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СТАН ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ УКРАЇНСЬКО-АМЕРИКАНСЬКОГО СПІВРОБІТНИЦТВА В УМОВАХ ЗБРОЙНОЇ АГРЕСІЇ РОСІЇ ПРОТИ УКРАЇНИ

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Анотація. Актуальність дослідження економічної та дипломатичної комунікації між Україною та США визначається сучасною динамічною світовою політичною ситуацією, сповненою конфліктів та економічної нестабільності. Діалог між двома країнами набуває нових реалій, які ставлять під сумнів традиційні норми та стратегії обміну.

В умовах геополітичних потрясінь, таких як зростаюча російська агресія, українська криза та мінлива ситуація у світі, важливість економіко-дипломатичного співробітництва

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набуває стратегічного значення. Якщо Україна зможе ефективно відстоювати свою позицію, захищати власні інтереси та мобілізувати підтримку міжнародної спільності, то це безпосередньо вплине на її безпеку, стабільність та майбутнє.

Повномасштабна військова агресія росії проти України призвела до руйнування та пошкодження цивільної та критичної інфраструктури, що викликало зовнішню та внутрішню міграцію працездатного населення. За таких обставин національна економіка зіткнулася з економічною кризою. Пройшовши період адаптації світова торгівля вибудувала нові логістичні ланцюги, проте глобальна продовольчо-безпека залишається у нестійкому стані. Однак війни мають тенденції до закінчення, тому участь в міжнародному співробітництві, в тому числі зі США, має велике значення для відновлення національної економіки.

Проблема повоєнної відбудови країни після війни не є новою практикою у світовій історії. На те, яким чином відбувається це співробітництво, зокрема в контексті відбудови, значною мірою впливають особливості окремих держав. Тому застосування конкретних економічних інструментів може мати як позитивний так і негативний ефект. Дослідження даного питання, дасть можливість краще зрозуміти, як міжнародне співробітництво вплине на економічне відновлення та допоможе державі якнайшвидше повернутися на міжнародну торговельну арену.

Українсько-американське співробітництво завжди привертає увагу як науковців, так і практиків. В першу чергу, у зв’язку зі стратегічним характером це співробітництво вимагає більшої відповідальності та змістовності дій обох держав. Також, ефективний дипломатичний та економічній діалог зі США має безпосередній вплив на становлення України як активного члена світової спільноти.

Мета роботи полягає в досліджені економіко-дипломатичного співробітництва України та Сполучених Штатів Америки, та визначення національних та стратегічних перспектив подальшого співпраці в процесі повоєнної відбудови нашої держави в контексті російського вторгнення.

Для досягнення мети наукової роботи засновано такі загальнонаукові методи дослідження: логічний, порівняння, синтезу та аналізу, узагальнення, класифікацію, поясиення, а також статистичний, таблиці та графічний методи.

Практичне значення одержаних в процесі дослідження результатів полягає в тому, що його висновки та рекомендації можуть бути використані для подальших наукових досліджень іншої тематики та допоможуть проаналізувати аспекти, які безпосередньо впливають на відновлення економіки України в процесі розвитку українсько-американського співробітництва в повоєнних умовах за допомогою моделювання результативності сформованих рішень, що передбачають залучення ресурсного потенціалу України.

Ключові слова: російсько-українська війна, стратегічне партнерство, повоєнна відбудова, міжнародна економіка, світовий порядок, геополітика, інвестиції.

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STATE AND PROSPECTS OF UKRAINIAN-US COOPERATION IN THE CONDITIONS OF ARMED AGGRESSION BY RUSSIA AGAINST UKRAINE

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Abstract. The relevance of the study of economic and diplomatic communication between Ukraine and the USA is determined by the modern dynamic world political situation, full of conflicts and economic instability. The dialogue between the two countries acquires new realities that call into question the traditional norms and strategies of exchange.

