

Iryna KRESINA¹

National Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine
National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine
ORCID: 0000-0003-0771-9707

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Iryna RYBAK

KROK University, Ukraine
ORCID: 0000-0002-4165-8154

CONSCIANTAL WAR AGAINST UKRAINE: PUTINISM VS UKRAINIAN IDENTITY

INTRODUCTION

At various historical stages, the strategy of existence of the Russian government invariably included the goals of destroying any manifestations of Ukrainian statehood and identity (language, culture, memory). In other words, anti-Ukrainianism is a strategy of Russia's state policy, embodied not only within the framework of its official political discourse and propaganda, but also at the level of specific policies dating back to the time of the empire and with certain caveats even earlier, during the times of Moscovia. To date, in Russia, there has not been a final and complete "overcoming" of the painful imperial soviet totalitarian legacy. The process of democratic transformation of society has also stagnated in connection with the establishment of V. Putin's power and the simultaneous growth of his regime's aggressive rhetoric and actualization of the intentions of Russian "cold war" era policy.

Thus, the processes of gradual restoration of the political dictatorship to the level of soviet totalitarianism are taking place in Russia. This is combined with the doctrinal ideology of Russian imperial chauvinism and aims at the revival of the "empire" within the borders of the USSR. This is a strategy of aggressive absorption of independent states formed in the contours of the former Soviet Union, which had a long period of latent implementation. Among the variety of methods are hybrid and proxy wars; the creation of fake pseudo-states, such as "LNR," "DNR;" annexation of Crimea; formation of fake identities and identity concepts, such as "Novorossiya," "ruskiy mir," "crimean spring;" the case of Belarus – the formation of the "union state of Russia and Belarus;" the case of unrecognized political entities, including Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Transnistria; bringing high-ranking officials of the highest-ranking countries-agents of the Kremlin's influence into the political system, etc. This is far from an exhaustive list of measures to establish the political hegemony of Russia in the territory of the post-Soviet political system.

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It is noteworthy, that in most cases the military component was not used by Russia or was used in a short-term format to achieve the final result, as was the case in Georgia in 2008. Obviously, the same goal had of the so-called “special military operation” in Ukraine from February 24, 2022. The latter turned into a full-scale war against the Ukrainian people with the aim of their physical extermination and ending resistance to the Russian takeover. It is worth admitting, that the stage of open aggression, which began in 2014 with the annexation of Crimea and the outbreak of war in the East of Ukraine through the fake “LNR” and “DNR,” shows that the main idea of the Putin regime’s hybrid war against Ukraine the final discrediting of the idea of the Ukrainian state and complete destruction of the foundations of its political sovereignty – has not been realized.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the context of the problems of this study, the methods of unconventional warfare, which are based on manipulation and propaganda, are of the greatest interest. In our opinion, the concepts of “hybrid war” and “information war,” which are often used by scientists in relation to Russian policy towards Ukraine, are not sufficiently correlated with the main task of the aggressor towards Ukraine. This is the destruction of the Ukrainian state and the Ukrainian people as an idea. For this, Russia’s war of conscience against Ukraine has been going on for many years, which created institutional and discursive opportunities for the further implementation of all the most odious and brutal elements of aggression. And today, with the tacit consent of the majority of Russian society and in the focus of the video cameras of the world’s TV channels, the genocide of the Ukrainian people is being carried out.

Therefore, the purpose of this article is to conceptualize the essence of Russia’s war against Ukraine as a consensual war, which, in our opinion, is an integral part of the nature of the Russian political regime, which is defined as the regime of the “putinism.”

At the level of a research hypothesis, we state that it is consensual weapons, that allow this political regime to reproduce itself, that is, to provide internal political legitimization. At the same time, the implementation of Russia’s foreign policy strategies of war and aggression necessarily involves the use of consensual weapons against the countries of the post-soviet space. A prominent place in such plans of the aggressor belongs to Ukraine.

