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UKRAINIAN NATIONAL CONCEPT: HISTORICAL REALITIES

Abstract. Today independent Ukrainian state has been on a new stage of its evolution movement – the state has announced its intention to realize large-scale social reforms which are aimed at the formation and development of civil society and qualitative democratization of the country.

There is no doubt that among the problems which should be solved in this context the most vital are the processes of democratic national rebirth, enrichment of national sovereignty by stateformation, economic, political and socio-cultural content.

It is necessary to mention that democratic national rebirth as a complex, integrated and multistaged process is the embodiment of Ukrainian national concept. That’s why it is not strange, that the establishment of Ukrainian statehood at new stage of international and European communities development is formed in the context of Ukrainian national concept. This problem is discussed in the article.

The notion “Ukrainian national concept” is one of the least formulated, but at the same time one of the most widely-used in modern political science. Its content is being made more concrete and changed depending on the conditions of nation’s existence and those real aims and tasks which it should realize at every stage of historical development. Modern paradigm of Ukrainian national concept is based on the fact that it has its own history which is inseparable from the history of ethno-genesis of Ukrainian people, formation of Ukrainian modern nation, national-liberated competition of Ukrainians for freedom, independence and their own state.

The article analyses eight major periods of Ukrainian national concept development. It starts from Slavonic times when the Pra-Ukrainians had the simplest, sometimes rather primitive knowledge about their originality and the language uniqueness, habits, rituals, love to native land, its defense which were expressed in myths, legends, stories and other styles of oral folk art.

The author of the article attracts attention to the main conditions of national concept existence, gives a lot of interesting examples of both positive and negative results of national concept development.

Ukraine can present itself in the international arena only on the basis of national concept, as national democratic state. That’s why the author believes that one of the most important problems of modern Ukrainian society development is the formation and practical implementation of the concept which is capable to consolidate nation into integrated ethno-social organism, namely, a Ukrainian national concept.
In conclusion the author gives recommendation as to basic directions of theoretical development of Ukrainian national concept.

**Key words**: nation, state, Ukrainian national concept, ethnos, democratization, ideology, people.

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**ORIGINS OF UKRAINIAN STATE IDEA**

**Abstract.** The article proves the statement that the roots of Ukrainian state idea of the late Middle Ages and early Modernity, embodied in the Ukrainian state of Zaporozhian Army which was created in the middle of the XVII century, can be traced back to the more ancient period of Ukrainian history.

The ideology of the state built by Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitsky at the turn of the 40-50's of XVII century was based on a concept that can be called "Cossacks are heir of the knights and of the state traditions of ancient Rus princes."

Analysis of the documents and written records of this period allows us to say that the roots of the modern Ukrainian state idea can be traced back to the traditions, ideas and principles of the Late Middle Ages and Early Modernity. Among them:

The concept of continuity of national history from Kyivan Rus to the Cossack Ukraine and the establishment of the thought that Kyivan Rus was the state of the Ukrainian people (the idea of historical continuity);
the idea of a succession of "Kyiv" state tradition of X-XIII centuries to the elite of princes and boyars of Kyiv and Volyn of XIV - early XVII century and to the elite of cossacks of XVII-XVIII centuries (the idea of the continuity of state tradition);

the idea of Ukrainian people that their nation has the exclusive right of self-development and of creation of their own state within the ethnic boundaries of the residence (the idea of a national and territorial sovereignty) which was formed in the first half of the XVII century;

the tradition of actual or formal autonomous existence of Ukrainian lands in other states in the XIV-XVIII centuries (the tradition of limited sovereignty over Ukrainian lands of foreign rulers);

the idea of political self-sufficiency of Rus-Ukraine, which can be realized in a separate Ukrainian state;

the interpretation of the Ukrainian state established in the middle of the XVII century and called Zaporozhian Army as the successor state of Kievan Rus;

the idea of unity of the Ukrainian state finally become distinct in the times of B.Khmelnitsky;

the idea that the state ruler has to be elected by a free ballot and can’t be a tyrant or absolute monarch;

the categories of "law", "freedom" and "liberty" as the key concepts to the system of values of Ukrainian gentry and cossacks;

the strengthening of the idea that people have a natural right for freedom and that legality has to be one of the most important principles of social and political system.

**Keywords:** Ukrainian national idea, traditions, values, freedom, Cossacks.

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POLITICAL ASPECTS OF “AGRARIAN” REVOLUTION OF 1917–1922 IN UKRAINE

Abstract. The problem of familiarization of the Ukrainian peasantry with political life under the conditions of the Revolution and Civil War is considered in the article on the basis of the materials of village meetings (not introduced previously into scientific turnover) and narrative sources. For the first time in the national historiography, the “agrarian” revolution of 1917-1922 is characterized within the conception of Danilov V.P., Russian researcher of the history of peasantry. The
“Agrarian Revolution” has economic nature (the struggle of peasants against the landlords, priests, rich peasants and later - against the state), and the analysis of its political aspects can expand the understanding of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921.

The particular attention is paid to the characteristics of peasants’ attitude to the authority, land question, and church. The problem of familiarization of peasants with political life is being seen through the activity of rural meetings (gatherings, meetings): the frequency of calling, qualitative membership, role of front-line soldiers, workers of cities, and party agitators are highlighted in the formation of peasant attitudes and behavior.

It is concluded that the decision of rural gatherings and land issue meetings were determined by peasant pragmatism concerning the attitude to the church in the years of 1917-1920. Ukrainian village under the conditions of the revolution and civil war was very far from the political process in the cities. Peasants, being in the conditions of anarchy or permanent changes for a long time, set their rural authorities, created independent peasant republics, and supported peasant rebel movement. Using its own discretion, the village having made the redistribution of land tried to ward off the negative impact of the outside world by the revival of community relations. The Revolution and Civil War changed the outlook, lifestyle, and even the nature of the peasantry.

Keywords: “agrarian revolution”; rural gathering, peasants, land question.

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33. Reports of secret fellows, information and intelligence summaries about army of UPR (Ukrainian People Republic), rebellion organizations in Ukraine, February–December, 1921. Retrieved from CSASAGU. F. 3204, D. 2, F. 11, Sheet 3 (in Rus.).
INFLUENCE OF ANTIBOLSHEVISM RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN URSR in 1920-1924 years ON THE PROCESS OF UKRAINIAN NATION FORMING

Abstract. Article is aimed at analyzing the problems of forming of Ukrainian nation during antibolshevism resistance movement of 1920 – 1924 in URSR. It is offered reasons and pre-conditions of origin of antibolshevism resistance movement, its structure, political directions which are known to reflect different social and business groups of Ukrainian society. Author researches activity of insurgent detachments, provoked by terroristic policy of soviet power, continuation of practice of food expropriation, force institution of communist governmental organs, anti-religious campaign, violent "radanizatsiya" of village, realization of grain procurement campaigns dealt with artificial hunger of 1921 – 1923, repressive, wrong, often uncontrolled acts of members of the emergency committees, militia, voluntary subdivisions of the Red army towards peasants, realization of a force mobilization of citizens to army and other similar deeds.

Special attention is oriented in article at analyses of such political figures as S. Petlura and N. Mahno who headed influential political groupings and in their turn influences substantially the process of Ukrainian state and Ukrainian nation forming during the period of 1920-1924 years. It is discussed notions “ataman”, “atamanshchina” which reflect the character of political processes in Ukraine during and after the Civil war, said about the love of Ukrainians to Motherland, about aspiration of population of Ukraine to live in an independent country. Historical events reveals self-sacrifices of insurgents during their fight for independence of Ukraine.

Attention is concentrated on relations between ataman detachments and citizenry, and also between representatives of different nationalities who lived on the territory of Ukraine. A question is risen on the problem of interaction of fight of Ukrainians for independence and their will to unity, forming of patriotism and national consciousness of Ukrainian people. These information is extremely necessary for understanding terms of forming of Ukrainian political nation during the separate stages of history.

Key words: antibolshevist resistance movement, insurgent detachments, underground organization, national policy.

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ACTIVITIES OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC UNION IN THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH PARLIAMENT (1938 - 1939)

Abstract. During the second half of the 1930, the declared changes of the Polish government were not being carried out, that challenged the feasibility of further continuation of the policy of "normalization." The failure of the policy of "normalization" has led to the decline of the role of the Ukrainian national democratic union (hereinafter - UNDO) and other legal parties and to the disappointment in the parliamentarism. The policy of normalization is the settlement of the Ukrainian-Polish relations, that had been carried out by the agreement between the leadership of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union and the Polish government. It pushed the Ukrainian to much more radical methods of struggle, led to the popularity of nationalist organizations. However, despite the fact that nationalism was on the rise and national democracy decayed, UNDO and the Ukrainian parliamentary representation (hereinafter - UPR) stayed influential factors in the political life and considered by the Polish government.

Basis of the information sources, proposed by the author includes the archival documents, the materials of Polish and Ukrainian periodical press, recollections of the prominent public and political figures. The main purpose of the article is to identify the priority areas of parliamentary work of the UPR.

The results of the elections to the Polish parliament in 1938 for the UNDO were almost identical to the 1935 – the embassy seats got all the candidates agreed with the government, except for Syanotskiy, district where, despite the agreements, the Poles failed Ukrainian candidate despite the electoral compromise. "At the ballot, November 7, 1938 in Eastern Galicia attended 73,7% of the population in Volyn – 74,8%. The Election law led to the formation of the categorically obedient parliament, that became a puppet plaything in the hands of the President I. Mostsitskiy. Decomposition of the political forces in the Polish parliament after the elections was not in favor of the UPR.

The blame for the not realized normalization the Ambassador put on the Polish government, which beginning with the 1937 continued the anti-Ukranian policy, the actions of the government “the vshepoles” supported. The initiative of this political force there were series of eye, which adopted anti-Ukranian resolution. In the wake of this campaign there appears a slogan saving of the kreses from Ukrainians However, the Polish press " paints the Ukrainian danger in the darkest colours...". Concluding the presentation, V. Tselevych said: "The blame of for the high government is the fact that beginning with 1935 there was no single step in the Ukrainian case, which would have more general political nature and could have beneficial impact on the mood of
Ukrainian citizenship. Moreover, the last time we have on the part of the Government a number of moves that should not be considered happy..."

Already in February 16, 1939 V. Tselevych – the General Secretary of UNDO gave a statement in which "he showed his attitude to the Ukrainian business in Poland." The Volyn Ambassador S. Skrypnyk supported the representative of the UPR, who said that the reaction of V. Tselevych was the "position of all deputies of the Ukrainian population in Poland, who sat in this High House." The Ambassador of the Volyn Ukrainian Association (hereinafter - VUO) stated that the demonstration the Ukrainians were accused of the Parliament follows out of the "anti-Ukrainian psychosis, growing from day to day and says again ignore everything that is connected with the Ukrainians".

