

UKRAINE AT WAR

ABSTRACTS



Warsaw
East
European
Conference

2023 / Nineteenth Annual Session

University of Warsaw

June 28-30, 2023

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EDITING:

Aleksander Skydan

PROOF-READING:

Hanna Kalinowska

ABSTRACTS LAYOUT:

Hubert Karasiewicz

PRINTING:

PANTON

ABSTRACTS

Why did Putin go too far? Kremlin Political Myths in Time of War with Ukraine

Roman Bäcker

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, Poland

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Putin's decision to begin a war with Ukraine was irrational on three levels. Firstly, the Russian decision-making elites failed to foresee the ability of the Ukrainian army and people to resist efficiently. It might have resulted from the imperial superiority syndrome reinforced by the experiences of 2014. Secondly, the elites treated the reports on the Russian army's combat readiness as reliable and did not make an effort to verify them. Probably no one can determine the scale of the kleptocracy, and therefore no one has reliable data on the quality of the Russian army's combat preparation. Thirdly, the elites failed to envisage the scale of support for Ukraine from Western democracies. What is more, they did not take into account the democratic rationality of Western politicians. The same politicians who appeared to Putin to be weak and incapable of action, immediately after the mass social protests and condemnation of Russia's aggression by public opinion, acted following the clearly expressed will of the political nation. It reflects on the systemic reasons for such a poor definition of the decision-making situation and then tries to formulate the general relationship between the quality of the decision-making elite and the acceleration of the bifurcation processes of the Russian autocratic regime. Is possible to understand Putin by analysing the myths in his speeches. The analysis draws upon the author's typology of myths: saviour versus Lucifer, "golden age" versus the "tribulation age," and conspiracy versus unity. Putin treats the US as absolute evil, Lucifer. Deified Russia will free the world from this evil. The West is conspiratorially controlled, but its population may "wake up," and will support Russia. It is imperative to implement the "golden age" of the world. Otherwise, there will be the Tribulation Age headed by the US. The above vision of the world bestows a feature of good and right and the impression of rationality to use any means and methods to destroy the enemy, which is the whole West allied with the US.

Representations of Ukraine in Soviet Narratives about the October Revolution: A Case Study of Igor Savchenko's Film *Ballad About Cossack Holota* (1937)

Elena V. Baraban

The University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB, Canada

Ukraine's social, political, and cultural history has become a controversial issue since the 1990s. Dominant until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the discourse about the Soviet brotherly nations has since been contested by depictions of Ukraine as politically and ideologically divided over the course of its 20th-century history. Russia-Ukraine war that began with the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 Feb 2022 has had a dramatic impact on the process of replacing the formerly standard version of Ukraine's past with new interpretations. At the same time, Russia's war on Ukraine has also demonstrated that Soviet-era collective memory about the key events in Soviet history has outlived the Soviet state and has been mobilized for political use. When in pain of heart a Ukrainian politician says that Russia's invasion of Ukraine has cancelled a shared past of Ukraine and Russia, he refers to a familiar discourse about these nations' familial ties (Tkach). With this discourse now shattered, the question of particular salience is: How was the idea of brotherhood between Ukraine and other Soviet nations expressed and sustained? How did it evolve? In light of Russia-Ukraine war, the stories that were building blocks of the Soviet foundational narrative about Ukraine and Russia as fraternal nations are worth revisiting. An analysis of such stories reveals the mechanism of making Ukraine's part an integral part of Soviet culture.

In this paper, I discuss the issue of the evolution of the Soviet discourse about 'eternal friendship of Ukrainian and Russian peoples' in the example of Igor Savchenko's film *Ballad About Cossack Holota* (*Duma pro kozaka Golotu*, 1937), released by the Gorkii Film Studio as part of the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Igor Savchenko (Ihor Savchenko in Ukrainian) was a Ukrainian Soviet film director who made films both in Russian and Ukrainian film studios; his work played an important role in promoting the idea of familial ties between Ukraine and Russia. *Ballad About Cossack Holota* is based on Arkadii Gaidar's novella for children *R.V.S.* (1925) that is set during the Civil War in Ukraine, following the October Revolution. Savchenko's film is especially interesting in how he reworks Gaidar's story; he depicts events of the Civil War in the context of Ukraine's 17th-18th-century history, drawing on Ukrainian folklore. *Cossack Holota*, a character from Ukrainian folklore, becomes a symbol of the revolutionary liberation of Ukraine, a promise of a just social and political order. Drawing on memory studies, post-colonial theory, and theory of deconstruction, I discuss the artistic means that Savchenko used in order

to integrate Ukraine's experience of the revolution and the Civil War into the Soviet discourse about the fight for Soviet power. Savchenko constructs Ukraine's response to the revolution by making use of tropes of a big family, Biblical imagery, elements of folk culture, conventions of the adventure film. The study of Savchenko's film contributes to our understanding of the debates about Soviet-era and present-day collective memory about the October Revolution and the Civil War in Ukraine and Russia. As the discourse about the biggest Soviet nations' familial unity is yet another casualty of Russia-Ukraine war, it is important to consider how the idea of brotherhood between Ukraine and other Soviet nations was expressed in Soviet cinema. Such analysis explains why Ukrainian's common emotional response to the start of the war was that of a feeling of shock and betrayal.

Negotiation and Warfare: The Competitions the Peace Plans about Ukraine

Iryna Bohinska

Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University, Ukraine

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The problem of the relationship between war and negotiation has addressed in different ways in conflict theory and history. Thus, negotiation creates opportunities for victorious outcomes. The opposite is also true: defeat on the battlefield influences what happens in the negotiation room.

A historical view of the relationship between war and negotiation captures the transition from negotiation as a tool of warfare to war as a negotiation tool. Today, this assertion is manipulative, attributing different negotiating concepts to the parties to the conflict. The assumption is that one side enters negotiations to reduce violence or to end the conflict, while the other side uses the escalation of the conflict as the driving force or direction of the negotiation. However, negotiation in wartime is not necessarily aimed at resolving the crisis immediately. Negotiations as a deception buy time to prepare for war or avoid any outcome because the time for an agreement is not yet ripe. Ukraine has already outlined the return of all territories occupied since 2014 as a precondition for starting the negotiation process. The uncertainty about the plan to end the war is more daunting than starting a war without a clear plan.

To date, there has been no shortage of peace initiatives to end the conflict. Potential mediators are predominantly assessed in "neutrality" which is misleading as to their interest in furthering the conflict. Control over the peace process is the politics, hidden by humanitarian considerations of the need to intervene in the conflict. For example, the image of a 'global peacemaker' will enable China to achieve its foreign policy objectives in a non-confrontational manner. And the Saudi prince's efforts in the POW

exchange negotiations are motivated not so much by humanitarian considerations as by a desire to improve relations with the US. And all this is being in an international context characterized as a competitive world. The assessment of the “peace plans” offered by different mediators ought therefore to be based on an understanding of the international context in which the conflict is developing. Mediation has become a competitive field in which a mediator’s bias should be one of the criteria for assessing their peacebuilding initiatives.

Untimely “peace initiatives” by biased mediators can change the situation in theatre, dividing the ranks of allies the one or both sides of the conflict and reducing the assistance provided to an allied side and countermeasures taken against its adversary.

Ukrainian Higher Education System at Risk: Consequences of the War and the EU Integration Prospects

Olena Brintseva

Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman, Ukraine

After the start of full-scale Russian aggression, the Ukrainian higher education system has faced many challenges: damaged and destroyed educational institutions and infrastructure during the war, a decrease in funding of education and science, relocation of participants in the educational process abroad, which led to a significant loss of students and teaching staff by Ukrainian universities. Nevertheless, in 2022 the Russian Federation’s military aggression also opened a new window of opportunity to accelerate Ukraine’s integration into the EU. June 23, 2022. The European Council granted Ukraine candidate status for EU membership and noted the high level of sectoral integration of Ukrainian education and science. In Commission Opinion on Ukraine’s application for membership in the European Union is emphasized that despite the sizable government spending in the sector (5.7% of GDP, 2021) and a ratio of gross enrollment in tertiary education of above 80%, the curricula and overall quality could be better aligned with labour market needs. Expenditure on research and development, which is mostly concentrated in the public sector and had been declining over the last ten years to below 0.5% in 2020, remained insufficient to heighten human capital in a sustainable way. According to the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Education, Science, and Innovation, as of July 2022. 318 out of 355 higher education standards had been processed for Ukraine’s integration into the European Higher Education Area. In this paper based on a survey of Ukrainian academic teachers also characterized the factors that hold back Ukraine’s EU integration aspirations – the shadow sector and pathologies of the higher education system. The main of them are: «factories» of doctoral and habilitation theses, a large number of scientific works done on commission, violations

of the rules of academic integrity by both students and academic teachers, unhealthy relationships in teams, and the contemptuous attitude of department heads towards academic teachers, the system of unofficial fees for defending doctoral and habilitation theses, bribery. As the result of the analysis are identified the recommendations for integration into the European Higher Education Area and increasing the competitiveness of Ukrainian universities: the improvement of the institutional environment of higher education; harmonization of Ukrainian legislative acts on higher education and science with EU legislation; increasing the competitiveness of the national educational system due to the consolidation of universities; using the contemporary crisis as an opportunity to rebuild a more efficient higher education system through a series of institutional changes.