It is worth noting that the concept of “consensual war,” especially in relation to Putin’s regime, is not widespread enough at the level of international scientific discourse and only gains relevance in connection with the unfolding of events in Ukraine since February 24 2022. Among the researchers of the phenomenon of “putinism” it is worth noting (Van Herpen, 2013; Van Herpen, 2014; Taylor, 2018). Here we also include researchers of Russian hybrid warfare, etc. (Galeotti, 2019; Snyder, 2022a; Snyder, 2022b). Also of special interest are the modern transformations of democracy, which in the case of “putinism” is a hybrid of authoritarianism and democracy, where Russian chauvinist narratives and populism are spreading (Langdon, Tismaneanu, 2020). There

is a discursive construction of all the ascending elements of “putinism” as a result of large-scale political instrumentalization of the media in Russia. Ukrainian scientific discourse is more sensitive to rethinking the essence of Russian policy towards Ukraine. Among the thorough studies, it is worth noting (Kolodiy, 2015; Kresina, 2022; Kuzio, 2022).

To achieve the goal of the study, such methods as historical-comparative, discourse, system, etc. were used. We are convinced that the actualization of the concept of “consciential war” is appropriate not only in the matter of rethinking the content of modern wars, but also in the context of the formation of mechanisms of national stability, the development of relevant national state strategies. Such processes have already begun in Ukraine, based on the realization that victory in the war against the terrorist regime of the Russian aggressor is impossible without a conceptual change in state strategies and doctrines in the field of identity politics, which is an overriding factor in ensuring national stability. This is exactly what the definition contains Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy “Pro zaprovadzhennia natsionalnoi systemy stiikosti” (Ukaz, 2021).

CONSCIENTIAL WEAPONS AGAINST UKRAINE AND THE ESSENCE OF “PUTINISM”

The Ukrainian question is the most representative litmus test in the analysis of the essence of the modern political regime in Russia. Open calls for the destruction of Ukrainians, denial of the existence of the Ukrainian people, non-recognition of the Ukrainian state and the desire to destroy it are the goals of the Russian state even at the present stage, which were conceptualized at the level of law, public discourse, educational and cultural policy, and therefore are the ideological level of justification embodied by Russia military strategy. That military strategy, which, not in theory, but in practice, has been waging an open war against Ukraine for nine consecutive years, and since February 24, 2022, there has been bombing of populated areas, occupation and abuse of Ukrainians, destruction of historical heritage, looting and deportation of Ukrainians.

The term “denazification” used by Putin’s clique as a pretext for the beginning of the so-called “special military operation” means not only physical, but also ideological terror (intimidation, fear) against the Ukrainian nation, national idea, consciousness and identity, historical memory, foundations of national statehood. And the policy of “denazification” itself is a continuation of the russification and enslavement of Ukraine, which began at the time of the formation of the Russian empire. Therefore, the fight against “Ukrainian nationalism and separatism” looks like a kind of “puzzle:” the Pereyaslavsky (Moscow) articles, the anathema of Mazepa, the destruction of Zaporozhian Sich, the banning of the Ukrainian language, the theft of our history, culture, science – all the time, the red bolshevik terror, the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and peasantry (holodomor-genocide), repression, deportation, occupation, aggression, torture, torture-permanently, throughout history and until now.

Military and violent methods are used by the aggressor not only for territorial annexation or economic exhaustion of Ukraine, but also for the destruction of the founda-

tions of Ukrainian identity, independence, statehood, informational and psychological manipulation of national consciousness, “erasure” of historical memory, ethno-cultural code. The current stage of this terror has revealed this beastly essence of the Russian imperial regime in particularly vivid relief. Therefore, in methodological approaches to the definition of Russian terrorism and scientific assessments of the challenges and threats caused by it, it is necessary to take into account this deeply rooted nature of the Russian politics.

It is important not only to state the presence of obvious manifestations of Russian terror that we observe in our information space, but also to reveal the features of the weapon used by the enemy – consciential, identically destructive, and to redirect its edge against the aggressor himself on the same battlefield – ideological, scientific, cultural, psychological.

