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China-US Relations in the 1940s - Early 2020s: Establishment and Key Challenges

Abstract. The relevance of the research subject is conditioned upon the deterioration of diplomatic ties between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. Clarifying this issue is, in addition, crucial considering the current unstable geopolitical situation. The purpose of the study was to identify the main stages of development of economic, political and social relations between the two countries and the problematic issues faced by the respective states. Methods used in the study: historical method, statistical method, systemic method, method of analysis and synthesis, comparative method etc. The chronology of China-US diplomatic relations was clarified, and the historical events that accompanied the development of the relevant relations were considered. The author examines the impact of these relations on the state of China-US ties, including the impact of World War II, the communist regime in the People's Republic of China, etc. In addition, the study includes statistics related to the so-called "trade war" between China and the United States. The main aspects of the Taiwan issue and the position of both the US and Chinese sides on this territory are clarified. In addition, attention was paid to the US and China's response to the Ukrainian-russian war, etc. The results of the research can be used by sociologists, lawyers and historians to write essays and dissertations. The data obtained can serve as a foundation for improving and enhancing diplomatic relations between the countries examined

Keywords: international law; trade war; diplomacy; superpowers; humanitarian crisis

Introduction

China-US relations refer to diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States of America. In recent years, relations between the two countries have become increasingly strained due to several factors: trade tensions, human rights issues, and territorial disputes in the South China Sea. Overall, relations between the US and China are considered one of the most important bilateral relations in the world due to the size and influence of both countries. Thus, the purpose of the research was to identify the specific features of the development of relevant ties between the states and to outline in more detail their problems and impact on the world's geopolitical situation.

The Ukrainian author V. Porokhnia (2021) examined issues related to trade relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China and the possibility of a military conflict between the two superpowers. In particular, the authors pointed to this possibility in the absence of a high-quality and effective diplomatic dialogue between governments and the continuing high level of confrontation for leadership within the global economy.

A. Beteringhe *et al.* (2020), explored the impact of the COVID-19 coronavirus infection on the development of international cooperation, and the development of China-US relations. In particular, the author noted that the United States is using the approach of politicising the pandemic to accuse the Chinese side of its spread and to further impose sanctions on the People's Republic of China. Therewith, the author indicates that it is the joint struggle of both the US and Chinese sides, as two developed countries, against the spread and spread of the infection that can strengthen diplomatic relations between the countries and prevent the development of confrontation between the relevant subjects of international law.

The Ukrainian authors M. Razinkova and M. Trudova (2018) devoted their attention to the foreign policy of the United States of America in the Asia-Pacific region, and the issue of trade and investment between the countries. In particular, the authors point to the need for an investment treaty between China and the United States that would balance economic tensions and improve economic trade relations. According to scholars, during 2008-2016,

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the share of the Chinese side in the United States' exports was constantly growing and amounted to about 8%, and in imports to about 18%, which indicates a certain dependence of one country on the other in the economic sphere.

I. Gabro and T. Pikalova (2020) explored the relationship between the development of China-US relations and the migration of Chinese citizens to the United States. Among the main reasons, the authors identify the following: higher income levels in the United States, a high probability of obtaining a permanent residence permit from the US government due to the political situation in China, active cooperation between the two countries has led most Chinese citizens to find employment outside their country of citizenship, which has led to the establishment of the Chinese diaspora, and exchange programmes in the field of education, etc.

Scholar O. Shevchuk (2022) has elucidated the "Taiwan issue" in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war and relations between China and the United States. He noted that the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine was a catalyst for frozen conflicts, including over Taiwan.

The analysis of the above-mentioned works demonstrates the high level of relevance of the study of this subject for various aspects of China-US relations, which mainly consist of the probability of escalation of the conflict between the states.

The purpose of this research is to explore the historical development of relations between China and the United States and the globalisation phenomena that have influenced its course.

Materials and Methods

The research was written using several methods of scientific knowledge, the main of which was the historical method. Thus, it was used to determine the chronology of the development and establishment of China-US relations in the 1940s-2020s, along with their features and the impact of geopolitical changes, such as military conflicts, humanitarian and economic crises, changes of government, top leadership, etc.

The comparison method allowed examining the differences in trade relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America, in particular, those related to trade, imports, and exports between the two countries, and migration of both the American and Chinese populations in the respective countries. The factors that can provoke an increased outflow of Chinese citizens to the United States were explored, including such criteria as quality of life, economic and political stability, educational component, cultural characteristics, government position, etc.

In addition, the study examined the positions of the US and Chinese sides on the Russian-Ukrainian war and the impact of this situation on the issue of disputed territories in the world, including Taiwan. The study examines the probability of aggravation in China-US relations and further military confrontation between the superpowers. The impact of the deterioration or improvement of diplomatic ties on the world situation is determined. Using the comparative and statistical methods of scientific knowledge, the author

illustrates the main differences between the export and import activities of the PRC and the USA. The source of statistical data in the research was the US Census Bureau and the World Bank (US Census Bureau, 2019; China trade balance..., 2019).

The systematic method allowed analysing the main stages of the development of diplomatic relations in their entirety and exploring their current state and prospects for further improvement or deterioration in terms of economic, social, and political aspects.

In addition, using the method of legal hermeneutics helped to clarify and disclose the legal framework under which interstate relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America were established. The method of analysis was used to identify adverse phenomena in China-US relations, and based on their study, ways to solve problems and ease tensions between the two countries were proposed. The method of synthesis proved to be quite essential in the research, as it allowed the combining and integrating of all important aspects of China-US relations to identify further prospects for the development of this type of interstate relations. In conjunction with the method of synthesis, the author used such a method of scientific cognition as modelling, which was used to establish a future vision of the development of economic, social, and political ties between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America considering the current geopolitical situation: pandemic, military conflicts, humanitarian and economic crisis, etc.

By using such a method of scientific cognition as induction, a general conclusion is made regarding the subject of the study based on the individual elements identified and the specifics of the development of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China.

Results

Diplomatic relations between states refer to the official and institutional ties between two or more sovereign states. These relations are established and maintained through diplomatic channels and are designed to promote cooperation and communication between nations. The concept of diplomatic relations is a fundamental aspect of international relations and plays a crucial role in promoting peace and stability between nations. It is based on the principles of sovereignty and equality, meaning that each nation has the right to determine its policies and make its own decisions, while recognising the sovereignty of other nations (Hu *et al.*, 2022).

The specific features of diplomatic relations between the two countries include the following:

1. Representation: Diplomatic relations are established through the appointment of ambassadors or other types of diplomatic representatives by one nation to another. These representatives serve as official intermediaries between the two countries and are responsible for communicating their country's policies and positions to the host country.

2. Protocol and etiquette: Diplomatic relations are governed by a set of protocols and etiquette that define

the appropriate behaviour of diplomats and help maintain good relations between nations.

3. Communication: Diplomatic relations facilitate communication between nations and provide a mechanism for resolving disputes and promoting cooperation. It includes regular meetings between diplomats and official delegations, and the exchange of diplomatic notes and other official communications, among others (Hu *et al.*, 2022).

Diplomatic relations between states are established when two sovereign nations agree to appoint diplomatic representatives to each other's countries. This agreement can be formalised by a bilateral treaty, mutual exchange of diplomatic notes, or other similar diplomatic documents. Once this agreement is concluded, the two countries can begin to establish formal diplomatic relations through the exchange of ambassadors or other types of diplomatic representatives (Tien *et al.*, 2021).

In the case of the People's Republic of China and the United States, diplomatic relations between the two countries in the 1940s were defined by several important events and trends, including the Chinese Civil War, the Japanese occupation of most of China, and the growing concern of American policymakers about the spread of communism in Asia. Despite these challenges, the 1940s marked an important period in the development of China-US relations, as the two countries began to establish official diplomatic relations (Tien *et al.*, 2021).

The Chinese Civil War, which lasted from 1927, was a major factor in the development of China-US relations in the 1940s. The conflict between the nationalist government and the communist rebels was brutal, and the United States initially tried to remain neutral in the conflict, but as Japanese military aggression in the region escalated, the United States began to provide increased assistance to the nationalist government. In 1937, Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China, and by 1940, most of the country was under Japanese control. The Chinese government was forced to retreat inland, and the nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek found itself in a difficult position. The United States responded by increasing aid to the nationalist government and imposing economic sanctions on Japan in an attempt to limit its aggression in the region (Jayathilaka, 2022).

In 1946, the United States and China signed the China-U.S. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation, which established official diplomatic relations between the two countries. This treaty provided the foundation for future cooperation and collaboration and paved the way for the United States to provide increasing assistance and support to the nationalist government in its fight against Japan (Treaty of Friendship..., 1946).

The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 was a turning point in China-US relations. The conflict between North Korea (backed by the Soviet Union and China) and South Korea (backed by the United States and its allies) had far-reaching consequences for the region and the world. The United States was concerned about the spread of communism in Asia and considered the Korean War a clear threat to its interests in the region. As a result, the United States allocated significant military and economic

resources to resolve the conflict and sought to coordinate its efforts with other states in the region, including China. Despite ongoing diplomatic and economic relations between the United States and China, tensions between the two countries continued to grow throughout the 1950s. One of the key sources of tension was the US containment policy, which was designed to limit the spread of communism in the world (Boylan *et al.*, 2021). American officials considered China to be the main threat to their interests in the region and sought to limit the country's influence. In response, China saw the United States as the main threat to its interests and tried to counter American influence. As a result, tensions between the two nations have grown, as each has sought to advance its interests and protect its sovereignty (Yamaka *et al.*, 2021).

The 1960s and 1970s were a period of intense change and challenge for China-US relations. These years were marked by major events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and the Cultural Revolution in China (Fang *et al.*, 2022).

The 1980s and 2000s were characterised by a period of transition and changes in China-US relations. These two decades were marked by events such as the end of the Cold War, the rise of China as a major global power, and the growing importance of economic ties between the United States and China (Fang *et al.*, 2022). Despite these positive developments, the period was marked by significant challenges, including disputes over human rights, trade and economic issues, and military and security concerns. Economic ties were one of the key areas of cooperation between the US and China during this period. Both countries have sought to expand trade and investment relations and cooperate to address common economic challenges (Sansa, 2020).

Another major source of tension between the US and China during this period was trade and economic issues. The United States and China have had a complex and frequently difficult relationship on these issues, with disputes arising over trade balances, intellectual property rights, and other economic issues. The US has sought to address these issues through diplomatic and economic channels and to identify ways to expand economic ties between the two countries while addressing trade imbalances and other economic concerns (Sansa, 2020).

Finally, military and security issues remained a significant source of tension between the United States and China throughout the 1980s and 2000s. The United States was concerned about China's growing military capabilities, including its nuclear weapons programme, and sought to limit China's military influence in Asia. Despite these challenges, there were significant efforts to improve China-US relations from the 2000s to the 2010s. The two countries have made a series of high-level diplomatic visits, including those by Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama to China and President Hu Jintao to the United States (Fouskas *et al.*, 2021).

The period of 2015-2020 marked a significant evolution in China-US relations. The relationship between the two nations continued to be characterised by a mix of cooperation and competition, with both nations facing several domestic and international challenges that

affected their relations. Technology and intellectual property issues played an important role in China-US relations during this period. The US accused China of state-sponsored hacking and intellectual property theft and imposed sanctions on Chinese companies and individuals; the US sought to limit China's access to advanced technologies, including important military equipment (Fouskas *et al.*, 2021).

However, the US and China continued to cooperate in the fight against climate change. In 2015, the two countries signed the Paris Agreement (2015), pledging to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and take other measures to combat climate change. Countries have worked together on several climate initiatives, including efforts to promote clean energy and reduce emissions from the energy sector.

Another major challenge to China-US relations has been the trade war that began in 2018 and included the imposition of duties and other trade barriers by each country on the other (Yamaka *et al.*, 2021). The trade war between China and the United States was mainly driven by concerns about the trade imbalance between the two countries and China's trade practices, including allegations of intellectual property theft and forced technology transfers. The United States has expressed concerns about China's industrial policies, including the "Made in China 2025" plan, which is designed to establish China as a global leader in advanced technologies such as artificial intelligence, robotics, and biotechnology (Boylan *et al.*, 2021). In response to these concerns, the United States began imposing duties on Chinese goods in 2018, starting with duties on steel and aluminium imports. China retaliated with its tariffs on US goods, and the trade

war escalated gradually as each country imposed higher and higher tariffs on the other. The trade war has had a significant impact on the global economy, as many companies and consumers have faced higher prices for goods and services as a result of tariffs. In 2020, a preliminary agreement was reached to de-escalate the trade war, but tensions remained high, and a full resolution to the trade conflict is currently uncertain (Yamaka *et al.*, 2021).

In addition, it is advisable to explore the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on China-US diplomatic relations. At the beginning of the pandemic, the United States accused China of concealing information about the virus, which resulted in the wide spread of the disease. The US side has accused China of being responsible for the outbreak and criticised its handling of the pandemic, a tension fuelled by political and media narratives in the US as the Trump administration has taken a confrontational approach to China. In addition, the pandemic has deteriorated economic relations between China and the United States, as supply chain disruption, trade restrictions, and a slow-down in global economic activity have adversely affected trade and investment between the two countries. On the other hand, the pandemic has provided an opportunity for increased cooperation between the two countries, as in 2020 the two countries signed a joint statement on the response to COVID-19, committing to cooperate in health-care, research, and vaccine development; this cooperation was seen as a positive step towards improving relations between the two nations (Sansa, 2020).

According to the World Bank, in 2019, trade between China and the United States was characterised by a large trade deficit in favour of China (Fig. 1).

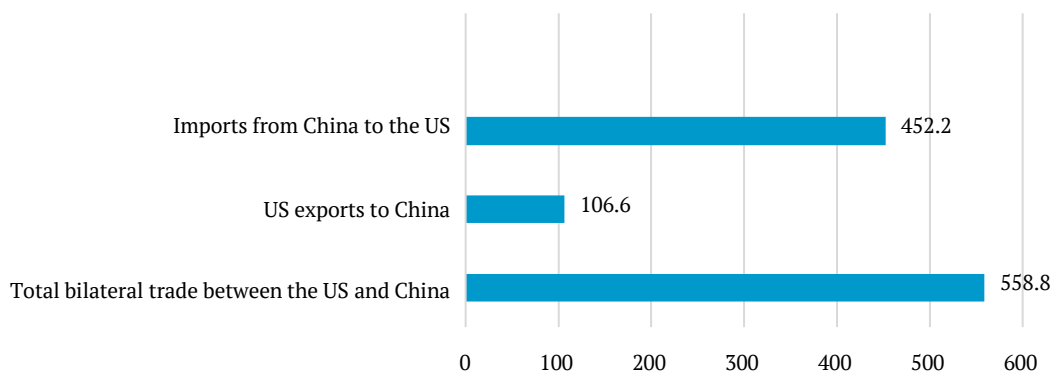


Figure 1. Trade turnover between China and the United States in 2019, USD billion

Source: (China trade balance..., 2019)

The United States exports a variety of products to China, including machinery: this category includes a wide range of goods such as computers, telecommunications equipment, engines, turbines, and pumps. Electronic equipment: televisions, mobile phones, etc. Vehicles: The United States exports cars, trucks, and other types of vehicles to China. Mineral fuels: crude oil, petrol, and diesel; plastic bags, plastic sheets, and plastic films. The United States exports a variety of agricultural products to China,

including soybeans, corn, and other grains, and livestock and poultry products (Li *et al.*, 2022).

On the other hand, China exports to the United States such goods as electronics: smartphones, laptops, and other electronic devices; a wide range of machinery products, including computers, telecommunications equipment, engines, turbines, and pumps; furniture; textiles; shoes; toys; etc (Li *et al.*, 2022). It is essential to add the issue of migration to the issue of China-US relations in the early 2020s (Fig. 2).

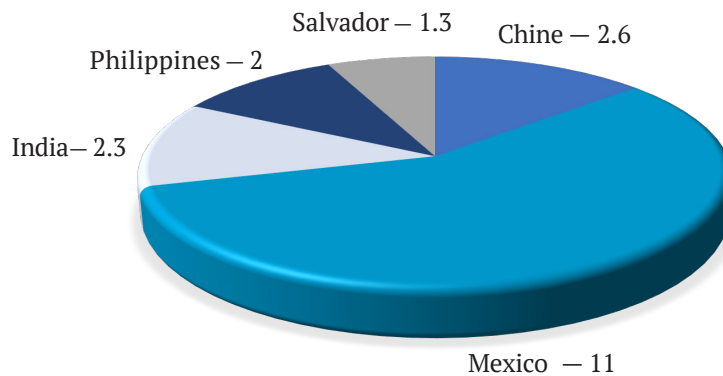


Figure 2. Number of citizens from countries that are migrants in the US in 2019, million people

Source: (US Census Bureau, 2019)

Statistically considered, the Chinese are one of the largest ethnic groups living in the United States; there are several reasons for this migration:

1. One of the main reasons for Chinese immigration to the United States is to seek better economic opportunities.
2. Another reason for Chinese immigration to the United States is the desire to obtain a higher-quality education.
3. Some Chinese citizens have migrated to the United States to escape political or religious persecution in their home country. The United States is known for its democratic values and freedoms, including freedom of speech and religion, which are attractive to those seeking to escape repressive regimes or religious restrictions.
4. Considering the evolution of Sino-US relations, the US is a hub for many industries, including technology, finance, and entertainment, offering several opportunities for Chinese nationals with special skills or experience (Thurston, 2021).

In addition, it is important to assess the impact of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on diplomatic ties between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The United States and China have taken opposing positions on the war, notably in that the United States openly supports Ukraine and calls for an end to Russian aggression, while China has taken a more neutral stance, advocating a peaceful resolution of the conflict (Fouskas *et al.*, 2021). The United States and its allies imposed economic sanctions on Russia in response to its annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of hostilities in Ukraine, thus affecting Russia's ability to trade with other countries, including China, and indirectly affecting China-US economic relations (Li *et al.*, 2022). The war against Ukraine has led to increased military cooperation between the United States and its NATO allies, including intensified military exercises and deployments in Europe, which has greatly concerned the Chinese government about the deployment and increase of the US military presence on the European continent (Li *et al.*, 2022).

Thus, China-US relations are currently tense and marked by competition and disagreements on several issues, including trade, technology, human rights, and geopolitical influence. The COVID-19 pandemic has only added to the challenges as both countries have struggled

to control the spread of the virus and blamed each other for its origins.

From the standpoint of the Russian-Ukrainian war, it did not have a clear impact on China-US relations but contributed to the overall destabilisation of the international system.

