

## THE NATURE OF IMPERIALISM IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON UKRAINE

**Summary.** The imperialistic behavior of Russian Federation threatens the international order and may affect the re-division of the world. In the research there was carried out the analysis of scientific theories of imperialism. There were outlined the features of imperialism characteristic of Russian Federation foreign policy. The manifestation of imperialist tendencies of Russia on the territory of Ukraine is studied. The tools of Russia's imperialist influence on Ukraine are defined. The main vectors of Russian Federation imperialism with respect to Ukraine were defined as: military, economic, informational, political, and religious. Ukraine has five scenarios of resolving the existing conflict, which depend on the Russian Federation behavior, as well as its refusing from its imperialistic aspirations. Receiving of Tomos by Ukrainian church is the next win inspired Ukrainian people to continue their struggle with the Russian imperialism.

**Keywords:** imperialism, Ukraine, Russian Federation, hybrid war, neo-imperialism.

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## ПРИРОДА ІМПЕРІАЛІЗМУ В РОСІЙСЬКІЙ ЗОВНІШНІЙ ПОЛІТИЦІ ТА ЇЇ ВПЛИВ НА УКРАЇНУ

**Анотація.** Імперіалістична поведінка Російської Федерації загрожує міжнародному порядку і може вплинути на переділ світу. Після чверті століття стабільності та розвитку Центральної та Східної Європи незаконна окупація Криму та російська військова агресія на Сході України змінили ландшафт безпеки в регіоні та створили важливість перегляду архітектури безпеки у світі. Дії Росії демонструють її територіальне невдоволення, військовий потенціал та ідеологічний спротив існуючій системі міжнародного права. Імперіалістична поведінка Російської Федерації загрожує міжнародному порядку і може вплинути на переділ світу. Продовження таких дій ставить під сумнів міжнародний порядок, досягнутий після закінчення "холодної війни" та розпаду СРСР. Сучасна геополітична ситуація стає надзвичайно гострою через бажання Російської Федерації створити однополярну частину світу в межах пострадянського простору. Одна з наймогутніших держав світу, використовуючи "право сильної держави", прагне продовжувати здійснювати свою диктатуру в глобальному геополітичному просторі, насолоджуючись тим самим своїм імперіалістичним прагненням. Запобігання світовому поділу вимагає ґрунтового аналізу російської імперіалістичної поведінки щодо України, включаючи її передумови, що допоможе визначити початок прихованої агресії щодо інших країн у майбутньому. В ході досліджень був проведений аналіз наукових теорій імперіалізму. Окреслено особливості імперіалізму, характерні для зовнішньої політики Російської Федерації. Досліджено прояв імперіалістичних тенденцій Росії на території України. Визначено інструменти імперіалістичного впливу Росії на Україну. Основними векторами імперіалізму Російської Федерації щодо України були визначені: військовий, економічний, інформаційний, політичний та релігійний. Україна має п'ять сценаріїв вирішення існуючого конфлікту, які залежать від поведінки Російської Федерації, а також відмови від імперіалістичних прагнень. Отримання Томосу українською церквою – наступна перемога, яка надихнула український народ продовжувати боротьбу з російським імперіалізмом. Метою цієї роботи – є дослідження сутності агресивної політики Росії проти України як демонстрації її імперіалізму у зовнішній політиці.

**Ключові слова:** імперіалізм, Україна, Російська Федерація, гібридна війна, неоімперіалізм.

**Introduction.** After a quarter century of stability and development of Central and Eastern Europe the illegal occupation of Crimea and Russian military aggression in Eastern Ukraine have changed the security landscape in the region and created importance the revision of the security architecture in the world. Russia's actions demonstrate its territorial discontent, military capability and ideological opposition to the existing system of international law. Continuation of such actions puts under doubt the international order achieved after the end of the cold war and the collapse of the USSR. The current geopolitical situation is becoming extremely acute due to the desire of Russian Federation to create a unipolar part of world within the post-soviet area. One of the most powerful states of the world, using the "right of the strong state", seeks to continue to exercise its dictatorship in the global

geopolitical space thereby enjoying its imperialistic aspirations. Prevention of world re-division requires the ground analysis of Russian imperialistic behavior regarding Ukraine, including its background, which shall help to identify the beginning of hidden aggression with respect to other countries in future.

