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UKRAINIAN NATION'S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION TRANSFORMATION THROUGH THE PRISM OF RUSSIAN INVASION IN UKRAINE

Summary. The article provides a partial retrospective review and analysis of Ukraine's European integration transformations from the times of Kievan Rus to the present day. Literary works were analyzed, features of princely rule and development of the Kievan feudal state were characterized, Ukraine's centuries-old desire to integrate into the European community on the basis of high morality, humanistic values and rule of law was recognized. Parallels with the present were drawn. It was emphasized that at the beginning of the 21st century Ukraine finally chose the path of European integration. Particular attention was paid to the radical change in the state of awareness of the citizens of Ukraine and the world community after the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. It was concluded that it is no longer possible to consider the future of Ukraine outside the European and world community. The basic principles of development of reasons for Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the acceleration of Ukraine's accession to the European Union was established.

Key words: European integration, Kievan Rus, Ukraine, war with Russia, European Union.

ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКІ ІНТЕГРАЦІЙНІ ПЕРЕТВОРЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАЦІЇ КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ РОСІЙСЬКОГО ВТОРГАННЯ В УКРАЇНУ

Анотація. У статті подано частковий ретроспективний огляд та аналіз євроінтеграційних трансформацій України від часів Київської Русі до сьогодення. Проаналізовано літературну творчість, охарактеризовано особливості князівського правління та розвитку Київської феодальної держави, визнано багатовікове

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прагнення України до інтеграції в європейське співтовариство на засадах високої моралі, гуманістичних цінностей та верховенства права. Наведено аналогії цих подій із сьогоденням. Було підкреслено, що на початку ХХІ століття Україна остаточно обрала шлях євроінтеграції. окрему увагу приділено радикальній зміні стану свідомості громадян України та світової спільноти після російського вторгнення в Україну 24 лютого 2022 року. Зроблено висновок, що розглядані майбутнє України поза межами європейської та світової спільноти є неможливим. Встановлено основні засади мотивів вторгнення Росії в Україну та прискорення вступу України до Європейського Союзу.

Ключові слова: євроінтеграція, Київська Русь, Україна, війна з Росією, Європейський Союз.

The course of European integration is a natural heritage and a consequence of Ukraine's independence. It crystallizes from the history of our people, their mentality and democratic traditions, the desire of the current generation to see their state as an integral part of the United States of Europe³.

The tragic consequences of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, are testimony to the fact that it is no longer possible to consider Ukraine's future outside the European and world community, that is why European integration and membership in the European Union are the most important strategic goal of our state in the near future, namely, over the course of 2022–2023.

The problem of European integration of Ukraine was studied by such scientists as A. Galchynsky, V. Gaets, V. Denysov, O. Kovalyova, V. Kopiyka, V. Movchan, V. Poselsky, P. Rudyakov, O. Fedirko, O. Shpakovich, M. Yakubyak and others.

Ukraine's integration into the European Union in wartime raises the issue of our country's place in the European integration process, as well as the consequences and benefits of such an integration process for both sides.

The aim of the article is a retrospective review and analysis of the transformation processes in Ukraine related to its ambition to integrate into the European community; identifying the reasons for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which led to the acceleration of European integration of Ukraine.

Before considering the prospects of Ukraine's accession to the European Union, it is worth analyzing the peculiarities of the historical development of

³ Alekseeva T. Legitimacy of power in transit. *Political thought*, 1998, No. 3–4.

Ukraine, especially in the time of Kievan Rus. It was during this period, in our opinion, that the first tendencies to unite with the European community arose.

If we look into the depths of the centuries, we can see a number of parallels between the similar course of events of that time and the present. The process of unification of East Slavic tribes around Kiev and the formation of Kievan Rus as a feudal state took place during the IX–X centuries. The adoption of Christianity contributed to the acquisition by the Kievan state of the achievements of European civilization in the field of philosophy, law, history, culture, and thus the expansion of international religious and political ties.

Rus faced two urgent tasks, firstly, equality with other states, especially Byzantium, and secondly, the need to unite the Russian lands to save the state from external threat. The problem of equality of Kievan Rus to other European states was raised in such a literary and historical work as “The Tale of Bygone Years”. In “The Tale...” the idea of the unity of the Russian lands is seen primarily as spiritual, supported by the Christian church⁴.