As for the future of China-US relations, there are several potential scenarios:

1. Escalation of tensions: If current trends continue, it is possible that tensions between the two countries could escalate. Competition for influence and power may result in a more confrontational approach, and the risk of economic and military conflict may increase.
2. An agreement reached through negotiations. Thus, with a quality dialogue, the two countries can reach agreements on key issues such as trade and technology.
3. Uneasy coexistence: The third scenario is that China-US relations could remain tense for years to come, but remain stable, with both sides pursuing their interests but avoiding explicit conflict. This scenario is probably going to involve a high level of mistrust and weak cooperation on key issues.
4. Cooperation in addressing global challenges: Finally, it is possible that the two countries could cooperate in addressing global challenges such as climate change, pandemics, and terrorism. This scenario is most consistent with the current state of China-US relations and is the most probable.

Discussion

For a deeper analysis of the relevant subject, it is necessary to analyse the works of other authors on a related subject. Thus, for example, the book by American author E. Thurston (2021) on Sino-American relations examines the historical component of their development during the 1940s and until the late 1990s. The book provides a balanced analysis of the relationship between China and the United States, highlighting both the successes and failures of the two countries in their attempts to cooperate, and emphasises the significant contribution to the development of these relations by such personalities as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Bill Clinton. In addition, the study presents a vision of the future of China-US relations, considering some crisis factors. For example, the

author points to a possible escalation of the confrontation between China and the United States against the backdrop of the “Taiwan issue” and the division of spheres of influence in the region.

Notably, the results of E. Thurston’s (2021) study are similar to those of this study, but the author analyses in detail the development of China-US relations between 1940 and 1990; this work contains a summary of the development of diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1940–2020.

The work of the British author E. Kirchner (2021) analyses the security policy of the European Union in the Asian region, including China, and the influence of the United States on this policy. In addition, the author emphasises the changing geopolitical landscape in the region due to the US–China rivalry and tensions that could potentially affect the EU’s security interests in Asia. Thus, the author concludes that uncertainty in the development of Sino-US relations provokes the inability of other countries and organisations to expand their spheres of influence in the Asian region and improve diplomatic ties with China.

Notably, the author’s findings do not coincide with the results of this paper, but they are an important contribution to the scientific doctrine of China-US relations.

A team of Romanian authors, M. Murea *et al.* (2022) analysed the China-US trade wars of 2018–2021. The authors argue that the conflict was driven by a mixture of political, economic, and strategic interests on both sides, with both the US and China seeking to protect their national industries and maintain their economic power. Scholars note that countries have used different approaches to resolve the conflict, for example, the United States used the policy of increasing tariffs and customs duties to push China to negotiate and strengthened diplomatic ties with other countries to gain support for the American position. In turn, China has focused on strengthening its economic power and technological capabilities.

A similar study was conducted by the Japanese author K. Itakura (2020), which concerns the impact of a trade war on the economies of the warring parties and the global economy in general. For example, K. Itakura (2020) notes that the confrontation between the US and China has resulted in a significant reduction in bilateral trade, with both countries imposing duties on a wide range of goods. In addition, the author suggests that the trade war had social and cultural consequences, including the rise of nationalism and xenophobia in both countries.

The results of the authors only partially coincide with the results of this study, in particular, in terms of the study of trade wars, their causes, and their course.

Chinese author Y. Yao (2021), in his study, analyses the new US approach to relations with China, which the author calls the “new Cold War”. The author argues that the US government considers China a strategic competitor and is taking a more aggressive stance towards China, especially in the areas of technology, trade, and security. The study discusses the reasons for the change in US policy towards China, including concerns about China’s growing economic and military power, human rights abuses, cyber security threats, and territorial disputes in the South

China Sea. The study examines the impact of the US policy shift on overall China-US relations, and its implications for other countries in the region, particularly those in South-east Asia, suggesting that the US strategy could lead to a new era of global competition and a deterioration in China-US relations in the struggle for spheres of influence.

Author W. Lixin (2021) examines the factors that have defined bilateral relations over the past few decades, including economic interdependence, political differences, and ideological competition. In addition, the author highlights the current state of China-US relations, which he describes as being in a state of “competition, cooperation, and confrontation”, especially in the areas of trade, technology, and the South China Sea region.

Notably, the authors’ findings partially coincide with the results of this study but are important for exploring and understanding the specifics of China-US relations and their further development against the backdrop of several crises and the ongoing struggle for global recognition and leadership in the economic, trade, and other spheres. All of these can be factors that exacerbate tense China-US relations and provoke a devaluation of diplomatic achievements in recent years.

The American author S. Chan (2020) examines the concept of the “Thucydides’ trap”, which suggests that when a rising power (such as China) threatens to displace a dominant power (such as the United States), the two countries are likely to get into a military conflict. The researcher argues that Thucydides’ trap is not a deterministic theory but rather a cautionary one that seeks to emphasise the dangers of miscalculations and misunderstandings between rising and dominant forces. While there have been cases in history where a trap has resulted in war, there have been cases where it has been avoided through diplomatic means. In addition, the research logic underlying Thucydides’ trap theory is not necessarily correct, since it is based on theoretical components rather than empirical data. Moreover, the concept does not consider other factors that may contribute to or offset the risk of an escalation of the confrontation: domestic political considerations, economic interests, ideological differences, etc. The author concludes that while the “Thucydides trap” is useful for understanding the risks and challenges of China-US relations, it should not be considered an inevitable outcome. Instead, the two countries should work to resolve their differences through dialogue and cooperation, recognising the importance of avoiding escalation and miscalculation.

In this study, the “Thucydides effect” was not explored, thus, the results do not coincide with those of S. Chan (2020), but are quite interesting for consideration and analysis. In particular, in terms of the possibility of an escalation of the conflict between China and the United States. Similar considerations are present in this study regarding the future of China-US relations, as one of the development models suggests that a military confrontation between the two superpowers is possible.

The American author K. Boutin (2019) explored the economic security dimension of China-US relations, in particular in the context of the USA’s concern about the

growth of China's economic power and its impact on the economic interests of the US side. The author argues that while economic interdependence between the two countries has increased significantly, it has not led to greater cooperation as some had predicted. K. Boutin (2019) traces the evolution of US-China economic relations from the early 1980s, when the United States sought to promote China's economic development as a means of encouraging political liberalisation, to the present day, when the United States sees China as a strategic rival and seeks to counter its economic rise. In addition, the study presents various issues that have contributed to the deterioration of economic relations, including intellectual property theft, trade imbalances, and China's industrial policies that have allowed it to gain a competitive advantage in certain sectors. In conclusion, researcher emphasises the importance of addressing the main structural factors that have caused economic tensions between the two countries, such as China's restrictions on market access and lack of transparency in economic decision-making. He argues that progress can only be made if both countries are willing to make significant concessions and engage in substantive dialogue.

The author's findings only partially coincide with the results of this research but are essential for understanding the essence of China-US relations and their future form, considering the significant tension between the countries due to trade issues, problems related to the systematic violation of human rights and freedoms in China, and theft of intellectual property and personal data.

International relations scholar P. Gries (2022) has explored how national identity affects the interaction between China and the United States. The author argues that China and the United States are defined by different historical experiences and cultural traditions that generate different national identities. The author notes that the differences in the mentality of the countries contribute to conflicts and misunderstandings between China and the United States. Thus, P. Gries (2022) suggests that the way to improve China-US relations is to recognise and respect the differences in national identity between the two countries. He argues that the United States should be more sensitive to China's historical experience and cultural traditions, while China should be more open to the values the United States promotes, such as democracy and human rights.

Although the author's results do not coincide with the results of this study, they are interesting for analysis. In particular, this study presents the possibility of improving US-China relations through a high-quality and effective dialogue between representatives of the two countries, but it is essential to consider the opinions and achievements of P. Gries (2022) and note that another important aspect of improving US-China interaction is mutual respect for cultural and mental differences between the peoples.

Conclusions

The research work allowed identifying important aspects related to the establishment of China-US relations, including historical development, economic cooperation, conflicts, and contradictions that arose during 1940-2020. Thus, it was established that the beginning of cooperation between the two countries was connected with the United States assistance to the nationalist government of China, which opposed the communist regime.

The further development of China-US relations was determined by the Korean and Vietnam wars, security concerns, and the growth of China's military power, which emerged as a rival to the United States, but diplomatic ties were further improved to stabilise the situation between the two countries.

The pandemic caused by the COVID-19 coronavirus infection was a turning point in the history of China-US diplomatic relations. In particular, the problem was the accusation by the United States of America of the People's Republic of China of concealing information about the virus and its massive spread. Along with the problem of the pandemic and China's responsibility for this phenomenon, the issue of human and civil rights on the Chinese side, theft of personal data and intellectual property has arisen.

The so-called "trade wars" and mutual economic dependence between the two countries are important aspects of the development of China-US relations.

In addition, the study presented some statistics on the problem of mass migration of Chinese citizens to the United States, in particular, about 2.6 million Chinese citizens migrated to the United States in 2021. In addition, the main reasons for migration are listed: the quality of education, human rights situation, economic stability, etc.

In addition, the main reasons for migration are listed: the quality of education, human rights situation, economic stability, etc. Considering the Ukrainian-Russian war, the development of China's military power, etc., it is possible that the conflict could escalate, an agreement between the states, increased cooperation on global issues, etc.

For further research on related subjects, it is proposed to clarify the following issues: the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the image of the United States and China in the world; ways to resolve the "trade war" between the United States and China; models of peaceful cooperation between China and the United States to avoid escalation of the conflict in the region.

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None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Китайсько-американські відносини у 1940-і – на поч. 2020-х рр.: становлення та основні проблеми

Анотація. Актуальність тематики науково-дослідної роботи зумовлена погіршенням дипломатичних зв'язків між Сполученими Штатами Америки та Китайською Народною Республікою. З'ясування даного питання також важливе з огляду на сучасну нестабільну геополітичну ситуацію. Метою дослідження постало виокремлення основних етапів розвитку економічних, політичних, соціальних відносин між двома вищезазначеними країнами, а також тих проблематичних питань, з котрими стикалися відповідні держави. Методи, котрі були використані у роботі: історичний метод, метод статистичний, системний метод, метод аналізу та синтезу, порівняльний метод та інші. Було з'ясовано хронології китайсько-американських дипломатичних відносин і врахування тих історичних подій, котрі супроводжували розвиток відповідних зносин. Досліджено вплив цих відносин на стан китайсько-американських зв'язків, зокрема й вплив Другої світової війни, комуністичного режиму в Китайській Народній Республіці тощо. Досліджено також і статистичні дані, котрі стосуються так званої «торгової війни» між КНР та США. З'ясовано основні аспекти, що стосуються тайванського питання й позиції як американської, так і китайської сторони щодо даної території. Також було приділено увагу й реагуванню США та КНР на українсько-російську війну тощо. Результати наукової роботи можуть бути використані для написання статей, дисертацій соціологами, правниками, а також істориками. Отримані дані можуть бути основою задля покращення та вдосконалення дипломатичних відносин між досліджуваними країнами

Ключові слова: міжнародне право; торговельна війна; дипломатія; наддержави; гуманітарна криза

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The return of historical monuments removed from the territory of Ukraine after 2014. Problems of archaeological research in times of war

Abstract. The relevance of the research is conditioned upon the increase in the national consciousness of the Ukrainian nation, a new stage of the national revival of the Ukrainian state and consolidation of the Ukrainian people against the background of the full-scale invasion and occupation of Ukrainian territories. The purpose of this research is to explore the level of threat to the national historical and cultural heritage in Ukraine, including the temporarily occupied territories. The research methodology used in this work is a comprehensive combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of archaeological and cultural monuments, and the following methods: ascent, synthesis, analysis, comparison, and the axiomatic method. As a result of the study, the main regions of historical and cultural monuments in the temporarily occupied territories and in the areas where hostilities are conducted were explored. The research examines the competent opinion of leading Ukrainian historians and archaeologists on the main problems of archaeological research and the restitution of the treasures of Ukrainian culture temporarily seized by the occupier. The legal foundations of such restitution are established in the context of the main provisions of national and international humanitarian law. These circumstances were the prerequisites for the cancellation of the decision of the District Court of Amsterdam in favour of the Ukrainian party. It is substantiated that the position of the authorities of the Kingdom of the Netherlands does not comply with the statute of legal identity and independence of the State and ignores the inviolability of property rights. Although, in turn, the country is based on the declaration of compliance with international law on the legal immunity of the state and its property, as established by the 2004 UN Convention. The conclusions presented based on them contain updated scientific knowledge on the areas of restoration of a fair legal status to the historical and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian nation and bring to science relevant scientific and practical recommendations for improving the current legislation of Ukraine in the field of museum and archaeological science

Keywords: Scythian gold; cultural heritage; historical artefact; Amsterdam arbitration; return of cultural property

Introduction

The significance of the stated problem of this research is conditioned upon the intensification of military criminal actions, which cause the destruction of both civilian infrastructures and lead to irreversible consequences in the form of destruction and loss of cultural heritage sites of Ukraine. The ongoing trial in the Kingdom of the Netherlands to return to Ukraine a collection of Scythian artefacts, the so-called "Scythian gold", belonging to Ukraine, requires the establishment of new approaches to the conduct of this case by the Ukrainian side, updating and improving domestic legislation in the cultural sphere. The imperfection of Ukraine's legal framework for defining key concepts in the archaeological field of scientific knowledge requires bringing terms inextricably linked to the protection and preservation of Ukrainian cultural and historical

heritage in line with international regulations in this area. The future fate of the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian nation largely depends on the specification of key definitions. International cooperation expands opportunities in finding practical ways to return and preserve cultural heritage for the benefit of future generations of Ukrainians, the national cultural memory of Ukraine, and requires the improvement of Ukrainian legislation in this area.

Previous researchers have generally explored the most important problematic issues of the return of cultural monuments and identified priority practical tasks and theoretical developments in this area.

Such scholars as M.G. Novosad *et al.* (2022) have determined the approximate degree of damage caused by the criminal actions of the occupier to the objects of the

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national cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, which are included in the State Registers of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine of local and national importance, which are damaged, illegally removed, or destroyed. The research analyses the main provisions of international law and Ukrainian legislation in the field of protection of cultural heritage - the Convention of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation of 16.11.1972 "On the Protection of the World and Cultural Heritage" (UNESCO Convention..., 1988), the Law of Ukraine of 08.06.2000 "On Protection of Cultural Heritage" as amended on 14.01.2005 (Law of Ukraine No. 1805-III..., 2005).

The State Register of Immovable Monuments of Ukraine, maintained by the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine, includes objects of the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian nation that have been fully or partially destroyed or illegally exported from the territory of Ukraine as a result of hostilities and are the subject of scientific research by Ukrainian scientists. One of these prominent scholars is R.M. Yatsiv (2021), who, in his scientific works, devoted special attention to the disclosure of cultural and technical features of Ukrainian national religious architectural and decorative arts and their sacred connection with the personalities of artists. His art criticism on the areas of fine Ukrainian art of the Cossack era contributed to the study of the Ukrainian national and cultural heritage.

The prominent Ukrainian religious scholar, philosopher, and scientist A. Fedonchuk (2020) made a significant contribution to the development of the national Ukrainian idea expressed in the fine and decorative arts regarding Ukrainian graphics of the 16th-17th centuries in the context of the evolution of the figurative system, the history of Ukrainian iconography and engraving. Ukrainian representatives of the critical field of literary criticism have conducted in-depth studies of the fundamental areas of artistic expression.

An outstanding specialist in Ukrainian museology S. Kot (2018; 2020) identified the main problematic aspects of the practical activities of Ukrainian museums and outlined the range of issues that need to be addressed at the state level to improve museums.

In her scientific works, mainly of a theoretical nature, I.M. Fetsko (2022) focused on the terminological problems of museum studies and made an essentially comparative analysis of terms that are widely used in both domestic and foreign scientific circles.

Despite the undoubted scientific value of the work of previous researchers, these works are mostly theoretical. Considering the specifics of these valuable developments, they do not fully disclose the practical potential of the research subjects they have developed. The purpose of this research is to identify possible ways to solve the existing current problems in the context of the stated subject.

Materials and Methods

The research for the presented research work was based on the description of factual data characterising the location of cultural heritage sites both on the territory of

Ukraine (including those temporarily under occupation or temporarily abroad in the Kingdom of the Netherlands) and identifying the territories of Ukraine that do not meet the security requirements for archaeological research. In addition, they identify cultural heritage sites that have been damaged as a result of hostilities; describe the circumstances under which Scythian artefacts have been effectively removed from the jurisdiction of Ukrainian legislation and the relevant factors that contribute to this, with subsequent comparison of these descriptive data to analyse real and potential threats in the field of museums and archaeological science. Specific legal provisions that define the main concepts in the field of protection of the cultural heritage of Ukraine are the components of the integral object of this analysis. The method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete used in this work was designed to distinguish two aspects from the specific results of the analysis of regulations: first, the provisions of Ukrainian and international law, which serve as the starting point of the study; second, the particular in thinking, which serves as a process of synthesis of the analysis of the relevant legal framework. A hypothetical ideal model for the return of historical monuments removed from Ukraine after 2014 has been developed. The research compares the established scientific facts reflecting the problems of conducting archaeological research in wartime with the mental construction of idealised conditions under which such research will be available in the future to some extent. An analysis of the current legislation of Ukraine in the field of cultural heritage protection, in particular, the Laws of Ukraine "On Protection of Cultural Heritage" (2005) and "On Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Protection of Cultural Heritage" (2010, 2015), with the further comparison of the results of this analysis and the provisions of international law, in particular, the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, 1972). A synthesis of possible provisions in the legal sphere has been applied, which would prevent the loss of the historical and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian nation in the future, and prevent the destruction of historical monuments and the loss of objects of museum value.

During the research and practical work, the axiomatic method was applied. The principle of the rule of law and the inviolability of property rights, the principle of the legal identity of the state, and the need to protect against destruction or loss of the national and world cultural heritage were used as initial axioms.

The choice of such methods of scientific knowledge is conditioned upon the existence of significant scientific and theoretical developments that are specifically related to the research subject and served as its theoretical foundation, combined with the danger of performing experimental research and the lack of necessary powers of the researcher.

The research was based on theoretical developments of leading scientists in the field of archaeology and museum studies, which contain scientific facts that characterise the object of scientific and practical research. The main regulations that define the basic concepts necessary for conducting research work are used.

The issue of preserving and returning historical monuments removed from the territory of Ukraine after 2014.

The most illustrative example that characterises the stated problem of scientific research in this study is the problem of returning “Scythian gold”, and, in general, artefacts

of Scythian culture, and preserving them from destruction or illegal export from the territory of our state.

The areas where archaeological sites of the Scythian era have been explored by scientists are presented in Figure 1.

In turn, the territories of Ukraine where active hostilities were or are ongoing, and which were or are under occupation, are presented in Figure 2.