In the conditions of geopolitical upheavals, such as growing Russian aggression, the Ukrainian crisis and the changing situation in the world, the importance of economic and diplomatic cooperation acquires strategic importance. If Ukraine can effectively defend its position, protect its own interests and mobilize the support of the international community, this will directly affect its security, stability and future.

Russia's full-scale military aggression against Ukraine led to the destruction and damage of civilian and critical infrastructure, which caused external and internal migration of the working population. Under such circumstances, the national economy faced an economic crisis. After a period of adaptation, world trade has built new logistics chains, but global food security remains in a precarious position. However, wars tend to end, so participation in international cooperation, including with the USA, is of great importance for the recovery of the national economy.

The problem of post-war reconstruction of the country after the war is not a new practice in world history. The manner in which cooperation takes place, in particular in the context of reconstruction, is largely influenced by the peculiarities of individual states. Therefore, the use of specific economic instruments can have both positive and negative effects. The study of this issue will provide an opportunity to better understand how international cooperation affects economic recovery and will help the state to return to the international trade arena as soon as possible.

Ukrainian-American cooperation always attracts the attention of both scientists and practitioners. First of all, due to its strategic nature, this cooperation requires greater responsibility and meaningfulness of the actions of both states. Also, an effective diplomatic and economic dialogue with the USA has a direct impact on the formation of Ukraine as an active member of the world community.

The purpose of the work is to research the economic and diplomatic cooperation between Ukraine and the United States of America, and to identify on this basis the prospects for further cooperation in the process of post-war reconstruction of our state in the context of the Russian invasion.

To achieve the goal of the scientific work, the following general scientific research methods are applied: logical, comparison, synthesis and analysis, generalization, classification, explanation, as well as statistical, tabular and graphic methods.

The practical significance of the results obtained in the research process is that its conclusions and recommendations can be used for further scientific research on this topic and will help to analyze aspects that will directly affect the recovery of the Ukrainian economy in the process of developing Ukrainian-American cooperation in post-war conditions with the help of modeling the effectiveness of the formed decisions involving the resource potential of Ukraine.

Keywords: Russian-Ukrainian war, strategic partnership, post-war reconstruction, international economy, world order, geopolitics, investments.

Introduction. The modern world is a society consisting of many different nations, peoples and countries. Therefore, their independent development is characterized by a tendency to strengthen international cooperation. The objective necessity of their development is the aggravation of global problems (the threat of possible nuclear conflicts, the fight against economic backwardness in the world, the achievement of effective use of natural resources, the development of information and trade exchange, the destabilization of international relations and world politics, etc.), which faced humanity at a crossroads 20th-21st centuries. These and other problems can only be overcome through cooperation and coordination between states.

Modern society strives to create optimal conditions for comprehensive cooperation between states, which is manifested primarily in the coordinated actions of states to
strengthen trust between their peoples. To achieve this goal, a system of international organizations designed to manage cooperation between states was created.

The relevance of the study of economic and diplomatic communication between Ukraine and the USA is determined by the modern dynamic world political situation, full of conflicts and economic instability. The dialogue between the two countries acquires new realities that call into question the traditional norms and strategies of exchange.

On December 1, 1991, more than 90 percent of the population of Ukraine, led by the future first president Leonid Kravchuk, voted for independence, and Ukraine became one of the new democratic states of Europe. Thus, the collapse of the Soviet Union created uncertainty and the possibility of an unstable world order. Most importantly, Ukraine was one of four former republics that inherited Soviet nuclear weapons and materials, making Ukraine the world's third-largest holder of nuclear weapons. Since Ukraine was trying to make a successful transition to a market economy and democratic transformation, the United States recognized the need to help Ukraine by establishing diplomatic relations between our countries on January 23, 1992. The main task for the US was the need to denuclearize the Ukrainian nation, at a time when it was trying to gain political and economic support, national security and international integrity.