According to the head of the UPR and UNDO - V. Mudry, the year of 1939 showed that the Polish government had no plans to change the attitude to the Ukrainians. "Last year brought to ambiguous tone of our national life reparation, - said V. Tselevych - but conversely our position during every examination became worse". As an example, the leader of the UPR brought a new budget in which there were no Ukrainian expenses. For these reasons the UPR refused to vote for the budget 1939 - 1940. At the same time the representatives of the VUO did not appear at the meeting of the Seym. The Statement of the Head of the UPR V. Mudry attracted a considerable attention in the Polish politics.

In acute international relations, V. Mudry said UNDO never come from the standpoint of political struggle for the rights of the Ukrainian people in Poland. The leader of the National Democrats said: "His civic duties toward the state will perform, while still performing, but also require the state not only guarantee and practically translate into life full pravovist [the law on territorial autonomy - RP] but also to reassure the national teams needs of the Ukrainian nation in Poland". Speech head unit of the Central Committee approved unanimously.

It became obvious that the government is going to implement the basic requirement Ukrainian Ambassadors - providing territorial autonomy to ethnic Ukrainian lands, which were in the Second Polish Republic. Anti-government stance provoked a number of critical performances member unit in late 1938 - early 1939, however, the unstable political situation in Europe, the growing tension in the central-eastern Europe were forced to UNDO in August of 1939 - the eve of the World War II, to deliver a statement loyal to Poland that eventually must be secure against possible Polish Ukrainian destructions.

Prospects for future research are in the conceptual formulation of the problem and a special comprehensive study of parliamentary activity UNDO in the second half of the 1930s in the context of social and political life in the Western Ukraine.

Keywords: UNDO, seym, senate, bills, normalization.
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INSTITUTIONAL INSURING OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF UKRAINIANS DURING REVOLUTION OF 1917 AND CIVIL WAR

Abstract. The article is dealt with a problem of social preconditions of the Ukrainian state-building processes in 1917. In particular, social consequences of the World War 1 on Ukrainian land that influenced national processes and between-classes relations are researched. The social sources of revolutionary moods of Ukrainian society in 1917, aspiration of millions of soldiers to get the personal motivation for staying at the front are also shown.

It is stated that World War 1 created pre-conditions of deep social and national split in Ukrainian society. Special “social elevator” had been revealed itself in Russian empire with due regard to emergence of privileged status of officers from below. And those soldiers who did not have motivation for participating in war became a counterbalance to that phenomenon.

Applying to social split in Ukrainian society the author analyses the social sources of Ukrainian state-building processes provoked by social and national pressure upon Ukrainians in Russian empire. At the same time processes of reconstruction of legal organs of power and local self-government in the empire are discussed. These ones were based on census platform under pre-war times, but were to be changed during the revolutionary events in 1917 because of their inability to meet the requirements of peasantry as a main part of Russian army at the front, to solve correctly the problems of private property and social stratification, to provide wide public representation in their activity. In that context reasons of failure of Ukrainian national state building (in dimension of national government and self-government) as well as pre-conditions of Bolshevik successful practice towards statehood are analyzed.

Key words: self-determination, soviet power, seniors institution, civil institution.

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INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS AS A VERSION OF THE NATIONAL IDEA UNDER CONDITIONS OF CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION

Abstract. The purpose of this article is the analysis of works of neopaganism’s ideologists and supporters. The theme of national idea formation in the conditions of cultural globalization also considered. In these works often there is a speech about national idea, about state-creation process in Ukraine, a way of overcoming of crisis in our country. Adherents of neopagan movement are connected by aspiration to connect religious and spiritual bases, history of Ukraine and its future in the whole. Keynote is uniqueness of Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, its special historical mission.

Works of V. Shiyan has ideologizing, glorification of the historical past and aspiration to take this glory and patriotism as a principle of Ukraine development. V. Shiyan pays much attention to creative inheritance of G.Skovoroda and T. Shevchenko. V. Shiyan reaches unambiguous conclusions about need of use of theoretical development of the thinker of time of baroque for modern time and for the future. T.Shevchenko became spiritual successor of G.Skovoroda for V. Shiyan. He enthusiastically writes about heroism of Cossacks. He claims that heroism is a driving force and the main line of the Ukrainian national character and outlook. V. Shiyan speaks about a spiritual chain of development of Ukrainians: Bogdan Khmelnytsky, Grigory Skovoroda and Taras Shechenko. They became a push for awakening of the Ukrainian nation on the verge of XIX-XX centuries and further fight for the creating of
Ukraine. V. Shiyan unites philosophical, esthetic and patriotic aspects of the Ukrainian national development. He tries to transfer all problems of historical development to the religion plane.

L. Silenko in work "Revaluation of spiritual cost" investigates activity of some historical people in a context of their relation to belief of ancestors. There is analysis of important historical periods through a prism of influence of native faith on different events. The attention is focused on patriotism. L. Silenko considers history of Ukraine as fight of the people against Christianity and the Soviet Union. Grand prince of Kiev Vladimir was negatively assessed. Christianity acceptance by Vladimir is treated as betraying of own people. In L. Silenko's estimation the prince is the weak statesman, unlike Svyatoslav the Brave. He estimates introduction of Christianity as violence over Slavic soul. And it became the tragedy for Ukraine forever. He notes need to have the Ukrainian understanding of God. Only the moral and spiritual ideals lead in creating rather viable nation and the state.

L. Luk'yanenko in the article "Civilization Choice of Ukraine" notes need of new formation of intellectuals. This new formation will revive Ukraine. For the national and state construction the position of mass media is very important. But for years of independence in Ukraine actually Ukrainian information space wasn't created. The citizens of Ukraine are under active influence of foreign mass media. Also location of Ukraine in the East Europe, is strong position for our country. He claims that average and young generation of Ukrainians are disappointed by Christianity. They will search the spiritual reference points in national depths and it will promote formation of own way of development. New generation of Ukrainians will lead the country to prosperity.

O. Shokal devotes his articles to problem of strategic development of the nation and the state, culture role in it. For him the problem is the absence of accurately formulated national idea. And the culture has to help for development. The combination of social, economic, spiritual and intellectual factors has to become main in national policy.

The mentioned works give an idea of bases of national idea and views of the Ukrainian neopagans. All of them are connected by idea 'Ukraine in the center'. They are keen on historical past, belief in wonderful prospects on condition of the appeal to spiritual experience of ancestors. They want to introduce it into daily Ukrainian reality.

Key words: indigenous religions, national idea, ethnic and cultural identity.

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**UKRAINIAN QUESTION IN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ORGANS OF GERMAN OCCUPATIONAL AUTHORITIES ON THE TERRITORY OF GENERAL OBLAST «KYIV» in 1941–1944**

**Abstract.** Cultural and educational activity of German occupation authorities, the peculiarities of the Ukrainian question in general oblast «Kyiv» in 1941 – 1944 are being analyzed with due regard to archival and analytical materials. Author notes that during the 1941-1944 Nazis opened in Ukraine a network of educational institutions. The initiative to create such institutions belonged mostly to local Ukrainian administration. German occupation authorities opened a network of secondary schools, colleges, various professional courses. Measures to realize educational policy on the whole were made. However Nazis did not get desired results. Noted educational measures were very inconsistent and limited. Besides that German occupation administration exercised full control and fierce ideological censorship on the content of teaching and teaching staff.
The researcher believes that the Nazis saw education as a tool for establishing a “new order” policy, realizing thus the task of preparing loyal to Germany «half people». The official position of the leaders of Nazi Germany in the educational sector during the war varied from the denial of the right of Slavs for education to create a network of educational pre-school, primary and secondary schools, vocational education and then higher institutions. Concessions in education sphere were made regarding acute need for skilled labor. Activity of Germans in educational sphere created an impression that occupants are interested in national and cultural revival of Ukraine and provide public involvement into voluntary cooperation. However due to the contradictive logic of German educational policy, lack of unified standards of training procedures, a tough vertical management of educational process at regional level, an integrated system of education during the occupation in the general oblast «Kyiv» and Reich Commissariat «Ukraine» as a whole did not appear.

The main directions of scientific institutions were dealing with collection and organization of cultural values export from occupied territory to Germany, as well as with research work. Diverse research projects were carried out by Germans with the participation of Ukrainian specialists mainly in the interests of occupational authority. As a result gained results together with significant number of cultural values were delivered to Germany.

Socio-cultural policy played a minor role in the functioning of the occupation regime. With the establishment of civil administration it had undergone transformation: from denying the need of any development to certain concessions to Ukrainian consumers (social security, health care, education). The nature and dynamics of socio-cultural component of the “new order” witnessed about the failure of German bureaucracy to provide flexible response to the directives of senior management. Results were contradictive and inconsistent.

**Keywords**: archive, cultural and educational activities, the authorities of the occupation authorities, the general area of «Kyiv», Kyiv and Poltava region.

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PROBLEMS OF FORMING THE POLITICAL NATIONS IN THE POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES DURING THE STAGE OF INDEPENDENCE

Abstract. The article describes problems of political nations arising in specific conditions of post-Soviet transformation. The article identifies role of national idea and civil society in this process, analyzes positive and negative aspects of its realization.

Definition of political nation is justified as a specific phenomenon of political situation in a society where there is a need to overcome major differences between various population groups and political forces in accordance with respective nationality, mentality, domestic and foreign policy. Nowadays in all newly independent countries there is a need to form political nations. The only exception, as foreign experts say, is Armenia which has a high level of ethno-confessional and mental population’s unity with joint national idea in defending the rights to the territory of Nagornyj Karabakh.

It would be difficult to claim about possibility of such nation formation in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan with their different but still high level of authoritarianism. These countries would be able to solve this issue after substantial democratization of public life. Limitations of democratic basis also prevent arising of a political nation in Belorus, but in this country there is a possibility of no need to create a nationhood due to rise of civil society. With high economic dynamics, specific mentality, population traditions and dominance of native population, there could be different degree of the need to form such nation in Azerbaijan. Kyrgyzstan’s experience before the ‘tulip revolution’ showed that forcing the democratic foundations leads to the opposite result. High need to form such nation is now in Moldova but this could be possible just after achieving consensus on foreign policy issues.

Transit to political nation is very important in such multinational and multiconfessional countries as Russia and Kazakhstan. In these countries the authorities carry out activities to expand democratic foundations of public life but they are mostly imitative.

Experience of other CIS countries has a huge importance for Ukraine, firstly for defining common causes of difficult transition to a political nation formation. This experience underlines the necessity of evolutionary path of strengthening the democratic foundations of social development, providing consensus of political forces, building the civil society.
**Key words**: political nation, national idea, civil society, political transformation and consensus, mentality, non-governmental organisations, Commonwealth of the Independent States, European Union.

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**PROBLEMS ON THE WAY OF BECOMING THE POLITICAL NATION IN UKRAINE**

**Abstract.** Becoming of political nation as multiethnic community united by common interests and aspirations of citizens of Ukraine is an important pre-condition for consolidation of Ukrainian society based on preservation of identity of all nations and nationalities, their development within the multination state. There is also need of
harmonious relations between nations and nationalities, guaranteed possibility of free use of language in communication, education, studies and art.