**Purpose.** The purpose of this research is investigation of the essence of Russia's aggressive policy against Ukraine as the demonstration of its imperialism in foreign policy.

**Tasks.** The tasks of this research include:  
– theoretical analysis of imperialism essence;  
– the main characteristic of imperialism in Russian policy with respect to Ukraine;  
– the forecast of Russian foreign policy with respect to Ukraine.

**Analysis of the existing researches.** Certain aspects of aggressive Russian foreign policy regard-

ing Ukraine were examined by such scientists as D. McQuail, O. Mathews, E. Mickiewicz, B. Patrick, D. Strovsky, and others. However the specificity of existing researches is focusing on one aspect of imperialistic aggressive demonstration of Russian powers without complex analysis of imperialism as the ground for Russian foreign policy and the main cause of its behavior with respect to Ukraine.

#### **Presenting main material.**

##### *Theoretical analysis of imperialism essence*

The most important phenomenon in social and economic life of the majority developed countries was the emergence and development of new trends in social, economic and political spheres, called imperialism. Although these phenomena and trends have already manifested themselves more than a century ago, at the end of XIX – at the beginning of XX centuries, they in the modified form continue to exist at the present time. Colonial empires were replaced by neocolonialism, namely colonialism without colonies, when developed imperialist countries economically dominate in many regions of the earth. Many historians link the beginning of this stage of society development with the emergence of imperialist wars for the re-division of the world. From this point of view, imperialism arises from the Anglo-Boer and Russian-Japanese wars and finds its logical persistence in the First World War. The emergence of a new stage in the development of society demanded its scientific understanding that led to the creation of a number of theories of imperialism.

It is necessary to accent that the term "imperialism" is quite new, it appears in the middle of the 19th century but is becoming well-known in the early 20th century – the heyday of "new empires". In this period the large colonial States of Europe, which were rapidly spread its influence and dominance in the relatively underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, fought among themselves for exclusive rights to own new territories. However, the phenomenon of imperialism, unlike the term, existed for millennia.

The term "imperialism" became widely known after the publication of the research of English economist J. Hobson. According to J. Hobson, the main characteristic of imperialism is the desire of some states to enrich themselves by conquering others. A feature of J. Hobson approach was considering imperialism, with moral and ethical positions. Immorality of imperialism was that all transactions and contracts were concluded between unequal parties. Inferring the imperialist policies out of excessive savings and total imbalance supply and demand, J. Hobson noted that «the war serves a useful function for the economy, providing the temporary usage of capital that would otherwise would be useless and unnecessary» [11].

In the USSR and other socialist countries the central place was occupied by the theory of V.I. Lenin. Lenin tried to describe the main features of imperialism, taking them out of the domination of monopolies. These were attributed to concentration of production and formation of monopolies; monopolistic position of large banks; seizure of trusts and financial oligarchy sources; the beginning of the economic division of the world between international cartels; the territorial division of the world and the creation of a colonial system. Lenin defined

imperialism as an era of "the death of capitalism, transformation it's into socialism" [11].

V. Mommsen considering the classical theory of imperialism noted that in the XVIII–XIX centuries, the term imperialism had no clear definition and was used mainly by politicians during their debates [6]. Later, the concept of imperialism acquired a relatively objective meaning and was understood as "the expansion of the nation-state beyond its own borders for entry dependent territories and, if possible, their unification into the world Empire" [6].

D. Friedjung mentioned that "imperialism means at the same time nationalist ideology, calling for the extension of the exclusive dominance of the nation and politics due to the continuous competition (struggle) between large states characterizing the international system" [4].

Today we can meet a lot of points of views with respect to the definition of this term. Thus, the Oxford dictionary provides us with the common sense of the term «imperialism» and describes it as the domination or control of one country or group of people over others, at their expense [1].

Imperialism, in Galtung's view, is a relation between more harmonious and richer states, on the one hand, and less harmonious and poorer states, on the other. He makes imperialism into a structural affair, but his structural theory has arrived at partly through reduction [11].