In the conditions of geopolitical upheavals, such as growing Russian aggression, the Ukrainian crisis and the changing situation in the world, the importance of economic and diplomatic cooperation acquires strategic importance. If Ukraine can effectively defend its position, protect its own interests and mobilize the support of the international community, this will directly affect its security, stability and future.

The United States and Ukraine have been actively cooperating and building partnerships for many years. This task can seem difficult due to the significant differences in levels of economic development, geographical distance, political systems, history and culture. The USA is a strategically important partner for our country, which is working towards Euro-Atlantic integration and is interested in cooperation with highly developed countries of the world. The experience and political and economic influence of the USA in the world can help Ukraine achieve the above-mentioned goals.

**Task statement.** Russia's full-scale military aggression against Ukraine led to the destruction and damage of civilian and critical infrastructure, which caused external and internal migration of the working population. Under such circumstances, the national economy faced an economic crisis. After a period of adaptation, world trade has built new logistics chains, but global food security remains in a precarious position. However, wars tend to end, so participation in international cooperation, including with the USA, is of great importance for the recovery of the national economy.

Ukrainian-American cooperation always attracts the attention of both scientists and practitioners. First of all, due to its strategic nature, this cooperation requires greater responsibility and meaningfulness of the actions of both states. Also, an effective diplomatic and economic dialogue with the USA has a direct impact on the formation of Ukraine as an active member of the world community.

Many scientists were engaged in the study of international cooperation, in particular, the following works were devoted to the study of international cooperation: I. Pidgurska, V. Cherkasova, N. Nimchenko, I. Stetsura, D. Morganiuk, M. Panasyuk, O. Ivasechko, P. Lopushanskyi, A. Loishyn., Yasenko S., Kosaretskyi E., Boyko R., Tikhonenko I. and others.

The problem of post-war reconstruction of the country is not a new practice in world history. The manner in which cooperation takes place, particularly in the context of reconstruction, is largely influenced by the peculiarities of individual states. Therefore, the use of specific economic instruments can have both positive and negative effects. The study of this issue will provide an opportunity to better understand how international cooperation
affects economic recovery and will help the state to return to the international trade arena as soon as possible.

The results. The essence of the concept of "international cooperation" means such a process of interaction between two or more participants, in which the use of armed aggression is excluded and joint searches for the realization of common interests prevail. Contrary to everyday understanding, cooperation is not the absence of conflict, but rather "rescue" from its extreme, crisis consequences. The illusion of "transparency" of the meaning of this concept probably caused the fact that attempts to define it do not occur often.

Domestic departments of diplomatic activity cover all official connections and relations of the state in the international arena, which are carried out by a special foreign policy department and play a key role in the development of international cooperation. In our country, this is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its diplomatic service, that is, the system of work of diplomatic personnel in the central apparatus and abroad to implement the tasks of state diplomacy. Diplomacy implements the general course of the state in international affairs, its foreign policy in order to protect national interests.

Since the declaration of independence, Ukraine has sought to gain a legitimate place in the European community. Poland, Hungary and Canada were among the first countries that quickly welcomed Ukraine's independence. On the other hand, the United States was initially disappointed by the collapse of its rival superpower (the Soviet Union). Thus, after the collapse of the USSR, American politicians looked primarily at the Russian Federation as the center of their foreign relations, while Ukraine acquired a secondary status. This behavior was due to a number of reasons. First of all, we are talking about socio-political uncertainty in Ukraine, long-term confrontation "at the top", as a result of which uncertainty is generated in Ukrainian prospects. Secondly, not entirely consistent and effective steps to build a democratic legal state, ineffectiveness of democratic forces.

