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THE IMPACT OF RUSSIA'S HYBRID AGGRESSION ON STATE POLICY FOR STRENGTHENING THE SPIRITUAL AND MENTAL UNITY OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

What particular tactics has Russia employed against Ukraine in its hybrid warfare, and how have these affected state policies meant to maintain mental and spiritual unity? These questions are thoroughly examined in this paper. False narratives are actively propagated by the psychological and information aspects of this conflict, such as the idea that Ukraine is split between a "nationalistic west" and a "Russian speaking east." These initiatives also entail casting doubt on the legitimacy of the Ukrainian government and eroding confidence in its armed forces and institutions. False information is routinely disseminated in large quantities by pro-Moscow media, social media, and influence networks. The intention is to undermine society's ability to organize and resist, as well as to erode public trust.

What role do religion and language play in this conflict? Russia has frequently used the defense of the "Russian world" and communities of Russian speakers as an excuse for meddling in the domestic affairs of Ukraine. Concurrently, organizations associated with the Russian Orthodox Church have been actively promoting Russia. These campaigns have increased anti-Ukrainian sentiment and widened gaps between religious communities.

Ukraine has stepped up its efforts to strengthen mental and spiritual unity because it is well aware that its adversary uses psychological pressure, historical manipulation, disinformation, and language-based cultural expansion as destabilizing tactics. Decommunization, the preservation of the nation's historical memory, the active promotion of Ukrainian cultural values, and the designation of Ukrainian as the official language in all spheres of life are some tangible measures that demonstrate this.

The institutional structure supporting Ukraine's spiritual and mental unity policy is a multi-level system covering education, culture, social affairs, and information. It operates through coordinated action by specialized ministries and state agencies. In the legislative field, the idea of Ukrainian national unity is central and is seen as necessary for building national identity, strengthening statehood, and ensuring security. A review of current laws shows that the state has adopted a multi-faceted understanding of unity — combining historical, linguistic-cultural,

sociocultural, and civic elements into a coherent spiritual and mental foundation for social progress.

Keywords: *state policy; spiritual and mental unity; humanitarian policy; hybrid aggression; identity; national security; legal framework; consolidation; culture; religion; cultural heritage; national memory.*

ВПЛИВ ГІБРИДНОЇ АГРЕСІЇ РОСІЇ НА ДЕРЖАВНУ ПОЛІТИКУ ЩОДО ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ ДУХОВНО-МЕНТАЛЬНОЇ ЄДНОСТІ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА

У статті проведено комплексний аналіз впливу гібридної агресії Росії на державну політику щодо забезпечення духовно-ментальної єдності українського суспільства. Зазначено, що інформаційно-психологічна складова цієї агресії має особливе значення, а саме: активне транслювання деструктивних меседжів щодо уявного поділу України на «російськомовний схід» і «націоналістичний захід», ставлення під сумнів легітимність української державності, дискредитація інститутів влади та армії. Через проросійські медіа, соціальної мережі, мережу агентів впливу здійснюється масовий вплив фейкової інформації, мета якої знизити довіру громадян до держави та підірвати здатність суспільства до мобілізації й опору. Окреслено окрему роль у гібридній війні мовному та релігійному питанням. Зазначено, що Росія постійно використовувала тему захисту «русского міра» та російськомовного населення як привід для втручання у внутрішні справи України. Водночас через діяльність підконтрольних структур російської православної церкви велась активна пропаганда проросійських ідей, що розколювала релігійні громади та підживлювала антиукраїнські настрої. Усвідомлюючи загрозу з боку ворога, що активно використовує інформаційно-психологічні впливи, пропаганду, історичні маніпуляції та мовно-культурну експансію як інструменти дестабілізації, Україна активізувала і постійно забезпечує політику зміцнення духовно-ментальної єдності. Це проявилось в утвердженні української мови як державної в усіх сферах життя, декомунізації, захисті національної історичної пам'яті, підтримці української культури та цінностей. Обґрунтовано, що інституційний механізм політики духовно-ментальної єдності в Україні є багаторівневою системою, що охоплює освітню, культурну, соціальну та інформаційну сфери, і функціонує через узгоджену діяльність профільних міністерств та державних установ. Показано, що у законотворчій площині поняття єдності Українського народу посідає помітне місце, оскільки розглядається як одна з ключових умов формування національної ідентичності, зміцнення державності та забезпечення національної безпеки. Аналіз чинних нормативно-правових актів засвідчує, що держава сформувала багатовимірний підхід до розуміння єдності, поєднуючи історичний, мовно-культурний, соціокультурний і громадянський аспекти, що разом утворюють цілісну духовно-ментальну основу суспільного розвитку.