Problems of Social and Psychological Adaptation of Forced Migrants from Ukraine

Nataliya Chahrak

The Jacob of Paradies University, Poland

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The fateful changes that have taken place in Ukrainian society since the time of full-scale military operations have caused a powerful political, social and economic crisis, which has led to significant changes in people's lifestyles, migration of a large number of citizens who must adapt to new living conditions. This definitely affected the social attitudes and mental states of both the forced migrants and the local population of the host countries, who also have to adapt to coexistence with representatives of other culture. The lack of constructive communication and interaction with local residents leads to the appearance of maladaptive feelings in forced migrants – alienation, isolation, uselessness and futility.

Forced migrants find themselves outside the citizenship of the host country, and this affects their psycho-emotional state. A person often feels defenceless, insecure, dependent on others, which, in turn, creates low self-esteem and disrupts self-identity and further self-realization.

Teenagers experience special difficulties in social and psychological adaptation, since this age period is an important stage in the formation and development of identity. They often take a marginal position in the host environment, and due to a lack of communication with peers, problems with socialization arise and the feeling of loneliness and confusion deepens. If teenagers are not included in the social network of their peers from the host country, it is difficult for them to form a positive attitude towards themselves. At the same time, differences in traditions, manners and lifestyle can be the cause of conflicts and alienation.

The process of socio-psychological adaptation depends both on the individual and psychological characteristics of a person, and on the nature of the social environment to which he/she is trying to adapt. Among the main factors that contribute to the social and psychological adaptation of forced migrants, the following can be singled out: a) communication with local residents; b) language or willingness to learn it; c) education and willingness to further learning; d) the goal and motivation; e) perception of migration – whether a person is oriented towards integration into a new environment or consider his/her stay in the host country as temporary experience; f) society's tolerance of forced migrants.

Further development and self-realization of an individual in society depends on the result of social and psychological adaptation.

The Russian Invaders are the Nazis of the 21st Century: Humanitarian Policy in Ukraine

Liudmyla D. Chekalenko

National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko National University
in Kyiv, Ukraine

This study employs the Nazi policy of Russia in Ukraine. The author's characterization of Russian policy is provided, various variants of anti-human policy are compared, the means and implementation of the policy of genocide and denationalization of the Ukrainian people by the Russian authorities are analyzed, arguments of foreign researchers on the specified issue are given, as well as proposals for confronting this evil. The international community supported Ukraine. Appeals were made to the International Criminal Court against Russia for anti-Ukrainian crimes and genocide against the Ukrainian people. The International Criminal Court (ICC) issued a warrant for the arrest of Russian President Vladimir Putin for stealing children from the territory of Ukraine. The International Criminal Court believes that Putin allegedly bears responsibility for the war crime of illegal deportation of the population (children) and illegal transfer of the population (children) from the occupied territories of Ukraine to the Russian Federation. According to the indictment, these crimes were committed on the occupied territory of Ukraine from at least 24 February 2022. There are reasonable grounds to believe that Mr. Putin bears individual criminal responsibility for the above-mentioned crimes.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky thanked the ICC for its 'historic' decision and said: 'In the criminal proceedings investigated by our law enforcement officers, more than 16,000 forced deportations of Ukrainian children by the occupier have already been recorded. But the real, full number of deportees may be much higher,' he said. (President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky Official website. Speeches. April, 2023).

Socio-Cultural Study of Polish Perceptions regarding Ukrainian Culture in Poland after 2022

Emil Chról

University of Warsaw, Poland

This paper examines the perceptions of Ukrainian culture among the Polish population in the context of the ongoing war in Ukraine (focusing on the last two years). Utilizing a sociological approach, the study incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the extent of awareness, attitudes, and stereotypes towards Ukrainian culture among Poles. Drawing on survey data, interviews, and media analysis, the paper provides an in-depth analysis of the cultural perceptions shaped by the conflict. Additionally, statistical data and relevant sources are utilized to support the findings. The research highlights the complexities of intercultural relations in the midst of a conflict and contributes to a deeper understanding of the impact of political events on cultural perceptions.

The Cultural Diplomacy in Ukraine and its Importance in Times of War

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Paulina Filkowska

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, Poland

One of the most important public diplomacy message is culture. From the beginning of the 19th century, countries initiated a conscious foreign cultural policy aimed at the accomplishment of foreign diplomacy tasks. They created a new form of diplomacy this way, which we call cultural diplomacy, nowadays.

The cultural diplomacy is an important component of not only foreign but also humanitarian policy. It is a perfect example of the soft power – the ability to convince through the culture and values.

There is no doubt that Russia's invasion in Ukraine creates new challenges for cultural diplomacy for Ukraine. Some of them may be difficult to overcome. But on the other hand it gives many opportunities for Ukraine. Stories about Ukraine told in the language of music, art or cinema help to increase Ukraine's visibility in the world.

This paper present the cultural diplomacy in Ukraine, especially after the Russian invasion on 24th of February. The paper will include some examples of the cultural diplomacy of Ukraine. It will also showcase their importance in times of war.

ESG Investments for Post-War Rebuilding of Ukrainian Economy

Iuliia Gernego

Kyiv National Economic University named after Vadym Hetman, Ukraine

With the onset of the coronavirus crisis, there was a transformation of priorities in the field of finance and investments at the global level in terms of intensifying support for sustainable development initiatives. In particular, international financial, management and business experts emphasize the need to implement projects that meet ESG criteria, namely support the effectiveness of environmental, social and corporate management. It is worth noting that the priority of the development of individual ESG components depends on the current situation on the market and the mood in society. For example, 2020 was marked by a crisis related to the global spread of COVID-19, and initiatives in the field of health care were intensified accordingly. In particular, in the developed countries of the world, governments spent about 20% of GDP to solve social issues caused by the epidemic. At the same time, in developing countries, this share was about 2% of GDP. Accordingly, the social criterion has become one of the determinants for assessing the competitive position of the national economy. In this context, in 2022, in the conditions of a military invasion of Ukraine by Russia, the security component acquires special importance also at the global level. In Ukraine, there is a need to restore and rebuild the economy, based on new technologies, alternative raw materials and with the formation of new chains of interaction. After all, it is qualitative renewal that will contribute to maintaining the position of the national economy on international markets, where ESG criteria are taken into account when making investment decisions. Accordingly, there is a need to assess the possibilities of integrating ESG principles into programs for the reconstruction of the national economy, strategies for making investment decisions. In particular, it is important to take into account the potential of financing programs and individual reconstruction projects due to the combination of resources attracted from different sources.

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Ideological Hatred and the New Social Cleavages

Laura Gheorghiu

University of Graz, Austria

The war in Ukraine pushed a large part of the planet to reformulate its narratives, its arguments and rationalities to accommodate an impossible reality: a real, hot war in the European mainland where everybody had already embraced the mantra of a forever post-war-scenario. With the politicians re-using old and highly symbolical expres-

sions, all of us were driven in the middle of a semantic turmoil. One year after, we may easily distinguish the opposite camps all around the world and the line between them drawn by the new, post-communist source of dissonances: the bare ideology covered in fluid, transparent inter-textual coats, as if the war itself were just a synthesis of history, geopolitics, religion, modernization and international relations altogether.