The author explains the necessity of such approach in solving this problem. This approach is based on inherent for the most European states morality on priority of human and citizen rights and excludes any discrimination on national, confessional, language or other indication.

Complicated situation in becoming political nation in Ukraine is conditioned by multinational composition of its population and other objectives, including historical circumstances, deep social differentiation in society and by the permanent system crisis. As to historical background of present day challenges to formation of political nation in Ukraine it is dealt with a fact that during centuries Ukrainian territories were parts of other states. As a result – existing diversities in mentality of representatives of different regions of Ukraine, their approaches to estimation of many historical events and figures of the past, last decades transformations in political and socio-economic development, foreign-policy orientation etc. It must be said also about absence of clear vision of the prospects as well as program of development of Ukraine regarding majority of existing political forces in Ukrainian society.

Among negative factors are permanent contest for power in Ukraine, attempts of radical political forces to impose nationalistic ideology on society, national or language discriminative approaches to realization constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens.

Among acute questions of contemporary development of Ukraine is unification of Ukrainian society, creation of valuable foundations of political nation, forming national idea. Among the questions is also clarification of general prospect of society development with respect to the interests of all nations and nationalities of Ukrainian multinational society. These are scientists who are awaited to contribute to this sphere by deep research work upon processes of society, in particular upon inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations, spiritual sphere, state building, civil society, social institutions, modern means of influence on human consciousness in forming nationwide identity.

**Keywords**: political nation, ethnos, human rights, national minorities.

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**PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT REFORMATION IN UKRAINE**

**Abstract.** The important factor of the process of forming any nation is an ability of human society for self-organization. Such self-organization appears first of all within natural community (that is inhabitants of the same settlement) which is able to solve itself local problems. In this dimension one of the fundamentals of state administration in developed democratic countries along with the principle of separation of power is an existence of independent from central power local self-governing.
The analysis of current legislation reveals necessity of deep reformation of the local self-governing system in Ukraine. Reforms must be of all-round character including tax, budget, electoral and other spheres of law making:

1. Delegation of power into local level must be accompanied by real possibilities of local organs to fulfill their commissions in material, financial and other spheres. It is important in this respect to increase the part of local budgets to such extent when greater part of funds (over 50% of all incomes) is transferred not into the state budget, but to the budgets of local self-governments.

2. It is of necessity to give legislative ensuring to the possibility of local self-governments to use at least a part of grants from the state budget for those needs which are of acute character for local community under current times.

3. It seems expedient to create executive organs of district and regional councils with their accountability only to the noted ones, to redistribute authorities between executive branches of councils and district and regional state organizations in such way when maximum amount of commissions regarding local problems is attached to executive branches of corresponding councils.

4. The necessary condition in respect of strengthening efficiency of local self-government is dealing with possibility to make decisions on the questions of local value by community itself by the way of local referendum.

5. The important element on providing rights of the citizen is a control over activity of the elective organs of power and officials of local self-government.

On the whole realization of a complex of reforms of local self-governing with the aim to provide the rights of community to solve the local problems self-dependently and to realize control over the authorities needs gradual and measured approach as well as understanding the necessity of such changes both among the wide stratum of society and representatives of all branches of power.

**Key words:** reform of Government, local authorities, local self-government, law, referendum.

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SECURITY DIMENSIONS OF THE NATIONAL BUILDING PROCESSES IN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Abstract. The article is devoted to analysis security sphere in Ukraine from the viewpoint of formation of Ukrainian political nation. It is revealed necessity to revise approaches to construction of security sector of Ukraine, taking into account the tendencies that exist in the world community.

The meaning “security sector” may be clarified with respect to international experience and regarding development of foreign and domestic scholars. It is proposed to distinguish three main elements of the security sector: personal security and public security, provided by the police; state security, provided by secret services; and military security, provided by military establishment of Ukraine.

It is proved that clear division of responsibilities of Ukrainian force structures with due regard to their functions in security system in accordance with model which is
justified in the article should be one of the major direction of reformation of security sector.

The author proposes basic principles of construction of the military establishment of Ukraine which according to his point of view is structurally designed and hierarchically ordered social institution of society on the one hand, and on the other is a special element of the state mechanism vested by public authority and appropriate logistical means (weapons and equipment) to perform certain functions in the field of military security.

It is proved that the structure and function of the military establishment of Ukraine should be able to meet external and internal challenges with aim to provide military security of Ukraine.

Key words: military machinery of the state, modernization, national security, national interests, law guarding organs, reforming, social premises, special service.

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PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS ACTIVITIES AS INDICATOR OF CIVIL SOCIETY DEVELOPMENT IN UKRAINE

Full text. Considering the current socio-political situation in Ukraine the problem of native civil society institutions functioning year after year becomes more and more urgent and practically significant. The importance of public associations in the political life of Ukraine is quite controversial today. On the one hand, they are an important part of civil society closely associated with the social political system and play an important role in establishing democracy and protecting human rights and freedoms. On the other hand, their activities mostly do not have either public or state support. Considering this the issue of prioritizing native non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in public life and their level of involvement in political processes as an indicator of political culture development and Ukrainian civic engagement is becoming more and more urgent. Particularly acute is the question of the capacity of Ukrainian public associations to act in interests of the state and the public but not certain political groups.

Noting the sufficiently solid coverage by national publications on various aspects of civil society in Ukraine [1-2], we notice that the issue of public associations and their participation in public and political life of the country is analyzed by researchers both from theoretical point of view (analysis of the interaction framework between the government and NGOs), and the view of the practical significance (analysis of specific mechanisms and tools for the involvement of public structures in decision-making at the state and local levels).

The aim of our study is to analyze the functioning of non-governmental organizations in Ukraine, to identify existing problems and to suggest ways for optimization of activities in the nongovernmental sector in light of Ukrainian civil society development.

Ukrainian Law "On Public Associations" establishes that public association is a voluntary unification of private persons and/or legal persons of private law with the aim to execute and protect human rights and freedoms, satisfaction of public interests, particularly economic, social, cultural, environmental and in other fields. According to organizational and legal form public association is created as civic organization or public union [3, artlcle 1].

In the political science literature quite often as a synonym to "public associations" the terms "public organizations", "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs), "non-state associations", "third sector" are used. In his time J. Habermas pointed out that the public by means of establishing new structures of civil society, opposes to the state encroachment, despotism, absolutism, authoritarianism on human rights and places a
premium on the humanistic conditions and values, non-mercantile, highly spiritual, moral behavior, self-consciousness, self-determination, freedom and dignity of the individual [4, 225]. It is this context the role and importance of the "third sector" – as informal, nongovernmental, noncommercial organizations in the development of civil society in Ukraine, as formation indicator of the Ukrainian political nation – should be considered.

In a democratic society public associations serve a dual role: they are prerequisite and integral part of the constitutional political process as well as formal political structure of democratic state. In one way or other NGOs are called to resolve those problems that fail to achieve appropriate attention and solution in the state.

Official records confirm that the number of registered associations in Ukraine is growing. For example, the data of Unified State Register of Institutions and Organizations of Ukraine published by the State Statistics Service of Ukraine, as of May 10, 2013 indicates the registration of 19,228 political parties, 74,728 public associations, 24,859 religious organizations, 29,069 trade unions, 282 creative unions and other professional organizations, 14,166 charities, 15,176 apartment building co-owners associations, 1,434 public self-organization bodies (data includes international, all-Ukrainian and local organizations, their centers, branches and separate structural units) [5]. Despite the growing number of public associations by the number of NGOs per 10 thousand of population Ukraine is far behind the EU and Macedonia [6, 43].

Despite the growth in number of public associations their effectiveness and the ability to exercise significant influence on political decision-making in the state has by far greater influence on the level of civil society development. It should be noted that the large number of diverse public associations does not necessarily mean a high level of civic engagement. Obvious is the fact that the quantity and quality of public associations are incommensurable: despite the huge number of registered NGOs, only a minority of them is continuously and actively working, while the majority exists just nominally. According to various estimates, the active and permanent non-governmental organizations account for only 8-9% of their total number in Ukraine, that is about 4-5 thousand organizations working for at least two years, have experience of implementing at least two projects and are well known in their region [7, 18; 8]. Thus only 21,677 headquarters of non-governmental organizations have reported to the statistics agencies results of their activities in 2010 which constitutes only 39.2% of the total number. Over the years this data is hardly ever undergoes significant alteration.

There is highly uneven geographic dispersion of public associations in Ukraine. As expected a leading role in the development of NGOs belongs to Kyiv, where according to various sources from 91 to 150 functioning public organizations are located. In Kyiv region including the capital there are more than 300 public associations representing more than 25% of all public associations in Ukraine that are working in various areas of public life. Among the regional centers the leading roles are shared by Lviv and its region, Rivne, Kharkiv and its region, Odessa and its region, Donetsk and
its region, Dnipropetrovsk and its region, Crimea. In all other regions a small number of NGOs is functioning – from 2% to 5% each.

Activity of public associations covers almost all spheres of public life in Ukraine. Particularly they deal with the problems of children and youth, civic education, human rights and social decisions. It is important to note weak financial viability of NGOs that is determined by their significant dependence on external financing. As analysts indicate in the income structure of Ukrainian public organizations the largest source is donations of foreign donors (21.5% including Kyiv and 30.5% in total). Charitable contributions by Ukrainian enterprises to public associations in 2010 were only 15.1%, while in 2009 these contributions amounted to 20.7% of the non-governmental organizations income [9, 10]. The share of financial support from the state or local budgets (in the form of grants, reimbursements for services rendered) in the budget of the average Ukrainian NGO is 2-3% of similar organization located in the EU member states where financial support constitutes 40-60% [10]. In fact the socio-economic aspect of the activities of public associations operating in Ukraine remains undervalued and socially unclaimed.

In general Ukrainians give a rather small credit to the efficiency of public associations despite their revitalization. It is proven by the low level of public trust and participation in their activities. The survey conducted in March 2013 by Razumkov Center has shown that 4.5% fully trusted Public associations, 35% sort of trusted, 45.5% expressed distrust, 14.9% found it difficult to answer [11]. Taken as a whole the number of citizens able to stand upon their rights and interests to the government is insignificant. According to the Ukrainian Institute of Sociology of NAS more than half of the respondents are pessimistic about their ability to influence the decisions of central and local government, and 80% of Ukrainians are not members of any civic organizations [12-13]. Public polls among Kyivans conducted by experts of Razumkov Center demonstrated more disappointing data: 93.9% of the residents of the capital are not members of NGOs, and only 5.4% of Kyivans are involved in associations [14]. Voluntary activities of young people in the preparation and holding in Ukraine and Poland football championship "Euro - 2012" can be considered as an exception [15]. However, unlike many European countries, the practice of voluntary work has not become widespread in Ukraine. On the one hand this is due to excessive legal regulation of voluntary activities, on the other hand it is a psychological reluctance and economic inability of Ukrainian people to provide unpaid labor in the traditional areas of volunteering (working orphan asylums, boarding schools, care for the elderly, the sick, helping disable people, etc.).

