership, granted to it on June 23, 2022. The purpose of the study is to establish the conditions and features of Ukraine's European integration in the context of the war and the problems and requirements that arise on the way to EU membership. Within the framework of the study, the following methods were used: dialectical, historical, and hermeneutical, formal-legal, legal-cognitive, logical, induction and deduction, modelling and system analysis, axiomatic etc. The results of the study are the definition of the main concepts and terms, namely: "European Union", "European integration", "status of a candidate for EU membership"; the features and purpose of the activities of European Union are established; the analysis of the European integration process of Ukraine during all the years of its independence is investigated and analysed; the achievements that Ukraine has already accomplished in cooperation with the European Union are clarified; the existing problems and obstacles to joining the European Union are established; the analysis of the features of Ukraine's European integration in the conditions of war is conducted; the features of the status of a candidate for membership in the European Union is investigated and established; the prospects and advantages that arise in connection with granting Ukraine the status of a candidate country for membership are established; the tasks and conditions that Ukraine must fulfill to join the EU are investigated and clarified; the experience of countries that have joined the European Union is analysed. The provisions in the study are of practical value primarily for the authorities and authorised persons, whose duties include conducting reforms and performing tasks for European integration of Ukraine

Keywords: candidate country, report, European Commission, SAPO, reforms

Introduction

The modern world order and the development of countries require improvement of integration processes (creation of new and expansion of existing associations). The European Union (hereinafter referred to as the EU), which unites the countries of Europe, is of great importance, namely economic, commercial, industrial, etc. The last expansion of the EU took place in 2013 when Croatia joined the Union [1]. As Teemu Makkonen and Timo Mice state, "The achievement of collaboration (between regional, national, or continental) scientific systems has been discussed in the academic literature for decades" [2].

According to the study by A. Goliutak, the majority of Ukrainian citizens support the European integration course, as they believe that membership in the European Union will improve their living conditions, provide an opportunity to find a better job, and also contribute to the development of all fields of life [3]. In addition, as A.Tereshchuk, adviser to Ilyashev & Partners law firm, notes: "Relations between Ukraine and the EU were established back in December 1991, when the EU officially recognised Ukraine's independence. Ukraine's policy on the development of relations with the EU is implemented based on the Law of Ukraine of July 1, 2010 "On the principles of internal and foreign policy", which establishes one of the main principles of foreign policy integration of Ukraine into the European political, economic, and legal space for the purpose of acquiring EU membership" [4].In 1991, Ukraine gained independence. The Constitution of

[*]*Corresponding author*

Ukraine stipulates the following provision, according to which Ukraine is an independent and democratic state [5]. After the declaration of independence, Ukraine set a course to become an equal member of the EU. Throughout the entire period of independence, Ukraine has repeatedly made attempts. 2014 was marked for Ukraine by the struggle for European integration, which led to the Maidan and military operations [6]. Since the beginning of hostilities, the European Union has had to take a pause on the issue of Ukraine's accession to the EU. However, despite all the problems, millions of Ukrainians have expressed a desire to become full members of the European Union.

As noted by L. Dzhigovska in her work, "The role of the EU in settling the situation in Ukraine. Materials of the student debate", "Today, the war on the territory of Ukraine is a very relevant subject since it concerns not only Ukraine but the whole Europe" [7]. This statement is also confirmed by Giuseppe Fama and Lisa Muziol in their report, namely: "Russia's invasion of Ukraine is the most serious security crisis in Europe in a decade, which prompted the EU to make unprecedented decisions on security, defence, and EU expansion. The broader formation of EU external activities has also begun, opening up new issues for Brussels and member states" [8].

8 years after the occupation of Crimea and the beginning of the military conflict in the East of Ukraine, on February 24, 2022, the Russian Federation launched a large-scale military invasion of the entire territory of Ukraine. According to a report by the European Commission at the end of June 2022, about 7 million people left Ukraine fleeing military operations and another 8 million were registered as internally displaced persons [9]. During the entire war, the European Union has provided and continues to provide Ukraine with substantial support (financial, economic, humanitarian, etc.). EU support was expressed in substantial political decisions, sanctions imposed, and financial support. Ukraine's accession to the European Union is great potential for the development of the economy, social, industrial, trade, and other fields. Thus, it is one of the most important tools for building the rule of law, developing democratic values and protecting national interests, and therefore the main task of Ukraine. By becoming a full member of the European Union, Ukraine will increase its credibility in the international arena.

The war started by the Russian Federation has made its own adjustments to Ukraine's European integration. The war caused great economic damage to Ukraine and pushed the European Union to make serious geopolitical decisions. Thus, compared to 2014, the EU has become more radical and resolute in its decisions, and more united in supporting Ukraine on its path to EU membership.

On February 28, 2022, the president of Ukraine submitted an application for membership in the European Union on behalf of the entire people of Ukraine under a simplified procedure, and on June 23, 2022, the leaders of all EU countries granted Ukraine the status of a candidate for membership in the European Union [10]. By providing the candidate's status, the EU confirmed its position on the desire to see Ukraine as part of the European Union. It was a truly historic and important decision for Ukraine,

which provided both advantages and new prospects, and set Ukraine a number of tasks and reforms.

In the scientific literature, the issue of "European integration of Ukraine in the conditions of war" has been investigated since 2014 with the outbreak of hostilities in the East of Ukraine, however, the problems of joining the EU after the start of a full-scale war in 2022 are not sufficiently investigated by researchers, although Ukraine's entry into the European Union itself has been the subject of study by many researchers, including: A. Voytsikhovskyi [11], V. Dudkevich [12], G. Dergacheva [6], and others. Based on the above, the author of the study will conduct an investigation of the features, conditions, and prospects of Ukraine's European integration in the conditions of war.

The main objectives of the study are:
– examination of problems and implemented reforms on the way to EU membership;
– establishment of the specific features and main purpose of the European Union's activities;
– analysis of the stages and work done on the way to joining the European Union;
– analysis of joining the European Union in conditions of war;
– identification of the specific features and advantages of the EU candidate status;
– tracing the experience of countries that have joined the European Union.

Thus, the purpose of the study is to identify the areas and features of Ukraine's movement towards EU membership. The relevance of the study is due to the need to investigate the European integration processes of Ukraine during a full-scale war. The originality of the study is the subject itself because with Ukraine obtaining the status of a candidate for EU membership, it became necessary to investigate the specific features of the process.

Materials and Methods

During the study, a number of methods of scientific knowledge were used. It was based on general scientific and special methods of cognition. The main research methods are logical, dialectical, and formal legal methods. Thus, using the dialectical method, an analysis of the stages and features of Ukraine's attempts to join the European Union was conducted. The historical method was used to clarify the points and processes that were implemented by Ukraine to join the EU. The use of the hermeneutical method enabled the interpretation of the texts of normative legal acts and scientific materials of foreign origin for the investigation of Ukraine's European integration into the EU.

The legal recognition method consisted in using methods and techniques of cognition, ideas to achieve a scientific result. Based on this method, the features and requirements that a candidate country for membership in the European Union must meet were highlighted. Using the formal-legal method, the main requirements and tasks that are necessary for Ukraine's membership in the EU were established. The logical method was used to cover and highlight the features of the concepts that were indicated in the study, namely the concepts of "European Union", "European integration", "status of a candidate country for EU membership".

An effective method of studying the subject of the study is the axiomatic method, through the use of which the European integration process of Ukraine in war conditions was analysed. The use of the systematic research method enabled the analysis of the fundamental concepts mentioned in the study, helped in clarifying the status of the candidate for EU membership, and also through this method, the problems and prospects of accession of Ukraine to the European Union in war conditions were established.

Quite an important role in the study of the material was played by the synthesis method, which consisted in studying the achievements of countries that are full members of the European Union. The system-structural approach allowed investigating the main problems that arise during European integration of Ukraine. Using the comparative legal method, the achievements of the countries that have become full members of the EU (the Baltic states, Poland, Croatia) were clarified. The modelling method was used to identify the main challenges that Ukraine faces for full EU membership. The structural-functional method was used to identify the advantages of the EU candidate status granted to Ukraine.

Statistical and sociological methods were used to investigate and justify the feasibility of membership in the European Union. The argumentation method was used to justify the truth of the judgments indicated in the study. The system analysis method was used to draw conclusions based on the results of the study. An axiomatic method was also effective, through the use of which the main conditions that Ukraine must meet for EU membership were analysed. By using such methods of scientific knowledge as the laws of formal logic, and, accordingly, such methods as induction, deduction, and analysis, the essence of the main concepts of the study was determined.

Results

The concept of "European integration" should be understood as the rapprochement of a particular country with the European Union. "European integration" is a new concept and phenomenon that appeared in the 20th century. Ukraine's membership in the European Union is the beginning of life according to new standards, and new opportunities for students, entrepreneurs, product manufacturers, etc. Today, all state and local authorities are working together for Ukraine's early accession to the EU.

The European Union is a political and economic union that includes countries that have united based on common democratic values to achieve peace, stability, and development [13]. The European Union is the successor to the European coal and steel community and protects and adheres to the values embedded by the European Economic Community. Today, the European Union consists of 27 countries and is in the process of expansion, as a considerable number of states (potential members) have the status of a candidate for EU membership. During its existence, the European Union has become the most influential association that plays a substantial role in the global economy, culture, and politics.

Ukraine's membership in the EU will provide it with the following benefits: developing democracy and stability;

fighting corruption; reforming the judiciary; improving the quality of goods and reducing prices; protecting human rights in existing institutions of the European Union; social guarantees; increasing employment opportunities and educational services. Among the positive consequences and benefits of Ukraine's membership in the EU, it is also necessary to highlight: economic: the emergence of new markets for Ukrainian producers, economic stability, reduction of customs tariffs, etc.; political: involvement in the collective security of the EU and ensuring the inviolability of Ukraine and the prevention of conflicts in this regard; social: maximum guarantee of compliance with the rule of law and the guarantee and protection of human rights [14]. EU membership will provide Ukraine with the opportunity to join the common sales and trade market of the European Union and introduce a common EU currency in Ukraine.

For many years, Ukraine was located between the European Union and the Russian Federation as a so-called "buffer zone" [15]. Ukraine's geopolitical uncertainty has led to an increased level of conflict. Understanding the efforts and progress made by Ukraine to join the EU, the Russian Federation tried its best to keep Ukraine within its political, economic, and other influence. This can be explained by the fact that: Ukraine provides the Russian Federation with its history, and its "imperialism"; Ukraine is a favourable economic partner for Russia; the use by the Russian Federation of a favourable transit position, which is due to the location of Ukraine on the world map; Ukraine can provide an unnecessary for the authoritarian political system of Russia an "overflow" of democracy, which threatens the stability of undemocratic political regimes of post-Soviet countries [12].

The European Union has been and remains one of Ukraine's most important partners, especially after the start of the full-scale war launched by the Russian Federation. From the first days of the war, the European Union strongly condemns the full-scale invasion and military operations on the territory of Ukraine launched by the Russian Federation. As the European Council notes: "EU strongly condemns the decision of the Russian Federation to recognise the non-government-controlled areas of Donetsk and Luhansk, and Russia's unprovoked and unjustified military aggression against Ukraine." In response to the full-scale war, the European Union adopted six packages of sanctions against Russia [16].

The first attempts on the path of EU membership were made by Ukraine in 1994. It was in 1994 that the partnership and cooperation agreement was signed, which consolidated the first steps towards EU membership [17]. A new stage of cooperation between the EU and Ukraine began after the signing of the Association agreement [18] (hereinafter referred to as the Agreement). The signing of the above-mentioned agreement led to the struggle for Ukraine's European integration path (Revolution of dignity). The agreement was ratified in 2014, but only in 2017 it entered into full force [18]. The Agreement consists of two parts – political and economic.

The signing of the Agreement was an important stage on the way to concluding an agreement on accession of Ukraine to the European Union and is also the largest

international legal act that was concluded by the European Union with a third country [18]. The purpose of the association Agreement is expressed in: 1) the European integration of Ukraine and 2) the development of Ukraine [19]. The main goal, which is enshrined in the association agreement, is to: "Promote gradual rapprochement between Ukraine and the EU, based on common values and close privileged ties, deepen Ukraine's involvement in EU policies, programmes, and agencies" [18].

According to the Constituent documents of the European Union (the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, the Treaty of Rome of 1957, the Copenhagen Treaty of the European Council of 1993), there are 5 main groups of requirements for candidates for EU membership, namely: 1) the economic criterion (effective national market economy); 2) the geographical criterion (each candidate country must belong geographically to Europe); 3) the political criterion (the candidate country for EU membership must fully comply with the principles of democracy, the rule of law, respect and guarantee of human rights, the principle of decentralisation and electability, etc.); 4) the criterion of institutionality; 5) the criterion of the ability to absorb new EU members [12].

Cooperation between Ukraine and the European Union today is expressed in the following achievements: granting Ukraine the status of a country with a market economy; an agreement was signed between Ukraine and the European coal and steel community on trade in steel products [20]; an agreement on involvement in the COSME programme (Competitiveness of Enterprises and Small and Medium-sized Enterprises) was ratified [21]; an Agreement on Common Aviation Space [22]; Ukraine's membership and involvement in the "energy EU" were started [14]. Another achievement of Ukraine on the way to membership in the European Union was the granting of a visa-free regime for Ukraine to enter the countries of the Schengen area.

During the war, Ukraine, represented by the president of Ukraine, the prime minister, and the chairman of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, applied for Ukraine's membership in the EU on February 28 [23] (hereinafter referred to as the Application). Thus, the statement stated: "Ukraine respects the values enshrined in article 2 of the Treaty on European Union, and has the honour to apply for membership in accordance with article 49 of this Treaty. Ukraine, paying such a huge price for the European choice and security of Europe, will be able to go through this path" [24]. This was a new stage in the path of Ukraine's European integration process.

After submitting an application for EU membership, the president of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, passed a questionnaire to the President of Ukraine, which Ukraine spent less than a month completing. On June 17, 2022, the European Commission made recommendations on granting Ukraine the status of a candidate country for EU membership but under certain conditions, namely, the implementation of certain reforms in the fight against corruption, ensuring the rule of law, respect for fundamental rights, etc. [10].

The European Parliament adopted a resolution on the status of candidates of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, and Georgia, which also applied for EU membership, where they noted that these countries adhere to and demonstrate a desire to join the European Union, and EU membership should take place in accordance with the Copenhagen Criteria [10]. On June 23, 2022, Ukraine was officially granted the status of a candidate for EU membership. The term "status of a candidate for EU membership" should be understood as the status granted to a state that seeks to become a full member of the EU. Until June 23, 2022, 5 countries had the status of EU candidate countries, namely: Turkey (since 1999), Montenegro (since 2010), Albania (since 2014), North Macedonia (since 2005), Serbia (since 2012) [25]. In addition to these countries, Bosnia and Hersegovina and Kosovo have the status of potential EU member states. During a meeting with the president of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen in Kyiv in June 2022, President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyy noted that Ukraine, in cooperation with the European Union, will be able to quickly restore the state and eliminate the consequences caused by the full-scale war launched by the Russian Federation [26].

Ukraine expects to become an equal and full member of the EU by the end of the 2020s, but there are a number of tasks that Ukraine needs to solve, and which may block its accession to the EU. In particular, one of the factors on the way to membership in the European Union is the war started by the Russian Federation against Ukraine, and the demographic indicator, since the population of Ukraine is approximately 40 million people, and the geographical location of Ukraine (a substantial part of the territory borders with Russia and Belarus). In addition, a substantial role in joining the EU can be played by the position of other countries (Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro, etc.), which have been in the status of candidates for a long time.

After applying for membership in the European Union and obtaining a candidate for EU membership, Ukraine will need to take a number of the following steps: complete a number of tasks and implement reforms, negotiate, agree, and approve the accession treaty, which then has to be approved by the European Parliament and the European Council, and after the official signing, the accession treaty has yet to be ratified by all EU member states and Ukraine in accordance with their constitutional norms, etc. [27]. An important step in the process of European integration should be a decision on the process of negotiations with Ukraine on membership in the European Union. It is necessary for the European Commission to adopt a positive report on the results achieved by Ukraine on the implementation of 7 key tasks that the European Union highlighted when granting Ukraine the status of a candidate country to start the relevant negotiations, namely: reforming the Constitutional Court; appointing the head of the Specialised Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (hereinafter referred to as the SAPO); implementing an anti-oligarchic law; making changes to the legislation on national minorities; – implementation of judicial reform; implementation of anti-money laundering measures; fight against corruption [28].

Today, Ukraine faces two main challenges to joining the European Union. The first is the war started by the Russian Federation because it is difficult to fulfil the conditions and conduct reforms while at war. The second challenge is the position of the EU member states since even after granting Ukraine candidate status, not all EU countries share the same opinion on the timing of Ukraine's accession to the EU. It is necessary to understand that Ukraine's entry into the European Union is also necessary for the EU since Ukraine has a rich economic and industrial potential that can strengthen the European Union.

As noted above, Ukraine needs to fulfil 7 key tasks to join the EU, the main ones being the appointment of the head of the SAPO. Thus, today, in the conditions of war, the European Union allocates substantial financial support to Ukraine, so in this regard, Ukraine's European partners want to see that anti-corruption bodies exist and properly and effectively exercise their powers. The Competition Commission, which was specially created to elect the head of the SAPO, approved the results of the competition, according to which the detective of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau O. Klymenko was chosen as the winner, which means that he should become the next head of the SAPO after approval by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine. The newly appointed Prosecutor General of Ukraine, A. Kostin, approved O. Klymenko as the head of SAPO [29]. Thus, Ukraine is moving step by step, in the conditions of war, towards EU membership, implementing reforms and fulfilling the tasks provided by the European Commission.

Discussion

Such researchers as K. Adenauer and Zh. Monnet in their writings noted that "Europeanism" is the main idea of the century and requires European citizens to combine efforts, knowledge, and experience to achieve common interests [12]. The concept of "Europeanism" should be understood as a political doctrine, the essence of which is that all Europeans have common traditions and values that go beyond national identity.

Ukraine's European integration course is an integral part of political, economic, and social choice. This statement is supported both by the author and by other researchers who have investigated this issue. As A. Tereshchuk notes, Voytsikhovskyi notes in his work, "Ukraine on the way to European integration: current state and prospects": "Ukraine's course towards European integration is a consequence of its independence. The origins of Ukraine's European integration are the history of the Ukrainian people and awareness of the right to live in a democratic, economically developed, socially oriented country" [11].

E. Teise believes that Ukraine's path to full EU membership is a task for generations to come, as post-war reconstruction will be necessary, which may complicate EU membership and make it even more difficult than it was before the war, given the challenges in the reform process [30].

Among the processes and reasons that hinder the process of Ukraine's accession to the EU, the following should be highlighted: delaying the reform process; the position among Ukrainian politicians regarding the foreign policy and foreign economic course; a substantial level of corruption in Ukraine; a substantial duration of negotiation and consultation processes; etc. [31].

According to V. Dudkevich: "Despite the fact that in the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR of December 25, 1990, "On the implementation of the Declaration on state sovereignty of Ukraine in the field of External Relations", the European integration area of Ukraine to the EU was fixed, the first real steps towards unification with the European Union were implemented only in 2004 during the Orange Revolution" [12].

