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The strategy of the historical policy of Ukraine in the context of the development of the Russian-Ukrainian war: an anthropological aspect

La estrategia de la política histórica de Ucrania en el contexto del desarrollo de la guerra ruso-ucraniana: un aspecto antropológico

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Abstract

In a confrontation with an aggressor who uses various hybrid tools, the correct conduct of humanitarian policy is of great importance. Unfortunately, in the realities of the Russian-Ukrainian war, there is no special strategy of historical policy. Therefore, development and its further improvement is an important topic of both theoretical and practical research. The purpose of the article is to investigate the Strategy of the Historical Policy of Ukraine in the context of the development of the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation. The research is based on the use of general scientific and special historical research methods. In the results, the phenomenon of historical policy is defined, a model of the Strategy of Historical Policy of Ukraine is developed, and possible challenges to its implementation are outlined. The following directions are outlined in the Strategy model: reorganization of the National Unity Council, decommunization, reforms in the field of education and science, organization of educational work

Resumen

En la confrontación con un agresor que utiliza diversas herramientas híbridas, la correcta conducción de la política humanitaria es de gran importancia. Desgraciadamente, en la realidad de la guerra ruso-ucraniana, no existe una estrategia especial de política histórica. Por lo tanto, el desarrollo y su posterior mejora es un tema importante de investigación tanto teórica como práctica. El propósito del artículo es investigar la Estrategia de Política Histórica de Ucrania en el contexto del desarrollo del enfrentamiento ruso-ucraniano. La investigación se basa en el uso de métodos de investigación histórica generales y especiales. En los resultados se define el fenómeno de la política histórica, se desarrolla un modelo de la Estrategia de Política Histórica de Ucrania y se esbozan los posibles retos para su aplicación. En el modelo de la Estrategia se esbozan las siguientes direcciones: reorganización del Consejo de Unidad Nacional, descomunización, reformas en el ámbito de la educación y la ciencia, organización del trabajo educativo entre la población,

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among the population, and commemoration of Ukrainian historical and modern heroes. Therefore, the model was developed taking into account anthropological principles: the emphasis is on the transformation of society and its mental components. The conclusions summarize that the schematic model of the Historical Policy Strategy will require further scientific discussion.

Keywords: historical politics, development strategy, Russian-Ukrainian war, the transformation of society.

Introduction

Russian military aggression against Ukraine was accompanied by cultural, scientific, and ideological offensives. Russian leaders were not shy about claiming that Ukraine as an independent state never existed and that all of its territories really belonged to neighboring states. A separate ethnos of Ukrainians was declared by the pro-Kremlin media to be false, imposed by foreign influence. Although these and many other statements have no scientific basis, their constant updating by the Russian side requires an adequate and balanced response. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian strategy of historical policy, which should be a worthy response to the Russian onslaught, is virtually non-existent. The illegitimacy of such a situation is obvious because the appearance of such an orderly document would allow to work through certain problematic issues of the Ukrainian past and provide ready, scientifically grounded answers to accusations of statelessness, artificiality, and falsification of Ukrainian culture. So, the relevance of the problems under study is beyond doubt, also because the hybrid nature of Russian military aggression is an example for detailed analysis. Modern European countries have not faced military action on this scale as much as they have faced an ideological attack of similar force. The article aims to investigate a possible Strategy of historical politics in the context of the development of the Russian-Ukrainian war through the prism of an anthropological aspect. The main tasks to be considered as a result of the main purpose of the work are the issues related to the formation of the discourse of historical policy as a challenge and encroachment on the Ukrainian past and culture, the creation of the current model of historical policy strategy of Ukraine, a detailed consideration of the phenomenon of post-truth as a threat to the strategy of historical policy and security of Ukraine.

conmemoración de los héroes históricos y modernos de Ucrania. Por lo tanto, el modelo se elaboró teniendo en cuenta los principios antropológicos: se hace hincapié en la transformación de la sociedad y sus componentes mentales. Las conclusiones resumen que el modelo esquemático de la Estrategia de Política Histórica requerirá una mayor discusión científica.

