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ЕТНОКУЛЬТУРНИЙ РОЗВИТОК УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА В УМОВАХ ПОВНОМАСШТАБНОЇ РОСІЙСЬКО-УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ

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Анотація. У статті проаналізовано етнокультурний розвиток українського суспільства в умовах реваншистської політики кремля й повномасштабного вторгнення російських військ на територію України. Установлено, що осмислення періодизації етнокультурного розвитку українського соціуму в умовах війни допомагає напрацюванню фахових висновків зі здобутків та з допущених помилок для покращення сталого розвитку України й українців на шляху євроатлантичної інтеграції. Виявлено, що етнокультурний розвиток українського суспільства в умовах реваншистсько-імперської політики рф можемо умовно розділити на п'ять періодів (етапів): перший (1991–2004 роки), другий (2005–2009 роки.), третій (2010–2013 роки), четвертий (2014–2021 роки) і п'ятий (2022 рік – сьогодні). З'ясовано, що попри повномасштабну російську агресію проти України, український етнокультурний розвиток набув неочікувану позитивної динаміки. Зазначено, що, незважаючи на рашистську політику геноциду української нації та знищення Української держави, яку цілеспрямовано й фанатично проводить кремль і так званий «глибинний російський народ», Україна була, є і буде завжди. Виявлено, що українська мова поступово опановує всі сфери суспільно-політичного буття соціуму, українська духовність позбавляється імперсько-шовіністичного впливу російської православної церкви, українська культура, незважаючи на величезний масштаб людських і матеріальних втрат, продовжує свій розвиток, а яскравим доказом її незнищенності й потужності є українська пісня, яка вкотре опанувала пісенний Олімп «Євробачення – 2022». Доведено, що для остаточної перемоги над російським агресором і відновлення соборності Української держави треба обов'язково задіяти всі наявні чинники: військові, геополітичні, дипломатичні, політичні, економічні, фінансові, сакральні-духовні, етнокультурні тощо в ім'я розбудови демократичної, духовної, правової, інноваційної, заможної і потужної Української Самостійної Соборної Держави.

Ключові слова: Україна; українці; етнокультурний розвиток українського суспільства; повномасштабна російсько-українська війна; рашистський геноцид української нації; «руський мир».

ETHNOCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE UNDECLARED RUSSIAN UKRAINIAN HYBRID WAR

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Annotation. *The article analyses the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society in the conditions of the revanchist policy of the kremlin and the full-scale invasion of russian troops on the territory of Ukraine. It is established that the understanding of the periodization of the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society in the conditions of the war helps to develop professional conclusions from the achievements and from the mistakes made to improve the sustainable development of Ukraine and Ukrainians on the path of Euro-Atlantic integration. It was found that the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society under the conditions of the revanchist-imperial policy of the rf can be conditionally divided into five periods (stages): the first (1991–2004), the second (2005–2009), the third (2010–2013), the fourth (2014–2021) and the fifth (2022 – present days). It was found that despite the full-scale russian aggression against Ukraine, Ukrainian ethnocultural development has acquired unexpectedly positive dynamics. It is noted that despite the rashist policy of the genocide of the Ukrainian nation and the destruction of the Ukrainian state, which is purposefully and fanatically implemented by the kremlin and the so-called "deep russian people," Ukraine was, is, and always will be. It is revealed that the Ukrainian language is gradually seizing all spheres of the social and political life of society, Ukrainian spirituality is getting rid of the imperial-chauvinist influence of the Russian Orthodox Church, Ukrainian culture continues its development despite the huge scale of human and material losses, and Ukrainian song is a vivid proof of its indestructibility and power, which once again won the song Olympus "Eurovision – 2022". It has been proven that for the final victory over the russian aggressor and the restoration of the unity of the Ukrainian state, it is necessary to use all available factors: military, geopolitical, diplomatic, political, economic, financial, sacral-spiritual, ethnocultural, etc., for the sake of building a democratic, spiritual, legal, innovative, wealthy, and powerful Ukrainian Independent United State.*

Key words: *Ukraine; Ukrainians; ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society; a full-scale russian-Ukrainian war; rashism; rashist genocide of the Ukrainian nation; "russian world".*

The problem statement. The relevance of the stated topic is primarily determined by the insight into the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society in the conditions of a full-scale russian-Ukrainian war, the consolidation of the Ukrainian people, the active resistance of Ukrainians to the attempts of the rashists and their accomplices to dismember and destroy the Ukrainian state, to annihilate the Ukrainian identity and the Ukrainian political nation, and to forcibly obtrude on the citizens of Ukraine russian statehood, the russian language, and russianness.

Analysis of recent sources, research, and publications. Characterising the professional research in which a solution to this problem was launched, we can state that

the systematic study of the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society in the conditions of a full-scale russian-Ukrainian war has not yet become a complex object of scientific research. However, some important aspects of this problem are being studied by scientists. In particular, the following researchers contemplate the problem of hybrid aggression of the russian federation (hereinafter referred to as the rf) against Ukraine, its reasons, course, and influence on modern socio-political, economic, cultural, socio-cultural, ethnocultural, and religious processes in their works: V. Andrieiev, A. Antonov-Ovsienko, A. Astafiev, N. Bezsmertna, T. Berezovets, A. Boiko, N. Brekhunets, P. Burkovskiy, Yu. Butusov. O. Vavlevskiy, V. Vasylenko, O. Vysoven, O. Vlasyk,