M. Doyle offers the most generalizing definition of imperialism, and characterizes it as a "process creation (establishment) and maintenance of the Empire" [1].

Among the factors driving the state to imperialism G. Morgenthau identifies three main factors: the victorious war, the lost war and the weakness of a great power, embodying the old system of international relations and thus, it encourages the potential competitors to try to change the balance of power on the international market arena in its favor [7].

The imperialist states of the past historical eras were created mainly with the help of territorial expansion, namely the expansion of the geopolitical space of the country for the conquest of territories with their populations and diverse resources. The empires of the past were aimed primarily at expanding their physical territory and the space of their geopolitical and geo-economic influence on neighboring countries. Today, the essence of imperial expansionism has not changed, the changes have affected only certain substantive and geographical aspects of expansionist geostrategy. The Russian imperialistic foreign policy is the strike example of this thesis.

#### **The main characteristic of imperialism in Russian policy with respect to Ukraine**

One of the main characteristic of Russian imperialism in foreign policy is the aspiration the formation of "huge territorial spaces". The integration under the auspices of Russian Federation is declared as the best opportunity for post-Soviet countries to provide their foreign economic interests. However, in this case in fact, will be the preservation of modern economic systems with a predominance of raw materials and traditional industries. The development of new high-tech industries will remain as rare exceptions. In these circumstances, we should expect further strengthening of China's positions in post-Soviet geo-economic space.

Historically the process of creating a "huge space" was organized by a powerful state – a regional leader seeking to focus in its hands the control over the main flows of finance, goods and services. In order to ensure economic domination, the "state-center" requires an informal political domination, ideally combined it also with cultural and informational expanse. The territory still remains very attractive object of imperialist expansion – as a location of natural and human resources, convenient economic or military-strategic springboard, just "living space" etc. Analysis of modern actions of the Russian Federation within the international arena shows that Russia aims to create under its auspices the post-Soviet space according to the "center-periphery" principle. Thus, in the Black Sea region, having received at its own disposal the Crimea, Russia has increased its coastline from 500 to 1500 km. Thereby, having control directly along the coastline, it has reached full control over the Black Sea, received a dominant military-strategic position throughout the Black Sea region. Due to this fact, it closed the Caucasus for Turkey, significantly limited the scope and capabilities for the security of NATO countries such as Bulgaria and Romania. In addition, having placed land forces and aviation in Crimea, Russia has posed a direct threat to the military invasion of the southern regions of Ukraine and the threat of a complete naval blockade [5].

Aspiring to the extension of its territories, Russian Federation however needed to pay attention to the opinion of international organizations, as well as the world public opinion, due to which the analysis of Russian foreign policy demonstrate the prevailing of latent means to achieve the goals in its behavior. That is why there can be identified several interrelated directions of imperialistic Russian foreign policy, which allowed implementing the latent imperial expansion, namely: political, military, ideological, economic, information, cultural and so on.

Political vector of Russian imperialism. Russian political imperialism is aimed at expanding the sphere of political influence of the state in geospatial space through the establishment of political control over Ukraine. Political control over a country is achieved by subordinating the state and administrative apparatus to an external entity. This task is realized by bringing to power in the state and its regions the conductors of the policy that meets the interests of the latent invader. In Ukraine, by 2013, Russian capital has established full or partial control over the telecommunications industry, fuel and energy complex, part of the banking sector and the like. These processes, which threaten the national security of Ukraine, became much more active when Yanukovich came to power, which was facilitated by the identical criminal-oligarchic nature and the corresponding business culture of Russian and Ukrainian clans. V. Yanykovich was a person who defended the interests of Russian Federation in Ukraine. Loosing of president powers by V. Yanykovich withdraw the control of Russian Federation over the internal and external Ukrainian policy. Today, The Russian Federation seeks to control political processes in Ukraine, trying to bring to power loyal to it or even Pro-Russian regimes.

