V.I. VERNADSKY TAURIDA NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL CIVILIZATION PROCESS

Collective monograph

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A range of relevant aspects of the historical and philosophical analysis of cultural values are considered in the monograph. There are certain issues of theoretical and methodological meaning such as: the integrity phenomenon in social existence, generalizing cognition in historical works, organic methodology in the civilization research. The issues of the influence of Chinese civilization on the East Asian culture, correlation between cinematography and history, civilization choice of Ukraine in 1917-1920, geopolitical and geo-economic changes in the Black Sea area after Russian annexation of the Crimea, strengthening of moral values of Ukrainian society are studied individually.

The monograph is intended for scientists, lecturers and students as well as for a wide range of readers.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

A modern stage of the world history is characterized by growing interdependence between countries and regions, and aggravation of contradictions at the same time. Today, authors are writing a lot about integration and disintegration of the world society, globalization, including cultural-civilization sense, as well as civilization collisions. The further deep research of this range of problems requires a detailed historical and philosophical analysis of all cultural and civilization process. Some of its aspects are supposed to be considered in this monograph.

Its first sections are dedicated to the general theoretical and methodological issues. To understand the essence of the universalistic, global tendencies of world development, the philosophical study of the integrity phenomenon in social existence is of great importance. However, even in historical studies, the generalizing cognition of the historical process, shown by the example of the Byzantine historians' works of St. Volodymyr's University of Kyiv in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, was making its own way. On the other hand, in philosophical and historical sense, the unity of history was given through the use of the "organism" metaphor, which in fact formed the basis of the theories of local civilizations in the most convincing way.

The following sections of the monograph are dedicated to the applied aspects of the historical and philosophical analysis of the cultural and civilization process. Their consideration begins with an outline of the role of Chinese philosophical and ethical ideas in the development of the entire culture of the East Asian region, demonstrating the highest dynamics of development in the world. The problem of time is analyzed in the experience of history through its "repetition" in cinematography. The actual problems for Ukraine are highlighted, namely: the influence of time of unrest during revolutions and wars of 1917-1920 on the further civilization path of Ukraine; the new influence of geopolitical and geo-economic changes on it caused by the Russian annexation of Crimea; the main factors strengthening the role of morality in modern Ukrainian society.

THE INTEGRITY PHENOMENON IN SOCIAL EXISTENCE

Tarasiuk L. S.

INTRODUCTION

In the study proposed the theoretical interpretation of the integrity phenomenon in social existence is carried out. Studying the issue of the integrity of the personality is significant under the modern socio-cultural reality conditions, when the previous worldview ideals have lost their significance, and society has a huge need for new value orientations. The article reveals that the priority of values is determined by the human worldview culture. The thesis about the construction of the integrity as a necessary point of life changes is substantiated.

Analyzing the socio-cultural and philosophical-anthropological approach to the integrity, this phenomenon appears as one of the adaptation mechanisms in overcoming external and internal conflicts in a modern risk society. The integrity phenomenon can be defined as transformation of the personality, as an internal freedom of a person, valorizing a person over the phenomena of the material world existence. Integrity is a manifestation of harmony of human spiritual, mental and physical dimensions; harmonization of the personality of integrity combines all aspects of human existence, both external and internal, in the sense that a person has the opportunity to discover and express themselves at most, become themselves, and reveal their true inner self. The human integrity makes it possible to perceive value, uniqueness, individuality in another person, too. The main motive of the personal level of behavior is human dignity, as G. Pico della Mirandola stated uncompromisingly. The main motive of the characteristic level is the achievements of human activity, along with the methods of such achievements. These two motives are directly related to the nature of the relationship nature between people. It is an important feature of a mature person to recognize the unique value in the Other person, as well as to act in accordance with such calling. Not just the recognition of value of the Other person, but also the ability of productive relationship with them, expressed in mutual enrichment through the spiritual meaningfulness of each person is important. The

main criterion for maturity of the personality is the acceptance of value of the personality in the Other person, the value of the Other person and the desire to create something together. A person with a holistic worldview will not deny the value of the Other person. Both meeting with the Other person and collaborating with them is an opportunity to renew their experience and recreate their integrity. Reproducing in the identity of the Other, a person finds their own uniqueness, and from there, they return to the Other and see them as more significant. Perhaps, one should consider the following: what a person generates in this world, what ideas, thoughts, feelings, actions, attitudes towards others, to the world. It is necessary to create a new meta-reality, to renew integrity in own existence, there is no sense to put efforts into a struggle, generated by distracting external and internal contradictions. After all, the only way to change your existence as well as your society is through rethinking and implementation of something that has been rethought. There is an axiom: you can not change the world without changing yourself.

The determination of the problem of the integrity of the personality takes place within the context of correlation between the whole and parts in three general approaches, namely holism, merism, rationalistic dialectics, or antinomianism. Therefore, elements of holism are revealed in the ancient philosophers – Milesians, Neoplatonists, in the Early Modern Age – in the philosophy of B. Spinoza, G. Leibniz. The Modern Age is characterized by the works of existentialists, personalists, and postmodernists. Merism is the area in which the whole is the total of elements. It is worth noting that numerous scientific studies reveal the nature of the integrity in general and the integrity of the personality as an individual category. Solving the problem of the human existence integrity makes it possible to determine the meaning and value of human life, making the universality and uniqueness of human nature and the essence of the inner world, as well as the mission of a person more transparent. However, integrity as an integrated entity combining the physical-mental and spiritual content of the personality and determining the peculiarities of their individual reflection of continuous transformations in accordance with the essential transformations of the world, the concept itself has to be well-described and studied. The analysis of these concepts shows that, studying a person as integrity, we can consider the existence of both a person in all their manifestations and the history of mankind as a whole in a new way.

The existence is given to us only in the world and through the world – as humanization of existence, as the existence filled with the creative personality presence. Therefore, the level of a personality's worldview is essential. A worldview is an attempt to comprehend oneself and find their place in the world as a unity with other diverse worlds. This is an attempt not only for comprehension, but also for self-awareness. There is no such person who would not put a question sooner or later: who am I, what is my worldview, my existence, my life, and who am I as a personality. A person should have a goal and go for it. A person without any goal gets inactive that means the life without any sense and zest for life. A person should take responsibility for their "Self". "We" should be divided into separate "I" – otherwise nothing will happen. For action, for a shot, for a word, for a gesture – a separate "I" must be responsible, but not "We" in general. The integrity of the personality is in the fact that people treat themselves honestly and uncompromisingly, all their actions and thoughts – responsibly, which means that they are responsible in relation to other people. *A person of integrity has a very responsible attitude to own life. Their goal-orientation is the very energy, the only and absolute spiritual driving force, capable of changing the vector of motion at the point of absolute nothing, thickened tartarus or absolute zero of the chaos emptiness, filling own existence with the meaning.* This suggests that a person can go up to the light by the steps of self-consciousness and recover their holistic worldview through the goal and motivation.

1.1. The Issue of Self-Fulfillment and Self-Identity of Personality

Studying the issue of the integrity of the personality in the context of social philosophy, philosophical anthropology, philosophy of culture, one should turn to phenomenology, since the outlined tasks of the topic have definitely appeared in the world of human life. In phenomenology one of the key concepts is the category of the "life world". This concept describes the bonds of consciousness with the world which are formed in the field of human life and generate self-evident things. Self-evidence is the area of "well-known to all", "the circle of confidence", where things are treated with long-established trust and taken without the need for scientific substantiation. E. Husserl spoke about overcoming the crisis of European rationalism exactly by the development of the "science of spirit", which he called the science of the human world. The peak of the

human development is their integrity, their holistic existence, with which such personality identifies themselves. A person of integrity is a person whose will, thoughts, actions are in harmonious correlation. In philosophical anthropology, psychology, psychoanalysis, the deep unity of a person with the true self, with another person or with people in general, reproduces the concept of "identity", which means from Latin identificare – to identify. A personality identifies themselves with something, having a standard to comply with; therefore, two important categories, such as "identification" or "self-identity", and "compliance" appear. Deepening the knowledge of these concepts and clarifying their essence, one can outline the vectors of gaining the personal integrity.

M. Heidegger in his work "The Identity and the Differentiation" interprets *identity* within the context of the *unity* of existence, which means the *similarity of each existing thing to itself and to every other existing thing[1]*. In a range of the areas of philosophy and psychology, namely, in personalism, meta-anthropology, existentialism, existential psychology, existential psychoanalysis and androgen-analysis, the basis for identity is self-identity (self-similarity), the unity of a person with their existence and deep personal dimensions. Authenticity is interpreted here as perfection and perfect, as well as its simultaneous reflection in experience and thinking. In such context, F. Brentano's idea that identity is "a compliance that thinks in perfection" is quite interesting[2]. It can be noted that the identity of the personality of integrity is turning into self-identity more and more, that is, the measure of freedom is increasing in the choice and creation of the personal identity and the identity of other people.

Identity is a unity with the spiritual and psychological openness of own personality and associations of personalities that arise on the basis of common moral values, principles and the beauty of relationship. Any personality, reaching their integrity, reveals their true inner world. *The essence of the personality* is in their *integrity*, which appears in all the beauty of human existence and the creation of a new living space by a new person. The concept of "self-identity" leads us to the concepts, which are interconnected a lot, such as "gender identity", "national identity", "gendered identity", and "archetypes of culture".

Thus, a person should comply with, first of all, their own harmony, harmonious correlation between *will, thoughts and actions*. It is the will, a

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[1] Гайдеггер, М.: Бытие и время. Статьи и выступления. Республика, Москва (1993).
[2] Большой энциклопедический словарь: Норинт, Москва (1991).

conscious striving for a goal achievement that transforms from the possibility to reality based on the energy of the unconscious. The comprehension of the phenomenon of freedom in human existence has undergone a complex evolution. According to the first one, the will is a conscious phenomenon, it is intelligent in nature. The brightest example of this paradigm is presented in German classical philosophy (I. Kant, F. Schelling, G. Hegel, F. Nietzsche). The second paradigm interprets the will as a phenomenon that surpasses consciousness and intelligence or it is the opposite of them. "The will stands above thinking", – D. Scott believed, and Ockham had the same attitude. The will can be opposed to instinct. If the instinct is an external active force, then the will is always the achievement of the individual himself. The concept of "will" is a synonymic concept with "freedom". In other words, the will can be understood as freedom, aimed at any goal. The will can be considered as the will to the family extension, to self-protection, power, knowledge, and creativity, the will to love and freedom. A person makes a choice according to their worldview, their level of consciousness, their thinking – where the thoughts of a person may reach, in which depths. Human thoughts are a kind of "a product" of their mind. The mind is the human ability to understand and comprehend the world. The mind covers the ability to generalize, integrate, transcend, analyze, synthesize, create ideas, as well as the possibility of their linguistic articulation. The philosophical conceptualization of the mind is too diverse to understand the picture of the evolution of such synonymous concepts as "intelligence", "thinking", "mind". This is due to the paradoxical state of mind, which even has found the anti-intelligence of own actions in the present day. Sense is the intellectual potential of a person used for adaptation in the environment. In this sense, the degree of intelligence can be associated with the level of adaptation to the environment. Intelligence can be understood as the ability to process information, unlike erudition, which only means the availability of information in memory. First of all, intelligence can be associated with conceptual thinking. The intelligence operates with abstractions, trying to be distracted from feelings and values, the experiences of which leads to a figuratively-holistic vision of the world. C. G. Jung believed that in order to obtain a holistic picture of the world, the value aspect should also be mentioned. Therefore, the empirical cognition is essential; the intelligence escape from the sensual

and the value-based things is an escape from *holistic ones*. This is integrity of human existence, a holistic striving of a person that defines the specifics and limits of the authenticity expression. To be yourself, to be true, to achieve your goal, to set new boundaries and reach them, is definitely a way to gain your own integrity. The consciousness, the worldview, the language, the word of the personality of the integrity can create a new world, create a new living space and experience the existence in full. If the integrity and expressiveness of thinking, as well as the language are broken, it means that the integrity of speakers is violated. The word must resonate with subconscious at the deep level, clear and, moreover, heal it, bring it into the state of harmony.

In a deep and more complete way one can study the category of the "integrity" in the context of meta-anthropology. S. Krylova studied the category of "wholeness", "integrity" and "goal-orientation"[3]. The integrity of existence means the correspondence of a person to their nature, mainly in the everyday dimension of existence. The integrity in a human existence is opposed to goal-orientation. If the integrity reflects the unity and self-identity of a human existence, then the goal-orientation expresses a certain vector nature.

A whole-hearted person is calm and complete, goal-oriented person is energetic and active, aimed at achieving the goals even in case of destruction of their own nature. Therefore, it is logical to assume that the integrity is a characteristic of a female principle with its striving to stability and constancy necessary for the birth and upbringing of a new life. At the same time, the integrity characterizes a male principle as well in the daily life dimension of human existence with its tactfulness, but not a strategic activity and goals assigned outside[4].

Thus, entering the harmonious unity with goal-orientation, the integrity gives rise to the integrity of human existence.

Since we found out that the personality of the integrity is revealed exactly through creativity and creative work, one can identify the stages of the formation of a possible creativity: creativity realization, objectification, actualization and initiation. It is not enough to have a creative idea, but it must be realized, implemented in the area of human

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[3] Крилова, С.А.: Краса людини. Особистість, сім'я, суспільство: Монографія. ТОВ «Видавництво «Аспект-Поліграф», Ніжин (2011), С. 396.