Figure 1. The main areas of Scythian archaeological sites in Ukraine

Source: (russian “archaeological looting..., 2021)

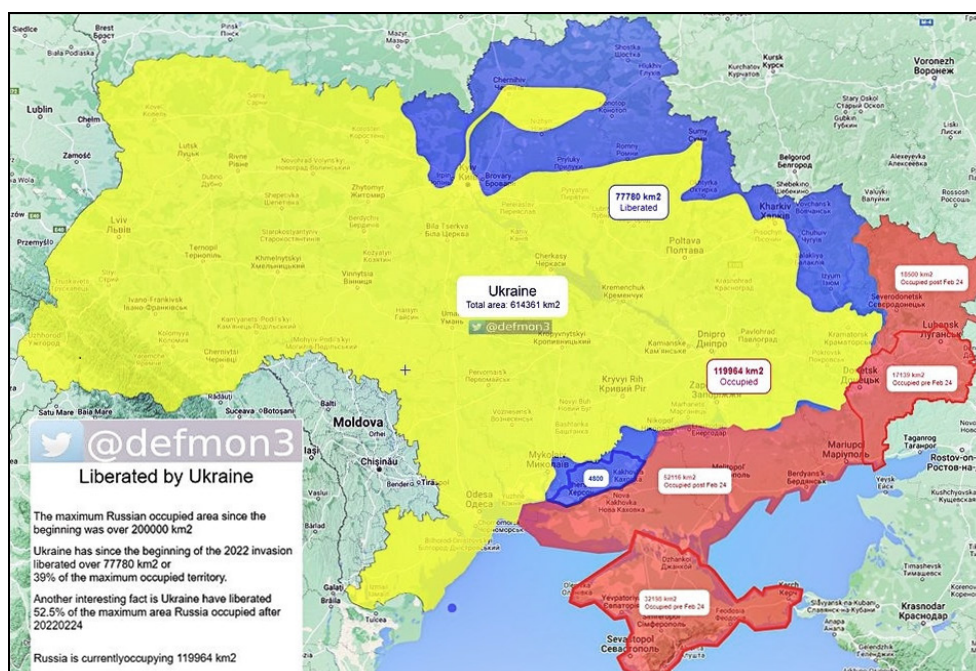


Figure 2. The territories of Ukraine in which active hostilities were or are ongoing, which were or are under occupation.

Source: (The Ukrainian armed..., 2022)

A comparative analysis of these images allows for the conclusion that the territories of Scythian cultural monuments and the areas of military operations coincide significantly. The occupation of the territories of Ukraine where such monuments are located, and the cities where museums with collections that preserve and research artefacts of Scythian culture are located, is an obvious factor that contributes to both the irreversible destruction of such monuments (mounds, burial grounds, settlements, hill-forts, treasures) and the theft of those already researched and their removal from the territory of Ukraine (Ukraine says russia..., 2022).

Since 2014, the preservation and return to Ukraine of such a significant part of the national heritage as the collection of Scythian gold has been and continues to be a significant problem of the loss of the historical and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian nation. It is a collection of historical artefacts from the Scythian era, mostly made of precious metals, discovered by Ukrainian archaeologists in 1954 in a Scythian mound on the territory of Ukraine. These objects are richly decorated with images of beasts with the corresponding signs of Scythian art, as well as gold and silver coins of the relevant historical period (IV-II centuries BC) and are of high historical, cultural, and artistic value (Dannik, 2020; Kurkov & Puchkov, 2022). Already in 1954, imperial scientists tried to take this property of Ukraine to the Hermitage, but due to the efforts of Ukrainian scientists, this attempt failed, and this collection remained in the local history museum of Melitopol. After the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, on 24 April 2022, the occupiers and local collaborators stole these exhibits from the aggressor state, and the museum itself was destroyed (Scythian gold is... 2023).

The collection of "Scythian gold" is not limited to the exhibits that were kept in the Melitopol Museum of Local Lore. During the 2000s, Ukrainian scientists conducted research on Scythian cultural monuments on the Crimean Peninsula, during which they obtained other artefacts of this remarkable culture that existed for centuries on the territory of Ukraine. The collection belongs to the state part of the Museum Fund of Ukraine, consists of objects from the cultural heritage of the entire Ukrainian nation, and represents an exceptional historical, cultural, and artistic value on a global scale. Therefore, within the framework of the global cultural exchange, as part of international exhibitions dedicated to the results of archaeological research on the territory of the Crimean Peninsula from the time of the Greek city-states - Panticapaeum, Kerkinitis, Theodosia (6th century BC) to the heyday of the Byzantine Empire (6-7th century AD), "Crimea - a Golden Island in the Black Sea" (Bonn), "Crimea. Gold and Secrets of the Black Sea" (Amsterdam), in 2013-2014, this collection of "Scythian gold" was exhibited first in Germany, then in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, where it caused a sincere public response (History lessons..., 2014).

In the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the exhibition of "Scythian gold" was organised by the Allard Pearson Archaeological Museum of the University of Amsterdam (hereinafter – the MAP), which signed contracts for the exhibition of a total of 565 museum objects (2011 items

of the museum collection) with an estimated value of 1,438,625 euros with representatives of the Ukrainian side – the Central Museum of Tavrida (c. Simferopol, 132 exhibits), the Bakhchisaray Historical and Cultural Reserve (215 exhibits), the Kerch Historical and Archaeological Reserve (190 exhibits), the National Reserve "Tauric Chersonesos" (28 exhibits) and the Museum of Historical Treasures of Ukraine (hereinafter – MHTU, Kyiv, 19 exhibits) (Strokova, 2016; Grubinko & Didushyn, 2021).

In February 2014, each of the exhibitors, both from the Dutch and Ukrainian sides, extended the exhibition activities by signing additional agreements to their respective contracts. However, contrary to Ukrainian law, the Crimean Museum institutions evaded the mandatory procedure for approving and registering these additional agreements with the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine and customs authorities, which caused legal uncertainty about the status of the Scythian gold collection and forced the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine to make an official request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands to provide official guarantees for the timely return of the exhibits that were in the Netherlands to the state part of the Museum Fund of Ukraine.

The Ministry of Culture of Ukraine was forced to resolve the legal conflict over the status of the Scythian gold collection and its return to Ukraine, and in an official appeal to the MAP, it requested that the museum objects of the Museum Fund of Ukraine from the collections of the MHTU and the Crimean participants in the exhibition be sent to Ukraine in advance. In support of its appeal, the Ministry of Culture referred to the provisions of existing contracts, international law, and national legislation on the protection of the historical heritage and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, and to the undeniable connection with the country of origin of the Scythian treasures – Ukraine.

In turn, the Dutch side, represented by the University of Amsterdam (hereinafter – UNA), recognised Scythian artefacts from Crimean museums as the property of Ukraine, which belongs to the state part of the Museum Fund of Ukraine, only after the Ukrainian side submitted a Diplomatic Note, an explanatory note to it and a corresponding legal opinion, which contained legal grounds supported by international law on the protection of cultural heritage. In a letter, the MAP agreed to further replace the party to the contracts with the Crimean museums with the MHTU, signing a new agreement to extend the exhibition of Ukrainian museum artefacts until 31 August 2014. In addition, the Dutch museum expressed its commitment to return the Scythian artefacts on display at the Allard Pearson Museum to their country of origin, Ukraine, namely the National Museum of History of Ukraine, after the event.

Therewith, the position of the Dutch side on the return of the national Ukrainian heritage to the Motherland was not unambiguous. Thus, the MAP requested guarantees from the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine and the MHTU to ensure that it and its employees are protected from any undesirable results of the return of the exhibited artefacts to Ukraine in the event of claims from Crimeans and payment of all claims, damages, liabilities, and losses

associated with such a return, effectively recognising the withdrawal of Crimean museums from Ukrainian jurisdiction, i.e., effectively recognising them as independent entities in contravention of the provisions of international law and the Constitution of Ukraine. Such an agenda could not satisfy the Ukrainian side, as it fundamentally contradicted Ukrainian legislation and was designed to delay the process of establishing new contractual relations between the MHTU and the MAP, which resulted in a series of negotiations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the MHTU and the MAP. However, no consensus was reached between the parties, and consideration of the issue of returning the "Scythian gold" to Ukraine moved from the contractual and diplomatic to the legal plane.

Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands took an ambiguous position. On the one hand, this foreign diplomatic institution, considering the provisions of the 2004 UN Convention (2004) on the Legal Immunity of States and Their Property, provided guarantees of the return of artefacts from the Scythian gold collection to Ukraine. Thus, the Dutch side renounces its claims to ownership of the exhibited collection and guarantees that the Ukrainian side will retain this right to Scythian artefacts in full without any unfriendly actions related to their removal by any means. On the other hand, the Dutch party insists that in this case, the dispute resolution is excluded from the competence of the laws of Ukraine and the provisions of the previously concluded contracts in terms of "Force Majeure" and "Arbitration" (which provide, in particular, for the resolution of disputes using the provisions of the substantive and procedural law of Ukraine with the participation of the International Commercial Arbitration Court at the Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce and Industry), and the Dutch Civil Procedure Code, the Dutch General Definitions Act and the Bailiffs Act apply.

Thus, the issue of the return of the "Scythian gold" to Ukraine was removed from the jurisdiction of international law and the laws of Ukraine and transferred to the jurisdiction of private law in the Netherlands. Considering the aforementioned ambiguous position of the Dutch government, the consideration of the case of "Scythian gold" under the laws and courts of this country, and the recognition by the Dutch side of Crimean museums as independent entities that are removed from the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian legal system, the prospect of returning historical monuments of world significance to Ukraine remains open. The de facto replacement of the subject of the dispute by lawyers representing the Crimean museums, narrowing the subject matter of the claim from resolving the case on the merits to determining the jurisdiction and jurisdiction under which the dispute over the return of the Ukrainian national property falls, casts doubt on the positive outcome of this case in the interests of Ukraine. Although the District Court of Amsterdam ruled in favour of Ukraine (Campfens & Tarsis, 2017), representatives of the Crimean museums filed an appeal with the Amsterdam Court of Appeal. The reasoning part of the latest decision of the Court of Appeal of 16 July 2019 (the so-called "Interim Decision") narrows the prospects for the

implementation of the earlier verdict of the District Court of Amsterdam in favour of the Ukrainian side and the real possibility of a new decision in the case, leaving aside the indisputable arguments of the representatives of Ukraine regarding the legal connection with Ukraine as the state of origin under public international law, the belonging of the collection to the property of the Ukrainian people and the state part of the Museum Fund of Ukraine.

European jurisprudence has no such precedents, thus, considering the specific features of the Anglo-Saxon legal system, which is based on them, it can be assumed that it is necessary to adjust international private and public law in the area of settlement of disputes related to cultural heritage. In addition, the experience of this litigation should be considered in the development of national legislation on the protection of national cultural property and historical heritage.

Problems of archaeological research in the conditions of war and occupation of Ukrainian lands

Throughout the historical development of Ukraine, there have been various cultures on its territory, which are explored by Ukrainian and foreign scholars. The relevant historical heritage was included in the lists of cultural monuments of national and local significance, researched and catalogued by domestic scholars, and was the subject of scientific study. A large number of them represent the world's cultural heritage, the loss of which causes irreparable damage to both the Ukrainian and world cultural heritage.

Figure 3 illustrates the location of Chernyakhivska culture monuments on the territory of Ukraine.

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine has greatly complicated the process of scientific research in the archaeological field of national science. One of the most adverse consequences of these events, which pose a threat to archaeological research, is the mining of a large part of Ukrainian territory. The scale of mining is presented in Figure 4.

The graphical data presented in Figure 4 clearly illustrates the impossibility of conducting any archaeological work in areas where active hostilities are ongoing. Of the de-occupied territories, the most dangerous areas for archaeological research are located mainly in areas that were under occupation and where battles were fought. These are the north-eastern part of the Kyiv region, the south of Mykolaiv region, and the north-eastern part of the Kharkiv, Chernihiv, and Sumy regions.

Several particularly dangerous locations have been reported near Cherkasy, Kremenchuk, Bila Tserkva, Kryvyi Rih, Poltava, and Uman. It is impossible to conduct archaeological research on these lands of Ukraine until the demining of these territories is complete, as such work poses a threat to the lives and health of both researchers and the people around them.

According to statistics, the total number of museum monuments and objects of cultural heritage in Ukraine is 148202, including 74507 in archaeology, 50420 in history, 3576 in monumental art, 19264 in architecture and urban planning, 329 in gardening and park art, 69 in landscape art, and 67 in science and technology. These data for 2014/15 exclude data for the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol (Kot, 2018; Kupriychuk, 2018).

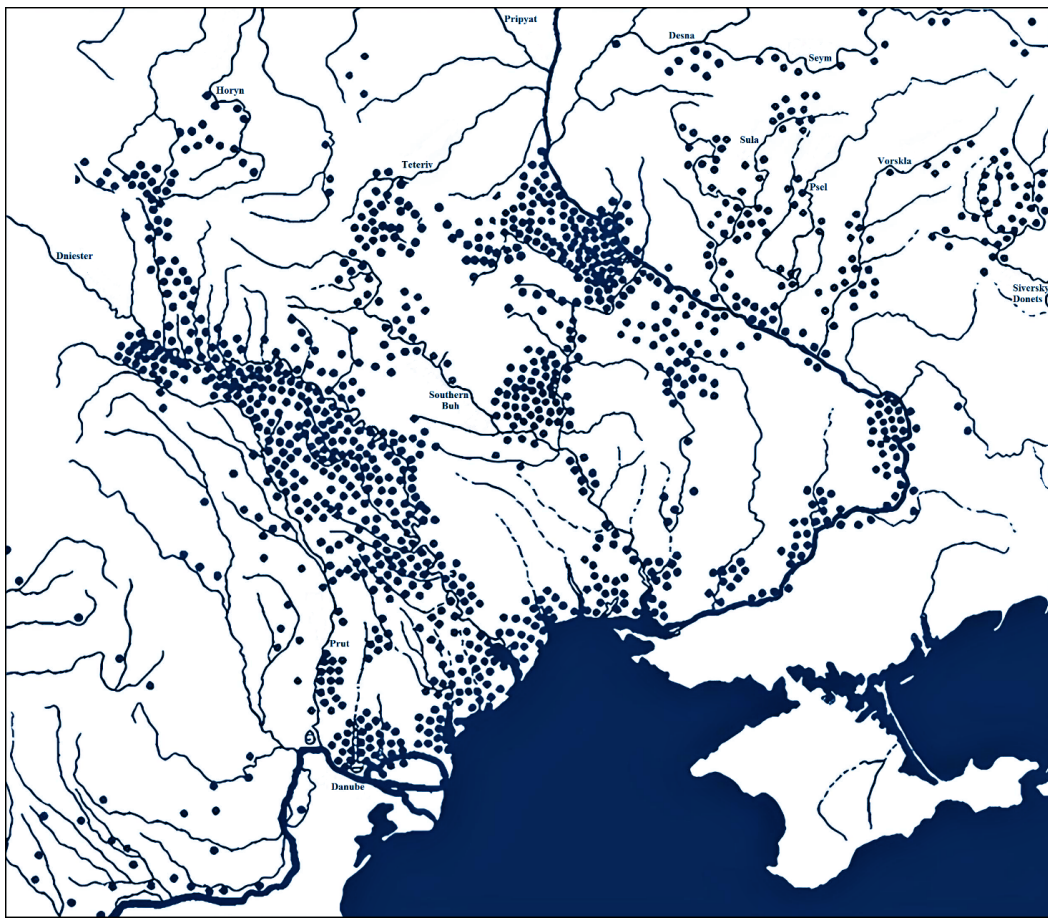


Figure 3. The main areas of the Chernyakhivska culture archaeological sites in Ukraine

Source: (Petrauskas & Gorbanenko, 2014)

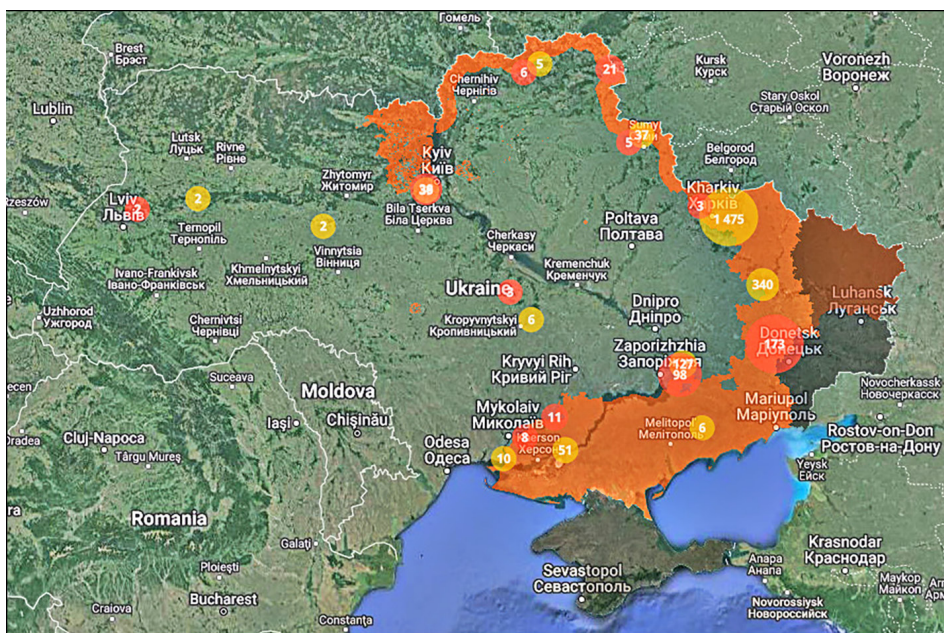


Figure 4. Territories of Ukraine where there is a mine risk

Source: (SES service of..., n.d.)

As a result of the hostilities in Ukraine, museum institutions and movable and immovable museum monuments are under constant threat of artillery and rocket attacks, are constantly damaged, and suffer reversible and irreversible damage (Ukraine's museums keep..., 2022). Such war crimes are constantly being documented, however, the full extent of the damage cannot be assessed due to the ongoing hostilities and the lack of communication with the

temporarily uncontrolled territories of Ukraine, and the inability of Ukrainian and international experts to access the facilities to monitor their condition.

The number of damaged and destroyed cultural heritage sites and cultural institutions in Ukraine recorded in the database of the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine is 553 (The destroyed cultural..., 2023). Figure 5 illustrates the scale of the damage recorded.