The political vector of Russian Federation extends primarily to the post-Soviet geopolitical space. The Baltic countries, which joined NATO and the EU in 2004, actually fell out of the orbit of

the hegemony of the new Russian Empire. In 2013, the Russian leadership set the task "to build relations with Ukraine as priority partner in the CIS, to promote connecting it to the in-depth integration processes" [12]. Last year, Russia's struggle for preservation of Ukraine in the sphere of its influence sharply intensified. After the change of power in Ukraine in February 2014, the Kremlin began to hold "tough" geopolitics regarding Ukrainian state.

Political expansionism of the Russian Federation is manifested, in particular, in the proclaimed right to "humanitarian intervention" aimed at protecting human rights. Despite the high goal, humanitarian intervention is carried out in accordance with the policy of double standards and provides for the understanding of human rights and freedoms from the position of the Russian Federation ideology [2].

Economic vector of Russian imperialism. Russia's economic imperialism in the conditions of globalization of world economic processes becomes the leading direction of imperialist geostrategic in general. Among the varieties of economic expansion can be identified credit and financial, currency, commodity, technological, communication expansion. With the help of credit and financial expansion, there is an opportunity for Russia to strengthen its influence on the debtor country, to interfere in its internal affairs, to control its economy to some extent. Modern leading powers have a level of technology development that allows them to dominate the production of the most high-tech products. The fate of technological colonies, branches of economic complexes of Russia awaits weaker countries. Possession of technological information is the key to economic hegemony in the future world. The domination of Russia in the markets of certain goods gives them the opportunity to impose their prices and provide non-equivalent exchange in the world market. Possession of mineral resources remains one of the most important components of the power of modern empires, including Russia. The world has entered an era of increasing competition for resources, especially for energy – oil and natural gas. Among the main directions of the geostrategic of the imperialist Russia are also actions aimed at establishing communication control over the territories of other countries. Consequently, the desire to expand its economic influence on the regions of the world and the country, to subordinate them in the financial, monetary, technological, resource, communication spheres remains a mandatory feature of modern imperialism.

Economic imperialism of Russia is aimed at establishing control of its public and private corporations over the strategically important sectors of the economy of the new independent countries. TRANS-regional power Russia, subordinating the oil and gas transport systems of the CIS member States, aims to consolidate its geo-economic and geopolitical dominance in most of the post-Soviet geospatial space. Having huge reserves of natural gas and establishing its control over the gas transportation systems of other countries (not only post-Soviet), Russia seeks to assert itself as an energy superpower with an appropriate role in the European and global geopolitical space.

Political power pursuing its neo-Imperial geo-economic policy is often indirectly controlled by her TNC. Thus, the heavy-duty Corporation "Gazprom" serves as a geopolitical tool of the Kremlin and con-

ducts a geo-economic line aimed at establishing control over energy companies and trunk pipelines of the post-Soviet countries spaces. Obviously, a major Russian business related to the Kremlin is interested the maximum impact on the strategically important sectors of the CIS economies, their communication systems, markets of goods and services.

Because of the second "gas war", in 2009 Russia formed a powerful instrument of pressure on Ukraine in the energy sector, created opportunities for financial exsanguinations of the economy. First of all, politically motivated and economically unjustified projects of the "Northern" and "southern" flows were used as a tool to strengthen the influence on Ukraine.

Informational vector of Russian imperialism. Information imperialism (media imperialism) of Russian Federation is aimed at establishing dominant control over the information space of other countries. Media companies of Russian Federation filter information flows, imposing certain political views, stereotypes on the population of different countries, seek to form in society the desired idea of events and in the minds of the population to entrench certain ideological values and norms. Since 2008, the Kremlin began propaganda preparations for aggression against Ukraine. Propaganda campaigns and special information operations were carried out in the press, on television and on the Internet. Mass circulation published a variety of books about the upcoming Russian-Ukrainian war. Under the influence of the circumstances, accompanying the program of development of "Great Russia" proclaimed by the Russian political establishment, has formed in the mass consciousness of Russians the attitude towards Ukraine and Ukrainians evolves from misunderstanding and resentment to gloating and superiority. To a certain extent, this determines the mood of the Russian political elite, therefore, creates a favorable background for the emergence of revanchist-aggressive conceptual approaches towards Ukraine. The ideological basis of Russian propaganda was the concept of the "Russian world", formed in the 1970-s among the Moscow liberal intelligentsia and picked up in 2010's by Patriarch Kirill (Vladimir Gundyayeva).