However, beyond all these, there comes a well-known theory to seek its own updates: Julien Benda labeled three types of hatred, namely of race, class and nation. My claim is that this war in Ukraine added a full-fledged new category of ideological hatred, cutting across the above mentioned ones as if annulling their existence and subordinating all to the present commands of politics. I intend to explore these divisions, tracing a line to connect all four types while searching for the anatomy of the new (old) ghost: the ideological hatred, how it works with the sociological categories of race, class and nation encapsulating them to create new political subjects. The latter are the combating parts in this war and we may say that the war renovated the sociological division of roles through reconfiguring the players in the game.

Ukrainian Defense and the Security Policy of Eurasian States

Gregory Gleason

George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, Germany

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Ukraine's success in staunching Russia's blitzkrieg invasion was the result of Ukraine's fierce military response on the battlefield buttressed by the strong support Ukraine received from western neighbors. It is clear that the Kremlin, in launching this brutal and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine, underestimated Ukraine's ability to defend itself as well as the western countries' determination to prevent Russia from drawing any reward from territorial aggression. Now, a year and a half into the war, Russia's invasion has become an irreversible failure for the Kremlin. Even if Russia's military forces were to now withdraw to the pre-2014 borders, all relations with Ukraine have been permanently damaged. Russia will long be unable to regain the confidence of the western nations as a responsible member of the international community. The danger of a protracted fragmentation between East and West, driven by Russian xenophobia only increases the likelihood of Russia making foreign policy calculations out of desperation. Other former Soviet states, particularly the states of the Caucasus and Central Asia, have avoided being dragged into Russia's imperial aims but have also fallen short of pledging support for Ukrainian defense of its independence. This article surveys the positions of the Eurasian states and analyzes the steps they can make to support Ukraine's peace and independence.

Ukraine's Accession to the European Union, the Most Important Challenges

Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse
University of Warsaw, Poland

The aim of the presentation is to present the most important challenges that accompany Ukraine's accession to the European Union. The analysis will focus on political aspects, including those related to systemic and political changes in the EU itself. In addition, it will concern economic issues, including the accession experience of Central European countries. Finally, it will also analyze the most important challenges in Polish-Ukrainian relations, especially security and energy. The presentation will try to build model, i.e. most expected goals of Ukraine's accession to the EU, and then verify them in relation to the real situation and conditions that may hinder the implementation of ideal goals.

NATO Awakening – The Condition of the Alliance. Threats and Opportunities.

Agnieszka Homańska
Visegrad Insight, University of Warsaw, Poland

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In today's constantly evolving global landscape, no international actor can maintain a long-term strategy without necessary adjustments. Despite being widely regarded as the most effective alliance in the world, NATO did not identify Russia as a primary threat until the 2022 Madrid summit. Until then, the strategy set out in Lisbon a decade earlier focused on the threats widely considered asymmetrical and complex, with no full-scale war looming among transatlantic member states. However, the Russian annexation of Crimea influenced NATO's way of thinking strategically. NATO has shifted from reassuring its allies to taking its first steps in a deterrence policy towards Russia. The pressure was put on the Eastern Flank. The historic – but also symbolic – summit took place in Warsaw, in 2016, i.e., two years after the first Russian illegal act towards Ukraine. Following the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, NATO appears to have awoken. It is clear that there is no room for complacency in the western hemisphere. Yet, it is noteworthy that these changes were only implemented after the war began, indicating that NATO failed to prevent and prepare for the conflict. The purpose of this speech is to present the condition of the alliance before and after the full-scale aggression of Ukraine. It will focus predominantly on how NATO changed from a dormant unit into an actively engaged actor, especially when it comes to the CEE region. Moreover, the reaction of the non-member – or new member states – will be analyzed. The conclusions will provide complex suggestions for the Vilnius summit.

Public Diplomacy as a Dialogue of Cultures and Understanding

Iryna Ivashchuk

West Ukrainian National University, Ukraine

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, the world has undergone dramatic changes. This thesis is a “red thread” carried out in many studies. Most authors attribute changes in the international arena to the collapse of the bipolar system. In general, it seems that the world is really going through a global transformation that covers three levels: 1) the erosion of the Westphalian system; 2) the collapse of the bipolar system of interstate relations; 3) change in the political systems of many states. The uniqueness of the modern political organization (more precisely, the reorganization) of the world lies precisely in the fact that all three processes occur simultaneously, reinforcing each other and forming a synergy effect, or a “perfect storm”.

These tectonic transformations could not but affect public diplomacy, which is understood as the policy of influencing one state on the society of another (other) state, and the influence is carried out precisely for political purposes. At the same time, public diplomacy is part of the implementation of the “soft power” tool, which, according to J. Nye, involves, first of all, the creation of attractiveness. Actually, the idea of attractiveness, when the opposite side voluntarily and consciously makes a choice, is something new that has appeared in connection with the concept of J. Nye and distinguishes it from propaganda. Nevertheless, in this chapter, public diplomacy is considered precisely as a tool of “soft power”.

Public diplomacy is a set of complex tools, attitudes and value orientations. The concept of “public diplomacy” is rather vague, understood differently by different authors. In practice, this causes difficulties in the choice of instruments of influence, and most importantly, in the adequacy of their application in a given situation. The impact on the societies of other states gives rise to opposition, which can result in various forms, up to information wars, which, however, are neither “soft power” nor a manifestation of public diplomacy. Nevertheless, information wars in a number of cases turn out to be an effective means of influence. However, it is important to understand their capabilities and limitations.

Migration of Ukrainian Scientists and Their Adaptation Abroad after the Start of the War in Ukraine

Marta Jaroszewicz, Tetiana Shkoda, Olena Ovchynnikova
Center of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, Poland

As a result of full-scale Russian military aggression against Ukraine on 24 February 2022, Ukraine has been experiencing the largest ever forced migration.

This research attempts to answer the following questions: how scientists who have left the country realize their research/didactic potential in their new place of residence; whether they combine their new tasks with work in Ukrainian universities and, if so, in what way.

The study of the migration of Ukrainian scientists who were forced to leave Ukraine after the Russian aggression on February 24, 2022 is very important for two reasons. First, it makes it possible to assess the specific needs of researchers living in exile and to propose institutional solutions that would take these needs into account. Second, the forced migration of academics is very understudied because usually educational migration is studied in the context of labor migration or the Brain Drain/Brain Gain dichotomy, while current academic migration is mostly transnational and temporary in nature.

Most of the respondents are women with extensive professional experience. Countries where respondents/surveyed: Poland and Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Czech Republic and Estonia. Almost all respondents are employed in new countries of residence and work by profession. At the same time, the majority of respondents maintain contact with Ukraine, work remotely or continue scientific activities. The interviewees emphasized that the war destroyed their scientific plans, and emigration abroad was forced (due to the need to evacuate, destroyed apartments, fear for children, etc.).

As for adaptation to the new reality, the respondents emphasized that access to support programs had the most positive impact on their professional situation. The most important factors that influenced the possibility of finding a job/grant/project are the previous experience of cooperation with universities abroad and staying abroad, as well as the knowledge of scientists from these countries. Other factors contributing to adaptation include knowledge of foreign languages, participation in language courses, psychological support, etc. Given the uncertainty of the military situation, almost all interviewees emphasized that they cannot have clear plans or predict when they will return to Ukraine.

The results of the study will serve as empirical material for planning programs to support Ukrainian scientists by academic and financial institutions, providing knowledge about the specific professional and life challenges faced by Ukrainian scientists affected by the war.