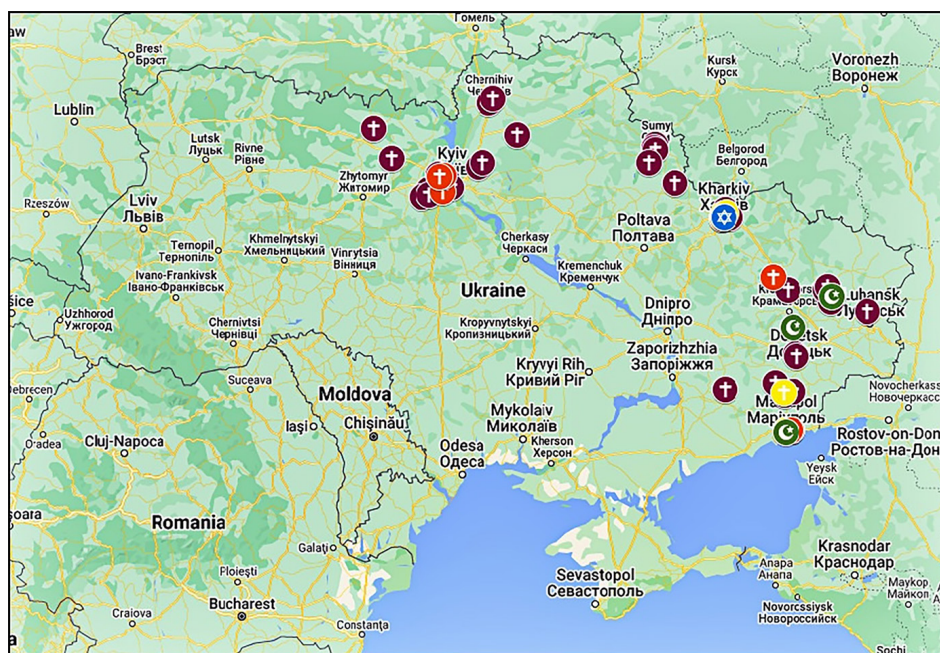


Figure 5. The damaged and destroyed cultural heritage sites and cultural institutions of the state are recorded in the database of the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine

Source: (500 churches and..., 2023)

However, the problem of archaeological research during the war and occupation of Ukrainian lands is based both on military, security, and legal grounds. As noted by S. Nabok (2016), one of the main problems of archaeological research in the conditions of war and occupation of Ukrainian lands is the imperfection of national policy in the cultural sphere and, as a result, the lack of an established mechanism for accounting for cultural heritage sites and national cultural heritage at the state level.

Due to the absence of clear definitions of key terms in the field of archaeology and related scientific disciplines in the current Ukrainian legislation, there is legal uncertainty about whether or not specific historical sites are classified as cultural heritage or property. It results in the impossibility of fully determining the quantitative and qualitative composition of movable and immovable historical monuments lost by Ukraine as a result of the occupation. It is impossible to determine, without extensive research and expertise, whether an artefact belongs to the national cultural heritage or patrimony, whether it is of historical and cultural value, or is an ordinary antique.

In identifying lost cultural heritage sites, or those that may be lost as a result of hostilities, in determining the location of potential archaeological research sites,

archaeologists can only be guided by the document “Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage” (1972), ratified by the Ukrainian government in 1988, which specifies cultural monuments recognised by the United Nations World Organisation (UNESCO) and included in the relevant lists.

The Convention lists the characteristics of cultural heritage. These include, in particular, monuments: works of architecture, monumental sculpture, and painting, elements, and structures of archaeological character, inscriptions, caves, and groups of elements of outstanding universal value from the standpoint of history, art, or science; ensembles: groups of isolated or associated buildings whose architecture, unity or relationship to the landscape is of outstanding universal value from the standpoint of history, art, technology or science; landmarks: works of man or the joint development of man and nature, and areas, including archaeological sites, of universal value from the standpoint of history, aesthetics, ethnology or anthropology.

Therewith, the imperfection of Ukrainian legislation in the cultural sphere leads to the fact that in the context of war and the spread of “archaeological looting” by the occupiers (Looting and destruction..., 2022), the Ukrainian state cannot fully determine the cultural and historical

value of the lost movable cultural property, their attribution to cultural heritage or cultural property. They belong to Ukrainian culture, although they are not included in the Convention's lists, which requires a proper assessment in terms of the criteria outlined in the Convention. In particular, Article 12 states that the fact that a cultural or natural heritage property has not been inscribed on one of the two lists referred to in Article 11(2) and (4) shall in no way imply that it does not have outstanding universal value.

Discussion

In the current situation, the objects of Ukrainian historical and cultural heritage cannot be safe due to the hostilities on the territory of Ukraine, and the imperfection of the current legislation creates preconditions for the loss of the Ukrainian national heritage without appropriate documentation of the damage caused in this way, as some cultural monuments and artefacts have not yet been included in the relevant lists and are not registered, their historical and cultural value and their belonging to the Ukrainian cultural heritage or historical heritage have not been determined. Currently, the expansion of the areas of active hostilities and the corresponding mine danger in the de-occupied territories significantly complicates and sometimes prevents archaeological research due to the obvious danger to the researcher's life and health. Against this background, the outstanding works of leading Ukrainian and foreign scholars on the stated subject are mostly limited to describing the artistic properties of Ukrainian artefacts, focusing on their uniqueness and value as a world cultural heritage, and statistical data characterising the quantitative indicators of national cultural monuments. The problem of the legal imperfection of the current Ukrainian legislation in the field of archaeology, museums, and related fields of science and the incomplete degree of its compliance with international legislation in the cultural sphere identified by previous Ukrainian researchers coincides with the results obtained in this research.

Thus, S.I. Kot (2018; 2020) reduces the essence of his scientific works mainly to stating the facts of destruction or damage to Ukrainian cultural heritage sites as a result of the occupation of Ukrainian territories and hostilities. The substantive analysis of the current Ukrainian legislation in the field of protection of immovable cultural heritage objects conducted by this prominent scientist and the proposals for its improvement developed based on this analysis, in general, coincide with the opinion of other researchers of the stated problem, such as I.M. Fetsko (2022), S.V. Nabok (2016) and the results of this research.

L.V. Strokova (2016), as a result of her scientific research on the problem of returning the "Scythian gold" to Ukraine, exploring and analysing the factual data that contributed to the emergence of relevant legal and practical difficulties, emphasises the imperfection of the Ukrainian regulatory framework in the field of monument protection and concludes the need to improve Ukrainian legislation on museums and, in general, the protection of historical and cultural monuments. Such conclusions, having common starting points with this research, largely coincide with its conclusion.

Ukrainian scholar V.M. Kupriychuk (2018), considering the problem of preserving the Ukrainian national and historical heritage in the context of the development of the national identity and originality of the Ukrainian people based on it, summarises the crucial role of historical and cultural monuments that have survived to this day in the development of Ukrainian civil society and the reproduction of the nation's historical memory. Therewith, the scientist pays considerable attention to the improvement of museum affairs in Ukraine, insisting on the expediency of streamlining and recording memorial sites associated with outstanding milestones in the historical experience of Ukraine, establishing an effective system of management of museum institutions, counteracting violations of monument protection legislation, and preserving religious buildings. Notably, in his conclusions, V.M. Kupriychuk (2018) mentions the expediency of Ukraine's orientation in improving its regulatory framework in the field of archaeology and museum affairs to the international experience related to the implementation of the Convention of the United Nations General Conference on Education, Science, and Culture of 16.11.1972 "Concerning the Protection of the World and Cultural Heritage" (UNESCO Convention No. 6673-XI... 1988).

In his research, the Canadian researcher R. Foltz (2021) focused on the search for modern descendants of the Scythian ethnic group. Having analysed the ethnographic and culturally specific features of the present-day people of Ossetia, this scholar concluded that this Caucasian ethnic group is closely related to the ancient Scythian civilisation, as evidenced by the relevant characteristics of art, religion, language traditions, and oral folk art.

In general, foreign researchers have focused their attention on exploring mainly the art historical aspects of Scythian cultural artefacts, focusing on the external features of Scythian culture, material and ethnographic aspects of museum exhibits, analysis of ancient technologies that allowed the Scythians to produce such unique art objects, anthropological and ethnographic research. Foreign scholars such as A. Mongiatti (2018) and D.V. Redfern (2012) have provided an exhaustive analysis of the technical side of the production of Scythian gold jewellery and other items, comparing them with the technologies of other ancient cultures. These scientists came to a reasonable conclusion about the significance of the contribution of the Scythian civilisation to the historical process of development and improvement of art and technology, the development of social relations, and, in general, world culture.

The religious aspect of Scythian decorative and applied arts has been the subject of scientific study by Dutch researchers B.F. Van Oppen de Ruiter, K. Chiara (2022), and B. Sharkey (2022). The findings of their research have made a significant contribution to scientific knowledge about the animalistic beliefs of Scythian culture, their evolution, and their impact on ancient civilisation processes.

The significance of "Scythian gold" and, in general, the technological achievements of the Scythian culture in the extraction and processing of precious metals for the development of the "gold standard" and the international monetary system has been explored by European scholars

M. Ozturk (2018), M. Lavigne and P. Rowland (1978). The focus of these scholars is primarily on the influence of the Scythian civilisation on the development of the foundations of the economy and commodity-money relations, the transition from the ancient subsistence economy to the primary feudal system, which at the time of the Scythian empire was progressive and for many centuries determined social relations in Eurasia.

American researcher K.I. Beckwith (2023) focused on the influence of Scythian civilisation on the development of the main cultures of the Eurasian continent – the Middle East, India, and China, the emergence of ancient state structures, the ideas of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism in the territories of modern Iran and China. The conclusions of this scholar largely coincide with those of other scholars regarding the key role played by Scythia in the ancient world, developing social relations of the time, both at the local and interethnic levels.

General scientific knowledge of the Scythian culture, descriptive materials on the most significant Scythian gold artefacts found on the territory of Ukraine over the past two decades, maps of ancient civilisations on Ukrainian territory, and the location of historical monuments of the Scythian era are presented in the scientific research of American scientists E. Reeder *et al.* (2022). The foundation for their research was the materials of the exhibition “Nomadic Gold: Scythian Treasures from Ancient Ukraine”, which was exhibited from November 2000 to December 2001 at the Brooklyn Museum of the United States of America. This exhibition event contributed to the intensification of American public interest in the achievements of Ukrainian culture, from ancient times to the present, and had a positive impact on the development of cultural ties between Ukraine and the United States.

Therewith, over the past year, since the transition of hostilities in Ukraine to an active phase, scholars from Ukraine and abroad have not paid sufficient attention to the issue of researching issues related to archaeological research in war conditions. Scientists focus mainly on theoretical research and improvement of the existing regulatory framework, not always making the practical plane of improving the state of affairs that exists and is explored in the course of scientific activity the object of scientific knowledge. Thus, considering the relevance and significance of the issues of preserving Ukrainian historical heritage and cultural heritage in the current context, the results obtained in the course of this research work, although largely coinciding with the findings of previous researchers, are of some value and can be of use.

Conclusions

The scientific and practical study found that the threat to the national historical and cultural heritage of Ukraine is significant. As a result of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine's unreasonable policy in organising the exhi-

bition of Scythian gold at the Allard Pearson Archaeological Museum in the Netherlands, imperfectly drafted contracts for the exhibition of Ukrainian artefacts, and gaps in Ukrainian legislation, the Dutch side has effectively removed the unique heritage of the Ukrainian nation from the jurisdiction of Ukraine. The position of the authorities of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in turn, although based on a formal declaration of compliance with international law, in particular the 2004 UN Convention on the Legal Immunity of States and Their Property, actually ignores the principles of the legal identity of the state and the inviolability of property rights. These circumstances were the prerequisites for the cancellation of the decision of the District Court of Amsterdam in favour of the Ukrainian party. In this regard, the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine should develop a standard contract for all Ukrainian museum institutions to participate in foreign exhibitions and exhibitions, which should include detailed provisions on Force Majeure and Arbitration to avoid similar situations in the future.

Considering the scale of destruction of cultural heritage sites and cultural institutions of Ukraine examined in the course of this research and considering that the problem of archaeological research during the war is associated both with security issues and imperfections in the current legislation in this area, the following recommendation can be considered appropriate. Propose, with the participation of the Ukrainian state and foreign financial “donors”, to develop projects of shelters for monuments of any size to avoid damage to the relevant objects by blast waves, shell fragments, bullets, fire, etc. without the necessary restoration or reconstruction of the relevant objects in such cases. To identify the monument, an oracle with the outline of the monument and information about it (name, year of installation, author, and historical information) should be placed on the facade. In addition, it may be considered expedient to specify the definitions of cultural heritage and national heritage in the current Ukrainian legislation to improve the accounting of historical monuments.

In the course of the research, new issues and problems arose that need to be addressed. Considering the absence of precedents in international practice similar in substance to the Scythian gold case, it is necessary to continue research on the study of international law-making practice in the field of protection of cultural and historical property and foreign experience in preventing the withdrawal of the national property of the respective states from their jurisdiction.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Питання повернення історичних пам'яток, вивезених з території України після 2014 року. Проблематика археологічних досліджень в умовах війни

Анотація. Актуальність наукового дослідження зумовлена підвищенням національної свідомості української нації, новим етапом національного відродження Української держави та консолідації українського народу на тлі повномасштабного вторгнення та окупації українських територій. Метою даної науково-дослідної роботи є дослідження рівня загрози національній історичній та культурній спадщині на теренах України, у тому числі, тимчасово окупованих. Методологію дослідження, яка застосована в цій роботі, складає комплексне поєднання кількісного та якісного аналізу археологічних та культурних пам'яток, а також наступні методи: сходження, синтезу, аналізу, порівняння, та аксіоматичний метод. У результаті дослідження були вивчені основні регіони розташування історичних та культурних пам'яток на тимчасово окупованих територіях та на таких, де ведуться бойові дії. Досліджена компетентна думка провідних українських вчених-істориків та археологів щодо основних проблем проведення археологічних досліджень та реституції тимчасово вилучених окупантом скарбів української культури. Встановлені правові підстави такої реституції в контексті основних положень вітчизняного та міжнародного гуманітарного права. Ці обставини були передумовами до відміни рішення Окружного суду Амстердама на користь української сторони. Обґрунтовано, що позиція владних кіл Королівства Нідерланди не дотримується статуту правової ідентичності, а також незалежності держави та ігнорує непорушності права власності. Хоча, в свою чергу, країна заснована на декларуванні дотримання норм міжнародного права щодо юридичного імунітету держави та її власності, поставленим Конвенцією від ООН 2004 року. Сформульовані на їхній основі висновки містять актуалізовані наукові знання щодо напрямків відновлення справедливого правового статусу до історичного та культурного надбання української нації та привносять у науку відповідні науково-практичні рекомендації щодо вдосконалення чинного законодавства України в сфері музейної справи та археологічної науки

Ключові слова: скіфське золото; культурна спадщина; історичний артефакт; Амстердамський арбітраж; повернення культурних цінностей

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The establishment of the countries of “American friends” to the USSR and their current role in world politics

Abstract. The relevance of this study is that the foreign policy of countries in different regions of the world in the 21st century is a significant determinant that affects the overall international political process and world politics and is the consequence of past international relations. One of the consequences of the development of Brazil and Argentina and the rapid deterioration of Venezuela was international relations with the Soviet Union in the 20th century. The purpose of this research is to identify and analyse the influence of the Soviet Union on the establishment and current role of Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela in world politics, based on the literature search. The study used the bibliographic method, analysis and synthesis, comparison and induction. It was established that the Soviet Union's international relations with its “American friends” were designed to deplete resources, develop dependence and achieve hegemony in the region, compared to the United States. It is determined that the USSR, in pursuit of leadership over the Latin American region, tried to introduce the ideas of socialism to South America, using mainly commodity relations. Proof of this influence is the establishment of Venezuela, which was influenced by the Soviet Union, followed its ideas and is now the worst-developed country in the region, in contrast to Brazil and Argentina, which, due to alienation, were able to develop both their economic and political position and role in the international arena. The practical significance of this study is manifested in the fact that the results of this work allow an understanding of some aspects of political phenomena for the final use of positive experience in modern political transformations

Keywords: Latin-Soviet relations; international relations; socialism; “cold war”; hegemony

Introduction

South America has undergone significant changes in recent decades. The history of the region's establishment has left the countries of South America with many political and economic problems that have resulted in their current position and role in the current political and economic system. Currently, South America, like in the 20th century, is still an arena for contemporary events. Thus, the relations between South American countries and the Soviet Union in the 20th century and the consequences of such relations for the countries examined in the 21st century are of considerable interest.

South America – a region with great political and economic potential, where the US and the USSR fought for

influence during the Cold War. Now that conditions have changed and the Cold War, with its sense of mistrust and secrecy, is history, a more realistic and critical look at Soviet foreign policy, its motives, logic, and actions can be taken. Thus, it is advisable to present and summarise 70 years of Soviet relations with Latin America and the significant consequences of these relations in the current realities for three countries, namely the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Republic of Argentina, and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

A considerable amount of research has been conducted on the role of South American countries in world politics, their establishment and development in the

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international arena, and the causes and consequences of their current situation. For example, Ukrainian researcher B. Kudelko (2022) emphasises the role of the United States in the formation of Latin American countries, namely the US hegemony in the region from the 18th century to the beginning of the 21st century, which was one of the reasons for the current situation of the countries. The American researcher C. Gaffey (2020) noted that Soviet influence caused significant losses for South American countries and emphasised other consequences and the current situation of countries in avoiding communism both in the region and anywhere in the world.

Y. Yordanov (2021), in his study, highlighted the international relations between Cuba and the USSR, noting that the countries have come a thorny way from the “warm” beginning of sugar trade relations in 1960 to tense relations in the 80s the 20th century, which the USSR authorities tolerated to preserve the Cuban revolution, which was the centre of socialism in the Western Hemisphere. The researcher noted that after 1980, the structural reforms adopted by the new leadership of the USSR concerning Cuba resulted in the end of its cooperation with European countries and the subsequent rapid decline of the country’s economy.

V. Saeki-Serna (2021) determined that the main purpose of Soviet leaders towards Latin American countries was to preserve and consolidate absolute power, expand it, and destroy the governmental mechanism and structure of society in non-Soviet countries. T. Harmer (2021) focused his research on one of the countries of South America – Chile. For example, the researcher established that with the intervention of the USSR and the United States, the country achieved growth due to the successful abandonment of communism and development in the opposite way to those neighbouring countries that supported the ideas of the USSR.

However, the subject has not yet been thoroughly researched regarding the impact of the so-called “friendship” between the USSR and the countries examined and the consequences that such relations have caused, which still exist today. The relevance of this research is primarily conditioned upon the absence of similar research studies specialising in this subject in the context of modern political international relations.

To better understand the problem, this study was designed to identify general trends in Soviet influence for countries that followed their ideology and partially cooperated with the USSR as “American friends”. Such countries were, for example, Venezuela, Argentina, and countries that, after their relations with the USSR, took a different path of development, such as Brazil, etc.