Yu. Voitenko, O. Hazizova, P. Hai-Nyzhnyk, K. Halushko, O. Haran, M. Herheliuk, V. Holovchenko, V. Horbulin, M. Hrabovska, S. Hrabovskyi, B. Demianenko, V. Demianenko, M. Doroshko, O. Yeriemieiev, O. Zadorozhnyi, L. Zalizniak, S. Zdioruk, S. Zubchenko, A. Ivanets, A. Ishchenko, S. Kahamlyk, O. Kalinovska, O. Kashpor, L. Kotsur, I. Krasnodemska, V. Krysachenko, O. Kryshtopa, O. Lytvenenko, Ye. Lianova, T. Lohvyniuk, V. Lozovyi, I. Losiev, O. Liashenko, Ye. Mahda, L. Masenko, V. Morokko, V. Molotkina, K. Nastoiasha, L. Otroshko, P. Pavlenko, B. Parakhovskyi, M. Piren, Ya. Potapenko, R. Potapenko, I. Rushchenko, O. Sahan, I. Sydor, B. Sokolov, L. Sorochuk, M. Slaboshpytskyi, I. Todorov, Ya. Tynchenko, V. Tkachenko, V. Tkach, V. Tokman, Yu. Felytshynskyi, L. Filipovych, Yu. Fihurnyi, L. Khmelnytska, O. Chyrkov, L. Chuprii, T. Chukhlib, O. Shakurova, V. Yablonskyi, H. Yavorska, L. Yakubova and others.

Despite these published works, the problem of studying the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society during the undeclared russian-Ukrainian hybrid war remains relevant and requires further scientific study.

Statement of the task. The purpose of the research is a comprehensive analysis of the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society during the russian-Ukrainian war, namely from February 24, 2022, when the full-scale invasion of the russian troops into the territory of the Ukrainian state began. The task of the research is to characterise the historiography of the study of the problem; to analyse the peculiarities of russian policy and rashist genocide towards the Ukrainian nation during this period; to detect changes that have taken place and had a positive impact on Ukrainian ethnocultural processes since the beginning of 2022.

The scientific novelty of the work is in the development of relevant issues, which, despite quite a few publications on this topic, remain insufficiently studied and therefore require further professional studies.

Presenting the main material. Beginning the study of this important scientific topic, we immediately want to characterise the basic fundamental concepts on which our research is based. First, the “full-scale russian-Ukrainian war” is a global civilizational confrontation between autocracy and democracy, between the Eurasian russian neo-empire and the European Ukrainian state. This war is characterised by the following specific features: complexity, combining geopolitical, geostrategic, geoeconomic, socio-political, socio-cultural, ethnocultural, ideological, religious, national, ethnic, territorial, economic, cultural and other factors; extensiveness, for the first time since the end of the Second World War on the European continent, combat operations of such a scale are taking place, when almost all types of modern weapons (except nuclear ones) are used, the length of the frontlines (lines of combat clashes) is measured in thousands and tens of thousands kilometers, involving over a million mobilized citizens to the fighting armies, investing huge financial resources into the economy, etc.; by intensity and aggressiveness, the rashists, in order to achieve their strategic goal – the destruction of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian political nation, are conducting a genocidal policy in Ukraine, ruthlessly killing people, destroying critical infrastructure, the economy, cities, villages, kidnapping children and in general doing everything possible to force the Ukrainians to capitulate.

Second, the “rashist genocide of the Ukrainian nation” is a purposeful criminal policy of the russian authorities during

the russian-Ukrainian war, namely from February 24, 2022, aimed at the deliberate extermination of citizens of Ukraine, the complete demolition of the Ukrainian political nation, and the final liquidation of the Ukrainian state.

The ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society under the conditions of the revanchist-imperial policy of the rf can be conditionally divided into five periods (stages): the first (1991–2004), the second (2005–2009), the third (2010–2013), the fourth (2014–2021), and the fifth (2022 – the present time).

The fifth stage of ethnocultural development in Ukrainian society began on February 24, 2022, and continues to this day. Its beginning was the day of the full-scale invasion of the armed forces of the rf (hereinafter referred to as the afrf) into the territory of Ukraine. The gloomy Thursday morning forever divided not only the modern history of Ukraine into before and after, but also the present of Europe and the world, since v. putin, for the sake of his own victory, began to threaten to use nuclear weapons, which, in turn, can lead human civilization on planet Earth to self-destruction.

For v. putin Ukraine and the so-called “Ukrainian question” (the existence of the modern Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian nation) became one of the priority directions of his geopolitical and political activity. First, the geopolitical motive. The head of the rf has repeatedly stated that the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter referred to as the USSR) became the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century, therefore, probably, the meaning of his entire life was the restoration of the new-old state entity, a kind of USSR 2.0, where russia will be the main hegemon and all other former Soviet republics

will join as federal districts. This another reincarnation of the “great historical russia” will stop its degradation, strengthen its political, economic, military, financial, and cultural weight in the world, and return it to its superpower status to compete on equal terms with the United States of America (hereinafter referred to as the USA) and the People’s Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the PRC).

Second, a personal motive. The head of the rf considers himself a “cool guy,” and all the cases he puts his hands to are always resolved in his favor. No one expected that an average official with a KGB past would be able to become the absolute ruler of the rf, as it happened. However, for some reason, with Ukraine and Ukrainians, it did not work out for v. putin. In 2004 he campaigned for V. Yanukovich in the presidential race in Ukraine, he was the first to congratulate him on the victory, and in the end, he found himself empty-handed. In the winter of 2013–2014, volodymyr volodymyrovych hoped that Viktor Fedorovich would drown the popular uprising in blood, but he took what he could and ran away to his “elder brother.” In 2014, v. putin planned to seize not only Crimea but also the entire South and East, and create the so-called “Novorossia,” and later dismember Ukraine and put an end to its statehood. As a result, he received only the peninsula and some parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. During 2015–2021, v. putin was waiting for Ukraine to be exhausted and the Ukrainians to quarrel among themselves and will be forced to implement the so-called “Minsk Agreements” – this did not happen again. Ultimately, the subjugation of Ukraine became an obsessive idea for the “Kremlin dreamer.”