L. Dzhigovska noted that the European Union has been supporting Ukraine since the first days of the conflict, especially in the humanitarian field, and announced its intentions to continue providing support in various fields of life [7]. In addition to humanitarian assistance, the European Union and EU countries also provide financial and investment support. As noted by N. Kushvara in her study "EU investment support as a tool to fight the war in eastern Ukraine": "To provide Ukraine with military equipment to protect the territorial integrity and fight the war, a sustainable economy is necessary, which is impossible in war conditions. It is due to the EU's investment assistance that Ukraine can embark on a sustainable path of development" [27].

As for the prospects of Ukraine's accession to the European Union, it will be extremely difficult to do this during the war, since it is influenced by a number of factors mentioned above, in particular, military actions. In addition, the admission process itself will be quite complex and time-consuming. After granting Ukraine the status of a candidate country, a number of specific actions need to be taken. As A. Tereshchuk notes, It will be difficult to negotiate membership in the European Union: "The main goal of the rather gruelling negotiations is to bring the candidate country as close as possible to all the rules, legislation, and political structures of the EU. After the discussion of all 35 sections is completed, a draft accession agreement is drawn up. The text must be unanimously ratified by the Council and all national parliaments of each EU member state, and by a majority vote in the European Parliament" [27]. According to the author, successful negotiations last up to five years, but experience shows that some countries can be in the status of a candidate country for decades. There are opinions among researchers, experts, and legal professionals that Ukraine's accession to the European Union will be long and difficult. There are even those who express the opinion that Ukraine's accession will take longer than Turkey, which has been a potential candidate for EU membership since 1999 [32]. According to the author, Ukraine should not put the experience of Turkey as an example, because Turkey's accession to the EU is in the process of pause since Turkey does not comply with the requirements for ensuring the rule of law and respect for human rights [33].

As noted by Yu. Masyk, "The experience of the Baltic states (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia), and the study of the achievements of these countries after joining, is important for Ukraine's accession to the EU" [31]. Since Ukraine's priority goal is EU membership, it is quite appropriate to investigate the process of the Baltic states'

accession to the European Union, because Ukraine has a common history with these countries. Thus, the experience of the Baltic states can help to overcome the difficulties that arise when joining the EU, namely in implementing a number of reforms, in the economic and social field, in the field of state governance, etc. Before joining the European Union, the Baltic states had the lowest economic performance among EU member states. However, after joining the EU and the reforms conducted, there was rapid economic growth, increased investment, improved international image, reduced unemployment, accelerated growth in a number of service sectors, increased net funding revenues from EU institutions, etc [31].

Another example for Ukraine on the way to EU membership is the experience of Croatia, which joined the European Union in 2013. The state-forming process of Croatia is similar to the state-forming process of Ukraine, and in addition, as in Ukraine, there was also a military conflict on the territory of Croatia. After Croatia achieved the victory over Serbia, it became a full member of the EU. However, the process of Croatia's entry into the European Union was difficult, as after winning the conflict, Croatia was accused of violating the rights of Serbian citizens and international humanitarian law [34]. There were many scandals related to the Croatian authorities, in particular, there were accusations of corruption and an economic crisis. The new leadership was able to bring the country out of the post-war isolation regime [34]. Thus, the newly elected leadership conducted a number of economic, political and social reforms that allowed raising the economic level of Croatia and developing the tourism sector, which brought considerable income to the state budget.

It is also appropriate to investigate and consider the achievements of Poland after joining the European Union. Thus, Poland became a member of the European Union in 2004 and almost immediately adapted to the political, economic, social, and other fields of the EU. Poland's GDP has increased 2-fold in just 10 years of being part of the European Union [35]. Polish manufacturers and enterprises have become competitive on an equal basis with other EU members, Polish citizens have the opportunity to work in the EU without any problems, and students – to study and receive scholarships. In the early years, Poland created conditions for attracting investment and, in fact, became a "construction site" of the European Union.

Despite all the difficulties that Ukraine faced in the past and today, namely a full-scale war, membership in the European Union is the desire of Ukraine to develop a democratic country, consolidate the values of the rule of law and respect for human rights, and achieve economic, social, and political development.

Conclusions

The concept of "European integration" should be understood as the entry of a particular country into the European Union. Today, the European Union consists of 27 countries. The last enlargement of the European Union took place in 2013, when Croatia joined the EU. Since the declaration of independence, Ukraine has chosen the path to membership in the European Union.

The "Revolution of dignity", the occupation of Crimea, military operations in the East of Ukraine, and the full-scale war launched by the Russian Federation on February 24, 2022, finally determined the European integration path of Ukraine. Since the beginning of hostilities in the East of Ukraine and the beginning of a full-scale war, the European Union has supported Ukraine and its sovereignty by providing financial, social, humanitarian assistance, and imposing a number of sanctions against the Russian Federation.

On February 28, the president of Ukraine submitted an application for membership in the European Union, and on June 23, Ukraine received the status of a candidate for EU membership. Starting from this moment, Ukraine must fulfil a number of tasks and reforms that were provided by the European Commission and the European Council, which were specified by the author in the framework of this study. Thus, Ukraine's path to the European Union will not be easy, as it is necessary to conduct a number of reforms and bring legislation, economic, political, social, and industrial fields to the standards of the European Union.

Ukraine's European integration in the context of war will be a difficult process, as Ukraine faces a number of obstacles on the way to the EU, namely the war that has begun, which makes it difficult to conduct reforms and fulfil the conditions provided by the European Commission, and the position of individual EU countries that are sceptical about the timing of Ukraine's accession to the European Union, measuring this period in decades. However, during the period of independence, Ukraine has accomplished a number of substantial achievements and every year loses the remnants of the past inherited from USSR. The study also analyses the achievements and prospects that were of other countries after joining the European Union and clearly shows the economic, political, and social development of these countries, namely the Baltic states, Poland, and Croatia.

Granted to Ukraine on June 23, the status of a candidate country for EU membership sets Ukraine both a number of responsibilities and provides a number of advantages regarding the post-war reconstruction of Ukraine, improving the economic and social level, increasing jobs, and advantages for enterprises and industry. However, a candidate for EU membership does not mean instant accession to the European Union, since Ukraine, state bodies and the entire people of Ukraine will have to go through a long and difficult path to unite with the EU, namely negotiations and the conclusion and signing of the Treaty on accession to the European Union. It is necessary to fulfil all the requirements provided by both the European Commission and other bodies of the European Union properly and efficiently to join the EU as soon as possible. It is also necessary to conduct studies in the field of respect for human rights and ensuring democracy since these are among the most important components that every EU member state or country wishing to be a full member of the European Union must meet and adhere to.

Thus, the full-scale war launched by the Russian Federation against Ukraine has shown that Ukraine is already closely cooperating with the European Union. Ukraine's European integration in the context of war will be

difficult, however, Ukraine has already begun to fulfil the tasks set by the European Union, in particular, the appointment of the head of the SAPO. Currently, all state bodies of Ukraine, the people of Ukraine, and the European Union are working together on the process of Ukraine's membership in the EU.

References

[1]   Kvasha, O., & Syniakova, A. (2019). Ukraine and the EU: Problems and prospects of integration in modern conditions. *Scientific Bulletin of the Uzhhorod National University. Series "International Economic Relations and the World Economy"*, 23, 112-117.

[2]   Makkonen, T., & Mice, T. (2016). Scientific cooperation between "old" and "new" Member States: Has accession to the European Union made a difference? *Scientometrics,* 106, 1193-1215.

[3]   Golyutyak, A. (2013). Prospects for Ukraine's accession to the European Union. *Odesa Law Academy National University*, 23-25. Retrieved from http://dspace.onua.edu.ua/bitstream/handle/11300/4850/Golotyak%20AR.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

[4]   Tereshchuk, A. (2022). Ukraine's accession to the EU: Benefits for citizens and businesses. *Liga Zakon.* Retrieved from https://jurliga.ligazakon.net/analitycs/211004_vstup-ukrani-do-s-perevagi-dlya-gromadyan-ta-bznesu.

[5]   Constitution of Ukraine. (1996, June). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/254%D0%BA/96-%D0%B2%D1%80#Text.

[6]   Dergacheva, G., & Smolnikova, V. (2021). Impact of European integration on the strategic development of enterprises. In *Business, innovations, management: Problems and prospects: II international scientific and practical conference* (pp. 160-161). Retrieved from http://confmanagement.kpi.ua/proc/article/view/230861.

[7]   Dzhigovska, L. (2017). *The role of the EU in settling the situation in Ukraine.* Lviv: Lviv Ivan Franko National University.

[8]   Fama, G., & Muziol, L. (2022). *The war in Ukraine raises new questions for EU foreign policy*. Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/report/world/war-ukraine-raises-new-questions-eu-foreign-policy.

[9]   Mathernova, K. (2022). *European neighborhood policy and enlargement negotiations. Solidarity with the Ukrainian people.* Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/european-neighbourhood-policy/countries-region/ukraine_en.

[10]   Motion for a Resolution No. 2022/2716 (RSP) "On the Status of Candidates of Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia". (2022, June). Retrieved from https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?lang=en&reference=2022/2716(RSP).

[11]   Voytsikhovskyi, A. (2009). Ukraine on the way to European integration: Current state and prospects. *Bulletin of Kharkiv National University named after V.N. Karazin. Series: Law,* 6(872), 158-162.

[12]   Dudkevich, V. (2021). The process of Ukraine's integration into the European Union in the context of contradictions of intra-European development. *Political Life*, 1, 119-124. doi: 10.31558/2519-2949.2021.1.15.

[13]   Representation of the EU in Ukraine. The European union: What it is and what it does. (2018). Retrieved from https://eu-ua.kmu.gov.ua/sites/default/files/-inline/files/pro.yesdf.pdf.

[14]   Homonai, V. (2020). *Constitutional and legal provision of acquisition full membership of Ukraine in the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.* Uzhgorod: Uzhgorod National University, Helvetica Publishing House.

[15]   Zaremba, O., & Fedorenko, O. (2013). *Geopolitical ideas and hypotheses in Ukrainian political thought of the 20th – early 21st centuries.* Kyiv: Zoloti Vorota Publishing House.

[16]   The EU's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine. (2022). Retrieved from https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-response-ukraine-invasion/.

[17]   Agreement No. 237/94-BP "On Partnership and Cooperation Between Ukraine and the European Communities and Their Member States". (1994, November). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/-998_012#Text.

[18]   Agreement No. 1678-VII "On Association Between Ukraine on the One Hand, and the European Union, the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, on the Other Hand". (2014, September). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_011#Text.

[19]   Kuzyo, M., Khorolskyi, R., & Chernikov, D. (2015). *Association agreement between Ukraine and the EU: Content and implementation*. Retrieved from https://parlament.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/1.pdf.

[20]   Agreement No. 994_587 "Between the Government of Ukraine and the European Community on Trade in Certain Steel Products". (2005, July). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/994_587#Text.

[21]   Agreement No. 1904-VIII "Between the Government of Ukraine and the European Union on Ukraine's participation in the EU program "Competitiveness of Small and Medium Enterprises (COSME) (2014-2020)"". (2017, February). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/984_025-16#Text.

[22]   The Law of Ukraine No. 2067-IX "On the Ratification of the Agreement Between Ukraine, on the One Hand, and the European Union and its Member States, on the Other Hand, on Common Aviation Space". (2022, February). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2067-20#Text.

[23]   Tereshchuk, A. (2022). *Ukraine's accession to the EU: Benefits for citizens and businesses.* Retrieved from https://jurliga.ligazakon.net/analitycs/211004_vstup-ukrani-do-s-perevagi-dlya-gromadyan-ta-bznesu.

[24]   Volodymyr Zelenskyy signed the application for Ukraine's membership in the European Union. (2022). Retrieved from https://www.president.gov.ua/news/volodimir-zelenskij-pidpisav-zayavku-na-chlenstvo-ukrayini-u-73249.

[25] Commission welcomes green light to open accession negotiations with Albania and North Macedonia. (2020). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_20_519.

[26] Ukraine and the EU will be able to quickly restore the country after the war – Zelensky. (2022). Retrieved from https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-uarazom/3504857-ukraina-i-es-zmozut-svidko-vidnoviti-krainu-pisla-vijni-zelenskij.html.

[27] Kushvara, N. (2017). *EU investment support as a tool to fight the war in eastern Ukraine*. Lviv: Lviv Ivan Franko National University.

[28] Sheyko, Yu. (2022). *What are the conditions of candidate status for Ukraine proposed by the European Commission*. Retrieved from http://surl.li/edorv.

[29] Rzheutska, L. (2022). *Appointment of the head of the SAP: The most interesting is yet to come*. Retrieved from https://www.dw.com/uk/pryznachennia-kerivnyka-sap-naitsikavishe-shche-poperedu/a-62528682.

[30] Teise, E. (2022). *Ukraine needs a European perspective. Comment. Author and columnist of the Ukrainian edition of DW*. Retrieved from https://www.dw.com/uk/komentar-ukraini-potribna-yevropeiska-perspektyva/a-61069093.

[31] Masyk, Yu. (2020). Stages of the European integration process of the Baltic countries: Experience for Ukraine. *Bulletin of NTUU "KPI". Politology. Sociology. Right,* 2(46), 22-27.

[32] Kurylo, O. (2019). Integration of Turkey into the European Union: Organizational and legal aspect. *Entrepreneurship, economy and law. Serias " International Law ",* 19, 357-360.

[33] Stolker, T. (2013). The accession of Turkey into the EU: Reasons for the slow progress. *Agricultural Economics and Rural Policy*, 47. Retrieved from https://edepot.wur.nl/251421.

[34] Kodis, E. (2020). Foreign experience of implementing European integration policy in Ukraine. Geopolitical priorities of Ukraine. *Collection of Scientific Papers*, 2(25), 121-128.

[35] Luniaka, V., Sashkova, A., & Shuba, T. (2017). The path of economic development of Poland before and after joining the European Union. *Economy and Society*, 13, 150-156. Retrieved from https://economyandsociety.in.ua/journals/13_ukr/25.pdf.

Євангелія Петриченко

Університет Нікосії
24005, просп. Македонітіссас, 46, м. Нікосія, Кіпр

Алла Сидорчук

Чернівецький національний університет ім. Юрія Федьковича
58012, вул. Коцюбинського, 2, м. Чернівці, Україна

Аніш Трихіна

Чеський технічний університет в Празі
166 36, Югославських Партизанів, 1580/3, м. Прага, Чехія

Євроінтеграція України в умовах війни

Анотація. Актуальність статті зумовлена необхідністю проведення дослідження умов, особливостей та перспектив європейської інтеграції України під час війни, а також дослідження статусу країни-кандидата в членство ЄС, наданого їй 23 червня 2022 року. Мета статті полягає у встановлені умов та особливостей євроінтеграції України в умовах війни та проблеми і вимоги, які виникають на шляху до членства в ЄС. У межах роботи були використані наступні методи: діалектичний, історичний та герменевтичний, формально-юридичний, правопізнавальний, логічний метод, метод індукції та дедукції, моделювання та системного аналізу, аксіоматичний та інші. Результатами статті є визначення основних понять та термінів, а саме: «Європейський Союз», «євроінтеграція», «статус кандидата на вступ до ЄС»; встановлено особливості та мету діяльності Європейського Союзу; досліджено та проведено аналіз євроінтеграційного процесу України протягом всіх років її незалежності; з'ясування досягнень, які Україна вже досягнула у співпраці із Європейським Союзом; встановлено наявні проблеми та перешкоди для вступу у Європейський Союз; здійснено аналіз особливостей європейської інтеграції України в умовах війни; досліджено та встановлено особливості статусу кандидатства на членство в Європейському Союзі; встановлено перспективи та переваги, які виникають у зв'язку із наданням Україні статусу країни-кандидата на вступ до Європейського Союзу; досліджено та з'ясовано завдання та умови, які повинна виконати Україна для вступу в ЄС; проаналізовано досвід країн, які приєдналися до Європейського Союзу. Положення, які закріплені у статті становлять практичну цінність насамперед для органів влади та уповноважених осіб, до обов'язків яких належить проведення реформ та виконання завдань для євроінтеграції України

Ключові слова: країна-кандидат, звіт, Європейська Комісія, САП, реформи

Zlata Boronchyk[*]

King Danylo University

76018, 35 E. Konovaltsia Str., Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine

University of Wroclaw

50-137, 1 Plac Uniwersytecki, Wroclaw, Poland

Countering Russian Propaganda During the War

Abstract. The conflict between Russia and Ukraine has been going on for a substantial period of history, but over the past decade, the confrontation between the two countries has taken on a major scale. At first, Russia resorted to conducting a hybrid war, and from February 24, 2022, it began a full-scale war. In the course of this, the enemy uses information influence as one of the types of weapons, so today the ability to fight back is very important. The purpose of the study will be to consider and find ways to counter Russian propaganda. In the course of writing the study, the following research methods are used: information analysis, synthesis, specification, and generalisation. As a result of the study, a large amount of information of various types is considered, in particular, studies, books of popular science genre, legislative acts, statements and appeals of high-ranking officials, and, most importantly, publications in the media. In the course of analysing this information, it is determined which aspects of life are affected by Russian propaganda, those include: worldview, history, and information on the conduct of military operations. In addition, the methods Russians use to spread propaganda are considered, in particular, television and social networks. Thus, it is concluded that countering Russian propaganda should take place in the field of education, in particular, the introduction of media literacy courses, the development of the historical industry, statements by Ukrainian state institutions, and cybersecurity. The study creates a new perspective and ground for further investigation by sociologists who study the phenomenon of Russian propaganda in detail, teachers working to develop new teaching methods, and specialists in the field of cybersecurity

Keywords: hybrid warfare, information influence, worldview, history, fake

Introduction

At the time of writing, Ukraine is in a state of full-scale war with the Russian Federation. In addition, Russia has been waging a hybrid war against Ukraine for a long time. The influence of Russian propaganda is very powerful, so it is almost the most important tool in the course of the war with Ukraine. Thus, the definition of effective ways to counter Russian propaganda takes place not only from the standpoint of science but also from the standpoint of winning the war of the entire Ukrainian people. Thus, the relevance of the study is that Ukrainians now live in these realities and fight every day with Russian propaganda, which wants to settle irrevocably in people's minds.

The problem with this examination is that the system of Russian propaganda is quite complex and multifaceted. Given this, it is difficult to identify some specific universal methods that can be used to protect oneself completely from the influence of Russian propaganda. Therefore, before proceeding to the consideration of means of countering propaganda, it is necessary to determine which areas of life are affected by the Russian propaganda

system, and what methods of influence it uses. In addition, the research subject is opposition to propaganda in war conditions, so the study considers certain general aspects of counteraction that can be used both during the war and without being in this state. However, the main emphasis will be placed on ways to counteract during a full-scale war.

Throughout history, since the beginning of the existence of the Russian Empire, Russians have cherished the myth of a single people, and so it was after Ukraine gained independence. However, propaganda began to operate most strongly after Russia's blatant aggression in the spring of 2014. In the period of eight years, before the start of a full-scale war, the Russians increased their propaganda influence. Thus, the reaction to the spread of disinformation arose among Ukrainian researchers back in 2014 and has been increasing since then. In particular, it is worth mentioning the papers of I. Malyk [1] and A. Kavierina [2]. In these studies, the authors consider the influence of mass media on the consciousness of the population in general. I. Malyk considers Russian propaganda

holistically and deduces a system of advice on how to counteract it. Instead, A. Kavierina in her work relies on a survey of ordinary citizens, and based on this, draws some tips for improving the Ukrainian media in the context of countering Russia.