[4] Тарасюк, Л.С.: Реалізація, об'єктивація, актуалізація та ініціація як етапи розгортання креативності в культурі. Гуманітарний часопис: Зб. наук. праць. ХАІ, Харків. **1 (30)**, 64-69 (2012).

life in the essential forms for society. The realization of creativity is the process of the idea initial embodiment in communicating with the Other. On the way of embodiment, the subject of creativity must overcome existential and communicative obstacles, so the realization of creativity requires a special creativity of conviction. This is the creativity of the outline and the prospect plan. The objectification of creativity is the process of the idea embodiment in one or another professional material, in an artifact, work (a monograph, a novel, a film, a sculpture, etc.), in something that is more often understood as creativity in the exact meaning of the word. There are an internal creative act and a creative product manifesting externally. It is essential to understand that the objectification has an ambivalent nature: it can be either a creative embodiment of an idea or its decline, its loss[4]. The actualization of creativity is the process of "existential revival" of the work and its author, overcoming the inherent collisions of the personality in the creative process. It is actualization of creativity that can prevent from the transformation of work into the object and the product, and the author – into the craftsman.

Therefore, actualization of creativity in some way opposes to objectification: if the objectification is the form, then the actualization is the meaning. "Actualization, – as V. Frankl mentions, – is the personalization of the world, its spiritualization and relaxation. Actualization as personalization has a hypothetical nature and is the end of existence. It awakens, constrains and develops freedom and love in existence of a man and a woman"[5]. The initiation of creativity is in the fact that the abilities are revealed in a particular person and special knowledge is given to them, leading to a greater degree of responsibility for own existence.

Such person experiences the mysterious, sacred power of creativity and creates; this is the very sense of sacredness in initiating the transformation of oneself and of own existence in culture. Therefore, the process of culture creation can be understood as a fundamental interaction of actualization and objectification. If the objectification is the form, then the actualization is the meaning. Actualization makes sense only when it comes to the Other or the personality. The deep meaning of creativity is revealed in the knowledge and creation of the Other. A person of integrity

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[5] Франкл, В.: Человек в поисках смысла. Прогресс, Москва (1999), С. 67.

constantly strives to the council with other personalities, to the co-creation of existence.

Creative work is a way up, this is a breakthrough to the new world; in the creative condition a person feels enthusiasm; the creative work should overcome substantiality of the world. Thus, the creator faces the world of objectification, and the results of creativity must become a part of the culture as an objectification system. This is one of the fundamental problems of creativity revealing the dramatic nature of creativity. The creativity of the true creator must change the world, and not overload it with new creations[6]. M. Berdyaev rightly notes that in a state of creativity a person is on a certain rise, striving not for the realization of a pragmatic goal, but for the manifestation and embodiment of their inspiration[7]. That is to say that a person of integrity can not keep everything inside, they must go beyond their own boundaries.

The philosophy, namely, social philosophy, philosophical anthropology, and the philosophy of culture must become the affirmative and dominant research of the integrity. The philosophers must personally educate themselves for holistic contemplation and experience, to clear and consolidate their obviousness, to check and confirm it, striving to accuracy of their contemplation, master their elements, giving flexibility to own perception, striving to perfection. All these imperatives require creativity from philosophers' side demanding to act according to their conscience, to form their spiritual nature in this relation.

The task is not easy, but its achievement is possible: to be – to act – to philosophize. A person can think and study only freely, because true thinking is independent; and no scientific study can be developed under the plan or through the prohibition. The imposed way of thought kills thinking, and then only verbal visibility remains; that is why a person of thought recognizes the right of others to illusion or mistakes. Every creative work requires freedom – voluntary self-embedding, contemplative initiative, personal inspiration, and love for it. Creativity arises from the inner, unlimited, sacred motivation, which involves individual instinct and which is guided by the personal spirit. Human creative work arises from limitations and suffering, and every creation of

[6] Тарасюк, Л.С.: Креативность. Философская антропология: международный словарь. Киев (2011), С. 178-183.
[7] Бердяев, Н.А.: Дух и реальность. Вступ. ст. и сост. В.Н. Калюжного. ООО «Издательство АСТ»; Харьков: «Фолио», Харьков (2003).

culture is overcoming and designing human suffering. To create such overcoming, we have to accept our suffering, search for way out, clear and enlighten our hearts. No one can do it instead of us, and outside help can come only in the form of advice, but not in the form of an order or prohibition. There is no creativity without freedom; and someone who does not understand this, never creates anything and does not feel inspired: "A person can experience the act of conscience only freely: to open your heart, hear the inner call, accept it and prove it by action. This valuable act can be neither forbidden nor proposed. It is spiritual and holistic, to violate its freedom means to try and leave a person without conscience, and only a conscienceless person can do this"[8]. Freedom is an internal factor determining the degree of person's creative program completion.

Essential powers are the reference point of each personal activity and they reveal themselves as actions of spiritual powers. Such power appears due to the internal aspiration as the aspect of volition act. Not only creative activity but also: creative inspiration, cognitive search, confidence in intention, goal achievement, as well as total autism, aspectizing of new things, construction of dominant, mutual experience of events, catharsis of spiritual work[8].

This is a special spiritual state that generates goals for combining its essence in external and internal concentration. In this state, a person begins to cognize their subjectivity: "I am a subject" from the natural origin of "I am an object" and to realize that it [a goal] is an object for self-disclosure and self-cognition, that a goal is for themselves, a goal in itself , a self-object for themselves. At such stage everyone in a state of spiritual aspiration is able to perceive other people as well: their thoughts, suggestions, views, ideas, to see other person as self-valuable, to understand their value. That is called patience, loyalty, sociability, ability to communicate, friendly understanding in social life. Spiritual tension of the personality creates a special field of interaction between people and internal interaction with themselves, the field as a state of awareness expanding the ability to "spiritual space"; spiritual space as a field of spiritual interaction is an individual space of the personality, in which they interact with themselves and other people in their consciousness. Spiritual space is the very individuality, indivisibility and spiritual

[8] Бердяев, Н.А.: Дух и реальность. Вступ. ст. и сост. В.Н. Калюжного. ООО «Издательство АСТ»; Харьков: «Фолио», Харьков (2003), С. 500-503.

substance, which is experienced as a special inner essence. Spiritual space in a person is not so much for themselves, as for all, and it is not possible to appropriate "I" as your own.

Recognizing the spiritual essence as only your own, "I" is in an illusion. "I-myself" is the alienation of the spirit into possession, but this is impossible due to the infinite principle of the spiritual, which can not be the property of the finite; this is a manifestation of separating oneself according to the spiritual essence. It is impossible to use this spiritual power as an absolute power for self-affirmation on the Earth. This is "spiritual selfishness", in which people, who intend to use spiritual power for their personal purposes, often fell into.

The revelation of the human spiritual essence through creativity has the following manifestations: the space of human communication, mutual understanding on the basis of unified communicative principles, methods; this is a spiritual and communicative power which influence contributes to the emergence of an information society; value-based individualization leading to the historical cultural and value-based unity of people and their unification in historical time, in development and improvement. It establishes the value orientations of spiritual unity. "Value-based vision" of a person who is spiritually improving themselves, is transferred to all surrounding: "knowledge as a value", "human nature as a value", "animal world as a value", "socio-cultural norms as a value", "a person as a value". The society only helps a person to subjectify their socio-cultural objectivity, to reveal their individuality and individual spiritual essence, and to lay the basic grounds for their self-fulfillment, to actualize their abilities.

Creative work is the value-based power that bears the spirit, the true essence of a person. By the development of values one can distinguish between temporal changes in the spiritual space of a person. Value-based growth, personal and own potential are the concepts by which you can describe the aspiration of the mature person to sense. It is, as a rule, a process close to self-actualization of the personality or identical to it. The revealing of personal in a person contributes to the actualization of the process of self-development under certain conditions. It should be noted that there are features inherent in personal maturity; in this case, creativity is the ability to sensitive perception of disharmony, the creation of something new which has not existed before, a creative orientation.

Synergetic nature, autonomy, sociability, self-perception, decentralization, responsibility, tolerance, depth of emotional experience – these are the features that are vivid signs of a self-actualizing personality, inherent in creativity. However, only with a sufficient degree of such features one can talk about the personal maturity. A personality who is self-actualizing not necessarily is mature as for personality. At the same time, together with that the actualization itself is both a sign and a process of crystallization of the features of the personal maturity, a cognitive aspiration for creative existence, that is, for the synthesis of existence and the activity, to the creative principle in the essence of the person in real existence and activity in culture. Creativity has something holy, sacred in its essence, something that makes it a completely new thing in the world; such "sacred uncovering" can be called "the initiation of creativity", something which appears in the world from the depths of the sacred. Initiation is the consecration, the mystery of such knowledge, laws that give a person a special understanding of responsibility for their existence.

To better understand the meaning of the sacred, holiness, one should recall the above definition of the Spirit and the Soul. As the spirit we understand the ability to a creative breakthrough and, the breakthrough itself; under the soul – the ability to love and suffer, as well as their existence. It will be correct to determine holiness as the power of the human soul over own spirit and body. Holiness is the power of love and non-violence against evil, which manifests itself in personal lives; this is the power of the example and the action. To the extent that the qualities of the soul (aspiration for love, tenderness, tolerance) are inherent in the female principle, cleared from its empirical manifestations, to the same extent we can call holiness as the female principle in its highest sense. Holiness as warm-heartedness combines the spirit and the substance, removing their tragic opposite. Holiness is in the fact that the particular person is open to knowledge that is closed from the others; and this is the essence of the priesthood, sacredness, and mysteriousness.

Due to the free aspiration for creativity, creative work, the will is not subject to social sanctions and is not eliminated by the order. In *social self-fulfillment one can find freedom*, if it corresponds to the world of self-cognition of the spiritual essence of the person; it is superior to all human laws and obeys only the laws of universal existence. Subjective self-fulfillment of the person takes place when it is a goal of self-improvement

of the object, when the full self-determination of the spiritual principle is taking place in it through the individual of the human subject [9].

Self-fulfillment on the formation of the spiritual essence of a person is significantly different from the vision of everyday and practical ways of self-improvement; it goes beyond the limits of physical definition to the individual area of a person: these are the subtle substances that have to be cognized. The path to spiritual self-fulfillment was laid by a great number of philosophers and thinkers. Spiritual self-fulfillment is not very complex as propaedeutics: self-improvement in creative activity, individual responsibility for spiritual and value-based determination, self-education, self-regulation of own life path, development of individual existence culture as lively culture existence – all this is a continuous process of the spiritual work – actualization and fulfillment of person's creativity[9].

1.2. The Creation of the New Life Space

Revealing the integrity phenomenon as a new living space creation, it is worth drawing attention to the potential of human opportunities. After all, creating a new living space is possible in the event that the person is realized in full, can reveal their potential opportunities to integrity, perfection, and completion. Potentiality is the ability of the human way of life. Analyzing the teachings of the Ukrainian philosopher G. Skovoroda, we can mention "integrity" as "connection" with ourselves and the world around us. It is rather important to substantiate such categories as intentionality and potentiality, which occupy an important place in the creative fulfillment of the personality, and hence, in the integrity of human existence. Intentionality and potentiality are the essence of the ontological abilities of the existence of being, which runs through the existence in general and every form separately.

Intentionality and potentiality can be defined as internal, deep conditions of the uncovering of existence, reality, the world, and the essence of the existing. One can consider the concept of intentionality and potentiality through dialectical categories of opportunity and reality. Potentiality can be defined only as the intentional ability of existence – the act and the process of the existence of being (interaction, change and formation), directed and goal-oriented to development. The intentionality

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[9] Тарасюк, Л.С.: Право на цілісність і право бути собою. Друга всеукраїнська наукова конференція «Актуальні проблеми розвитку освіти і науки в умовах глобалізації», м. Дніпро, 28-29 жовтня 2016. 2016, С. 42-44.

of individual existence is expressed in the uncovering of the essential characteristics of the human way of existence as such in the reality of a person's individual life.

Potentiality of individual existence is determined by its unique, individual essence of an independent existence. Therefore, potentiality is a significant feature of extraordinary self-existence. Beyond the limits of creativity there is no personality, therefore, it is through their creative potential that a person reveals and fulfils themselves. M. Berdyaev wrote that creative morality is not the execution of the law; it is the revelation of the person. Spirituality is related to humanity. The spirituality manifests itself in the act of saturation of every moment with value-based meaning by a person in the human existence. The value is the creation of the human spirit. The phenomenon of existence, which becomes the subject of value, is "spiritualized" by the human essence that gave rise to this value. The intention of the existing is given in the issue of correlation of the possible and the real, the actual and the potential. Humanity is the unity that reveals itself in a human way, which puts everything that exists in itself, and reveals it in the formation of itself. The unity is also inherent in the ultimate goal of revealing itself, because it is infinite; accordingly, there is no other end goal in the creative activity of a person, except for the person. V. Solovyov noted: "A human personality is an opportunity for fulfillment of unlimited reality"[10]. The culmination of the process of subjectivity of the personality is the complete, holistic "world of the individual "I" of the personality", which by its self-development becomes the meaning of cultural-historical content. "The world" is the organized whole, in which the components are mutually dependent and mutually developing in their self-determination and self-development.

The essence is the internal basis for determination of the single existing, from which, by correlation with the change of conditions, all changes can be deduced. The essence can appear simultaneously as a conclusion of the past development and as an opportunity for further development. Thus, the essence appears as an indirect link between the existing at different stages of the formation process. The essence, thus, appears as a unity of the possible and the real. The existence acts as a causality in relation to itself.

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[10] Соловьев, В.: Философское начало цельного знания. Харвест, Минск (1999), С. 49.

The action of reason in itself is an internal movement of reason, aimed at preserving the reason as a qualitative certainty, stability.

Based on the above mentioned, one can note integrity as a *balance* between the external and internal world of a person, the balance in communication, in relationship. Every crisis in society requires rethinking and awareness of each person of their existence, the essence of their inner world. The phenomenon of human integrity and their existence is the basis of a new consciousness, a new personality, and creation of a new human life space. Every person has the right to this – *the right to the integrity of the personality.*

Critical times always, in one way or another, are accompanied by revolutionary changes in the spirit field; the former values are subjected to a devastating attack of rethinking and reinterpretation.