Third, intellectual and pseudoscientific motives. The autocrat convinced himself

that he was the best expert on the Ukrainian issue. Despite the undeclared Russian-Ukrainian hybrid war that has been going on for nine years, the head of the RF, V. Putin in his speeches continued to call Russians and Ukrainians one brotherly people and, somewhat later, decided to “unite” them at first intellectually and later by military means.

Thus, on July 12, 2021, his programme article “On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians” in Russian and Ukrainian was published on the official website of the president of the RF, in which V. Putin once again emphasised that Russians and Ukrainians are one people, a single whole, and Russia and Ukraine are, in fact, parts of the same historical and spiritual space [6].

And on February 24, 2022, he announced the beginning of the so-called “special military operation” (hereinafter referred to as “SMO”). Thus, the reunification of Russians and Ukrainians became a matter of principle for the head of the RF.

The fourth is the mental-imperial motive. For the vast majority of Russians, V. Putin is the personification of a true leader: strong-willed, courageous, decisive, uncompromising, etc. He defeated the Chechens, Georgians, Ukrainians, returned Crimea to its “home harbour,” and keeps Europeans and Americans in constant fear. Raised “mother Russia” from its knees. It is actively restraining the attack of the western revanchists—the USA, Great Britain, Canada, the states of the European Union (hereinafter referred to as the EU) and the eastern ones—China and Japan, etc. However, over time, these “victories” faded, as did the very image of the “courageous and victorious patriarch of the deep people,” and needed a reboot for the further rise of imperial hooray-patriotism.

The dictator very well caught this unpleasant dynamic of tendencies in the attitude of the electorate towards his person. Having considered all these moments, V. Putin decided to run a lightning-like “small victorious war.” The main tasks of it had to be: the final solution of the Ukrainian question (destruction of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian nation); the official restoration of the USSR 2.0 on December 30, 2022, in the format of “great historical Russia”, since the USSR was created exactly 101 years ago—on December 30, 1922; the return to the RF superpower status, with which so-called hegemons—the USA and the PRC—have to reckon; and the legitimate extension of V. Putin’s staying in power minimum for another 10 years and maximum till the end of his life.

On February 21, 2022, V. Putin signed a decree of recognition for the independence of the so-called “DNR” and “LNR.” On February 22, the Federation Council of RF allowed V. Putin to use the AFU abroad. Early in the morning of February 24, 2022, the state mass media (hereinafter referred to as media) of the RF made public Putin’s appeal in which he announced the beginning of “SMO” in Ukraine with the aim of demilitarising and denazifying its citizens.

The large-scale invasion of the AFU into the territory of Ukraine became a shock and an unexpected surprise to everyone. As usual, the Ukrainian authorities, which were beforehand warned by the Western allies, were not ready. But the Armed Forces of Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as AFU), with the support of unindifferent citizens who joined the ranks of the territorial defence, managed to overcome the critical situation and organised a desperate resistance to the occupiers.

The enemy planned to capture Kyiv in two or three days, and in ten days to take

under his control the entire Left Bank, South, and North of Ukraine, bring his proteges to power, sign a capitulation with them, and finish “smo” with a triumphant march along Khreshchatyk. To the honour of the President of Ukraine, V. Zelenskyi, he did not leave the country (despite the persistent suggestions of the allies), remained to fulfil his duties, and became in the eyes of the world the personification of heroic resistance to the rashists. Despite the abruptness and intensity of the offensive of afrr, and large territorial, material, and human losses, the AFU not only stopped the advance of the enemy but also, after some time, began to free the territories previously temporarily occupied by the invaders.

As a result of the Kyiv counteroffensive in 2022, the AFU and the afrr were forced to leave the Kyiv, Sumy, Chernihiv, and part of Kharkiv regions. After the offensive of afrr on most sectors of the front was withstood and stopped during the spring and summer of 2022, the AFU successfully conducted two more counteroffensives: the Kharkiv offensive in September and the Kherson offensive in summer and autumn. As a result, almost all the territories of Mykolaiv region, Kharkiv region, and the entire right-bank part of Kherson region, together with the much-suffering regional centre, were liberated.

The course of the military campaign in 2022 convincingly testified that the citizens of Ukraine (government and civil society) more or less took into consideration the bitter lessons of 2014–2015. AFU despite underfunding, improper military and logistical support, with the help of both Western allies and their own citizens, turned into a powerful military force. The Ukrainian state and its citizens appeared to be not a failed state, as v. putin hoped for, but the

unconquerable citadel against which the invasion of rashist orc rushes crashed.

Having realised that the blitzkrieg had failed, the criminal russian government began to carry out a rashist genocide of the Ukrainian nation during a full-scale invasion. Bucha, Irpin, Borodianka, Hostomel, Mariupol, Kharkiv, Mykolaiv, Nikopol, Kryvyi Rih, Chernihiv, Sumy, and other cities and villages in Ukraine became examples of the terrible actions of the occupants against the civilian population. The genocidal character of the armed and informational aggression of the rf against Ukraine was brightly manifested in these crimes against humanity. Suffering lashing defeats on the battlefield, the afrr, in addition to the artillery so-called “barrage fire,” which completely destroys and demolishes the material and human resources of the Ukrainian nation, began to use combined missile and artillery strikes for the complete elimination of Ukraine’s critical infrastructure (power-generating and heat-generating capacities, power grids, heating systems, water pipelines, etc.), in order to force the population to panic, riot, and actively press authorities to negotiate and capitulate under the conditions of low temperatures. The extermination of tens of thousands of people and the destruction of critical infrastructure, which in turn will lead to hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian citizens being killed, injured, and suffering, is only an effective tool of the rf leadership to commit genocide against Ukrainians and the liquidation of the Ukrainian state.