Russian propaganda worked for three main target audiences: Western, Ukrainian and Russian. The main task in the Western direction was to prove the artificiality of the Ukrainian nation and the doom of the Ukrainian state, which never took place. Among Ukrainians there were spread the myths about unity with the Russian people, the so-called "triune, artificially divided Russian people", the advantages of joining the modern Russian Empire, or the USSR-2 under the brilliant leadership of Putin. The unity is actively promoted by Russian Federation through appealing to the common historical past and high spiritual and moral values. It is emphasized that the integration of the ideological principles will contribute to the progressive development of society in post-Soviet country. Russian society was infected with the ideas of great-power chauvinism, imperialism, inferiority of other Nations in comparison with the "most spiritual in the world" Russian people, Orthodox fundamentalism, Russian fascism and the like. At the same time, Russian propaganda did not stop before the spread of even the crudest inventions, worthy competition in which propagandists were only Russian politicians and diplomats.

For the population of the Russian Federation in the ideological arsenal of the Russian government is the idea of "great Russia", which is able to consolidate to a certain extent Russian society, but will not be able to get substantial support in the post-Soviet space. Control over information space makes it possible consolidation of society to support those or other areas of external or internal Russian geopolitics.

Media imperialism is the basis for political, economic, ideological, cultural and language expansion. In modern conditions, the most effective means of cultural expansion is the spread of stereotypes of mass culture, as a rule, through the media, movies, universal advertising. Cultural imperialism is the side-by-side with through political influence on the political culture of the population and economic through formation of the cult of consumption (standards of mass culture). Russian cultural policy in the Ukrainian direction was fully integrated into the overall strategy of liquidation of the Ukrainian state. Not only the mass media are widely used for conducting Russian propaganda, but also the cultural and entertainment industry: cinema, show business, such as non-political, "cultural" television and radio programs, the Internet and so on. Russian cultural expansion against Ukraine was carried out consciously and persistently throughout the years of independence, which was facilitated by the inefficiency of the state humanitarian and cultural policy. The strengthening of Russia information expansion is associated with the further progress of the media, especially radio and telecommunications, as well as the Internet.

All components of the imperialist geostrategic are closely intertwined and implemented by states, depending on their potential, current and future geopolitical interests, assessment of the geopolitical situation in the world and its regions, taking into account the potential and geostrategic of other leading geopolitical actors. There is actually a continuous, mostly peaceful external expansion of the powerful States of the world and groups, except for Russia. The mutual expansionism of the imperialist subjects has the character of "interpenetration", especially with regard to economic expansion.

Under the slogans of support for the rights and freedoms of the Russian and "Russian-speaking" population, the cultural expansion of the new Russian Empire to the new independent states was carried out. Through the Russian and Pro-Russian media, as well as films, pop music, fiction in the post-Soviet countries, a new Imperial morality, a positive image of the "older brother" is being grown. Russia positions itself as a defender of the rights and freedoms of the Russian and Russian-speaking population in the post-Soviet countries. Especially intensive information and cultural expansion is directed on the most part of the East and the South of Ukraine. In 2006, the new law of the Russian Federation radically revised the migration policy and created the favorable opportunities for attracting "compatriots" to the country as human resources for settling Siberia and the Far East. At the conceptual level, Russia expresses concern about the negative impact on the prospects for strengthening the global stability of the current trend of "re-ideologization of international relations" [13]. But in the face of confrontation with the West, Russian itself seeks to develop and spread its own ideology in the world, which could be

an alternative to Western liberal democracies. Such an ideology would have to consolidate the public consciousness of all citizens Russia around certain ideas relative to the total ideas of development, the status of the state in the world, its role in world politics and economics. In the post-Soviet space, the latest ideology is designed to become a reliable base for close integration of countries CIS, and in the world to ensure the growth of Russia's political role and support its geopolitics from different countries and peoples.