In the field of history, a substantial number of papers have also been created to counter Russian propaganda. First of all, it is necessary to recall the book of the Institute of National Memory, "War and Myth" [3]. This book provides answers to the main manipulative theses against Ukrainian history. It is also necessary to mention P. Horikhovskyi, the author describes methodological advice for history teachers [4].

The activities of foreign authors are notable because this is a sign that the problem of the influence of Russian propaganda has a global scale, and does not pose a threat only to Ukraine. In particular, A. Fisher [5] describes how Russians demonise Ukrainians in front of the whole world. T. Todor [6] in the paper regards such a phenomenon as hybrid warfare, and in the course of the description focuses on the threats that it poses.

Thus, the study will provide an overview of what Russian propaganda is and what impact it has on people. Various aspects and methods of Russian propaganda will be described. All these actions will be taken for the sake of one goal – to determine ways to counteract the propaganda system of the Russian Federation. The originality of this study is that previously this subject was not as widely covered by researchers.

Materials and Methods

When writing the paper, a number of the following methods were used: information analysis, synthesis, specification, and generalisation.

In the first stage of writing the study, the method of information analysis was applied. In the course of propaganda examination, a large number of sources were used, which first of all should be checked for reliability. Separately, it was worth paying attention to what kind of idea certain words carry, since the study of the influence of propaganda does not involve the use of exclusively truthful sources of information. For example, this study considered the study and statements of the president of the Russian Federation, the main ideas of which are opposite to reality, but the reference to them was made to consider the essence of Russia's propaganda narratives. In addition, the study divided which areas of life are most affected by Russian propaganda and which methods are most used. The implementation of such a distribution required the analysis of a substantial number of Russian sources. The study also considered Ukrainian information, which was created to counter information aggression. Thus, an analysis of what the Ukrainian media is talking about was conducted.

In the second stage of the study, the selected information was synthesised. In the course of writing the study, a large number of heterogeneous sources were selected. In particular, Ukrainian information resources attracted a large amount of information that is distributed from the media, in addition, some books were used in which the authors regard countering enemy information aggression,

and previous papers were considered. Given that the subject of the study is the examination of countering Russian propaganda, some Russian primary sources were considered, which were created to defend their propaganda ideas. Some foreign sources were also considered, in particular, by British, American, and Spanish authors. Thus, it can be noted that a large amount of diverse information was used in the study, which must be combined into one whole, so the method of information synthesis was used for this purpose.

In the third stage of writing this paper, the specification method was used. Russian propaganda covers many subjects, so in the context of the study, it was necessary to select and focus on important aspects. In addition, the concretisation method was used to show the purpose of the Russian authorities defending certain theses. In particular, the use of this method is manifested in the context of considering information about the history of Ukraine. In this case, it was necessary to specify which aspects of history Russians pay the most attention to, and what consequences this entails in general.

In the fourth stage of the study, the generalisation method was used. In the course of writing the study, a lot of materials were used and some conclusions were drawn that needed to be summarised in the context of what methods of countering Russian propaganda would be effective in war conditions.

Results

The Russian propaganda machine is very strong and multidimensional, so it affects not only citizens of the Russian Federation. In a full-scale war, the propaganda factor is very important, because for victory it is necessary to maintain unity between the citizens of Ukraine and support from foreign partners.

In addition, Russian propaganda defends views on various aspects of human existence, in particular, on history, ideology, politics, etc. Thus, before considering ways to counter this propaganda, it is necessary to consider the main narratives that it defends and the methods that it uses.

The modern Russian state inherited the conquering ambitions of its predecessors: the Soviet Union and the Russian Empire. However, given a large number of restrictions, it is difficult for Russia to use its full military potential, so the establishment of this country rather resorts to the use of so-called soft power, that is, the use of means that do not involve coercion. Thus, to realise its geopolitical ambitions, Russia needs to resort to strong propaganda tools [7].

The first and most important aspect of Russian propaganda is ideological. This aspect is the mainstay of all Russian propaganda since it is in this vein that the self-identification of Russians and their main goal is conducted. Propaganda forms a worldview based on the concept of fascism as the greatest evil in the world, and in return, Russians as defenders of the world from the fascist offensive. This aspect would be more appropriate to call ideological, but in its essence, it is philosophical, since it is impossible to trace a clear idea of the Russian Federation. The theory of fascism is key for Russians because without the existence of an external enemy in the form of these very

fascists, it is impossible to consolidate the Russian people. Thus, propagandists try to cling to any detail: symbols, facts of restriction of the Russian language, etc. This is all done to justify the fact that a particular country is a representative of fascism. This idea is based on the fact of the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II and was cultivated throughout the entire period from the day of the German surrender, so it has a substantial impact on society [8].

The ideological aspect of Russian propaganda has many consequences, in particular, the beginning of a full-scale war in Ukraine, which is called a "special military operation", was justified by Putin in the context that "Russia must protect civilians from the Kyiv fascist regime." Thus, Russian propaganda justifies an attack on Ukraine, since an attack on a "fascist state" is not considered aggression.

Another area that Russian propaganda is aimed at is closely related to the previous aspect. This is history. For a substantial period, Ukraine existed as a colony of the Russian Empire, and later – the Soviet Union. Russian propagandists use this fact to discredit the existence of an independent Ukraine, emphasising that Ukrainians are a fraternal people to Russians, so they cannot exist except as part of the Russian Federation [9].

The next aspect of Russian propaganda concerns a lower level than the president's statements but also has a substantial impact. It consists in spreading fake information about military operations and spreading it through bots. Such information may relate to the seizure of a particular city, the destruction of important infrastructure, appeals from officials, etc. The main purpose of this information is to spread panic in Ukrainian society. In particular, the Russian media drew attention to the effectiveness of the MLRS (multiple launch rocket systems) "HIMARS" provided to Ukraine, so they decided to spread fake information about the destruction of these vehicles [10].

Putin's regime differs from previous authoritarian regimes in that the modern Russian dictator does not resort to the use of cruel means of terror and intimidation of their population. Instead, it is an" information autocracy", that is, control over the population is conducted by distributing the necessary information to the state. Thus, Russia exercises strict control over the media, in particular, television and the print press [11].

At first glance, it may seem that the restrictions on information on television and in the print press do not apply to the internet. However, this is not the case, as the Russian authorities have introduced some legislative acts that limit criticism, independent reporting, and dissent on the internet [12].

In addition, an important element of Russian propaganda is Roskomnadzor, an institution that is responsible for security in the internet space. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, Roskomnadzor has blocked some online publications that distribute undesirable Russia information [13, 14].

Given this material, it can be stated that since Russian propaganda is quite strong and multifaceted, it is impossible to highlight a single way to counter information aggression. Therefore, it is necessary to consider various ways to counter Russian propaganda by its aspects and forms.

The worldview aspect is fundamental for state-building, especially in the context of Ukraine's development. That is why it is necessary to cultivate the actual Ukrainian idea, which will allow Ukrainians to identify themselves as a single whole organism. An important element of this is the development of Ukrainian identity in the context of the civilised world. In other words, it is necessary to emphasise that Ukraine is part of the European family and that mentally Ukrainian people are close to Western culture. However, it is necessary to consider the actual Ukrainian ethnic characteristics, and not adapt to certain limits. [15].

It should be understood that the state idea is a rather complex concept, so a large number of representatives of the Ukrainian intellectuals must be engaged in its cultivation: researchers, artists, writers, politicians, etc. The importance of the Ukrainian idea in the context of countering propaganda is enormous since Russia will not be able to introduce among Ukrainians the idea that they are no different from Russians if the Ukrainians themselves are aware of themselves as a separate nation with their ideas and priorities [16].

In addition, it is necessary to pay due attention to the concept of fascism, since, as noted above, this term is actively used by Russian propaganda to manipulate consciousness. It is necessary to give a clear definition of this concept and give its characteristics, as, for example, did U. Eco [17]. The ultimate goal of this is to compare and convey the idea that Ukrainians, like the entire civilised world, are not fascists and oppose this phenomenon.

In this context, an important aspect is to preserve the memory of the Second World War as a terrible page in history, and it is also important to emphasise that Nazism was defeated by Allied forces, and not to attribute the victory to only one people, as Russian propaganda does. In support of this, it is worth recalling the words of Putin, which he said live in December 2010: "without Ukraine, we would still have won, because we are a country of winners" [18].

In contrast, the video appeal of V. Zelenskyy on May 9, 2022, in which the president of Ukraine says that Ukrainians were able to defeat fascism precisely in alliance with other peoples [19].

Thus, it is worth countering Russian propaganda in the historical field, since in this area Russia has created and defends a large number of fakes about the past of Ukraine, the essence of which boils down to showing the absurdity of the existence of an independent Ukraine and a separate Ukrainian people as such. It is necessary to work to ensure that this information is not just not received by Ukrainians, but also to show its fallacy [18].

In particular, an important method of struggle in this area is state funding of the activities of the Institute of National Memory, which operates on many media resources.

As a result of the work of this institution, the project "War and myth" was created, which provides for debunking Russian myths about the past of Ukraine. The information is presented concisely and clearly. At the beginning of the consideration of each fake, the sources of their origin and the significance that it carries are indicated, thus, the

diversity of consideration of a particular historical event is indicated. Such a project is very important, as it allows consumers to get acquainted with the primary sources and understand the true essence of the event [3].

It is also necessary to work not only with the local audience but also with the whole world. Ukraine as an independent state appeared relatively recently, so its historiography is in a state of active development. A foreign reader must get acquainted with the actual Ukrainian view of history, so it is necessary to conduct research in this area [21].

It is worth noting that the ideological and historical aspects of Ukrainian society should develop as independent elements of the consciousness of Ukrainians, and not only in the context of the fight against propaganda. This is a long-term process that includes media support and state funding. However, the most important element of patriotic education is the school, which should aim to develop children as future citizens of a strong democratic country. In addition, it is necessary to introduce media literacy training into the programme of schools and universities, which will give skills in protecting against fakes and verifying information [22].

Regarding the next aspect of Russian propaganda, namely the spread of fakes in the context of military operations, it is necessary to take a number of the following actions. The most important of them is the reaction of Ukrainian officials to any fake information and the dissemination of these opinions in the media. As, for example, it was the case when the Security Service of Ukraine debunked a fake about the Russian Sergeant Krasnov, whom enemy propaganda tried to glorify [23].

In the field of social networks, countering fakes is much more complicated, since it is more difficult to control by the state. However, the presidential decree adopted a decision that provides for the blocking of some Russian online publications, due to which it was possible to limit Ukrainians from receiving information from the Russian media [24]. Similar measures of restriction were also adopted in the European Union, according to which certain propaganda sites were blocked [12].

Such actions on the part of state institutions are very appropriate in times of war since during this period propaganda sources spread a very large amount of information, which would be extremely difficult to confront independently. However, despite the blocking, the Ukrainian media space is not devoid of fakes, so Ukrainian programmers created a Telegram bot "Verification". This tool allows quickly checking any information for accuracy.

In general, countering Russian propaganda is quite complex, since it is, as already mentioned, a multifaceted phenomenon that consists of many aspects. Thus, in war conditions, it is necessary to carefully check information for its reliability, and compare it with official media sources and high-ranking officials. As for the creation of a state idea and historical memory, these processes go beyond war, since they are fundamental not only in terms of countering enemy propaganda but also in building a future state. Thus, it is necessary to involve a large number of different researchers and artists in this process.

Discussion

The subject of countering Russian propaganda is very relevant today, so many researchers have expressed their opinions on ways to counteract it.

I. Malyk is the author of a thorough and extensive study on countering Russian propaganda at many levels [1]. However, in contrast to this study, the author focuses on how to protect oneself from hostile information influence and expresses certain opposite methods and advice. One of these tips is the thesis that a person needs to choose authoritative sources of information, whose opinions can be trusted for themselves. However, this method is not entirely appropriate, since absolutely all media outlets tend to make mistakes – consciously or unconsciously. Therefore, it is necessary to develop the ability to filter out fake or questionable information and be able to compare this information with official sources.

It is worth mentioning the work of T. Todor, which describes the phenomenon of hybrid warfare, which until February 24, 2022, Russia waged against Ukraine [6]. The author claims that the influence of propaganda in this war is enormous, which is why it is necessary to find methods of counteraction. The same opinion was expressed in this scientific study, but the controversial point is that T. Todor recommends introducing strict control over the media, but this idea is not suitable for Ukraine as a democratic state, because it contradicts fundamental values, in particular, freedom.

Another researcher, A. Kavierina, also considered the problem of the influence of Russian propaganda. In her work, the author relies on interviews that were taken with many Ukrainians who are active consumers of information from the media and are representatives of different regions of the state [2]. As a result, it was identified that representatives of the south-eastern regions of Ukraine do not listen to Ukrainian sources and prefer Russian ones since they are not comfortable consuming content in Ukrainian, so the researcher concludes that it is necessary to increase the amount of Russian-language Ukrainian content. However, as noted in the results of this study, it is necessary to increase the amount of Ukrainian content itself. The researcher's opinion is erroneous, since, first of all, the Ukrainian language is an important element of state-building, and in the conditions of war with Russia, one should not give in to the aggressor's language at the media level. Secondly, at the time of recording this interview, some information channels in Ukraine provided information in Russian, in particular, Inter and 112 TV channels, in addition to many talk shows, a large number of experts speak in Russian. Thus, it can be concluded that it is more appropriate to block Russian information sources than to increase the number of Ukrainian ones in Russian.

In the context of television, it is important to pay attention to such an element as movies. Each film carries a certain message and idea that has a certain impact on the viewer. Thus, it is possible to contribute to the development of Ukrainian identity, which is one of the aspects of Ukrainian propaganda activities discussed above. Thus, L. Walden considers the role of art as a means of ideological

propaganda. He argues that art and, in particular, cinema should be objective, and not promote ideological messages [25]. Notably, the role of cinema in the modern world is very important, so this tool should be used in the context of the development of patriotism among the population.

The next aspect that was considered in this paper, and which the researchers paid a lot of attention to, is national and patriotic education. In particular, in the paper of I. Bekh considers the problem of a sharp surge in patriotism after the beginning of Russia's aggression in 2014, and how it is necessary to spread national patriotic ideas among schoolchildren [26]. The author notes that the education of patriotism is a holistic and rather complex process that includes many aspects. The most important of these elements is history as a branch of consciousness education. Another aspect is the creation of military-patriotic camps, where appropriate education is conducted. The author argues that such camps are necessary for the context of educating patriotic youth. However, it is necessary to disagree with this opinion, because it is critical to pay attention to what kind of state is being attempted to be built. If this is a democratic state with an active civil society, then it is necessary to focus on the appropriate type of patriotic education, and not prepare for war at school age.

In the context of studying history at school, the paper of P. Horikhovskyi is important. The researcher understands the scale at which Russia is waging an information war, resorting to manipulations and fakes in terms of the history of Ukraine [4]. The researcher also notes that young people being the target audience should be protected from the influence of Russian propaganda. Thus, the study contains methodological recommendations for teachers on the presentation of material on problematic issues of Ukrainian history. Thus, as a result of the study, the author analyses many aspects and issues of the history of Ukraine, and most importantly, creates a methodology that allows protecting oneself from manipulation by Russia.

In addition to research on countering Russian information influence in the field of Ukrainian history and worldview, researchers pay attention to the legal aspects of countering enemy propaganda. In particular, the central element of the paper by U. Koruts is Ukrainian legislation [27]. In the course of the study, a substantial number of legislative initiatives were considered and evaluated in the context of the effectiveness of information confrontation. However, the most interesting idea of this study is the thesis that it is necessary to create organisational and legal support for detecting the facts of propaganda, identifying them, fixing them, and exposing performers and initiators. The introduction of such measures will reduce the influence of Russian propaganda on the territory of Ukraine. However, it should be understood that a difficult problem is the wording of the law, according to which it would be possible to clearly define what exactly is Russian propaganda. On the one hand, it can be noted that this propaganda is information provided by the Russian media. However, pro-Russian narratives can be present in the Ukrainian information space, so the problem is to identify hostile messages and limit them, while not threatening freedom of speech.

The next element of the Russian-Ukrainian information war is social networks. The importance of these resources in the context of information warfare is noted in the paper by O. Semenova [28]. The study examined the role of bloggers in influencing a wide audience, and the amount of Ukrainian content on social networks today. As a result, it was identified that Russian bloggers have a much greater predominance in social networks. Attention is also focused on the importance of the Telegram social network and its information channels, which are often openly pro-Russian or defend pro-Russian messages. Thus, as a result of the study, it was determined that the method of blocking each Telegram channel is ineffective since new ones immediately appear in its place. Therefore, the author claims that it is necessary to conduct media literacy courses starting from the school years.

If the previous study concerned social media content, then X. Weiai considers the statements of high-ranking officials [29]. As a result of the analysis, it comes to the politics of Russia and China, which are the most active in social networks among all other countries. Thus, the author claims that representatives of such countries are more democratic. However, it should be understood that Russian messages are the most aggressive and, in general, freedom of speech in Russia is somewhat more limited than in other democratic countries. Thus, the number of statements made by high-ranking officials on social networks is not an indicator of democracy.

Most of these authors in their papers considered the influence of Russian propaganda in Ukraine and the means of countering it, but Russians are trying to spread disinformation against Ukrainians around the world [5]. This is noted by A. Fisher, who emphasises that the Russians are trying to demonise Ukraine to leave it without the support of the Western world. As a result, the researcher proves that Russian propaganda is a dangerous phenomenon not only for Ukraine but also for the whole world.

Thus, it can be noted once again that the fight against Russian propaganda is quite difficult. It is necessary to conduct activities in different fields of life and by different methods to protect oneself from Russian information influence.

Conclusions

The study examined the importance of Russian propaganda in the context of the war with Ukraine. As a result of the study, it was identified that most of the propaganda materials relate to the following aspects:

– Worldview, which consists in forming the opinion that Ukraine as a state and Ukrainians as a people cannot exist separately, but must necessarily be part of Russia.

– The historical aspect is closely related to the previous one, but fakes about the history of Ukraine occupy a substantial place in the Russian information space, so it is necessary to highlight this as a separate point. This aspect concerns the fact that the history of Ukraine is part of Russian history, so there can be no question of the separateness of this state.

– The military aspect is the spread of disinformation about the conduct of hostilities. This type of fake is necessary to

spread panic among Ukrainians and prevent active military operations.

It was also determined what methods Russian propaganda uses. In particular, they are the dissemination of information in the media, activities on social networks, and statements of high-ranking officials.

As a result of the study, some ways to counter Russian propaganda were proposed:

– Education of patriotism and national identity among young people starting from the school age. This method will prevent the spread of fakes that Ukrainians are part of the Russian people, and will contribute to building a democratic country. This also includes the education of media literacy.

– Development of the historical industry. This refers to strengthening historical research; state support for initiatives that involve countering Russian propaganda; and methodological changes in the study of history in schools.

– The reaction of high-ranking officials and state institutions to disinformation from Russia. This method will enable the verification of Ukrainians of the accuracy of information provided by the Russian media.

– Countering and blocking Russian sources on television and the internet. Due to this, it will be possible to limit the number of Russian media resources on the territory of Ukraine.

Notably, such methods can be applied not only in wartime but also in peacetime. However, during a full-scale invasion, they are necessary.