Ключові слова: *державна політика, духовно-ментальна єдність, гуманітарна політика, гібридна агресія, ідентичність населення, національна безпека, нормативно-правове забезпечення, консолідація, культура, релігія, охорона культурної спадщини, національна пам'ять.*

Statement of the Problem. The question of spiritual and mental unity has emerged as a matter of significant urgency for Ukraine due to a constellation of pressing challenges. These challenges include Russia's ongoing military aggression, the accompanying hybrid and information warfare, ideological threats to national security, and a growing imperative to foster internal solidarity among Ukrainians. In

the current socio-political climate, unifying society has become essential for national cohesion and resilience. Russia's methods in this conflict focus on strategically exploiting perceived mental and cultural divergences among Ukrainian regions. By manipulating elements such as language, history, culture, and religion, it seeks to destabilize Ukraine's domestic order, sow discord, and undermine trust among its citizens. Within this context, the concept of "spiritual and mental unity" assumes critical importance. It encompasses the ability of individuals from all regions of Ukraine to perceive themselves as integral members of a shared nation, collaborate in shaping its future, and lean on collective historical and cultural foundations. This unity transcends its humanitarian dimension; it is intricately linked to effective governance, the country's capacity to resist external attacks, the establishment of a cohesive national identity, and the entrenchment of democratic principles.

Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. The significance of spiritual and mental coherence in state-building processes has been widely explored in academic discourse. Notable contributors in this domain include M. Stepyko, V. Dodonov, O. Lemak, Y. Polishchuk, Y. Hrytsak, A. Mladonova, V. Balushok, O. Taran, R. Shporliuk, among others. Their scholarship addresses interconnected issues such as identity formation, security policy, cultural strategy, and efforts to eliminate destructive influences within the humanitarian sphere. Complementary studies by M. Bihari, V. Karlov, A. Kupriichuk, and V. Pryshchepa further underscore the role of humanitarian policies and their diverse components in nurturing spiritual and mental cohesion.

However, there remains an acute gap in research concerning the impact of Russia's hybrid aggression on Ukraine's state policies aimed at safeguarding spiritual and mental unity. This issue persists as critically relevant not only for immediate wartime needs but also for post-conflict reconstruction, long-term national development, and the attainment of sustainable peace. Accordingly, advancing theoretical and empirical insights into these dynamics is of paramount importance.

Objective of the Study. This study seeks to analyze comprehensively how Russia's hybrid warfare influences state-driven efforts to preserve and reinforce the

spiritual and mental unity of the Ukrainian population

Presentation of the main material. The hybrid aggression initiated by the Russian Federation against Ukraine in 2014 – which escalated into a full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022 – represents one of the most profound threats to Ukraine's internal cohesion. The nature of this aggression extends well beyond conventional military engagement; it involves systematic use of informational propaganda, cultural appropriation, linguistic manipulation, religious interference, and ideological dominion targeting societal destabilization, identity erosion, and disruption of national unity.

During her public statement, Mary Holder from the Foundation for the Preservation of Ukrainian Sacred Arts underscored that Russia's goal is the annihilation of Ukrainian statehood and cultural identity itself – an objective that places the protection of Ukrainian heritage among the nation's highest priorities. A similar perspective was articulated by Alexandra Xanthaki, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Cultural Rights. She characterized Russia's aggression not merely as territorial conquest but as an orchestrated assault designed to obliterate Ukraine's cultural ecosystem based on the propagandized assertion that Ukrainians lack an independent cultural identity.

