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Recent Historical Politics in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War: Analysing the Paradigm Shift in the World Order

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Abstract: The use of historical arguments to justify aggressive actions is turning into an actual challenge for the modern international system. The example of Russian aggression demonstrated that when an authoritarian regime threatens military action, sooner or later it uses it. The purpose of the article is to investigate the latest historical politics in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war and changes in the paradigms of the world order. To achieve this goal, the scientific method of content analysis of specialized scientific literature was applied. Based on the results of a careful sampling according to PRISMA guidelines, 40 items of scientific papers were investigated, and the methodological base of researchers on the specified issues was developed. The results emphasize that the modern emphasis on historical politics is important for understanding changes in the world order, as the emphasis on long-standing disputes and territorial claims is not conducive to

international security and peace. Russian aggression was prepared as a result of the corresponding "warming up" of public opinion, for which history and historical politics were an important element. Ukraine's most recent historical policy is a kind of response to the Russian challenge. Emphasis on contemporary events, oral history and its dissemination, and actualization of significant figures of Ukrainian history are intended to demonstrate to the world the role and place of Ukraine in it. The conclusions emphasize that the importance of historical politics will grow in the future, especially against the background of the activation of representatives of other authoritarian regimes.

Keywords: historical politics, propaganda, war, international security.

Introduction

Given the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war, the issue of historical policy on the humanitarian front has become particularly relevant. The war has had a significant impact on the paradigm of the world order, in which the issue of national identity and sovereignty has become particularly important. The works of contemporary scholars emphasise the importance of supporting historical research and proving the rightness of the past (Yurchuk, 2020; Zaretsky, 2013). At the same time, contemporary historiography also emphasises that historical policy is an important tool in hybrid warfare (Tabachnik 2020; Vushko, 2017). All these aspects make this study particularly relevant.

Given the preceding analysis, the importance of studying historical policy becomes apparent. The main research problem is to determine how Ukraine's current historical policy should shape the perception of the past and influence political realities. At the same time, it is also worth characterising how Russia uses certain historical arguments to justify its aggression. Studying this issue will help to understand how historical narratives are used to legitimise actions in the arena of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war.

The main focus is on the analysis of changes in the paradigm of the world order in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Special attention will be paid to the role of historical policy in this war. Attention will also be paid to how Ukraine is rethinking its past against the backdrop of Russian aggression. At the same time, it will be of particular importance to clarify certain historical manipulations used by Russia to justify its aggressive policy.

The study aims to identify the latest historical politics in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war through the prism of analysing changes in the world order. The study addresses four research questions:

1. What is the role of contemporary historical policy within the war?
2. How does Ukraine rethink and revise its past against the backdrop of Russian aggression?
3. What manipulative tools does Russia use in the space of hybrid warfare with Ukraine?
4. What is the change in the world order as a result of this large-scale war?

Literature Review

The analysis of the phenomenon of historical politics is a relatively new phenomenon within the modern European humanities. Contemporary works note that the concept of "historical politics" was introduced into scientific circulation by German historians in the 1980s and 1990s. This happened in the context of the formation of the policy of "moral and political turn" implemented by Minister H. Kohl (Geuss, 2001; Udod, 2018). Later, this trend was actively spread in Poland, but it was developed by the right-wing forces of this country.

The essential elements of incorporating historical concepts into modern procedures were examined by Blau (2020). This essay goes into great length about the different ways that historical concepts might become relevant again in the modern era. relationship between politics and history in a monographic study. Kuo and Marwick (2021) describe the role that history plays in contemporary political processes, demonstrating that contemporary political groups and/or individuals in power engage in historical speculation, particularly in the run-up to elections. Comparable findings can be seen in Bello Hutt (2018). At the same time, the researcher characterised the relationship between the creation of modern societal processes and the function that philosophical historical thought played in the evolution of modern politics, as stated by Frazer (2018). Jacques (1992) demonstrated the close connection between history and memory, in particular, the author explored how societies store and use their collective memory to form national identity. Skotheim and Fischer (1971) described some of the manipulative mechanisms that can be used in historical thought. Kulyk (2017) described the changing identity of the Russian-speaking population in Ukraine, he also described changes in the cultural identity of citizens and their relationship with the state. Kuzio (2022) identified the role of Russian nationalism and its significance in the outbreak of war with Ukraine. At the same time, Moseiko (2022) described certain legal aspects of the Russian-Ukrainian war and explored the role of international law. The author analysed the legal basis for the war and the actions of the parties within the framework of international law. Ostrovyy (2022) identified the role of historical education in shaping Ukraine's national security. He also described some of the mechanisms of influence of historical narratives and education that can affect national unity. Scott et al. (2023) investigated the role of historical events and processes in shaping the life paths of individuals. The authors used several statistical methods to show the impact of historical factors and social change. Thus, modern authors have described various issues of historical policy making, but they have not paid attention to the specific mechanisms of its use and the impact of war on changing the world order.