Sliding into Autocracy: The Erosion of Civil Rights in Russia, Its Ramifications and Impact on the War

Daria Korolenko
OVD-Info, Russia

Sliding into Autocracy: the erosion of civil rights in Russia, its ramifications and impact on the War this conference proposal seeks to shed light on the evolving landscape of Russia's political system since the early 2000s, examining the progressive stages of its slide into autocracy. By analyzing key legal milestones, this article aims to identify the spheres of society that have been particularly impacted by restrictions on civil rights. Furthermore, it explores the interconnectedness between the current persecutions of the anti-war movement and the broader regression of civil liberties in Russia. Drawing on a comprehensive range of sources and empirical data, this research endeavors to present a detailed account of the legal turning points that have shaped Russia's political trajectory. It will analyze the specific areas within society where the curtailment of civil rights has been most prevalent, encompassing freedom of expression, assembly, and association, as well as This conference proposal seeks to shed light on the evolving landscape of Russia's political system since the early 2000s, examining the progressive stages of its slide into autocracy. By analyzing key legal milestones, this article aims to identify the spheres of society that have been particularly impacted by restrictions on civil rights. Furthermore, it explores the interconnectedness between the current persecutions of the anti-war movement and the broader regression of civil liberties in Russia. Drawing on a comprehensive range of sources and empirical data, this research endeavors to present a detailed account of the legal turning points that have shaped Russia's political trajectory. It will analyze the specific areas within society where the curtailment of civil rights has been most prevalent, encompassing freedom of expression, assembly, and association, as well as the independent media and non-governmental organizations. In addition, this article will investigate the relationship between the ongoing persecutions of the anti-war movement and the overall erosion of civil rights in Russia. By examining key statistical data, it will highlight the scale and impact of these persecutions on dissenting voices, activists, and human rights defenders. The aim is to underscore how the targeted suppression of the anti-war movement constitutes a crucial element in the larger framework of Russia's autocratic tendencies. Ultimately, this research argues that the long-term restriction of civil rights in Russia serves as a significant factor contributing to the full-scale invasion of Ukraine. By curbing democratic processes, stifling opposition, and limiting freedom of expression, the Russian government has fostered an environment where military aggression becomes more likely. The article will emphasize the connections between the erosion of civil rights and the motivations and justifications for such

foreign policy actions. the independent media and non-governmental organizations. In addition, this article will investigate the relationship between the ongoing persecutions of the anti-war movement and the overall erosion of civil rights in Russia. By examining key statistical data, it will highlight the scale and impact of these persecutions on dissenting voices, activists, and human rights defenders. The aim is to underscore how the targeted suppression of the anti-war movement constitutes a crucial element in the larger framework of Russia's autocratic tendencies. Ultimately, this research argues that the long-term restriction of civil rights in Russia serves as a significant factor contributing to the full-scale invasion of Ukraine. By curbing democratic processes, stifling opposition, and limiting freedom of expression, the Russian government has fostered an environment where military aggression becomes more likely. The article will emphasize the connections between the erosion of civil rights and the motivations and justifications for such foreign policy actions.

The Role of First Lady Olena Zelenska in Ukraine's Public Diplomacy after Russian Invasion

Antonina Kozyrska

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, Poland

The First Lady's place in Ukraine's public diplomacy is not formally defined. Nevertheless, already before 2022 Olena Zelenska was raising awareness of her role in Ukraine's soft power activities and working towards strengthening the institution of the First Lady. With the onset of full-scale Russian aggression, she faced new challenges in addition to her usual functions focusing on humanitarian and charitable activities. Until the first foreign visit of the Ukrainian President in December 2022, she represented her country abroad, as it were, 'in place of' her husband. Although modest and shy, she handled the task brilliantly. She represented Ukraine with dignity at meetings with state leaders, in international organizations, taking part in important political, economic and cultural events. She appealed to the world for greater support for her struggling homeland. She particularly publicized the subject of the fate of civilians, especially children and mothers, during the armed conflict. She drew attention to their physical and mental health, deportations, child deaths, the fate of orphans, educational problems, refugee problems, and the problems of preserving Ukrainian cultural heritage. She has participated in and initiated several social, cultural, educational activities, with the participation of the private sector, NGOs, the Ukrainian diaspora, women's circles, to help Ukraine, to increase the presence of the Ukrainian language and book in the world. Thus, Olena Zelenska strengthened the positive image of the President and the Ukrainian state, contributed to building a pro-Ukrainian coalition of

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states and non-state actors. In the eyes of international opinion, she became not only a model First Lady, but also the ‘female face of Ukraine’, a symbol of all Ukrainian wives and mothers who fought with determination and dignity for a free and secure future for their children and the Ukrainian people.

Soviet Monuments as a Security Threat: Insights from Central and Eastern Europe

Aleksandra Kuczyńska-Zonik

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Poland

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31 years after the fall of communism, there are still hundreds of monuments commemorating Red Army in Central and Eastern Europe. Originally, the Soviet monuments symbolized the liberation from the occupation and the victory of the Soviet Army over Nazism, and they have still been significant for some communities in this region. At the same time, they embody the painful experiences of the communist regime, enslavement and the long presence of Soviet troops. While many monuments were removed from the public space in 90. After the fall of communism, some of them have remained, arousing much controversy and often causing sharp social divisions. The starting point for the discussion is the changing meaning of Soviet monuments in Central and Eastern Europe, determined by domestic and international situation. The paradigm of heritage (Gregory J. Ashworth) and concept of securitization (Barry Buzan) were applied to indicate that the annexation of Crimea (2014) and the Russian invasion of Ukraine (2022) has updated the priorities in the field of historical policy in these countries. The Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) and Poland were selected for the analysis as an act of reconceptualizing the Soviet monuments was a consequence of Russia's pressure on them and a need to strengthen their national identity. The process of redefining the meaning of Soviet monuments will run in two ways: while legislative procedures and changes of public space will be introduced faster (greater social acceptance for such activities results from solidarity with Ukraine), it will be more difficult in the long run to modify social awareness and memory contained in the symbolism of monuments.

“Internationalized” Ukrainian Civil Societies One of the Significant Factors of Ukrainian Resistance in the Russian-Ukrainian War

Andrii Kutsyk

Research Institute for European Policy, Poland

At the beginning and during the Russian-Ukrainian war, Ukrainian civil society was forced from challenges and struggles in the domestic arena to quickly switch to the struggle on the external front. At the same time, Ukrainian civil society had to go through a certain “internationalization” stage. That is, on the one hand, collective and rapid adaptation to work with the new environment (the West), on the other hand, to continue political cooperation between Ukraine and the Western political and civil world at a different level (not object-subject, but subject-subject).

When Putin started the war against Ukraine, he not only misjudged the possibility of military resistance on the part of the Ukrainians. He also did not realize the power of civil society in Ukraine as an overriding factor that could stand in his way of occupying Ukraine.

Advancing International Support to Ukraine: Unifying the West and Revitalizing Global Security Efforts.

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Denys Lishchynovskyi

Odesa I. I. Mechnykov National University, Ukraine

The conflict in Ukraine has posed significant challenges to regional stability and international security. This paper explores the importance of advancing international support to Ukraine as a means of unifying the West and revitalizing global security efforts. By examining the multifaceted dimensions of the Ukraine war and its implications for international and European security, this study underscores the critical role of international aid in addressing the crisis and achieving lasting peace.

The paper begins by analyzing the geopolitical significance of Ukraine in the context of international security. Ukraine’s strategic location and historical ties to both Western and Eastern Europe make it a crucial focal point for regional stability. The ongoing conflict in Ukraine not only threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country but also poses broader implications for international norms, deterrence, and the balance of power in Europe, both from the realist and liberal perspectives.

Furthermore, this study highlights the importance of Western unity in providing sub-

stantial aid to Ukraine. By consolidating support from Western nations, including diplomatic, economic, and military assistance, a unified front can be established to address the root causes of the conflict and deter further aggression. The paper explores the potential for increased collaboration and coordination among Western countries, emphasizing the need for a comprehensive approach that combines political engagement, economic assistance, and security cooperation.

In addition, the analysis focuses on the revitalization of global security efforts through international aid to Ukraine. The conflict in Ukraine has highlighted the urgency of strengthening international security mechanisms and reinforcing the commitment to collective defense. By bolstering Ukraine's security capabilities and supporting its reforms, the West can send a clear message of solidarity, deter potential aggressors, and contribute to the overall stability and security of the region.

Lastly, this paper examines the implications of international aid for Ukraine's long-term stability and resilience. It emphasizes the importance of not only providing immediate humanitarian relief but also promoting sustainable development, good governance, and institutional reforms. By investing in Ukraine's future, the international community can foster stability, prosperity, and a stronger European neighborhood.

In conclusion, advancing international support to Ukraine is not only crucial for addressing the immediate crisis but also for unifying the West and revitalizing global security efforts. Through a comprehensive and coordinated approach, the West can demonstrate its commitment to the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and international law. By consolidating assistance and promoting sustainable development, the international community can contribute to the stability and security of Ukraine and the broader region, thus reinforcing the foundations of a peaceful and secure world.

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The Battle of David and Goliath: Analysis Information Warfare in Ukraine's Social Media.