The full-scale invasion of afrr into Ukraine led to a migration crisis, the largest in Europe since the Second World War. According to rough estimates, more than 8 million citizens of Ukraine were forced to leave the Motherland and seek shelter in

other countries. More than 5 million Ukrainian citizens received the status of internally displaced persons and were forced to leave their homes and move to other regions of Ukraine to save their lives and the lives of their relatives.

In these critical moments, it became evident who is a true friend of Ukraine and who is a cynical enemy. During all this time, from the end of February 2022 and to this day, the democratic states of the West not only accept Ukrainian refugees, providing them with accommodation, cash payments, and social assistance, but also contribute to preserving the national identity of Ukrainians and helping to return those who have lost it by organising Ukrainian classes for children of Ukrainian refugees in places of temporary residence.

At the same time, the russian authorities compulsory relocate tens and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian citizens from the temporarily occupied territories to the rf, consistently trying to make them hostages and completely assimilate them into the russian-speaking environment. The imperialists behave especially cynically with Ukrainian children, deporting hundreds and thousands of them to russia, depriving them of Ukrainian citizenship, and facilitating their adoption by russians in order to bring them up as typical fatherless mankurts in the future.

As we have already noted, in his speech, which was made public on February 24, 2022, v. putin emphasised the two main tasks of "smo": the demilitarisation and denazification of Ukraine, although their main task was the "de-Ukrainization" of Ukraine, so that with the course of time it would become a standard russian-speaking region of the rf, such as Kuban now. But the Ukrainians did not want such a fate and

began to desperately resist the invaders-occupants. That is why, at the kremlin's order, the afrr began to act according to the words of M. Gorkyi: "If the enemy does not surrender, he is to be destroyed." The terrible genocide of Ukrainians, and Bucha, Irpin, Hostomel, and Mariupol are only the most vivid examples of the genocidal policy of the "rashist-fascists," opened the eyes to the essence of the "russian world" not only to politicians and ordinary citizens of Europe and the world, but, first of all, to russified Ukrainians and russian-speaking citizens of the centre, south, and east of Ukraine. It suddenly appeared that this once-culturally attractive and respectable "russian world" carries with it not the achievements of centuries-old russian culture but, first of all, death and destruction inspired by russian neo-imperial revanchism.

Before now, living in Odesa, Mykolaiv, Kherson, Zaporizhzhia, Kryvyi Rih, Nikopol, Enerhodar, Kharkiv, Izium, Lysychansk, Severodonetsk, Lyman, Kupiansk, etc., it was possible to popularise the "russian world," vote for pro-russian political parties, and dream of returning «great historical russia» here someday. Now, even though you love O. Pushkin, M. Dostoevsky, and M. Chekhov and speak only in "generally understandable" and you sympathise with russians, etc., at any moment, you, your family, and your property can become targets for the attack of afrr and "reset to zero." Such a terrible reality gradually, we emphasise—not immediately, but gradually—regains the consciousness of the sympathisers of the "russian world" and educates Ukrainian citizens in them. Of course, the real fanatics of the "russian world" will be cured only by the grave, but with the course of time, the simple truth will come to light: for any empire, and russia has always been one,

its inhabitants are just ordinary consumable materials, with the help of which the russian rulers built, are building, and will build an empire at the cost of hundreds of thousands and millions of human lives. In contrast, a country that has a democratic form of government is based on the supremacy of law, respect for private property and human personality, chooses sustainable development, and cares in reality, not virtually, about its citizens, who are the guarantee of its civilizational development.

The full-scale aggression of the rf accelerated the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society, especially in the southern and eastern regions of Ukraine.

Journalists of the Radio Liberty project "Novyvy Pryazovia" carried out a very interesting study with the aim find out how people of the southern regions feel about the process of de-russification after the beginning of the large-scale invasion of the rf into Ukraine, how it differs from decommunization, how de-russification is taking place in Zaporizhzhia, Kherson, Odesa and what local residents think about it. Thus, in Zaporizhzhia, a number of streets connected with the history of russia were renamed. This decision was made at a session of Zaporizhzhia City Council. Deputies voted for renaming 11 streets, and announced on December 8, 2022, on the website of the city administration. Therefore, the following street names appeared in Zaporizhzhia: Boryspilska instead of Bratska, Romantychna instead of Riazanska, Chornykh Zaporozhtsiv instead of Rostovska, Zaporizkykh Vohnebortsiv instead of Russian, Volunteerska instead of Grodnenska, Oleshkivska instead of Podmoskovska, Maietkova instead of Moskovska, and others. At the same time, the occupation authorities of the Zaporizhia region controlled by russia announced that by the

end of the year, they will "return the former names of streets, alleys and parks, as well as restore historical monuments destroyed within the period from 2014 to 2022." In the announcement of the occupational administration of Melitopol, it is said that "during the period of decommunization about 600 streets were renamed and more than 100 monuments were dismantled in the Zaporizhia region." [1].