The modern global war of Russia against Ukraine has as its object the consciousness of people, their beliefs, civic position, national identity, political and legal culture. And the “consciential weapon” became the main tool in this war. It is an “identically destructive” weapon against the nation’s intellectual potential. The battlefield in the consciousness war is the consciousness of a modern person, his self-identification, values and future goals. It is significant and we think it is no accident that the term was introduced into scientific circulation by the Russian scientist Yu. Gromyko, who identified 5 ways of destroying consciousness in the conscious struggle: 1) brain tissue damage reduces the level of consciousness functioning; it can occur on the basis of the action of chemical substances, long-term poisoning of air, food, directed radiation actions; 2) lowering the level of organization of the information and communication environment based on its disintegration and primitivization, in which consciousness functions and “lives”; 3) occult influence on the organization of consciousness based on the directed transfer of thought forms to the affected subject; 4) special organization and dissemination through communication channels of images and texts that destroy the work of consciousness (conditionally this can be designated as a psychotropic weapon); 5) the destruction of the ways and forms of identification of the individual in relation to fixed communities, which leads to a change in the forms of self-determination and to depersonalization (Gromyko, 1997). These five methods determine the main directions of hybrid aggression: psychological, informational, mental-suggestive, manipulative-destructive, and identity-destructive.

In the writings of Ukrainian scientists, the understanding of consciential warfare was expanded. In particular, G. V. Zadorozhny believes that “consciential war is almost the most important form of realization of global financial and intellectual power, the holders of which have their own special selfish interests and strive for unlimited world domination” (Zadorozhny, 2021: 199). This war is “psychological in form, civilizational in content and informational in means, in which the object of destruction and transformation is the value attitudes of the enemy’s population, as a result of which the primary life goals are replaced by secondary, tertiary and lower, surface-level ones. With the beginning of the consciential war, the influence on the state of mass consciousness is increasing. This war radically changes, first of all, human values due to the change of familiar stereotypes...” (Zadorozhny, 2021: 203). The scientist emphasizes that “The object in the consciential war is the enemy’s cultural shell, and since culture

is the core of civilization, it is about the destruction of civilization...” (Zadorozhny, 2021: 203).

We consider the identically destructive form of consciential weapons to be the most dangerous at present. It changes the consciousness and identification of a person, it is used by the relevant subjects in the intellectual sphere as the most sensitive in terms of influences on consciousness, through the system of education, science, upbringing, social adaptation. Note that the concept of “war of conscience” has not spread in foreign scientific discourse. However, there are many concepts with a similar content, including “information war”, “hybrid war,” “war of meanings,” “cognitive war,” etc. What they have in common is the fact that the struggle against the national consciousness of Ukrainians has become a state strategy of the Putin regime. Until 2014, his efforts led to the latent discrediting of all Ukrainian, after 2014, such a context of goals is undisguised and even defiantly demonstrative on the part of the aggressor. Indeed, Ukrainian identity turned out to be the most vulnerable object of terrorist attacks by the Russian aggressor. Annexations and occupations of territories are accompanied by the destruction of any resistance, intimidation and terror, persecution for demonstrating the pro-Ukrainian position, destruction of cultural objects, schools and universities. At the level of all propaganda media of the terrorist state, stories about Ukraine openly broadcast hatred towards Ukrainians, and the justification of the idea of further territorial expansion and the justification of all crimes against Ukraine continues.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONCEPTS OF “PUTINISM” AND “CONSCIENTIAL WAR”

The key methodological dimension of the studied issues is the disclosure of the content of the close relationship between the concepts “putinism” and “consciential war” in relation to the issue of Ukrainian identity. After all, the functioning of V. Putin’s political dictatorship and its strategies include, among other things, waging an identity (consciential) war against Ukraine as an existential enemy. At the same time, the Russians themselves are the object of the use of consciential weapons by Putin’s ruling regime. In other words, consciential weapons are a very important part of the life cycle of the Putinist dictatorship, both at the domestic and foreign policy levels. It is a means of political survival of this dictatorship over time, a condition for its self-reproduction, and a key basis of legitimating potential in society. After all, without the use of appropriate mobilization strategies in the formation of the image of the external enemy, the implementation of the mechanism of alienation, this political regime will very quickly enter the stage of political devaluation and crisis turbulence.