Research Methodology

This research is based on a comprehensive system review and analysis of the literature on the origins of historical politics and its key capabilities. Thus, it is a scientific theoretical work.

Data collection was carried out in stages and based on the PRISMA guidelines. In particular, the main scientific and metric databases were first selected. These were Web of Science and IndexCopernicus. These databases were chosen because they contain many works on historical topics. The following keywords were entered into the search databases: "historical politics",

"Ukraine", "war", "Russian-Ukrainian war", "Russia", "history", "manipulation", "historical narratives", and "world order". Thus, 321 results were found in these databases. A brief analysis of the titles weeded out works that were not relevant to the research topic: 112 results were selected. After that, it was decided to expand the search databases: Ebsco and Google Scholar were included. Here, 245 more results were found. However, based on a brief analysis of the titles, 123 papers were selected. After that, we analysed the abstracts and keywords and excluded those papers that were not relevant to the research topic: 108 results were obtained in total. The following inclusion criteria were applied to these papers:

1. There is no special date range: all works that investigate the peculiarities of historical policy are included
2. The study describes the historical origins of historical policy
3. The study analyses certain aspects of historical policy: historical, cultural, linguistic values and practices
4. The study identifies the impact of history and memory
5. The study describes the role of historical education

Based on these criteria, 76 papers were selected. After that, the next stage of inclusion was carried out, which consisted of the fact that the study included mainly works written in English and rejected and did not take into account works written in Russian. However, the study also included works written in Ukrainian. Thus, 40 literature items were selected (See Table 1).

Table 1

Choice of Literature

Stage	Description	Number of Results	Selected Works
Initial Search	Selected academic databases: Web of Science and IndexCopernicus. Keywords entered	321	112
Expanded Search	Added databases: Ebsco and Google Scholar. Same keywords used	245	123
Abstract Analysis	Analysed abstracts and keywords, excluded irrelevant works	566	108
Inclusion Criteria	Applied inclusion criteria to the selected works	108	76
Language Selection	Included works in English and Ukrainian, excluded works in Russian	76	40

Source: Author's development.

The materials were also analysed in stages. All the papers were transferred to Microsoft Excel, where the tables contain such data as the author, title of the paper, methodology, and brief results. After that, a thematic analysis of the selected papers was carried out. Thus, it was possible to characterise the main trends in the formation of historical policy. The study also uses comparative

analysis: the data obtained were compared with the results of other scholars. In general, the study is based on the principles of systematic and objectivity.

Results

A modern factor in the history of politics and its use is the study of tolerance and multicultural processes. The field of new research on the formation of historical politics is very broad and difficult to cover and interpret. However, if we look at the most significant trends of the last 25 years, they can be summarized as follows:

- Study of multicultural procedures and tolerance;
- Research on globalization events and the influence of past circumstances on their development;
- The study of nationalism and its phenomenon of self-awareness and separateness, as well as intolerance of different cultures.

The irreversible growth of the importance and role of information, as well as its ability to spread, has played a modern role in the introduction of politics into history and its application. We are referring to the so-called "information revolution", which helped to develop broad manipulative strategies to subtly influence the consciousness of people, communities or the entire society. Today, historical politics is present in almost every nation on earth, and its research has increased significantly in the last few years.

Thus, modern historical politics plays an important role in the context of war. In particular, it contributes to the strengthening of national identity. In times of war, it is important to support the spirit of the people and their belief in victory. Historical policy helps to consolidate society around common historical memory, heroic events and national heroes. In addition, the implementation of historical politics within the framework of war is aimed at exposing the manipulative historical narratives used by the aggressor to justify their actions. At the same time, it is important to provide citizens with reliable historical information to counter disinformation and propaganda. Therefore, historical politics plays the role of an important tool during the war.