Military vector of Russian imperialism. War in the modern world is too expensive and risky means to achieve political goals. Only some states and blocs of states can disregard the norms of international morality and start a war. They are either extremely powerful countries or marginal states for which a successful war can be a means of solving external and internal problems. Modern military strategy in most cases involves fleeting, lightning-fast military action with the massive use of aircraft, precision weapons. "Surgical operations" are planned to destroy specific objects and even people. An effective military strategy should be planned and implemented together with other types of expansion.

The military-political direction of the neo-imperial geopolitics of the Russian leadership consists in the formation of the organization of the collective security (OCS) under its auspices within the post-Soviet territories. At the same time, there is a desire to use the rich experience of the creation and development of military-political groups NATO. The OCS power potential contains the following military structures: collective rapid response forces, collective rapid deployment forces of the Central Asian region, peacekeeping forces. For increased mobility and efficiency of action forces of the OCS is scheduled to create the collective air force. Russia's tough geopolitics is based on a very powerful military potential. The leadership of the Russian Federation spends an astronomical amount of money to modernize the armed forces and modern weapons systems, which is excessive a burden for the economy of today's Russia.

Through the implementation of Russia's imperial geopolitical interests Russia has applied the concept of "hybrid war" against Ukraine, which is largely unique from a structural and functional point of view: it is "hybrid" in form and "asymmetric" essence. The genesis of the Russian phenomenon of "hybrid war" refers to the period of Russia's rethinking of its place in the world and the region. The main characteristic of the Yeltsin period of loss of geopolitical positions, international political status and influence was the reformatting of the European geostrategic space, which ended with a significant expansion of NATO and the EU. At the same time, even the objective components of the relevant geo-economic and even more so geopolitical trends were perceived mainly through the subjective prism of resentment and nostalgia for the lost. In concentrated form, this nostalgia back in 2005 Vladimir Putin said in his address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation: "...we must recognize that the collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century. For Russian same people he became a real drama. Tens of millions of our fellow citizens and compatriots were outside the Russian territory" [3].

Most clearly, the nature of the new type of war was demonstrated first by the annexation of the Russian Federation in the spring of 2014, the territory of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and then by the support of local radical elements and the full-scale invasion of Russian units in the Eastern regions of Ukraine. It all began in 2013 with the Kremlin's attempt to expand Ukraine from the European development path towards the Eurasian economic community. Ukrainians responded to this with a mass uprising called the revolution of Dignity.

In the East of Ukraine, the military of the Russian Federation officially does not conduct actions, however provides training of groups of so-called rebels, as well as provides them with the weapon, military equipment, ammunition. In 2018, the OESD Mission recorded some 3,800 weapons in violation of the withdrawal lines, which is roughly 6% lower than in 2017. About 60% of such weapons were recorded in uncontrolled areas. The armed forces of the Russian Federation has repeatedly intervened in the conflict on the party of separatists-fired at the territory of Ukraine, carried out rather deep raids, conducted the real military operations, openly disregarding the rules of international right. Since the end of August 2014, the use of the regular armed forces of the Russian Federation became systemic. Consequently, Russian Federation has been implementing in Ukraine, its potential "hard forces", this hidden war is actually aimed the dismemberment of Ukraine [8].

Religious vector of Russian imperialism. The common history of Russian and Ukrainian people stipulated the common religious directions of development. The church became the tool of influence on political processes that took place in Ukraine by Russian Federation. The attempt of prevention of religious imperialism from the side of Ukraine is concerned of religious question regarding the desire of the Ukrainian Church to get autocephaly, which in effect meant the separation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the influence of the Russian religious community. On January 5, 2019, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew signed Tomos of the Autocephaly of the only Orthodox Church of Ukraine. The signing ceremony for Tomos took place in the Patriarchal Church of St. George on the territory of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul. The decisions of the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to provide Tomos to the Ukrainian Church caused quite a sharp reaction from the Russian Orthodox Church, as a result of which it stopped communicating with Constantinople. For Ukrainian people this is very important because all of the ordinances they received from non-recognized denominations in Ukraine, is now acquiring a special spiritual importance. Now, against the backdrop of the war in the Donbas and the occupation of Crimea, Ukrainians will gradually move to "their" Church, abandoning the one controlled by the Kremlin. It will be a long, but inopportune process despite Moscow's resistance. After all, Ukraine has ceased to be what Moscow called its "canonical territory". Autocephaly of Ukraine – is the end of the old concept of the image of Moscow as the "third Rome", that is the world center of Christian civilization. It is also a fiasco for Putin's imperialist idea of the so-called "Russian world", which supposedly should unite the Orthodox Slavs.