There are many variations in the conceptual diagnosis of the Russian political regime since V. Putin came to power. This regime by its nature is a hybrid political regime, defined by scholars as “totalitarian democracy” (Langdon, Tismaneanu, 2020), “Putin’s authoritarian sovereign democracy” (Van Herpen, 2013: 145). The content of “putinism” consists in the formation of imitation quasi-democratic institutions that created the illusion of freedom, while in fact the establishment of a modern-day political dictatorship took place. Indeed, the objectivity of a conceptual diagnosis of the Rus-

sian political system is impossible without recognizing the fact of continuous historical durability and continuity, interconnection and cyclic recurrence of features of such phenomena as “imperial chauvinism,” “leninism,” “bolshevism,” “stalinism,” “KG-Bism.” These concrete-historical forms of totalitarianism have not exhausted themselves even now, acquiring new realizations in political reality. Their hybrid mimicry is the political regime of “putinism.” This concept has significant cognitive potential for the analysis of the problems identified in this article.

“Putinism” is defined as “a highly dynamic system that is developing according to an inbuilt logic” (Van Herpen, 2013: 164), at the same time, this system is right-wing radical in the ideological spectrum, and experts predicted its further dynamic radicalization as early as 2013 (Van Herpen, 2013: 147). In addition, researchers note that “Russian Federation is both a postimperial state and a pre-imperial state” (Van Herpen, 2014: 5), which before the arrival of V. Putin felt tired of the empire in post-soviet Russia, and with the arrival of V. Putin, who defined his historical role to rebuild of the lost empire. He needed to rule for at least twenty years without interruption in order to establish a system, that would guarantee the continuity of the empire’s existence (Van Herpen, 2014: 6). To do this, V. Putin “eroded and dismantled democratic reforms, manipulated the party system, introduced fake parties, falsified elections and transformed the ruling United Russia party from centrist to revanchist and ultra-nationalist.” “In Russia internal despotism and external imperialism went hand in hand, like inseparable twin brothers,” – researchers state (Van Herpen, 2014: 17).

“RASHISM” AS THE ALTER EGO OF “PUTINISM”

The opinion of scientists who determine the cultural origins of the specified hybrid regime through the prism of ideology is quite valid, and the: “...the constituting features of the culture that gives way to Putin and the ideology of Putinism. They include historical trends, popular desires for authoritarianism, kleptocratic structures, and various other isms – most notably nationalism, imperialism, militarism, racism, and chauvinism.” Kremlin takes advantage of these features in order to mobilize the Russian population in support of Putin (Langdon, Tismaneanu, 2020: 6).

Consequently, Ukraine found itself in the orbit of the invasive plans of “putinism,” and the hybrid war of conscience against Ukraine took on the features of an existential confrontation. Its intensity has the character of a pendulum swing. From controlling the internal political agenda in Ukraine, by bringing to power their agents of influence, lobbying for loyalty to Russia, surrendering national interests, annexing the public *air-waves of television* (TV) and radio broadcasting for the distribution of Russified media content; cultivate regional confrontation with regional identities (pro-Russian Donbas, anti-Russian Western Ukraine) to a full-fledged invasion and annexation of Ukrainian territories. At the same time, the establishment of the cult of Putin’s personality takes place as a practical embodiment of chauvinistic formulas: “Ukraine does not exist,” “Ukraine was created by Lenin,” “neo-Nazism in Ukraine.” In connection with this, the term “rashism” can be heard more and more often at the level of media and expert discourse (Snyder, 2022a; Snyder, 2022b). Indeed, it only acquires methodological po-

tential in revealing the content of Russian politics. Although scholars are quite careful in defining this policy as a derivative of the term “fascism” and using it to define the content of aggressive forms of Russian nationalism (Laruelle, 2021: 138). However, in our opinion, it is worth agreeing with the statement of the researcher T. Kuzio, that it is precisely in the attitude towards Ukrainian statehood, that all the chauvinism of the modern Russian state is most fully revealed (Kuzio, 2022: 2), which, according to the scientist’s definition, grew into “Russia’s schizophrenia towards Ukraine” (Kuzio, 2022: 5).