Feliks Khrustalov, the head of the sociological company Independent Researching Group from Zaporizhzhia, noted in a comment to "Novyvy Pryazovia" that society is now moving from the process of decommunization to de-russification: "After February 24, the situation has changed so much that people are ready to refuse not only Soviet names, but in general russian names, to be as far away from it as possible, so that nothing reminds them of russia here in Ukraine. After all, any names or toponyms are propaganda, including the fact that we have such a large number of toponyms associated with russian cities, personalities, writers, and so on. This, of course, at one time was a process of influencing the residents of Ukraine." The sociologist also expressed hope that after the end of the war, Ukrainian society would be unanimous in the process of derussification: "In any society, there are certain reactions, a certain revenge. Let's hope that after the events that took place in Ukraine, it will no longer be possible or that it will not have force, and, as most sociologists and scientists note, the processes that are taking place now in Ukraine are rather tectonic shifts in Ukrainian society. These are really very powerful changes, which are connected with the transition of many people to the Ukrainian language, with deimperialization, derussification of the consciousness of Ukrainians, with the understanding of how

different, unique our culture and our history are, they are different, connected with absolutely different processes" [1].

In Kherson, which was deoccupied on November 11, 2022, there are still street names forming associations with the Russian empire or the Soviet Union. On December 9, the local edition "Most" published material in which the author Viacheslav Husakov points out that during the occupation of Kherson, Russian forces often paid attention to the fact that "Kherson is a Russian city", as there are many names of streets which are evidence of the so-called "Russian history" of the city. They also talked about the monuments to Suvorov, Potemkin, and Ushakov. Besides, in Kherson, there are Moskovska, Potemkinska, Suvorova, Gogolia, Nakhimova, Ladychuka, Hirskoho, Chkalova, Gagarina streets, Ushakova avenue and others [1].

In turn, the politologist from Kherson, Oleksandr Moshniahul, said that the issue of renaming some streets had already been raised by the public: "There is a law on the procedure for renaming, which specifies that geographic names, street names should be given to persons who have made a huge contribution to the independence of Ukraine, who did something outstanding, heroic deed for the sake of Ukraine. In my opinion, neither Suvorov nor Ushakov, the figures of the Russian empire, aren't artists or writers. They are political figures of the empire, that is, so according to the law that defines the establishment of geographical names, we cannot have streets named after the surnames of these figures." According to the expert, the war contributed to the fact that there are fewer and fewer supporters of the "common history with Russia" in Kherson: "The war led to the fact that the number of even those who considered themselves

to be adherents and sympathisers of the Russian empire, considerably decreased. The only question that remains subject to debate, in my opinion, is what to do with figures of Russian culture that are recognised around the world. It means the same Oleksandr Pushkin, who was not a communist, was not an opponent of Ukraine" [1].

There is no doubt as to the figure of O. Pushkin and his imperialism and negative attitude towards Ukrainian statebuilding and prominent figures in Ukraine. You only need to carefully reread his poem "Poltava" and other works of classic Russian culture.

On November 24, 2022, the executive committee of the Odesa City Council supported the decision to dismantle the monument to the "Founders of Odesa," the key figure of which is the Russian empress Catherine II. Earlier, the President of Ukraine, V. Zelenskyi, appealed to the Odesa City Council with the request to consider the proposal to dismantle the monument to the empress [1].

Politologist O. Moshniahul, in a comment to "Novyny of Pryazovia", said that in Odesa, at one time, was renamed a street named after Catherine II was renamed, but at the same time they applied "manipulations": "Ukrainians have their own private reckonings with Catherine II, which in 1775 liquidated the Zaporizhzhian Sich, firstly, secondly, she discharged the Russian nobility and landowners from all liabilities and made serfs the entire free Ukrainian population, the vast majority. When in Odessa Kateryninska was renamed, and part of deputies, perhaps, did not want it, then in Odessa were other sentiments, they left the name, but it is formally it doesn't have the name of the empress, Catherine II, but the name of holy Christian martyr Catherine" [1].

Oleksandr Rudomanov, a blogger and activist from Kherson, noted that recently the process of derussification is taking place even in those communities where this did not happen before: "My personal example is Podilsk. They had a street named after Tereshkova, and they refused to rename it for a long time, they gathered fake veterans of Afghanistan, or something like that, who wrote that they were against renaming. Then I open their website and see that the city council writes itself, «Let's rename this street to Mariupolska." In fact, now the process has moved forward, and even those councils that did not want to conflict with local residents, they really started to rename it all." According to him, there is still no clear mechanism for depriving Russian figures of their titles: "As far as I remember, now there is no clear mechanism for depriving the Hero of Ukraine, all those people's artists who support the annexation of Crimea and temporarily occupied territories. We have a large number of artists who still have certain titles in Ukraine, and officials usually do nothing because it is additional work for them. Should we do that? Definitely should. Are there mechanisms? Not always do they exist." However, Ukrainian society will gradually change its attitude towards the necessity of conducting derussification, O. Rudomanov is sure: "But it won't happen soon. That is, those who support the idea that everything should be left as it was before. They were, are, and will be, and I am not sure that any of our efforts can change something. They just need to have no influence" [1].

Another powerful manifestation of the successful ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society during the full-scale aggression of the RF against Ukraine became the conquest of the Everest of European

popular music by the exclusively Ukrainian-language song "Stephania" since the previous winners – Ruslana and Jamala, sang in English and Ukrainian.