Ukraine lacks both an efficient system of transparent budget funding, as well as the system of incentives for domestic business to invest in the "third sector" that is a common place practice for democratic countries. Such circumstances constrain public associations to rely on foreign sources of funding. However, until recently the government did not show interest in creating conditions for the formation of effective
system of civil society institutions (trade unions, youth movements, NGOs and foundations, public institutions of social purpose, woman's and charitable organizations, think tanks, etc.) designed to contain tendency to over-regulate the social environment inherent to the government.

On March 22, 2012 the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted a new Law "On Public Associations" which considerably simplifies the procedure of state registration. However the adoption of laws and declaration of intent is not a guarantee for success. Despite joint involvement during certain activities by civil society organizations and government it is too early to talk about their co-operation strengthening and mutual trust. Among many causes that prevent active cooperation between the governmental institutions and civil society organizations should be distinguished, on the one hand - the lack of openness and transparency in Ukrainian government, and on the other - insufficient role and influence of public associations in Ukraine's social and political life.

These causes are the consequence of the fact that in the post-Soviet space public associations were challenged by authoritarian or semi-democratic political regimes. For an extended period of time the relationship between the state and civilian sector was characterized by mutual detachment due to flaws in political communication and the lack of accurately established cooperation mechanisms.

Establishment of cooperation between NGOs and public authorities with the purpose to involve public associations in policy-making is an important factor and indicator of an effective civil society development. The models of relationship between civil society groups and governmental bodies could be various; the state can act as a client of analytical services (the model of "client - NGO - product"). However, the model "idea - NGO - a political decision" should be more efficient, effective and predictable for the state.

Analysts point out that in Ukraine “... as well as to some extent in other post-Soviet states the phenomenon of peculiar dichotomy of civil society is visualized. In certain periods of political time the influence of such ambivalence can be seen in varying concentrations of the public”. The causes of the phenomenon of specific duality in civic institutions lie in the history of the development of civil society in modern Ukraine. On the one hand in the early 1990s there was sprung of social movements that were largely related to advocacy and dissident tradition were created, on the other hand the organizations of the Soviet era expertly co-opted in the shifted socio-political reality and they given the support by the state exist up to today [17].

In recent years in Ukraine there are disturbing trends related to gradual formation of authoritarian or semi-authoritarian/semi-democratic regime arising from concentration of power in the hands of the President and his entourage as well as their influence on Parliament. In 2010 Ukraine was excluded from the category of free states according to the list of Free States created by American non-governmental organization «Freedom House». The same year the European Union pointed out on deterioration of
situation in Ukraine in the field of human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law. "Public associations and opposition parties complained regarding restrictions on freedom of assembly" was highlighted in the reports. In addition, the EU also noted that "respect for democratic standards and fundamental freedoms such as freedom of media and assembly has decreased in Ukraine". [18]

The «Freedom House» as to Ukraine reported that comparing to 2011 there were only a few new facts of systematic pressure onto "public associations by the Ukrainian Security Services and other law enforcement bodies, interferences in the activities of civil society organizations, and hindering foreign donors to provide grants to Ukrainian organizations." According to this characteristic, it is concluded that the government probably pursued more neutral and balanced policy towards the "third sector" and tried to engage those of its initiatives which were not perceived as a direct threat to itself [19].

The peculiarity of the 'third sector' development in Ukraine at present is its increasing politicization of NGOs as a result of democratic rollback. At the same time the number of distinctions from the generally accepted norms of civil society institutions development increases as well as the variability of situations in the process of formation and functioning of public associations.

The politicization of public associations is objective and logical process: the society seeks for controlling and influencing the authorities. However, in Ukrainian realm public associations’ politicization does not make them subject of the political process, but a tool in the election campaign. Considering the existence or formation in Ukraine Institute of lobbying (political, economic, social, etc.), public associations serving to the interests of certain political party would have positive results. "That is socially important interests whose representatives are supposed to be public associations would have been incorporated into the political system, and the projects provided by such organizations would have the political and legal implications," - said E. Pozhidayev [20, 22]. However given to current Ukrainian realities it is parties that represent private interests, but not public associations. Thus public associations focus today has to be drawn to the establishment and development of social dialogue with political parties.

Along with above-mentioned reasons there are system factors that complicate or hamper development and activity of public organizations: 1) institutional (low institutional capacity of public associations), 2) legal (imperfect legislation that regulates public associations), and 3) communication (problems of partnership between public associations and the government, and among NGOs).

The main problems in the process of establishing partnerships and alliances between public authorities and public associations are the following. Firstly the preservation of formal approach exercised by the governmental institutions to the formation of advisory structures involving civil society, to consultations and discussions on strategic issues and pressing problems of development with public
associations and interest groups. Such approach results in poor performance of the work. Created as for today local councils are nominal in nature, their impact on the development and decision-making process, the formation and implementation of public policy is minimal or even non-existent. Secondly lack of integral strategic state policy on the development of partnerships with public organizations. Thirdly neglect or even disregard of public associations’ suggestions on various aspects of politics prevents constructive dialogue. Lack of effective communication of the government with expert environment as well as deficiency in resource backing for such activities results in negative consequences for both the authority of the state and the image of NGOs. Fourthly the lack of openness and transparency of public authorities renders nearly impossible for any NGO to execute public oversight of the authorities and implementation of socially important programs.

However, it is worth noting that part of the NGOs do not make full use of the opportunities they are provided with the current legislation in order to establishing close cooperation between the government and society, as it requires relevant institutional capacity, adequate resources and a high level of qualification.

Thus the progress of civil society in our country depends on resolution of a number of complicated problems one of which is the need to improve relations between the state and society, the government and citizens. If that is the case the role of the state in support of civil associations is increasing as they need a strong government that would create the legal, political and institutional frameworks for their existence, acting as a guarantor of their activities. Implementation of mutual rapprochement of civic organizations and governmental authorities that would on the one hand manifest in the deepening of state authority in the social sphere, and on the other hand in the increasing influence of non-governmental organizations on the functioning of the political system, would considerably accelerate development of the European model of civil society in Ukraine. Democratic self-organization that is protected from any administrative pressure or direct intervention by the public authorities under the conditions of true democratization and modernization of society will contribute to the assertion of the "third sector" as a major factor in the domestic civil society. We are confident that our native society will assert itself as a civil society of European level in its full sense.

**Keywords:** public associations, non-governmental organizations, civil society, the government, interaction, democracy.

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PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC AND STATE BUILDING IN THE WORKS OF PROFESSOR Yu. RYMARENKO

Full text. Ukraine is a young state in scale of the history. However these 22 years of independence are based on a long history of our country. Having won the independence we still have not gained our national consciousness. This is not surprising. From ancient times the Ukrainian nation was under the yoke of its oppressors different at different times, but equally ruthless to our nation. Of course, during 22 years of independence it is difficult to overturn the history and lay the foundation of the ethnic and national consciousness which first of all shall be based on the principles of patriotism and national unity. That is why till today the ethnic development of the state is a cornerstone for the Ukrainian people.

Many famous national and foreign scientists, philosophers and cultural specialists tackled an issue of the identity and ethnos. From among them we should mention the following: M. Hrushevskyi, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Fichte, Pityrym Sorokin.
etc. Yurii Ivanovych Rymarenko (1929 – 2006), a true patriot of his Fatherland, lawyer, doctor of philosophy, professor, corresponding member of the Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine, Colonel of the internal service, who at the end of the 20th – the beginning of the XXI century was investigating the matter of the ethnic and social revival of Ukraine, took a prominent place among the scientists [1, 473; 2]. Being a leading expert in the field of domestic relations he actualized the issue of identity of the Ukrainian nation. To support this issue the scientist examined in detail the theories of many scientists, in particular: the theory of social solidarity of E. Durkheim, the idea of the Russian philosophy of natural law, explored the works of scientists and representatives of the national-state direction and others. At that time Yu. Rymarenko addressed the issue of establishing the ideas of statehood, building a new democratic Ukraine not with authoritarian power already, but with power of authority and respect to authority the carriers of which the Ukrainian people were [3, 8]. He was confident that to live peacefully it was necessary for the national and state interests to be as close as possible, and for the state interests to be increasingly deprived of subjectivity, and to approach the interest of the Ukrainian nation. In the scientist’s opinion the ideal of unity and the raise of political and ideological culture had to become a core of revival, because Ukrainians were a nation with a long history of struggle for creation of their own state [4, 31]. We cannot fail to mention Zaporizhian Sich, the 4th Universal of the Central Rada (Council), which declared the independence of the Ukrainian Public Republic, the creation of the independent Carpathian Ukraine in March 1939, the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty on July 16, 1990 and, as a consequence, the proclamation of the Act of Independence of Ukraine on August 24, 1991, which showed that despite all the political tempests the idea of statehood and national unity, which was genetically encoded in the mentality of the Ukrainian people, was indestructible. Neither the 340-year enslavement of Ukraine by the Moscow Empire, nor more than seven decades of the totalitarian and repressive communist regime eliminated this idea from the minds of our people. The formation of the Ukrainian state has a reliable basis and everlasting love of freedom of the Ukrainian nation.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the problem of further state structure – “national state”, “unitary”, “federal”, “multinational” – arose to the independent Ukraine. This dilemma found its consolidation in the Constitution of Ukraine as of 1996, where it was clearly stated in the 2nd article: “Ukraine is a unitary state”. In the ethnic and state aspect the unitary is treated as an association for high purpose – national unity of Ukraine, independence in all of its spheres [5, 243].

Ukrainians considered the state to be the center of national spirit realization. But to understand the boundless aspirations of Ukrainians to distinctiveness we should compare the conceptual aspect of the definition of “nation” for our and the West European culture. Under the concept of “nation” the foreign scientists understand a large social group of people which through a new objective and subjective
preconditions accepted in some areas integrated into a single society, which was aware of this special community and had an inherent desire to live in a common state structure. [6, 179]. However this approach does not contain ethno-social background. It to a greater extent concerns the political concept of “state”, as far as does not contain such unifying ethnicity factors as language, culture, religion, psychology, common history. Whereas it is more pragmatic, because focuses on the signs of state community and common being within a single ethno-political organism. This is so-called etatical theory of nation according to which the nation is identified with the population of a particular state. According to this principle the largest ethnic community forms a basis of the state, and the latter constitutes a state organism with different ethno-structural elements. Therefore the concepts of “nation” and “state” in the West European lexicon are identified.

Therewith it is objectively impossible for us, who are at the center of Europe, to copy the West. Since the early 18th century the West has been moving by certain political forces to the creation of a “single nation without ethnic” in the societies, that is to creation of human communities which consist of single nation - population of different ethnic origin, which shall not differentiate itself in segregated ethno-historical units and is a single ethno-consolidated factor in the political area. As a result it may be noted that the national states were mainly formed in Europe. Therefore the politically inline concepts such as “nation”, “people” and “state” are used in the West.