In our opinion, the political dictatorship of “rashism” is the alter ego of “putinism,” since the establishment of Putin’s dictatorship involved the formation not only of an anti-democratic institutional basis (corruption, absence of free media, lack of an effective party system), but also the formation of the appropriate pseudo-ideological basis through manipulative means. This is Russian chauvinism or, in other words, right-wing radical populism, inherent in transitional authoritarian regimes, more often as a means of mobilizing the electorate, drawing attention to itself. At the same time, next to the general political vacuum, populism becomes an effective tool for forming a symbolic resource for reproducing the legitimacy of power. The paradoxical situation of society under the conditions of the spread of right-wing radical populism is that society finds itself in a double antagonism (Brubaker, 2019: 30) both in relation to the authorities, which use such populism in their own interests, and in relation to radical right-wing outsiders who seek to promote their identity against the interests of the majority and at the expense of the support of the ruling elite. In other words, society becomes the object of manipulative influence and implementation of the so-called the “consciential weapon” of “rashism” in political mobilization and promotion of the corresponding militant geopolitical strategy called “ruskiy mir.” In addition, it is worth agreeing with researchers who point out that the distinction between friend or foe – this type of populism occurs precisely “...along the lines of identity (ethnic nationalism, racism, culturalism, ethnopluralism)” (Havertz, 2021: 16).

History has become a separate powerful resource for the reproduction of the regime “putinism” (Weiss-Wendt, 2021; Khislavski, 2022). After all, there is a strategic use of the mobilization potential of the past in the current political reality (Weiss-Wendt, Adler, 2021). From the point of view of “memory studies,” such political instrumentalization of history and historicization of politics correlates with the concept of “the past in the present” and the concept “state-sponsored history” (Bevernage, Wouters, 2018), from the point of view of the selective selection of historical narratives that are integrated into the political discourse by the ruling regime. Researchers rightly emphasize, that “The past is first and foremost still conceptualized as the ‘raw material’ for constructing meta-narratives and markers of identity legitimizing and buttressing the ethnic boundaries underlying the nation” (Bevernage, Wouters, 2018: 26).

A change of political regime causes a sharp reorganization of memory, introducing a new system of values. The ontological incorporation of the destructive “time capsule” into the concept of the political construct “ruskiy mir” is taking place. In other words, “Rewriting history around Russian exceptionalism” (Langdon, Tismaneanu, 2020: 125). So, public willingness to rehabilitate the figure of Stalin is a sign of what the Kremlin has turned imperial nostalgia into a fundamental source of the

Putin regime's legitimacy (Langdon, Tismaneanu, 2020: 127). Indeed "[...] the imaginary security, nostalgia for the Soviet Union, historical revisions, and other performative practices allow the Russian nation-state permit Putin to fragment time and space, breeding a different interpretation of reality among Russian citizens which bases itself in an incongruent history and landscape of danger, hate, and fear" (Langdon, Tismaneanu, 2020: 128). According to the concept of scientists Kubik and Bernhard, each political regime is capable of creating an appropriate regime of memory in order to construct the most advantageous vision of the past that legitimizes its efforts to gain and maintain power (Bernhard, Kubik, 2014: 8, 16). Thus, the correction of historical memory is a separate kind of consciential weapon of "putinism."