Today, the United States of America attaches great importance to the successful development of Ukraine as a modern democratic country with a developed market economy. US policy is focused on ensuring the formation and strengthening of Ukraine as a democratic, prosperous and safe state, more integrated into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. The "Charter of Strategic Partnership between Ukraine and the USA" emphasizes the importance of bilateral relations and means expanding cooperation in the areas of national defense, security, economy and trade, energy security, democracy and cultural exchanges (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Directions of Ukraine's international cooperation with the USA
The USA granted Ukraine the status of a country with a market economy and canceled the Jackson-Venick amendment. The amendment, which was introduced in 1974, applied to countries with non-market economies and linked their trading status to an open immigration policy, especially for individuals and groups of the Jewish faith.

A special event in Ukrainian-American relations was the agreements reached in the Ukraine-USA Charter on Strategic Partnership, signed on December 20, 2008 [1]. The document stated that the importance of relations as friends and strategic partners is paramount, and cooperation is based on common values and interests. Democracy and economic freedom are encouraged, as well as security and territorial integrity, the rule of law, innovation and technological progress.

Characterizing the current foreign trade relations between Ukraine and the United States of America, it should be noted that "they represent an important component of the foreign economic activity of the two countries. In terms of the total volume of interstate operations in the system of their foreign economic relations, trade occupies a leading place, including not only traditional export-import operations, but also transactions for after-sales service of delivered goods and operations in the field of international production specialization and production cooperation" [2].

The USA is one of the most important participants in international economic relations, a global actor in the field of international production and consumption, a leader in the level of development of industry, agriculture, science and technology. The United States of America is the world's largest importer, ranks second in the volume of exports of goods and services, and is the leader in the volume of foreign direct investment. The US economy is one of the most developed and diversified national economies in the world in the 21st century.

Despite the fact that the share of the United States in the structure of international trade of Ukraine is relatively small, the effect of the United States is important. The economic processes taking place in the USA have a tangible impact not only on Ukraine, but also on many other national economies, which confirms the dominant position of the US economy in the world and the importance of the multiplier effects of world trade.

A significant reduction in bilateral trade and economic cooperation was caused by Russia's military invasion of Ukraine, the aggressor's annexation of part or all of our territory, and the destruction of at least some infrastructure facilities and production facilities. The actions of the Russian fleet in the Black and Azov seas restrained Ukrainian exports, which also led to a reduction in the volume of domestic products.

The USA is the fifth largest partner of Ukraine in the import of goods and services. The share of the United States of America accounts for 4.4% (683 million USD) of total imports of Ukraine (Fig. 2). During the last five years, the balance of foreign trade in goods between Ukraine and the USA remained negative. From 2019 to 2023, there is a tendency to increase the volume of imports of goods from the USA, and in 2021 it reached more than 3.3 million dollars. USA.

In the geographical structure of foreign trade in goods, more than 62% of Ukraine's exports and almost 52% of its imports are accounted for by EU member states, the share of which eventually increased to 56%. In particular, this is due to the fact that, in the conditions of war, Ukraine uses the free trade regime provided for by the deep and comprehensive free trade zone, as much as possible, and also successfully uses such a tool to support the domestic economy as the cancellation of EU trade restrictions on Ukrainian exports. However, the United States of America should be considered as a potential sales market and business partner for the Ukrainian economy.
In conditions when the world political and economic situation is becoming more and more unstable, and new challenges related to various aspects of global security are becoming more and more urgent, the analysis of military-political communication becomes an urgent task for understanding and forecasting the development of events in international relations. In particular, the experience of Ukraine's communication with such key states as the EU and the USA provides an opportunity to define strategies and directions that will characterize the future interaction between the states.

**Fig. 2. Geographical structure of imports of Ukraine in 2022-2023 (million USD)**
Source: compiled from [3]

The United States has been the primary provider of security assistance to Ukraine both before and after Russia resumed its invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022. From 2014 to mid-August 2022, the United States provided 15.5 billion dollars' worth of security assistance. This was done to support the territorial integrity and security of Ukraine's borders and to improve its interoperability with NATO. Since the start of the war in February 2022, the Biden...
administration has provided about $21 billion. security assistance in order to provide Ukraine with equipment necessary for defense.