In relation to this, the world of Postmodernity is a quite special phenomenon. It is special in the sense that the history never knew such explicit and vivid explications of a new vision and a new understanding of the world, and at the same time such a radical denial of all past achievements and constants. The boundaries are blurred, and things, which may have seemed wild and unrealistic, nowadays become an everyday reality. Last but not least, it concerns the integrity phenomenon, androgynism, a gender component of human existence, where today, as never before, there is a total gnoseological, ontological, anthropological uncertainty; gender affiliation is no longer regarded as a kind of originally and permanently unchanged fact of life; borders of a gender are erased, mixed, and the whole world has already become like a gigantic medieval alchemical laboratory, but they are looking not for gold, which is not a philosophical stone, but a new person. In philosophy, art, such as painting, literature, music (enough to mention Sopor Aetemus, London After Midnight, Marilyn Manson), – in these or other youth movements and subcultures, the eternal dream of mankind for the creation of the first person-androgen is more and more often reproduced. It is necessary to study the phenomenon of the integrity of the personality within the philosophical anthropology, philosophy of culture, social philosophy, meta-anthropology, which offers consideration on the basis of the higher values of human existence: love, freedom, and creativity. Such studies are significant for the understanding and rethinking of the integrity of the personality, the essence of a person, their purpose, existence, a morally

new person with the priority of value-based thinking, the highest values of human existence.

1.3. The Influence of a Person of Integrity on the Outside World

The principle of integrity in social life, discovered and fostered by S. Frank, can become a real alternative to the transitional state of the social and individual consciousness, often denoted by such concepts as "crisis", "chaos" in modern science. S. Frank sees in a person a supreme goal and opposes to the disharmony the search for the human spiritual core, through which one can return the lost unity of the personality. A personality of integrity is capable of transforming chaotic space into orderly matter. This traces the processes of change, transformation, harmony, creative work, when the birth of a new energy comes from the transformation of chaos. A personality of integrity influences the surrounding space in a constructive way, as well as everything that the person interacts with. Russian scientist I. Kireevsky realizes the principle of integrity as "the main dignity of mind and character". At the same time, another scholar V. Zhukov contrasts the concept of "integrity" and "wholeness" and justifies the latter as a specific feature of "spiritual thinking". V. Zenkovsky calls integrity "the main inspiration of philosophical thought". Analyzing the works of B. Emelyanov, one can explain the idea of the integrity of the human spiritual life through the inherence of the moral principles and emotional life of a person, representing their inner essence. At the same time, well-known philosophers M. Berdyaev, S. Frank, P. Florensky, V. Solovyov, M. Los'ky, A. Khomyakov at al. emphasized that the integrity is mystical, it mysteriously contains in itself and not only keeps, but also exceeds the opposite of light and darkness, good and evil. According to S. Frank, a person and their relationship with the Absolute is, indeed, the supreme subject of philosophy. In the light of the integrity problem in its metaphysical system, the main anthropological issues are solved: the essence of a person, the meaning of human existence, the content of the concept of "personality", their relationship with society, etc. According to the thinker, "integrity is not a mere mechanical addition, but contains the objective foundations for the establishment of the human personality in a transcendent, outside

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the empirical, reality that is creative and embodies the human essence in a person"[11].

The problem of human existence is connected with the problem of evil. Evil arises from the destruction of the primary integrity, that is, the separation of the individual essence from universal unity, when the basis of its reality becomes its own, isolated from the whole, center. However, evil can not destroy the universal existence, because the split exists only in a person, which separates them from spirituality, the Absolute, God.

People's search for the meaning of their existence is to find themselves, to return the lost integrity, that is, an attempt to find that original integrity of existence, which is expressed in the inseparability from the Creator. As S. Frank notes, "To find God in ourselves is an attempt to find own self by a person"[12].

A person of integrity does not suffer; they can treat others with compassion, because their consciousness is in the plan of universal unity and council, in the plane of existence, where all the fragments are united into one single entire system.

CONCLUSIONS

Integrity is an integral institution, uniting physical-mental-spiritual content of the personality and defining peculiarities of their individual reflection of continuous transformations in compliance with essential transformations of the world. The diversity of the approach to this problem gives a fairly complete expression of the very essence of the integrity of human existence. The solution of this problem allows us to determine the meaning and value of human life, to enhance the universality and uniqueness of human nature and the essence of the inner world, the role of a person. Of course, it is necessary to study this category not only as a category, but actually as the human existence, because in the process of forming the integrity, a person experiences a lot of different collisions. It is awareness that provides an opportunity to reach a more qualitative level of your existence. The *value-based* aspect is crucial in the formation of a holistic worldview. A particular relation appears: maturity –value – co-creation – integrity, which is the basis for the formation of a holistic worldview. It provides an opportunity to

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[11] Франк, С.Л.: Реальность и человек: метафизика человеческого бытия. Белорусская Православная Церковь, Минск (2009), С. 287.
[12] Франкл, В.: Воля к смыслу. Прогресс, Москва (2000), С. 37.

embody new creative ideas, create new artifacts, meanings in the socio-cultural space of human existence. A person should realize the importance of recreation of their integrity and enrichment of their inner world and the surrounding space in which they exist.

Self-fulfillment of a person of integrity is the most completed revealing of the abilities of talents and potentials of the personality in the physical, moral, intellectual, mental and spiritual aspects. The processes of goal-oriented self-fulfillment of a person are revealed in various areas and at different stages of their life. Therefore, one of the main human problems among others has been and is the problem of self-improvement of the personality, their spiritual evolution. The full revealing of the abilities of talents and potentials is reproduction of the integrity of the personality.

The integrity of the personality is the acquisition of fullness of all qualities, their revealing and realization. Any personality, reaching their integrity, reveals their true inner world. *The essence of the personality* is in *their integrity*, which appears in all the beauty of human existence and the creation of a new living space by a new person. The concept of *"self-identity"* leads us to the very interconnected concepts such as "gender identity", "national identity", "gendered identity", "archetypes of culture".

Present challenges under the conditions of globalization bring a number of urgent topics and the need to study them, one of which is the following: existential dimensions of a worldview. Through *cognition and creativity*, every person can create their own inner world, as well as the world of relationship with Others. The human world is a combination of different personalities and worlds; the world can be defined as the result of the meeting of a person and existence.

Consequently, under the conditions of globalization, each person has to evolve, respond internally to the changes, taking place in the modern world, create new creative programs, implement them in their daily life activity, and transform their personal space and space of others into the best, integral and valuable. Integrity is an innate and acquired feature that finds answers to existential questions. Its social nature has a flexible dynamic effective orientation, that is, it perceives itself as the embodiment of its own powers-abilities that are freely implemented. Integrity has been never finally achieved, but it is both the real and the potential. A personality of integrity is goal-oriented and flexible, carries hidden

energies, potentials that are becoming more and more revealing through the act of convergence with the world. Thus, one can speak of the integrity as self-revealing of the personality – their complete self-revealing, as well as the social realization and filling of the personal existence and the existence of others with supreme spiritual senses.

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SUMMARY

The article reveals the principle of integrity in social existence. The integrity phenomenon as the creation of a new living space is studied. It is proved that the human integrity is deeply associated with revealing of their qualities and their realization. In open, democratic society the integrity of the personality is expressed through communication with the Other as well as the phenomenon of socio-cultural partnership. The results of scientific research make it possible to introduce a new philosophical approach in comprehending the concept of the integrity as a socio-cultural problem and expanding the range of research, the subject of which becomes a person, restoring the integrity in dimensions of existence. As a result of theoretical searches, conclusions and provisions have been obtained with a practical value for self-revealing of the integrity of the personality. They can be recommended for developing strategies in the formation of civil society as well as institutes of both social partnership and social responsibility in Ukraine.

Information about the author:
Tarasiuk L. S.
Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Assistant Professor,
Assistant Professor at the Department of Philosophy and History
V. I. Vernadsky Taurida National University,
33, Ivana Kudri str., Kyiv, Ukraine.

"GENERALIZING COGNITION" AND MONOGRAPHIC RESEARCH OF THE PAST: OPTIONS OF INTERACTION (ON THE EXAMPLE OF BYZANTINISTIC STUDIES IN KYIV UNIVERSITY IN THE END OF XIX – EARLY XX CENTURY)

Chekanov V. Yu.

INTRODUCTION

The idea behind this article is based upon the obvious difference between two basic kinds of scientific research usual for the humanities:

1. Research in minor articles aimed to discover or to underline some unique but yet unknown features of the subject.

2. Research in big monographic works aimed to generalize the number of abovementioned features and to create the whole picture of the subject.

Some difference may be spotted here even at the first time entry into the issue. It is grounded on the usage of generalization as a feature represented in the research of the Kind 2 only. Researches in minor articles almost never require this; they correspond basically to the need of penetration into the new research field and thus are addressed mostly to the professional audience which doesn't need huge explanations of what it's all about. They can exist as "little explored subjects"[1]. The assumption that smaller articles precede mostly to the generalization phase sounds realistic. However, it should be underlined that presence of explanatory parts within monographic researches never makes them "less scientific". They just live their own special life. What are its characteristics?

Some of them are commonly known from the history of science. The smaller articles are mainly the cores of crucial discoveries in natural or exact sciences. These discoveries are often represented in the history of science as "breakthroughs". For instance, theory of relativity started out from an article and only years later it was generalized into the whole picture of the Universe. Some advances in mathematics were made through smaller articles too. That means there is the difference in exact

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[1] Чеканов Всеволод. Фемний лад у Візантії в історіографії: проблема "малодослідженості".

sciences between basic concept of the research and the breakthrough: basic concept requires some foreseeing of the results, breakthrough cannot be predicted. That is why the most crucial discoveries in exact sciences are often made thru research Kind 1.

The situation in humanities is quite different due to their special nature. This nature was for the first time traced down by the scientists of Baden philosophical school in the late XIX – early XX centuries: Paul Windelband and Heinrich Rickert.

1. The idea of "generalizing" phase in scientific research

P. Windelband and H. Rickert postulated the principal difference between natural and social sciences[2]. The first ones were described as aimed to discover regularities behind the nature and to formulate the laws of it. Their subject is the General. The second ones were described as aimed to discover the unique features just as facts. Their subject is the Event. The Baden school provided special terminology for both kinds: the natural sciences were called *nomothetic* (law-bounded), the humanities were called *ideographic* (individualizing)[3]. For H. Rickert both of them were of the same value. Answering how it could be that law-bounded natural sciences with their evident significance might equal to the cognition of unique and never-again repeated events (as in history), H. Rickert explained their correlation via public values. They reflect social requirement towards humanities to help the self-determination of the society and to create its Weltanschauung.

According to H. Rickert the natural and humanitarian sciences differ not by their subjects (which is in fact one – The Entirety) but by their methods. He thought that humanities were "younger" and thus less accomplished in comparison to the natural and exact sciences[4].

This theory didn't satisfy any historians because it rejected totally their ambitions to undercover the laws of the social development. It considered them as dependents upon such a non-stable and highly changeable factor as social values. However, H. Rickert explained that wasn't bad: the Entirety of the historical research was more versatile and complicated than the one of the research provided by physicist or mathematician. The Entirety of the historian is never speculative but

[2] Савельева И.М., Полетаев А.В. История и время в поисках утраченного. P. 35.
[3] Rickert Heinrich. Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft. S. 54.
[4] Ibid., S. 7, 54.

always individual[5]. The regulation in history sounds like a lead motif[6]. History shares the procedure of generalization with natural sciences but it leads historians to the environment with the same individual character as at the start point. The Entirety of the historian never changes its individual nature (state of things absolutely unlike from natural sciences aspiring to achieve the Entirety as the law).

This difference has been spotted long before the works of Baden school. Yet Plato wrote that historical events ("wars, riots and combats") composed "the flash" of history and contradicted to the philosophical ambition to achieve the pure knowledge. So the subject of history is the main obstacle to the cognition[7]. That is why neither Plato nor his disciple and closest developer Aristotle never tried to build up any sort of philosophical background for history.

Happily, history had obtained this background much earlier than the Baden school expressed its skepticism towards the meaning of history. It was associated with the works of Greek major historians like Thucydides (460–400 BC) and Polybius (200 – 120 BC) who contributed much to the idea of history as a way to reconstruct the truth. So, almost from the very start history was relocated from philosophical Entirety to the field of more practical researches.

But even in writings of abovementioned founders of history its aims have been expressed in more sophisticated way than practical investigation required. Thucydides wrote that his purpose in reconstructing history of Peloponnesian War is to warn humans from the repeat of it "by their nature"[8]. Polybius dreamed about the enlightenment of people via increasing their knowledge in history and preparation of them to the social work on a high level. Historians were much more ambitious than just the investigators and searchers for the truth. The best way to get to the point was to understand the meaning of history, its laws and regulations – that is why history re-oriented quickly to the incorporation of elements later discerned as historiosophy. 22 centuries later H. Rickert described this approach as "generalizing cognition". The priority here belonged to Polybius.

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[5] Риккерт Генрих. Науки о природе и науки о культуре. Р. 148-149.
[6] Мюллер Макс. Смысловые толкования истории // Философия истории. Антология. Р. 277.
[7] Платон. Федон. Пир. Федр. Парменид. Р. 17-18.
[8] Фукидид. История. Р. 5, 14.

If the initial point of history as a positive science was text[9], the work of Polybius demonstrated the increase in number of theoretical digressions. Although this trend in his work is evident, none of the main historiosophical questions (What is the motivator of history? What is the movement of history (historical process)? What is the meaning of history?[10]) is formulated in his text. He interpreted history as the spectacle and named the purpose of his work to show how the local histories of Mediterranean during 53 years only became one common history as the region became united under the power of Romans[11]. For Polybius the Entirety was not the category of philosophy but the name of political reality. No combination between history and philosophy is available here.