In order to understand more deeply what a consciential weapon is, you can also analyze how it destroyed, in particular, Ukrainian science. The result of the introduction of such weapons has become rather sad realities: 1) the vast majority of young people do not associate their future professional activities with Ukraine; 2) millions of qualified workers have gone to work abroad and have no intention of returning to their homeland; 3) science and Ukrainian scientists are reduced to poverty due to chronic underfunding, innovative activity is not stimulated and not appreciated in society; 4) as a result of corruption, mismanagement and extravagance, unpunished economic espionage, the latest scientific developments end up abroad, do not find a customer in their own state, but enrich, in particular, the aggressor; 5) intellectual property is not protected despite numerous state structures, and in particular judicial ones, designed to protect the domestic producer of the most competitive products; 6) the lack of a strategy of national, and in particular economic, pragmatism led to the poverty of the resource-rich (not only natural minerals, but also intellectual resources, human capital) country.

Destroying the national foundations of educational and scientific activity, this weapon actually affects the national consciousness and the ability of a person and a nation to resist anti-values and hostile influences. A nation deprived of its intellectual potential and identity support becomes inferior (in terms of national dignity), confused (in a geopolitical and civilizational sense) and vulnerable (unable to protect sovereignty and state independence). That is, consciential weapons were used (deliberately? at the behest of certain anti-Ukrainian political forces?) against their own nation during the hybrid war. And what are the occupiers doing today in the captured territories? They continue the genocide that took the form of terror and intimidation, implementing a consciential, identity-destructive policy, only under the slogan of "denazification:" they remove the Ukrainian language, literature, and history from educational programs, block Ukrainian information resources, recruit personnel for the occupation authorities, persecute and torture patriots How to protect against consciential weapons, what priorities should be the basis of radical changes in the field of intellectual security?

CONCLUSION

The priority can be formulated as follows: the only correct way is to establish the Dignity of the Human Being and to ensure respect for history, cultural heritage, to high

culture and civic responsibility for all citizens regardless of social status and ethnic origin. On this path, a conscientious citizen is formed – a bearer of humanistic values, a patriot, a defender of the homeland, a creator of high culture. It is about the degree of maturity of the national consciousness, the strength of the worldview and patriotic beliefs of the citizens, about their ability to resist – the rejection of hostile and mostly masked propaganda slogans and manipulative influences that are insidious in their destructive goals.

Indeed, the modern war against Ukraine has as its object the consciousness of people, their beliefs, civic position, and national identity. Moreover, the main tool in this war was precisely the consciential weapon. This destructive weapon must be countered with our own powerful weapon. These weapons are Ukrainian genetic love of freedom, Cossack liberties and insubordination, national dignity and unity, historical truth and justice, democratic values and freedoms.

Therefore, Ukraine desperately needs a doctrine of building a political nation as a comprehensive end-to-end approach to determining the further development trajectory of Ukrainian society, relevant institutions of public and state significance. The identification of Ukrainians as a political nation in terms of divorce from the Soviet, totalitarian past must eventually end. This is the existential choice that the Ukrainian nation is currently defending, and it is possible to claim the conceptual victory of the so-called “civilizational identity” (Rafalskyi, 2022) of Ukrainians as a nationwide resistance to the return to sovietism, totalitarianism and any of their political surrogates and historical artifacts. The viability of a political nation depends on the formation of democratic values, effective mechanisms of democratic governance and institutions of democracy. This is a question of further reforms and development programs of Ukraine. After all, there is a fundamental law that the destruction of a political nation is not defined by to the ruins of cities, symbols of the state, repressions and prohibitions, occupations and terror, but depends on the stability of identity.

The Ukrainian nation is dignified and freedom-loving, talented and hardworking, fair and responsible citizens who are creating their own independent, united, democratic state for prosperity and a happy future. State policy should create the necessary conditions for the realization of such intentions of the Ukrainian nation, ensuring the prospects of economic and cultural progress in society, countering informational and psychological operations of the aggressor, and neutralizing consciential weapons. National pragmatism is the basis of the state’s policy: stimulation of real and quick results, benefit in every field of activity – for the person and the nation, saving of all kinds of resources and protection of human and intellectual potential. The detailing of the directions of the state policy of national pragmatism should be carried out accordingly in the development strategies in each area, where radical reforms should be carried out, especially during the post-war reconstruction.