Further research is necessary primarily in the field of sociology, since, as already mentioned, Russian propaganda is very complex, so it is necessary to investigate this phenomenon in more detail to create effective methods of counteraction. The next branch is pedagogy since the worldview and skills that will be formed in the child would prevent the influence of Russian information in the future. It is also necessary to conduct research in the field of cybersecurity to counter Russian propaganda on the internet.

References

[1]   Malik, I. (2015). Mechanisms of counteracting the negative effects of informational propaganda. *Political Science,* 1(2), 47-53.

[2]   Kaverina, A. (2015). The problem of propaganda in the Ukrainian media space. *Faces*, 11(127), 97-101.

[3]   Vyatrovych, V. (2019). *War and myth*. Kharkiv: Folio.

[4]   Horikhovsky, P. (2022). The use of elements of counter-propaganda in lessons of the history of Ukraine. *Collection of Scientific Works of the Uman State Pedagogical University*, 1, 6-14.

[5]   Fisher, A. (2022). Demonizing the enemy: The influence of Russian state-sponsored media on American audiences. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 36(4), 281-296.

[6]   Todor, T. (2021). Understanding hybrid influence. *Emerging Analysis Frameworks*, 84, 449-463.

[7]   Sherr, J. (2013). *Hard diplomacy and soft coercion: Russia's influence abroad*. London: Chatham House.

[8]   Tishcov, V. (2020). The great victory and the soviet people. Anthropological analysis. *Philosophy,* 8, 5-19.

[9]   Liñán, M. (2019). History as a propaganda tool in Putin's Russia. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 43(2), 167-178.

[10]   RF armed forces destroyed four HIMARS launchers. (2022). Retrieved from https://tass.ru/armiya-iopk/15283751?utm_source=google.com&utm_medium=organic&utm_campaign=google.com&utm_referrer=google.com.

[11]   Alukov, M. (2022). Propaganda, authoritarianism and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 6, 763-765.

[12]   Mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. (2019). Retrieved from https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/624532?ln=ru.

[13]   Internet publications were blocked in Russia due to an article about an associate of Navalny. (2021). Retrieved from https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-polytics/3190404-u-rosii-zablokuvali-internetvidanna-cerez-stattu-pro-soratnika-navalnogo.html.

[14]   In Russia, access to the ZMINA website was blocked. (2022). Retrieved from https://zmina.info/news/u-rosiyi-zablokuvaly-dostup-do-sajtu-zmina1/.

[15]   Fukuyama, F. (2019). *Identity: The demand for dignity and the politics of resentment*. London: Picador.

[16]   Turley, S. (2018). *The new nationalism*. London: Chatham House.

[17]   Eco, U. (2012). *Inventing the enemy: Essays*. London: Mariner Books.

[18]   Putin: Without Ukraine, Russia would still have won the WWII. (2010). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B1yiaQ-Z-84.

[19]   There is nothing more dangerous than an insidious enemy: Zelensky's address on May 9. (2022). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DhQTAg2m9ZU&t=3s.

[20]   Haigh, M. (2019). Stopping fake news. *Journalism Studies*, 19(4), 2062-2087.

[21]   Plokhy, S. (2021). *The gates of Europe*. London: Penguin.

[22]   Supsacova, B. (2016). Media education of children and youth as a path to media literacy. *Communication Today*, 7(1), 32-51.

[23]   The Russian fake about Sergeant Krasnov has been debunked. (2022). Retrieved from https://ostannipodii.com/a/202206/rozvinchano-rosiyskiy-feyk-pro-serzhanta-krasnova-100025880/.

[24]   Decree of the President of Ukraine No. 169/2021 "On the Application of Personal Special Economic and Other Restrictive Measures (Sanctions)". (2021, April). Retrieved from https://www.president.gov.ua/documents/1692021-38729.

[25]   Walden, L. (2019). Cultural diplomacy and internationalism in regional art institutions. *Visual Studies*, 34(4), 350-363.

[26]   Beh, I. (2014). *Program of Ukrainian national and patriotic education*. Kyiv: National Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine.

[27] Koruts, U. (2020). Information warfare as a tool of war propaganda: Legal grounds for opposition. *International Law*, 8, 334-339.

[28] Semenova, O. (2021). Russian propaganda in social media: Threat and countermeasures. *Ukrainian Studies*, 4(81), 47-81.

[29] Weiai, X. (2022). Nationalizing truth: Digital practices and Influences of state-affiliated media in a time of global pandemic and geopolitical decoupling. *International Journal of Communication*, 16, 356-384.

Злата Борончик

Університет Короля Данила
76018, вул. Є. Коновальця, 35, м. Івано-Франківськ, Україна

Вроцлавський університет
50-137, пл. Університетська, 1, м. Вроцлав, Польща

Протидія російській пропаганді в умовах війни

Анотація. Конфлікт між росією та Україною триває протягом значного періоду історії, але під час останнього десятиліття протистояння між цими двома країнами набуло значних розмахів. Спочатку росія вдавалась до ведення гібридної війни, а з 24 лютого 2022 почала повномасштабну війну. У ході цього, противник використовує інформаційний вплив як один з різновидів озброєння, тому на сьогоднішній день дуже важливим є вміння давати цьому відсіч. Метою наукової роботи буде розгляд та знаходження способів протидії російській пропаганді. У ході написання статті було використано наступні методи дослідження: аналіз інформації, синтез, конкретизація та узагальнення. У результаті дослідження було розглянуто велику кількість інформації різного типу, зокрема, наукові роботи, книги науково-популярного жанру, законодавчі акти, заяви та звернення високопосадовців, та, найголовніше, публікації у ЗМІ. У ході аналізу цієї інформації було визначено, на які аспекти життя поширюється вплив російської пропаганди, якими є: світогляд, історія, та інформація щодо ведення військових дій. Окрім цього, було розглянуто те, які методи використовують росіяни для поширення пропаганди, зокрема це є телебачення та соціальні мережі. Таким чином, було зроблено висновок, що протидія російські пропаганді повинна відбуватись у сфері освіти, зокрема впровадженні курсів медіаграмотності, розвитку історичної галузі, заявах українських державних інституцій та кібербезпеки. Стаття створює новий погляд та підґрунтя для подальших досліджень соціологів, які детально вивчають феномен російської пропаганди, а також для педагогів, які працюють з ціллю виведення нових методів навчання, та для спеціалістів з галузі кібербезпеки

Ключові слова: гібридна війна, інформаційний вплив, світогляд, історія, фейк

Illia Orobets*, **Olena Sydorenko**
Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy
18031, 81 Shevchenko Blvd., Cherkasy, Ukraine

Are Xun
University of Leeds
LS2 9JT, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, United Kingdom

Igor Pasek
University of Žilina
010 26, 8215 Univerzitná Str., Žilina, Slovak Republic

Confrontation with Beijing as One of the Priorities of US Foreign Policy

Abstract. The United States and China are by far the most powerful countries on the planet by many indicators, and both of these countries can influence the course of many processes around the world. In particular, the United States has a substantial influence on the world stage, so it is necessary to investigate the significance of the confrontation with Beijing in the context of their foreign policy, and what are the prospects for its continuation. Thus, the relevance of the subject is determined by the fact that the results of this confrontation have an impact on the policy of all countries in the future. The main purpose of the study is to determine the level of priority of the confrontation with China for the United States, by analysing the foundations of the geopolitical theory of the United States and considering the history of this conflict. When writing the study, the following methods were used: analysis, synthesis, comparison, specification and generalisation of information. As a result of the study, the following conclusions can be drawn: the confrontation between the United States and Beijing takes place in three main areas of activity: trade, economic, and ideological; it was determined that the United States is the most influential country in the world and is trying to maintain this influence; it was identified that the key aspect of the US foreign policy influence is trade, which is one of the main reasons for the confrontation with China; the impact of this conflict on the whole world was established; certain problems of US internal policy and possible prospects for the development of this conflict were considered. The originality of the study is that it considers the conflict between the United States and China as broadly as possible, considering various fields of activity. The results of this study will be useful for economists who study the economic problems of the whole world, and Ukraine in particular, including researchers in the United States, to draw attention to the problems and threats of their own country

Keywords: ideology, economy, technology, geopolitics, trade war

Introduction

The investigation of the current confrontation between the two most powerful countries in various aspects – the United States and China is very important and relevant for researchers in many countries, because, due to the analysis of the priorities of the foreign policy of the United States and their implementation, in reality, it is possible to determine the further development of the conflict and its impact on other countries of the world.

The United States is a powerful country that has shaped its foreign policy influence over a long time. Therewith, the United States has shown itself as a country that does not always pursue a tough policy but mainly tries to engage in dialogue with other countries for further co-operation. With this in mind, today the US government is trying to maintain and strengthen its position in its foreign policy. However, the growing global influence of modern China undermines the position of the United States, so the latter must fight to maintain its influence.

Notably, the relations between these countries have not always been hostile. For a long time, the United States was in friendly relations with China, but after the great economic crisis of 2008, Beijing began to pursue its economic policy, due to which it was able to substantially strengthen its position and attract the attention of researchers. Thus, it is important to investigate the foreign policy activities of the presidential administration of B. Obama with China. The presidency of his successor D. Trump was marked by a tough economic policy against

*Corresponding author

China, which was called the trade war. This subject was popular in society, as this event escalated the confrontation between these superpowers and had a substantial impact on the whole world. After the end of the presidency of D. Trump, the tension over this confrontation has subsided. However, the struggle between the two countries remains, so investigating its further development is important to predict the results of this conflict.

Important for the study is the paper of F. Ehsan, in which the author directly examines the history of relations with the United States and the development of China [1]. The researcher who was one of the first to investigate this subject is R. Sutter, who investigated the relations of these countries during the reign of B. Obama [2]. In the context of such a subject, the findings of U.N. Harari are important, considering the problems and challenges of the modern world in their book, and justified the importance of ideologies in the politics of many countries [3]. Another researcher who has made a substantial contribution to the examination of this confrontation is S. Goulard, who defined the role of European countries in the economic confrontation between the United States and China [4]. Ukrainian researchers have also made a substantial contribution to the investigation of these problems, in particular, the study of T. Grachevska and O. Vasylitsa [5; 6]. In these papers, the authors consider the possibility of escalating the confrontation between China and the United States and its impact on the whole world. The warnings that were stated by the famous historian N. Ferguson [7] are notable. An important thesis of this author is that given the internal political troubles, the United States may lose in the confrontation with China.

The purpose of the study is to determine the level of priority of the confrontation with China for US foreign policy. This will be achieved by considering the theory of foreign policy activities of the United States and reviewing the history and current state of the conflict with Beijing. The originality of the study is precisely the analysis of this issue.

Materials and Methods

In the first stage of the study, the process of selecting information and analysing it was conducted. The confrontation between the United States and China on the global stage involves a large number of aspects and takes place in various fields of activity. Accordingly, it was necessary to select literature that would describe as fully as possible the results of the struggle in the economic, technological, and ideological fields. In addition, the study focuses on the investigation of the mentioned confrontation in the context of the foreign policy activities of the United States, so it was necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of the principles of conducting US foreign policy since this can determine the role of this confrontation in the context of the activities of the United States. In addition, the study reviewed the literature that makes predictions development of the confrontation, the use of which is important for further modelling of the conflict and the foreign policy situation in the world.

The second stage of the study is characterised by the use of the method of information synthesis. In the first stage, a substantial amount of information, which differs in its essence and content, was selected. Thus, in the second stage of the study, a method was used, the use of which allows combining information of different content. In particular, after defining the basics and principles of foreign policy activities and considering what risks and in what areas the confrontation with China is taking place, due to the combination of this information, it is possible to determine the significance of the struggle in the US foreign policy. The comparison method was used during this stage of the study. For example, when considering the history of relations between these countries, a comparison was made of the nature of relations between these countries now and in different historical periods. Due to the use of this method, it was possible to cover the essence of US-Chinese relations more widely and identify key events that determined the development and aggravation of the confrontation between these countries.

In the third stage of writing the study, the concretisation method was applied. In particular, this method was used when considering the theory of US foreign policy, since the country's activities on the world stage are very broad, so it was necessary to focus on the details that are important for the study. In addition, the trade war between the United States and China includes a large number of events, so key facts were selected, due to the consideration which it is possible to understand the essence and significance of this confrontation.

The fourth stage of the study is the final one and is characterised by the use of the generalisation method. Due to the use of this method, a brief description of the results was made and they were summed up. Thus, it was determined what is the nature of the current confrontation between the United States and China, and in what areas of activity this conflict takes place. In addition, the significance of this conflict for the whole world and its place in the foreign policy of the US was outlined.

Results

For a substantial period of its existence, the United States has played a substantial role in foreign policy around the world. This country became especially strong at the end of the 20th century, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was the main and largest rival of the United States. As a result, after the collapse of its rival, the United States was able to claim world domination. It is important to note that the collapse of the USSR meant the victory of the United States on an ideological level. Thus, the United States has become the only powerful superpower in the world that extends its influence to other countries. In particular, Z. Brzezinski, in the book, The Grand Chessboard, proves that the United States should remain the last and main hegemon, which will allow establishing of order and peace around the world. Thus, since then, US foreign policy has been aimed at strengthening its influence in the world and defending liberal values. Separately should be considered the terminology that Z. Brzezinski introduces, in particular, these are definitions such as geostrategic player, which denotes a country that influences the course of implementing its foreign policy on the internal policy

of other countries; and the term geostrategic stronghold, which is used to denote a country that is influenced by a geostrategic player [8].

Another important aspect to pay attention to is the methods that the United States uses in its foreign policy. Given the historical circumstances, namely that the United States was founded by England, which at that time was a powerful maritime power, the United States adopted the experience of navigation from its metropolis. On the other hand, the geographical aspect is important, the essence of which is that the United States is located on a continent that is far from Europe, and as a result of this, navigation was actively developed to cooperate with developed countries. Based on this, the geostrategic concept of the United States was formed, which was described and systematised by the famous American figure A. Mahan. The author voiced the idea in the following postulate: "Whoever rules the waves rules the world." The main means of implementing this type of policy is the development of naval forces, in particular, in the form of establishing military bases on the territory of other countries, which ensures military control. In addition, an important aspect is the development of maritime trade, which allows establishing of ties with different countries and the developing of the economy. Thus, according to this concept, the influence of the United States and the strengthening of the hegemony of this country appear due to the strengthening of the military and merchant fleets [9].

It is also necessary to pay attention to the fact that the confrontation between geostrategic players often lies not only in the plane of confrontation of the actual pragmatic interests of a particular country but at the highest ideological level. The modern world is guided by liberal-democratic ideas that have been formed over a substantial period of history. In this case, the United States acts as a guarantor of the dominance of the democratic system in the world, educational ideas that set freedom and human life as their main goal. Today, most countries of the world are guided by these ideas. However, now, for the first time since the end of the Cold War, there is an increase in the influence of autocratic regimes based on the principles and attitudes of socialist ideas. The most influential country in this sense is China, which is actively developing and extending its influence to other countries. Thus, it is possible to notice the reasons for the confrontation between the United States and China at the ideological level, which is expressed in their confrontation [10].

China is also a geostrategic player and has its methods of political influence. This influence is mainly conducted in the economic and technological fields.

Before considering the confrontation between the US and China, it is worth taking a look at some of the historical circumstances of the latter country. In the late 18th and 19th centuries, China emerged from centuries of isolation and came under the strong influence of Western countries. At that time, European empires did not pursue a specific humanitarian mission, but their interests in China were purely economic, and for the sake of their implementation, these countries used various methods. Thus, the population of this country was oppressed for a substantial

time. As a result, in the first half of the 20th century, Chinese society was divided into two camps: traditionalist and socialist. The struggle between these groups ended in 1949 with the victory of the communists and their coming to power. The leader Mao Zedong was a staunch socialist and used totalitarian methods in the form of usurping power and creating a cult of his personality to achieve his goals. However, he still failed to achieve the ideological goals set, the purpose of which was to establish a communist system in China and subsequently the global communist revolution. In the 1970s, Chinese President Deng Xiaoping analysed the mistakes of his predecessor and began to implement a course to strengthen Beijing's cooperation with Western countries. During this period, along with socialist ideas, the so-called pragmatic socialism was formed, the essence of which was that the best thing for the Chinese people is what gives them economic benefits. However, although the Chinese increased cooperation with Western countries, they did not adopt democratic ideals, so the ideas of socialism and autocracy were firmly established in the minds of the people [1].

An important event that affected US-China relations was the great economic crisis of 2008. The administration of the then president of the United States B. Obama has focused on strengthening cooperation with the major economies of China and Japan. In particular, during this period, the influence of the United States substantially increased in the East Asian Region [2].

By strengthening cooperation with China, American politicians have made a serious mistake. The United States hoped that globalisation, the internet, and free trade would allow China to integrate into today's globalised liberal world. However, the Chinese managed to create their economic system and exercise control over the internet, so that this country was able to use such tools for its purposes. Thus, there are contradictions between Beijing and Washington, because their economic interests differ from each other. Because of this, there are many conflicts on this basis, in particular, China, as part of the implementation of the "One Belt, One Road" project, plans to create some institutions around the world and reorganise the ancient trading system of the so-called Great Silk Road into its own, but the United States is trying to prevent this, as it may weaken its trade positions. In addition, it was profitable for entrepreneurs from the United States to conduct their activities in China, due to the use of cheap means of production, but for China itself, this is very unprofitable, since another state uses its resources. Considering the confrontation between these countries, the United States is leading in the military aspect, but the peculiarity of modern struggle is that it is conducted not in the military plane, but in the economic and political [5].

The modern confrontation between the United States and China is called a trade war. The term refers to a situation where countries restrict each other's trade by setting quotas or high tariffs on imported goods. As already mentioned, maritime trade is an important element of United States foreign policy, so the struggle in this area involves not only the struggle for economic interests but is an important element of national doctrine.

The United States and China are the countries with the most powerful economic systems in the world, with influence in many regions. Therefore, their struggle in this area poses a threat to many countries on the planet. Notably, the course of the economic war largely depends on the political leadership of these countries, in particular, soft politics in the East Asian region during the reign of B. Obama, due to which it was possible to prevent the escalation of the struggle. However, during the time of the next US President – D. Trump – there have been changes in foreign policy. This figure was able to gain power, in particular, through populist calls "Make America Great Again", which primarily involve economic activities. During the implementation of this policy, a system of protectionism was introduced for American companies located abroad. As a result, this policy led to higher tariffs from the United States, to which China responded by raising export tariffs with the United States [6].

In 2017, the World Trade Organisation defined China's economy as a market economy, but the United States refused to recognise this, which increased the tension in the confrontation between these countries. The confrontation between the United States and China is also reflected in the 2017 US National Security Strategy [11]. This document provided for the introduction of restrictions on Chinese investment in American technologies strengthened export controls and expanded the list of goods that are prohibited from being sold to China. Thus, the United States imposed a 25% duty on exports of Chinese goods, as a result of which China responded by imposing a 50% duty on American goods. The official date of the beginning of the trade war between the United States and China is March 23, 2018, because it is on this day that D. Trump issued a "Presidential Memorandum Targeting China's Economic Aggression" [12], which provided for the introduction of duties on steel and aluminium [13].

This policy can be understood because, looking at the chart below, it can be concluded that China owns a large part of US securities, so it could exercise influence on this country.