That is why Polybius sounded archaic in the passages explaining the mechanism backing the processes described above. He used for it ancient category of Fate (mainly represented not in the philosophy of the period but in mythology and dramaturgy). No causal relationship can be traced down in his explanations; that means that questions "How?" and "Why?" sounded differently for him. Only the first of them motivated his work while the second was covered by the usage of magic word *Fate*. Answering the question "How?", Polybius interpreted history mechanically. His purposes were exclusively concrete, never achieving the level of theoretical generalization.

2. "Generalizing cognition" and monographic research: the issue of relationship

Later developments of history towards strengthening the theoretical constituent belong to the Age of Enlightenment and are associated with names of Voltaire and Johann Gottfried Goerder. The pause over 2000 years long separating them from the achievements of ancient writers witnesses that the need to provide theoretical background for history never was crucial. These years were filled with the number of significant historical works, but no original theoretical conceptions supported them during neither medieval nor Renaissance epochs. Sometimes the voices stating history is not a science sounded loudly. It became commonplace that history is good to exercise the good style in writing or to have

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[9] Савельева И.М., Полетаев А.В. Знание о прошлом: теория и история. Vol. 1. P. 17-22.
[10] Димитрова Л.М. Філософія історії: від Полібія до Л. Гумильова. P. 6.
[11] Полибий. Всеобщая история Vol.1. P. 148.

pleasure from reading historical works – but nothing more[12]. The doubts concerning value of history entered even XX century[13].

The reasons of it we have formulated a bit earlier in our article especially devoted to the issue of "generalizing cognition": the awareness of non-perfection of historical cognition and conviction that historical experience cannot make the mankind better[14]. Only the optimistic Age of Enlightenment hoped to improve the negative influence of previous epochs having been considered "dark". It restarted the project to strengthen theoretical constituent in history.

These high expectations haven't been fulfilled and in the mid XIX century Auguste Comte appreciated history very low and gave it place among secondary sciences[15]. This opinion survived during the age of positivism and called forth the theory of H. Rickert (from where we started).

Anyway, the important issue declared above hasn't been covered yet. It is linked with some structural and compositional peculiarities of historical researches of XIX century comparing to the previous periods. Those periods saw historical works of bigger size like medieval chronicles. The past reality depicted in these texts was considered a sort of whole thing to grab it and to describe – but not the unknown space to penetrate it step by step. The latter way of research became prone to the natural sciences. The exercising it in history required some changes in approach. It came down to reduction of historical works to the small articles. The difference between monographic and smaller formats of research composed the agenda for the first time. Mainly it was linked with the start of exploration of ancient history (especially of the Near East) because it looked mostly like the unknown space, *Terra Incognita*.

To penetrate such a space in the format of monographs was possible only in parts described by ancient Greek and Roman historians earlier. There was no native tradition of writing historical works among the peoples of the East; this tradition should be developed by European historians for the first time and the starting points were the minor articles describing bits of *Terra Incognita* accessible at the beginning. The entire picture had to be the affair of the next phase.

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[12] Савельева И.М., Полетаев А.В. Знание о прошлом: теория и история. Vol. 1. P. 42-50.
[13] Блок Марк. Апология истории или ремесло историка. P. 7-8.
[14] Чеканов В. Виникнення "генералізуючого пізнання" в історичній науці. P. 80.
[15] Савельева И.М., Полетаев А.В. Знание о прошлом: теория и история., P. 51.

Spreading this way of research onto other fields of historical knowledge leads us to the subject of the next part of our work.

3. An example: Byzantinistics as a branch of humanities

There were some processes within global historical science parallel to the ones described above. The process we approach closer is spreading of scientific interests of professional historians from nationally oriented topics to the international issues out of any patriotic actualization. In the tsarist Russia this process occurred in the second half of XIX century. It was linked with the widespread liberalization of economical and public life after Crimean war 1853 – 1856 and especially after the Great Reform of 1861. The first of these events has put an end to the role of European gendarme for Russia; the second has opened lots of opportunities for intellectual and even political self-expression within the country. That is why the activation of intellectual life and of revolutionary movements in Russia came out almost at once, and the first of the processes is the subject of our interest[16].

The field where Russian historians opened the new field was the history of Byzantium – the Eastern offspring of Roman Empire that has survived over 1000 years after its predecessor was over. Up to XIX century Europeans were underestimating the significance of Byzantium cause its size, power and influence became lesser year by year. If it was really influential throughout the period of "barbarian kingdoms" in Europe during V – VI century, the things have changed dramatically by the end of VII century. Byzantium has chosen its own Greek and orthodox identity and concentrated mostly on the Eastern and Slavonic vectors. So Byzantium became significant among peoples of European periphery and newcomers to medieval Europe. Some of them joined civilization and Christianity through Byzantine influence (like Great Moravia, Bulgaria and Kyiv Rus).

Up to XX century Byzantium wasn't considered an important part of European legacy inherited from the Middle Ages. The position towards it was influenced greatly by the book entitled "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" in 6 volumes by Edward Gibbon, English historian of XVIII century. In this book Byzantine history was considered

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[16] Чеканов Всеволод. Візантиністика в Київському університеті в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.: "недорозвинена школа" чи "окремий варіант розвитку"? P. 47.

an integral part of Roman Empire (according to its self-identification; Byzantines called themselves Romans and called their state Roman Empire (although in Greek)); the whole history of Byzantium was depicted in Gibbon's work but just as a very long decline of genuine Rome.

By the end of XIX century German historians noted the imperial entity of Byzantium and drew attention of the global positivist historiography to the economic life of Byzantium. However, the massive interest to Byzantium started out in XX century. Russian historians were ahead here because Byzantine history was very special for them in two reasons:

1. Byzantium provided for Kyiv Rus the passage to European civilization and Christianity.

2. Byzantium was the spiritual source for later tsarist ideology of Russian monarchy which had nothing to do with European political tradition but inherited much from Byzantium.

Russian interest to Byzantium was reduced down to these two positions; for instance, economic issues were accepted later from German historians but the issues listed above were taken as they have been. The later phase of the process was linked with the global processes of science's internationalization, but the starting point related to issues were traditional for imperial researchers accent on church orthodoxy and Kyiv Rus combined with the new opportunities opened since 1861.

During the late XIX century Byzantinistic studies started out in the prominent universities of the Russian Empire, and Kyiv St. Volodymyr University was among them. These studies concentrated there at the faculty for history and philology.

4. An example: humanities in Kyiv before 1917

Byzantine studies in Kyiv University took place generally between 1873 and 1915 and covered over 70 scientific articles and 3 monographs created by three prominent researchers: professors of faculty for history and philology Philip Ternovsky (1838–1884), Timofey Florinsky (1854–1919) and Julian Kulakowsky (1855–1919)[17]. Each of them had his own research field never covered by others: in case of Ph. Ternovsky it was

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[17] Чеканов Всеволод. Візантиністика в Київському університеті в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.: "недорозвинена школа" чи "окремий варіант розвитку"? P. 48.

Byzantine church and church historiography; relationship of Byzantium with Slavonian peoples for T. Florinsky; J. Kulakowsky explored a number of versatile topics: from Byzantine remnants in Crimean archaeology to the peculiarities of political and military systems of Byzantine Empire.

It makes us sure that during late XIX – early XX centuries there took place a number of processes we would like to unite under the title of "Kyiv Byzantinistics". These processes led to the formation of full-fledged scientific school but for some reasons formation of it wasn't finished up to 1917. The other important side of it is that these processes may be explored in three dimensions:

1. Phenomenon in history of university.

2. Expression of the trend to spread the field of scientific interests of historians from domestic topics to the issues of international meaning.

3. Witness of certain processes in world's historiography[18].

This three-dimensional look was for the first time proposed by us in the number of our works devoted to personalities of Kyiv byzatinists; the new side added now is the attempt to discover the influence of the turn to monographic research on the basic format and parameters of it and then on the results achieved.

We showed the comparative balance between articles and monographs in their summary output as 70 to 3; now it's time to place it into the chronological context of their careers and research activity to make visible the effects of turn to monographic phase (if there's one).

The first personality to establish Byzantine studies in St. Volodymyr University and in secular science simultaneously was professor Philip Ternovsky.

Moscow-born Ph. Ternovsky has been urged to move to Kyiv to strengthen the personnel of Kyiv Theological Academy, and later was reassigned to secular branch of science. After Polish uprising of 1863–1864 massively supported by ethnic Poles of Right Bank Ukraine, there was a strong need to decrease the menace of further uprisings by Depolonization actions among local Polish gentry. One of these actions was the Russification of Kyiv University originally containing strong Polish element within the environment of its professors and students. That is why Ph. Ternovsky became teaching professor of the faculty for history

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[18] Чеканов Всеволод. Візантиністика в Київському університеті в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.: "недорозвинена школа" чи "окремий варіант розвитку"? P. 48.

and philology. From the beginning the main direction of his scientific interests hardly went out of history of Rus and Russian Orthodoxy although he was opened to perceive some local influences via periodical co-work with the "Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler" established in Kyiv in 1873.

In 1875–1876 Ph. Ternovsky wrote the sole big monograph in his output, "The study of Byzantine history and its tendentious usage in Kyiv Rus". This work has been defended as doctor's thesis but, what is more important, it initiated the systematic exploration of ancient Rus historiography of Byzantine[19]. In fact it was the very first step into the field of Byzantinistics itself, although the author and his colleagues never regarded it as entry into new research field: for them it was considerable effort increasing the round of sources to reconstruct the history of chronicle writing in Rus. Unfortunately, the true significance of this work never was recognized by later scientists, and Ph. Ternovsky died in 1884 having achieved no accolades for his novelty in the field of Byzantine studies.

Later generations of scientists omitted his personality too often although some of them paid attention to his conflict with Ober-Procurator of the Most Holy Synod K. Pobedonostsev with mortal effect on Kyiv professor.

The death of Ph. Ternovsky never hailed as founder of Byzantinistics in Kyiv University marked the pause in its development. For us it's time to appreciate the place and significance of his monograph in the output on whole. First of all, "The study of Byzantine history and its tendentious usage in Kyiv Rus" was the result of previous studying Rus history. That is why the writer himself thought he made an effort in the branch of Rus studies[20]. That was completely understandable taking into account that Ph. Ternovsky stood at the source of new processes in Russian historiography started since 1861: humanitarian studies in Russian Empire for the first time have been freed from obligation to observe notorious formula ("the Triad") of "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality" by Minister of Education Sergey Uvarov.

The most evident result of it became the rise of interest to foreign subjects of no direct connection with history of Rus. They required no

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[19] Терновский Филипп. Изучение византийской истории и ее тенденциозное приложение в древней Руси. Р. 2-27.
[20] Ibid., Р. 2-3.

patriotic motivation and derived from abstract interest to global history. It would be exaggeration to say that no global history was allowed in Russian Empire before. But its presence was reduced to teaching process. The serious work was done only in the field of national history and the need to obtain data about parallel events in Europe was covered by the usage of works by Western historians. Up to the end of XIX century their Russian colleagues never "played on their side".

The first timid attempts to change situation belong to 1870s. Ph. Ternovsky went on working in Kyiv but he didn't take part in these attempts instead of joining the regional studies of Kyiv province. The new personalities discovered the new space, first of all Timofey Florinsky.

T. Florinsky didn't belong to the theological academia. His way to impartial studies of global history was different although it came through topics not far from nationalistic motivations of previous epoch. He concentrated on the Slavonic studies and used to be a powerful contributor not only to the research of history of Slavs but also to the Slavonic philology. As in case with Ph. Ternovsky, his arrival to the field close to Byzantium wasn't the result of his conscious choice but the result of the fact that Slavs were closest neighbors, partners and enemies of Byzantines during the Middle Ages. Exploring medieval Slavistics T. Florinsky came close to Byzantine subjects in history. The first steps have been done by the end of 1870s yet in St. Petersburg where T. Florinsky was born, made first steps in sciences and obtained his first academic grade. These efforts were done naturally in the format of smaller articles.

Further moving of T. Florinsky to Kyiv can be explained with the same motifs as it was with his predecessor. Later research activity in Kyiv never went out of the venue first drawn in St. Petersburg. However, the "Slavonic" part of his output became ever bigger and soon turned out into the fundamental research of "Greek-Slavonic World". It was his most hailed monograph "The manuscripts of legislation of Stefan Dušan, the tsar of Serbs and Greeks" first published in Kyiv in 1888. The all-time significance of this work has been confirmed by its full incorporation into the canon of Western Slavistics after its publishing in

London in 1973. It should be considered the most important success of Kyiv historians working on this topic during the period before 1917[21].

The meaning of the work comes out from definite accent on the fact that medieval Serbia in the time of Stefan Dušan (1331–1355) wasn't just the state of "another" Balkan Slavs but the state formation with ambition to create the powerful empire in the outskirts of Europe meant to combine equally Serb and Greek elements in its ethnicity and civilization. To provide this, Stefan Dušan planned to take advantage of weakening of Byzantium; during the century it passed through civil war for religious reasons and thusly through number of territorial losses for the benefit of its neighbors. By the mid XIV century the territory of Byzantium decreased to the narrow strip between Crusaders' state of Greece in the South and Serbia in the North. From Byzantine view point Stefan Dušan was its strongest and most dangerous opponent powerful enough to put a question of Constantinople siege into agenda in 1354. Byzantine leadership was shocked and invited Turks on the European side of Dardanelles the same year. It was impossible for them to predict the negative effects of this invitation; Stefan Dušan was considered the greatest threat. Serb tsar didn't dare to besiege Constantinople, made a retreat with his troops and soon died in 1355. His death started out the epoch of feudal fragmentation of the state; his plans to create Greek-Serb state never came to reality. In 1371 Stefan Dušan's successors have been defeated by Turks and soon in 1389 the independence of Serbia was lost in the famous battle of Kosovo. Byzantium came to an end in 1453.