It is not inherent to our mentality. For historical reasons, having no independent state, our people have carried their identity, culture, language and traditions through the generations. But there should be a balance and solidarity to ethnic groups in order that the desire for self-determination does not grow into chauvinism. It is the aspect that the Professor Yu. Rymarenko stresses in his works, pointing to the necessity of symbiosis of the etatic and ethnic approach to the development of the Ukrainian nation. This approach can be introduced by the concept of “Ukrainian political nation” which unlike ethnic one may be regarded as the “sovereign co-citizenship”. Indeed such a concept overcomes the contradiction between the root (core) nation and ethnic groups, fills the Ukrainian idea with the nation-wide meaning and direction. The concept of the Ukrainian political nation can become an important means of the inter-ethnic relations stabilization, the titular nation and ethnic groups’ interests harmonization. And only to the extent that the population of Ukraine feels like a real subject of ongoing transformations, it is possible to count on success of the latter. [6, 179]. The events of the autumn 2004, when people in unison defended their choice, are a convincing example. There was no differentiation based on the ethnic principle, but the nation was formed as an integral unit, which in a legitimate way defended its rights and achieved its purpose without shedding a single drop of blood. The nation is a unity of spirit of the population and love for its Fatherland, and therewith neither color of skin, nor religion or language plays any role.
Yu. Rymarenko indicates that the term “Ukrainian political nation” appears as synonym to the concept of “people of Ukraine”. But the “nation” in this context is not considered as a community of a higher than national level. This refers to a combination of social and national interests of classes and social groups, residents of cities and villages, employees of mental and physical labor, nations and ethnic groups in this concept. This dream, the Ukrainian dream, to which we should go, stimulating the integration processes in the society which reflect the common economic needs, political preferences, idea and purpose – the development of an independent and united Ukrainian state. Yu. Rymarenko stated that what we call national or All-Ukrainian unity would reliably begin to work in this context. [6, 180]

Indeed, the ethno-social revival is a result of the raise of political culture of citizens, and the national ideology must meet the needs of different social groups of population and ethnic minorities. Yu. Rymarenko insisted that the nation formation was a political process, and the nation itself was an indissoluble unity of the state and civil society. Ethnic factors could not be a basis of the nation formation as the mono-ethnic nations did not exist. Therefore, according to the theory of Yu. Rymarenko, it is possible to achieve harmony in society and development of the nation only in the unity of all ethnic groups which live on a joint territory and are united by the same purpose. He insists that there should not be any oppression of minorities in the Ukrainian legal democratic state. In his opinion the ethnicity consists of not dominant and controlled nations, but of equal ethnic groups united by the same patriotic idea of the titular nation.

Thus tolerance and respect to the national minorities are indeed an indicator of maturity and stability of the nation. But unfortunately Ukrainians have not yet reached the level to fully realize themselves as an integral unit united by patriotism and love for their Fatherland. Therefore an official investigation of the fact that Ukraine is a national state which bears the name of the largest among its indigenous ethnic groups – Ukrainian – shall become an important step towards de-politicization of ethnic relations. Such constitution shall become a starting point for a fair resolution of all issues of national-state and national-cultural development, and in particular overcoming the politicization of ethnic relations. This politicization can create the grounds for conflicts between the state and multi-ethnic population.

But the titular nation is still a fundamental in the ethnic development of the state. For example, the problem of titular nation is absent in the USA while it is urgent in Ukraine, because our state has indigenous population. In a multi-ethnic society one nation necessarily dominates over all, - namely dominates, but not rules, specifically is the most significant, the most decisive in socio-economic and politico-cultural life of the whole nation, but not “simply outweighs all”. Naturally this is a so-called “titular nation”, that is that part of the state's population which nationality determines the official name of the state [7, 301]. But it has no right to impose “its idea” and take the “mission” provided or intended for indispensable “ruling over the society”, because it will be a manifestation of its ethno-centrism, ethno-isolation, ethno-egoism. Instead the
ideas of the all-nation social unity and civil-political reconciliation shall dominate in spiritual and political dialogue and socio-economic interaction of people. And therewith it is more than ever important to develop trust to the state, which guarantees human rights, to overcome the anti-state disease, low patriotic consciousness, which is sometimes associated with ethnic intransigence, strengthening of anti-state ideas in the east and south of Ukraine. We should be proud that we are Ukrainians, proudly carry this title and glorify our nation. But therewith, the warning of Yu. Rymarenko is quite modern: “Be patriots, not chauvinists!” [8, 62].

The right of nation for self-esteem under certain conditions is defined in the system of international law. The scientist argues in his works that the Ukrainian nation meets these conditions, because it is a distinct people with its own history, culture, self-awareness, and lives a common life in a compact territory.

National certainty of civil society with its deep historical roots firmly connects people to their Fatherland with many social and spiritual threads. It is this context in which the concept is defined in the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (July 16, 1990): “Citizens of all nationalities of the Republic constitute the people of Ukraine”.

Formation of the Ukrainian nation has a history that is rooted in ancient times. At various times Ukrainians fought for the right to speak their native language, believe in their God, respect their traditions. Many heads of true patriots of their Fatherland lied down for this right. And now, when we fortunately have a peaceful sky over our heads, we forget the deed of valor of those heroes. Sometimes we hold aloof our native language, abandon traditions, and lose our national identity. But this is the very time when Ukrainians have a chance for their ethnic revival, renaissance of patriotic spirit. Only in the unity of the titular nation and ethnic groups it is possible to achieve a common purpose, that is the national power of our country. And the fact of who you are by birth is not important. National self-awareness and love for Fatherland – Ukraine play a decisive role. These are the views which Yu. Rymarenko followed in his works. Unfortunately the professor is at the end of the road, but his ideas live, his works become increasingly relevant, and it is in our hands to make this theoretical basis a vivid reality. And then there certainly comes the time when each of us, Ukrainians, with head held high will be able to say: “I am Ukrainian and I am proud of it!”

Formation of ethno-national consciousness is a complicated and lengthy process. The Ukrainian nation has a strong basis for its national existence. However due to many circumstances this basis is being ruined nowadays. Patriotic spirit shall be instilled from the early childhood and grow throughout the life. The 21st century dictates its own rules which are based on material wealth, but not on formation of spiritual wealth of a human. However the people of Ukraine at various times could come together to show disobedience, express the same idea which was common to millions of compatriots. Therefore even at this difficult time Ukrainians are able to unite and fight for their right to exist as a single nation.
These are the issues which the professor Yu. Rymarenko investigated in his works. The problem of the formation of national unity, legal and social position of the titular nation and sub-ethnics in the state, development of the united Ukraine, is an incomplete list of problems which the professor addressed in his investigations. These are not just topical, but angular problems. Because if we do not strengthen the foundation for national development today, there will be nothing to strengthen tomorrow. That is why the works of the Professor Yu. Rymarenko require further consideration and detailed research.

**Keywords:** nation, people, etnos, creation of the state, title nation, state, patriotism, subethnos.

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**MODERN CHALLENGES TO CONSOLIDATION OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY**

**Abstract.** Consolidation means common work in order to reach common goal. The form of consolidation depends on its roots which are defined by society itself. The
society shall be interpreted as consolidated when its elements are targeted on cooperation with each other more than on cooperation with elements of outer systems. The idea of consolidation of Ukrainian society is forming today as the idea of such model of Ukrainian state, that would be acceptable for all political and social groups.

The main factor of consolidation of Ukrainian society nowadays is state. But there is no understanding of the real meaning of this acquisition. We may mention several reasons that have led to such neglecting of state. It is lack of traditions of nation-building, “sovok” heritage, traditions of national de-identified managing.

The head count, made by Razumkov Centre, means to make an example of this. The respondents were asked whether they would like the recovery of USSR and socialist system. 48,7% told they would like to get “back in USSR” and 51,3% were against. Recent past separates Ukrainians.

Such important problems that undoubtful impact the process of consolidation as forming and realization of ethnical policy, language policy, creating political identity always were in the limelight during election campaigns and were discussed and used by different political parties. The main attention is always paid to the language policy, to the status of Russian language in Ukraine.

There is a complex of problems that traditionally accompany the process of forming and establishing of Ukrainian national identity. First of all, it is regional differences. They are shaped up as differences in approaches to the problems that always had high confrontational potential in Ukrainian society (language policy, NATO, appraisal of historical events, integration to EU or cooperation with Russia). The urgency if these problems become as high as close the election is, especially for those who live in South and East of the state.

The ambivalence is one of the key characteristics of modern Ukrainian society. Opposite intensions co-exist in society – greeting of paternalism versus market economy and so on. This is the reaction on numerous and fundamental changes that Ukrainian society faced during last 20 years. But such reaction, such ambivalence leads to the stagnation. Moreover it makes dangerous illusion of possible “third way” or chance to create specific way of development of our country. But this “third way” leads nowhere, except “third world”. But little politicians or ordinary people do understand this.

According to the recent sociologic researches society has mostly negative point of view on those factors that may consolidate it. First of all, it is pessimist ratings of future, dissatisfaction by authorities and by the crisis of political system. Therefore sociologists have marked several positions that might be the basis for consolidation in future. For 20,6 % respondents it is common history, for 14,7% it is common language (Ukrainian), for 11,6% it is national identity, and for almost 9% it is patriotism, and for almost 7% - the idea of nation-state building.

The problems of language, ethnical policy, regional differences and identity are always used by politicians in order to give additional sense to their political campaigns.
And this is not only the answer to the real challenges. It is also one of the ways of mobilization of the electorate before the elections. The need of realization the old script “friend or foe” might be explained by specific features of society itself. We mean regional differences in linguistic, ethnical and social characteristics, understanding and interpretation of historical events, opposite understanding of future.

Despite calls for consolidation politicians often use these contradictions and as a result strengthen deconsolidation. Their social populism conserves the ambivalence of the society, produces and uses myths about two Ukraines, regions-donors and regions-consumers.

Historical memory is the main constant value that unites past with present and with future, creates national tragic and heroic senses. Historical memory may be strong and effective instrument for consolidation. But in requires everyday work, knowledge about past and its interpretation in appropriate way, acceptable for everyone.

We have to pay special attention to the role of the church in the process of consolidation of Ukrainian nation. During centuries it was powerful stimulus of unity for Ukrainians. But nowadays polarized and politicized church polarizes society. No one confession dominates in any region. Ukraine seems to be divided between different confessions and confrontation is going to be escalated. So it is not very helpful for consolidation processes. In spite of all these factors, recent opinion polls show that church has the highest level of trust in society, and the army or police has the lowest one. So church has the greatest potential for consolidation despite division and confrontation.

External factors values as well. Influences from the West strengthen democratic characteristics of Ukrainian identity and obviously is more perspective. Russian Influences slow down consolidation processes. And no one factor seems to have absolutely positive impact on consolidation.

We may mention several reasons that break the process of consolidation. Among them are regional and cultural differences (it turned out to be enormously hard to use these differences as platform for consolidation not for division), the lack of acceptable for everyone system of values, incompleteness of establishing of national elite, communicative openness of Ukrainian society to different influences, which are not always friendly to Ukraine as a state and to Ukrainians as nation.