Palabras clave: política histórica, estrategia de desarrollo, guerra ruso-ucraniana, transformación de la sociedad.

Literature Review

The methodological basis of the article consists of the works of Ukrainian, American, and British historians and political scientists, who are engaged in the study of historical preconditions for the development of the Ukrainian-Russian war.

Ukrainian researcher Kuzio (2022) characterized the main events of the Russian-Ukrainian war since 2014, described the main historical preconditions and causes. Ishchuk (2022) examined the key motives of Russian aggression against Ukraine. The author notes that although the official version of the Russian government is to form the integrity of the “Russian world,” in fact the reasons for the attack on Ukrainian territories are quite different. The Russian federation without Ukraine ceased to be an empire, but with large-scale Ukrainian territory, it becomes an empire. Ishchuk (2022) also believes that Russia seeks to take away from Ukraine the historical leadership that Ukrainians received from medieval Kievan Rus'. At the same time, Kulyk (2017) described the peculiarities of the transformation of Ukrainians' national consciousness since 2014. In particular, the author characterized the transformation of key national categories of Russian speakers in Ukraine. The results of this study demonstrate that Russian-speakers have become “fully Ukrainian,” rejecting the Russian (or Soviet) vision. Works on medieval Ukrainian history are also important for this article because it is the contemporary revision of Soviet conceptions of “three fraternal peoples” that is an important part of Ukraine's derussification of historical politics. In particular, Parshyn and Mereniuk (2022) found that the development of the Galicia-Volhynia state took place in European paradigms. In particular, based on the analysis of urban life of medieval Lviv it is shown that this city developed in the planes of multiculturalism

and Eurocentricity. As shown in the study of Mereniuk (2021), even the domestic life of the Russian elite took place in the framework of European practices of that time. Such facts contradict the ideology of the “three fraternal nations”. Morozov (2019) also notes that Ukrainian lands developed in the European plane. At the same time, Ostrovyy (2022) determined that historical truth and historical education are key factors in the formation of a coherent system of national security. Also of value is Yakovenko's (2009) seminal work, in which the researcher thoroughly investigated the history of Ukraine from ancient times to the 18th. The historical atlas developed by Wynar (1987) is also important for this article.

European political scientists also join the problem of studying the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation based on historical and philosophical reflection. For example, Bîñă & Dragomir (2020) analyzed key aspects of the spread of the Russian-Ukrainian information war based on the study of the main manipulative mechanisms. Bertelsen (2017) described the important preconditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the specialist paid notable attention to the study of the events of the Revolution of Dignity in 2013-2014 and their connection with the Russian aggression against Ukraine. Martz (2022), exploring the main events of the Russian-Ukrainian war, thoroughly characterized Russia's crimes against Ukraine. The work of Claessen (2021), who characterized the geopolitical plane of this large-scale war and its likely results and consequences, is valuable for this article. The above-mentioned works form the basis for the development of Ukraine's historical policy strategy. Note that this topic remains relevant, given that there are almost no special scientific works on this topic in both Ukrainian and European scientific thought.

Methodology

General scientific and special historical methods of research were used in the work. Based on content-analysis it was possible to thoroughly analyze the modern works of Ukrainian and European researchers.

Possible ways and directions of implementation of the Strategy of historical policy through the prism of anthropological aspects were determined on the basis of the prognostic method of research.

Among the historical methods of research, we shall distinguish: comparative, typological, systematic. In particular, as a result of using the historical-corporativist method, it was possible to reconsider some established interpretations of the past events in Russian and European scientific thought. Based on historical and typological methods of research the main principles of the future Strategy of historical policy with an emphasis on the Ukrainian-centric understanding of Ukraine's past were characterized and outlined.

Also, the principles of consistency, objectivity, and scientificity were used in the work.