The cornerstone thesis of T. Florinsky's work was based upon the idea that further decline of Serbia wasn't an outcome of regular processes but the negative constellation of the events[22]; the reality might change greatly if Serb tsar succeeded. T. Florinsky was famous for his expression that Slavs occupy more places on the map than in history. The ideas of Slavonic nationalism found their great supporter and protector in Kyiv historian.

T. Florinsky used Dušan's Code from 1349 to prove that Serbia accepted more accomplished Byzantine law to modernize its society and to make it more prepared to be a part of bilateral Greek-Serb state (some Greek codes of the period, like Nomocanon and Procheiron, have been

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[21] Чеканов Всеволод. Візантиністика в київському університеті. Р. 48.
[22] Флоринский Тимофей. Памятники законодательной деятельности Душана, царя сербов и греков. Р. 6, 12.

incorporated into Serb legislation intact a bit earlier). The publication of the Code was the highest phase of the entire process, according to T. Florinsky[23]. He developed the idea of Greek-Slavonic World as counterweight to the Roman-German World united around the Papism and Catholicism. The cornerstone of it should be the reception of Byzantine law and culture.

However, the contemporaries of scientist commonly understood his research as devoted to history of medieval Serbia. When it has re-surfaced in the second half of XX century its importance was formulated as the discovery of Serbia for European science.

We can see here the usage of monographic research to summarize the separate ideas from his earlier articles and to develop the whole concept of regional history of Balkans. If the writings of Ph. Ternovsky didn't show out the balance between thematically similar articles and monograph, in case of T. Florinsky this balance is shaped as a sturdy construction optimal to establish the new theory. Although its creator didn't go on accomplishing his theory, his work was generally accepted later as valuable addition to the picture of Balkans of XIV century.

Further studies of T. Florinsky differed greatly from this convincing start: he continued to explore the Slavonic issues but moved to the field of philology[24]. This second direction drove him out of Byzantinistics although it was completely within his political interests: T. Florinsky was famous supporter of Russian nationalism and Russification governmental policy in Kyiv, he opposed fiery the Ukrainian cultural rebirth and the rise of Ukrainian nationalism. In 1910s he became widely known in Kyiv for his Russian patriotic position, but Ukrainian parties weren't his sole opponents; in 1919 he was shot by Bolsheviks during the short period of their control over Kyiv that time.

5. The generalization: direct / indirect influences upon it

The dominance of positivism in the scientific methodology of late XIX century influenced greatly the humanitarian studies of the period. The ones unable to accept positivistic approaches fully had to give up generalization due to their inability to provide completely new ("positive") knowledge. T. Florinsky in 1888 stopped abruptly the

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[23] Флоринский Тимофей. Памятники законодательной деятельности Душана, царя сербов и греков. P. 342-343.
[24] Чеканов Всеволод. Візантиністика в Київському університеті. P. 49.

working out the conception of Greek-Slavonic World. The new generation of scientists represented in Kyiv by Julian Kulakovsky didn't even try to start with working out generalizing ideas. Positivistic methodology required to increase number of newly discovered facts instead of theoretical shaping them into new conceptions. That is why the special historical sciences like archaeology and epigraphy have improved their positions by that time; started as a way to find out interesting antiquates they became by the end of XIX century the influential tool to obtain new information basically regarded authentic because of evident impartiality of sources never aimed to survive upcoming centuries and found by chance mostly. The other trend of the period was the attention to the narrow special issues mostly describing the new discoveries in details but not putting them into framework of generalizing cognition.

The 1890s were the years when J. Kulakovsky started his career at the faculty of history and philology in St. Volodymyr University. From the beginning he was more involved into making small research efforts with typically positivistic purposes than in working out sort of *Opus magnum* to express his ideas in the research field.

This situation became typical for Kyiv; local historians of global history have been left absolutely out of rather common motivations of historians from Moscow and St. Petersburg. Opposing the dominant ideology of previous time they paid attention to new-fashioned methodology of Marxism and researched the agrarian system of Byzantium; in the same reasons they supported the idea of close kinship between Byzantium and the West. For them it was the way to declare their Westernism in the public disputes in the years before revolution of 1905.

The abovementioned trends never impressed majority of Kyiv historians of global history and none of Byzantinists. Most of their output was nevertheless considered belonging to the traditional research fields; the works of Ph. Ternovsky were perceived as studies of ancient Rus instead of Russian historiography of Byzantine history; T. Florinsky was hailed for his input to the Slavistic studies done completely within the political trend to exaggerate everything concerning Slavs. The outcome was the lack of professional contacts between Kyiv historians, although the extant correspondence shows the wide personal contacts.

That was a reason why no scientific school was established in Kyiv in spite of prolific studies in Byzantinistics.

J. Kulakovsky was the author of the first generalizing monograph in Russian Empire devoted to Byzantium. On the one hand, it was started in 1910, decades after his earliest nearing to the issue[25]; on the other hand, the direct impact to start monographic phase of research came not from accumulation of data in his numerous earlier articles but from the inception of the course of Byzantinistics for St. Volodymyr University students. The strangest thing was here that none of previous articles was taken into account by author creating general history; the text of monograph lacks inventiveness of these articles and was not only based upon narrative sources but also inherited their chronological framework accepted non-critically. Although J. Kulakovsky wrote introduction to his work he gave no explanation to this discrepancy.

The start of J. Kulakovsky's involvement into Byzantinistics goes back to 1890s when he started archaeological exploration of Crimea; no special link with Byzantium was planned because scientist's work done before was dedicated to the army of ancient Rome. The Roman army became favorite of J. Kulakovsky for years but the constant and never-changed format of its exploration was the format of smaller articles.

The first and evident conclusion here may be that in spite of writing his own monograph generalizing Byzantine history, J. Kulakovsky never entered truly the phase of monographic research; his work was aimed rather to help students than to summarize the groundwork of previous phase. But another possible explanation here is that the research of Kind 2 isn't the direct continuation of previous phase obligatory. If we take things chronologically, that means that both kinds of research may not be allocated one by one, so we don't have to call them Phase 1 or 2 (it will non-correctly orientate us to perceive them in succession).

Generalization of knowledge in monographs isn't obligatory phase of research following the phase of smaller articles writing. In case of J. Kulakovsky their mutual disposal hardly looks logical. Maybe there is no regulation of inevitable overgrowing of articles' phase into writing big monographs to generalize previous work. For example, the period of positivism opened another chance of self-expression like creating big collection of sources published and put into scientific practice for the first

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[25] Чеканов Всеволод. Візантиністика в Київському університеті. P. 50.

time. Commonly known example of it was the founder of epigraphy Theodor Mommsen (rewarded with Nobel Prize for his outstanding collection of ancient Roman inscriptions); if we take it into account we should recognize that in case of J. Kulakovsky there was very similar situation: in 1907 he has published popular monograph "The past of Taurida" with number of finds made in Crimea both by himself and by his colleagues[26].

6. What is seen now and what changed later

To make final conclusions concerning the topic exemplified by the history of Byzantinistics in Kyiv St. Volodymyr University we have to repeat again the basic assumptions behind the conceptions of our research.

There are two kinds of scientific research common for both exact sciences and humanities.

1. Research in minor articles aimed to discover or to underline some unique but yet unknown features of the subject.

2. Research in big monographic works aimed to generalize the number of abovementioned features and to create the whole picture of the subject.

The Kind 1 should precede to the Kind 2 because of special nature of humanities; the direction of humanitarian research is always more or less predictable; that means that two phases of scientific research have to be mutually separated. We can spot the correspondence between kinds and phases of research in humanities: Kinds 1 and 2 should meet Phases 1 and 2 directly. They are programmed and performed differently; only the Kind 1 fits perfectly to the "breakthrough" phase. The procedure of generalization belongs to the Phase 2 solely.

It was the starting provision behind our exploration. The true picture obtained after having concluded it enables us to depict the other algorithm of the research making process in humanities.

The examples given in the article before show not the entire picture but illustrate the typical situation embedded into the peripetia of humble career life and aspirations of Kyiv historians. They aren't enough to make certain conclusion but there are several things to summarize.

First of all, the presence of two kinds of research in humanities is irrefutable fact. They differ by their aims, methods, results etc. What is doubted is the mutual disposition of them. Our basic presumption was that

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[26] Кулаковский Юлиан. Прошлое Тавриды. Р. 80.

Kind 1 is for beginning phase of research (Phase 1) when the accumulation of materials is to be done. The generalization of them is impossible in the format of smaller articles, so it requires wider format for it. But there's still no proof that monographic research coincides with Phase 2 and predictably starts only after Phase 1 is over.

In case of Ph. Ternovsky turn to monograph was explained with the need to get doctor's degree in secular science. It wasn't preceded by gathering materials and publishing them in numerous articles. The topic was exposed by scientist's predecessors and their materials shaped the background. This situation was accepted due to the necessity to strengthen personnel of the faculty of history and philology.

In case of T. Florinsky monographic phase is more justified because of his numerous activities studying both Byzantium and medieval Slavs of Balkans. The monograph was successful combination of topics. Structure of it was very special, however. The research of legislation made in this monograph belonged almost fully to the Phase 2 and was neither preceded nor followed with smaller articles aimed either to gather discoveries in this field for future monograph or to go on with them spreading attention to the legal topics further[27]. The monograph by T. Florinsky cannot exemplify provisional relationship between Phases 1 and 2 as well.

Finally the scientific work by J. Kulakovsky proved full correspondence of his start as historian with Phase 1. Huge number of archaeological finds, separate conceptions (the most important ones touched almost unknown by then issue of "theme system" in Byzantium of VII – VIII centuries) have been gathered by the early XX centuries making their author the reputation of keen researcher. No wonder that in 1902 his candidature has been chosen to represent Kyiv University at the I International Congress of historical sciences in Rome.

But none of these facts got its continuation later. J. Kulakovsky visited two more congresses later but never used these opportunities to promote Byzantinistics in Kyiv University by advertising it internationally; his reports made there didn't concentrate on the issue. Further development of his scientific work widened the circle of his scientific interest onto Byzantine Christianity and Roman army. The combination of them with previously researched issues was never done too. Monograph by J. Kulakovsky analyzed above met the teaching

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[27] Op. cit., P. 474-477.

troubles but never looked like the realization of Phase 2 of his research activity in the field of Byzantinistics.

We may call these examples "situative": they are explained fully by different situations the scientists were in; no regularity conditions the turn of events in all three cases. The further development of history as science revealed that by the mid XX century the works combining Phases 1 and 2 have been published in a format of collected works' publication.

First of all it is about famous work by Lucien Febvre "Combats pour l'histoire" published in 1953. One of the cornerstones of creative method by "Ècole des Annales", it combines successfully two contradictory kinds of research we named before as 1 and 2, and does it simultaneously. On the surface, the work by French historian is just a collection of separate articles devoted to the small and insignificant issues. So it looks corresponding to the Phase 1. But no Phase 2 is available here because none of these articles was reworked later into part of some monograph dealing with medievistic issues on whole. All of them are re-published untouched, and the succession of them aims to fulfill the certain task: to make reader understand the method of "Ècole des Annales" exemplified with number of small studies covering numerous topics (historical and historiographic equally). The re-working could distort the eloquence of the method and that's why all of them were left intact[28].

Similar model of deal is revealed in the work by the next representative of "Ècole des Annales" Philippe Ariès "Les Temps de l'histoire" (1954). This work published even more than his most well-known works belongs definitely to the phase of generalization. But it generalizes not the research results of scientist himself collecting the data obtained in his smaller articles but his personal experience from reading and thinking on the historical issues.

The works by Lucien Febvre and Philippe Ariès reveal the special kind of generalization in historical science: generalizing not the results of concrete finds but of intellectual reflection around professional activity. These works belong to methodology of history. They use the materials gathered while working on the researches of Kind 1 to proceed onto higher level of scientific work.

Again we see that provisional schemes of mutual allocation of smaller articles and monographs contradict to the reality of making

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[28] Февр Люсьен. Бои за историю. Р. 4-9.

research. Generalization procedure usually performed in a format of monographs is for real but its positioning towards smaller articles cannot be algorithmized.

CONCLUSIONS

So the research made above on the example of pre-revolutionary Byzantinistics in Kyiv St. Volodymyr University comes to its ending finally. It provides us with a number of conclusions enabling to outline on whole the features of gradual development of "generalizing cognition" in historical science and its combination with monographic phase of research in history:

1. There are two basic kinds of scientific research in history:

a) the one featured with the smaller articles devoted to the separate aspects of past reality and mainly oriented onto discovering new facts;

b) the one featured with the big monographs devoted to generalizing knowledge obtained while making smaller researches mentioned above.

2. These kinds are more or less corresponding to the phases of research when the smaller articles' kind precedes monograph writing because it covers the need to pick up more material but not its generalization yet.

3. The example of humanities in Kyiv St. Volodymyr University reveals the interdependence between this two kinds of research as non-upright: they do not go one by one obligatory although the current of research activity is reflected via using different kinds of research procedures which may be more or less expedient in their career situations.

4. The works by French scientists belonging to famous "École des Annales" illustrate the other way of generalization putting into center generalization not of the data but of the method used while obtaining it. This way shows out the special features of methodology and it is particularly important for projects where not the results themselves but the way to have them is the most appreciated thing.