The purpose of this study is to scrutinize the main aspects and stages of relations and to explore the current role in world politics of South American countries, namely Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela, by analysing their economic development and the political consequences of international relations with the Soviet Union, which determine the role and place of these countries in world politics today.

Materials and Methods

To achieve this purpose, the bibliographic method was initially used, in the form of a qualitative selection of some

literary material, to determine the relevance of the study of the issue in a particular region. In addition, previous studies by English, Ukrainian, American, Spanish, and Argentine authors are studied. First of all, to perform the primary tasks of the study, the method of analysis and synthesis of information was used to identify the beginning and root causes of relations between Venezuela, Argentina and Brazil, and the Soviet Union. The study analyses the development of the countries examined, starting from the first 20th century and ending with the second decade of the 21st century, to identify the consequences of international relations of the countries examined. To confirm the economic processes in the countries examined, changes in statistical data were carefully analysed and explored. To achieve this task, the following indicators were explored using the method of statistical data analysis: gross domestic product (hereinafter – GDP) of the region examined for the period 1960-1984 to analyse positive or adverse changes in the development of South American countries. In addition, using the method of comparison and analysis, the author examines in more detail the GDP of Argentina for the period 1870-1914. Thus, before the commencement of international relations with the Soviet Union, and in comparison, with the same indicator of other countries of the world, the level of development of Argentina in the period 1870-1914 was much better compared to other modern leading countries of the world. For this comparison, per capita income levels among other countries were used. The study analyses in detail Venezuela’s GDP for the period 1963-2022, i.e., from the beginning of international relations with the Soviet Union to the present day, and the growth rate of Venezuela’s GDP for the period 1986-2022. To fully reflect the economic situation of Venezuela in recent years, the country’s prospective development index was probed in comparison with its closest neighbours. In addition, notably, by applying the method of analysis and synthesis of information, the author identifies the periods of foreign relations of the investigated countries and studies the levers of influence on Latin American countries by the USSR. Separately, the comparison method was used to identify the problems faced by the countries examined during and after cooperation with the Soviet Union, both in the economic and political aspects. The main choice in determining the research plan was to focus on an inductive research approach, which is appropriate for the work being done. The method of induction and comparison was used for the analysed countries (Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil) to establish the economic and political consequences of international relations with the USSR. In addition, the method of induction was used to explore the reasons for the current position of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela in the international market. The method of analysis and comparison of the obtained results was used to depict the problems considered in the study and to interpret them in the current realities of international political relations, which allowed concluding on the practical significance of the conducted research.

Results

For many years, South America played the role of a fringe of world politics until it became an object of interest for

the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There were no controversial issues between the USSR and the Latin American states that would have hindered the development of their ties (Kudelko, 2022). However, in the second half of the 1940s, the Cold War, launched by the then US and UK leadership, intervened in this process, involving the Soviet Union and many Latin American countries that continued to be highly economically and politically dependent on the United States (Gaffey, 2020).

Notably, Latin-Soviet relations were designed gradually, passing through several stages of development. Perusing the course of the USSR's foreign policy relations, one can conclude that the main strategic and economic interests of the Soviet Union were focused on Eurasia, but after the end of World War II, starting in the 1960s, the USSR began to pay considerable attention to Latin America, despite the long distance separating the two regions and the limited common interests throughout their history (Riikkamari, 2022). Official ties between the USSR and the Latin American region flourished in the late 1950s and 1960s. Before that, the relationship was sporadic and insignificant. The only exception was Argentina – the first country on the South American continent with which the USSR established diplomatic relations and with which contacts later developed mainly through the Communist International (Comintern), but for a short period, as the country changed its development path oppositely from the ideas of the USSR. Soviet-Latin American relations acquired new aspects after the Cuban revolution, which resulted in the establishment of diplomatic relations: between Brazil (1961) and Venezuela (1970). However, notably, by the early 1980s, the USSR had diplomatic relations with 18 governments of the South American continent.

The answer to the question of what caused such a change in foreign economic relations was partly provided by such a scholar as K. Blasier (2002) in his research, who noted the most important reason. The ideas advocated by communist figures were quite relevant in the societies of the countries examined in the 20th century: poverty, governmental rigidity, and a large number of social problems. The global economic recession of 1929-1933 harmed South America, exacerbating the crisis trends that had been developing within the countries and had come to light in the post-war period. Attention should be devoted to the statistical data indicating that the countries of this region lost the dynamism of economic growth in the 20th century. Between 1960 and 1984, the total GDP of the countries in the region decreased by 2.3% (from 6.2% in 1961 to 3.9% in 1984), and in some years, such as 1983, it declined sharply and amounted to – 1.9% (The world bank..., 2021). Namely, this trend was accompanied by hyperinflation, unemployment, progressive degradation of the labour market, and an increase in the external debt of countries (Cardoso, 1989).

Communist policies designed to eradicate such problems were frequently discussed in the leading countries of South America at the time – Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela – after the Soviet Union's collapse. The Bolshevik Revolution, which occurred on the territory of the countries that later became part of the Soviet Union, was a

symbol of social justice for the countries under analysis, and, therewith, a utopia. Thus, the penetration of the Soviet economy into South American countries increased dramatically at a time when these countries were fighting for their independence and the opportunity to develop and improve, struggling with pressing social problems.

Each of the analysed countries was of some interest to the USSR. First of all, notably, Argentina's GDP in 1870-1914, before the arrival of the Soviet Union, grew by 5.61% on average, while in Canada this figure was 3.77%, in the USA – 3.66%, and in Australia – 3.35% (Cachanosky, 2006).

Thus, all three countries examined are located in a region of strategic geographical importance. However, Argentina and Chile shared a common border, which is an important point, since, as T. Harmer (2021) notes, the USSR tried to influence neighbouring countries. In the case of Venezuela, the country shared borders with Brazil, respectively, and Brazil with Argentina. Notably, the relations between these states and the USSR were mostly economic. Weak support for communist ideology and indecision about provoking a US response limited this aspect of their relations, particularly with Argentina and Brazil. For the most part, it can be concluded that Soviet relations with the three countries mentioned above were largely motivated by political and economic purposes to expand Soviet influence in the region, which was strategically important in achieving hegemony due to its significant resource deposits and favourable geographical location.

After reviewing a considerable amount of literature, the author concludes that during the Soviet period, the USSR expanded its contacts with Latin America with the main purpose of transforming developing countries into Marxist-Leninist states, thereby strengthening its status both as the leader of the world communist movement and as a "great power" capable of competing with and defending itself against the United States. Such actions were primarily designed to establish hegemony in South America. At the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet Union considered Latin America as a region where the US government had severely limited communist expansion opportunities. A study of Soviet actions and purposes in Latin America demonstrates that they were not to establish pro-Soviet regimes or gain Soviet bases but rather to undermine the US position. Soviet planners viewed Latin America as the "strategic rear" of the United States and noted the US dependence on Latin America for raw materials (Leiken, 1982). Thus, for example, in 1989, as a result of many studies by R. Schmidt (1989), it was established that the Soviet motives for improving relations with South America were economic and political but not strategic.

In particular, Argentina was an alternative source of grain for the USSR, a potentially important source of oil and minerals, and a successful commercial fishing area. In addition, notably, the Soviet Union openly spoke of its desire to dominate South America. A striking example of this was publications in various Soviet journals, but the most notorious was the 1978 publication "America Latina", which repeatedly mentioned the dream of "turning the wet pampas (plains) of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Paraguay, the central valley and area of German settlement,

into a major world and grain market" (Saba, 1980). International relations between the analysed countries began based on trade and economic relations in the form of "economic friendship". The Soviet Union supplied South America with machinery for production, cars, chemicals, and parts and mechanisms for the construction of hydro-electric power plants. In turn, the Soviet Union bought conventional products from Latin America, such as coffee, cocoa, bananas, rice, sunflower oil, meat, leather, and, in some years, large quantities of wheat. Since the 1970s, some types of finished goods have been purchased from this region: footwear, woollen goods, and metal pipes. In addition, the USSR was significantly involved in the military affairs of the region, as it was a supplier of military equipment, outselling even the United States in terms of sales to Latin America. In this case, it can be concluded that the USSR's tactics were manifested through comprehensive influence on society (government, press, popular movements) against US rule in the region.

Soviet priorities changed rapidly after 1985. Perestroika and internal problems meant that less attention could be paid to low-priority areas such as Latin America, and the USSR could not afford to continue its assistance at the same high level. The crisis of the populist regimes' policies brought the South American country to a historical dead end, the solution to which, due to specific socio-political conditions, lay in the establishment of military dictatorships, in which the Soviet Union was closely involved. Thus, Brazil was the first country to implement economic reforms, but under the auspices of the USSR, this country increased production and labour productivity by 56% in 1965-1974 by increasing capital (Cachanosky, 2006), but the result was alienation from economic progress, which worsened overall development.

The new powers established in Latin America were groups that sought to move beyond Marxist-Leninist efforts to achieve economic equality and democracy to embark on social reforms and address problems unique to Latin America. Therewith, the performance of left-oriented governments in different Latin American countries varied significantly.

Brazil and Argentina, having experienced a series of internal shocks of various kinds, are now members of the G20 and are among the world's most powerful economies, leaders in international politics, and influential subjects in the region. However, notably, Argentina's per capita income was among the ten highest in the world a century ago, when it was 92% of the average of the 16 richest economies. According to the latest research data, per capita income is now 43% of the 16 richest economies (OECD Review of..., 2018). Thus, Brazil, having abandoned the ideology and patronage of the Soviet Union, has achieved the greatest success and managed to raise the level of economic development, reduce poverty, and push back the threat of hunger from millions of citizens and become one of the "twenty" countries of the world. The situation was more complicated in Argentina, where the country's leadership, under pressure from the Soviet Union, led the country to incur significant social obligations and to a decline in both economic and political importance in the international arena.

The 1960s and early 1970s witnessed unstable growth and inflationary processes, including the first hyperinflation in 1975. During the 1970s and 1980s, the country struggled with the crisis and the lack of a competitive export sector. After decades of import-substituting industrialisation, Argentina as a country has undergone a significant transformation and is very different from what it was decades earlier. Subsequently, the influence of the USSR on the country weakened, dictatorships disappeared, and democratic regimes with fairly transparent electoral processes were established (Brown, 2000). Despite periodic crises, Argentina's growing performance since 1990 has allowed the country to begin the process of convergence with the developed world (OECD Review of..., 2018).

However, the worst situation was observed during the analysis in Venezuela. It was in the 70s of the 20th century that political processes in the country examined underwent transformations, which were based on the deterioration of relations with the United States. The country had an anti-American foreign policy orientation (Pilash, 2020), admiring the ideas of socialism under the aggressive influence of the USSR, and continued to develop in this area. In the context of the country's development, its economic situation is of interest, as it influences the country's political role in the international space. Thus, notably, Venezuela's GDP in 2022, which is USD 82.15 billion, is close to the 1963 value of USD 60.88 billion, with a GDP growth rate of 34.94 % for the period 1986-2022 (Venezuela: Gross domestic..., 2022).

The economic collapse is a significant economic crisis in modern history. Thus, the country that was one of the richest in Latin America and had the world's largest oil reserves after the Bolivarian Revolution under the auspices of Hugo Chavez and Nicolas Maduro, whose policies caused significant hyperinflation and economic decline. Venezuela is currently the only underdeveloped country in South America (Messner *et al.*, 2020). The Venezuelan people are suffering from food shortages, hyperinflation, and a healthcare crisis caused by the Maduro regime's corruption and mismanagement. As of July 2020, more than 5.2 million Venezuelans have fled the man-made disaster, and more than 3.2 million remaining citizens face food insecurity. At present, considering Venezuela in terms of development dynamics, based on the prospective rating index, notably, this country ranks 132nd in the ranking. Therewith, the dynamic processes in Venezuela are estimated at 26 out of 100, while, for example, Mexico's score is 62/100 (Barabash, 2018).

Summarising, note that in the process of establishing relations with South American countries, the USSR focused only on its own national interests and urgent needs, which influenced the further development of the countries.

Discussion

It is in South America that the process of finding the most effective model of socio-political and economic development is currently underway. Such processes have happened in the past and have had significant consequences for South American countries, which they are still experiencing and observing today. Having begun long before the

20th century, these processes have reached their peak in this period (López *et al.*, 2021). In particular, relations with the Soviet Union played an important role in the establishment of the countries examined, and the consequences of these relations are still felt today. Based on the study, notably, in a constantly changing world order, different states are building and striving to achieve a specific foreign policy strategy based on national interests. A striking example of this situation is the relationship between the Soviet Union and the countries of South America.

Some researchers describe South America as a “lost continent” (Moisés, 2006), but in this paper, the authors are inclined to the opinion of researcher T. Field (2020): although the region has a stable historical and geographical barrier, the region is unique compared to other regions of the world, as all historical events, although occurring indirectly, have global consequences in the framework of international relations. The epicentre of geopolitical rivalry has been South America, not Europe or the Middle East, for a long time now (Berg & Hal, 2022). Notably, in the 21st century, this region of the world includes a large number of countries, with a population of about 660 million people (Number of inhabitants..., 2022), contains a mixture of people from Asia, Africa, and Europe, and is increasingly becoming a significant part of international political relations.

Currently, Brazil and Argentina play an important role in both regional and international political relations, as they participate in most international organisations and have a significant impact on the pace and efficiency of developing the global political system, contrary to Venezuela. In the 21st century, Latin America is increasingly emerging as a permanent feature of the emerging polycentric system of international relations. For example, Brazil and Argentina are among the world’s top 20 countries. As of 2018, Brazil is the first largest economy in South America, while Argentina is the second (OECD Review of..., 2018). In addition, Brazil is seeking to become a member of the Security Council. Despite the wave of progressive governments, they are still the most unequal societies in the world in terms of wealth distribution, and most countries, according to the UN, still have underdeveloped economies, which determines the political place of these countries in the world. A striking example is Venezuela.

The study has established that the current situation and level of development of the scrutinized countries is a consequence of the constant struggle between the US and the USSR for hegemony in the region. The US purpose was to prevent local communists from gaining power by peaceful or violent means and turning South America into a springboard for the Soviet military and political regime (Berg & Hal, 2022). The analysis of previous studies has allowed for several conclusions about the current role of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela in the political system and the overall development of the region, in particular, that the desire of the two superpowers to establish their order over the region has provoked mostly adverse consequences for its development. However, notably, the differences between this study and the previous ones are as most researchers studied the situation from a different perspec-

tive than this study – they found the consequences of US influence on the region or analysed the current political and economic situation of each country separately, but without comparing them with each other and without exploring the consequences of the Soviet Union’s influence.

Among contemporary researchers who directly or indirectly study the issue, mention should be made of B. Kudelko (2022). The Ukrainian researcher, having outlined the stages of development and relations between Latin America and the United States, established that after the collapse of the USSR, the presence of the United States in the region decreased, but it continues to actively interfere in the internal politics of Latin American countries, although to a lesser extent than their predecessors. The primary reason for the intervention was the active attempts of the USSR to be present in the region, and the consequences of establishing a logistical and financial centre for the rebels could have been threatening for both continents of the Americas (Berg & Hal, 2022).

However, the researcher A. Varas (2008) noted in his study that Argentina’s relations with the USSR served as a counterbalance to the country’s relations with the US economic presence and pressure from the UK. Similarly, Brazil’s relations with the USSR indicated a bilateral interest in establishing a more independent position in the international arena. However, the researcher emphasised that it was Latin America that benefited from the presence of the Soviet Union. In this area, V. Jeifets, & L. Jeifets (2022) conducted a study emphasising the dualism of Soviet diplomacy towards Latin American governments of those countries that did not recognise the Bolshevik state but sought to benefit economically from trade with the USSR, which was not considered in the current study and is a limitation of this research.

In his study, the Ukrainian scholar O. Romanyuk (2021) focused only on the establishment and development of Venezuela and highlighted several important aspects of this process. Firstly, Venezuela has been an important participant in international relations through the oil factor, namely hydrocarbon resources and oil models. Secondly, the beginning of Venezuela’s cooperation with the USSR was supposed to increase the country’s role in international politics, but it never happened, which is consistent with the results of this research.

Thus, various researchers from many countries have explored the issues discussed in this research. As a result of this research, some aspects were not confirmed by the results of previous studies, but the following aspects were common: the South American region is quite significant in the framework of international cooperation, economy, and politics, and the superpowers of the USSR and the USA tried to establish power over it in different eras during the development of the South American subsystem of international relations, lagging behind Europe, East Asia, and even the Middle East. Due to geographical proximity, and political and economic influence, the United States was a more natural partner for Latin American countries than European countries located far across the ocean. The USSR’s international relations with the Latin American region had inevitable consequences that are still visible

today. Having used the government and resources of South American countries, the USSR soon ceased to exist, leaving many adverse consequences and problems for the countries. Brazil and Argentina, moved away from Soviet influence faster and managed to achieve better development and occupy their place in the global political system, while Venezuela has not yet solved a significant number of problems and does not have a significant voice in the international economy and politics.

As noted by A. Bredykhin and M. Zelinska (2009) in their study, although it is too early to make final predictions, they believe that the example of the emerging Latin American countries, namely Argentina, may become the most likely prospect for the new democracies of Eastern Europe and those states that emerged from the former Soviet Union. The experience of the rather complicated development of the political system of South America is of considerable interest to Ukraine, as similar problems can be traced in the economy and politics of Ukraine in the 20th century. Notably, the paths are taken by Ukraine and the analysed South American countries are quite different, as the former suffered explicit consequences after leaving the USSR (Ghorbal, 2006), while the latter were indirectly affected by the adverse effects of the rivalries for power in the region. Therefore, the concept of “living in the past” and its consequences for the development of the post-Soviet states are traced in the example of three Latin American countries (Czyż, 2021). What can now be analysed and interpreted about the countries that became part of the Soviet Union, including Ukraine.

Conclusions

The Soviet Union began to exert significant pressure on South American countries in the late 1960s. In addition to the economic situation, the USSR had a significant impact on the political regime of the examined South American countries. The main determinants of the Soviet Union's interest in the South American region were the idea of hegemony on the continent compared to the United States and the favourable geographical location of the countries. The intervention of the USSR plays a significant role in the establishment and development of the three states. The

influence of the USSR on the development of countries and their current position in the world, both economically and politically, is not a decisive factor, but it is quite significant.