Results and Discussion

Historical Policy Discourse as an Element of Humanitarian Expansion: Exploring the Challenges of Historical Policy Strategy Making

Contemporary events of the Russian-Ukrainian war demonstrate that history can be a powerful tool in hybrid warfare (Arel & Driscoll, 2022). History is one of the methods of legitimizing the existence of a state and its nation. Therefore, seeking an ideological basis for its aggressive policy, the Russian federation created and began to implement a conquering historical policy aimed at eroding national dignity and destroying the Ukrainian state (Claessen, 2021).

In contemporary scholarship, the term historical politics is a set of practices through which states try to assert certain interpretations of historical phenomena, events, and facts as dominant (Moseiko, 2022). Some specialists believe that historical politics is the choice and translation by the state of a certain system of socio-political values (Ostrovyy, 2022). For this reason, historical politics possesses three important functions: symbolic, interpretive, identifying (See **Table 1**).

Table 1.
Basic Functions of Historical Policy

Functions of historical policy	
Name	Explanation
Symbolic	Giving importance to this or that historical event
Interpretive	Explanation of events through the needs and requirements of current policy
Identification	Has an impact on the process of national identity formation

Compiled by the authors of the article

Today it has become evident that the historical policy of the Russian Federation toward Ukraine takes place through the prism of imposing on the Ukrainian society values that are uncharacteristic of them (alien). Russia's attempts to become a superpower are interpreted by the top leadership as the alleged "historical" existence of a powerful "great Russian civilization". Its foundation is the symbolic concept of "Holy Russia" and the related ethnocultural "unity" of the East Slavic

peoples: Ukrainians, Belarusians, Russians (Wood et al., 2015).

The concept of Russia's revival after the collapse of the USSR (because this fact is a geopolitical catastrophe for Russians) is based on several principles: the separation of the "great nation", the difference between new borders and national borders, the protection of the whole "Holy Russia" from unknown geopolitical evil (See **Table 2**).

Table 2.
The basic principles of Russian "historical truth"

1. "Separation" of the great Russian people, its "historical" reunification.
2. The difference between the new borders and the national borders. It is considered to be a threat to russian security.
3. Protecting compatriots from "American Evil"

Compiled by the authors of the article

Ambitions of "superpower" status prompted the Russian authorities to create and implement a broad supranational project of "gathering lands" - the so-called Eurasian Union, so the success of this idea of restoring "great state" status is impossible without the resources of Ukraine (Kuzio, 2022).

thousand years ago is not an international legal basis.

Another anti-Ukrainian idea is the so-called "Novorossiya," a term Russian authorities use to lay claim to formerly Russian territories with a predominantly Russian-speaking population. The authorities of the Russian Federation declare the right to the existence of "Novorossiya" in the framework of "from Kharkiv to Odesa".

When forming the concept of historical policy, the Ukrainian side must take into account that Russia constantly resorts to historical manipulation, which allegedly argues for the right of the Russian Federation to its resources and territories. The rhetoric of the Russian authorities actively uses the idea of "the Russian world", in the theoretical plane of which the annexation of Ukrainian territories is justified (Kuzio, 2022). For the idea of the Russian world, the occupation of Crimea is important because this peninsula is supposedly a symbolic place for Russia: Prince Vladimir was baptized here. However, such versions are historically debatable and erroneous in historical and legal terms. First of all, Vladimir Svyatoslavovich is the prince of Kyiv. In addition, in international opinion, justifying the latest political actions by what happened to historical figures more than a

Such anti-Ukrainian projects based on historical manipulation and distortion of facts in Russian historical policy (Martz, 2022). The key goal of such propaganda during the Russian-Ukrainian war is to reduce the determination of Ukrainians to defend their homeland and to encourage the population to support pro-Russian forces (we were quarreled by politicians).

However, against the backdrop of patriotic upheaval, the importance of Russian propaganda has lost its urgency. At the same time, the problem of the "old internal Ukrainian rifts" (based on Kremlin narratives) is serious. It is about the gap between generations and regions in relation to the past (Kulyk, 2017).