5. The provisional correspondence between researches of the Kinds 1 and 2 and Phases 1 and 2 cannot be considered immanent feature of scientific research; purposes of generalization are constantly present in history but they do not locate definitely after the researches made in the Phase 1.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the issue on the edge between history and historiography barely touched by contemporary science. It is aiming to discover backgrounds of humanitarian sciences, history in particular, by paying attention to the gradual consequence of research procedures reflecting the progress from exploring separate facts to the phase of "generalization" performed usually in the format of big monographs. The basic assumption was to examine if the correspondence between these two phases is direct (that should mean the presence of strict algorithm in humanitarian research). Explored on the example of Byzantinistics in Kyiv St. Volodymyr University during the period before 1917 the exploration revealed indirect relation between "generalizing" and monographic phases of research work provided by scientists, and proved no algorithm behind research in humanities.

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Information about the author:
Chekanov V. Yu.
Candidate of historical sciences,
Assistant professor of the department of philosophy and history,
Taurida V.I. Vernadsky National University,
33 Ivana Kudri str., Kyiv, Ukraine

"ORGANISM" METAPHOR IN THE FORMATION OF THEORIES OF LOCAL CIVILIZATIONS

Kosmyna V. G.

INTRODUCTION

In humanitarian sciences in former Soviet Union countries, in particular in Ukraine, one of the most urgent tasks is a holistic understanding of social reality in the unity of human existence and thinking. The philosophers point out to the necessity of objective-subjective cultural anthropological synthesis as well as "transparent" studying of spiritual and physical integrity of a person. S. B. Krymsky called axiological universe through which "the unity of ecology, ontology and praxeology is developing, providing firmly existence of civilization systems"[1] as a fundamental field of philosophic range of problems. The philosophers and historians recognize the necessity of such synthetic approach to understanding of human history as well. Y.V. Pavlenko highlighted, that "human mind and science, in particular, by its nature, are striving to the holistic picture of the world as well as the past" [2].

In understanding the history, civiliography based on the ground of local civilization theories offers such a comprehensive analysis. The theories were developed in more detail in the 19th-20th century by such well-known authors as M. Y. Danylevsky, O. Spengler, A. J. Toynbee. In spite of the differences between them, the endeavor of representation of the world history in connection and inter-conditionality with objective and subjective factors is common for them. This endeavor is based on organicism to one extent or another, being the methodology of explaining a set of social phenomena through analogy with living organism. One usually addresses to it when in the phenomena and in the processes studied they strive to show integrity, systematicity, dynamism, therefore, an "organic" unity.

Organicism as a way of understanding the integrity of natural, social, cultural phenomena was formed in the 19th century and, in time, it gave

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[1] Кримський С.Б. Запити філософських смислів. К., 2003. С. 27.
[2] Павленко Ю.В. Історія в калейдоскопі сучасних інтерпретацій. *Нові перспективи історіописання* / за ред. П. Берка; пер. з англ. К., 2004. С. 377.

life to the range of philosophic trends (existentialism, structuralism, and so on), today it still has a an independent significance for science, it has not exhausted its cognition potential. This is proved by regular references to it in the sociology and cultural science, namely, in society interpretation as social organism as well as in ethnos studies.

The very term "organism" is originated from the Medieval Latin "organizo" (to arrange, to give a slim look) and it means a living whole with its acting organs which are agreed (Greek organon – tool, instrument). Extrapolating it to the interpretation of the world or combinations of elements, the latter, as a rule, points to their integrity and ability to be developed. Organic vision can be rather persuasive because it appeals to something self-evident, it is based on direct perception of phenomena and human intuition. Thanks to it, it has an essential advantage over complex rational constructions, the evidence of which is still necessary to prove. One or other natural conceptions were the basis of various cosmogonic myths or ideas. It was believed that the world itself and its elements were created as a result of ritual separation of an ancient creature (an idol) and due to this circumstance they keep divine integrity. Such divine creatures are Vedic Purusha (Brahma), Chinese Pangu, Babylonian Tiamat, Scandinavian Ymir [3]. Christianity understands its church as Body of Christ as well and it is associated its life activity, impeccability and sanctity with the present of the Holy Sprit. According to the Western-European medieval worldview and it was a human society that was considered to be a hierarchical well-ordered "body" created by God, and various social states were considered to be its "organs" aimed at performing some or other functions. The entire human community and each historical form were defined through generalized category "universitas".

In the 19th-20th century organicism models were rather accepted in history of hilosophy and historiophilosophy. Analyzing the historical process, thinkers often referred to the modeling of "cycles of life" or "life cycles", mainly in the form of analogies with the cycles of individuals and cycles of generations. However, the historical science development itself was influenced by organicism insignificantly, despite of the fact, that it was urgent for its issues, in particular, connected with the civilization history. The reasons for the above mentioned as well as a general topic of

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[3] Элиаде М. Священные тексты народов мира. М., 1998. С. 85, 99–126.

orgnicism applicability for the methodology of history were not specially studied in scientific literature.

Let us consider the issues of cultural and gnoseological origins of organicism in the formation of local theories of civilizations, first of all, "the great theories of civilizations" by M. Y. Danilevsky, O. Spengler, A. J. Toynbee in more detail and possibilities of overcoming its drawbacks in historical studies.

1. Organicism in Understanding of the World History in the 18th-19th Century. M. Danilevsky's Theory

In the New Age, the "organic" picture of the world influenced by rapid development of natural sciences began to emerge in the philosophy of history, but thinkers' approaches were different. In German philosophy, the romantic and conservative ideals had dominated since the 18th century. I. Kant acknowledged that only causal-consecutive relationships operates in nature (the laws of nature), the which the natural science explored empirically and explained theoretically, but he saw the appropriateness (a "plan" of nature and a "plan" of history) in the structure and forms of life of living organisms, as in history, logically connecting history with biology specifically [4]. At the same time the idea of collective national (public) spirit, predetermining the specificity of social consciousness and defining the evolution of people and countries, was being developed.

J. G. Herder implemented these provisions in his works where he characterized the diversity of people's life on the Earth. In various nations he noticed such features of the organism as life time, morphology, growth, dynamism, as well as the closeness of the people's spirit and their focus on themselves not outside, but inside. Based on it, he defended an intuitive, hermeneutical, "understanding" approach to cognition of people's spirit, in particular, "through folklore, customs, clothing, and religion of people"[5].

The very tradition of German "historical school" appeared under the joint influence of these ideas which was called "organology" by E. Troeltsch. Its "center of mass" is in the idea of public movement and its

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[4] Колінгвуд Р. Дж. Ідея історії. К., 1996. С. 152–159.
[5] Ионов И.Н., Хачатурян В.М. Теория цивилизаций от античности до конца XIX в. М., 2002. С. 95–96.

organic manifestation in integrity and development of the historical community mentioned[6].

For a synthetic (holistic) comprehension of the historical "organism" cultural heritage during its period of formation, one need "an exact fantasy of feelings and interpretation", organic contemplation, "historical art", that is, metaphysical practice, or pure intuition; Schelling, personally, was the expert in it[7]. Close to "historical school" L. von Ranke wrote: "The historian is only an organ of spirit which, speaking by its own lips reveals himself for it, personally"[8]. The intuitive-organic method guided this school to the study of German culture and history, and in time – to other cultures as separate holistic organisms, while understanding of the world history was more and more difficult.

By that time in France and England there was a further converging between historical science and natural science, which in the 19th century achieved a great success. A philosophical doctrine of positivism was a guide for such convergence substantiated by A. Comte and developed by J. St. Mill. Positivism rejected all metaphysics and teleology and demanded relying exclusively on the methods of natural (positive) sciences, on the description and interpretation of sensory experience. The science of society, called sociology by Comte, was supposed to be a natural sciences discipline ("social physics"). The feelings of contentment and suffering (aspiration of the former and avoidance of the latter) were recognized as fundamental to a person, the interaction of which seems to provide the endless progress of mankind towards the achievement of a liberal ideal of maximum happiness for the maximum number of people, but at the same time it was not possible to trace some unity of the historical process, moved away from researcher's field of attention in the darkness of something incognizable like a "metaphysical mystery".

That is why the first generation of Comte's followers "referred to something that was biologic and organic explanation of social phenomena in their opinion"[9]. It was facilitated by the very establishment of cell therapy of living organism structure at the end of 1830s. In accordance with it, a holistic organism formation takes place by combining differentiation of cells, tissues, organs and their integral interaction in the

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[6] Трельч Э. Историзм и его проблемы. М., 1994. С. 238.

[7] Трельч Э. Историзм и его проблемы. М., 1994. С. 2242–243.

[8] Цит. за: Копосов Н.Е. Как думают историки. М., 2001. С. 226.

[9] Мизес Л. фон. Теория и история: Интерпретация социально-экономической эволюции. М., 2001. С. 176.

organism. The English philosopher G. Spencer in his essay "The Social Organism" (1860) formulated the theory of social evolution, in which he showed that both organic evolution and social one ("super-organic") are equally subject to natural laws and take place in the area of divergent development and "growth of organizations" – the transition from less complex forms of structure to more complex ones[10]. According to Spencer, in history, this transition from indefinite unconnected homogeneity to a definite connected heterogeneity manifested itself in the evolution of mankind from primitive homogeneous nomadic groups into highly differentiated and integrated societies of the Western modern civilization.

This is how the positivist version of organicism was established, but it had a universalist Eurocentric nature and foresaw the inevitability of passing a single path of the Western civilization model by all people.

The German historian G. Rückert tried to deny such universalism. In the addition to the "Handbook of World History in Organic Version" (1857), he substantiated the idea of the simultaneous coexistence of various "cultural and historical organisms", which merger into the world whole is unlikely to happen. However, his book were unnoticed even in Germany, where its author is still not recognized as the original scientist[11].

At the end, two versions of organicism mentioned (conservative-romantic and positivist) have become the methodological basis of the theory of local civilizations of Russian scientist M. Danilevsky (1822-1885), stipulated in his book "Russia and Europe. A Look at the Cultural and Political Relations of the Slavic World to the Germanic-Romanesque" (1869), in a rather specific combination. As usual, it is with this book that the development of a "multi-civilization" approach to history is associated.

The combination of positivism with organicism in the work of Russian scientist would not have been anything completely original, if, however, there were no two peculiarities. Firstly, Danilevsky was a convinced opponent of evolutionism and Darwinism and dedicated his criticism to the last two-volume work "Darwinism" (1885). Secondly, he was not a sociologist, a philosopher or a historian by his major; in

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[10] Рэдклифф-Браун А. Р. Метод социальной антропологии. М., 2001. С. 276–279.
[11] Ионов И.Н., Хачатурян В.М. Теория цивилизаций от античности до конца XIX в. М., 2002. С. 233-234, 361.

particular, he was a biologist. The first circumstance, obviously, should not be interpreted as a sign of an unscientific nature of his views, since from the standpoint of even modern biology, organic evolution depends not so much on the laws of genetics but their violation (gene mutations). During the rule of Darwin's biology, anti-Darwinian concepts carried their scientific constructive elements.

The second circumstance ensured the full use of possibilities of biology to explain the historical development, what H. Rickert called the transformation into a "universal science of the world whole"[12]. Danilevsky unequivocally declared that for him it is strange to have a view, "which can not find anything similar in nature (where everything that has a beginning has an end, and finally, everything exhausts its content) in its confirmation."[13] (hereinafter the reference to this source is made in the text mentioning the pages in – V. K.)

The reference point in the interpretation of a historical process by Danilevsky was a counterblast of the very human integrity. Not the human history which can not exist at all, but the history of certain cultural and historical types as independent "historic organisms" – that was his uncompromising logic.

However, this interpretation of mankind and people, on the contrary, allows Danilevsky to "put in order" the world history (in fact, the development of "historical organisms") through the natural system. He does not derive this system, as well as the entire theory of cultural-historical types, from the analysis of historical facts, but literally transmits it from botany and zoology, "natural sciences in the narrow word sense", where it received "the widest, most complete development and implementation" (pp. 77, 83). A pattern for him is the distinction of representatives of the animal world by type of organization: "These types are not the essence of the degree of development ..., but completely different plans ... not having a common denominator ... This is, in fact, the values which are incommensurable" (p. 84), made by the French zoologist Georges Cuvier. Danilevsky has no doubt that the same can be said about civilization, which he calls cultural-historical *types of development.*

[12] Риккерт Г. Философия жизни. Мн., М., 2000. С. 94.

[13] Данилевский Н. Я. Россия и Европа : [взгляд на культурные и политические отношения славянского мира к германо-романскому] / сост., послесловие и комментарии С. А. Вайгачева. М. : Книга, 1991.

However, the differences between the types in zoology are too obvious for its classification methods to become universal. Therefore, Danilevsky (following Cuvier) believes that the true Copernican revolution throughout the natural sciences was carried out precisely in botany, where the look of plants does not directly reveal their morphology. Only due to the harmonious arrangement of plants, direct, "physiognomic" perception of their characteristics and the subsequent logical generalization Bernard and Antoine Jussieu were able to establish a natural system, and at the same time to justify the theory of the latter. And it involves such a grouping of objects or phenomena, when all their features are taken into account, and the relative advantage of these features is weighed and the objects are arranged in such a way when those belonging to a certain natural group have more connection, a stronger degree of similarity than with items from other groups (pp. 54, 149).

Since the theory works "for example and guidance to all other sciences", Danilevsky unconditionally applies it to history. "Forms of the historical life of mankind,- he writes, – as forms of flora and fauna, as forms of human art ... not only change and improve on the age, but also differ by cultural and historical types". And then he defines these types as "independent, certain plans of religious, social, domestic, industrial, political, scientific, artistic, in short, historical development" (p. 85).

The set of features itself, obviously, was compiled (as in botany) intuitively, by direct perception of social life. Such an organic vision of society objectively directed the study of the latter into a holistic, systematic study of all aspects of its life activity and promised a real methodological change in history and other social sciences. However, the author did not substantiate either the relationship between the features of the cultural-historical type, nor their set. And when he conducted a specific comparison of the Slavic and Germanic-Romanesque types in the book, he did it only on the basis of three criteria, which, moreover, had little correlation with the features indicated, – the mental system of people, their religion and "historical education".