■ Japan ■ China ■ United Kingdom ■ Switzerland ■ Other countries
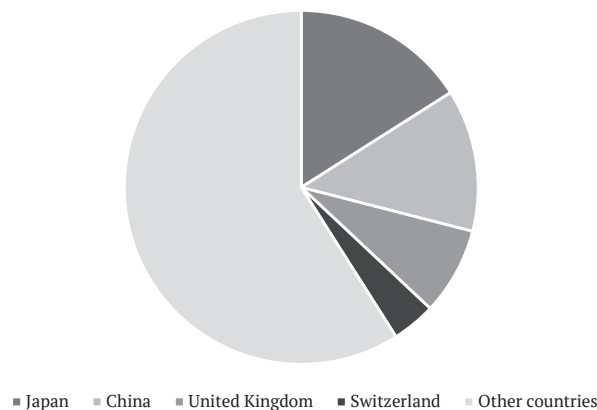
Figure 1. US securities holders (investors)

Source: E. Duffin. Major foreign holders of U.S. treasury securities [14]

In the summer of 2018, the economic conflict escalated, during which the United States imposed new duties on more than 800 types of goods in the industrial and transport sectors. These actions were taken to reduce the share of Chinese exports to the United States, by increasing US budget revenues and tax duties. In addition, this was done to encourage American companies to look for new markets and sources of purchasing goods for the industrial sector outside of China. In response, China imposed duties on about 500 types of American goods.

In the spring of 2019, the United States decided to increase the amount of trade duties from 10% to 25%. D. Trump hoped that in this way it would be possible to force China to sign an economic agreement that would be beneficial for the United States, but China refused to do so. As a result, American companies were banned from using Chinese digital equipment.

After almost two years of the "active phase" of the trade war, the countries signed a trade agreement in early 2020. This agreement provided for easing US tariffs on Chinese imports, and on the other hand, obliged China to purchase certain American-made products [13].

It is important to note that European countries are ideological twins of the United States, but their approach to solving the problem in the East Asian region is somewhat different from that of the United States. Most European countries pursue a pragmatic foreign policy that involves strengthening economic relations with China. Some countries, such as the United Kingdom and France, adhere to the idea of free trade in this region, but still do not support the methods used by the United States. Thus, it can be seen that in this confrontation, the United States was left without the support of an important ally [4].

In addition to the economic confrontation between the United States and China, there is a confrontation between these countries in the field of technology. In the past decade, China has achieved rapid development of modern technologies. In particular, this was achieved due to cooperation with other countries, during which China established the extraction of a large number of rare earth

metals and materials that are necessary for the development of modern technologies. Although in 2021 the United States allocated a much larger amount of funds for the development of research in the field of artificial intelligence, however, most papers on this subject belong to Chinese researchers [14].

As for technology, it is also important to add that China is rapidly developing in the field of creating unmanned aerial vehicles for various purposes. In particular, speaking about commercial drones, China occupies a strong position in this regard, which is reflected in the chart.

Percentage of drone manufacturing countries in the US market

■ China ■ The United States ■ France ■ Other countries
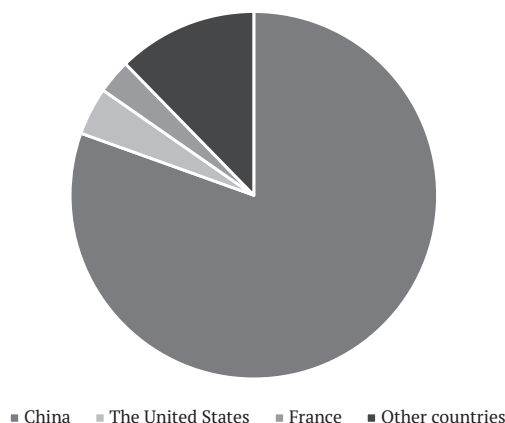
Figure 2. Percentage of drone manufacturing countries in the US market

Source: S. Korrek, 2021. The US-China Technology Race: Economic, Political and Normative Dimensions [15]

After coming to power in the United States of J. Biden, researchers drew attention to the fact that there is a softening of relations with China. However, it should be understood that establishing such relations as were during the presidency of B. Obama will not work anymore. In addition, the researchers predicted that the United States should not rely on its economic allies in this confrontation. Therefore, it was predicted that the administration of J. Biden will not have a clear strategy for conducting policy in this region, but tough measures will be taken in case of emergencies [14].

It can be stated that these forecasts came true because, during the period of his tenure in power, J. Biden did not take consistently tough measures against China, as it was in the days of D. Trump. However, the response of the United States to the events between China and Taiwan that broke out in late July and early August 2022 was harsh and instantaneous [17].

An important aspect is that the United States is currently experiencing a period of decline in democratic institutions and the development of populism. Therefore, due to the weakening of positions in internal politics, the positions in foreign politics can be weakened [18].

In general, the fight against China is an important component of the foreign policy activities of the United States, to preserve its status as a geopolitical player.

Discussion

The subject of the modern confrontation between the United States and China is quite popular among researchers since the struggle between the two economic superpowers somehow attracts other countries that are dependent on them. It was noted above that such a confrontation is not just economic, but has an ideological basis.

Thus, in the context of ideology, the thoughts of the famous Western philosopher and social researcher F. Fukuyama are important. This researcher became widely known in the 90s of the last century after the publication of a book called "The End of History and the Last Man". The author adheres to the philosophical view of history expressed by G. Hegel, which describes the development of mankind as the development of social relations. Thus, the main idea of F. Fukuyama is that after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the only ruling ideology in the world remained – liberalism. By the end of history, the author understands that ideological confrontations are in the past, and liberalism will finally remain the main ideological system on Earth [19]. However, as already described in the main part of the study, ideological confrontations have not ended, but on the contrary, have intensified and are actively developing in the modern world. In particular, the development of the confrontation between liberalism and socialism is evident. In a similar vein, criticism of the idea of F. Fukuyama was outlined by U.N. Harari [10], who, considering the challenges to society in the 21st century, expressed the thesis that "the end of history is cancelled." This thesis primarily involves criticism of the book of the mentioned researcher and is aimed at considering the technological confrontation between the United States and China.

The economic aspect of the confrontation of the United States with China is one of the most controversial issues among researchers in the world. First of all, many Western analysts are interested in the question of how a trade war can affect the whole world. In this context, it is possible to often find papers with rather negative content that defend the idea that such a confrontation can lead to strong economic problems among European countries. In particular, this idea is defended in the paper by

M. Fesenko. The author claims that the confrontation between the United States and China can lead to fatal consequences in the form of nuclear war, but this is an extremely fatalistic scenario that the author considers. Another scenario that is closer to modern reality is the decline of the European Union economy, due to the strengthening role of China. However, as already discussed in the study, most European countries are now pursuing a pragmatic policy aimed at strengthening economic cooperation with China, so not the fall of the European economy can be predicted, but its reorientation [20].

Another researcher who studies the trade confrontation between the United States and China is the Ukrainian author O. Vasylitsa. In the paper, based on statistical data, the researcher examines the economic situation in the world and certain countries in particular. Thus, this researcher, like the previous author, claims that most of the countries that now hold the leading positions in the economy are going to face a collapse. In addition, the researcher notes that this struggle may leave a negative impact on the Ukrainian economy. However, as already noted, the trade war does not lead to collapse, but to a change in the economic centre of the world [6].

An important study that describes the change in the economic centre is the book by G. Rachman called "Easternization". The term used in the title of the book is a neologism introduced by the researcher to refer to the process of transition of economic influence to the territory of Southeast Asia. This term echoes another important concept called Westernisation. Both of these definitions are based on English words, which are translated as East and West, respectively. Thus, the author describes the role of the rise in the position of the East in the world economy, but it is worth noting that in this context, G. Rachman speaks not only about China's economic recovery but also about other countries in the region that are allies of Western countries. It is important to note that in this paper, the researcher adheres to a similar opinion, which was expressed in the study, that during the presidency of B. Obama and D. Trump, the role of the US in the global economy has weakened, and draws attention to the growing confrontation between the United States and China. The author also notes that Easternisation is not only a strengthening of Asian countries in economic terms, but also political terms [21].

The role of the policies of various US presidents in escalating the conflict with China is quite a popular subject among researchers. In particular, one of the authors who investigated the issue is I. Warren. The researcher draws attention to the intensification of confrontation during the presidency of D. Trump, however, the thesis that this confrontation was fuelled by his predecessor B. Obama is interesting. However, this opinion is not entirely accurate, because, as described in the main part of the study, the administration of B. Obama pursued a rather soft foreign policy in the Southeast Asian region. In addition, during the reign of this president, no legislative acts were adopted that would stimulate the further development of the confrontation [22].

Consideration of the spread of the influence of China was outlined in the paper by A. Kolombo. The author devoted the research to describing economic ties between China and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The study describes the consideration of relations between these countries in historical retrospect, due to which it is possible to understand exactly how relations between these countries were formed. The main part of the study describes the economic cooperation of these countries in modern times. The author examines the development of trade and relations in general, in particular, the construction of a dam in Congo under Chinese leadership. However, the main problem that the author draws attention to is the extraction of rare earth metals. As already mentioned in this study, rare earth metals are of great importance in the modern world, since their use is necessary for the development of modern technologies, both commercial and military. Thus, it is possible to notice not only the economic strengthening of China but also the strategic one [23].

Interesting is the opinion of researcher J. Vogelmann. In his book, the author considers relations between the United States and China not from the standpoint of confrontation, but on the contrary, from the standpoint of cooperation. The researcher's thoughts are based on the fact that in many aspects the Chinese and American economies depend on each other. In particular, an important aspect is the large amount of investment in these countries. However, as discussed in the study, during the "active phase" of the trade war, some legal acts were issued on both sides, which were aimed at reducing the amount of investment and limiting cooperation between companies in these countries. Thus, it can be stated that economic cooperation between the United States and China exists, but the heads of both states understand that their countries are dependent on each other, so they try to reduce the level of this interaction [24].

The famous modern historian N. Ferguson, in his latest book, argues that today the United States and China are on the verge of a new Cold War. In addition, the author says that the United States has every chance of losing in this confrontation. These opinions are based on the observations mentioned in the main part of the study about the decline of US democratic institutions and the development of populism [7].

Thus, it can be seen that the conflict between the United States and China is developing at a substantial pace in many industries. Therefore, this confrontation should be a priority area of US foreign policy, to preserve their global positions and defend the democratic system.

Conclusions

During the study of this subject, a large number of aspects of the US foreign policy confrontation with China were considered, as a result of which it was identified that this struggle is the most priority component of US foreign policy. It was noted that the conflict covers the following areas of activity:

– Ideology. This industry is the main one since any conflicts begin precisely with the level of awareness of the meaning of confrontation.

– Economy. China is rapidly developing in this area, so it has every chance to undermine the influence in the world by the US. Thus, in a certain period, there was an

acute confrontation between these countries in this area, which was aimed at weakening the positions of each other. Now the United States and Beijing are increasing their economic influence around the world.

– Technologies. This industry is very important in a conflict because technology determines what the future will be like, so dominance in this area is important in terms of confrontation between countries.

In addition, at the beginning of the study, it was considered in detail on what basis the principles of United States foreign policy were formed. Combined with the results of the study, it can be stated that the confrontation with Beijing is a priority area of foreign policy due to the following factors:

– The United States is a defender of democratic values in the world, so the loss of this country can undermine the stability of all democratic countries.

– Maritime trade is an important element of United States foreign policy. Limiting this activity reduces US influence in the world.

Such trends in internal politics can weaken the state so that it would not be able to confront China.

Thus, the subject of economic development needs further research, since this subject is important for the whole world. The issue of technological progress is also important since this area of activity never stands still, so consideration of technology updates will be relevant at all times. In addition, American researchers should pay attention to their internal political problems to correct them.

References

[1]   Ehsan, F. (2022). Conceptual developments of Chinese nationalism and its impact on the development-based foreign policy. *Geopolitics Quarterly*, 18(65), 115-149.

[2]   Sutter, R. (2009). The Obama administration and us policy in Asia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 31(2), 189-216.

[3]   Harari, U.N. (2019). *21 lessons for the 21st century*. New York: Random House.

[4]   Goulard, S. (2021). Europe and the US-China Confrontation in the Indo-Pacific. *Rebalancing Asia*, 24(6), 69-80.

[5]   Grachevska, T. (2021). Prospects for the restoration of bipolarity in the modern world in the conditions of increased confrontation between the United States and the People's Republic of China. *Philosophy and Political Science in the Context of Modern Culture*, 14(1), 85-92.

[6]   Vasylitsa, O. (2021). Trade war between the US and China: The scope of the impact. *Market Infrastructure*, 51(2), 3-8.

[7]   Ferguson, N. (2021). *Doom: The politics of catastrophe*. London: Penguin Books.

[8]   Brzezinski, Z. (2016). *The grand chessboard: American primacy and its geostrategic imperatives*. New York: Basic Books.

[9]   Mahan, A. (2014). *The interest of America in Sea power, present and future*. London: Waldo Specthrie Press.

[10]   Harari, U.N. (2017). *Homo deus: A brief history of tomorrow*. London: Harper.

[11]   National Security Strategy. (2017). Retrieved from https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did-=806478.

[12]   Remarks by president Trump at signing of a presidential memorandum Targeting China's economic aggression. (2018). Retrieved from https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-signing-presidential-memorandum-targeting-chinas-economic-aggression/.

[13]   Largout, D. (2021). *America-China trade war during the Trump administration: A confrontation between strategic superpowers* (Master thesis, Echahid Hamma Lakhdar University, El Oued, Algeria).

[14]   Duffin, E. (2022). *Major foreign holders of U.S. treasury securities*. Retrieved from https://www.statista.com/statistics/246420/major-foreign-holders-of-us-treasury-debt/.

[15]   Korrek, S. (2021). The US-China technology race: Economic, political and normative dimensions. *Observer Research Foundation*, 30, 3-26.

[16]   Mastanduno, M. (2021). Biden's China dilemma. *China International Strategy Review*, 3(2), 217-233.

[17]   Ramzy, A. (2022). *U.S. Warships sail Taiwan strait, defying Chinese pressure*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/28/world/asia/uswarshipstaiwanchina.html?searchResult-Position=4 .

[18]   Hinds, M. (2021). *In defense of liberal democracy: What we need to do to heal a divided America*. London: Imagine.

[19]   Fukuyama, F. (2020). *The end of history and the last man*. London: Penguin.

[20]   Fesenko, M. (2020). The danger of confrontation between the United States and China in the new Cold war. *Problems of History*, 2(11), 114-130.

[21]   Rachman, G. (2017). *Easternization: Asia's rise and America's decline from Obama to Trump and beyond*. New York: Other Press.

[22]   Warren, I. (2019). *America's response to China: A history of Sino-American relations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

[23]   Kolombo, A. (2022). Strategic natural resources and sustainable development in DR Congo: Perspectives on interests and confrontation between actors. *International Journal of Innovation and Applied Studies*, 36(2), 347-360.

[24]   Vogelmann, J. (2022). *Ascending China and the hegemonic United States: Economically based cooperation or strategic power politics?* Berlin: Springer VS.

Ілля Оробець, Олена Сидоренко

Черкаський національний університет імені Богдана Хмельницького
18031, б-р Шевченка, 81, м. Черкаси, Україна

Арі Сюнь

Університет Лідса
LS2 9JT, пров. Вудхаус, м. Лідс, Великобританія

Ігор Пасек

Жилінський університет
010 26, вул. Університетна, 8215, м. Жиліна, Словацька Республіка

Конфронтація з Пекіном як один із пріоритетів зовнішньої політики США

Анотація. США та Китай на сьогодні є найпотужнішими країнами на планеті за багатьма показниками, та обидві ці країни можуть впливати на перебіг багатьох процесів у всьому світі. Зокрема Сполучені Штати мають значний вплив на світовій арені, тому необхідно досліджувати те, яке значення має протистояння з Пекіном у контексті їхньої зовнішньої політики, та те, які існують перспективи його продовження. Таким чином, актуальність теми визначається тим, що результати цього протистояння мають вплив на політику усіх країн у майбутньому. Основною метою статті є визначення того наскільки пріоритетним є протистояння з Китаєм для США, шляхом дослідження основ геополітичної теорії Сполучених Штатів та розгляду історії цього конфлікту. Під час написання статті було використано низку наступних методів: аналіз, синтез, порівняння, конкретизація та узагальнення інформації. У результаті дослідження можна зробити наступні висновки: протистояння між США та Пекіном проходить у трьох основних сферах діяльності: торгівельній, економічні й ідеологічній; було визначено, що Сполучені Штати є найвпливовішою країною у світі та намагаються зберегти цей вплив; з'ясовано, що ключовим аспектом зовнішньополітичного впливу США є торгівля, яка є однією з основних причин протистояння з Китаєм; визначено те, який вплив цей конфлікт здійснює на весь світ; розглянуто певні проблеми внутрішньої політики США та розглянуто можливі перспективи розвитку цього конфлікту. Новизною статті є те, що у ній конфлікт між США та Китаєм розглянуто максимально широко, з урахуванням різних сфер діяльності. Результати цього дослідження будуть корисними для економістів, які досліджують економічні проблеми усього світу, та України зокрема, а також для науковців США, з метою звернення уваги на проблеми та загрози власної країни

Ключові слова: ідеологія, економіка, технології, геополітика, торговельна війна

Maksym Serhiienko[*]

Kyiv National University of Culture and Arts

01601, Ye. Konovaltsia, 36, Kyiv, Ukraine

Che Huang

Fudan University

200437, 220 Handan Rd., Shanghai, China

Diplomatic Relations Between Ukraine and North Korea: History and Specific Features of Development

Abstract. The relevance of the subject of the study is largely due to the need to investigate the causes and prerequisites for severing diplomatic ties between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea against the background of modern geopolitical changes. The importance of such an analysis lies in the militarisation policy of North Korea, which may affect the partnership of the country with the Ukrainian state. The need to conduct such an examination also lies in the insufficient number of papers on the outlined subject. The purpose of the study was to clarify the main aspects of cooperation between Ukraine and the DPRK during 1992-2022. The methods of scientific knowledge used to conduct the research are: historical, comparative, statistical, systemic, and terminological. The main achievements that were obtained as a result of the study can be outlined as follows: clarification of the course and development of relations between Ukraine and North Korea, examination of the nature of the relevant relations through the analysis of regulatory legal acts concluded between the two states. The attitude of Ukraine to the nuclear potential of the DPRK and the policy towards the unification of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are outlined. The main reasons why Ukraine declared a statement on the termination of diplomatic relations with the DPRK and the position of North Korea on the annexation and occupation of certain territories of Ukraine, diplomatic relations between Russia and the people's diplomatic Republic of Korea against the background of a full-scale invasion of the territory of the Ukrainian state by the Russian Federation are clarified. The results of the study can be used by historians, geopolitics, lawyers, and other researchers as a basis for further work on related subjects

Keywords: Asian vector, international relations, geopolitics, bilateral relations, cooperation agreements between countries

Introduction

Active foreign policy in all existing fields (economic, trade, social, cultural, etc.) is the key to the development of the country and its stable position in the international arena. The cooperation of Ukraine with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region is not as active as one, for example, with representatives of Europe and the United States of America. As for the countries that are located in the Asia-Pacific region, among them it is worth highlighting Japan, the people's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, etc. The most interesting country among the above-mentioned is the DPRK, largely due to the lack of scientific papers on the relevant subject. That is why the purpose of the study is to clarify the moment of the origin of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and their change over 30 years.