Based on the study, notably, relations between the USSR and South America were dynamically developing, but their basic essence has never changed: The USSR tried to establish hegemony in the region with the purpose of subjugation. It is established that in the case of the studied South American countries, namely Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela, the Soviet Union was not a friend, but only another superpower, like the United States, from which they should keep away. An example, in this case, is Brazil and Argentina, which were biased against the Soviet Union's attempts to dictate new orders and establish their dependence on it. However, the ideology of the USSR had already penetrated the military, economic, and political systems of the countries examined, which supported and imitated it. In particular, this situation was observed in Venezuela. Paying attention to the current role of each country analysed in this research, it can be determined that the consequences of such relations with the Soviet government are still visible and tangible today. Thus, the collapse in Venezuela's development now exceeds that of the former Soviet Union, which suggests that socialism in the 21st century may follow the path of its predecessor in the 20th century since authoritarianism and a one-party system in the absence of healthy competition, lack of understanding of the nature of new challenges and time-appropriate solutions cannot be effective for the country's development.

The relevance of this subject and issues prompts further analyses. Therefore, the prospect for further work is to conduct more detailed research on the experience of current approaches to leadership in Brazil and Argentina in the South American region and interpret the results to Ukraine to activate the state and strengthen its role in the European regional community and cooperation.

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Conflict of Interest

None.

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Становлення країн «американських друзів» до СРСР та їхня сучасна роль в світовій політиці

Анотація. Актуальність даного дослідження полягає в тому, що зовнішня політика країн різних регіонів світу у XXI сторіччі виступає значним детермінантом, який впливає на загальний міжнародний політичний процес та світову політику, є наслідками минулих міжнародних відносин. Одним із наслідків розвитку Бразилії та Аргентини та стрімкого погіршення стану Венесуели є міжнародні відносини із Радянським Союзом у XX сторіччі. Метою даної статті є, спираючись на літературний пошук, виокремлення та аналіз впливу Радянського Союзу на становлення та сучасну роль Бразилії, Аргентини та Венесуели у світовій політиці. Під час проведеного дослідження було використано бібліографічний метод, а також аналізу та синтезу, порівняння та індукції. Було встановлено, що міжнародні відносини Радянського Союзу із «американськими друзями» відбувалися із ціллю виснаження ресурсів, розвивання залежності та досягнення гегемонії в регіоні, порівняно із США. Визначено, що СРСР у погоні за лідерством над латиноамериканським регіоном, використовуючи здебільшого товарні відносини, намагалися впровадити ідеї соціалізму до Південної Америки. Доказом такого впливу є становлення Венесуели, яка була під впливом Радянського Союзу, наслідувала його ідеї та нині є найгірше розвиненою країною в регіоні на противагу Бразилії та Аргентині, які завдяки відчуженню змогли розвинути як економічне, так і політичне становище та роль на міжнародній арені. Практична значущість даного дослідження проявляється в тому, що результати даної роботи дозволяють зрозуміти окремі аспекти політичних явищ задля підсумкового використання позитивного досвіду в сучасних політичних трансформаціях

Ключові слова: Латино-радянські відносини; міжнародні відносини; соціалізм; «холодна війна», гегемонія

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The model of Ukrainian-Iranian relations: Establishment and decline

Abstract. The relevance of the study is conditioned upon the sharp deterioration of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran against the background of the latter's cooperation with the Russian Federation, which could potentially result in the severance of all ties. The purpose of this research is to identify the main preconditions that contributed to the decline of relations between Ukraine and Iran. The main methods include logical analysis, functional analysis, synthesis, deduction, induction, historical, formal and legal, etc. The study explored the history of diplomatic relations between the two countries since the beginning of the existence of independent Ukraine. The main events that were significant for both sides were considered. In particular, trade and economic relations were analysed, which consisted of exploring statistics on exports and imports of products. It allowed determination that Iran was among the top 10 exporters of Ukrainian products. The most important stage was to determine Iran's role in the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation in 2022. The positions of representatives of the international community were considered, and data from American and Ukrainian intelligence agencies were presented, which demonstrated Iran's involvement in war crimes on the territory of Ukraine, and the possibility of future liability. Based on this, the main reason that called into question the possibility of further cooperation was identified. Notably, the severance of ties reduces Iran's status in the international arena. The practical value of the results obtained is to highlight the bilateralism of Iran's policy and to establish the necessity of further cooperation between Ukraine and this country.

Keywords: diplomatic relations; full-scale invasion; politics; Middle East country; war crimes

Introduction

After Ukraine gained its independence, an active process of developing a new model of interstate relations began. Ukraine's diplomatic relations with Iran were characterised by the significant economic interest of both countries. As M. Eslami (2022) notes, it is confirmed by the significant volume of exports of Ukrainian products, and the support for cooperation in the construction of aircraft. Despite specific shortcomings, diplomatic relations were maintained and developed rapidly.

The fundamental document of bilateral relations between Ukraine and Iran is the Declaration on the Principles of Friendly Cooperation between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran, signed by the Presidents of the two states in Tehran on 26 April 1992 (Memorandum..., 1992). The document envisages that both countries will actively develop diplomatic relations as friendly states and partners. Priority is placed on negotiations and relations at the highest state level, meetings of foreign ministers, consultations, and negotiations between the parties

on international and bilateral issues of mutual interest, including within the UN, other international and regional organisations, and forums at various levels.

Over the past 30 years, relations between Ukraine and Iran have gone from an ambitious partnership to a complete collapse. All these years, Ukraine has been helping Iran develop its aviation and nuclear power industry, supplying grain, and once the Iranians even got Ukrainian cruise missiles.

In September 2022, the Ukrainian military began downing the first Iranian kamikaze drones that attacked cities. Kyiv then revoked the accreditation of the Iranian ambassador to Ukraine. Following the brutal attacks by Iranian "Shahedin" and the destruction of Ukraine's energy sector, Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba proposed that the president break off diplomatic relations with Iran (Kuleba offers..., 2022).

P. Van Bergeijk (2022) writes that the events of 24 February 2022 had an impact on the territorial integrity and inviolability of Ukraine, and on the international economy,

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security, and, consequently, relations. No less important in this is the support of the RF by the Iranian authorities.

According to D. Saraswat (2022), international military cooperation is of great importance for ensuring security at the regional, national, and global levels. According to S. Rahman (2022), the main task is to increase the level of the state's defence capability, guarantee military security, and establish an international legal security regime according to national interests. According to H. Dylan and T.J. Maguire (2022), international military partnership implies the existence of common purposes and interests, and approaches to the implementation of such activities.

However, notably, it is an "ideal" form of military and defence cooperation based on the principles of international law. According to the position, the practice demonstrates that this type of international cooperation may be conducted in violation of the relevant provisions of international conventions and treaties. As the author notes, it is non-conventional military cooperation. It can be either overt or covert, but the latter is more stable and permanent. In the current circumstances of a full-scale war, a striking example of this is the military-technical cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Russian Federation. According to I. Kusa (2022) is implemented through the supply of kamikaze attack drones used against civilian infrastructure. It contradicts the provisions of international humanitarian law and the international legal obligations assumed by Iran. In addition, the author notes that Iran's cooperation with Russia will grow and develop more rapidly, which has an adverse impact both on the security of Ukraine and the entire international community.

Therefore, the Tehran authorities are involved in war crimes committed on the territory of Ukraine. Thus, Iran is indirectly encroaching on Ukraine's national security, territorial integrity, and inviolability, just like the aggressor country – the Russian Federation. These circumstances call into question Ukraine's further cooperation with the Islamic Republic and the maintenance of diplomatic relations.

Thus, considering the above, the purpose of the research is to determine the cause-and-effect relationship between the establishment, development, and decline of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Research results

Bilateral relations between Ukraine and Iran

One of the most significant factors of influence on Iran is its geographical location. It is located at the crossroads of regions, which allows it to promote its interests in Central and South Asia, the South Caucasus, and the Middle East. Notably, the presence of conflict points along the perimeter of the state's borders determines Iran's purpose to establish its draft geopolitical plan to deter its regional and global adversaries (Alcaro & Siddi, 2020).

Diplomatic relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Ukraine have been characterised by some contradictions and underdevelopment due to several factors.

In 1992, the beginning of their establishment was marked by the opening of the Iranian embassy in Kyiv, and in October, the Ukrainian diplomatic mission was opened in Tehran (Dudka, 2020). On 26 April 1992, the two leaders signed the Declaration on Cooperation between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran in Tehran (Declaration on the..., 1992). This regulation is defined as the basic document for bilateral relations. Notably, the legal framework comprises a total of 37 existing documents, of which 9 are interstate, 10 are intergovernmental, and 18 are interagency (Declaration on the..., 1992).

Bilateral relations between Ukraine and Iran are based on trade relations, which began to develop more actively in the 2000s. Their specific feature is the prevalence of exports from Ukraine over imports from Iran. Notably, trade relations usually concerned agricultural products, metallurgy, fuel and energy, machine building, and infrastructure (Panova & Zhevaho, 2022).

In 2001, the volume of trade was USD 165 million, and in 2012 – USD 1.232 billion, but due to the impact of international sanctions in 2013, which were related to Iran's internal policy, the figures decreased by 2 times. In 2015–2018, the restrictions were partially lifted, and trade turnover grew again, enabling Iran to enter the top 10 countries with the highest foreign trade turnover with Ukraine (Drone in the back..., 2022).

However, in 2018, sanctions were re-imposed, which caused the trade turnover to decline again. For a more detailed analysis, consider the statistical data (Table 1).

Table 1. Trade turnover between Ukraine and Iran in 2012–2022

Year	Export, USD ths.	Import, USD ths.	Total volume, USD ths.
2012	1164712.6	67399.8	1232112.4
2013	793924.7	83686.8	877611.5
2014	703421.7	52954	756375.7
2015	533571.2	30517.3	564088.5
2016	705165.5	39952.2	745117.7
2017	552584.7	70059.9	622644.6
2018	433092.6	53854.8	486947.4
2019	214727.4	48956.2	263683.6
2020	258846.4	48219.3	307065.7
2021	624949.3	98775.5	723724.8
2022	184244.64	16022.38	200267.02

Source: (Drone in the back..., 2022)

The data in the table demonstrates that turnover was highest in 2014–2016, and reached the same level again in 2021. However, notably, due to the political situation, the turnover has now been reduced again.

Overall, Ukraine's exports were mainly agricultural products and foodstuffs, gas turbines and locomotives, while Iranian goods included medicines and dried fruits, and Ukraine was interested in energy, which cannot be exported due to sanctions. Notably, most of the goods are usually re-exported through third countries; the reason for this is the lack of clear interbank settlement channels (Gutsalyuk *et al.*, 2021). One of the most promising areas for relations between Ukraine and Iran could have been nuclear energy and military-technical cooperation, but due to US pressure and sanctions, this area was curtailed in the 1990s (Hatami *et al.*, 2020).

The Beginning of Disagreements in the Development of Ukrainian-Iranian Relations

Notably, the development of relations between Ukraine and Iran is hampered by the diversity of political opinions. Thus, Ukraine maintains ties with the United States, while Iran – with Russia. As a result, there is no political will to develop bilateral contacts. This distancing is observed in the international arena due to the lack of mutual support in UN votes. However, in 2016, the Strategic Vision of Ukraine's relations with Iran was adopted, based on the principles of non-interference and non-prevention of cooperation by other states, friendly relations and mutual interest, which guarantees food security for Iran and energy security for Ukraine. However, due to the renewal of sanctions, the provisions of this Strategic Vision have become irrelevant (Alcaro & Siddi, 2020).

A tragic incident should be highlighted. On 8 January 2020, a Ukrainian plane, which was a commercial civilian flight, was shot down over Tehran. It happened as a result of a mistake by the Iranian air defence. As a result, 9 crew members and 167 passengers died. This tragedy had an adverse impact on bilateral relations between the two countries. The Iranian authorities denied any involvement and officially refused to negotiate the investigation. The Ukrainian authorities, in turn, claimed that this was a planned terrorist act and filed a lawsuit against Iran. The latter offered compensation of \$150,000 to the relatives of each of the victims, but Ukraine did not agree to this amount. Now Iran is trying to resolve the case without recognising the illegality of its actions (Three years after..., 2022).

Iran's Place in the Russian-Ukrainian War

The full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 deserves special attention. It demonstrates the intertwining of interests, events and positions in international relations that at first glance appeared to be little related.

In this case, mention should be made of the Iran nuclear deal and the 2014 Russian-Ukrainian war, as these events are interrelated (Hatami *et al.*, 2020). The reason for this is the involvement of the European Union (EU), the United States and the Russian Federation in both cases. The prerequisite is the 2014 negotiations on the nuclear deal with Iran, in which Russia acted as a mediator. One of

the issues that were not agreed upon was Tehran's nuclear ambitions. Thus, Iran should reduce, convert and modify its nuclear development and adopt the relevant protocol. The IAEA, in turn, has demanded unannounced rapid inspections to give the international community more confidence. It provided an opportunity for Russia to obtain a concession from the United States (Alcaro & Siddi, 2020).

In 2022, negotiations on the renewal of the nuclear deal were held and were successful (Nuclear deal, 2022). For the Russian Federation, this was a new opportunity to use it in its interests. In March of the same year, the Russian authorities published demands to the United States, seeking guarantees of the inviolability of Russia's relations with Iran after the nuclear deal. However, the renewal of the nuclear agreement was not implemented; this process was suspended. Tehran's authorities mentioned the US's unwillingness to lift sanctions as the reason for this (Nuclear deal, 2022).

Representatives of the RF are trying to use the nuclear negotiations to satisfy their interests, putting Iran at risk. However, the latter is not trying to reduce contacts but rather supports Russia's actions in Ukraine at the official level. Notably, senior officials and the Supreme Leader blamed NATO and the United States for the outbreak of war. There is a specific dissonance in this regard, as Iran's official position is to resolve the conflict diplomatically. In addition, during the UN General Assembly's vote on the resolution condemning Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Iran abstained from expressing its position (Norman, 2022).

Instead, the full-scale invasion and aggressive military actions of the RF caused contradictions within the country and a lack of monolithicity. Therewith, as officials and authorities supported Russia, ordinary citizens, reformist circles, the middle class and conservatives reacted quite adversely and condemned Russia.

However, some prospects are opening up for Iran as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian war. For example, if a nuclear deal is concluded and sanctions are imposed on energy supplies from Russia, the Islamic Republic could become a new supplier of gas and oil to Europe. In addition, notably, Russia's position in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Siberia may be weakened. It provides Iran with an advantage in terms of increasing its economic and geopolitical influence in these regions while maintaining close cooperation with the Russian authorities. Thus, such a possible development of events could turn the current situation with relations between Russia and the Islamic Republic 180 degrees, with the latter acting as the "dominant" party. However, this situation is quite probable, due to the exceptional pragmatism of Tehran's policy and the situational nature of these alliance-type relations.

On the one hand, if the Islamic Republic of Iran normalises relations with the West and lifts some of its sanctions, it will be able to establish relations with Ukraine and build a pragmatic political course in the post-war period. The prerequisites for expanding cooperation in this context are the mutual interest of countries in exporting and importing a particular category of products. In addition, notably, the support for the security of the food plan in the Middle East, and the broad scope of cooperation in the political and economic segments of the perspective plan. To imple-

ment such a development, the necessary conditions are the setting of purposes by both governing circles of states and their awareness. Thus, Ukraine and Iran will adhere to the developed policy and strategy pragmatically, and Ukraine will promote its positions in the Iranian discourse.

However, on the other hand, considering the current circumstances, it is impossible to say that Ukraine's relations with Iran will develop. It is caused by the facts confirming the immediate involvement of the Islamic Republic in the war against Ukraine. Thus, according to John Kirby, Iranian designers are on the territory of the temporarily occupied Crimea (Iranian military instructors..., 2022). The White House National Security Council's Strategic Communications Coordinator said that Tehran's authorities had sold kamikaze drones to Russia and, accordingly, sent their personnel to Crimea to help the Russian authorities attack Ukrainian cities. According to various estimates, the equipment transferred to Iran could reach several thousand units (US sanctions Iranian drone..., 2023). However, despite this, the authorities of the Islamic Republic deny this fact, as do the authorities of the Russian Federation. In mid-October 2022, there was evidence that Russia had again received more than 2,000 kamikaze drones, and some media reported that Russia was planning to purchase Fateh-110 and Zolfaghar surface-to-surface ballistic missiles from Iran. In addition, importantly, on 20 October 2022, Ukrainian intelligence reported the arrival of instructors and advisers from Iran on using unmanned aerial vehicles in Russia (Informational geostrategic resonance..., 2022).

Ukraine terminates the agreement on diplomatic relations with Iran

During a briefing on 18 October 2022, Dmytro Kuleba, the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, submitted a proposal to President Volodymyr Zelenskyy to break off diplomatic relations with Iran due to the country's arms supplies to Russia. Kuleba noted that Ukraine has never taken an anti-Iranian position, but due to the numerous damages caused by Iranian kamikaze drones to Ukraine's infrastructure and possible further supply of weapons in the future, and the deaths and suffering of the Ukrainian people, it is impossible to talk about maintaining any diplomatic relations. The head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the resumption of relations could only be possible if the supply of weapons to the aggressor country was stopped (The Ministry of Foreign..., 2022). Notably, according to US National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan on 9 January 2023, the supply of weapons could lead to large-scale war crimes; the US will consider holding the Iranian authorities accountable (Biden's adviser had..., 2022).

Thus, considering the current circumstances, the resumption of relations between Ukraine and Iran is possible if the latter takes some steps. First and foremost, it means stopping Iran's arms supplies to Russia, recognising its role in a full-scale war and taking responsibility. If Iran continues its current political course, relations with Ukraine will be severed indefinitely. Further research will examine in more detail the possibility of restoring relations between Iran and Ukraine.

Discussion

Over the past 30 years, relations between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran have come a long way, from an ambitious partnership to collapse. From the beginning of Ukraine's independence, one of its main purposes was to establish economic cooperation with Iran. Despite several successful and promising projects, relations between the two countries have been accompanied by adverse aspects, which have now resulted in a rift between Iran and Ukraine.

Iran was one of the first states to recognise Ukraine's independence, and on 25 December 1991, diplomatic relations between the two countries were established (From the history..., 2022).

In January 1992, the Iranian Foreign Minister came to Kyiv to sign a memorandum (From the history..., 2022). Thus, the main purposes at that time were Ukrainian agricultural products, aircraft and carriage building, and transportation of Iranian oil and gas through Ukraine. Notably, imports of oil and gas from Iran allowed Ukraine to abandon Russian products and, consequently, reduce its dependence on Russia. However, this project was not implemented. In September 1998, Behzad Mazheri, who was Iran's ambassador at the time, noted that this could not be done because of high tariffs that raise energy prices compared to those of post-Soviet countries (Iran and Ukraine..., 2022).

Notably, Iran initiated the development of relations with Ukraine and further cooperation. As a result of the Islamic Revolution of 1979, a different regime came to Iran, for which Soviet communism was perceived as a hostile political system, but less dangerous than in the United States and Israel (Iran and Ukraine..., 2022).