Nataliia Lysovets

University of Warsaw, Poland

The research delves into a comprehensive analysis of Russian propaganda and Ukrainian counter-propaganda, providing insights into the intricacies of information warfare and the tactics employed. The primary objective of this study is to examine the dominant narratives of Russian propaganda and Ukrainian counter-propaganda within the Ukrainian information landscape, spanning from February 24, 2022, to April 2023. Information warfare is an indispensable element in contemporary military conflicts has been established.

The author places significant emphasis on the role played by social media platforms, particularly Twitter and Facebook, as pivotal channels for information dissemination, commanding high levels of trust among users. The research sheds light on the distinctive characteristics of the post-truth era within the realm of social media and its intricate relationship with propaganda.

Based on the analysis of the main narratives of Russian propaganda, the study identifies the key propaganda methods employed in the Ukrainian information space, including personality cult, disinformation, FUD, labeling, rationalization, selective truth, primacy effect, “third-person” technique, and others. Special attention is given to information warfare, specifically the techniques of counter-propaganda used in Ukraine. Despite the existence of methodological recommendations regarding information hygiene, social media users have demonstrated emotional perception and dissemination of fake information. The obtained results indicate the necessity of enhancing information literacy and conscious perception of information to overcome the influence of propaganda.

The Reaction of the Financial System of Ukraine to the War with the Russian Federation

Ruslan Motoryn

Kyiv National University of Trade and Economics, Ukraine

The article analyses the impact of Russia’s armed aggression on the financial sector of Ukraine. The consequences of Russia’s attack on Ukraine have affected the entire world economy and Europe in particular. The features of the impact of the war on the economy in domestic conditions are revealed. The continuation of the war exacerbates most of the risks. The largest one, credit risk, is already being realized and the losses from it will grow in the future. Financial institutions are gradually recognizing credit losses and reflecting the impact of negative events on asset quality. The National Bank of Ukraine restored the requirements for credit risk assessment and, in particular, for calculating the number of days past due on loans. Limited demand for loans, especially from households, worsening portfolio quality, and higher provisioning increases profitability risks.

The dynamics of the ratio of the volume of loans, bank deposits and other indicators of the financial sector of Ukraine was analysed. The role of bank lending in combating the consequences of military aggression is revealed, and measures aimed at mitigating its negative impact on the economy are substantiated.

An analysis of the dynamics of indicators of non-banking financial institutions was also made. They have just begun to recover from the negative impact of the pandemic, they have felt all the risks of war. Unlike banks, part of the market did not cope with

operational risks: financial institutions stopped working, processes were disrupted, and information was lost. Currently, only about two-thirds of the sector submits financial statements. The volume of transactions of non-banking financial institutions has significantly decreased. Demand for insurance and lending has fallen, the quality of the loan portfolio of credit unions and financial companies is deteriorating.

Measures aimed at improving the state of the financial sector of Ukraine are substantiated.

Keywords: financial sector, war, banking, loans, deposits,
non-bank financial institutions.

Russia's Central Asian Security Policy in the Putin Era: Tools for Intervention and Control

Etibar Musayev

The Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland

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Central Asia has been a strategically important region that has the historical background of Eurasia and at the same time Russia has dominated at certain periods throughout history or always wanted to dominate. This region, where great historical wars have been experienced for centuries, has always had an important place in the relations established by Russia in Eurasia, whether in peace or in war. Russia has maintained these relations in the continent, especially in Central Asia, through different states established over time. On the other hand, Central Asia is a rich region with significant energy resources. This has taken an important place in the relations of the region with other states. In particular, we can evaluate the mutual relationship between the states that emerged in the region after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia within the framework of this importance. These relations, especially with the organizations that were established after the 2000s or tried to be developed further, have an important place in today's politics. Central Asia. Therefore, we can see this in the Soviet Union period or in Russia's policies after the 1990s. Especially after 2000, with Vladimir Putin becoming the President of Russia, policies on this region gained vitality in every field. If we take into account that one of the most important of these dimensions is security, we can see the other reflection of the importance of Central Asia for Russia and other states in the regionally established security and cooperation organizations. In this context, we can cite the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which was formed with the participation of other states related to the region within the scope of developing relations with Russia and Central Asia, and tried to be effective. On the other hand, we can see that Russia

is trying to extend the terms of use of the military bases left from the Soviet Union in the region and to establish new military bases. Therefore, we can evaluate all these approaches of Russia within the scope of its unwillingness to lose its influence and power in the region and its unwillingness to allow 'foreign' forces to intervene in the region. In the study, the importance of Central Asia for Russia and the security dimension of the relations developed within the framework of this importance will be discussed. In particular, the Collective Security Treaty Organization and Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which were developed within the scope of Russia's military bases in Central Asia and military relations, and formed with the participation of other states related to the region, will be mentioned. In this context, the Collective Security Treaty Organization's decision to send soldiers to this country and intervene in the crisis after the protests in Kazakhstan in 2022 will be emphasized. As a result, some evaluations will be made.

The Discourse of Women's Resistance in Belarus

Olena Nikolayenko

Fordham University, USA

Women's marches have been a hallmark of mass mobilization against the regime in the aftermath of the 2020 fraudulent election and the disproportionate use of police force against participants in peaceful post-election protests. Many participants in women's marches carried protest signs. Based upon an original data set of protest signs, this study examines the discourse of women's resistance to multiple forms of oppression in an authoritarian regime. Specifically, the study analyzes how women articulated their grievances, proposed a course of action, and constructed the identities of protesters and their opponents. Using a critical approach to discourse analysis, the study demonstrates how women contested the dominant power relations and redefined their role in society. In conveying their dissatisfaction with the incumbent government, female protesters focused on police brutality, stolen elections, and state censorship of mass media. As a solution to the political stalemate, women demanded the autocrat's resignation and the release of political prisoners. Empirical analysis reveals that women also used protest signs as a platform for the reassertion of women's agency and the ridicule of the strongman. Meanwhile, protest messages called for the unity of protesters, fear management, and commitment to nonviolence in the hostile political climate. It is also noteworthy that humor was an integral part of women's claim-making in the suffocating political environment. The study contributes to interdisciplinary literature on social movements and gender by scrutinizing the content of protest slogans as a medium for political communication between the incumbent government and the protest movement in an authoritarian regime.

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The Ukrainisation of Society and Culture in Contemporary Ukraine

Paweł Nowak

University of Warsaw, Poland

The Ukrainian language has historically posed a challenge to Russian control over Ukraine. Russian rulers sought to either russify Ukrainians or increase the Russian-speaking population in 'Ukraine, aiming to diminish the distinct linguistic and cultural identity of Ukrainians. However, with the ongoing Ukrainian-Russian war and Russia's aggressive actions, the Ukrainian language has emerged as a powerful symbol of resistance. Public support for Ukrainization has grown, leading to significant efforts to derussify the slate.

As the conflict unfolded, Ukrainians began to perceive language not only as a social matter but as a deeply political one. The successive actions of the Russian Federation, such as the annexation of Crimea, the war in the Donbas regions and full-scale aggression in 2022, further solidified the Ukrainian language as a unifying force against the aggressor, while the Russian language became increasingly associated with the enemy and occupier. This shift in perception has fueled public support for the Ukrainization of public life, resulting in measures such as increased quotas for Ukrainian programs on television, promotion of Ukrainian music on the radio, Ukrainization of education, and mandatory use of the Ukrainian language by government officials and service providers.

The ongoing Ukrainian-Russian war has been instrumental in reshaping the relationship between Ukrainians and Russians. It has challenged the Kremlin's claims of unity between the two peoples and debunked the notion of the Ukrainian language being artificial. The collective efforts of Ukrainian society have solidified a distinct Ukrainian identity separate from Russian identity, with the Ukrainian language firmly established as their mother tongue. Consequently, a widespread resurgence of the Russian language in Ukrainian public life similar to the pre-war period seems unlikely in the foreseeable future.

Ukrainian Public Diplomacy in the Middle East during the War

Ihor Ostash

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukraine

The Middle East region politically is very conservative and has been in the grip of Russian narratives for many years. A huge information machine, which includes such TV Channel as Russia Today, is constantly spreading disinformation about the war in Ukraine. The Ukrainian diplomatic service in the countries of the Middle East tried to use the different instruments of soft power to resist Russian narratives. One of the main elements of the hybrid war is also the information war; therefore one of the priorities of the activities of the Ukrainian diplomatic missions was coordinated information activities, cooperation with such important media institutions as Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, the Lebanese television channels MTV and LBC and others. Cultural diplomacy also became an important element in this struggle, in particular, the holding of television marathons, Ukrainian film festivals, in the framework of which films about the war were shown, as well as numerous charity art exhibitions and concerts. A very important argument in this complex confrontation was the coordinated cooperation of Ukrainian diplomatic missions with the embassies of European and J7 countries, including cultural diplomacy events.