Today, US military aid to Ukraine amounts to billions of dollars and transports highly qualified equipment, including non-lethal equipment. Currently, our state receives modern weapons, starting with HIMARS and ending with ammunition and missiles. Thus, after the start of the war, NATO forces are trying to help Ukraine with weapons and training for our military. However, given the military power of Russia, the process of modernization of the Armed Forces and transformation should not stop until the end of the war and the restoration of territorial integrity.

Based on the fact that the USA will continue to promise to support the struggle for democratic values, Ukraine should also take advantage of this, as it will give us the opportunity to preserve our state sovereignty and have reliable protection from the aggressive policy of Russia, which today poses the main threat to us[5].

It is obvious that "political competition, a free economy, and an efficient judicial system are the strengths of American public policy, which allow the country to avoid stagnation in the lives of its citizens, develop the economy, and attract and develop talent from around the world[6]. If Ukraine builds its policy on similar political foundations and principles, the chances of success will be great.

It should be noted that the main framework document that will set the direction of the post-war recovery process of Ukraine is the Recovery and Development Plan of Ukraine. Thus, in July 2022, the final declaration of the Conference on the Restoration of Ukraine was adopted in Lugano. "In addition, all highly respected participants of the Conference supported the creation of a coordination platform between the Government of Ukraine and all bilateral and multilateral partners, organizations and international financial organizations for the preparation and implementation of the plan. This declaration contains key principles that determine the criteria and methods of recovery:

• partnership. Ukraine will lead the recovery process and implement it together with international partners, including the USA;
• focus on reforms;
• transparency, accountability, rule of law;
• democratic participation;
• involvement of many stakeholders;
• gender equality and inclusion;
• sustainable development" [7].

The recovery plan of Ukraine lays the foundations for the future reconstruction of the national economy and is designed to create mechanisms for self-sustaining economic development. However, a comprehensive analysis of this document indicates the presence of certain contradictions and false orientations, which should be eliminated when finalizing the Plan.

The economic recovery plan of Ukraine consists of six priority directions (Fig. 4), which largely correspond to the country's basic needs both in the war and post-war periods.
After implementing effective economic measures during the war, Ukraine urgently needs innovative solutions for both the recovery and modernization of the national economy. Ukraine's desire for freedom and independence, combined with unprecedented global support from partners, provides a unique opportunity to become a world leader in the field of innovation and sustainable economic growth.

**Conclusions.** In modern conditions, international cooperation is a resource base for the restoration of infrastructure, institutions, and the economy in order to overcome the consequences of war. The scale and consequences of the war endanger the results of socio-economic development of Ukraine, destabilize production, disrupt trade channels (including exports), reduce investments and lead to an outflow of intelligence. As a result, GDP, state budget revenues and the number of taxpayers decrease, unemployment and the price index increase. The combined effect of these factors leads to a socio-economic crisis.

In the first years of independence, relations between Ukraine and the USA focused mainly on political and humanitarian aid. An important milestone in these relations was the accession of Ukraine to the programs of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and other international financial institutions, often with the assistance of the United States. It is obvious that out of 194 countries of the world (192 UN members) (excluding Russia), 52 countries support Ukraine, including 10 of them providing military, humanitarian and financial aid. This shows that the entire civilized world is aware of Russia's threat to fundamental democratic values, human rights and freedoms, world security and the global economy.

Military and political events in and around Ukraine had a significant impact on economic relations with the United States. US assistance in security, anti-corruption and reform support have become an important aspect of bilateral relations.

Today, the United States of America attaches great importance to the successful development of Ukraine as a modern democratic country with a developed market economy. US policy is focused on ensuring the formation and strengthening of Ukraine as a democratic, prosperous and safe state, more integrated into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. The "Charter of Strategic Partnership between Ukraine and the USA" emphasizes the importance
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