Consequently, we believe that in the formation of the strategy of historical policy of Ukraine these Russian “political technology” projects and ideas, which in general undermine the foundations and national security of Ukraine, should be taken into account.

Model Strategy for Ukraine's Historical Policy

In order to create a flexible resistance to Russian manipulative technologies and propaganda, a Historical Policy Strategy should be formed with

an emphasis on the anthropological aspect (on man and his dimensions of historical existence). Based on this model, the above-mentioned challenges should be envisaged. According to Gromenko (2022), in the absence of a clearly outlined Ukrainian-centric Strategy, society is doomed to be constantly “repulsed by Russian attacks on the historical plane with no prospects for a counteroffensive”. Some specific directions and ideas of the Strategy can be characterized in advance. Figure 1 schematically reflects the main directions and principles of the likely Historical Policy Strategy. Note that the model developed will require further expansion and adjustment.

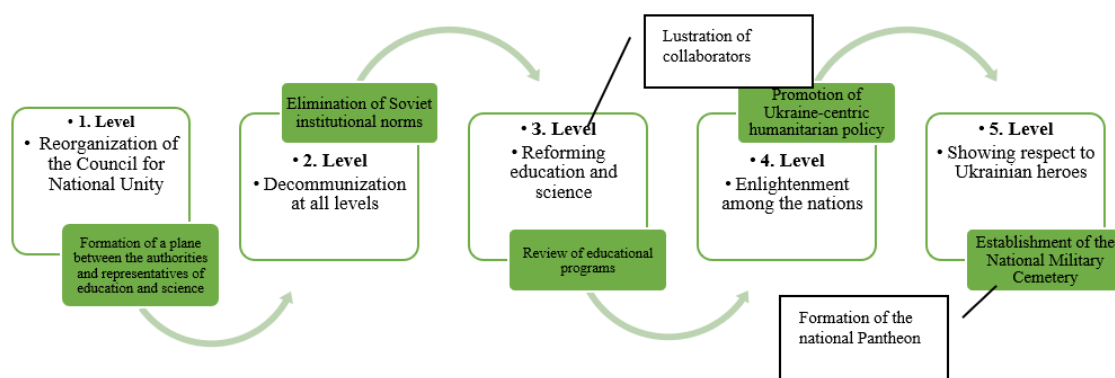


Figure 1. Schematic model of the basic principles of the historic policy strategy
Compiled by the authors of the article

First of all, we are talking about the reorganization of the National Unity Council under the President of Ukraine. It should become a discussion and compromise platform between the authorities, scientific institutions (institutes of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, higher education institutions), and representatives of some public organizations (Gromenko, 2022). This will allow to constructively identify the principles, opportunities, and ways of forming national unity, security, and historical memory against the background of professional discussion with both leading scientists of Ukraine and government officials.

Another necessary direction is decommunization. It is currently at the stage of renaming streets (Krasnozhan, 2021). However, after its completion, the main attention should be paid to the revision and transformation of Soviet institutional norms and other principles of conducting certain activities. This will make it possible to officially eradicate Soviet principles of work from many state institutions. The main emphasis should be placed on European

standards, taking into account the Ukrainian national tradition.

A separate stage will be the formalization of decolonization. We are talking about the formation of the basic principles of depriving the public plane of some names, monuments associated with the entry and stay of Ukrainian territories in the empires. On the other hand, it should be filled with the creation of new monuments, street names in honor of the modern heroes of Ukraine. This will influence the consolidation of the national idea and remind ordinary Ukrainians of the honor and dignity of Ukrainian defenders (Ishchuk, 2022).