Among the available papers that in one way or another cover the development of diplomatic relations between the Ukrainian state and North Korea, there is, for example, the work of A. Honcharuk, in "Asian vector of Ukraine's foreign policy: new pragmatism", in which the author emphasises the need to increase the diplomatic presence of the Ukrainian state in the Asia-Pacific region to build effective bilateral relations with its representative countries. In particular, A. Honcharuk notes that increased attention should be paid to countries with a high level of economic and technical development, among which the author highlights China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea, bypassing the mention of North Korea. Therefore, it is advisable to conclude that the author's position is based on avoiding the DPRK in the development of diplomatic relations [1]. A similar position is present in the analytical work of the team of authors under the editorship of O. Litvinenko, "Ukraine and the countries of

[*]Corresponding author

East, South-East, and South Asia: results of 2020 and development prospects", which consists in the lack of data and possible prospects for the development of cooperation between Ukraine and North Korea [2].

It is worth analysing the work of the American researcher J. Hoar, "Historical Dictionary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea", to understand the position of the above-mentioned authors on the inexpediency of building strong diplomatic relations. It contains considerations about the difference between North Korea and all countries of the world. The isolation of this country does not provide many opportunities for studying the internal policy of the state, except for the presence of a slightly modified communist approach to economic management, a dictatorial form of government, and nuclear weapons, which in one way or another still forces the states of the world to take the first steps towards the common ground with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [3].

The position of the author I. Pohorielova in the paper "Ukraine and East Asian countries: the political dimension of the present" is similar. It focuses on the unpredictability of the leadership of North Korea as a country with nuclear weapons, so this makes it necessary for a dialogue between the DPRK and some countries around the world that have an influence on the geopolitical situation in the region [4].

In addition, the presence of nuclear weapons in the DPRK as the main factor that should encourage countries of the world, including Ukraine, to develop effective communications with the state, is mentioned by S. Snyder in the paper "Denuclearisation of North Korea" [5].

Interesting to consider is another work of historian I. Pohorielova, in "Current state and prospects for the development of Ukrainian-South Korean diplomatic relations", in which the author emphasises that Ukraine supports the unification of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea exclusively through negotiations and supports a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the two respective states. Another important aspect in the development of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and North Korea is the readiness of the Ukrainian state to help in the nuclear disarmament of the DPRK according to a similar scenario to the Ukrainian one [6].

The need to develop high-quality cooperation with North Korea is also emphasised by such an American author as D. Chubb in "Human rights, nuclear security, and interaction with North Korea". The main reason why European countries, including Ukraine, should establish diplomatic relations with North Korea is the difficult human rights situation on the territory of this country and the lack of access to international control bodies to monitor this situation [7].

The relevance of the study is that there is a need to investigate relations between Ukraine and the DPRK against the background of the current situation in the world, and military operations in Ukraine, in particular. The originality of the study is that this subject has not been studied before, so the disclosure of this issue is quite important.

Materials and Methods

The study on the subject of Ukrainian-North Korean relations was conducted using some research methods, among which the following can be highlighted: the historical method, which clarified the development of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in different periods. In addition, the use of the relevant method allowed identifying the main prerequisites and reasons for the termination of such relations against the background of Russian armed aggression against Ukraine, and the Ukrainian foreign policy of the Asian vector.

The identification of the main components that have become decisive in the implementation of Ukraine's steps toward the emergence of diplomatic relations has become possible through the use of a systematic method. In turn, the statistical method of scientific knowledge allowed identifying the main reason for most of the established communications with North Korea: its nuclear weapons, the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, determining their range, etc.

The use of the terminological method of scientific knowledge allowed defining such terms as "international relations", "diplomatic relations", "Korean question", "quasi-states", etc., which was of great importance for a deeper understanding of the subject under study.

The study was conducted in three main stages:

1. The first stage was characterised by the clarification of the theoretical basis for further work with the data, in particular, the main points that characterise the general foreign policy of the state based on the Law of Ukraine "On the principles of the internal and foreign policy of Ukraine" were outlined. Issues related to the foreign policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were also investigated; it was determined with which countries the relevant state has diplomatic ties, etc.

2. In the second stage, the issue of statistical data that characterise North Korea as a nuclear state was clarified. In addition, based on the analysis of some normative legal acts, including, for example, the Joint Communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [8], the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine "On Condemnation of Tests of Weapons of Mass Destruction by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" [9], the Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on trade and economic cooperation [10], Agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the State Committee of Ukraine on Science and Technology [11], etc, a study was conducted on the development of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the DPRK.

3. The third and final stage of the study is characterised by highlighting the main prerequisites and reasons that served as the basis for the termination of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The analysis of the Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the severance of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was also conducted [12]. At the relevant

stage of the study, a comparative analysis of the results obtained from the papers and achievements of other authors and researchers on similar, related subjects was conducted. The main pros and cons of the above-mentioned papers were clarified and a general conclusion on the development and history of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and North Korea was formulated on their basis.

Results

The foreign policy of the Ukrainian state is characterised by attempts to establish effective and long-term diplomatic relations with other countries, international organisations, etc., to promote national interests. Now the foreign policy vector of Ukraine is pro-European and pro-Euro-Atlantic. Mostly, this choice is due to the aspirations of the country's people to move in this direction and the similarity of Ukraine's values with European states [13].

It is important to monitor and control changes in the global geopolitical situation: which countries become geopolitical leaders, and who has enough influence on the development of other countries to maintain the priority course of integration of the Ukrainian state. All these aspects should be considered for Ukraine's entry into the political and global economic space as its full participant. Consequently, tracking new trends in economic and technological development has led to an expansion of the vector, which is currently aimed at cooperation with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region (APR) [14].

Notably, the main normative legal act regulating the foreign policy actions of the Ukrainian state is the Law of Ukraine "On the Basics of Internal and Foreign Policy" [15]. Thus, according to this act, the following are the main principles on which the foreign policy activities of the country are based:

1) respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of states, recognition of their equality;

2) peaceful resolution of conflicts and contradictions;

3) refraining from interfering in the internal politics of states;

4) establishment of effective ways of communication and cooperation between states;

5) compliance with and fulfilment of obligations imposed on the country as a result of signing international agreements;

6) prioritising international legal norms over national ones [15].

It is also worth highlighting the main principles that the state relies on in the implementation of foreign policy, in particular: the establishment of Ukraine as a sovereign and independent state with defined borders through the use of acquired international potential; strengthening the international authority of Ukraine; support for cooperation between Ukraine and foreign countries for the development of the economy, trade, technology, modernisation, and innovative development, etc.; integration of Ukraine into the global information space [15].

One of the main tasks of foreign policy is the emergence, development, and maintenance of diplomatic relations as the main form, which is designed to ensure communication and relations between countries following international legal norms; through diplomatic relations, cooperation between countries is established, etc. Any diplomacy begins with the recognition by one country of another as a full subject of the international community (Fig. 1).
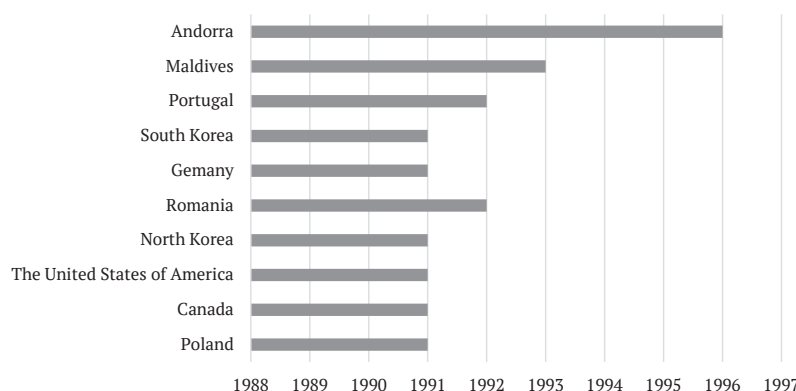
Figure 1. Recognition of Ukraine's independence by some foreign countries.

Source: [16]

In total, Ukrainian independence, sovereignty, and unitarity were recognised by 171 states between 1991-2003 [17]. With the acquisition of the status of an independent state by Ukraine, it began to build diplomatic ties with many foreign countries in a variable activity. Now the best solution for the Ukrainian state is to direct its foreign policy not only in the European but also in the Asian direction, in particular with such countries as Japan and China, which are leaders in this region both in terms of economic and technological indicators.

An interesting issue is the attitude of Ukraine to the so-called "Korean issue". The history of the division of the Korean Peninsula begins in 1910, during its annexation by the Japanese Empire. Subsequently, after the events of World War II that led to the Surrender of Japan, the annexed Korean territory was divided into two zones: North and South, which were occupied by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, respectively. Later, in 1948, two separate government institutions were formed: the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Attempts to unite the two parts of the Korean island resulted in the

Korean War, which lasted from 1950 to 1953, and resulted in the conclusion of a Korean Armistice Agreement signed by the DPRK, the People's Republic of China, and the UN, only South Korea did not sign. Therefore, a further peace agreement was never concluded, although the ceasefire was observed [18].

As for the relations that exist between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, their beginning dates back to January 1992 [19]. It is advisable to analyse some regulatory legal acts that will allow getting an idea of the nature and history of the development of Ukrainian-North Korean diplomatic relations. The document that marked the beginning of relations between the two states can be considered a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [8]. The text of the document states that the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of Ukraine agree on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the exchange of diplomatic missions at the embassy level for the development of cooperation in the fields of economy, culture, etc. Cooperation between the two countries by the document is based on the principles of mutual non-interference in foreign affairs and respect for each other's sovereignty [8].

The next important document certifying the historical development of relations between Ukraine and the DPRK is the Agreement between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on trade and economic cooperation dated June 1992 [10]. In general, the treaty provides for the adoption of some measures for the sustainable development of trade and economic relations between the two countries. Thus, the parties agree to comply with the most-favoured-nation regime regarding the customs policy for goods of both countries, etc. It is also planned to encourage various forms of cooperation between enterprises at variable levels. In particular, it will encourage the direction of foreign economic activity of organisations, companies, and enterprises to cooperate with representatives of the relevant country by trade practice at the international level [10]. Similar in its content is the Agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the State Committee of Ukraine on Science and Technology, which proclaims the desire to create favourable conditions for cooperation between the two countries in the field of science and technology [11].

Another step not only towards the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and North Korea, but also toward the security of citizens of both countries, was the signing of the Agreement between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on legal assistance in civil and criminal cases dated 2004 [20]. Thus, the treaty defines the regime and mechanism for complementary actions on the part of states in the civil and criminal fields. Thus, citizens of both contracting parties and legal entities established according to the legislation of the countries, have the right to enjoy the same legal protection as citizens of foreign countries, that is, to apply to law enforcement agencies, and judicial institutions, submit applications, etc. [20].

An important issue related to the development and specific features of relations between Ukraine and North Korea is the issue of the latter's military power, in particular its nuclear weapons. Thus, according to various sources, as of 2019, the DPRK has about 20-30 warheads, and available material used in the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the use of which will increase the arsenal to 30-60 warheads of nuclear weapons. [21]. The aspect of North Korea's missile power remains important (Fig 2).
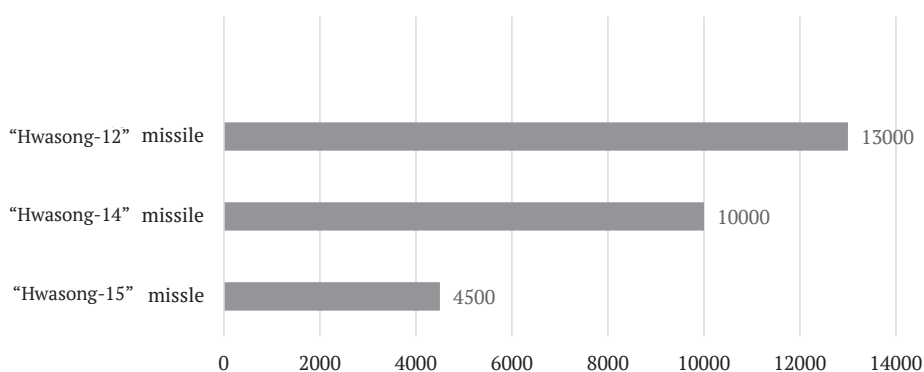
Figure 2. The range of missiles in service with the DPRK is in kilometres

Source: [22]

The position of Ukraine is to support the aspirations of other countries for North Korea to obtain nuclear-free status. In particular, the Ukrainian side expressed its readiness to share its path, which went to the status of a country that does not have nuclear weapons [23]. Ukraine also condemns the DPRK's nuclear tests [23]. This is confirmed by some acts, among which it is worth highlighting, for example, a letter from the State Financial Monitoring Committee of Ukraine addressed to Ukrainian banks and their branches, which notes that the

US Treasury Department has included eight North Korean companies in the list of those related to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction [24]. The Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution regarding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea", which contains a list of obligations imposed on Central and other authorities to restrict trade and cooperation with the DPRK under the economic sanctions imposed by the United States of America and other countries in response to North Korea's nuclear programme, is also indicative [25]. In particular, the text of the decree contains the following: a ban on the sale or transfer to North Korea of tanks, artillery systems, combat aircraft, warships, missiles, etc., and all materials, means, and items included in the list of military goods; goods belonging to luxury goods [25]. Another important document certifying the position of Ukraine on the nuclear potential of the DPRK is the resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine "On Condemnation of Tests of Weapons of Mass Destruction by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" [9]. The text of the decree contains the following: the nuclear tests conducted by the DPRK are facts of gross violation of international law and also create a real danger for states located near the country. The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine notes that the development of weapons of mass destruction is unacceptable in the modern world and poses a threat to its security [9].

Diplomatic relations between North Korea and Ukraine, whose development was difficult and not intensive, due to the isolation of the first country, began to deteriorate after 2014 [26]. In particular, the main reason for this deterioration was the positive reaction of the DPRK to the annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the hostilities in the Donetsk direction, which were unleashed by Russia. In response, Ukraine, by a Cabinet resolution of 2016, cancelled the agreement concluded between the USSR and the DPRK on mutual travel of citizens [27].

The turning point and completion of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were in 2022. In July 2022, the DPRK government recognised quasi-state entities (special subjects of the international legal system that have some of the characteristics of a state, but are not recognised as such) – the so-called "Luhansk" and "Donetsk People's Republics" [28]. In response, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine announced a statement on the severance of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [12]. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine strongly condemns the decision of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to recognise the so-called "independence" of the territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine temporarily occupied by the Russian Federation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine considers Pyongyang's decision to recognise the DPR and LPR as non-recognition of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine, the UN Charter, principles and norms of international law, and a lack of respect for the borders of Ukraine. However, the recognition of the LPR and DPR as full subjects of international law by the DPRK will not change the internationally recognised borders of Ukraine [12]. Thus, after the severance of economic and trade ties, the severance of diplomatic ones was also added to them. The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea explained the decision to recognise the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics. They noted that as a result of Ukraine's accession to the sanctions initiated by the United States of America, and the condemnation of its missile and nuclear programmes, such actions were perceived as disrespectful to the sovereignty of the DPRK [29].

Thus, Ukraine's decision to break diplomatic ties with the DPRK seems logical and justified, given the close relations of the DPRK not only with the countries of the communist regime, but also with Russia, which has begun a full-scale invasion and gradual occupation of the territories of sovereign Ukraine. The development of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and North Korea is marked by only a few agreements that could have started cooperation, but against the background of economic and other sanctions against the DPRK, which Ukraine joined, they were not implemented sufficiently.

Discussion

The subject of Ukrainian-North Korean relations is not popular among researchers and authors. Some papers devoted to the "Korean issue" only indirectly characterise the development and history of relevant diplomatic relations. However, the analysis of the available papers and identification of the main aspects that may be important in the research is interesting.

Thus, it is advisable to highlight the paper of R. Mukoid, "Mechanism for recognising an organisation as a terrorist organisation in Ukraine", where the author outlines not only ways to recognise countries or entities as a terrorist, but also notes North Korea's direct attitude to terrorism, in particular, notes that from time to time the country is included in the list of countries-sponsors of terrorism, which was compiled by the United States of America. The analysis of this thesis allows us to conclude that it is advisable to establish strong diplomatic ties with the DPRK as an unstable country. This status of the country in the world and its isolation did not provide enough opportunities for expanding or improving diplomatic relations with Ukraine [30].

The study by S. Kahn, "The regional role of the DPRK in the SAA", is a statement about the deterioration of diplomatic relations between North Korea and many countries around the world. The author notes that this is more related to nuclear tests, the development of nuclear weapons, and the policy of militarisation of the country. This led to the isolation of the DPRK and a change in the attitude towards it even from the country "friendly" to the Pyongyang regime – China. Not only has China changed the character of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Ukraine also condemns the DPRK's nuclear policy and has joined the sanctions imposed against the state at the initiative of the United States of America. In particular, it was the support of sanctions from Ukraine that became the decisive argument in favour of recognising the quasi-states of the so-called "LPR" and "DPR" by North Korea [31].

O. Samoilov in the study "The North Korean problem in international relations" highlights some recent changes

in the internal policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in particular, the author notes that there is an aggravation of military conflicts and provocations on the part of North Korea to distract the attention of world leaders from the failure of economic and social programmes of the country, numerous violations of human rights and freedoms, the number of which is now difficult to accurately determine or calculate due to the isolation of the DPRK. There is also an unstable political situation and the elimination of some of the country's leaders, etc. All this can serve as an appropriate argument about the need for Ukraine to refrain from establishing strong diplomatic ties and serve as a refusal to resume any relations with the relevant country [32].

In the work of M. Zapletnyuk, "The position of Ukraine on the problem of Korean Unification" can find considerations on other reasons for the insufficient development of international relations between Ukraine and North Korea. Thus, the author believes that cooperation and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the countries representing the Asian space were important in the framework of the policy of rapprochement with the Far East. However, in this approach, Ukraine at the very beginning of its independence had to consider the position of such a world leader as the United States of America, which substantially influenced regional and global international relations in the most substantial parts of the world. Despite this, Ukraine supported the US position on resolving the "Korean issue" and reducing North Korea's nuclear weapons reserves and later joined the economic sanctions imposed against the DPRK [33].

A thorough analysis of the history of the development of the DPRK is available in the work "Reading North Korea: an ethnological study" by S. Ryan. The author, like most researchers, emphasises the total isolation of North Korea from the outside world and the directly proportional loss of authority among other countries of the world. By shutting down development and cooperation, the state loses its nationality and is perceived only as a militarised entity with nuclear weapons reserves. Also, S. Ryan emphasises the blatant disregard and hostility towards the American authorities and Americans in general on the part of North Koreans at the government level. This, in particular, maybe the reason for the corresponding negative attitude towards Ukraine due to the support of economic restrictions on the DPRK proposed by the United States of America [34].

It was the support of sanctions by the Ukrainian state and the emphasis on the need for the denuclearisation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that could serve as tranquilisers for the development of diplomatic ties between the two countries, and in the future – even to their rupture. However, the strong and long-term relations that have developed between North Korea and the Russian Federation are notable. Pyongyang's support for the Moscow regime was another impetus for denying the territorial integrity of Ukraine and, as a result, recognition by the DPRK of the quasi-state entities – the so-called "Luhansk" and "Donetsk People's Republics".