Historian Yaroslav Hrytsak provided meaningful reflections during his conversation with Mykola Riabchuk in 2017 when he contended that identity acquires heightened significance under conditions of existential threat. External adversities often compel societies to reevaluate foundational values, transforming identity from a theoretical construct into a unifying force capable of fostering solidarity. Under such circumstances, identity transcends personal preference to become a tool for collective self-preservation, affirmation of shared convictions, and ethical accountability.

More recently, during Russia's full-scale invasion, analyst Dmytro Sudyn evaluated societal transformations within Ukraine, noting substantial progress in terms of increased social solidarity, alignment with shared values, and amplified national consciousness. These observations affirm that Ukraine is undergoing a

profound reorganization of its collective identity—one marked by resilience and unity even in the face of adversity.

The informational and psychological tactics employed in Russia's aggression have played an exceptionally significant role in shaping the conflict with Ukraine. For decades, Kremlin propaganda has perpetuated divisive narratives, painting Ukraine as a nation split between a predominantly "Russian-speaking East" and a "nationalist West." Systematic disinformation campaigns sought to undermine the legitimacy of Ukrainian statehood while tarnishing public institutions and the reputation of the armed forces. Pro-Russian media channels, social platforms, and networks of influence were leveraged to propagate falsehoods on a massive scale, eroding public trust in state structures and weakening societal unity, resistance, and mobilization.

Another key aspect of this aggression is the deliberate targeting of Ukraine's rich cultural heritage. Museums, historical sites, archives, and libraries in occupied territories have been damaged or destroyed, with culturally significant landmarks repeatedly attacked. These actions represent a calculated assault aimed at obliterating the historical and symbolic foundations underpinning Ukrainian nationhood.

In areas temporarily occupied by Russian forces, the imposition of Russian educational standards has profoundly affected local communities. Ukrainian language instruction was banned, Ukrainian literary works confiscated, and individuals such as clergy members, educators, and civic activists faced persecution. These policies are part of a broader effort to reengineer public consciousness, imposing an external identity through an imperialist narrative and systematic "re-education."

Both language and religion have been weaponized within Russia's hybrid warfare strategy. The Kremlin has frequently exploited the rhetoric of protecting the so-called "Russian world" and Russian-speaking populations to justify meddling in Ukraine's internal affairs. Meanwhile, organizations tied to the Russian Orthodox Church have played a critical role in amplifying pro-Russian ideological messages, sowing divisions within religious groups, and fostering anti-Ukrainian sentiment.

Political scientists note that crises and periods of societal transformation tend

to deepen regional polarization as populations mobilize around significant national challenges. In such times, regional and ethnic identities emerge as vital components of political identity formation. Ukraine's electoral battles in the early 21st century and Russia's military interventions exemplify how these differences were tactically exploited for political gain. Strategies often prioritized conflict-driven narratives—constructing "enemy images," dividing the country into distinct regional blocs, and perpetuating the myth of "two Ukraines"—over substantive ideological discourse.

Researcher S. Dembitsky identifies distinct phases in the evolution of Ukraine's civic identity: post-Soviet adaptation (1992–2004), the first wave of civic mobilization (2004–2006), political polarization (2006–2013), the second wave of civic mobilization (2013–2022), and a third wave beginning after Russia's large-scale invasion in February 2022.

These milestone periods underscore a significant trend: each surge in national unity coincided with attempts by Russia to reassert control over Ukraine, as well as efforts to exploit internal divisions among Ukrainian leadership. Rather than yielding to external threats or internal discord, Ukrainian society has demonstrated remarkable resilience. Over time, citizens have increasingly bridged the traditional "East–West" divide, forging a consolidated national identity supported by a predominantly Ukrainian-language space for communication, information, and culture.