At the same time, in accordance with the general spirit of biologism, he considered the mental order as determinant. It seems to have a direct influence on the choice of people of various religions, and, moreover, directly manifested itself in languages. In turn, for Danilevsky the language and psychological connection of a group of people was main

reason for attributing them to one cultural-historical type. Although here he was often inconsistent: he united in one type two language groups – the Germanic and Romanesque, or reduced the analysis of Slavs to the characteristics of only the Russian people. Due to such a narrowing of the object of research to a particular people (the book refers primarily to the Russian ethnos) and the constant emphasis on national problems, researchers sometimes perceive the theory of cultural-historical types as a teaching of the nation.

However, the usual correspondence with biology was not enough to positively convey the historical development in its various aspects as a holistic and purposeful process persuasively. Therefore, Danilevsky had to include elements of metaphysics in his theory. He proposed the teleological "idea of development" in place of an explanation of the historical process. This was a manifestation of Kantianism (the principle of appropriateness) and Schilling's view (an intuitive comprehension of integrity) and a definite reflection of the various pre-Darwinian theories interpreted evolution as a purposeful process.

Danilevsky wrote that the historical life of mankind was developing in accordance with the "plan of the world-state Craft", but due to the direct effect of the divine Providence "both the harmonious order of nature and the history is impeccable" (pp. 214, 312). As a result, "the idea of a plant", "the idea of an animal", "the idea of a man", "the idea of a cultural-historical type" (the Slavs), "the idea of mankind" are treated by him as semantically identical concepts. Common to them was, in particular, a categorical denial of (in anti-Darwinist the spirit, of course) a single progressive development (of progress) of nature and human society. A relative evolution is only independent and distinctive and only within certain limits – it is possible only for certain species of animals and plants or for certain cultural-historical types. Therefore, "the full implementation of the plant idea is only in the whole variety of manifestations to which it is capable, in all types and at all stages of the development of the plant kingdom", and "the task of mankind is nothing more than manifestation, at different times and different tribes, all those sides, all those features of the range, which lie virtually (in opportunities, in potentia) in the idea of mankind" (p. 116).

Danilevsky named ten "well-known" cultural and historical types, or distinctive civilizations: Egyptian; Chinese; Assyrian-Babylonian-

Phoenician, Chaldean, or Ancient-Semitic; Indian; Iranian; Jewish; Greek; Roman; New-Semitic, or Arabic; German-Romanian, or European (pp. 88), and then, having made analogies, added the Slavic type to this list as well. Although the scientist put them in a chronological order and some of them inherited certain achievements of their predecessors, this, in his opinion, does not indicate the unity and succession of all human history at all. Each of these "historical organisms" has its own unique way of development.

Danilevsky saw a direct analogy in the life of people and biological organisms: birth, the achievement of different stages of development, aging and death (p.74). Based on it, he defined four periods of life of cultural-historical types: ethnographic or formative (childhood); state (youth); civilization (maturity); time of exhaustion of creative forces, apathy of self-satisfaction or apathy of despair (old age), after which the people can become an ethnographic material for another cultural-historical type (p. 106). At the same time, a civilization period is similar to the stage of flowering and fruiting in perennial monocotyledonous plants – it is relatively short and once and for all exhausting the vitality of the cultural-historical type. The people, who became old, lived their time, did their work, and if it is time for them to leave the stage, nothing will help, regardless of where they live – in the East or in the West. How and why this happens, how can the creative forces of entire societies weaken, according to Danilevsky, is completely beyond explanation (pp. 74, 168). He, as a scientist-positivist, refused to go deep into the metaphysics of the ultimate causes of these phenomena. It turned out that in the mysterious "idea of development" (the plan of the world-state Craft) a well-defined, "biologically grounded" was only the fact that exhaustion of the content and death of cultural-historical types are inevitable.

The finalist concealed meaning of organicist analogies manifested itself in Danilevsky's denial of the ability of transferring civilization principles of one type to people of another type, and in affirming the completion of human progress in any direction. After one cultural-historical type has reached a certain degree of excellence in the field for which it is the most capable, it is necessary to move from a new starting point and on a new way, "it is necessary that other psychic peculiarities come to the area of activity, another structure of mind, feelings and will,

which only have people of other cultural-historical type"; the progress is to go all over the "field of historical activity" in all directions (p. 109).

So, if interpreting historical process in such a way, the issue of integrity of human history loses its sense indeed. The historical and cultural types (civilizations) as "supreme historical units" have become the subject of historical science (p.103).

The scientific significance of Danilevsky's theory is based on the fact that it started an urgent review of Europo-centric scheme of the world history. Organicism methodology guided science to a holistic and comprehensive analysis of society and its history. At the same time, the very logic of positivist organicism imposed a separate, even isolated, study of the history of civilizations, a strong distinction between "personal", immanent, and "foreign", borrowed, it forced to ignore the global context of events.

2. Organic Influence in Civilizations Theories of the 20th Century

For a half century having passed between the publication of Danilevsky's book and the publication of two-volume work of German philosopher Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), "The Decline of the West" (1918-1922)[14], biology, namely, under the influence of C. Darwin, has achieved a great success and turned, according to H. Rickert, almost in "universal science about the whole world" [15]. This was reflected in German philosophy, which, with its traditional orientation on spiritual factors, now has acquired the nature of the life philosophy and at the beginning of the 20th century became, according to H. Rickert, "the philosophical fashion of our days"[16]. The life philosophy saw a certain objectification of the true essence of the world in all individual things and phenomena – the will for life – (A.Shopenhauer), the will for power (F. Nietzsche), etc., and it called the experience of the researcher based on the formula: "life cognizes the life" (V. Dilthey, G. Zimmel) as the core of the methodology of all historical sciences – "the sciences of spirit". The philosophy of the history of the Baden School of Neo-Kantianism (W. Windelband, and especially H. Rickert) proclaimed an individualizing, or historical method as the method of "cultural studies" (as opposed to a generalized method of natural sciences), and the object of

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[14] Шпенглер О. Закат Европы. Мн.: Харвест, М.: АСТ, 2000.
[15] Риккерт Г. Философия жизни. – Мн., М., 2000. – С. 94.
[16] Риккерт Г. Философия жизни. – Мн., М., 2000. – С. 8.

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research was the activity of people in creating value, in broad sense – the social activity of the formation of a unique culture system.

The influence of this studying also affected the theory of O. Spengler. In methodological terms, it was a decisive denial of positivist application of natural science methods, often used for studying (systematizing) the "dead nature", in the studying of the "living" history. "The striving for the system is the striving to kill the living things", – the philosopher emphasized[17]. In this way it seemed to be fundamentally different from the method of Danilevsky, although there is no evidence that Spengler was familiar with his work. However, he called his way of thinking and observation in a similar way – the "physiognomy of the real". Physiognomy is "the morphology of organic, history and life; all that is subordinated to the direction and destiny"[18]. The forms of culture are the holistic organic forms of history, with eight cultures-organisms being marginal and the largest among them, which in the early 20th century were already described in detail in the scientific literature. He applies a method of comparative morphology of the world history to them.

Unlike Danilevsky, who saw a system of facts united by a metaphysical "plan" in the cultural-historical type, Spengler finds the substantive basis of the life of culture – its soul as an irrational set of opportunities to be realized. Their realization is life, formation, but something that has been already accomplished, namely, the world, the steady, and the dead[19]. When a soul performs the full amount of its opportunities "in the form of people, languages, beliefs, arts, states and sciences" in the external world and returns to the original spiritual element, then the culture "suddenly *freezes*, dies, its blood crumbles, the forces are broken – it becomes *civilization*"[20] [Spengler O. The Decline of Europe – Mn.: Harvest, M.: AST, 2000. 0, pp.167–168]. At the same time, Spengler also states that each culture, by analogy with biological organisms, is born, consistently passes stages of youth, maturity, old age and dies; and that all cultures have the same duration of these periods and a homologous equivalent structure[21]. Based on these "biological laws", he predicted the meaning of future centuries of the Western history, its

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[17] Шпенглер О. Закат Европы. Мн.: Харвест, М.: АСТ, 2000. С. 689.
[18] Шпенглер О. Закат Европы. Мн.: Харвест, М.: АСТ, 2000. С. 158, 717.
[19] Шпенглер О. Закат Европы. Мн.: Харвест, М.: АСТ, 2000. С. 160.
[20] Шпенглер О. Закат Европы. Мн.: Харвест, М.: АСТ, 2000. С. 167–168.
[21] Шпенглер О. Закат Европы. Мн.: Харвест, М.: АСТ, 2000. С. 173–175.

inevitable decline and death – by analogy with the last centuries of previous culture life.

The way Spengler proposed to comprehend the deep meaning of cultural creations is methodologically significant. The historian has to reproduce in his own experiences the experiences of people of relevant epochs, to look at the world around with own eyes. The historian has to perceive specific things only as symbols, and not in their individuality, but in the universal cultural unity of style. However, empathy is not so necessary here, but a high level of intuition, a "physiognomic tact", characterized as "an unconscious method of instinctual consideration of the world process"[22]. German philosopher reveals the first principle of culture with his intuitive, artistic comprehension of the style of culture – its presymbol defining the nature and meaning of all its symbols, so one can make the typology of cultures.

Therefore, the power of Spengler's method manifested itself in its ability to immediately capture the entire reality, the whole set of historical facts, that was impossible with any other methodology such as Hegelian, Marxist, positivist, or Neo-Kantian. The historian should ignore neither experience nor imagination, intuition, since the very nature of scientific cognition, especially in history, foresees their presence in the methodological tools of the scientist. The vulnerability of this method is in the fact that one has to appeal to metaphysics – the idea of the "organism", "destiny", "soul", "presymbol", etc., comprehended purely psychologically, intuitively and not subject to any verification. In addition, Spengler was able to show only culture isolation, a priori insisting on the organic closure, the mutual impenetrability of cultures. Due to this own "closure" of his theory, the latter did not get extended in other concepts of the same meaning.

However, at the time when the life philosophy and the varieties of organicism, connected with it, were dominated in Germany, another experience in the culture study was accumulated in England and France. French philosophers and sociologists continued the tradition, laid down by A. Comte. They recognized the differences between cultures, but they analyzed them from the view of "reality". H. Taine studied the influence on the culture of climate, race, geographical conditions, and E. Durkheim studied the influence on the state and development of collective

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[22] Шпенглер О. Пессимизм ли это? *Шпенглер О. Пессимизм?* М., 2003. С. 12.

consciousness and its associated forms of "mechanical" and "organic" solidarity of individuals. In the historical and sociological thought of England, Spenser's evolutionary theory of the development of a social organism and J. St. Mill's theory (law) of the increase in consequences under the same causes, in particular geographical ones, preserved their influence. H. T. Buckle proposed his own theory of civilizations, in which he linked the peculiarities of the society development with a specific state of the geographical environment. He explained the fundamental differences between European and non-European types of civilizations based on it[23]. So, the versions of the theory of local civilizations were also developed in France and England, moreover, on a positivist basis. It prepared the ground for a new and fundamental theory, proposed by English historian Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889-1975), the author of the 12-volume "A Study of History" (1934-1961). In Ukraine, this work is published in the 2-volume short version of D. C. Somervell, approved by the author[24].

A. J. Toynbee admitted that he was inspired by disagreement with Spengler to this work, "an impressive dogmatic person and determinist", in whose works all civilizations passed a single life cycle for a well-established and unexplained schedule: "If German a priori method has failed, it is worth trying what can be achieved with English empiricism"[25]. So, Toynbee just put organicism as the "blame" on Spengler. He categorically stated that "societies can not be compared with living organisms", that "civilizations are a reality of a kind not subject to the laws of biology"[26]. He based his great picture of the history of civilizations on the involvement of a huge range of historical facts, mainly those relating to political, economic and cultural history. Having grouped and compared them, he revealed the diversity of civilizations in the history of mankind, which totaled 37, including those which reached full prosperity (13), and those which ceased to exist in the early stages of growth.

However, he did not avoid organicism and biology. Obviously, the idea of classifying and systematizing historical material itself is programmed by external, sometimes very spontaneous, structuring and

[23] Ионов И.Н., Хачатурян В.М. Теория цивилизаций от античности до конца XIX в. М., 2002. С. 242–248.
[24] Тойнбі А. Дослідження історії. Том 1. К., 1995; Тойнбі А. Дослідження історії. Том 2. К., 1995.
[25] Тойнби А.Дж. Цивилизация перед судом истории: Сборник. М., 2003. С. 271.
[26] Тойнбі А. Дослідження історії. Том 1. К., 1995. С. 248–249.

interpretation of facts, as Danilevsky did at his time. R. G. Collingwood wrote that the general concept of Toynbee's history "is extremely naturalistic; he considers the life of any society as a natural life, and not spiritual, as something purely biological in its basis, which is the best to understand through biological laws"[27]. Indeed, his civilizations act as living individuals. They adapt to a particular environment, first of all, geographic, looking for effective "responses" on the "challenges" of the latter. Actually, the system of challenge-and-response creates "incentives" for genesis, growth, decline and collapse of civilizations. The internal structure of different societies at different stages is also quite similar. Therefore, Toynbee's critical remarks on Spengler's concept of history can, to some extent, be redirected to his own. Though, in contrast to Spengler and Danilevsky, he recognizes a certain connection (affiliation) of civilizations and the possibility of forming world civilization with the universal church on the basis of Christianity in the future.

Toynbee's theory is extremely valuable to historical science, since it interprets the factual material most widely among all existing theories of civilizations and it is best provided with evidences. However, it does not create a reliable methodology for historical research. First of all, just because of the fact that its author did not act as a methodologist of history, or just as a historian, but as a philosopher of history. He saw his task in creating a general panorama of the world history, in organizing a great number of historical facts (for this purpose moderate organicism is quite acceptable), rather than developing a methodology for a civilization analysis of the historical process.