Also quite interesting is the work "Daily authoritarianism in North Korea" by the Irish researcher O. Dukalskis.

The author focuses on the large-scale changes that are taking place year after year in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and leading to its increasing isolation. In general, as already noted, such isolation substantially affects the state of rights and freedoms of North Korean citizens and leads to their numerous violations. O. Dukalskis considers the gradual increase in the level of corruption in the country and the failure of its economic programme [35]. It is worth agreeing with the researcher's reasoning because it is the isolation and militarisation of the country that allows hiding many violations of human and civil rights and freedoms within the country, the lack of security, and the poverty of the population. Despite such indicators, Ukraine still signed some diplomatic agreements, which expressed its readiness to cooperate with the state.

The next issue that often becomes the subject of discussion among authors is the issue of North Korea's nuclear arsenal. The Ukrainian position on this issue remains stable and consists of disapproval of the country's accumulation of nuclear weapons. Thus, Ukraine offered empirical data for the gradual nuclear armament of the DPRK, and later joined the implementation of the UN resolution on North Korea. Such actions substantially worsened diplomatic relations between the two countries [25].

However, nuclear disarmament is not seen as the main thing in the paper "Nuclear North Korea without intercontinental ballistic missiles: the best goal" by H. Zhang. In the study, the author argues that due to North Korea's lack of a reliable ally that would compensate for the balance of power between it and, for example, South Korea or the United States, it is nuclear weapons that remain the only deterrent for many countries regarding offensive actions against the DPRK, and a means of security. H. Zhang also expresses the opinion about the possible repetition of the "Ukrainian scenario" regarding the renunciation of nuclear weapons but considers it unjustified. Instead, he suggests coordinating the forces of the United States of America to negotiate with the DPRK on the rejection of intercontinental ballistic missiles, which would substantially reduce the level of tension in the region [36].

As for the conditions under which Ukraine can restore diplomatic ties with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it is worth paying attention to the paper "North Korea: sanctions, cooperation, and strategic reorientation" by the American author M. Noland. The paper notes that the position of "maximum pressure", which is currently practised in most of North Korea's partner countries, can lead to consequences that are strikingly different from those expected. In particular, the author suggests that in relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, adhere to a policy of "soft power", which would not encourage the state to total isolation, but rather encourage a change in the regime of power, openness to foreign policy life, etc. [37].

However, this statement seems contradictory, because a loyal attitude to the methods of development of the DPRK and its militarisation can provoke a precedent and encourage other countries to join such a scenario. Thus, to change the position of Ukraine on North Korea, the latter must recognise the territorial sovereignty and integrity of the former, stand in the way of conducting an open foreign policy, and start the path to nuclear disarmament.

Conclusions

As a result of the study on the subject of Ukrainian-North Korean diplomatic relations, it was identified that their beginning dates back to 1992 when a joint communiqué was adopted on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the future, it is advisable to identify the stages of development of relevant relations with the moments of adoption of relevant agreements that allowed developing relations between the two countries in scientific, technical, legal, and other areas.

It was also possible to identify the position of Ukraine on the "Korean issue" regarding the unification of the peninsula. Thus, the Ukrainian side supports peaceful unification through negotiations between the two states. In particular, the state's position on nuclear weapons shows Ukraine's desire for North Korea to acquire the status of a nuclear-free state. This desire is also demonstrated by the state's accession to the economic sanctions initiated by the United States of America. Since Ukraine joined the restrictive measures against the DPRK, a period of lack of progress in diplomatic relations between the two countries begins.

The main reason for the severance of diplomatic ties between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is appropriate to consider the recognition by the DPRK of quasi-state entities – the so-called "Donetsk" and "Luhansk People's Republics", and non-recognition of the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula. Thus, it demonstrates disrespect for the territorial integrity of Ukraine and its internationally recognised borders and is a good reason to terminate any type of relations between the two countries. In their defence, representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea note Ukraine's identical disrespect for North Korea's sovereignty by joining economic sanctions against it; therefore, they consider their decision justified.

The research is not limited to this subject. The following papers should be devoted to the question of the correlation between the development of Ukrainian-South Korean relations and its impact on relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Ukrainian state. It will also be interesting to analyse the impact of North Korea on the course of the war in Ukraine, in particular through the arms trade of the DPRK with Russia.

References

[1] Honcharuk, A.Z., & Parakhonskyi, B.O. (2011). The Asian vector of Ukraine's foreign policy: New pragmatism. *Strategic Priorities of the National Institute of Strategic Studies*, 2, 168-177.

[2] Lytvynenko, O. (Ed.). (2021). *Ukraine and the countries of East, South-East and South Asia: 2020 results and development prospects*. Kyiv: National Institute of Strategic Studies.

[3] Hoare, J.E. (2019). *Historical dictionary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

[4] Pogorelova, I.S. (2009). Ukraine and the countries of East Asia: The political dimension of today. *Political Science*, 122, 127-132.

[5] Snyder, S.A. (2019). Denuclearizing North Korea: Time for Plan B. *The Washington Quarterly*, 42(4), 75-90.

[6] Pogorelova, I. (2009). The current state and prospects for the development of Ukrainian-South Korean relations. *Bulletin of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University. History*, 98, 40-42.

[7] Chubb, D., & Yeo, A. (2019). Human rights, nuclear security and the question of engagement with North Korea. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 73(3), 227-233.

[8] Seal Release No. 72/14-612/1-84306 "On the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea". (1992, October). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/-show/408_004#Text.

[9] Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine No. 2285-VIII "On Condemnation of Tests of Weapons of Mass Destruction by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea". (2018, February). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2285-19#Text.

[10] Agreement No. 408_015 "Between the Government of Ukraine and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Trade and Economic Cooperation". (1992, June). Retrieved from https://zakon.-rada.gov.ua/laws/show/408_008#Text.

[11] Agreement No. 408_005 "On Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the State Committee of Ukraine on Science and Technology". (1993, February). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/-408_005#Text.

[12] Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine regarding the severance of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. (2022). Retrieved from https://mfa.gov.ua/news/zayava-mzs-ukrayini-shchodo-rozrivu-diplomatichnih-vidnosin-iz-korejskoyu-narodnoyu-demokratichnoyu-respublikoyu.

[13] Crespo, C. (2020). What do we know about poverty in North Korea? *Palgrave Communications*, 6(1), 1-8.

[14] Smith, H. (2020). The ethics of United Nations sanctions on North Korea: Effectiveness, necessity and proportionality. *Critical Asian Studies*, 52(2), 182-203.

[15] Law of Ukraine No. 2411-VI "On the Basics of Internal and Foreign Policy". (2010, July). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/2411-17.

[16] Wang, B. (2020). Social contact theory and attitude change through tourism: Researching Chinese visitors to North Korea. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 36, 100-743.

[17] Jung, H.J. (2021). Why help North Korea? Foreign aid to North Korea and its determinants, 2002-2018. *Pacific Focus*, 36(2), 202-228.

[18] Helmberger, D. (2022). Bayesian differential moment tensor inversion: theory and application to the North Korea nuclear tests. *Geophysical Journal International*, 229(3), 2034-2046.

[19] Ifft, E. (2020). Lessons for negotiating with North Korea. *Survival*, 62(1), 89-106.

[20]   Agreement No. 1758-IV "Between Ukraine and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Legal Assistance in Civil and Criminal Cases". (2004, June). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/408_012.

[21]   Han, B. (2021). Secondary sanctions mechanism revisited: the case of US sanctions against North Korea. In *Research Handbook on Economic Sanctions*. *Edward Elgar*, 3, 22-39.

[22]   Kim, E. (2020). A critical examination of international research conducted by North Korean authors: Increasing trends of collaborative research between China and North Korea. *Scientometrics*, 124(1), 429-450.

[23]   Kang, D. (2022). North Korea: Deterrence through danger. In *Asian Security Practice: Asian Security Practice: Material and ideational influences (Part 6)* (pp. 234-263). Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

[24]   Regarding No. 746. "The Adoption of the Resolution". (2007, May). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/v5269500-07.

[25]   Resolution No. 746-2007-р "On the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution Regarding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea". (2007, May). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/746-2007-%D0%BF.

[26]   Hanh, N.T. (2022). One more way for understanding US-North Korea and the possibilities under the Biden administration. *East Asia*, 39(3), 199-223.

[27]   Resolution No. 481-2016-п "On the Termination of the Agreement Between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Mutual Travel of Citizens". (2016, June). Retrieved from https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/481-2016-%D0%BF.

[28]   Kim, I. (2020). Trump power: Maximum pressure and China's sanctions enforcement against North Korea. *The Pacific Review*, 33(1), 96-124.

[29]   Bakich, S.D. (2020). Signalling capacity and crisis diplomacy: Explaining the failure of 'maximum pressure' in the 2017 US-North Korea nuclear crisis. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2, 1-26.

[30]   Mukoid, R.V. (2015). The mechanism of recognition of a terrorist organization in Ukraine. *South Ukrainian Legal Journal*, 2, 37-39.

[31]   Kahn, D.S. (2016). The regional role of the DPRK in the SAA. *Gilea: Scientific Bulletin*, 114, 426-430.

[32]   Samoilov, O.F. (2010). The North Korean problem in international relations. *Problems of International Relations*, 1, 273-284.

[33]   Zapletniuk, M. (2013). Ukraine's position on the problem of Korean unification. *Gilea: Scientific Bulletin*, 74, 84-87.

[34]   Ryang, S. (2020). Reading North Korea: An ethnological inquiry. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

[35]   Dukalskis, A., & Joo, H.M. (2021). Everyday authoritarianism in North Korea. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 73(2), 364-386.

[36]   Zhang, H. (2019). A nuclear-armed North Korea without ICBMs: The best achievable objective. *The Nonproliferation Review*, 26(1-2), 143-153.

[37]   Noland, M. (2019). North Korea: Sanctions, engagement and strategic reorientation. *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 14(2), 189-209.

Максим Сергієнко

Київський національний університет культури і мистецтв
01601, вул. Є. Коновальця, 36, м. Київ, Україна

Че Хуан

Університет Фудань
200437, шосе Хандан, 220, м. Шанхай, Китай

Дипломатичні відносини України та КНДР: історія та специфіка розвитку

Анотація. Актуальність тематики наукового дослідження значним чином зумовлена потребою дослідження причин та передумов розриву дипломатичних зв'язків між Україною та Корейською Народно-Демократичною Республікою на тлі сучасних геополітичних змін. Важливість такого аналізу полягає в мілітаризаційній політиці Північної Кореї, яка може впливати на партнерство країни з українською державою. Необхідність проведення такого дослідження полягає також у недостатній кількості робіт на окреслену тематику. Метою проведеного дослідження постало з'ясування основних аспектів співпраці між Україною та КНДР протягом 1992–2022 років. Методи наукового пізнання, за допомогою яких було здійснено дослідження, є: історичний, порівняльний, статистичний, системний та термінологічний. Основними здобутками, що були отримані внаслідок проведення науково-дослідної роботи, варто окреслити наступні: з'ясування перебігу та розвитку відносин між Україною та Північною Кореєю, дослідження характеру відповідних взаємовідносин, за допомогою аналізу нормативно-правових актів, що були укладені між двома державами. Окреслено ставлення України до ядерного потенціалу КНДР та політику щодо об'єднання Республіки Корея та Корейської Народної Демократичної Республіки. З'ясовано основні причини, відповідно до яких Україна проголосила заяву щодо розірвання дипломатичних відносин з КНДР, а також позицію Північної Кореї щодо анексії та окупації деяких територій України, дипломатичні відносини між Росією та Корейською Народною Дипломатичною Республікою на тлі повномасштабного вторгнення Російської Федерації на територію української держави. Результати науково-дослідної роботи можуть бути використані істориками, геополітиками, правознавцями та іншими дослідниками як базис для подальших праць на суміжні теми

Ключові слова: азійський вектор, міжнародні відносини, геополітика, двосторонні відносини, договори про співпрацю між країнами

Serhii Koniukhov[*]

Lviv Polytechnic National University

79013, 12B Stepan Bandera Str., Lviv, Ukraine

Specific Features of the Process of Decolonisation of Modern Textbooks on the History of Ukraine

Abstract. The relevance of the subject matter was conditioned by the need to develop a programme for the process of decolonisation of modern Ukrainian history textbooks, the construction of a historical narrative and its consolidation in the public consciousness, and the great importance of practical application and implementation of decolonisation under modern requirements of the time. The purpose of this study was to conduct a detailed analysis of the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine, separate the available information in textbooks from unreliable facts, and develop recommendations for improvement. The basis of the methodological approach in this study was a qualitative combination of methods of system analysis, theoretical research, and to a certain extent, empirical research, which allowed highlighting and generalising the direct data of observations, and the combination of these methods created the dynamics of scientific knowledge as an integral organised system. The main results obtained in the framework of this study should be considered the definition of the main features of the decolonisation process, their implementation and further improvement. The results also include the formulation of the main goals and objectives of decolonisation. The results of this study and the conclusions formulated on their basis are of significant importance primarily for students, students and teachers who will repeatedly apply and operate information from textbooks, for historians, subjects whose professional activity is related to the reliability of facts about the historical past and present, which is essential from the standpoint of spreading false information and subjectivism of authors in history textbooks, and for all citizens of Ukraine

Keywords: derussification, decolonisation, identity, renewal, decommunisation, historical narrative

Introduction

The decolonisation of modern textbooks on Ukraine is essential from the standpoint of today's events in Ukrainian society and the world. Over the years of independence, school historical education in Ukraine has changed significantly not only in terms of the content itself, but also in terms of the goals and objectives of teaching and its organisation. However, it is difficult to answer unequivocally whether historical education in Ukraine is of impeccable quality. After all, according to N. Hupan [1], textbooks are very much influenced by the subjectivity of the authors who worked on them or influenced by various figures.

The process of decolonisation concerned different countries and entered its crucial phase during and immediately after the Second World War, the Polish researcher notes. This beginning of the development of decolonisation can be seen in the example of Indonesia when it declared its independence, or Africa, which in 1960 was almost completely colonised [2].

Ya.G. Hrytsak [3] highlighted that an important factor in the creation of a modern Ukrainian nation is the construction of a national historical narrative and its consolidation in the public consciousness.

Most of all, the history textbook acts as an important factor in the development of historical memory among young people. After all, the very ideas about oneself, the people, heroes and enemies are formed from adolescence. To some extent, it is formed through family stories, and historical fiction, but mainly through the school history course. Since the history of Ukraine was taught in Soviet times, although this subject was considered minor, L. Chuprii [4] emphasised that modern textbooks are important to support young people who will study them to understand the authenticity of certain events.

The general didactics of history, its role and place in the establishment of Ukrainian statehood, the need, and importance of creating a new one, and separation from the attributed and unreliable facts, currently occupy almost the leading ranks in discussions [5]. After all, based on the historical facts of the past and various authors who wrote textbooks, the topic of decolonisation of textbooks cannot but play a leading role.

Its relevance is determined by the availability of demand and development of the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine, and their

[*]*Corresponding author*

updating. The need for decolonisation plays a major and leading role, because it has a significant impact on society.

The relevance of the investigation of the process of decolonisation of modern Ukrainian history textbooks is extremely important, because this academic discipline carries out very significant tasks, one of which is the education of future citizens of the country based on certain examples of the past, understanding the modern realities of the development of Ukrainian society, events taking place against the background of the war, and comparing them with past events. All this happens precisely through knowledge and awareness of previous experience, which will be most learned through textbooks on the history of Ukraine.

Modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine are more advanced and updated compared to older versions, but despite this, they still require more detailed analysis and decolonisation. Society is constantly developing, and with its development, it is necessary to develop new methods of presenting material in schools or universities, to make sure that the current events in the world are not ignored. History continues to be written every day, and it takes a lot of time and professionalism to write it and put it in textbooks.

The main problem of earlier studies on the subject matter was not deep enough immersion in this topic, other time frames, and events around it, which also had a certain impact. After all, as noted by O. Tkachenko [6], in the current conditions of war, the demand for decolonisation of modern textbooks is more relevant than ever before and, accordingly, requires a deeper investigation. *The purpose of this study* is to consider the system of historical education and analyse the decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine.

Materials and Methods

The following methods were used in the course of the study: theoretical (analysis; synthesis; concretisation; generalisation; induction and deduction; method of analogies; modelling, comparison, and generalisation). The study provides for the search for effective ways to understand the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine at present. The research was conducted based on a pre-compiled theoretical framework, which acts as a qualitative foundation for conducting all further studies.

The theoretical basis consists of the investigation of some mainly modern Ukrainian researchers, such as O. Udod [7], O. Tkachenko [6], aimed at studying many problematic issues related to the concept of the decolonisation process, updating textbooks, their content and the reliability of the information provided in them.

The study included three main stages. In the first stage, the theoretical basis was prepared, which was later used as the main foundation for further research. A systematic analysis of methods for implementing updates to the application of the decolonisation process and its current course was performed. The main issues that can be efficiently solved by studying and familiarising topics, discussions, and research related to the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine are described. The theoretical basis given at the first stage provides a general idea of the process of decolonisation

and its implementation, significance and impact that it has on society. General patterns of development of the decolonisation process are described and recommendations that can contribute to better and faster development of the decolonisation process are considered.

In the second stage, an analytical investigation of the prospects for the decolonisation process was carried out to analyse and understand it. In addition, this stage included an analytical comparison of the results obtained with the results and conclusions of other researchers, among which the concepts of some scientists from Europe who were engaged in the practical development of issues related to decolonisation in different age periods and its progress were considered. This helped clarify the results obtained in the course of this study and expand the prospects for research on a given topic. It is at the second stage that the given topic was most deeply explored. Comparisons and examples were given for deeper understanding.

At the final stage, based on the results obtained, the conclusions were formulated, which are the final reflection of these results and determine in general the main trends in the features of the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine, its relevance under the influence of current events and the impact on future events. The study results and the conclusions formulated on their basis can be used in the future as an effective scientific basis for conducting qualitative analysis and comparison with previous scientific research in this area.

Results

The conducted study of the prospects for the decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine gave the following results. Numerous issues related to decolonisation, the history of Ukraine, and the updating of modern history textbooks requires careful investigation and deepening.

First of all, the process of decolonisation is necessary for liberation from colonial oppression and the acquisition of statehood. This process is time-consuming and is accompanied by various events. And in modern conditions of the war, it is an integral process of the struggle against imperialism and all the alien things are being imposed [7].

In various discussions around the modern textbook on the history of Ukraine, in addition to political and ideological aspects, didactic aspects of the phenomenon of the textbook are also sought. School education today is built on a linear principle, that is, it is forced to cover the most important issues like ethnogenesis of Ukrainians and others at a very primitive level. This is because the structure of historical education does not allow doing it any other way. The introduction of European models of building a school textbook requires state support for the course of the history of Ukraine as a priority, and the establishment of constant interaction between foreign and Ukrainian researchers, which would allow the latter to keep up with world science [8].

The Ukrainian history textbook still contains Russian colonial narratives. Therefore, the process of decolonisation, which will take a long period, is a priority in the present time. Textbooks, even modern ones, require detailed analysis in order to continue restoring the correct

interpretation of historical events. Although representatives of the Ministry of Education claim that the programme is compiled correctly, some publishers still make significant mistakes both in the presentation itself and in the accuracy of the facts. The process of decolonisation is gaining significant strength, because the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory is adopting a bill that would consolidate the decolonisation of both textbooks on the history of Ukraine and the decolonisation of Ukraine at the legislative level [9].