Researcher V. Dodonova presents similar conclusions, highlighting how Russian aggression has galvanizing effects on Ukraine's internal unity. It has spurred decolonization within public consciousness, fostering collective resistance against an external threat. Dodonova underscores that the shift toward emphasizing civic identity over ethnic identity marks a pivotal transformation for Ukraine. The full-scale invasion significantly diluted old notions of nationality as merely an inherited trait. Instead, the concept of being Ukrainian now resonates more broadly as a civic identity—rooted not in ethnicity but in shared belonging to the nation itself. Increasingly, individuals embrace their Ukrainian identity by virtue of their lived connection to the country, reinforcing unified resistance and a collective national purpose.

Ukraine, recognizing the challenges posed by Russian informational and psychological strategies, historical distortions, propaganda, and linguistic-cultural influence, has implemented measures to bolster its spiritual and mental cohesion. These efforts focus on reinforcing the status of the Ukrainian language as the state language across all areas of public life, pursuing decommunization policies, safeguarding historical memory, and supporting Ukrainian cultural values.

A comprehensive institutional framework underpins these initiatives, operating as a multi-tiered system with educational, cultural, social, and informational dimensions. This system thrives on coordinated collaboration among various ministries and state institutions. A significant milestone in this regard occurred in December 2024 when the Ministry for Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories was restructured into the Ministry of National Unity of Ukraine. Later, on July 21, 2025, a Cabinet of Ministers resolution further integrated this ministry into the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine. As a result of this merger, the newly renamed Ministry of Social Policy, Family, and Unity assumed responsibilities for state policies linked to national unity, civic consciousness, strategic communications, and the promotion of Ukrainian national identity.

The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine serves as a cornerstone of this framework, playing a pivotal role in shaping civic and national identity through both formal and informal education. Its policies, emphasizing democratic values, historical memory, language promotion, and cultural education, constitute a solid foundation for fostering the nation's spiritual cohesion.

Complementing these efforts, the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine enhances cultural integration by supporting national heritage, promoting cultural diversity, and encouraging interregional collaboration. It manages initiatives related to culture, arts, religion, and the preservation of cultural heritage, all integral to fortifying Ukraine's spiritual and mental unity.

The Ukrainian Institute of National Memory also plays a key role by crafting and executing policies on historical memory. It actively supports academic research, organizes educational programs, and coordinates efforts to commemorate pivotal

events and figures in Ukraine's history. The Institute extends its reach internationally by fostering cooperation in matters of national remembrance.

The informational aspect of national unity is spearheaded by the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting of Ukraine alongside the national public broadcaster. These entities are tasked with implementing state information policies that promote intercultural dialogue and strengthen informational cohesion. Through their work, they ensure the promotion of the Ukrainian language, culture, and values throughout the public sphere, enhancing a shared sense of identity.

Local self-government bodies play a vital role in implementing policies that foster spiritual and mental unity, as key initiatives for national integration and social cohesion are often realized at the community level. These efforts are guided not only by constitutional and legal frameworks but also by the need to tailor national strategies to the specific dynamics of regional contexts.

In Ukraine, local authorities are empowered to contribute to these policies under the Law on Local Self-Government, adopted on May 21, 1997. Their tasks include preserving cultural heritage, promoting education, facilitating public dialogue, forging local identity, advancing social integration, and crafting information strategies. For instance, the Zhytomyr City Council regularly conducts public electronic consultations on renaming urban landmarks as part of broader decolonization initiatives.

Further responsibilities were entrusted to local self-government bodies through the Law on the Fundamental Principles of State Policy in Affirming Ukrainian National and Civic Identity, adopted on December 13, 2022. This legislation tasks local authorities with promoting Ukrainian national and civic identity, fostering conditions for patriotic and military-patriotic education, and supporting civic learning projects.

Practical examples of such endeavors are already evident. In 2021, the Zhytomyr City Council's executive committee approved a program aligned with the National Patriotic Education Strategy. This initiative aims to instill civic identity among youth, develop readiness to defend Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial

integrity, and honor the memory of fallen heroes. Additional activities include funding socio-cultural projects tied to patriotic education, implemented by civic organizations.