To sum up we may compare consolidation threats to national security threats as far as unconsolidated society has very little chances for successful state building. Eventually, Ukrainian society itself has marked starting points for consolidation. These are economic reforms and development, rising of living standards, safeguard of the rights and liberties of man and citizen. So it seems to provide not bad start.

Key words: consolidation, consensus, elite, ethnical policy, communication, historical memory.
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LANGUAGE POLICY IN UKRAINE: NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION OR POLITICAL RISK

Abstract. Language is social phenomenon of human consciousness. It is clearly expressed when language reacts to social factors.

Our research is called to actualize the assertion that state language substantially affects to formation of national consciousness of citizens in any country including Ukraine.
Actuality of subject that we chose is that national consciousness of citizens is in the making in any country which is in transitional phase. The state language has leading part in this process.

The language serves communication, culture, provides cooperation between ranks and social stratum, territorial and professional groups. It also makes possible the sharing of information for realization of social interaction in society. The state language is using as symbol of ethnic community and unity of all members of society.

The state language can gain political content in interethnic relations when one of the ethnos politically dominates another one. It took place in relations between ethnos of colonial and semi-colonial countries and their parent states. It also took place in majority of multinational countries. The inequality of autochthonic languages is often appears in legislation and becomes as character of juridical inequality that can be observed in Ukraine nowadays.

The problem of split in nation because of language is appeared in Ukraine again. That is why it is necessary to define causes and effects of such situation urgently.

Article aim: to determine the influence of language policy in Ukraine on condition of national consciousness of citizens, based on theoretical analysis of scientific researches in politology, philology and history.

In every country the language policy is component of national policy. It reflects its principles and conforms ruling ideology. The direction and adoption forms of language policy are determined by current socio-political system, political regime and interethnic relations. The language policy is capable either to seal a lead of ruling language or to contribute to relieve an interethnic tension by supporting minority nationality’s languages.

Key words: language policy, national self-consciousness, national consolidation, state language, regional language, political risk.

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CIVIL SOCIETY AS A FACTOR IN THE NATION-BUILDING: RETROSPECTIVE AND PERSPECTIVE

Abstract. Having critically considered the approaches of procedural understanding of communication formed by Ch. Taylor, J. Habermas, J. Coca, J. Keane, J. Cohen, A. Arato, the author proves that presence of a legalized and legitimized private interest is a precondition enabling the very phenomenon of a civil society.

Traditions of conceptualization of the problem of a civil society are considered. It is shown that they have one thing in common – the civil society confronts authoritative and political relationships, its structures have their own corporate (special) interest and do not claim to express the overall interest (to be political) or to offer the society in general any models of its organization. The border between the civil and political sphere is therefore the struggle for power, whatever civilized and democratic forms it might take. The civil society influences the authorities and controls them with a view to resolving its special interests; however it does not struggle for power.

The interdependence of existence of the civil society and the law-abiding state is revealed, which are formed under conditions of poly-subject space and grow from one communicative “root”, i.e. occurrence of a difference between the general – on one hand, and the special or single – on the other, and establishment of a correlation between them.
The same conditions are also required to form a nation: in absence of poly-subject communicative space, neither a mono-ethnic, nor a poly-ethnic community becomes a nation. In this context, differences between a nation and an ethnos are also considered. It is substantiated that an ethnic group is a bearer of cultural identity of a person, an original and self-sufficient entity, to which the person belongs by its cultural origin, irrespective of whether he or she is conscious of such provenance or not. Ethnicity is not to be chosen – it forms ethno-cultural features of a person by itself. Instead, national identity needs personal reflection.

It is concluded that the civil society as a condition of the formation of a self-authorized person is a factor in ensuring its national identity. The more a person is emancipated from the state paternalism, the more space he or she needs for self-realization, the more possible becomes the revival of the person’s national self-awareness, conscious choice and acceptance of the values and patterns offered by the cultural environment as his or her own and native.

Keywords: civil society, law-abiding state, ethnic group, nation, communication.

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CULTURE OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN GENERAL IDEOLOGY OF STATE BUILDING IN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE (1991-2012)

Abstract. On the basis of general analysis of historical facts, analytical materials, scientific arguments it is done an attempt to reveal the peculiarities of requirements of culture of Ukraine’s ethnics. After declaration of independence the ethno minorities of Ukraine entered into a new stage of their life with different level of self-organization and ethnical consciousness, and with sense of duty before Ukrainian state.

It is arisen the new conditions for satisfaction of cultural requirements of Ukraine’s ethnics. The speed of integration of ethno minorities generally depended on the historical tradition which ethnics continued to follow. Those who compactly lived on the borders of Ukraine felt themselves as owners of situation and did not think about integration. Besides that in every neighbor country there were definite political forces which were not interested in integration of ethnics into ethno-political space of Ukraine. Integration processes in Ukraine progressed with definite difficulties as they required mutual adaptation of communities. The process of preservation of own originality and overcoming of culture of title ethnos was seen differently by ethnics. Some of them aimed to ethno cultural isolation, others showed decision to integration transformations.

The reasons which defined the level of satisfaction of requirements of culture of Ukraine’s ethnics were different and at the same time complex; they laid down in differences of historical way of development of ethnics, specificity of mentality, different levels of urbanization, etc. It is conducted the scientific reconstruction of process of preparing of domestic legislation, which regulated realization of rights on culture, civil dimension of national rebirth by Ukraine’s ethnics. It is revealed both achievements and errors in this case and also found out the measure of concordance of norms of laws to the similar international documents.

The legislation and legal foundation of Ukraine of this period, which regulated development of cultural environment of ethnal minorities was being worked sequentially. It had specificity because acquired acts, declarations, laws, regulations,
decrees, decisions had character of documents, which regulated cultural rights of ethnics, activity of national and cultural communities with their defense, building of the system of ethnical institutions of culture and their involvement to the state institutions, etc. only indirectly. The usage of modern methodological instrumentation permitted to clear up a lot of aspects which concerned with place of culture of ethnic minorities in general ideology of state building and social and political transformation of independent state.

Key words: culture, ethnic group, law, Constitution of Ukraine, Ukraine, language.

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PROBLEMS OF UNCONFORMITY OF TERMINOLOGY CONCEPTS IN ETHNIC POLICY AS A CHALLENGE TO NATIONAL SECURITY OF UKRAINE

Full text. One of the problems in the context of national security of Ukraine today is dealt with terminological unconformity of fundamental concepts used in the field of ethnic politics. Noted situation is becoming more and more tangible under conversion of category "nation" and derivative concepts into object of symbolic struggle for meaning. This struggle is carried out at the conceptual and theoretical level as well as at the program-level policy, that is at the level of policy actors struggle. However, if dominant logic in scientific field is dealing with notions "true / untrue", relations in political sphere are built by the principle "friend / enemy". The danger is that within political product – programs, political advertisements, public speeches of politicians – a very high content of information is designed for manipulating mass consciousness. "As a rule politicians speaking must be screened with special attention to political speeches which under their frequent masking as “research ones” should not conceal the essence of the case" [1, c.240]. Actuality of the article is dealing therefore with forming certain research orientations towards diversity of approaches to key concepts in the field of ethnic policy.

Significant research achievements of the issues outlined in the article can be found in the works of Ukrainian scientists: Vivcharyk M. Grytsak J., Kolodiy A. Kresina I. Kuras I., Nagorna L. Rymarenko Yu, Shkliar L. and others. However the problems outlined in the title of the article did not find their full clarification. Emphasis is done on diversity of concepts in ethnic policy, but the phenomenon of their theoretical incoherence as one of the factors which challenges national security of Ukraine is considered insufficiently.

The aim of the article is to highlight the problems that arise on theoretical as well as practical basis with due regard to theoretical incoherence of concepts in the sphere of ethnic policy, in particular the concepts "nation" and "nationalism.

Scientific literature distinguishes two basic meanings of "nation." Firstly, nation is identified with the ethnic community. Secondy, the nation is interpreted as a civil community, as a territorial and political unity. The first concept of the nation (ethnic) originates from the works of German scholars (Herder J., Shleyyermaher F.), and second respectively originates from the works of the French enlighteners. Thus, the ethnic nations are those peoples which accept their ethno-cultural peculiarity as a main source of national identity and the basis for creation of their own state. They emerged under the conditions of statelessness, where the movement for spiritual revival and
political consolidation preceded the formation of the nation-state and was carried out under the guidance of spiritual and intellectual elite, because leading political leaders under foreign domination could not develop.

Political nations are those state peoples whose representatives accept their nationality with due regard to citizenship, affiliation to a certain state, approval of its principal political values. They were formed where strong and centralized state occurred before cultural consolidation of the people, and therefore government institutions could favour this consolidation, accelerate it using even the methods of coercion [2]. It becomes clear that two vectors in defining nation emerged in the context of the algorithm of formation of this community. But today they have begun to exist independently, sometimes "clashing" at both theoretical and practical level. Moreover, the ambiguity of the term "nation" makes it impossible to find a meaningful "point of reference" for concepts nationalism, national idea etc. For example, following definition of a nation is given in a quite "official" source - a nation is defined as "a community of people regardless their ethnic origin, but united by political interests, consideration of their identity in a certain area (land) with a certain state organization (sovereignty), common citizenship, legal rights and duties, culture and traditions [3, p. 105].

Thus it is clear that this definition tends to the concept “political nation”. As to A. Kolodiy, for example, "nation is an ethno-political community, which has high level of consolidation and self-awareness, involvement into the political life, creation or desire to create their own state" [4, p. 314]. There is a right questions appears - if nation always includes "ethnic" component? if so - what is it in a multi-ethnic state, ethnic group that predominates quantitatively? But if it is absent, is ethnic component in determining nation a collection of all ethnic groups living in state? That is, the substance of this concept at least is different for mono- and multi-ethnic state, or such where certain ethnic group dominates and prevails in political and national processes.

Consequently, the question arises: if the state has been established and ethnos have already done its mobilizing and consolidating role in creation state and nation, what is it further function and what place it should occupy in society? Answers create a wide range of considerations.

One of the most debatable term is “nationalism” as far as prevailing of a certain ethnic group, logically, is based on the content of this political ideology. As A. Kolodiy confidently asserts, “the assertion that nationalism does not disappear with the formation of national states, but only takes another form, can not be interpreted that it must become at once the official ideology. The latter was and is always dangerous for liberty of a person, people, and perhaps conscious community and will never be found compatible with the choice of democratic way of development of the state. The task of the state is to reduce to a common denominator, to co-ordinate group interests, to get compromises and harmony in society. And this role is unlikely to match the existence of any state ideology, including nationalism. State ideology presupposes its obligatory character and therefore spiritual and perhaps political pressure on citizens what denies
democracy and leads to totalitarianism" [2]. A. L. Nagorna stresses with great concern: "One has …to state that the end of the XX and beginning of the XXI centuries have become the time of the nationalism returning into the political arena, and this happened at the time when the ideological victory of neoliberalism seemed obvious to many (people). Nationalism revealed itself as an effective mobilization method and even as a form of legitimation of political regimes. It emerged on the political proscenium with new, "refined" by populism face and with new allies in the form of religious fundamentalism, left radicalism, anti-globalism. As ideology nationalism made the best use of the realities of the globalized world, trying to portray itself as a defender of the threatened identity under the banner of "new localism" [1, p. 222].