In addition, considerable attention in Kievan Rus was paid to the development of legislation governing public relations. The first code of laws, “Russian Truth”, was established by Yaroslav the Wise (1019–1054). Yaroslav’s laws highly valued human life, honor, and condemned thieves and murderers. The main goals of coexistence at that time were personal security and property security. It is believed that the introduced laws, which for a long time regulate public relations in Kievan Rus, were more humane than current legislation.

It is worth noting that the observance of the law and the principles of justice and mercy is the leitmotif in the outstanding work of political thought of Kievan Rus “Teachings” by Vladimir Monomakh (1053–1125). In addition to moral guidelines, the “Teachings” also contains practical guidelines for governing the state, managing citizens, as well as rules of conduct in some typical situations, including in the wartime. In the “Teachings” the prince-ruler was to be guided by Christian precepts, moral norms and principles⁵.

⁴ Vilkul T. Russian Truth. Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine: in 10 volumes / editors: Smoliy V.A. (editor in chief) and others. Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine] Kyiv : Naukova Dumka. 2012. Vol. 9, p. 391.

⁵ Goncharuk-Cholach T., Dzhugla N. Features of the Ukrainian mentality as a basis of national self-identification. 2011. URL: <http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Nznuoafs>,

Whereas the author of “Words about Igor’s Regiment” (1185) emphasized that it is not enough for a ruler to be a skilled military leader, it is important to be able to see national interests and place them above your personal ones. The author of the poem saw the main reason for the plight of Russia in the struggle of Russian princes among themselves for power and territory. The main political content was concentrated in the so-called “golden” word of the Grand Prince of Kiev Svyatoslav, who addressing the boyars and princes, said that the main reason for the defeat of Prince Igor is that he went to the Polovtsians to “seek glory” rather than protect interests of the entire state⁶.

Unfortunately, the Tatar-Mongol invasion destroyed the traditional political institutions of the time, and disrupted the natural course of development of the Kiev feudal state. But the remnants of the statehood of Kievan Rus continued to be preserved, for example, in the principality of Galicia–Volhynia.

Our analysis testifies to the progressive progress of Kievan Rus as well as to its centuries-old desire to integrate into the European community on the basis of high morality, humanistic values and the rule of law.

Modern sociological research shows a strong desire of most Ukrainians for European integration. In particular, in 2019, studies by such scientists as O. Kvasha, A. Sinyakova showed that 30% of Ukrainians saw full membership in the EU as the best model for rapprochement. Lack of funds and bribery were named as the main obstacles. The next most popular answer to the model of rapprochement with the EU was free trade without any restrictions (21%)⁷.

Today’s statistics are much different – 93% of Ukrainian citizens support Ukraine’s accession to the EU in 2022. The reason for such rapid dynamics, of course, was the war in which Russia invaded Ukraine and radically changed the worldview of every citizen of the Ukrainian state

⁶ Grechenko V. History and Culture of Ukraine: Textbook. Kharkiv : KhNUVS, 2017, p. 440.

⁷ Kvasha O., Sinyakova A. Ukraine and the EU: problems and prospects of integration in modern conditions]. *Scientific Bulletin of Uzhhorod National University. Series: International Economic Relations and the World Economy*, 2019. issue 23 (1), pp. 112–117. URL: http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Nvuumevcg_2019_23%281%29_25.

and the world. In the eyes of the world, Ukrainian people have become a Ukrainian political nation.

If we analyze the image of Ukraine in the world in the 90s of the twentieth century, we will see that Ukraine attracted the attention of the foreign community, mainly with the Chernobyl tragedy, corruption, the Cassette Scandal, the Sknyliv airshow disaster etc. A folk version of culture (Ukrainian cuisine, songwriting, arts and crafts, etc.) also aroused interest in people⁸.

The war in Ukraine made radical adjustments to the attitude of the world community to Ukrainian statehood. Today, Ukrainian people, demonstrating courage, heroism and indomitable spirit, are fighting not only for their own freedom and sovereignty, but also to defend Europe from Russian invasion.

Ukraine made its final European choice at the turn of the millennium: 2004–2014 were pivotal for the Ukrainian state. This was confirmed by the Address of the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine “European Choice. Conceptual principles of the strategy of economic and social development of Ukraine for 2002–2011”⁹.

We agree with the main points of this Address and believe that they should become key principles of our country’s integration process into the European Union, namely: the system of public administration in Ukraine should be transparent and ensure the rule of law, strict observance of constitutional rights and freedoms as well as public control over the activities of the legislative and executive branches of government. This approach will demonstrate Ukraine’s compliance with European standards of a democratic state governed by the rule of law with a socially oriented economy.