A key instrument of state policy in ensuring spiritual and mental unity is the adoption of strategic documents. Leading this effort is the Strategy for Affirming Ukrainian National and Civic Identity until 2030, approved on December 15, 2023. Based on sociological insights showing regional discrepancies in self-perception, the strategy prioritizes overcoming socio-cultural, linguistic, and regional divides. Its overarching goal is to unite Ukrainian society around shared national values within the context of Ukraine's European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations.

Language policy has emerged as a cornerstone for preserving national unity, enshrined in multiple legislative and strategic frameworks. The Concept of State Language Policy, adopted in 2010, affirms that ensuring the Ukrainian language operates fully across all areas of public life is essential to sustaining national identity and unity. Similarly, the Strategy for Popularizing the Ukrainian Language until 2030—titled “A Strong Language – A Successful State”—focuses on expanding the use of Ukrainian across all regions and sectors as a means to strengthen social cohesion and identity. Consistent themes appear in the State Target National and Cultural Program for Comprehensive Development and Functioning of the Ukrainian Language until 2030, adopted in 2024.

Importantly, Ukraine's unity policies reject cultural homogenization and emphasize inclusivity. The state program “Unity in Diversity,” which extends until 2032, regards cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity as an asset. It promotes measures to protect minority rights and those of Indigenous peoples while fostering intercultural dialogue, tolerance, and integration within a unified civic framework.

Culture is another cornerstone of this unity-building effort. The Strategy for the Development of Culture in Ukraine until 2030, adopted in March 2025, underscores the role of cultural expression in national security and identity. Its operational plan for 2025–2027 outlines initiatives to modernize cultural infrastructure, develop creative industries, digitize cultural assets, restore historical landmarks, and elevate

visibility of Ukrainian culture both domestically and globally.

Key advancements in state policy aimed at fostering spiritual unity in Ukraine include the adoption of two groundbreaking laws: “On the Condemnation and Prohibition of the Propaganda of Russian Imperial Policy in Ukraine and the Decolonization of Toponymy” (2023) and “On the Principles of State Policy of National Memory of the Ukrainian People” (2025). The first law bans the creation, distribution, and public display of symbols tied to Russian imperial policies while requiring the renaming of places and removal of public symbols associated with Russian imperialism or the aggressor state. This measure paves the way for reimagining Ukraine’s symbolic landscape and forging a postcolonial mental map that unites all regions, regardless of their historical connections to Soviet or imperial narratives.

Equally transformative is the law on national memory policy, which defines “rashism” as a contemporary form of totalitarian ideology underpinned by Russian chauvinism, imperialism, Soviet communism, and traces of Nazism. The legislation mandates state and local authorities to safeguard national and regional sites of memory, museums, and archives, ensuring they contribute to preserving Ukraine’s historical heritage.

These two legislative measures collectively provide a robust legal framework for strengthening societal cohesion, rejecting colonial vestiges, harmonizing national symbols, and cultivating a collective historical memory. They are essential tools for developing a unified national identity that enhances social cohesion, fortifies resilience against external threats, promotes internal stability, and fosters cultural solidarity—vital elements during both wartime and postwar reconstruction efforts. However, their success hinges on moving beyond symbolic declarations to implement practical measures with clear goals, measurable outcomes, sufficient funding, efficient oversight, and institutional accountability.

Conclusions. In conclusion, amid ongoing Russian military aggression, widespread internal displacement, distorted historical narratives, and intense information warfare, achieving unity within Ukrainian society is more critical than

ever. Spiritual and mental cohesion emerge as indispensable strategies that surpass the reach of purely economic or administrative initiatives. Prioritizing the establishment of a shared national identity, eradicating remnants of colonial dominance from cultural symbols, and weaving an inclusive historical narrative are now central imperatives of Ukraine's state policy.

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