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Today's Foreign Policy of Ukraine: a Tough Way to Forge Peace

Kseniia Pashaieva

The Hennaddii Udovenko Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, Ukraine

This paper examines the fundamentals of the Ukrainian foreign policy. It reveals its priority directions and discusses the Ukrainian peace formula.

The research highlights the dynamic nature of country's foreign policy and response to the complex security environment. It identifies the challenges posed by Russia's aggressive actions and analyzes the strategies employed by Ukraine to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The paper studies the priority directions of Ukraine's foreign policy, emphasizing its efforts to strengthen diplomatic relations, enhance economic cooperation, and promote regional stability. It examines the country's engagement in strategic partnerships as key elements of its foreign policy approach.

In addition, the research delves into the Ukrainian peace formula, exploring the diplo-

matic initiatives and negotiations aimed at resolving the conflict with Russia. It analyzes the impact of these peace efforts on Ukraine's foreign policy orientation and its pursuit of resolution to the ongoing conflict.

Furthermore, the current study researches Ukraine's aspirations for Euro-Atlantic integration, examining its strategic alignment with NATO and the European Union. It investigates the challenges and opportunities Ukraine faces in pursuing its European aspirations amidst the backdrop of ongoing war.

Thus, the presented paper provides a comprehensive overview of the current foreign policy of Ukraine. By analyzing challenges, priorities, and aspirations of Ukraine in the face of Russian aggression, it sheds light on the dynamic nature of Ukraine's foreign relations and its strategic response to regional security concerns.

Nothing About Ukraine Without Ukraine: How Ukraine Envisages the Post-War Security Order

Olena Podvorna

Russian, East European, and Eurasian Center,
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, USA

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The international security order existed before Russia's full-scale war, suffered greatly from inconsistency and inefficiency, being constantly called into question by leading world's actors. On February 24, 2022 the security order established after World War II collapsed. Though the world has not acknowledged it officially, preferring to say that it has been brutally violated by Moscow. However, the situation is much worse, as Russia doesn't abide by the UN Charter principles and threatens the world with a nuclear war on a regular basis. As long as the war goes, different visions and initiatives concerning the post-war order appear. However, there is a consensus that Ukraine should have a leading voice in those discussions and the post-war security arrangements. A lot of ideas generated by the Western politicians on how the future security order should look like develop according to the progress in the war. But they resemble the Western mindset combined with an idea of a peaceful treaty with Russia. Ukraine has a different vision, which is often viewed as radical and unrealistic. But, a lot of Ukrainian initiatives assessed in such a way, later turned out to be fulfilled.

The paper analyzes Ukrainian security initiatives. These ideas concern redesigning of the global security order, including the UN reform, and the regional security order, namely Central and Eastern Europe. Special attention is given to Russia and its new, substantially diminished, position in the international arena, and in the international institutions.

Russia's War with Ukraine: from Antological (In)security to Postmodern Neo-totalitarianism.

Oleksii Polegkyi

Institute of Political Studies Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

The paper explains the reasons for the Russian offensive against Ukraine not only in terms of national security and the Putin regime's fear of democratization, but also offers a reflection on the ideological foundations prevalent in Russian society. This will help us understand how, in light of the core values and characteristics of that society, Ukraine has been portrayed as both a threat for Russian identity and an existential threat for Russia.

It is clear that the war in Ukraine played a key role in mobilizing Russian society and maintaining support for Putin's regime. Ultimately, the war became a turning point in Russia's foreign policy, and strengthened Russian neo-totalitarianism. The Russian invasion of Ukraine was undoubtedly aimed at gaining support at home and strengthening Putin's regime, but war is also integral to Putin's project of Russia. Putin's imperial thrust is rooted in the internal dynamics of his system. The current Russian regime is not so much based on ideology as it is trying to turn its propaganda clichés into an ideological platform. On the other hand, the war is accelerating the process of change in Russia – the current situation could lead to the collapse of Putin's regime and even the disintegration of Russia itself as it was formed after the collapse of the USSR.

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“Doubly Marginalized”: The Specifics of the Political, Social, and Economic Migration of Belarusians in the Context of the Russian Attack on Ukraine

Maxim Rust

University of Warsaw, Poland

The aim of this paper is to present a specific case of the migration of Belarusians to Poland following the Russian attack on Ukraine in February 2022. On one hand, internal repression in Belarus has been escalating continuously since the 2020 presidential elections, which has already caused a significant wave of migration. On the other hand, a specific phenomenon of “double displacement” emerged – after 2020, a portion of the pro-democratic Belarusian society migrated to Ukraine. However, after the Russian attack, many of them had to emigrate again, this time to Poland.

The specifics of such a migration nexus will be presented. Political migration will be examined as a continuation of the trends from 2020, with particular emphasis on the role of alternative centers of power and counter-elites, as well as the reinforcement of repressive legislation. Social aspects will involve the deterioration of living conditions and prospects for development for the non-political segment of Belarusian society ("ordinary people", not political activists or civil society). In the economic sphere, there will be a focus on the exacerbation of the exodus of private businesses and their relocation.

Another important issue is the change in the perception of Belarusians resulting from Russia's conducted policies, in the context of being a co-aggressor state. This has significantly influenced the functioning of the Belarusian diaspora in Poland.

New Waves of Belarusian Migration in Poland. Reasons and Predictions

Anton Saifullayev

University of Warsaw, Poland

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This paper investigates the recent influx of Belarusian migrants to Poland after 2020, taking into account the context of the ongoing war in Ukraine. The study aims to explore the factors influencing this migration, the characteristics of the Belarusian migrants, and their integration experiences in Poland.

Against the backdrop of the Ukraine conflict, the study examines how the regional instability and geopolitical dynamics have influenced the migration patterns of Belarusian citizens. It explores the interplay between political factors, security concerns, and economic opportunities, which have prompted Belarusians to seek refuge or better prospects in Poland.

Through an analysis of available data and information, this research provides insights into the demographic composition of the Belarusian migrant population, including age, gender, and educational background. It also investigates their experiences in finding employment, accessing services, and adapting to the socio-cultural context of Poland, considering the additional challenges they may face due to their exposure to the effects of the war in Ukraine.

The study further explores the ways in which Belarusian migrants navigate their sense of belonging, including maintaining connections to their homeland, engaging with their heritage, and negotiating their dual or hybrid identities. It also examines the role of community support, social networks, and cultural organizations in fostering a sense of belonging and providing a platform for cultural expression and identity maintenance.

One History behind Soviet Policy

Azizbek Saparnyazov

Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Uzbekistan

This article will focus on the socio-economic and cultural life of Karakalpakstan, which is one of the former Soviet countries. A country that left the Soviet system 32 years ago, but a country that the Soviet system does not want to let go in any way. Also, this paper examines the history of the Aral Sea crisis, which is a direct consequence of the disastrous policy of the Soviet government and which is today one of the global environmental disasters of our time.

Ukrainian Political Elites in a Time of War: Volodymyr Zelensky and His Possible Opponents in the 2024 Elections

Anzhelika Savchuk-Konarska

University of Wrocław, Poland

The aim of the paper is a predictive assessment of the actions of Ukrainian elites during the war. Volodymyr Zelensky and his internal and external political actions are the central figures consideration. As the author has decided that the correct approach to the question is to examine the role of competition in the forthcoming 2024 elections and Zelensky's possible rivals. This paper will be devoted such well-known figures in Ukraine politics and media as Serhiy Prytula, Natalia Moseichuk, Dmytro Gordon and Vitalii Zaluzhny.