Taking into account the tragic events happening in Ukraine today, we consider it necessary to identify the reasons for Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, which, in turn, served as an impetus for the possibility of Ukraine’s rapid accession to the European Union.

In our opinion, it is paradoxical that the majority of the world population even before February 24, 2022 identified Ukraine with the former Soviet

⁸ Political Psychology: Textbook for students of higher educational establishments. Kyiv : MAUP. 2006, p. 400.

⁹ European choice. Conceptual bases of strategy of economic and social development of Ukraine for 2002– 2011: the Address of the President of Ukraine. URL: <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/n0001100-02>.

The security architecture of European and Euro-Atlantic spaces

Union and Russia. And this insidious attack by Russia on Ukraine has finally opened the eyes of the world to the real state of affairs, testifying that only now Ukraine has become a political nation for the world, which is heroically fighting against Russia, as the personification of the former USSR.

The question arises: why did Russia attack Ukraine, and why is it happening right now? We believe that one of the main reasons is the claim of the Russian Federation to the historical heritage. As we mentioned above, the great Kievan Rus is of Kievan origin, and the Dnieper River is the baptismal font of Orthodoxy. And no matter how hard the Russians try to appropriate the glorious deeds of the hero Ilya Muromets, there is a real place for storing his incorruptible relics in the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra – the greatest Orthodox shrine¹⁰.

Researcher Serhiy Koncha, reflecting on the origin of the nickname of Ilya Muromets, noted that “...given the close ties that united Kiev and Novgorod throughout the entire period of the existence of the Old Russian state, and especially in the 9th–11th centuries, it seems quite likely that a native of Novgorod land, settled in Kyiv (princely court of Chudin, noted to be in Kyiv by Nestor the Chronicler) and became famous here as an outstanding commander and politician and was remembered by a nickname indicating his ethnic roots”¹¹.

Another important point is that until 1686 the Metropolitan of Kyiv was called “Metropolitan of Kyiv and All Russia” and was in fact the leader of the entire Eastern Church – Ukraine, Moscow and Belarus. Ivan Ogienko said: “Ukrainian Kyiv was the cradle of Christianity in our East, so it is not surprising that it actually became the “mother of Rus’ cities”. (Rus used to be the name of ancient Ukraine; later this name was adopted by the people of Moscow). From ancient times the eyes of the whole Orthodox world have been turned to Kyiv, this new Jerusalem, as it was sometimes called in ancient times”¹².

¹⁰ Voitsekhivska I., Ishchenko Y. Ilya Muromets: legends and historical reality. *Historical and geographical research in Ukraine* : Coll. of Science works, 2006, No. 9. P. 474.

¹¹ Koncha S. On the question of the origin of the name of the epic hero Ilya Muromets (historical and geographical aspect). URL: <http://dspace.nbuv.gov.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/13198/10-Koncha.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹² Ogienko I. The Ukrainian Church: Essays on the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church: In 2 vols. Vol. 1–2. Kyiv : Ukraine, 1993, p. 284. URL: <http://izbornyk.org.ua/ohienko/oh11.htm>.

Considering the foregoing, modern Russians have questions regarding where their roots are, if Rus was Kievan and who they really are descendants of. On the territory of Moscow, by the way, the main ethnic group at that time was the Buryats.

The next reason for the invasion, in our opinion, is the fact that the leaders of the so-called “special operation” believed that people born in the USSR were going to give a hospitable welcome to the Russian invaders and hand them the keys to Ukrainian cities. But things didn’t go as they were expected to. Pro-Russian political forces lost popularity in Ukrainian polities, and people born in Soviet times died of old age. The window of opportunity was closing quickly also because progressive-minded young people born after 1991 began to come to power and hold key positions in society and business.

In addition, free movement of Ukrainians in Europe, thanks to visa-free travel, has opened up rapid access to European technologies and markets. Ukrainians became richer, living standards improved, which in turn was a shocking factor for Russian soldiers who entered Bucha and committed war crimes. They left a handwritten message on the fence saying: “Who allowed you to live so well?”.