Important attention should be paid to reforming curricula in schools and higher education institutions in accordance with the latest scientific principles (Gromenko, 2022). Separately, the expediency of using some modern school textbooks on the history of Ukraine, law, geography, ethics, which may contain elements of the Soviet vision of Ukraine's development, should be reconsidered. Separately, the use of textbooks and manuals on the history of Ukraine, world history, historical

geography in higher education institutions, which are written on the principles of Soviet ideology, or at least contain elements of Soviet propaganda is not advisable. In the future, it will be necessary to create new curricula and textbooks in accordance with the traditions of the Ukrainian historical school, the Eurocentric vision of the future of Ukraine.

On the other hand, it is necessary to popularize the Ukraine-centric humanitarian policy of Ukraine among the population. It is necessary to create special courses, open lectures, programs on TV channels, special channels in social networks that would inform the population about the true history of Ukraine at the popular scientific level. These areas are related to the promotion of the historical heritage of Ukraine, which provides support for documentaries and historical films, the formation of historical online content, etc. It should be noted that considerable attention should be paid to the popularization of the real ancient history of Ukraine, emphasizing the cultural and historical superiority of Kyivan Rus. The historical memory of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) princes should be widely implemented in popular science and fiction works.

Separately, in the field of education and science (as well as in other fields), it is necessary to introduce the lustration of collaborators with a ban on professional activity (Gromenko, 2022). This is necessary to ensure that such persons do not harm the further implementation of Ukraine-centric, pro-European policies. At the same time, the state of the research sphere should be improved. We are talking about targeted simplification of procedures for issuing grants for important humanitarian research, mixing state funding, ideally - reforming the structure of the National Academy of Sciences and higher education.

Important attention should also be paid to the creation of the National Military Cemetery, and the construction of the National Pantheon - a place of memorial to the most prominent leaders of Ukraine.

Such steps will be aimed at forming a "humanitarian front" that will contribute to the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation, the creation of Ukraine-centric historical policy, formation of national identity and unity.

Post-truth as a threat to Ukraine's historical policy strategy

"Post-truth" is the phenomenon that appeals to the emotional perception of information and psychological pressure are much more important than the truth of a fact in determining public opinion. Attempts to provide similar definitions of already known varieties of propaganda have been repeatedly criticized in academic debates, but today's level of globalization and the development of digital technology allow for a new way of thinking about and using old techniques of imposition (Strauss, 2005). In particular, the use of the Internet forms access to any media, which qualitatively distinguishes the presentation of information from the ancient times, when the use of newspapers or TV channels significantly limited the possibilities of finding the necessary information. At the same time, information becomes cheaper, i.e., because of its abundance users are forced to skip whole fragments or consume it at all in an extremely reduced format (Bînă & Dragomir, 2020). In practice, it looks as if Internet users view only small notes or excerpts from more massive messages and sometimes limit themselves to reading the headlines to get at least the latest news, to understand what is happening in the country and the world (Manolea, 2021).

This situation was actively used by the media, where even the concept of headline art was established, aimed at attracting new readers and additional web page views of the publication, which contributed to the popularity of the publication among advertisers. However, this trend was also picked up by politicians, whose speeches began to be shaped by audience expectations - short and concise utterances, including on historical topics (Nehmatov, 2022). At the same time, such stories about history can be pseudo-historical, which is not problematic for the concept of post-truth (Mustafazadeh, 2022). Other factors are important for politicians: the capacity of the statement, confidence in one's own opinion, and, above all, consistency with the general perceptions of potential voters.

Ordinary consumers do not have additional time to go into detail, check facts, or compare information from different sources (Bînă & Dragomir, 2020). For this reason, historical truth is threatened (Ostrovyy, 2022). Using a distorted understanding of historical processes, political leaders can form a distorted vision of modernity, promote revanchism, chauvinism, etc. (Manolea, 2021). In the cross-section of the contemporary situation and Russian aggression, a relevant