### The forecast of Russian foreign policy with respect to Ukraine

In my opinion, there are five basic scenarios of further Russian foreign policy with respect to Ukraine.

The first radical scenario ("total war" scenario). It is possible provided that the Russian leadership shall take a decision on the beginning of an open armed aggression in order to obtain a land corridor to the Crimea or unimpeded access to its military contingent in Pridnestrovje. In this case, Ukraine will be deprived of the choice of ways to resolve the conflict in the Donbas, and will be forced to defend its independence, using all available resources.

The second radical scenario (the scenario of "cut-off" or "wall") provides for the final refusal of Ukraine from the occupied territories and a complete break with them. Further historical fate of these territories will be of interest to Ukraine only from the point of view of ensuring its own security, namely-the power of defensive structures and a sufficient degree of isolation of these lands.

The third radical scenario (the "satellite" scenario) provides for the search for ways of a separate peace with Russia on favorable terms, disregard for the interests of Western partners, recognition of the autonomy of Donbas, refusal to return the Crimea. Such reconciliation will deprive the foreign policy of the Ukrainian state of a significant part of independence and bind its historical fate to the historical fate of the Russian Federation.

The fourth scenario ("freezing" scenario) is "freezing" the conflict on the model of Pridnestrovje, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. Russia is interested in such a decision (although full capitulation under the third scenario will suit it to a greater extent), as well as part of the EU countries and the most conformist and Pro-Russian layers of European society. Its essence lies in the fact that the conflict-affected areas, the so-called DPR and LPR, remain part of Ukraine, possibly on the terms of granting them special powers. Economic ties between these territories and the rest of Ukraine should be restored, which means that Ukraine will have to assume the economic burden of restoring the destroyed areas of Donbas. At the same time, a de facto regime controlled from the Russian Federation will operate in Donbas, which will try to influence Ukrainian foreign and domestic policy, pursuing the interests of another state.

The fifth scenario (the scenario of "neither war nor peace" or "limited war and permanent negotiations") provides for a limited and deterrent war against Russia and collaborators in the East in order to cause them as much demotivating losses as possible; a permanent negotiation process, however, without the final fixation of the results in the form of various agreements and formats; building up the military (primarily military-technological) potential of Ukraine and a gradual transition from blocking the enemy to its displacement – from passive defense to active defense.; increased intensity of international sanctions and diplomatic isolation of Russia; consistent and radical reform of Ukrainian society; rapprochement with NATO and the European Union, as well as the formation of a number of defense alliances with part of the post-Soviet and Central European States.

**Conclusion.** Russian Federation is the prominent evidence of imperialism, existing in modern period. The idea of great state is the main idea for approve its actions before the international subjects. The main features of Russian imperialism consist in its efforts to conquer the new territories under its auspices. After the Declaration of independence of Ukraine and its focus on European democratic, political, legal, economic, social values, the desire to join the EU, the Russian leadership perceived it as "temporarily lost territory", has a policy aimed at subordination Ukraine to its geopolitical and economic interests. In order to capture these legal territories of Ukraine, the Kremlin leadership is actively uses completely untrue information about national, social, economic and cultural "oppression" of citizens of Russian nationality, prohibition of their national, linguistic and cultural identity. The political leadership of Russian Federation and all media are actively preparing separatist-minded elements, they are generously funded and created in the East Illegal armed groups in order to destabilize the situation in Ukraine. This fact has the negative consequences for development of Ukraine as the European independent country, as well as obtaining the status of full participant within the international area. Russian Federation used different vectors of hidden imperialistic foreign policy: informational, political, economic, religious etc.

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