That is, despite the fact that the terms "nation" and "nationalism" are of the same roots, most researchers in Ukraine agree that "nationalism" is extremely right-wing ideology and its promotion can be dangerous for stability, national security and human rights.

However, today a certain number of researchers in Ukraine, not to mention the politicians, continue to put forward the position about the lack of "national sentiments" in this dimension, joining nationalism with the term "democratic", identifying it with the national revival (it is not entirely clear of what - culture, state, ethnicity, unity? – Auth.), opposing it to all "Soviet, totalitarian" (it must be read as to all of extremely left-wing character, – auth.)…

If politicians can be accused in this context of preconceived opinion, researchers can’t be as most of them do not pose the purpose of manipulating mass consciousness, but rather express their conscious attitude.

Thus, it is clear that outlined facts indicate unconformity of initial positions on the definition of term "nation" and as a result, "nationalism."

Attempt to reconcile these positions were made by prominent scholar of conservative wing W. Lipynskyy at the beginning of the XX century, who determined that nationalism existed in two forms - in statebuilding form (patriotism), and stateruining form (chauvinism). The first type of nationalism was defined by scholar as "patriotism "or rather" territorial patriotism", that is as “love to land, to all its inhabitants irrespective of their ethnic origin" As to the second type of nationalism it was accepted by the scholar as chauvinism by defining chauvinist as a “person who accepted positively alien against fellowman” [5, p.745-746].

But if to follow at the same time logic of one of the greatest without a doubt Ukrainian scolars, one could argue, for example, that "democracy" may be of "negative" and "positive" character and something like that. Substantial amount of these concepts is being "shaken" to a certain extent in this case. Certainly, analysis of nation and nationalism done by W. Lipynskyy was undisputed achievement of Ukrainian science and culture for his time, but our task obviously is aimed at further research of the noted subject in the context of contemporary conditions of Ukrainian nation.
The deal is that noted terminological uncertainty is not a problem of scientific sphere only ... Unfortunately, it generates value conflicts at the level of public opinion, which are more dangerous, because challenge stability of the country, stir up xenophobic sentiments, national hatred and hostility, especially under speculations of some politicians on the ethnic factor in the process of nation-building regarding objective multiethnic character of Ukrainian society. To base any modern "Ukrainian project" on Simulacra which exploit significant symbols of ethnicity is not to understand the nature of the challenges facing young states in the era of globalization. However the majority of serious scholars and analysts are sure that under the new conditions the tasks of de-politicization of ethnicity and reducing ethnic character of policy are put before world community. Properly speaking, popular in the West model of multiculturalism is also based on transferring attention from ethnic to multicultural factor.

Careless "design" of nation-building policy in Ukraine with due regard to its traumatic historical experience can also threaten territorial integrity under the process of artificial aggravation of regional differences by certain political elites. One would like to emphasize that the threat to territorial integrity of the state is being created not by regional differences and local selfidentity themselves, but by artificial speculations on this basis. And in this context one can hardly agree with the authors of the fundamental work "The Ukrainian political nation: genesis, status and prospects" that the immediate problem for Ukraine is "overcoming cultural and historical diversity of its regions, particularly those revealed in the geopolitical, ethno-cultural and religious orientations "[6, p.188].

Leveling of regional peculiarities is not only impossible in principle (at least within the lives of several generations), but also inefficient, because any diversity enriches vital palette of nation. Healthy political forces should strive not to "overcome" heterogeneity, but to civilized resolution of the problems that arise on its basis as well as to civilized oppose to attempts to politicize regional differences. Because real threat of split is made not by mismatches of orientations, but by conflicts of interest and by competition of nationalisms when they enter the stage of hostility and try to "become winner at any cost" [7, p. 278].

However, it is not awaited to accept the noted positions in dimension of misunderstanding or rejection of importance of ethnic factors in the life of contemporary Ukrainian society. It is said only that as far as ethnic and cultural conflicts have become by V. Kymlichka the most widen source of violence in the world and "there are no simple answers and miracle recipes " to soften them on the basis of defending human and civic rights, it needs to do all possible for settling the fate of ethnic and national groups not by nationalist xenophobers, religious extremists or military dictators [8, p. 15, 149]. In Ukrainian context it means first of all focus on the strategy of nationbuilding, which will minimize eventually the effect of cultural
distinctions and will influence the emergence of political, multi-ethnic nation of citizens. This in any way undermines the “sense-building” function of Ukrainian ethnics.

Thus, a promising direction of Ukrainian community development is dealt with creation of a unified multi-ethnic and multicultural nation of citizens with reservation of uniqueness and originality of each ethnic community, where everyone could feel himself Ukrainian regardless ethnic origin. But Ukrainian researchers should also play in this process an important role.

**Keywords:** political nation, ethnicity nation, nationalism, national security.

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**NATIONAL AUTHENTICITY OF PERSONALITY IN NEW REALITIES OF SOCIAL LIFE**

**Abstract.** The article expresses considerations about causes of delayed development of the civil society of Ukraine, the slowdown in the rate of its democratization. The wronged and contradictible to values of civil society thinking is hidden in mentality of Ukrainians, their non-state psychology and individualism what was written a lot of publications and articles. Following to the words of mr. Tolochko P.
it's about a conflict that arises by three appeared in Ukraine subethnics and according to points of mr. Pavlenko Iu. it's about "misunderstanding" among average Western and Ostern peoples.

It is proved that mentality is not a historical constant and it is changes and becomes a sample of democracy of a civil service character, losing their archaic features of individualismus, incompatible to civil society said leading scientists of today.

The most clearly national consolidation to state values arises in "critical situations" under the influence of political conflicts sharing the view of mrs. Kvitsinia M. Modern history gives facts of a political activity come out, Ukrainians state aspirations-features, that mentally make Ukrainian nation near to European values.

A developing point that Ukrainians potentially are able to take Western achievements more naturally comparing to the most different peoples, but the obstacle to the democratical changes, reconstruction of civil society is not the the mentality of Ukrainians, but non-dependent to the society the party representation in the domination the same representational democracy which make stronger the state centralisation. Confirmed this is the very time for the transition from more suitable Ukrainian mentality a representative democracy what hictorically has depleted their its potential to direct democracy of the participatory type.

Key words: mentality, civil society, democracy.

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FORMACION OF A NATIONAL IDENTITY OF UKRAINIANS IN DIMENSION OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Abstract. The article analyzes the problems of Ukrainian national identity formation at the present stage of development of Ukrainian society, identifies the ways of optimization national security policy in the humanitarian field in the context of solving noted problem

Shaping national identity is a very important issue for the present day Ukraine. National Security Strategy of Ukraine "Ukraine in a changing world" indicates that the immediate tasks of national security policy is the preservation and development of spiritual and cultural values of Ukrainian society, strengthening their identity on the basis of ethnic and cultural diversity.

National identity is inherently multidimensional. It may include, but not abolish ethnic, cultural, professional, sexual and other forms of identity. At the same time national identity can coexist with supranational identity (European or cosmopolitan). According to M. Berdyaev, a person who feels himself a citizen of a world does not lose national feelings, because his engagement into the cosmic universal life takes place through the national life.

But at present this process in Ukraine is being constrained by the conflict of identities which is caused: a) by the problems on shaping domestic national identity dealt with transition from ethnic to social and political principle of its establishment; b) by presence of elements of the post-Soviet identity, c) by enough strong positions of regional sub-identities with different valuable dominants.

Therefore it is need to intensify efforts for shaping national identity as a basis of existence of national community (political nation). If community members have a high level of national consciousness, they tend (under the process of political settlement of social contradictions and problems) to limit their personal, group or corporate interests with aim to achieve general social harmony.

If the state does not realize effective steps to neutralize noted above threats a situation with negative trends of social processes can lead to loss the state sovereignty. Much of these negative trends may be stipulated by critical decline in functioning of political system caused by internal conflicts. Under such situation political system will be unable to solve most of its problems.

Key words: national identity, national security policy.
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DIRECT DEMOCRACY AT LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL AS MECHANISM OF POLITICAL NATION-BUILDING IN UKRAINE

Full text. The modern Ukrainian society is becoming more politically active and more involved into the political process today. An example is the case of Oksana Makar and case of Pavlicenco family, and Sc. «Tax Maydan», and so on. The above developments have united a rather large number of citizens of Ukraine regardless of region of residence, thereby laying the preconditions for the creation of Ukrainian political nation. That is why the relevance of this article is due to amplification process of self-organization of citizens as an effective way of creating modern Ukrainian political nation.
However, these processes are still quite disintegrative and did not always receive the purpose that was expected, mainly - due to the lack of experience of the community and absence of mechanisms to protect its rights. Therefore the need of effective mechanisms of self-organization of communities that would have a system character with clearly defined methods of actions and general principles adds to the urgency of this study. In addition the creation of such mechanism makes it possible to speed up the process of political nation-building in Ukraine.

The impact of culture and other factors into the process of Ukrainian nation-building and inter-ethnic conflicts was studying by Svidzinsky A., G. Kasyanov, Dontsov, W. Lipynskyy, A. Kartunov et al. But practical mechanism of Ukrainian political nation-building is known to be almost not clear.

The purpose of this article is to propose a mechanism that would ensure political unity of all citizens of Ukraine in nation based on shared political culture.

In Ukraine there were always very serious problems with national idea and identity. First of all, this is due to the existence of different, even contradictory approaches to the understanding of the term «nation». Some local researchers accept nation as an ethnic community united by language, culture and etc. The other scientists are understanding «nation» as political body which is integrated not only by common ethnic origin or cultural component of people (although of course they take place), but by desire to create and preserve Ukrainian state.

Mobilization factor in the first model is an irrational element – the love to the homeland as a combination of certain traditions, language and culture. This model, however, has some significant flaws. First is outlined by Ukrainian researcher E. Novakova and is dealt with unconscious love to country, unselfish feelings associated with place of birth. This unconscious love, according to E. Novakova, may contribute to a large but limited deals and is not suitable for continuous efforts of the people. It can save the state in a moment of danger, but it can leave its fate in peacetime [1, 164]. Another factor is that nation seeks greater autonomy for cultural development, even independence on this basis that can often provoke increased level of conflict for states in which there are such nations. Examples are Kurds in Turkey and Syria, the Catalans in Spain, Chechens in Russia and so on.

Mobilization factor in the second model is rational component. Here people perceive the nation as residents of a certain state with established order of existence who seek to protect the state not as a sacred value, but as a set of absolutely concrete legal provisions – familiar and comfortable standard of living for its inhabitants. The main feature of this model regarding E. Novakova is that people are beginning to see the relationship between their own well-being and prosperity of the state, realize that the system of exactly this states help them to achieve well-being [1, 164]. So here is the more important factor is not of objective (the birthplace and cultural identity), but of subjective character – the desire and aspiration of the individual to life in this country.
and under these conditions to improve the country of residence in order to improve his welfare.