Within the limits of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the historical policy of Ukraine should have strategically justified and practically applicable directions. These areas should also contribute to the strengthening of national identity and the consolidation of society. At the same time, they should form a positive international image. Therefore, the main direction of the most modern Ukrainian historical policy should consist of strengthening national identity by supporting various historical studies. This can be realized by providing funding and support for specialized historical research that illuminates the heroic pages of Ukrainian history. Particular attention should be paid to updating school and university programs on the history of Ukraine, including the latest research and emphasis on those events that shape national identity. Countering Russian propaganda should be a separate important direction. This can be done by encouraging the publication of materials that expose the historical myths used by Russia. In this system, an important role can be played by the launch of

information campaigns aimed at increasing citizens' awareness of important events from history and their impact on the present. Another direction should be the formation of a positive international image. This can be implemented in various ways. In particular, due to the publication of books and documentaries about Ukrainian history in the languages of other countries. This can also be done by holding exhibitions, lectures and conferences abroad. However, perhaps the most important role will be played by diplomatic historical policy. For example, this can be implemented by using historical arguments in international negotiations and discussions to strengthen Ukraine's position on the world stage. Finally, the last important direction is the use of modern digital technologies within the framework of the preservation of historical heritage. This will involve the creation of digital archives and virtual museums to access historical materials. At the same time, these measures should be accompanied by support for research activities, which can be implemented by providing various grants for conducting historical research, especially those related to important and controversial issues (See Table 2).

Table 2

The Main Directions of the Latest Ukrainian Historical Policy in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War

Direction	Description	Implementation methods
Strengthening of national identity	Support of various historical studies that highlight the heroic pages of Ukrainian history	Providing funding and support for professional historical research
The antidote to Russian propaganda	Exposing historical myths used by Russia	Updating school and university programs on the history of Ukraine, including the latest research and an emphasis on events that shape national identity
Formation of a positive international image	Creation and distribution of materials about Ukrainian history abroad	Publication of materials that expose historical myths
Use of modern digital technologies	Preservation of historical heritage through digitization	Launch of information campaigns aimed at increasing citizens' awareness of important events from history and their impact on the present
Support of research activities	Providing support for historical research	Publication of books, and documentaries about Ukrainian history in languages of other countries Holding exhibitions, lectures and conferences abroad

Source: Author's development.

Thus, the latest historical policy of Ukraine should be systemic and take into account both internal needs and external challenges. Its main focus should be on strengthening national identity and countering disinformation.

In 2014, when Russian troops invaded and occupied Crimea, after which hostilities began in the eastern regions of Ukraine, the mentality of Ukrainian society underwent a significant transformation. Aggressive actions of the Kremlin regime, accompanied by intrusive propaganda,

caused a reaction: interest in the Ukrainian past grew, digital media channels appeared (in particular, YouTube) that actively highlighted certain problems of the past, hundreds of publications on the history of Ukraine, including his military history, were published (Gromenko, 2022). Attention was also focused on the problems of restoring the memory of outstanding figures who were banned in one way or another by the Soviet authorities and, accordingly, existed with a deformed public resume (Nazarchuk et al., 2023). Similarly, in 2022, when a new phase of Russian aggression began, more large-scale and destructive, historical politics also changed (Navalpotro et al., 2023). Researchers note a change in the conditions for the formation of historical interests: if in 2014 there was a pro-Russian political factor that influenced the public discourse on the importance of Russian figures for the history of Ukraine, then in 2022 it disappeared. This immediately affected the process of renaming streets and other public places, and erecting monuments to famous people (reconstruction of monuments to Russian figures of the imperial and Soviet periods) (Rout, 2022). In public usage, there was a transition to the state Ukrainian language, which also contributed to the establishment of relevant values and trends in Ukrainian humanitarianism.

It is important that the Ukrainian history of the 20th-21st centuries underwent a special rethinking, i.e. recent history and modernity (Pirie, 1998). The pursuit of an objective study of Ukraine's Soviet past has not undergone biased transformations: all the positive achievements of this history have retained their significance (Thelen, 1999). Instead, researchers began to be more critical of the silenced terrible pages of Ukrainian history, emphasizing the treachery of the Bolsheviks' policy and their willingness to sacrifice Ukrainians for their own goals (Yakovenko, 2009). Modern history has also been revised – from school textbooks that moved towards the integration of world history and the history of Ukraine, to professional scientific works in which modern events prevail over all other vectors of research.