On May 14, 2022, the Ukrainian band Kalush Orchestra gained a victory in the Eurovision Song Contest 2022, which was held this year in Turin, Italy. The Ukrainians scored 631 points: 192 from the jury and 439 from the audience. After his performance in the final, the band's frontman and soloist, Oleg Psiuk, called to save Mariupol and the Ukrainian military men, which were blocked in the territory of the Azovstal plant. After that, viewers of the contest assumed in social networks that the band could be disqualified because political statements are prohibited within the contest. Except for the Ukrainian band, in particular, the representatives of Iceland from the band Systur, who had Ukrainian flags on their instruments, voiced their support for Ukraine from the stage. After their performance, they called for peace in Ukraine and added, "We love you." And the representative of Germany, Malik Harris, performed with a guitar with a Ukrainian flag and the text Stand With Ukraine ("I support Ukraine"). The representatives of Ukraine at Eurovision, the Kalush Orchestra, were not disqualified for the statement about "Azovstal" because their statement is not of a political nature, as a representative of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) told the German agency dpa. The EBU speaker answered journalists' request: "We understand the deep feelings about Ukraine at this moment and believe that the comments of the Kalush Orchestra and other performers supporting Ukrainian people are more humanitarian in nature than political" [3].

In turn, the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen,

congratulated Ukraine on the victory at the song contest, writing on Twitter: “Congratulations #KalushOrchestra and Ukraine for winning #Eurovision Tonight your song won our hearts. We are celebrating your victory all over the world. The EU is with you.” [10].

This active support of Ukraine and Ukrainians by both ordinary Europeans and highly respected EU government officials in these difficult and terrible times once again confirmed the axiom that Ukraine is Europe!

On June 17, 2022, the European Commission recommended granting Ukraine candidate status. Later, on June 23, 2022, the leaders of the European Union countries at the summit in Brussels supported the granting of EU candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova. This issue was one of the main ones on the agenda of the European Council meeting. “Finally, the green light! The EU leaders have just decided to grant Ukraine and Moldova the status of EU candidates,” Radio Liberty journalist Rikard Jozviak said on Twitter. The President of the European Council, Charles Michel, tweeted that this decision was an “extremely important step” for both countries on the way to the EU. It’s a “historic moment,” Michel added. The unprecedented step of the European Council was adopted at a time when Ukraine is resisting a full-scale war started by Russia. Before the summit, the President of the European Council, Charles Michel, called on the bloc’s leaders to make a “historic” decision to grant candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova. “This is a decisive point for the European Union, it is also a geopolitical choice that we will make today. And I am sure that today we will grant candidate status to Ukraine and Moldova,” he told reporters in Brussels. EU leaders also

promised to keep up the pressure on Russia, undertaking to continue working on sanctions. The Ukrainian authorities have repeatedly called to recognise the country officially as a candidate for EU membership. Ukraine applied to join the European Union almost immediately after the start of the full-scale Russian invasion [9].

At the same time, granting Ukraine the status of a candidate for the EU imposed certain obligations on it. Yes, she has to fulfil several conditions to move further. Among them, for example, is the adoption by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of important laws on national minorities and mass media.

At its meeting on December 13, 2022, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the European Integration Law “On National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine.” A total of 324 people’s deputies voted for the law. This law proposes to declare the Law of Ukraine “On National Minorities in Ukraine” dated June 25, 1992, invalid. It consists of a preamble, five chapters, and 21 articles. The law establishes the definition of “national minorities (communities)”; rights, freedoms and obligations of persons belonging to national minorities (communities); peculiarities of state policy regarding the exercising of the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities (communities), in particular, features of financial providing for the implementation of such policies, the powers of the central executive body implementing state policy in the field of protection of the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities (community); the possibility of creating consultative and advisory bodies at state bodies of executive power of various levels, regarding the implementation of state policy in the field of protection of the

rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities (communities); the possibility of creating centers of nationalities in regional centers or designated settlements at the expense of state and/or local budgets, for the functioning of public associations of national minorities (communities) on a free basis; international cooperation and foreign relations of national minorities (communities) [8].

People's deputy and member of the Committee of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on Human Rights, Deoccupation, and Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories, National Minorities, and International Relations, Taras Tarasenko, said: "The Committee has been working on this draft law for more than two years. The document specifies the rights of national communities in Ukraine and provides guarantees for their ethnic and cultural development. Accordingly, no one will be forgotten, and there will be no discrimination, so that every citizen of Ukraine, regardless of ethnic origin, has the opportunity to know both the Ukrainian language and their native language, to study in this language, and to know their culture.» According to him, this is the power of the Ukrainian state now, because all ethnic communities fully support Ukraine and defend it from the aggressor. «It is pleasant that more than a hundred national communities in Ukraine are now united by one goal – the defence and victory of our state," the people's deputy emphasised [5].

On the same day, December 13, 2022, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the Law of Ukraine "On Media" No. 2693-d. 299 parliament members voted for the document. The law defines the legal basis for the activities of subjects in the media sphere in Ukraine, as well as the principles of state

management, regulation, and supervision in this field. It is expected that it will create the necessary modern European conditions for the development of the media sphere, the exercising of the right to freedom of expression, the right to receive various, reliable, and operative information, to ensure pluralism of opinions and free dissemination of information, to protect the national interests of Ukraine and the rights of users of media services, regulation of activities in the sphere of media in accordance with the principles of transparency, fairness, and impartiality, stimulation of a competitive environment, equality, and independence of the media. According to the document, the state regulatory body for media activity, as well as the supervisory body in this area, is the National Council for Television and Radio Broadcasting. At the same time, on the media and video-sharing platforms, it is forbidden to spread calls for forced change, overthrowing the constitutional order, starting or waging an aggressive war or military conflict, violating the territorial integrity of Ukraine, liquidating the independence of Ukraine, as well as information that justifies or promotes such actions. It is forbidden to promote or call for terrorism and terrorist acts, to spread information that justifies or approves such actions, denies or justifies the criminal nature of the communist totalitarian regime of 1917–1991 in Ukraine; to publish information containing the propaganda of the russian totalitarian regime, the armed aggression of the rf against Ukraine, as well as symbols of the military invasion of the russian totalitarian regime. In addition, it is forbidden to disseminate information that humiliates or depreciates the state language. Coverage of the activities of the aggressor state authorities (occupant state) in information and informational and analytical

programmes must be followed by a notification about their status. [7].