Moreover, as A. Svidzinsky rightly notes, «it is revealed that internal will act of a person by which he defines his relation to a certain ethnic group in respect of of all objective and subjective factors is of decisive character for his ethnic selfidentity » [2]. This by the way explains the existence of such modern nations as Canadians or Americans (U.S. citizens). Their existence is an accomplished fact, and American clearly separates himself from the Englishman notwithstanding their belonging to related ethnic community.

Also A. Svidzinsky notes that the important factor of nation-building is culture as a set of specific values. Thus, to create a unified Ukrainian political nation is to create a common political culture and set of values that would be closely bound with the existence of Ukraine. In practice such a model based on the principle «American dream» was able to create an American political nation. Similar principles were applied in Switzerland – today, despite the fact that its territory inhabited by four different nations, this state is unified culturally, because it is unified by the principle of democracy.

It is possible to create the same common culture in Ukraine by the efforts of all citizens or by involving their absolute majority in the active participation in policy. So far as political nation is impossible without political participation. We can not but agree with Ukrainian political researcher, head of the Center for Political Studies A. Romaniuk, that the term «political participation» describes the practical action of citizens in political sphere and is a key component of the mechanisms of functioning of democratic system. It is of conscious character, it should be aimed at achieving certain goal or getting certain results. Political participation is also characterized by repetition over time, that is it can not be analized by disposable actions» [3, 44].

One can accept as interesting the position of Ukrainian researcher G. Kasyanov, who argued that the existence of the nation required a number of subjective factors, including collective solidarity, a sense of community, national consciousness, which, in our view, is easily ensured by increasing the political participation of citizens [4, 55]. However, as it is noted in the book of American researcher Robert Dahl «Problems of civic competence», even in stable democracies «only a small group of people are seriously interested in politics (...) even fewer participate in political life» [5]. This phenomenon is, in our opinion, is explained by the absence of motivation (interest) towards active participation in politics from the public. The question arises is how to increase such interest within Ukrainian citizens. But all such attempts, and not only in Ukraine, have failed with due regard to their verticality – the state tried to encourage people by existing mechanisms, but nothing worked mainly because people did not understand the need in such participation.
The solution of this problem may be dealt with a system of direct democracy, which may be implemented at the local level by such already available institution of self-governing of citizens in Ukraine as condominiums.

It is well known that people always response only those challenges and factors that affect them directly. So it would be logically to create modern Ukrainian nation by initial creation of such system of coordinates which would force all citizens to become active on equal terms. This uniformity of conditions and ways is to create a common cultural field and, as a result, to unite finally Ukrainians into a single, well-organized community throughout the state.

It is necessary to return for ensuring this process of active nation-building by the principles of classical liberalism – to limit the state's role only by setting «rules of the game» for society, to return to the concept of «night watchman» at the local government level. Functions on the local level issues resolving must be turned over to the powers of local communities - to the level of condominiums (in villages and towns – the board streets etc.). This will ensure the principles set by Aristotle, that "the quontity of citizens should be limited for they know each other», because only such system reduces at most the possibility of corruption and abuse of power as far as everyone knows who is responsible for a this or another process and to whom one should apply in the case of problems [6].

It is spoken about the transfer of powers of local councils of deputies to the new institution of civil society - condominiums as community organizations aimed at settling various issues of local importance. Thus all «domestic» problems will be resolved not by the state organs (housing offices etc.), but institutions of civil society – «councils of buildings», «councils of districts» and so on. Local authorities and governments as pre-existing bodies of selforganization of citizens would also loose their actuality. It is proposed a system under which people themselves at the meetings of condominiums or more large organ – system of condominiums (quarter, booth, street – there may be a great number of titles) could decide how, where and who will repair a road, settle a park and so on as far as local government has not been realizing for a long time in Ukraine its functions. For example, Cherkasy City Council offers citizens to co-finance reconstruction of roads, that is actually to finance it again (firstly by the tax on local government maintenance costs and realization of its functions, secondly – as addition act) [7].

Besides that, the refusal from the local councils of deputies as a body of selfgoverning would speed up the process of approval of local community initiatives as far as intermediary in the form of a local council in implementation of the community authority is being eliminated. Because, according to Art. 9 of the Law of Ukraine «On Local Self-Government» initiative of the community is discussed additionally by the session of deputies of local councils and may be rejected [8], while due to the system of condominiums under initiative of the majority of citizens decisions are embodied into the life. Organs of state administration which duplicate today in Ukraine the functions
of local government should be also eliminated from the system of state governing from the point of view of the author, as far as the main role of the state – law making (establishing the «rules of the game») - must be done by Parliament while responsibility for their implementation relies on state supervising organs. Proposed organization of local governance will lead to simplification of the system, and thus to improve its efficiency as well as to save public funds. Also noted model realizes a task that was posed at the beginning – creation of well-formed system of self-organization of citizens which is based on common political principles and fundamentals, providing thereby a unified political culture for further active building of the Ukrainian political nation.

Proposed scheme of organization of public participation is quite simple: inhabitants of a house choose the responsible person who is entrusted to draw up a plan of development of community (as a perspective) and plan (for a quarter or haph a year) to handle certain domestic problems that occur in this community. Being drawn up the plan is submitted by chairman of the house for consideration and approval by the community. If the plan has been approved the budget of these activities is formed, and chairman takes the responsibility for full organization of the process of implementation of the approved plan. If the problem is global (for example, building of a hospital or road in the region), that is if the problem is of such character that can not be resolved by general meeting of all interested community members (according to considerable number of inhabitants), it is held a general meeting of heads of the region who (having received a mandate and instructions from their citizens) adopt a decision which is then presented to the community.

Such system of organization is aimed at realization of several functions at once:

1) prevents at most embezzlement of finances of community so far as formation of the budget for this or another project is of transparent character and the responsibility is turned over the chairman, who is constantly among his community and is overt to it;

2) provides direct democracy – majority of condominium members approves one or another decision and thus is engaged to some extent to governing and responsibility. This is confirmed by research work of American sociologist D. McGregor – the psychological aspect of participation in governing gives individual a sense of importance and enhance his responsibility upon realization of approved decision [9];

3) stimulates the development of competition in the market of services as far as chairman would be interested in getting qualitative services at the lowest price. The growing number of companies must lead to increase of a number of working places and thus welfare.

In turn, growing of welfare must lead to apprehension by all citizens of a need of preservation of Ukraine as independent state, because just its existence provides the level of comfort, social standards, and way of the life on the whole which are of need for majority of citizens.
Another important factor for the creation of a common cultural sphere in Ukraine is establishment of a single information system. There is need also of means of information influence for active work, mobilization of citizens. These are first of all newspapers or so called agitation sheets which would present actual for one or another condominium (or their cooperatives) problems and would impact locally limited but well-defined audience. This process analized by A. Toffler in his book “The Third Wave” is called «demass of media» and means narrowing of the subject which is covered by mass media [10]. Scientist noted in particular that with appearance of this new fast, cheap press each organization, community, religious group could allow itself to have their own printed organ, but importance of the third wave was dealt not with press only, but with broadcasting etc [10].

In the context of creation of local, for each condominium, means of information of population such type of mass media will be of extremely high efficiency by two positions: firstly, by the urgency of the problem for each member of condominium or cooperative of condominiums, and secondly by high level trust to information sources. That is under existence of opposing viewpoints in the information sphere of the district the citizen would perceive as true information provided to him by the condominium because he was involved into the process of it obtaining. For example, in Lugansk concrete plant was closed and work of cretaceous plant was held up owing to short leaflets and meetings of communities of several condominiums [6].

The introduction of this system throughout the country will speed significantly the process of interintegration based on shared values - political and social freedom that was always inherent to Ukrainians. Ukrainian political tradition always tried to create a state that would not restrict individual freedoms and rights of citizens. And, first of all: this state should not interfere in economic affairs, because personal economic categories (property, money, etc.) are pledge of individual freedom. Under such organization the state apparatus is relatively weak, but the role of assembly of citizens as a form of direct democracy is of growing character. Such was the Veche in Kievan Rus and Cossacks meetings during Cossachchina times, and free communities in times of Nestor Makhno. By the way, it was the activity of Nestor Ivanovich Makhno and support to it among Ukrainian peasants which proved aspiration of Ukrainians to the highest degree of individual freedom, reinforced by the right for property (in this case for property for land).

Thus it must be said that the new system of self-organization will create a modern Ukrainian political nation by insuring certain requirements. Firstly, direct democracy which will create common cultural value to all citizens – political and social freedom; common mobile informational space with high level of legitimacy that will provide rapid cultural cointegration of all citizens of Ukraine. This mechanism of self-organization will provide association of citizens under horizontal (among themselves), but not vertical (by the orders "from above") principle. The latter eliminates the cause which hindered political nation-building in Ukraine during the period of its existence.
As M. Dragomanov mentioned, political nation «can’t be where administrative measures are taken to provide preference to whatever sign of ethnographic nation, that is where the concept of the state is mixed with the concept of the nation, and where there are no conditions for the formation of political nationality. These are conditions when the state unity is being weakened by the measures aimed to strengthen and to create this unity» [4].

Secondly, this model of self-organization provides a strict structure of community, its mutual responsibility, political activity and initiative which are the main features of its consolidation and efficiency. Thirdly, proposed mechanism is to create a system of public order, including at local government level, which will provide maximum growing of welfare of citizens and thus will provide their interest in existence of independent Ukraine.

**Key words**: political nation, self-organization, condominiums, local government, direct democracy.

**References:**
LAND TAX AS A PART OF DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Abstract. One of the oldest and the most important taxes is land tax. Assessment of the land tax is ruled by The Land Code of Ukraine, Law of Ukraine "On Land Fees", resolutions of The Cabinet of Ministres of Ukraine and by ammendments to the State Budget that is adopted every year.

The land is a nature resource, wealth of the country that cannot be export abroad. The state does not sell the land, it gives the right to private persons and enterprises to formalize the ownership of the land. The state is aimed to get the profit in form of land tax from using of natural resource.

The owner of the house that was built on land that also belongs to him should feel himself safe from any possible problems. It is also possible option for him to sell the land in his ownership. But together with rights goes duties also. The Tax Code sets the duty of land owners to pay land tax. In case of systematic non-payment of land tax the owner loses the right for permanent use of the land. The size of land tax is calculated by cadastral value and tax rate.

As international experience shows that the land tax is a background of financial autonomy of local communities is. (for example tax on property in the USA and Japan; land tax in Germany, France; land tax on buildings and houses in France; the tax on realty and added value of land in Spain). Collection and spending of those taxes are executed by local authorities.

Object of taxation are land, buildings (industrial and habitable) and other kind of realty. In almost all countries the tax is dealing with appraised value of the property. So far calculating and withholding of this tax depends on local laws, tax rates can be different: percentage from appraised value of the property or as a constant amount.

Key words: land ownership, land tax, organs of local self-government

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