An important aspect was the further integration of history and media technologies. Historical policy has received strong support from both social and commercial platforms. As a result, the audience for which historical issues are broadcast in an accessible form has grown significantly. Digital mechanisms have become the main tools for disseminating such knowledge, which distinguishes the effect of modern historical policy from the past. The transmission of information has accelerated significantly compared to the use of paper-based media and the formation of public opinion.

Much of the attention of modern Ukrainian historical policy is paid to oral history. Retellings of events about the war, and their replication for the public and scientific understanding have made it possible to rethink contemporary events and form an idea of the Russian-Ukrainian war. At the same time, such attention to oral testimonies distinguishes the historical policy of 2014 and 2022: in 2014, there was no such attention to collecting and promoting oral testimonies, which harmed informing society about the real state of affairs. The popularisation of history from 2022, combined with relevant videos, makes it possible to disseminate information about the Russian-Ukrainian war extremely quickly.

The significant intensification of Ukrainian historical policy was also caused by the actions of the Russian side. The military aggression was accompanied by a fantastic level of propaganda, which in every possible way denigrated Ukraine's past, labelling it a failed state, a Nazi state, and other fictional tales. This onslaught provoked a response: the aggressiveness with which the Kremlin regime spread its narratives backfired. Ukrainian society has been actively involved in countering Russian fakes, translating research by Ukrainian historians into foreign languages and sending them to foreign websites. As a result, the latest Ukrainian historical policy also reached the international level, although it did not have a unified state regulation or financial support.

An important tool used by the Russian regime, along with outright fakes, was the policy of distorting facts and giving them new meanings. This allowed fictitious details of Ukraine's historical past and present to be established and actively replicated. This mechanism was counteracted by reporting and emphasising the truth. In particular, the dissemination of the truth made it possible to present the Ukrainian version of the course of hostilities, which are also gradually becoming history. As a result, Ukrainian issues have become an important trend that prevents the Russian regime from turning its aggression against Ukraine into a local conflict that is not worth anything in global terms.

Historical politics will matter for further changes in the world order (Riaño Alcalá & Uribe, 2016). It is about the formation of relevant new international coalitions, and shuffling of existing systems of political agreements, including as a result of the further development of events in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Using history as a basis for legalizing war, creating support systems, and countering propaganda will have a significant impact on the formation of new paradigms of the existing world order (Sywenky, 2015). This development of events will emphasize the emphasis on understanding the past to build the future, but also with a certain specificity: it is not known whether the use of historical argumentation will avoid the politicization of the emergence and resolution of conflicts, including Russian-Ukrainian ones.

Discussion

The work demonstrates the important role of historical politics in the context of changes in the world order. The obtained results correlate with the study of Ashplant et al. (2017), who investigated the role of war memory and commemoration in the formation of national identity. These researchers also emphasize the importance of memory and its political use for the consolidation of society around historical narratives. These theses also resonate with the obtained results, which testify to the importance of the development of historical policy in Ukraine, which should be aimed at strengthening patriotism and national unity. Himka (2015) analysed the historical context of the war, drawing attention to the role of historical narratives in shaping contemporary political conflicts. His work emphasizes the importance of exposing false historical narratives, which also resonates with this work that points to the role of historical politics in delegitimizing the aggressor. The obtained results are also confirmed in the work of Budryté (2021), which examines the politics of memory in the context of crises. At the same time, the results of the study are also correlated with the studies of Friedman (1992) and Hoogland Noon (2007). In particular, Friedman (1992) also pointed out the connection between history and identity politics. Hoogland Noon (2007), who explored the use of

historical memory during the “war on terror,” emphasized the importance of providing citizens with reliable information to counter disinformation. This also echoes the results obtained, which indicate that Ukraine's information security strategy should take place through a variety of educational programs and scholarly publications by historians.