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New Public Diplomacy in Context Public Administration

Liliia Shevchenko

Petro Mohyla Black Sea National University, Ukraine

The article analyzes the concept of public diplomacy and strategic communications, examines the implementation of the concept of «soft power» in the foreign policy of Ukraine due to the modern digitalization of the world community. The circle of participants, technological and media environment, methods, as well as features of the practical implementation of new public diplomacy have been investigated. The features of using the tools of cultural diplomacy to support and promote the national interests of

Ukraine have been determined. The process of formation of new institutional structures is identified in the article and based on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy, that is supposed to be responsible for new public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, as it is especially important in the context of external aggression and negative propaganda against Ukraine. The necessity of introduction of socio-cultural projects, both inside the country and abroad, strengthening of the project component in public administration is substantiated. Purpose of the article is to analyze the approaches to defining the concept of new public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, their content and essence in public administration. Methods. In the study the methods of comparison, analysis and synthesis, methods of induction and deduction have been used. The main results of the study are the substantiation that new public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy in Ukraine are just beginning to develop actively and today face many problems, in particular, due to the lack of unified coordination of the work of different cultural centers, the lack of a unified state strategy. Conclusions. Developing a public consensus in the implementation of the policy of new public diplomacy is today almost the main task, because Ukrainian cultural initiatives that reach the international level must be internally agreed and reflect the general consensus.

The Education System in Ukraine in the Conditions of War. Diagnosis of Resilient Support Strategies.

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Wojciech Siegień

University of Białystok, Poland

The presented text will deal with the state of the education system in Ukraine functioning for over a year in the conditions of warfare. After the change of power as a result of the Revolution of Dignity, there were several systemic reforms. In the case of the education system, the new authorities proposed a reform (New Ukrainian School), which for the first time since gaining independence introduced fundamental, but more importantly, comprehensive changes in the field of education. The reform, whose implementation was planned over several years, came into force in 2017. The first test of the stability of the new education system in Ukraine was the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, followed by the full-scale aggression of the Russian Federation in February 2022.

The presentation will analyse data on the state of the education system primarily in the areas that were under occupation and liberated by the state in spring 2023 and those in the immediate vicinity of the hostilities. The situation of institutions in the Kharkiv, Luhansk and Donetsk regions will therefore be discussed. The first part of

the presentation will show aggregated and synthesised data extracted from the public domain, through which the actual state of educational infrastructure, massively destroyed during the hostilities, will be depicted. This data will form the backdrop for the presentation of identified strategies for dealing with the effects of warfare by specific educational institutions in particular areas. An important part of the presentation will also look at what coping strategies have been developed at the level of microstructures, i.e. the direct interaction between teachers, students and parents. The whole will allow for an initial general assessment of the resilience of an education system that has been subjected to a radical upheaval while being in the process of implementing profound systemic changes.

Based on the conclusions drawn from the presented data and identified action strategies, as well as on the experience of other countries dealing for years with the effects of warfare, terrorist threats or resulting from other disasters (e.g. natural catastrophes), it will be possible to propose enriching the action strategies with those that support the overall resilience of the system, but also the individual resilience of participants in the education system in Ukraine.

Presentation of the Report “Citizens of Ukraine on the Polish Labour Market. New Challenges and Perspectives” (EWL Migration Platform and the Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw)

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Michalina Sielewicz

EWL Migration Platform, Poland

The fourth edition of the report ‘Citizens of Ukraine on the Polish labour market. New challenges and perspectives’ was developed after analysing the results of the sociological study conducted between 4 and 13 March 2023 by the EWL Migration Platform, the EWL Foundation and the Centre for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw. 500 adult Ukrainian citizens who are currently staying in Poland were surveyed, both those who arrived before 24 February 2022 (pre-war migrants) and those who came to Poland after the outbreak of the war (war refugees). 2022 was a special year from the perspective of the shaping the migration landscape in Poland and the world. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine led to one of the largest refugee crises in recent European history. This event has dramatically changed the nature of cross-border mobility, as economic migrants were joined by war refugees, most of whom then also found a place on the labour market.

The report will answer key questions, in particular:

- HOW has the profile of Ukrainian citizens staying in Poland changed?
- ARE Ukrainian citizens going to apply for permanent residence in Poland and for Polish citizenship?
- DO children of migrants and refugees from Ukraine benefit from the Polish education system?
- HOW has the percentage of Ukrainian citizens working in accordance with their qualifications changed?
- WHAT fosters the integration of Ukrainian citizens in Poland?

Fake News and Fake Views: Representation of Ukrainian War in Media and Social Networks

Alexander Smoljanski

Integrum WorldWide, Germany

The paper shows the strategies of Russian information war against Ukraine in mass media and social networks.

The results are based on statistical corpora analysis of dozens of thousands of Russian newspapers, magazines, political websites, newswires and TV reports alongside with the analysis of dozens of million posts in the most popular social networks such as Telegram, Twitter, VKontakte and Odnoklassniki.

The major ideological concepts are being analyzed, among them war vs special military operation, можем повторить (we can do it again), с нами бог (God is with us), red lines (Красные линии), постсоветское пространство (post-Soviet space), русская цивилизация (Russian civilization), коллективный запад (collective West), традиционные ценности (traditional values).

A special analysis concerns Ukraine related hate speech.

The paper shows how Russian propaganda constantly changes the concepts it uses for justification of the war and tries to find a vocabulary to describe the war.

The results of social networks analysis show different ways of representation of Ukrainian war depending on geographical location, gender and age of the bloggers.

Decline in Students Studying Russian at Language Schools in London: Exploring Motivations and the Emergence of Ukrainian Language and Culture

Iryna Sokal

International House London, UK

This article investigates the significant decline in students studying Russian at language schools in London since February 2022. Historically, individuals enrolled in Russian language programs for various reasons, including professional requirements (e.g., lawyers with Russian-speaking clients), family connections (Russian-speaking partner or spouse), tourism, or a fascination with a different culture and alphabet. However, recent trends suggest a notable decrease in Russian language enrolment (face-to-face and online), while simultaneously highlighting a potential shift of interest towards Ukrainian language and culture, particularly within the group interested in different cultures and alphabets.

By analyzing data from language schools, conducting student interviews, and gathering teachers' insights, this research provides a comprehensive understanding of the driving forces behind these changing enrolment patterns. The data in the chart belongs to International House London and includes the period before, during and after COVID-19 pandemic (from May 2019 to May 2023).

The article identifies several primary factors contributing to the decline in students studying Russian. Firstly, within the professional realm (group 1), the motivation for learning Russian remains relatively consistent, as lawyers and professionals with Russian-speaking clients still recognize the importance of the language for their work. Similarly, within the family context (group 2), individuals maintain their interest in learning Russian due to their relationships with Russian-speaking partners or spouses (not necessarily from Russia).

However, a significant decline is observed within the tourism segment (group 3) due to Russia's aggression towards Ukraine. The geopolitical tensions and negative perception of Russia's actions have resulted in a decrease in interest among individuals seeking to learn Russian for tourism purposes.

Interestingly, the study reveals a potential shift of interest towards Ukrainian language and culture within the group fascinated by different cultures and alphabets (group 4). As Ukraine gains increased global attention, individuals with an inclination for exploring diverse languages and cultures are turning their focus towards Ukrainian. This emerging trend suggests that some students who might have previously chosen to study Russian are now opting for Ukrainian language and cultural studies.

Understanding the decline in students studying Russian and the emergence of interest

in Ukrainian language and culture is essential for language schools, educators, and policymakers. This article provides valuable insights into the changing dynamics of language education in London and offers recommendations for language schools to adapt their programs and cater to the evolving interests of language learners, particularly those gravitating towards Ukrainian studies.

Russia and Ukraine: Can They Ever Be Neighbours Again? Returning to Coexistence after Genocide

Magda Stroińska

McMaster University, Canada

Though the war in Ukraine is still ongoing, it is not too early to ask whether Ukrainians and Russians will ever be able to return to being peaceful neighbours when the struggle ends. The optimistic answer is yes, based on the fact that a similarly tragic events in the past still allowed people divided by wars and genocide to return to a more or less peaceful coexistence. A cautious and more realistic answer is that it depends on what happens before the war ends and how well the post-war relations will be handled.

It has often been stressed in the media that the war between Ukraine and Russia did not begin in February 2022 but much earlier. While military actions against the independent state of Ukraine date back to 2014, the hostilities between the two go back much further, with the so-called red famine or Holodomor, i.e. the Stalin's forced starvation of Ukraine in the 1930s being perhaps the most horrific act of non-military genocide (Applebaum 2018). In the Soviet era, hatred was less ethnic and more ideological. It was the Soviet authorities who led to the mass starvation of the Ukrainians and it was the Soviet army who invaded Western Ukraine in 1939. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Russian Federation inherited the imperial traditions and the conflicts became national rather than purely ideological.