Although in the explanation note law-makers stated that the purpose of the draft law is to create a single, ordered, and mutually agreed system of legal norms aimed at regulating legal relations in the sphere of media, Ukraine's fulfilment of its obligations to European partners and the implementation of the norms of European legislation into national legislation, experts had significant comments on it. Some deputies and activists claim that this draft law contains a number of relaxations for the russian-speaking media industry and that there are "dangers of demining the cultural border with russia." In particular, the law includes: reducing the Ukrainian song quota on the radio by 10%; the return of russian artists to the screens through levelling of the list of persons who pose a threat to national security; cancellation of the ban on the popularisation of the russian authorities and their individual representatives in TV programmes and films; cancellation of the ban on humiliating and insulting the Ukrainian language in films; permission for TV channels to broadcast films in russian; lifting the ban on songs by russian artists, etc. [2].

Despite the positive steps taken by the Ukrainian authorities on the way to European integration, pro-Ukrainian civil activists should always monitor its actions, since, unfortunately, there are still many hidden supporters of the "russian world" among them.

At the same time, the Ukrainian establishment finally paid attention to the destructive activity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (hereinafter referred to as the UOC MP). In November 2022, the Security Service of Ukraine conducted systematic searches in a

number of UOC churches. In particular, in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra was found propaganda literature, as well as russian citizens hiding in the premises of the Lavra. Propaganda literature and money of unknown origin were also found in the church of the UOC MP in Rivne region and Bukovyna, and in one of the churches in Chernivtsi region, investigators witnessed the physical intimacy of the secretary of the Chernivtsi diocese of the UOC MP, Archimandrite Nikita, with a boy who sings in the local choir. After the results of the search were made public, deputy Mykola Kniazhytskyi submitted to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine a draft law on the prohibition of the UOC MP. The Synod of the UOC MP called the accusations of collaborationism "groundless and unproven." In November, searches in the Ternopil diocese of the UOC MP of Ukraine revealed in the seminary and diocese russian propaganda materials denying the existence of Ukraine. During the searches conducted at the facilities of OUC MP in the Kyiv, Kherson, Cherkasy, Zhytomyr, and Volyn regions, forged documents, russian propaganda literature, russian passports, and other evidence of the cooperation of local workers and management with the russian occupiers were revealed. Searches were conducted in the Transcarpathian, Rivne and Zhytomyr regions, were found warehouses with pro-Kremlin literature, russian manuals, books on Satanism, and prayer books for the Moscow Patriarch Kirill. After searches in the premises of the Kharkiv diocese, hundreds of thousands of money in cash (in particular, in russian rubles), pro-Kremlin literature, and russian military dry rations were found [11].

In the conditions of full-scale aggression by the rf against Ukraine, tectonic changes took place in the perception of

Ukraine's totalitarian past. On December 15, 2022, the deputies of the European Parliament adopted a resolution recognising the Holodomor of 1932–1933 as genocide. This resolution was supported by 507 deputies, 12 voted against it, and 17 abstained. With this document, the MEPs condemned the actions of the Soviet regime, which "led to the deaths of millions of Ukrainians", and called on those governments and organisations that have not yet done so to recognise them as genocide. "Parliament declares that the whitewashing and glorification of the totalitarian Soviet regime and the revival of the cult of the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin have led to the fact that russia is today a state sponsor of terrorism. The MEPs also condemn russia's terrible crimes, which are again committed against the Ukrainian people, such as the targeted destruction of Ukraine's civilian energy infrastructure in winter," the press service of the institution reports. MEPs also condemned the attempts of the ruling regime in russia to manipulate history "for the sake of its own survival" and called on russia, as the succession state of the Soviet Union, to apologise for crimes against Ukraine. Ukraine, referring to the data of the scientific and demographic examination, claims that the total number of human losses from the Holodomor of 1932–33 is almost 4 million people, and the losses of Ukrainians in the unborn are more than 6 million [4].

More than 1,300,000 people from all over the world decided to learn the Ukrainian language after the full-scale war of russia against Ukraine began. This is the data of the Duolingo company, which produces a programme for learning languages. Interest in the Ukrainian language has remained stably high for more than nine months, the company says. The Ukrainian service of

"Voice of America" talked to an American who has been studying the Ukrainian language since May 2022. Artur lives in South Carolina and previously visited Kyiv on business. In the Ukrainian capital, he used to always switch to russian, which he learned a long time ago. Artur explained his fascination with Ukrainian as follows: "I spent so much time learning russian that the idea of learning Ukrainian terrified me and seemed very difficult. I didn't have the energy to do it before. However, after February 24, I heard many stories, also from the Ukrainian diaspora in America, that for them, russian is associated with the language of the occupants. It affected me. I realised that I had to do something. I have a Slavic language base. But simply transitioning from a Romano-Germanic language like English to a Slavic language is very difficult. So it's difficult for Americans in general. It is much easier to learn Spanish than, for example, Ukrainian. But I had to do that. One of the peculiarities of Ukrainian is that the pronunciation itself is much more demanding than russian. It's like you're singing, and I'm not a very good singer. But I understand why Ukrainians are usually very good singers, because, for example, "pa-lia-ny-tsia" – how do you do it? Making your mouth and tongue do these things without thinking is really difficult. So for me, the most difficult thing in the Ukrainian language is to learn to sing" [12].