According to A. Saeedi Ran and M. Halalkhor (2021), in 1992, the Iranian authorities decided to resume the project to build a nuclear power plant in Bushehr, which was stopped due to the Islamic Revolution, and it was then that the US and German governments imposed sanctions and refused to complete the facility. Nevertheless, in 1995, the Islamic Republic signed a contract with a Russian company to resume construction and engaged Kharkiv-based Turboatom and several Ukrainian enterprises as subcontractors. Notably, the US government's refusal to build a nuclear power plant was due to Iran's "nuclear ambitions", which threatened the security of the international community.

H. Lavranos (2022) notes that in March 1998, after a visit by the US Secretary of State and numerous appeals from Israel, Leonid Kuchma announced that Ukraine would abandon the Iran project in exchange for cooperation with the US in the high technology segment. Accordingly, the Iranian authorities have publicly adversely assessed Ukraine's actions.

According to R. Czulda (2020), the greatest achievement of Ukrainian-Iranian relations was the project to build the AN-140 aircraft. In the future, Ukraine wanted to expand cooperation, involve the Islamic Republic in the production of the AN-70, and offer Iranian oil and gas supplies to Europe through Ukraine, but no significant changes in relations occurred. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the Ukrainian government has taken some steps to support cooperation with Iran and has guided its political course towards its further development.

Ukraine demonstrated its appreciation of the importance of relations with Iran by providing humanitarian aid. According to I. Kusa, (2022), after the December 2003 earthquake, planes with essential supplies, rescuers, surgeons, traumatologists, and a mobile hospital with other doctors were sent. In addition, the author writes that from 2005 to 2016, there were no significant events with Iran, and there were no meetings of the intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation. Notably, Iran's position changed significantly during the presidencies of Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich. The example of Turboatom's abandonment of the nuclear power plant project was frequently used as an example of Western partners' influence on Ukraine's policy. Despite this, cooperation on the construction of AN-140 aircraft continued until 2015.

In 2014, the Revolution of Dignity occurred in Ukraine. It finally consolidated the movement towards the EU and NATO. Thus, Iran has added Ukraine to the list of US supporters. Accordingly, in the opinion of the Islamic Republic's authorities, with the beginning of Russian aggression, Russia had more arguments to strengthen its positions (Iran and Ukraine..., 2022). Nevertheless, there was one more attempt to establish relations. According to S. Yousuf and S.J. Hussain (2022), in July 2015, the US, EU, China, UK, Germany, France, and Russia reached an agreement with the Islamic Republic of Iran on its nuclear programme; some sanctions were lifted. S. Hurst (2022) argued that the Ukrainian authorities positively assessed the programme and decided to use the opportunity to increase the country's exports, especially of agricultural products. In 2016, a meeting of the Intergovernmental Commission on Cooperation was held, which was attended by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine; notably, it was the first visit in 15 years. Thus, it again confirms the fact that these relations were more important for Ukraine than for Iran.

In the future, S. Hussain (2022) should be mentioned, who writes that in May 2018, the United States abandoned the Iran nuclear deal and soon reimposed sanctions, but Ukraine did not refuse further cooperation. The Islamic Republic ranked 7th among Ukrainian grain exports, although most of its needs were supplied by Russia, Iranian oil and gas supplies were not implemented (Drone in the back..., 2022). It indicates that Ukraine considered Iran as a promising country for cooperation, but for Iran, these ties were not important.

The full-scale invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation demonstrated its aggressive actions, as evidenced by a large number of civilian deaths, damage to civilian infrastructure and other factors. Iran, in turn, has regularly claimed to be against it. Thus, on 14 March, Iranian Foreign Minister Amir Abdollahian held telephone talks with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba. He emphasised that the Iranian authorities support efforts of any kind to resolve the crisis and achieve peace (Political experts spoke..., 2023).

According to the facts, in July 2022, there were reports of a possible supply of kamikaze drones from Iran to Russia, and later Putin had a meeting with the real leader of the country; later, Russia began to use Iranian weapons in the war with Ukraine (Iran and Ukraine..., 2022).

On 23 September 2022, the Ukrainian authorities, considering Iran's position on a full-scale invasion, stripped the country's ambassador of his accreditation and reduced the number of diplomats at the embassy. Notably, Iran's position sparked protests in Kyiv, which were attended by both Ukrainians and representatives of the Iranian diaspora. The latter, in turn, support Ukraine and oppose the actions of the Islamic Republic's authorities (Protests against Iran's..., 2022).

According to R. Van Zwenenberg (2023), Iran is involved in war crimes on the territory of Ukraine. In addition, he notes that it is quite common for Iranian politics to "say one thing and do something else". S. Shpiro (2023) emphasises that there is a certain agreement between Iran and Russia that considers the interests of both sides. Considering this, it is inappropriate to continue maintaining diplomatic ties with a state involved in war crimes on the territory of Ukraine. Only if the supply of weapons is stopped and responsibility is borne will relations be restored.

All of the above has resulted in the issue of severing Ukraine's diplomatic relations with Iran. According to A. Geis & U. Schröder (2023), in the 1990s and 2000s, Ukraine considered Iran as a promising country for cooperation, which had a specific range of resources and interests. Currently, there is an opinion that the severance of relations with Ukraine is not desirable for the Islamic Republic, even though they are not important for the country. However, the lack of diplomatic ties with Ukraine and involvement in war crimes will significantly worsen Iran's status in the international arena.

Thus, it is impossible and inappropriate to continue and develop Ukraine-Iran relations today. Iran supports the aggressor country by supplying weapons that are used to commit war crimes. Even if there is a possibility of restoring diplomatic relations in the future, it will only be possible if the supply is stopped.

Conclusions

This study was conducted to establish the cause-and-effect relationship of the model of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the Islamic Republic of Iran, which included an analysis of their establishment and decline.

Accordingly, it was determined that the development of these relations dates back to the beginning of Ukraine's independence. Iran was among the first states to recognise the country's independence and sovereignty in the international arena.

These relations were characterised by the geopolitical and economic interests of both countries. The trade and economic sector deserves special attention. An analysis of exports and imports of Ukrainian and Iranian products was conducted. It was determined that Iran occupied the 7th place in terms of exports, but Ukraine's imports of Iranian oil and gas did not develop. In addition, the field of aircraft construction, namely the AN-140, is an important aspect of Ukrainian-Iranian relations.

The events of 2014 in Ukraine were marked by the Revolution of Dignity. The authorities in Tehran reacted adversely to this, and once again made a statement that Ukraine was a supporter of the United States.

Nevertheless, the trade and economic sphere continued to develop, and as of 2021, the total trade turnover reached USD 723724.8. The full-scale invasion that occurred on 24 February 2022 encroached on Ukraine's territorial integrity and inviolability and entailed terrible consequences in the form of deaths, injuries, damage to civilian infrastructure, etc. In July 2022, the Islamic Republic of Iran was reported to be cooperating with the Russian authorities. It is supported by the fact that Tehran's authorities supply kamikaze drones and send designers to occupied Crimea to resolve issues related to the control of this military equipment.

Accordingly, on 18 October 2022, the issue of severing diplomatic relations with Iran in connection with the country's assistance to the terrorist state in committing

several war crimes was raised. It was determined that the restoration of these ties would be possible only if the supply of weapons was stopped. Notably, the US government is considering bringing the Iranian authorities to justice for their involvement in military aggression.

Further research will be devoted to determining the prospects for restoring relations with Iran in the post-war environment.

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None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Модель українсько-іранських відносин: становлення та занепад

Анотація. Актуальність проведеного дослідження обумовлена різким погіршенням дипломатичних стосунків між Україною та Ісламською Республікою Іран на тлі співпраці останньої з російською федерацією, що потенційно може призвести до розриву усіх зв'язків. Метою роботи є визначення основних передумов, що сприяли занепаду відносин між Україною та Іраном. Серед основних методів варто зазначити метод логічного аналізу, функціонального аналізу, синтезу, дедукції, індукції, історичний, формально-юридичний та інші. У ході проведення дослідження було вивчено історію становлення дипломатичних відносин між обома державами від початку існування незалежної України. Було розглянуто основні події, які були визначними для обох сторін. Зокрема, було проаналізовано торговельно-економічні відносини, що полягало у вивченні статистичних даних експорту та імпорту продукції. Це надало можливість визначити, що Іран входив у топ-10 експортерів української продукції. Найбільш важливим етапом було визначення ролі Ірану у повномасштабному вторгненні російської федерації в Україну у 2022 році. Були розглянуті позиції представників міжнародної спільноти і наведено дані американської та української розвідок, що свідчили про причетність Ірану до злочинів військового характеру на території України, а також можливість понесення відповідальності у майбутньому. Виходячи з цього, було встановлено основну причину, яка поставила під питання можливість подальшого співробітництва. Варто зазначити, що розрив зв'язків знижує статус Ірану на міжнародній арені. Практична цінність отриманих результатів полягає у виокремленні двосторонності політики Ірану та встановлення необхідності про подальше співробітництво України з даною державою

Ключові слова: дипломатичні зв'язки; повномасштабне вторгнення; політика; країна Близького Сходу; військові злочини

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Consequences and threats of international terrorism for Ukraine

Abstract. Terrorism is one of the greatest threats to the existence of the world order in the 21st century. Its main features are suddenness, a large number of civilian casualties and a low probability of learning about a possible attack. The purpose of the study is to identify terrorist threats to Ukraine and the possible consequences of this criminal activity. The research was conducted using methods such as comparison, induction, deduction and the analytical hierarchical process. The study identified that terrorist attacks cause many deaths of citizens of a particular country, undermine trust in the official authorities and disrupt economic processes. The main source of the terrorist threat to Ukraine is the Russian Federation, and after the start of the full-scale invasion on 24 February 2022, the probability of new terrorist attacks in Ukraine has increased significantly. A basic analysis of the activity of terrorist groups on the territory of Ukraine was conducted, and the main consequences of terrorist activity in the political and social sphere in this country were identified. The biggest threat to Ukraine is the loss of independence and sovereignty due to Russia's criminal actions, which could result in panic in society and undermine economic processes. The results of the study can be used as a foundation for identifying the main terrorist threats on the territory of Ukraine and developing a state plan for countering possible terrorist attacks. This research can be used as a foundation for comparing the activities of terrorist organisations in other countries against the background of Ukraine

Keywords: crime; blackmail; economy; security service; extremism; society

Introduction

International terrorism is one of the biggest challenges facing humanity in the 21st century. Terrorist organisations have had a huge impact on the economy and society through their successful attacks. Examples include events in New York, Bali, Madrid, Beslan, London, and Sharm el-Sheikh. One of the most famous terrorist events was the attack on the US office buildings on 11 September 2001. And in Ukraine – the downing of a Malaysian passenger plane Boeing 777 on 17 July 2014 (Petrechko *et al.*, 2022).

International terrorism is not limited to Islamist groups. In particular, numerous terrorist campaigns have been widespread in Europe, such as the Red Army Faction in Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, the Basque Country and Liberty in Spain, and the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland (Petrechko *et al.*, 2022).

Terrorism – a complex political and social phenomenon. Terrorist activity is one of the greatest threats to the stable security of the international environment. Between 1970 and 2022, more than 200,000 terrorist attacks were performed with varying levels of consequences. H. Pan (2021) notes that terrorist attacks have drastically adverse social consequences and impede stable economic development. A successful fight against terrorism can significantly reduce tensions in international society.

Terrorist attacks cause enormous loss of life and enormous damage. In addition, terrorism hurts the economy by reducing external resource inflows, increasing insecurity, and changing the system of resource allocation within the country. In addition, the direct and indirect costs of security measures are increasing. For example, A. Brodeur

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(2018) explored the pattern of economic consequences of successful or unsuccessful terrorist attacks. Successful attacks reduce the revenue of the country's economy by an average of 2%. In addition, the number of workplaces, the purchasing power of the population, and the activity of investors are reduced, and tensions in society increase due to the media coverage of the events and a large number of different assessments of what happened.

Unlike natural disasters, terrorist attacks are evolving, instantaneous, and unexpected, and frequently result in adverse consequences. D. Atsam *et al.* (2020) identifies the importance of analysing the evolution of previous terrorist attacks. Their evolution in space and time should be considered from two perspectives: the targets of terrorist attacks and key areas of impact. At first glance, terrorist attacks may seem random, but this is not the case. The analysis of the consequences of terrorism must be conducted very carefully.

There are many threats to Ukraine from international terrorism, starting with illegal migrants travelling to Europe and the covert deployment of representatives of terrorist organisations. According to M. Maksimenko (2018), Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 increased the risk of terrorist organisations, including armed groups within the Russian army. Notably, there is a strong link between terrorism and armed conflict: 97% of all terrorist deaths are registered in the conflict zone. For example, the number of people killed by terrorist activities in Ukraine has increased significantly and will continue to grow in proportion to the intensity of the conflict.

Unlike other criminal phenomena, the main focus in the fight against terrorism should be on preventing new attacks. Thus, it is crucial to analyse in detail all the components of these crimes. It is particularly relevant for Ukraine, where martial law has been imposed, and its status is constantly being extended.

The purpose of the study is to explore the impact of the phenomenon of terrorism on Ukraine and to analyse the possible consequences and threats of this criminal activity. The objectives of the study are to identify the main threats from terrorists in the international context, including Ukraine. In addition, it identifies the main consequences of terrorist activities that threaten Ukraine and recommends ways to reduce the terrorist risk for the citizens of this country.

Materials and Methods

Various sources were used to explore the phenomenon of terrorism. The research is based on statistics of terrorist attacks around the world, especially in Ukraine. The study used materials from Chinese, Ukrainian, German, and American scholars. The Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which contains a chronology and classification of terrorist attacks, was used as a statistical database. The Global Terrorism Index was used to classify the level of threat for all countries and compare Ukraine with them.

The factual basis of the study is the work on the Ukrainian-Russian crisis (2022) and "Global Terrorism Index 2022" (2023), which were prepared by the experts of the Institute for Economics and Peace.

To achieve the research objective, general scientific research methods were used. A method of comparison is used to explore the conclusions of scientific researchers on the phenomenon of terrorism and to compare terrorist attacks in Ukraine and other countries. A method of generalisation is used to identify common features and characteristics of terrorist activity. A forecasting method that identifies the main threats and possible consequences of terrorist activity in Ukraine. The study uses the critical-constructive method, which allows for critical analysis and evaluation of the scientific achievements of a particular researcher.

The study used an analytical hierarchical process that helped to identify different levels of threat from certain terrorist attacks and helped to distinguish the consequences of terrorist attacks according to the type of terrorist group. Such a comprehensive approach has helped to analyse terrorism as a phenomenon that develops according to specific dynamics and with specific features, depending on the indicators of the environment of influence.

The method of system analysis was adapted to the research of the phenomenon of terrorism, as it has its specific features. This method allows examining the system in general, and various factors and elements of the system, including, for example, the motives of the terrorist organisation in general, and the principles of using resources to achieve its purposes. In addition, this method allows identifying weaknesses in the system. The concept of "system" in this study is based on the possible relationship between the following links: state-society-terrorist organisation.

The scientific study used the method of deduction. Due to the general assertion of the existence of terrorist organisations and terrorist attacks, conclusions were drawn about the existence of the phenomenon of terrorism in Ukraine, as this state is part of a single mechanism that includes other states that are adversely affected by terrorist organisations. The method of induction allowed the depiction of the role of the media in the context of understanding the consequences of terrorism and its overall impact on society.

The author uses a simple functional logic to identify commonalities between terrorist attacks that have already occurred and possible future terrorist acts. The author analysed the most common ideological manifestations of terrorist organisations (right-wing terrorism, Islamist terrorism, etc.), along with their characteristics and possible consequences of their terrorist activities for Ukraine.

Results

The main consequence of terrorist activity is the death of citizens. In 2020, 97.6% of participants in all terrorist attacks were killed. As the intensity of such armed conflicts grows, however, does the scale of terrorist activity. Terrorist attacks in politically unstable countries are six times more destructive than attacks in countries without any armed protests or controversies. If the consequences of terrorist activity are assessed specifically for citizens, terrorism violates human rights (in particular, the basic right to life) and makes peaceful coexistence impossible. By performing terrorist acts against specific groups of people, terrorists violate the rights to equality and freedom. It is

here that the main role of the state lies, which is to prevent, counter and protect against terrorism (Schuurman, 2020).

According to the definition of the European Union Terrorism Law Directive, terrorist acts are committed with the following purposes: to cause panic and fear among the local population, to compel public authorities or an international organisation to do or refrain from doing something, to seriously destabilise or destroy the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of any country or international organisation (The evolving terrorist..., 2023).

To identify possible risks from terrorist activities in the world, the experience of such countries as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany was analysed. It was determined that terrorism is a real threat to the entire Europe. Except for some attacks by far-right terrorists, most terrorist attacks over the past five years have been conducted by small groups or lone criminals affiliated with Islamic terrorist groups (The evolving terrorist..., 2023).

Terrorism affects both human society and political stability and the functioning of the state in general. First, this includes human casualties and destroyed infrastructure. An example is the aftermath of the most famous terrorist attack in the United States on 11 September 2001. Secondly, terrorism reduces the activity of foreign investors, which reduces the amount of foreign direct investment and the structure of investment demand. In turn, the flow of foreign direct investment is declining, which hurts economic growth. Thirdly, the costs of strengthening security measures are rising. These indirect expenses play a central role in foreign trade. Fourthly, intangible consequences, such as increased tension in society, should be considered. Fifthly, tourist flows are declining, and, thus,

revenue (Phillips, 2020).

Although terrorist groups pursue different political and ideological purposes, their strategy is generally similar: pressure on the official authorities through responsibility to society. Terrorist activity has a major impact on the state of the economy in any country.

The state is responsible for terrorist attacks and all compensation. Highly developed countries with diversified economies are better able to overcome the consequences of terrorism than developing countries. Thus, a highly developed country can reallocate resources and compensate for the losses of the affected sector. Developing countries are unlikely to have specialised counter-terrorism capabilities (surveillance equipment, technologically equipped police or army, etc.). Therefore, the threat may persist and scare away potential investors in such countries. In this context, a terrorist attack in a developing country would result in higher and longer-lasting macroeconomic costs than in countries with more resources. Thus, the amount of damage caused by the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001 is estimated at USD 80 billion. However, at the time, this was only a small share (less than 0.1%) of the US gross domestic product (GDP), which in 2001 was almost USD 10.6 trillion (Li & Dong, 2021).

According to the Global Terrorism Index, all countries in the world are divided into several categories according to the impact of terrorism: very high, high, medium, low, very low impact, and no impact. In 2021, Ukraine is among the countries with a low impact of terrorism. However, its position has worsened, as the country has moved up 3 positions in the ranking (Global Terrorism Index, 2023). The approximate number of people killed by terrorist organisations is demonstrated in Figure 1.