example of post-truth can be considered the speech of the Kremlin leader. Putin at the Valdai on October 27, 2022. Using the already long-studied slogans about the “common peoplehood” of Russians and Ukrainians, he also came to the conclusion that Ukraine in its present form was created by Russia, specifically - V. Lenin. Also, the authoritarian Kremlin leader juggled concepts, accused the West of trying to start a war, and repeatedly mentioned nuclear weapons (Claessen, 2021). The deception of such rhetoric was immediately demonstrated by the Ukrainian side, but the realities of post-truth allow resorting to such steps. In particular, politicians (unlike journalists or historians) have no professional obligation to be objective (Ostrovyy, 2022). Under post-truth conditions, any words, if not refuted, can be recognized as at least partially true, depending on the views of information consumers (Manolea, 2021). Addressing different views of the same situation using post-truth also becomes a kind of defense mechanism for such politicians.

The post-truth era is shaping new challenges. In particular, with the development of digitalization, information is increasingly transmitted not through traditional media websites, but through social networks and messengers, which are extremely nimble in their news production. For example, the social networking site Twitter has become an important and popular medium for publishing news, and its feature is a brief exchange of messages, and any Internet user can join the discussion. The company's corporate policy regulated the “purity” of the discussion, but after the purchase of Twitter by American multimillionaire Elon Musk, the situation may change. The new owner has repeatedly stated that he plans to review the policy of blocking users and deleting messages. Such realities could be used by post-truth proponents to continue promoting their narratives. The Kremlin regime, through its paid customers and ideological adepts, will certainly exploit such a situation (Ishchuk, 2022).

Taking into account the search for justification of the war in historical aspects, the strategy of Ukrainian historical policy should include the use of mechanisms to counter such attacks. Worthy of attention, first of all, are several strategies to counter such attacks on history. The first way is to actively draw attention to possible false interpretations of Ukrainian history, using modern possibilities of information resistance and the traditional diplomatic practice of summoning employees of the diplomatic sphere of foreign countries to get

thorough explanations and preventive interviews. This course of action is based on the partial use of the principles of post-truth, according to the logic of which the decisive and final is the position of the side in the discussion, which holds the last word for itself and clearly, confidently and timely states the attempt to falsify the historical record. At the same time, it will allow “internal consumers”, to make sure that the official point of view will be protected, and the authorities will not allow the manipulation of historical data.

Another possibility for countering hybrid challenges is to completely ignore the statements of the opposite side. This strategy can be resorted to when there is an urgent need to throw an event out of the information field, which is beneficial, above all, in order not to worsen relations with a certain country. Obviously, this option is more suitable for other cases, but not for the protection of Ukrainian historical politics from the Russian offensive.

Conclusions

Consequently, the formation of a detailed Strategy of Ukraine's historical policy against the background of the Russian-Ukrainian war is an urgent task since the Russian side justifies its actions with false historical facts and their interpretation. In particular, we are talking about the concepts of “Novorossiia”, “Holy Russia”, “Russian Orthodoxy” and others, which have no real historical basis but are designed to justify the justice of military action. To counteract such challenges, it is proposed to form a strategic document important for the Ukrainian historical sector as follows: to reorganize the Council on National Unity, to complete decommunization at all levels, to reform education and science in the appropriate direction, to educate the common population, still considered Russian. myths, to present respect for Ukrainian modern and historical heroes. This will allow to resist aggressive challenges, as well as the modern phenomenon of propaganda - post-truth. Appealing to the emotional mood and expectations of the audience allowed the Kremlin regime to use methods of gross falsification of history to justify its goals and war. Forming an adequate response to such a policy can consist of two ways. We are talking about an active response to distorted interpretations of Ukrainian history and feedback in information resources (a method effective to counter Russian propaganda) based on the Strategy of the Historical Policy of Ukraine or ignoring disinformation (if it was allowed by officials of a third country, Ukrainian

diplomats do not want to spoil relations with them). Given the relevance of this topic, the authors of the article have compiled a schematic model of the Historical Policy Strategy, which will require further discussion in professional academic circles. Highlighting further directions of the Strategy is the next topic for research.

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