In order, to completely deactivate the effectiveness of the consciential weapons of the political regime of “putinism,” the practice of many years of utilitarian use of political identity (issues of language, values, historical memory) for manipulative political mobilization and accumulation of political capital must be overcome. The definition of the well-known Ukrainian researcher L. P. Nagornaya of the processes

of political identification in Ukraine as unnatural, in which situational approaches prevail over strategic ones, are quite relevant for today (Nagorna, 2008: 297). Therefore, the awareness of the fact that there should be a full-fledged systemic “anti-Putin” immunization of not only Ukrainian society, but also world diplomacy should be formed. And this, among other things, is the strategic vector of the policy of the Ukrainian state for the next decades. At the same time, at the level of scientific discourse, it is quite promising and necessary to reveal the interdependence of modern wars and the use of consciential weapons in them; the conceptualization of the role of the instrumentality of consciential wars in the reproduction of the life activities of authoritarian regimes and political dictatorships with the aim of forming appropriate strategies in the area of security thinking in the field of protecting national identity and national stability must acquire a proper theoretical and methodological continuation.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to conceptualize the essence of Russia's war against Ukraine as a consciential war, which, according to the authors, is an integral part of the nature of the "putinism" political regime. At the level of a research hypothesis, we state that it is consciential weapons, that allow this political regime to reproduce itself, that is, to provide internal political legitimization. At the same time, the implementation of Russia's foreign policy strategies of war and aggression necessarily involves the use of consciential weapons against the countries of the post-Soviet space. A special place belongs to Ukraine, whose destruction is an existential strategy for Russia. To achieve the goal of the research, were used such methods as historical-comparative, discourse, system, etc.. As a result of the study, it was established that the actualization of the concept of "consciential war" is appropriate in the context of the formation of mechanisms of national stability. Such processes have already begun in Ukraine, based on the realization that victory in the war against the terrorist regime of the Russian aggressor is impossible without a conceptual change in state strategies and doctrines in the field of identity politics.

Keywords: consciential weapons, consciential wars, identity, putinism, populism, national consciousness, historical memory, identity politics

WOJNA ŚWIADOMOŚCIOWA PRZECIWI UKRAINIE: PUTINIZM A TOŻSAMOŚĆ UKRAIŃSKA

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest skonceptualizowanie wojny Rosji przeciwko Ukrainie jako wojny świadomości, która zdaniem autorów jest integralną częścią natury politycznej reżimu „putinizmu”. W ramach hipotezy badawczej autorzy stwierdzają, że użycie świadomościowej broni przez ten reżim polityczny pozwala mu na reprodukcję i zapewnienie sobie wewnętrznej legitymacji politycznej. Jednocześnie realizacja strategii rosyjskiej polityki zagranicznej, wojny i agresji nieuchronnie wiąże się z użyciem świadomościowej broni przeciwko krajom z przestrzeni poradzieckiej. A szczególną uwagę poświęcono Ukrainie, której zniszczenie jest strategicznym celem Rosji. Metody, takie jak analiza historyczno-porównawcza, dyskursywna oraz systemowa, zostały wykorzystane w celu osiągnięcia celu badawczego. W wyniku przeprowadzonych badań ustalono, że aktualizacja koncepcji „wojny świadomościowej” jest adekwatna w kontekście kształtowania mechanizmów stabilności narodowej. Procesy te są już w toku na Ukrainie, a ich podstawą jest uświadomienie sobie, że zwycięstwo nad terrorystycznym reżimem rosyjskiego agresora jest niemożliwe bez konceptualnej zmiany strategii i doktryn państwa w zakresie polityki tożsamości.

Słowa kluczowe: broń świadomościowa, wojna świadomościowa, tożsamość, putinizm, populizm, świadomość narodowa, pamięć historyczna, polityka tożsamości