The main aspects of the research on the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the change in the paradigm of the world system, formed in the work, are aimed at strengthening national identity and countering Russian propaganda. The works of other authors also drew attention to the importance of national identity through the prism of historical politics (Kuzio, 2006; 2022). In addition, Marples (2012) drew attention to the role of historical memory of the war and its influence on contemporary perceptions of the past. At the same time, other studies confirmed the conclusions about the relevance of the further development of the historical political strategy (Moroz et al., 2022; Walsh et al., 2017; Wood et al., 2015). Compared to these works, this study is focused on specific measures and directions of implementation of the strategy of the historical policy of Ukraine, which is generally manifested in the scientific novelty of the study. However, it is also worth mentioning the limitations of the study. First of all, the work is based on sources available on the Internet (attraction of new and unavailable materials will strengthen the opinion about the importance of historical politics). In addition, a separate limitation is the subjectivism that may be present in the selected works. However, despite this, the research has important practical significance, and the identified directions of historical policy development will contribute to the improvement of its implementation as a whole. Russian aggression led to changes in the existing world order. After the Second World War, the annexations of the territories of other states became a violation of international law and, accordingly, of the existing system of international security. The challenge posed by the Kremlin regime to the global security system is obvious: gross military aggression and the occupation of a part of an independent country are unacceptable (Shevel, 2016). At the same time, the reaction of world international institutions is currently restrained, and the strategy for further actions will require further development and implementation.

For the Ukrainian side, historical policy in the future will be aimed at restoring historical truth. Ukrainian researchers and public figures will widely use historical narratives to justify independence (Törnquist-Plewa & Yurchuk, 2017). Through the use of historical arguments, emphasis will also be placed on gaining international support based on restorative justice. The Russian regime will continue to develop imperial narratives using all possible resources. In addition, such a historic policy will bring the Kremlin regime closer to other authoritarian countries that adhere to anti-Western rhetoric. The world legal order will be able to respond by forming new coalitions to support Ukraine and respond to aggressive challenges. Information warfare will increase, and the politics of information warfare will play an additional role in it (Sefton, 2007). For Ukraine, this will help to form a positive image in the international environment. For the Kremlin regime, this will help justify its aggressive plans, especially for the “household consumer”, which will accelerate the formation of imperial discourse in Russian society and strengthen political alliances with other pro-imperial regimes.

Conclusions and Implications

Therefore, the historical policy of Ukraine in the conditions of the Russian-Ukrainian war must be systematic and strategically justified. Its main focus should be on strengthening national identity and consolidation of society. On the other hand, one should also take care of the formation of a positive international image. The paper proposes its model of historical policy, the main directions of which should include support for various historical studies, opposition to Russian propaganda and the use of modern digital technologies, and support for research activities.

In particular, the main ways of implementing these directions should be based on such aspects as:

1. The need to provide funding and support for professional historical research.
2. Updating educational programs to include the latest research
3. Publication of materials that expose Russian historical myths.
4. Launch of information campaigns to increase citizens' awareness
5. Publication of books, documentaries, exhibitions, lectures and conferences abroad.
6. Use of historical arguments in international negotiations and discussions to strengthen Ukraine's position on the world stage.
7. Create digital archives and virtual museums to access historical materials.
8. Provision of grants for historical research.

Thus, this developed model of historical politics takes into account both internal needs and external challenges. Such a multidimensional approach will allow Ukraine to effectively resist aggression, preserve its historical heritage and increase its role in the world community in the context of changes in the world order.

Suggestions for Future Research

The Russian-Ukrainian war is ongoing, so it is too early to talk about the final resolution of this conflict, as well as to calculate all its possible consequences. The aggressive use of propaganda proposed by the Russian side will be met with a response in the form of new forms of Ukrainian historical politics. However, further studies of this process will need to take into account other aspects. In particular, the use of digital technologies will offer new forms of information dissemination, and thus, historical research and its active discussion. Already today, the organisation of thematic conferences, symposia, and roundtables has become an effective mechanism for historical research. However, it is currently unknown to what extent artificial intelligence resources can be used to identify and neutralise Russian propaganda. Such a digital solution would allow for future consideration of technical innovations and their impact on the perception of history.

Another vector for future research will be the perception of existing challenges to history. Historical arguments for starting a war, as proposed by the Russian side, can be transformed and spread in other regions where there are authoritarian regimes and "disputed" territories to which they want to extend their power. From this point of view, it will be important to counter such arguments, which may be different in form but similar in their ultimate demands. Perhaps we are talking about the formation of certain common patterns of countering fakes and aggressive propaganda that spread blatantly false information to justify aggression. It is especially important to pay attention to the possibility of using such an aggressive historical policy for the "domestic consumer". While outright fake news is not as widely believed in the international arena, residents of authoritarian countries are deprived of the opportunity to objectively assess the situation and do not have access to pluralism of opinion. For this reason, the development of possible universal arguments will help counteract aggressive historical policies.

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Conflict of Interest

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