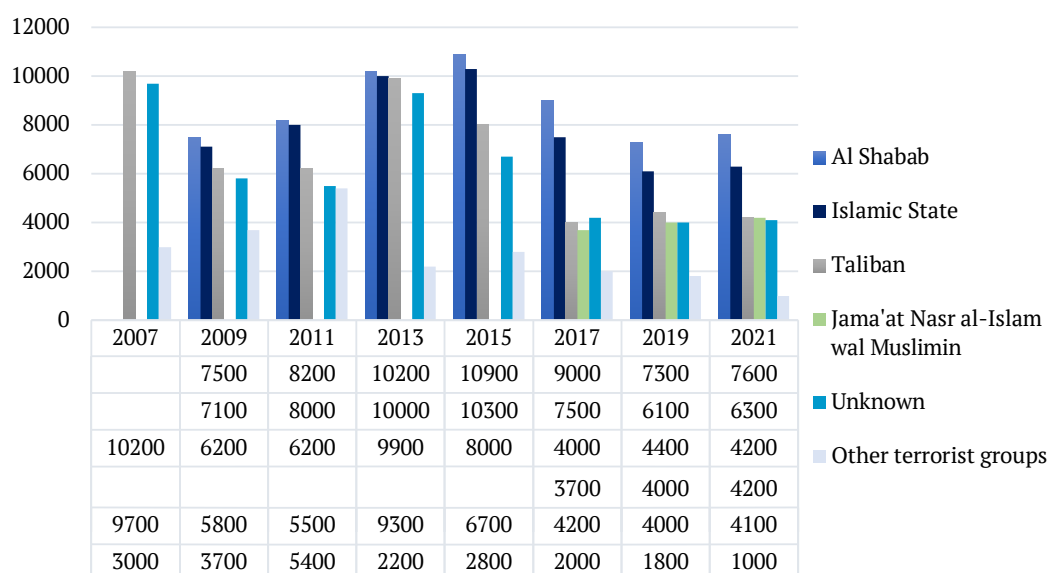


Figure 1. The number of people killed in the world by international terrorist groups, 2021

Source: Global Terrorism Index 2022 (2023)

A study by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) notes that Russia has become a major threat to the

entire world, on par with terrorist organisations, after its full-scale attack on Ukraine (Yaacoub, 2020).

An analysis of the consequences of terrorism in Ukraine demonstrates that in a crisis, trust in the official authorities in the country is undermined, the social system deteriorates, and new criminal entities emerge, which only worsens the overall situation.

Most of the terrorist attacks in Ukraine occurred in 2015 (excluding the full-scale war that began on 24 February 2022). It is caused by the beginning of the armed conflict with Russia in 2014. Before that, the level of terrorism in Ukraine was quite low. As a rule, the level of terrorism is proportional to the intensity of the armed conflict. Therefore, proportionally, the level of terrorism in Ukraine increased significantly in 2023. Terrorist attacks are a popular tactic used in asymmetric warfare against the military, police, and state infrastructure. As Russia has failed to establish its government in Kyiv, the number of possible terrorist attacks has significantly decreased, as it would have

been more likely to fight against that government. Myanmar is a prime example. After the elected government was overthrown in a military coup in 2021, terrorism increased 23-fold, killing 521 people (The Ukraine-Russia..., 2022).

As for the statistics of terrorist attacks on the territory of Ukraine, Ukraine has been ranked second in terms of the number of terrorist attacks in the Eastern European region since 2007, with 108 attacks recorded. However, since 2014, there has been a decline in terrorist activity: no terrorist attacks were recorded in Ukraine in 2021, and only one in 2020. However, in 2022, the situation changed dramatically. The exact number of attacks and victims cannot be statistically recorded. As of the end of 2021, more than 13,000 people died as a result of the armed conflict in some districts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine (The Ukraine-Russia..., 2022). The number of people belonging to terrorist groups is presented in Figure 2.

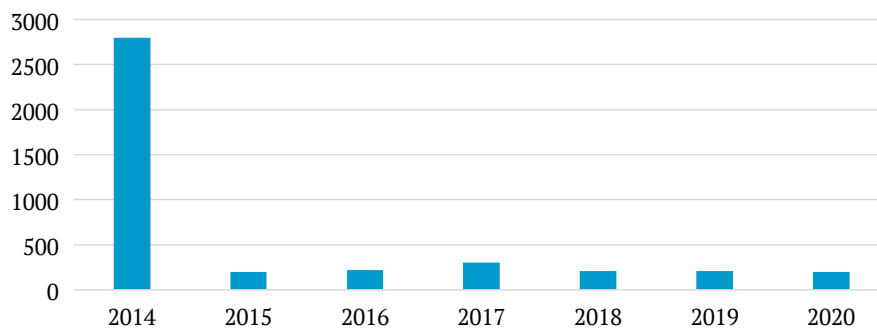


Figure 1. Number of separatist groups in Donbas, 2014-2020

Source: The Ukraine-Russia crisis: Terrorism briefing (2022)

One of the most notorious terrorist attacks on the territory of Ukraine was the downing of a Boeing 777 passenger aircraft by Russia on 17 July 2014 over Donbas Malaysia Airlines flight MH-17 over Donbas on 17 April 2014. Citizens of 17 countries (298 people) on the plane died. Although Russia initially reported the downing of a military aircraft belonging to the Ukrainian military, officials later denied any Russian involvement in the crash (Petrechko *et al.*, 2022).

In 2022, the European Parliament recognised the Russian Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism and the Russian paramilitary group "Wagner Group" as a terrorist organisation. The Russian Federation regularly commits crimes against the civilian population of Ukraine, destroys civilian infrastructure, and generally violates human rights and the principles of international humanitarian law (European Parliament declares..., 2022).

Currently, one of the most dangerous terrorist organisations in the world is the "Taliban", which is responsible for 376 deaths in 2021 as a result of 232 terrorist attacks. There is a risk for Ukraine to be involved in possible attacks from this organisation, although, thus far, terrorist attacks from this organisation have been registered only in Afghanistan. Even after the so-called Islamic State lost all its territories in Iraq and Syria, it remains the most dangerous terrorist group in the world today, as it has a large international network of activities and relevant economic and political ties (Goswami Bhatia, 2020).

In general, no country in the world does not face the threat of terrorism. The main threats of international terrorism can be represented as follows:

- changes in the structure of the population, and an increase in the problem of illegal migration;
- the collapse of states in Africa and Asia;
- new regional conflicts emerging;
- the emergence of resource conflicts and the energy crisis;
- disruption of the stable functioning of critical infrastructure;
- man-made disasters;
- the changing role of the state in the globalised world (Antwi-Boasiako & Grant, 2020).

The possible consequences of terrorism can be determined by its respective type. Terrorism can be divided into four main types. There are terrorist groups that consider themselves to be representatives of a particular ethnic or religious minority in a particular state and seek to establish their state. Typical examples of this option are the "Basque Country and Liberty" in Spain and the "Irish Republican Army" in Northern Ireland. This type includes the so-called "DPR" (Donetsk People's Republic) and "LPR" (Luhansk People's Republic). However, it is important to note that these entities (and their representatives) are not recognised as terrorist organisations (Alfahham, 2020).

The second type includes left-wing extremists or social revolutionary terrorism. Its representatives seek to destroy the capitalist economic order, which they consider repressive. However, today such terrorist groups represent a small part of the total group. The third type – is racist or right-wing extremist groups. They target members of ethnic minorities and seek to organise an ethnically homogeneous society. The fourth type - religious terrorism. They seek to change social and political life in a particular country according to their own religious beliefs. This type includes “al-Qaeda”, “Islamic State”, etc. (Acinapura, 2023).

In addition, it is necessary to predict, if possible, the threat of national (terrorism by citizens within a particular country), international (attacks abroad), and transnational terrorism, in which terrorist attacks are planned both in other countries and by terrorist groups consisting of representatives of different nationalities. Ukraine is relatively sensitive to all three of the above groups (Kantsir & Serkevich, 2017).

However, not every criminal offence with a political motivation can be considered terrorist. Therewith, it is extremely difficult to classify what exactly constitutes terrorism. There is no single definition of what constitutes terrorist activity.

Due to the full-scale war with Russia, a large number of citizens have left Ukraine. Most of them moved to countries where the Terrorism Index is higher than it was in Ukraine before the war (for example, France and Germany). Therefore, there is a high risk that Ukrainian citizens will suffer as a result of terrorist attacks in other countries. In 2018, 18 people, including 7 Ukrainian citizens, became victims of a terrorist attack in Kabul committed by members of the “Taliban”. In 2016, in the capital of Burkina Faso, “Al-Qaeda” terrorists opened fire on a hotel, resulting in the deaths of 28 people, including a family of Ukrainians (Quatrehomme *et al.*, 2020). These are only a small number of examples, but it can be concluded that Ukrainian citizens are at high risk of the terrorist threat both in Ukraine and abroad.

Discussion

In general, there is no single unified definition of “terrorism” that would be used equally by all countries of the world. Each state or international organisation has its interpretation based on its own experience. However, to evaluate the threats and consequences of terrorist activity, it is necessary to clearly define what constitutes this phenomenon.

Each definition reflects a certain personalised perception of a particular researcher or reflects the public perception of a particular state in general. Terrorism is frequently understood as an attempt to fight the existing political system through prolonged violent struggle. Terrorism is characterised by surprise attacks, which are frequently very well organised. All terrorist groups have stable funding (Borum, 2004).

Since the definition of terrorism has not been established, virtually every study contains an open question as to what exactly should be considered such activities. In each country, the concept of “terrorism” has been defined according to local legislation and domestic socio-political

conditions. In addition, the concept of terrorism is constantly evolving, and it must be separated from the classical concept of war and armed conflict. Therewith, terrorist attacks pose no less of a threat than war. Some terrorist groups have armed forces larger than those in some countries (Asal *et al.*, 2022). Therefore, it can be assumed that in Ukraine, according to the research in this study, terrorism is perceived differently. The source of terrorism is a neighbouring state, and the development of Russian aggression could lead to Ukraine losing its sovereignty.

M. Alfahham (2020) noted that terrorism is used for mass psychological influence on a particular social group. Terrorism is an appropriate form of attempted violent coup d'état and change of existing rules and laws in a particular country. It happened once in Afghanistan, where the “Taliban” terrorist group seized power in the country. In general, nowadays, Islamism has become the world's biggest terrorist threat. The ideological vacuum, the collapse of statehood, and the processes of ethnic fragmentation in large parts of the Third World make religious traditions extremely important for many societies. In Islamic culture, adverse attitudes towards globalisation and Western culture are constantly growing. In Ukraine, in addition, Russia's armed forces are seeking to change the existing political regime under the guise of a fictitious ideology and install a puppet government.

H. Maksimenko (2018) noted in his study that in the conditions of the “crisis” in Ukraine, Ukrainian society is very vulnerable to any possible manifestations of terrorism. In addition, since 2014, Russia has been actively using the method of terror through its special services and illegal groups to influence Ukrainian society and government.

V. Tkach (2015) notes that terrorism as a modern phenomenon is constantly evolving, acquiring new features. Terrorists are not just an organisation of Islamic militants. It is a large and complex infrastructure that has a vast network of financial flows that are virtually impossible to trace, a special system for training future executors, and an ideology. This activity is designed to destroy the existing system of the world and poses a threat to any country, including Ukraine. According to the conclusions of this scientific confirmation, terrorism is not about changing the form of activity, purposes, methods, and territory of influence. It results in even more catastrophic consequences.

In addition, Chinese scholars have explored the phenomenon of terrorism. According to H. Li, and C. Dong (2021) the threat of terrorist attacks is a challenge for the international security system. Researches determined that the actions of terrorist groups are consistent and have a certain dependence, and classified them according to such characteristics as a region of origin, type of attack, target, and weapons used. To do this, the researcher used the cluster analysis method. Terrorist attacks in such regions as Southeast Asia, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Africa over the past 3 years were explored. According to authors, these regions are at a much higher risk of repeated terrorist attacks.

D. Atsama *et al.* (2020) used the hierarchical clustering method to explore the phenomenon of terrorism. They identified four main categories based on the possible

consequences of terrorist activities: the first group with a small number of victims and medium-sized consequences; the second group with a medium number of victims and large-scale consequences; the third group with a large number of victims; and the fourth group with a large number of victims but relatively few other consequences. These categories can be rationally used to predict possible terrorist attacks and allocate resources for weapons and other security measures. The study identified Ukraine as a country with a high number of victims of terrorist activity. This hierarchy lacks a fifth threat group when the government of an officially recognised state is a terrorist actor.

In his study, J. Yaacoub (2020), proposes a model of the contextual structure of terrorism, which has a micro and macro-sociological perspective. He presented a different typology of terrorism (repressive terrorism of state apparatuses and semi-state and non-state groups, insurgent terrorism of ethnic, national, religious, social, and revolutionary nature). Based on this, it is possible to develop a model that can explain the emergence and process of terrorist attacks. In addition, it can be used as a forecasting tool. The model is based on interrelated hypotheses about the interaction between terrorist groups and state social institutions. To a certain extent, the measures implemented by the state are related to terrorist activities, and vice versa.

Modern terrorism (mostly identified with Islamist terrorism) has become a central form of warfare. There is a "classical" form of symmetrical warfare between sovereign states, respectively. Guerrilla warfare is then seen as a benchmark example of asymmetric warfare that uses terrorist methods, especially in the initial stages when there is little support from the population. The main defining characteristic of asymmetric warfare is compensation for the enemy's inferiority in personnel and material forces through a different warfare strategy. This description is very similar to the phenomenon of terrorism. Therefore, the author proposes the tactic of ignoring as a way to counter terrorism based on the motives and central strategy of terrorism, which is to develop panic in society and undermine trust in legitimate authorities (Gromivchuk, 2017).

Terrorism – a threat that is characterised by a short-term duration, but, therewith, the largest scale of consequences for society and the state in general. The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in New York and a series of other terrorist attacks in Istanbul in 2003, Madrid in 2004, and London in 2005 demonstrated the insecurity of modern Western societies and democracy in general. With their attacks, terrorists seek to gain as much media exposure as possible, therefore, they target civilian targets. Immigration authorities, foreign communities, Islamic associations, economic and financial institutions, the labour market, and education, in general, are primarily affected by terrorist activities directly and destructively (Bunchuk, 2016).

S. Goswami and K. Bhatia (2020) explores in more detail the fundamental methodological challenges faced when trying to predict future terrorist activity. Researchers must find empirical approaches to the phenomenon to ignore irrelevant influencing factors due to the narrowing

of the perspective that emerged from a particular theory. Therefore, the factors that may hurt the preparation of forecasts are discussed in more detail.

The so-called human factor and emotional decisions cannot be ignored. The risk estimate is derived from the overall average statistical risk estimates. Therewith, researchers need to understand the responsibilities they assume when assessing the risks of terrorism. As such research will form the foundation of preventive approaches to combating terrorism. An incorrect calculation can have catastrophic consequences (Antwi-Boasiako & Grant, 2020). However, despite this, a preliminary calculation can contribute to minimising possible losses in the future or preventing a foreseeable disaster.

Notably, the media frequently fail to provide complete information on terrorist phenomena. It is frequently used as a security measure. Modern terrorism has a multidimensional nature, including a political basis (Thomas, 2020).

However, for Ukraine, the very definition of terrorism remains open. The fact of the so-called "Islamic terrorism" has been comprehensively explored, while Russian criminal activity is constantly evolving, and Ukraine faces a terrorist threat from an official and recognised state in the world – Russia, not a separate terrorist group.

Conclusions

Terrorism has a major adverse impact on the economic activity of the country and society in general, both at the time of the attack and frequently for a long time afterwards. The state needs to use all possible tools to effectively combat this phenomenon. To do this, it is necessary to assess and predict all possible consequences and threats from terrorist activity. To reduce the risk of new terrorist attacks, it is necessary to strengthen the military presence and to try to eliminate the global causes of terrorism (for Ukraine, one of the global causes of terrorism is Russia's foreign policy).

For Ukraine, the main terrorist threat is the presence of Russian military forces on its territory since 2014, including illegal armed groups. It undermines Ukrainian statehood and prevents the effective functioning of political institutions.

Based on the analysed terrorist attacks over the past nine years in Ukraine and twenty years in the world, it can be concluded that the risk of attacking civilian objects (including persons) is much higher than for other purposes.

The escalation of terrorism in a particular region tends to reduce the possible expected return on invested capital. Terrorism has a different impact on both developed and developing countries. Thus, underdeveloped countries have a higher level of political terror, and access to weapons is not as secure as in developed countries. In addition, the phenomenon of corruption contributes to this.

However, Ukraine has been in a full-scale war with Russia for a year now. It significantly worsens the Terrorism Index score for Ukraine, and the lack of control over some territories contributes to the emergence of new possible terrorist organisations or the activation of ex-

isting ones. In addition, the results of the activities of the regular russian army on the territory of Ukraine and the impact of this factor on the development and activities of terrorist organisations should be considered. Exploring this issue is a prospect for further research.

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Conflict of Interest

None.

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Наслідки та загрози міжнародного тероризму для України

Анотація. Тероризм є однією з найбільших загроз для існування світового порядку у 21 ст. Основною його рисою є раптовість, велика кількість жертв серед цивільного населення та низька вірогідність дізнатися про можливий напад. Метою дослідження є виявлення терористичних загроз для України та можливих наслідків від цієї злочинної діяльності. Для проведення дослідження були використані такі методи, як порівняння, а також методи індукції, дедукції та аналітичний ієрархічний процес. В результаті дослідження були виявлено, що внаслідок терористичних атак не тільки помирає велика кількість громадян певної країни, але й підривається довіра до офіційної влади в країні, порушуються економічні процеси. Основним джерелом терористичної загрози для України виступає російська федерація і після початку повномасштабного вторгнення 24 лютого 2022 року вірогідність виникнення нових терористичних атак в Україні значно підвищилась. Було проведено основний аналіз активності терористичних груп на території України та виявлені основні наслідки терористичної діяльності на політичну та соціальну сферу на території цієї країни. Найбільшою загрозою для України є втрата незалежності та суверенітету через злочинні дії росії, які також можуть призвести до панічних настроїв у суспільстві та підриві економічних процесів. Результати дослідження можуть бути використані як основа для виявлення основних терористичних загроз на території України та розвитку державного плану протидії можливим терористичним атакам. Це дослідження може використовуватись в якості основи порівняння діяльності терористичних організацій в інших країнах світу на тлі України

Ключові слова: злочин; шантаж; економіка; служба безпеки; екстремізм; суспільство

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