It is also important to focus on the importance of propaganda technologies in the development of events unfolding in Ukraine today. The Internet is breaking the Russian “iron curtain” of propaganda every day. And it became impossible to

hide the fact that most Ukrainians began to live better than a certain category of Russians. If Ukraine had been established as a wealthy state without a war, it would mean the collapse of the Russian Empire. Moreover, before the war, a certain part of Russian business began to transfer assets and personnel to Ukraine, and the process of disintegration of the Russian Empire began to accelerate. And on February 24, 2022, Russia carried out a treacherous invasion of Ukraine.

For more than a decade, Ukraine has been taking steps towards EU integration and pursuing NATO membership. With the beginning of the war, all the processes accelerated at times. Ukraine’s borders with neighboring European countries became “transparent” when hundreds of thousands of people crossed them daily to escape the war. Crossing the border with

humanitarian aid has been reduced to a few documents and sometimes takes a few minutes. In particular, in the speech on May 5, 2022, the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda said that there would be no border between Ukraine and Poland in the upcoming decades, and possibly centuries.

We consider May 18, 2022, to be the defining date for Ukraine. That is when President Volodymyr Zelensky handed over a completed questionnaire on EU membership to the Head of the European Union Delegation to Ukraine, Matti Maasikas. This procedure usually takes years. It should be noted that this significant event has already launched the process of Ukraine's accession to the European Union. Despite the fact that the Russian-led anti-Ukrainian lobby is active in political Europe, most European citizens are ready to accept Ukrainians into a large European family mentally, and some have already "physically" accepted Ukrainian refugees, providing them with shelter in their homes.

It is worth noting that Ukraine's movement towards EU integration has exposed the facts of corruption in Europe linked to Russia, and at the same time launched a process of rethinking the consequences of cooperation with the Kremlin. The war in Ukraine led to the fact that Russia is no longer feared in Europe. They began to develop protective mechanisms that would reinsure various types of risks in all areas of life that can be expected from Russia. The world is finally beginning to understand how much Russian oil and gas really cost and how to expose Russia's corruption in influencing free democratic elections in Europe and the United States.

We believe that today Ukrainian politics and diplomacy are doing a "big cleaning up" in Europe: all Kremlin-recruited agents of influence were forced to show themselves. Under the guise of their country's national interests, they actually defended Russia's and their own interests.

It is not difficult to predict that Ukraine's accession to the European Union will immediately stop the war, as Russia is unable to fight Europe. It will also cause Russia's defeat on the political front and launch the process of dismantling the Putin regime. Such events will open the eyes of thinking Russians and force Russia to change its political system and reconstruct economic and political models of cooperation with the world.

In our opinion, with Ukraine's accession to the EU, Europe will receive multiple benefits, in particular, strengthening defense capabilities.

Ukrainians have proved to the whole world that they are not afraid and know how to fight professionally with the minimal losses, and make the most of the potential out of weapons provided by partner countries.

In the economic sense, many achievements are also expected. The limitless potential of Ukrainian chernozems, alongside European agricultural technologies, will create real food clusters to provide both Europe and the world with quality products. Ukraine's agricultural potential will protect the world from hunger and reduce food prices. Sufficiently qualified and very hard-working Ukrainian people will be able to secure a job in the realities of Europe and, most importantly, will not become a social burden for European taxpayers. The economy of Old Europe will be significantly strengthened by Ukraine's potential.

Thus, we are convinced that the consequences of the war in Ukraine will radically change the world order. The realities of life show that, as twenty years ago at the turn of the millennium, the world is once again in the transition to a qualitatively new stage of its historical ascent, a new social reality is outlined on the planet, a new global coordinate system is formed¹³.

Agreeing with the opinion of Professor A. Malkina, we are convinced that Ukraine's European course is irreversible as well as politically and economically justified, "but we must understand that under no circumstances do we have the right to lose our identity, Ukrainian customs, traditions, beliefs, etc. In general, it would be ideal to pursue friendly and partnership relations with all countries and groups of countries, while remaining truly independent"¹⁴.

So, in conclusion, we would like to note that Ukraine's accession to the European political community as an equal partner will bring a spirit of renewal to Old Europe. And the mission of the "new Jerusalem" will be fulfilled.

¹³ Political Psychology: Textbook for students of higher educational establishments: Kyiv : MAUP. 2006, p. 400.

¹⁴ European integration processes in the XXI century: key trends, main challenges and new opportunities: [Proceedings of the International Scientific and Practical Conference. (Kyiv, March 26–27, 2018). Kyiv : Association of Teachers and Researchers of European Integration, 2018, p. 677.

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