In this paper, we look at the language used by the Russian propaganda to dehumanize Ukrainians and depict them as "enemies" despite very strong traditional ties between the two Slavic nations (linguistic affinity, mixed population, intermarriage, etc.). Following Orwell's insight that "there is no swifter route to the corruption of thought than through the corruption of language," we analyze how the language of the Russian propaganda copies the well-known mechanisms of dehumanizing the enemy. Based on previous observations of ethnic conflicts such as WWII (Goldhagen 1996; Gross 2001), the war in the former Yugoslavia (Stroińska & Popovic 1999, Fridman 2010), or the conflict in Rwanda (Dellaire 2003), we shall try to offer some suggestions about perspectives of reconciliation and coexistence after the Ukrainian genocide. We use materials available in the public domain, in print and online.

The Post-Colonial Comprador Class in Eastern Europe.

Piotr Wiench – Polish writer

The post-communist oligarchs of Eastern Europe and the compradors of post-colonial societies have similar levels of concentration of wealth and power, which is based on their privileged access to government resources and policies. Like compradors, oligarchs are able to use their political connections to secure large-scale economic benefits and accumulate wealth through a variety of industries. They are typically well-connected to the political establishment and have influence over government decisions. Additionally, both oligarchs and compradors are more concerned with their own personal wealth than with the wider interests and welfare of their country or society. The privatization of state-owned assets in the early 1990s in Central Eastern Europe was a major factor in creating the comprador class of oligarchs. This was due to the lack of a regulated market, which allowed those with political connections (oligarchs) to take advantage of the situation and acquire large stakes in companies for a fraction of their actual worth. This allowed them to gain control of the assets, leading to economic gains from monopoly situations or other insider trading scenarios. It also left smaller players in the market unable to compete, leading to an even greater concentration of wealth amongst the oligarchs. Both oligarchs and compradors are also linked to financial crimes, such as money laundering, tax evasion, and corruption. In post-communist countries, the privatization process has been heavily criticized as being full of corruption and cronyism, with oligarchs using their connections to ensure their own economic interests were prioritized. In post-colonial countries, compradors have often been linked to shady business deals, as they are often more focused on their own personal gain rather than the welfare of their country. In both cases, those with power and money have been able to use it to their advantage and accumulate more resources than the rest of society. The comprador class of oligarchs often display a sense of immunity and superiority in relation to the native populations they are exploiting. This often manifests itself in a resentment of the natives, who they perceive as a threat to their position of power or their own financial advancement. This is due to the fact that the native populations are often excluded from the economic opportunities that the comprador class has access to. As a result, compradors tend to view the native populations as inferior and a source of competition that needs to be marginalized or even repressed.

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Tajik Migrants and Refugees in Poland after 2015. Political and Legal Aspects

Ludwika Włodek

University of Warsaw, Poland

In the last decade Poland becomes more and more important aim for the migrants and refugees from Central Asia, Tajikistan especially. First relevant group of Tajiks came to Poland in 2015, after the president Rakhmon banned the Party of Islamic Renaissance. In the same time Poland becomes an attractive work place for those migrant workers who left Russia because of dropping rubel price.

New wave of migration is provoked by two independent factors. First is farther crisis in Russian economy connected to its political activity, especially war on Ukraine. Second has political background: pacification of the Pamir region by Dushanbe caused mass immigration of Pamiri Tajiks from Tajikistan and from Russia as well because they could not feel safe there anymore.

I will try to explain the reasons of migration and asylum seeking by Tajiks in Poland. I will also compare their situation to the situation of other migrants from former soviet countries, i.e. Belarus. Tajks are among those asylum seekers who get the denial of status most often.

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Growing Role of Turkey in the Post-Soviet Area: a Challenge or a Chance for the Kremlin?

Konrad Zasztowt

University of Warsaw, Poland

Turkey's role in the post-Soviet area is growing. With its rising influence Ankara is pushing the Kremlin out of the Caucasus and Central Asia regions. Previously, Russia was perceived in Turkey as an informal "master" in the post-Soviet space. In Ankara, therefore, the Kremlin was considered to have the last word on key issues concerning the region. Most republics of the former USSR also did not treat Turkey – unlike Russia – as a close partner or ally. This has now changed. The Russian Federation remains a significant partner for Turkey, but only one of many important ones, among which Azerbaijan occupies the main place. Ankara is also increasingly active in building regional alliances, including bilateral military alliance with Baku (based on the so-called Shusha Declaration of June 15, 2021) and multilateral political alliance with Azerbaijan and the republics of Central Asia within the Organization of Turkic States. At the same time, however, Turkey's Western allies must be prepared for the continua-

tion of its ambivalent foreign policy, involving close cooperation with Russia, including economic, energy, political and even armaments cooperation. Moreover, Ankara is only slightly involved in NATO activities aimed at supporting Ukraine, compared to its potential.

True Athlete: Will War Change the Image of an Athlete

Maryia Zhurava

“Free SPORt” initiative

The launch of the aggression of Russia towards Ukraine has become the real challenge for the Olympic Movement. We used to say that the Olympics stop wars. At the same time the war in Ukraine revealed not only the impossibility to stop it, but also the disputable pattern of the international Olympic movement “keep silent”. To be more precise, the International Olympic Committee developed the set of criteria under which the representatives of Belarus and Russia could participate in international sport. Thus, the criteria include neutral athlete status, non-action of an athlete against the peace mission of the IOC by actively supporting the war in Ukraine, and compliance with the World Anti-Doping Code. Consequently, it could be stated that the response of the international sport to the war is silence. Indeed, the proposed mechanism is insufficient and questionable in its fulfilment.

Additionally, besides being silent Russian and Belarusian pro-regime athletes are used to be the greatest tool of propaganda. It leads to the next level problem – politicization of sport within the so-called principle “sport is outside politics”.

At the same time the athletes of Ukraine and the Belarusian protest athletes have to suspend their participation in international competitions. Within the criteria stated, the Ukrainian athletes have been defending their country and assessed it is unacceptable to compete alongside the Russians. As a result, the only solution for them is a boycott. The situation of the Belarusian protest athletes is even worse. These Belarusian athletes have been under so-called double discrimination: firstly, they were repressed by Lukashenko for speaking up against rigged elections and violence committed in 2020, and, secondly, they have been put in international sports isolation based on the Lukashenko regime’s facilitation in the war. Furthermore, officially more than 20 Belarusian athletes and sports specialists have been recognized to be political prisoners for the struggle set above.

In the light of the above, the IOC created a situation under which the athletes of high moral values who absolutely reflect the nature of the Olympics are deprived of the right to represent their countries at the international level. At the same time, the sports representatives of regimes have been admitted with no requirement except their so-called silence. Herewith, it is a question: whether the international sports community

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will be able to change this pattern and to restore the image of an athlete who will truly be looked up to.

Greening Ukraine – The Precondition for Postwar Reconstruction

Marek Ziolkowski – His Excellency Ambassador

For many decades in the twentieth century, Ukraine was lonely, devoid of alliances. Therefore, it could not count on independence and became part of the USSR for 70 years. Gaining independence in 1991 marked a new pro-Western trend of Ukraine's foreign policy, seeking allied relations with Europe, strategic partnership with Poland and some countries in the region, and extremely difficult relations with Russia. Russia's current war against Kyiv has destroyed Moscow's chances of any strategic partnership with Europe and US. Kyiv, in turn, has unequivocally stabilized its pro-Western trend. In the coming years, Ukraine will make efforts to join EU and to gain security guarantees from NATO. Ukraine will also reshape your economy by moving away from the geopolitics of fossil fuels to green economy.

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Many predictions about Ukraine are made in dramatic war circumstances. The Ukrainian political elite and their friends from the West are making attempts to prepare all possible scenarios for the reconstruction of Ukraine, despite the risk of unpredictability. We do not know exactly when the moment of specific investments will come and which sector will require what support, but one of the ways to win this war, also by the West, is precisely to prepare for the success of Ukraine and help its post-war reconstruction. In the economic field, this could be an ambitious joint goal by Europe, the US and Ukraine, in which this country is not only to be cared for, but part of a policy to phase out fossil fuels and move towards a low-carbon economy.

The post-war reconstruction of Ukraine will be a period in which this country will restore economic stability, but above all it will construct its subjectivity and alliances in neighborly relations and in the world. After winning the war with Russia, Ukraine may become a strong pro-Western asset – political, economic and military in this part of Europe.



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