According to Duolingo, the largest number of people who started learning Ukrainian since February are in Germany and Poland. The number of people who want to learn Ukrainian there has increased by more than 16 times compared to last year. "In the first weeks after the russian invasion, we saw an increase of 577% all over the world. And in some countries, for example, in Poland, the figures were even higher.

There was a jump of 2677%. In Argentina, Japan, and India, many people are studying Ukrainian simply because they want to show their support and solidarity. And we see it everywhere,” Duolingo curriculum specialist Cindy Blanco said in an interview with the Voice of America. She also noted that in Great Britain, the Ukrainian language reached 17th place among the most popular languages, having jumped 20 positions in a year. The founder of the school of Ukrainian language and culture, Solomiya Buk, said in an interview with Voice of America: “We are very happy that we have students from the UN, OSCE, various medical and humanitarian organisations, and journalists from American and European media. Among the students are soldiers, members of foreign legions. Moreover, Ukrainian is studied by company owners and businessmen who plan to expand their businesses after the victory of Ukraine” [12].

Conclusions. The ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society under the conditions of full-scale russian aggression against Ukraine is characterised by the following features. After eight years of undeclared russian-Ukrainian hybrid war, v. putin made a personal decision to finally close the so-called Ukrainian question and liquidate Ukrainian statehood and the Ukrainian nation. He hoped that Ukraine is weakened by internal political disagreements, President V. Zelenskyi is weak and indecisive, the AFU is an incapable army, and most importantly, the vast majority of citizens are looking forward to returning of the “russian world” and the end of the rule of the so-called “Kyiv hunta,” that everyone is fed up with. Regarding the reaction of European and world leaders, according to v. putin, it would be impotent and deeply concerned as always.

However, as always, the reality turned out to be profoundly different. Ukrainian citizens rallied and strongly opposed the russian aggressors. V. Zelenskyi not only did not run away but became, in the eyes of the world community, the personification of fighting Ukraine and the victorious heroic spirit of Ukrainians. And the AFU did not capitulate, but professionally fight back the invaders and, step by step, regain the temporarily occupied territories.

In these force majeure circumstances, Ukrainian ethnocultural development acquired unexpectedly positive dynamics. While the kremlin acted treacherously, articulating messages about the so-called “civil war,” “brotherly nations,” “Kyiv hunta,” etc., it systematically promoted the “russian world” and the spiritual unity of the russian and Ukrainian peoples. This is how he managed to mislead many people in Ukraine and beyond its borders. When putin’s blitzkrieg failed, instead of “gentle words” about centuries-old brotherhood, the kremlin began the genocide of Ukrainian citizens, regardless of their ethnicity, language practices, religious beliefs, and cultural orientation. The entire territory of Ukraine has become a common battlefield, on which the afrf mercilessly annihilates everyone who appears in their way: soldiers of the AFU, volunteers, and civilians. This applies especially to women, old people, young people, children, and in general everyone, without any exception. It suddenly turned out that the Ukrainian language is a very important marker both during military clashes with the occupants and outside of Ukraine, where in Europe and the world the rejection of russian as the language of the aggressor and the so-called “denial of russian culture” began. Not only russian-speaking citizens of Ukraine but also representatives of other

nationalities try to master Ukrainian in order to morally support Ukrainians in their struggle for freedom and independence. Ukraine was granted candidate status for EU membership, once again demonstrating that its place is not in the Eurasian prison of nationalities but among the democratic family of European nations, united by common human values and the desire to build a European civilization in which each ethnic community will develop and prosper.

Thus, after analyzing the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society in the conditions of the revanchist policy of the kremlin and the full-scale invasion of Russian troops on the territory of Ukraine, we came to the following conclusions. First of all, understanding the periodization of the ethnocultural development of the Ukrainian society in the conditions of the revanchist course of the rf to restore its imperial power, helps to develop professional conclusions from the achievements and from the mistakes made in order to improve the sustainable development of Ukraine and Ukrainians on the path of Euro-Atlantic integration. Second, the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society under the conditions of revanchist-imperial policy of the rf can be conditionally divided into five periods (stages): the first (1991 – 2004), the second (2005 - 2009), the third (2010 – 2013), fourth (2014 – 2021) and fifth (2022 – present days). Third, the fifth stage of the ethnocultural development of Ukrainian society continues in the conditions of the full-scale aggression of the afrf against Ukraine, which began on February 24, 2022 and is currently developing, and despite the military affairs, Ukrainian ethnocultural development has acquired unexpectedly positive dynamics. Fourth, despite the racist policy of the genocide of the Ukrainian

and the destruction of the Ukrainian state, which is purposefully and fanatically implemented by the kremlin, the afrf and the so-called “deep russian people”, Ukraine was, is and will be. The Ukrainian language is gradually seizing all spheres of social and political existence of society. Ukrainian education (preschool, primary, secondary, and higher) systematically forms a Ukrainian-centric worldview of future conscious citizens of the Ukrainian state. Ukrainian humanitarian science produces knowledge that helps overcome the “russian world”. Ukrainian spirituality is getting rid of the imperial-chauvinistic influence of the Russian Orthodox Church. Ukrainian culture, despite the huge scale of human and material losses, continues to develop, and vivid proof of its indestructibility and power is the Ukrainian song, which has once again won the song Olympus “Eurovision – 2022”. Fifth, for the final victory over the Russian aggressor and the restoration of the unity of the Ukrainian state, it is necessary to use all available factors: military, geopolitical, diplomatic, political, economic, financial, sacral-spiritual, ethnocultural, etc. for the sake of building a democratic, spiritual, legal, innovative, wealthy and powerful Ukrainian Independent United State.

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The “full-scale russian-Ukrainian war” is a global civilizational confrontation between autocracy and democracy, between the Eurasian russian neo-empire and the European Ukrainian state.