Many prominent historians argue that it is necessary to rid the history of Ukraine of the "imperial heritage" that was used for Russian imperial influence on Ukraine. The greatest influence on the writing of textbooks on the history of Ukraine was exerted by the Soviet Union and the neighbouring aggressor country – Russia, which are now quite skilfully using this for their own selfish purposes [10].

Since Ukraine was declared independent, the issue of completely updating the content of school textbooks on the history of Ukraine has become acute. It is clear that this was caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and put an end to all previous ideologies of that time. Researchers were faced with opportunities to apply more free and variable approaches to the development of a historical concept. It can be argued that the process of decolonisation has been activated since the collapse of the Soviet Union and continues to this day. Since Ukraine declared independence, for the first time, the truth about the Holodomor, Russification, environmental disasters, and people's rights has been covered. But despite this, there were still many myths of Soviet history in the textbooks of the 1990s. Textbooks of the first decade of independence contained statements about the friendship of the peoples of the nearest neighbouring countries and the alleged importance of these ties, which led to the continuance of the decolonisation process [11].

A sign of the present is a post-industrial society, characterised by great development and the emergence of everything new. Accordingly, many textbooks practice not only in printed form, but also in electronic form. An electronic textbook should contain the same components as a printed one, but due to its implementation, students can quickly find the material they need. The appearance of electronic textbooks on the history of Ukraine contributes to the acceleration of the process of textbook decolonisation [11].

The problem of depicting "our" and "foreign" in textbooks is much more complicated than it seems at first glance. It is educational resources that have a significant impact on the establishment of national identity, so they should be devoid of negative stereotypes and propaganda, which are often covered in the submitted materials. The following criteria have been created, which are used to assess the compliance of the textbook manuscript with the principles of tolerance:
• accuracy and correctness of illustrations, dates, maps, and graphic materials;
• reflection of the contribution of other peoples to the national and world heritage;
• highlighting value standards;
• balanced, comprehensive representation and interpretation of political and international disputes and conflicts;

• the textbook focuses on international cooperation;
• broadcasting to students the ideals of freedom, dignity, and the right to choose [12].

As mentioned earlier, it was the war and today's events that launched the process of decolonisation as productively as possible. This is because Russia is trying to justify its actions using fictional historical facts. Despite the third decade of independence, the ghost of the old imperial regime still hangs over Ukraine, so for the history of Ukraine, decolonisation is primarily a liberation from Russian myths, post-colonial consciousness, and foreign identity. Decolonisation in Ukraine is currently the most actively engaged in:
• ousting the Russian language from the Ukrainian cultural space;
• return of their historical names and true history to Ukrainian cities. Accordingly, they are also changed in textbooks;
• restoration and honouring of those places of memory that revive the Ukrainian national consciousness, and not the colonial one;
• establishment of the national pantheon of heroes who fought for the Ukrainian nation [13].

All these components of decolonisation entail significant changes, which should also change in updated history textbooks, but this process is not instantaneous and also requires a lot of work.

History textbooks should be reprinted at least once every 5 years, the Ministry of Ukraine says. The latest changes that have been made to modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine are:
• shortening the description of the modern period of history;
• changing textbook covers;
• removing individual words and phrases or replacing them with others. For example, the section on the Holodomor was changed. "Artificial Holodomor" was removed from the text, leaving only "Holodomor";
• adding more drawings and interesting tasks.

Drastic changes were made to the textbooks of the 5th grade, namely, simplification and presentation of the material to make it easier for children to learn and arouse more interest. But different historians react to many such strong changes in their own way. Because updating the content of history textbooks requires constant verification of every word or date. It is necessary to constantly monitor that propaganda is not carried out and imposed values are not promoted. Some historians have reacted very negatively to the updated content of textbooks. After all, comparing the edits with previous texts in textbooks, it turned out that the description of some important events in Ukrainian history disappeared [14].

Until now, some researchers and teachers believe that the doctrinal teaching of history, that is, the validity of the correctness of the position of one or the other side, is truly correct. The textbook analysis methodology established in Europe today considers whether such an analysis and/or balanced text contains an image of nationality, or, on the contrary, provokes a confrontation between the carriers of historical memory of different ethnic groups

regarding the events of the past. Considering this circumstance, then even at the stage of preparing the textbook, it is possible to eliminate contradictions and sources of potential conflict discussions. For example, German history textbooks have taken a significant step towards giving Jews a proper place in historical documents.

One of the most common shortcomings of history textbooks today is the use of stereotypes, when generalisations about the entire nation or country are made based on a trait that is inherent in only one person or group. Therefore, it is necessary to continue to destroy stereotypes and change them. Another important thing in changing or creating textbooks on the history of Ukraine is that the text contains the subjective opinion of the authors who worked on it. It is very important that historical events are covered as they really were, without the layers and influence of the Russian Empire. Because the biggest problem today in the decolonisation of modern history textbooks is getting rid of the Russian approach to studying the past [15].

When creating and decolonising textbooks on the history of Ukraine, it is important to comply with the requirements of state standards, make sure that the content corresponds to the curriculum on history regarding the structure, volume, and sequence of material, the correlation of sections and paragraphs with units of study time, do not overload the textbook with information, do not write too complex academic language, defend national ideas, and at the same time present accurate and necessary material, do not deprive students of the opportunity to have their own opinion and express it. The textbook should consistently form a tolerant attitude to other opinions, to national identity, and arouse interest in studying its own history. Moreover, the presentation of the material in textbooks should be such that it does not impose its own vision on students, but leads to an understanding of the ideas of national identity, historical past, and culture. Authors and editors should present materials in textbooks in such a way that students, on the one hand, develop a national identity, and on the other, acquire an understanding of cultural diversity. And of course, the textbook should demonstrate a commitment to freedom, democracy, and human rights [15].

For further effective decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine, it is necessary to check historical events and facts that are printed in textbooks as often as possible, removing false information from them. Countries that use this information for their own purposes should attract experienced historians, promote cooperation with foreign researchers, and promote the development of the historical and cultural foundation of Ukraine.

Discussion

In recent years, such a type of work as a "round table" has been actively used, with the help of which as many specialists and experts as possible are involved in considering certain problematic issues. Often the topics of this "round table" are what a textbook on the history of Ukraine should be. Based on the results of monitoring, a list of questions was compiled that should be answered by specialists who understand history. The questions relate to who should write textbooks, whether the anthropologist of the textbook is important, the objectivism and subjectivism of the authors who worked on textbooks, and how to improve the mechanisms of expertise that consider modern aspects of educational development. Historians still have a lot of work to do to make colonial narratives deconstructed. The process of decolonisation should always function, because each new generation should rewrite historical narratives [16].

Now there are concerns that the term "decolonisation" would disappear. After all, for many people, this term is perceived not as something serious, but as a buzzword. And decolonisation is too important to be neglected because it protects the values of one's own country and nation [17, 18]. According to recent observations, the attitude of the population of Ukraine to the process of decolonisation is almost significantly supported. However, since the beginning of 2022, after a full-scale invasion of the territory of Ukraine by Russia, the interest and desire of Ukrainian citizens to get rid of the colonial past has increased. And right now, more than ever before, the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine is something that does not go unnoticed. Ukrainian historians and researchers are actively working to make the process of decolonisation even more important.

Since a significant part of Ukrainian lands was under Russian control, the aggressor country did like all empires – imposed ideas about the territories it captured – declared that it was its organic territory. And to do this, it put forward the claim that all the captured territories were allegedly founded by Russians, while it did not stop imposing its consciousness by implementing psychological mechanisms of influence on society and destroying Ukrainian identity for centuries. As an example of imperialist influence, the author considers such historical events as the 19th century, namely, the historical period when the concept of the great Russian people, which included Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, was prepared for Ukrainians. At that time, the Ukrainian economy itself was made a raw material appendage to the Russian economy. But these successes of Russian influence, unlike those when the Soviet Union still existed, failed. Any nation that declares independence must carry out its decolonisation to free itself from the yoke of others. Especially those states that were under the influence of the Soviet Union [19].

The development of educational textbooks on the history of Ukraine was mainly carried out centrally and the textbook was considered a regulatory document, which led to the unification of the educational process. But if certain ideological layers are discarded, Ukrainian history textbooks had a well-thought-out methodological apparatus that contributed to the effective consolidation of historical facts. This centralised approach to writing textbooks also had another positive aspect, namely that creative teams worked on the textbooks, that is, proper testing took place. The biggest disadvantage of this approach was the ideological content, which is still trying to be eliminated from modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine by decolonisation [20].

Some researchers, such as K. Kaplyuk [20], I. Shtogrin [21], Ya. Hrytsak [22], who approach the process of decolonisation of textbooks on the history of Ukraine, argued that the problem is not so much in the subjectivism of the authors or lack of professionalism, as in the circumstances under which the textbook is created. Admittedly, any author is a product of a certain culture, which is often broadcasted in writing textbooks, and therefore, it is important to help "from the outside" to see these contexts broadcasted by the author. In addition, editors working on creating textbooks should know not only about the texts themselves, but also about the contexts [20, 22].

The head of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory said that after decolonisation, the census of history, it is very important that there are political decisions that would consolidate new dates of the founding of cities, change historical facts, and reduce the material based on historical research. And the process of decolonisation itself, which is currently quite active, should take on even greater proportions to reduce the impact on the writing of Ukrainian history by Russia as much as possible and permanently get rid of imperialism [21]. But it remains debatable whether the new material would be presented efficiently, and most importantly, with the reduction of material in history textbooks, it is very important not to take away important historical events from the curriculum that everyone should know and remember.

V. Vyatrovych [9] noted that the first stage of decolonisation is decommunisation. Because society needs to separate itself from the communist influence and totalitarianism under which the Russian imperial past is often found. Unlike other countries that seceded after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine is very far behind in the process of decommunisation. In Ukraine, back in the early 1990s, decommunisation was implemented only on the part of social initiatives, that is, no support was observed from the ruling regimes. The historian noted that the most active process of decommunisation and decolonisation took place only from the beginning of 2014 when the old regime of power was overthrown.

Historians, relying on the experience of post-communist countries, or for example, relying on the experience of Germany, where the withdrawal of the totalitarian regime was quite difficult, argued that in Ukraine the process of decolonisation is not an easy phenomenon. Researchers suggested that it would be just as difficult to decolonise modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine, because it requires both a lot of time and considerable effort and observation. It is decolonisation that should be discussed in the so-called "decommunisation laws". Communism has always been present in Ukraine and remains to this day, but already under the guise of Russian imperial hegemony.

I. Losev [14] argued that as of today's military events, it is very harmful and reckless to separate decommunisation and decolonisation from derussification. After all, it is the Russian empire that exerts the greatest influence on Ukrainian culture and nation for its destruction.

The creators of the "decommunisation" laws, namely, the director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory V. Viatrovych, realised the true significance and essence of decommunisation processes in Ukraine as a de facto decolonisation. It is now that there is a very active separation from the imperial heritage, Ukrainians are establishing themselves as an independent and sovereign nation more and more every day [19].

English researcher R. F. Betts [23] argued that decolonisation for some British colonies was gradual and peaceful for emigrants, but violent for others, where local uprisings were fuelled by nationalism. Most countries also faced opposition from the new superpowers, the United States, and the Soviet Union. In other words, the process of decolonisation is a global phenomenon that affects most countries.

I. Shtogrin [21] considering the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine stated that textbooks should be rewritten constantly. He and his colleagues prepared a new concept of historical education, which involves writing a completely new textbook on the history of Ukraine and which would differ in many ways from the previous ones. As society is constantly changing, said I. Shtogrin [21], so, accordingly, history textbooks should change, which should keep up with the development of society and meet the latest changes. As a rule, textbooks should be written primarily by people knowledgeable in the field of history and those who have had experience working with children at school. Similarly, I. Shtogrin [21] insisted that it is necessary to update all textbooks, not only on the history of Ukraine, to create a quality education in Ukrainian schools. A history textbook is not an encyclopaedia, because it plays a very important role. The history textbook has the function of teaching a personal identification, that is, children who study history should clearly understand who they are and know their history as it was, and not study fictional or false historical events. I. Shtogrin [21] was correct, because the process of decolonisation is so large-scale that it cannot affect only one historical branch. However, this could be argued, because the historical industry in the current historical conditions is a priority and requires changes in the first place.

The main goal at present is precisely historical education and updating of history textbooks, which should be handled exclusively by specialists and experts. The process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine is quite complex and each researcher has their views on it. But following the results of recent years, it can be noted that some progress in its development is noticeable.

Conclusions

During the first decades since Ukraine became independent, the process of decolonisation has become very relevant, and the content of history textbooks has undergone significant changes and adjustments. Most of the phenomena, facts and events in textbooks began to be considered from the standpoint of the national state and Ukrainian values to reduce and get rid of imperial influence and unreliable facts as much as possible. But despite such attempts to improve textbooks on the history of Ukraine, the process of decolonisation has its advantages and disadvantages. Quite often, historians encounter the content of textbooks with the subjectivism of the

authors, unreliability of information represented by the dates of historical events, and publishers that allow not very well-tested texts to be published.

The material available in textbooks was tested for reliability and recommendations were made for improving the implementation of the decolonisation process and updating it. Specific examples of the decolonisation process in modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine and an assessment of the quality of the presented material are given.

In the process of studying the specific features of the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine, it is proved that decolonisation has been gaining the greatest development since the independence

of Ukraine and continues to this day and its expansion will continue. This process brings changes and fights against imperialism and everything imposed by other countries, defends true values and at the same time is very complex. Decolonisation of modern textbooks requires constant verification of the content and authors who write history textbooks and is carried out every 5 years.

In general, the process of decolonisation of modern textbooks on the history of Ukraine requires further careful investigation, of the current pace of development of society and the events that are currently taking place. Because the war that Russia started has led to new stages of decolonisation, which are being implemented more and more every day.

References

[1] Hupan, N. (2019). *Development of the content of the national textbook on history during the independence of Ukraine*. Kyiv: Osvita.

[2] Decommunisation. (2020). Retrieved from https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/szukaj/Dekomunizacja.html.

[3] Hrytsak, Ya. (2019). *Essay on the history of Ukraine. Formation of the modern Ukrainian nation*. Kyiv: Yakaboo.

[4] Chuprii, L. (2011). Historical education in Ukraine as a component of the state policy of memory. *Political Management*, 4, 18-26.

[5] Yansen, Ya., & Osterhammel, Yu. (2018). Decolonization: A short history. *Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 2, 203-209.

[6] Tkachenko, O. (2022). Derussification and decolonization in public space. *Ukrainian Historical Journal*, 3, 1-15.

[7] Udod, O. (2016). *Ukrainian historical didactics: academic discourse (To the 80th anniversary of the Institute of History of Ukraine)*. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine.

[8] Sysak, I., & Prokopenko, V. (2019). *4 years of general cleaning: Decommunization continues, decolonization is next.* Retrieved from https://www.5.ua/suspilstvo/4-roky-heneralnoho-prybyrannia-zalyshkiv-komunizmu-dekomunizatsiia-tryvaie-dekolonizatsiia-na-cherzi-190514.html.

[9] Vyatrovych, V. (2022). *To come to terms with the past, not to overcome it*. Retrieved from https://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2022/01/24/160825/.

[10] Gromenko, S. (2019). *Decommunization. De-Sovietization? Decolonization*. Retrieved from https://localhistory.org.ua/texts/statti/dekomunizatsiia-deradianizatsiia-dekolonizatsiia/.

[11] Kolesnyk, V. (2014). *History in terms and concepts*. Kyiv: Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.

[12] Madzhigon, V. (2010). *Problems of the modern textbook*. Kyiv: Pedagogical Thought.

[13] Yakovenko, N. (2008). *School history through the eyes of historians-scientists*. Kyiv: Publishing house named after Olena Teliga.

[14] Losev, I. (2019). *History of Ukraine and myths of Russia: Putin's words are telling.* Retrieved from https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/29720304.html.

[15] Blinder, S. (2022). *Historical narratives do not bring abstract destruction*. Retrieved from https://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2022/06/3/161407/.

[16] Tymoshenko, D. (2019). *Decolonization of Ukraine. How dangerous is the "imperial legacy of Russia"*. Retrieved from https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/donbass-realii/29824073.html.

[17] Maibroda, O. (1995). *Recent history of the period after the Second World War*. Kyiv: Osvita.

[18] Polyanskyi, P., Kasyanov, G., & Hyrych, I. (2012). *History textbook: Problems of tolerance*. Chernivtsi: Bukrek.

[19] Kozlyuk, S. (2015). *Volodymyr Vyatrovych: Decolonisation of Ukraine is irreversible*. Retrieved from https://tyzhden.ua/Society/136888.

[20] Kaplyuk, K. (2010). *The rewritten history of Ukraine. Version of the era of Dmytro Tabachnyk*. Retrieved from https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/08/26/5332444/.

[21] Shtogrin, I. (2010). *Why rewrite textbooks on the history of Ukraine*. Retrieved from https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/1997853.html.

[22] Hrytsak, Ya. (2021). *Essay on the history of Ukraine: The formation of the modern Ukrainian nation in the 19th and 20th centuries*. Kyiv: Genesis.

[23] Betts, R.F. (2019). *Decolonisation: A brief history of the word*. Leiden: Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies Press.

Сергій Конюхов

Національний університет «Львівська політехніка»
79013, вул. Степана Бандери, 12Б, м. Львів, Україна

Особливості процесу деколонізації сучасних підручників з історії України

Анотація. Актуальність заявленої тематики наукового дослідження зумовлювалась необхідністю розробки програми з процесу деколонізації сучасних підручників з історії України, конструюванням історичного наративу та його закріплення у суспільній свідомості, а також великим значенням практичного застосування та впровадження деколонізації під сучасні вимоги часу. Мета цієї статті полягала у здійсненні детального аналізу процесу деколонізації сучасних підручників з історії України, відокремленні наявної інформації у підручниках від недостовірних фактів, та розробленні рекомендацій щодо покращення. Основу методологічного підходу в даній науково-дослідній роботі склало якісне поєднання методів системного аналізу, теоретичні методи дослідження і певною мірою емпіричні методи дослідження, що дозволили виділити безпосередні дані спостережень, узагальнити, а поєднання даних методів створило динаміку наукового знання як цілісної організованої системи. Головними результатами, які були отримані в рамках цього наукового дослідження, слід вважати визначення основних особливостей процесу деколонізації, їх впровадження та реалізація з метою подальшого вдосконалення. Також до головних результатів відноситься й формулювання основних цілей та завдань деколонізації. Результати цього наукового дослідження, а також сформульовані на їхній основі висновки, мають суттєву значимість в першу чергу для учнів, студентів та вчителів, які неодноразово будуть звертатись та оперувати інформацією із підручників, для істориків, суб'єктів, чия професійна діяльність пов'язана з достовірністю фактів про історичне минуле та сьогодення, що має суттєве значення з точки зору поширення неправдивої інформації та суб'єктивізму авторів у підручниках з історії, для усіх громадян України

Ключові слова: дерусифікація, деколонізація, ідентичність, оновлення, декомунізація, історичний наратив