However, these versions of the theory of local civilizations though played a prominent role in the evolution of historical thought, but remained at the level of philosophical understanding of history. The integrity of the history of civilizations, the coherence of historical facts in it, was covered mainly intuitively and aesthetically. The theories mentioned above were not enough associated with the practice of historical research: they did not arise from it and they were little influenced by it, because they did not give reliable methodical and methodological tools for linking either facts or sources of information.

In this sense, the systems-communicative theory of the prominent German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann discovers the new methodological

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[27] Колінгвуд Р. Дж. Ідея історії. К., 1996. С. 231.

opportunities. It gained its completed form in the general work "Society of the Society" (1997) [28]. Its advantage is in the fact that the immanent systematic relation of historical facts, historical sources in their sequential or reactive meaningful correlation as well as the immanent procedurality of events in social systems is revealed. The theory states that society as such does not include people but communications, allows us to overcome the most difficult problem for historical science of subjective-objective dichotomy of both facts and sources. The phenomenon of communication (namely, every fact of history, every historical source) removes the question of the objective and subjective from the agenda, since communication is both of them[29].

And since the internal system coherence of historical facts as semantic communications remains crucial for the methodology of the civilization analysis of the historical process, it is in the aspect of the study of the external, stylistic unity of each civilization that the communicative approach to the history of civilizations finds many points of intersection with the philosophical and historical civilization theories of M. Y. Danilevsky, A. Toynbee, O. Spengler and other thinkers, mainly based on external observation positions. Preconditions are created in order to re-evaluate the above-mentioned theories, now taking into account the prospects of a civilization analysis of history by means of historical science.

In some cases it is possible to bring a reliable methodological base to a number of brilliant intuitions of these thinkers, especially with regard to the internal integrity of civilizations, while in others, it is necessary to adjust or simplify theoretical statements. Thus, many civilization theories, having "organism" analogies, acquire a logical justification, since both living organisms and civilizations function as self-referential autopoietic systems, the autopoiesis of which started once and can be completed one day. It is now when the metaphor of "organism" can be replaced by the study of internal meaningful coherence of facts. In general, A. Toynbee's list of modern civilizations seems to be more or less justified from a methodological point of view, since it is bound to certain religious communication systems.

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[28] Luhmann N. Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft / Niklas Luhmann. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1997. 1150 S.

[29] Докладніше тут: Космина В.Г. Цивілізаційний аналіз історії в світлі системної теорії Н. Лумана. Український історичний журнал. 2010. №1. С. 165–178.

Toynbee's mechanism of the "challenge-and-response" as an incentive for the development of civilization can now be described at the factual level as an internal restructuring of the meaningful communication system in response to external stimuli. At the same time, Toynbee's concept of "mimesis", coinciding with the idea of English ethologist R. Dawkins about the transfer of "mimes" as units of cultural imitation, also requires certain clarifications. One can speak only about the selection of new communication meanings in certain communication systems in a well-argued manner.

In recent centuries the civilization specificity of the West is also clarified. Depending on the chosen position of observation (of course, the first order), philosophers either described these times as a "decline" of European culture (O. Spengler), or, one-sidedly interpreted the New European society as "capitalistic", "industrial", "liberal", etc. overemphasizing the role of certain functional areas. In fact, the Western transition from the traditional hierarchical form of system differentiation with the regulatory role of religious communications to a functionally differentiated society was taking place.

CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing the study conducted, it is worth noting the following. An organic holistic vision of historical phenomena and processes in their integrity of material and spiritual components remains vital for humanitarian sciences today. The organism methodology of history understanding was developed mainly in the 19th centuries in two following versions: conservative and romantic (German) and, in a less degree, positivistic (English-French). It found its implementation, first of all, in the theories of local civilization. In Danilevsky's theory both versions with the significant prevalence of one of them were united. Spengler's theory was based on the first one and was directed to the search of fundamental principle (presymbol) of each culture-organism. Toynsbee's theory was rich with actual material and it carried certain imprint of positivistic organicism.

In these theories the analogy with an organism and even an "organism" metaphor was used. The theory of cultural-historical types by M. Danilevsky, the theory of cultures-organisms by O. Spengler, the theory of civilizations as individuals by A. Toynbee made efforts to cover

all the facts of history of one or another civilization together in its organic connection by a single view and a single thought. However, all these theories were formed within the framework of the philosophy of history and did not provide for the creation of methodology of the same "organic" analysis of either historical facts or historical phenomena and processes.

In these theories the consideration of historic processes was built not on the study of historic facts themselves as well as the establishment of internal connection between them, but, mainly, on insertion of facts already discovered by science in the philosophic schemes of the thinkers based on "organic" analogy. In fact, the civilization vision is introduced as a part of prior knowledge.

That is why the issue of the development of relevant methodology, in particular, in the field of a comprehensive analysis of social communications is not removed from the agenda.

Meanwhile, a modern post-non-classical science takes the very concept of the integrity of the world structure, society, and civilization as a basis. Luhmann's post-neo-classical sociologic theory, just developed in the 20th century, points out to immanent systematic coherency of historical facts, historical sources in their consequent or reactive meaningful correlation, and thus, to the coherency of the historical process in general. It creates methodological opportunities for holistic studying of civilizations by way of the historical science itself.

SUMMARY

The article analyses the origins, role and place of an "organism" metaphor in the civilization analysis of the historical process. As a rule, it appeared as a suitable means of connection of numerous historical facts, especially where it was necessary to emphasize such features of the world as integrity and ability to develop. An organism has been present for a long time in various religious systems, forming the basis of cosmogonic myths and "the world pictures". In the 19th century, it took an essential place in the philosophy of F. W. J. von Schelling and the historiosophy of German "historical school" in the form of metaphysical organology. Sociologists-positivists (H. Spenser, at all) in search of an explanation for social phenomena also turned to organicism ("social biology"), strengthened by the authority of Darwin's theory of the origin of species.

The authors of local civilizations theories began to apply the "organism" metaphor even in more active way. The theory of cultural and historical types by M. Danilevsky, the theory of cultures-organisms by O. Spengler, the theory of civilizations as individuals by A. Toynbee made efforts to cover all the facts of history of one or another civilization together in its organic connection by a single view, a single thought. However, all these theories were formed within the framework of the philosophy of history and did not provide for the creation of methodology of the same "organic" analysis of either historical facts or historical phenomena and processes.

Luhmann's systems-communication theory discovers new opportunities for studying internal integrity and coherence of historical process by means of historical science which is exactly based on the principal recognition of immanent systematicity and immanent procedurality of event in social systems. It can even prove organic metaphors and assumptions in the theory of local civilizations.

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Information about the author:
Kosmyna V. G.
Doctor of Historical Sciences,
Assistant Professor at the Department of Philosophy and History
Educational and Scientific Humanitarian Institute of
V. I. Vernadsky Taurida National University,
33, Ivana Kudri str., Kyiv, Ukraine.

THE FORMATIVE ROLE OF THE CHINESE PHILOSOPHICAL AND ETHICAL IDEAS IN THE CULTURE OF THE EAST ASIAN REGION

Kudrya I. G.

INTRODUCTION

All East Asian states have a common cultural and civilizational basis for development. By cultural and civilizational basis, we understand the system of transcendental values that determine the most important aspects of the life of society and the state of East Asia.

The fundamental transcendental values of the countries of the Far East were formulated within the framework of the ancient Chinese civilization. Over the centuries, Chinese philosophical and ethical ideas have constantly influenced the consciousness of the nations of East Asia. Chinese civilization gave the cultures of the East Asian region not only philosophy, ethics, model of government, examples of art, he and hieroglyphic writing. The hieroglyph can be painted with a brush, a word or a battle sword. The hieroglyph reveals the degree of qualification and competence of a person.

At the same time, the connection with the Chinese civilization turned out to be so strong that it can be said that the Chinese ideological influence laid the civilizational foundations of the Far Eastern culture. Chinese ideas determined the general direction of thought in East Asia. Their influence on the consciousness of the Far Eastern peoples is related to the fact that they largely contained a transcendental component, essentially representing the system of coordinates of human existence, the structure of the ultimate bases of human experience and the picture of the world.

The main feature of the Chinese system of transcendental values was the understanding of being, through the universality of ethics and pragmatism. In the Chinese system of values, physical phenomena act as ethical functions.

Outside of these values, one cannot understand the culture and history of the Far East. Their influence on the culture of the East Asian states was all-encompassing: Buddhism and Taoism determined the self-

perception of a person, his attitude to the world, Confucianism – the nature of relations in the family, society and the state. «… China in one significant respect shared a common world-view orientation to the Axial-age civilizations of the east Mediterranean sphere. Diverging from its Hinduist and Buddist counterparts, China developed a very strong this-worldly conception of 'salvation' which placed central emphasis on the social and political orders as the sites and foci of transcendental visions similar to those of ancient Greek and Hellenistic civilizations. It developed significant capacities for the 'rational' resolution of human or ethical dilemmas (that is, Confucianism and neo-Confucianism) in a fashion akin to those of ancient Greece and Rome.

This obviated the need for deistic objectivations and resolutions of existential-soteriological crises of the kind which came to define monotheistic civilizations as well as the other-worldly (non-deistic) oriented Hinduist and Buddist civilizations. In the antithetical mode, China also diverged from Greece and Rome in its mundane 'secular' orientation in the following ways: it more fully articulated the paradox of embodying a transcendental vision whilst resorting to a worldly conception of how to bridge these world-orders as result of acquiring an imperial form; it succeeded more forcefully than either Greek or Hellenistic civilizations in stressing the 'proper performance of worldly duties and activities within the existing social frame-works ... as the ultimate criterion of the resolution of the tension between the transcendental and mundane order and of individual responsibility'; it had very tightly interwoven the realms of speculative and political life, as exemplified by the Confucian literati; and, finally, China's 'special conception of its resolution' of the tension between world renunciation and affirmation was decidedly marked by a 'strong semi-sanctification of the imperial order' that was absent in the (ancient) Mediterranean cases».[1]

1. The formation of the transcendental foundations of Chinese civilization

In general, Chinese civilization was characterized by the leitmotif of continuous improvement, through education, ethical upbringing, physical health, aesthetic pleasure and psychological comfort

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[1] Mandalios J. Civilizational Complexes and Processes: Elias, Nelson and Eisenstadt. In Handbook of historical sociology / ed. by Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2003. P. 75.

The scientific discussion between the Confucians, the Taoists and the Buddhists was constantly under way, each of these currents with detailed criticism of each other. There was a meeting of scientists of different perspectives on which the topical issues of that time were discussed. This turn stimulated the development of philosophy, science and technology in China. This method of attracting the views of various scientific schools and integrating them into a viable theory remains a central feature of Chinese philosophy and science. This syncretic approach allows combining ideas that are oppositional. Due to the widespread use of the syncretic approach, each of the Chinese intellectual schools includes elements of other traditions. It is therefore extremely difficult to clearly distinguish the specific characteristics of each of the original schools of thought in China.

Thus, it makes sense to talk about the syncretic Chinese value tradition, and not about the philosophy of each particular school as distinct and well-defined. The sanjiao (literally "three teachings") or the Chinese synthesis of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, based on doctrinal and ideological affinity. «In Schelling's Philosophie der Mythologie, however, religion does play the decisive role. For Schelling, the key to understanding why "the patriachical principle has maintained its influence and power for thousands of years" in China is the abrupt change of the religion of heaven into the deification of the state – "religio astralis in rempliblicam versa"».[2]

It is impossible to understand the cultural code of East Asia without taking into account all its origins, especially Buddhism. It is impossible to understand the Far Eastern society, without the idea of the illusiveness of the visible world, the reality of the unknowable absolute, the attitude towards empirical being (samsara) as suffering, and towards ideal being nirvana as bliss. Mahayana Buddhism, penetrated into East Asia, joined the local tradition. Growing together with local tradition, Buddhism formed a regional consciousness.

Buddhism – appeared in China in the first century. Chan Buddhism originated exactly in China. There was a sinicization of Mahayana Buddhism. The founder of Buddhism was the Buddha (Teacher). Fundamentals of the teaching of Buddhism: dukkha – the world is suffering; anity – earthly illusion; nirvana – absolute calm, the way of

[2] Roetz H. Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age: A Reconstruction under the Aspect of the Breakthrough Toward Postconventional Thinking. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993. P. 19.

achieving nirvana is the middle path, through self-improvement; the purpose is to break the circle of samsara – the cycle of suffering, because of the removal of interest. Buddha first put a practical question: what should be done?

In his sermon Buddha called for the middle path, to avoid two extremes, routines and asceticism. Buddha offered a conscious way of dismissal. According to Gautama Buddha, salvation comes not from the outside, but from the middle of man. Buddhism denies the Atman – the substantive basis of the identity of the person, its reincarnation according to the laws of the universe (Buddhism denies the personality as something unchanged in time, but emphasizes the self-improvement of man).

The essence of Buddhist philosophy is in the theory of dharmas, which translates as quality, element, thing, law. Dharmas are instant elements that enter instant combinations. Being themselves unchanged, but combining each time in a new way, they form new structures. Dharmas are immaterial. The flow of dharm forms a personality. It depends on the combination of dharmas into which being a person is reborn. Karma (action) – the organizing force – arranges the elements in accordance with the actions of a person. Karma is a consequence of previous beings, and depends on it, since real life changes karma. The ultimate goal of Buddhism is salvation, deliverance from suffering, from attachment to samsara, entry into the state of super-existence. Nirvana – repose, cessation of the excitement of dharmas, their new combinations: a person emerges from the cycle of being, but dharmas do not disappear, only their excitement stops. Nirvana is not death. Death is not a calming of dharmas, but an intermediate state before their new formation. According to the dharma teachings, the true reality of non-existence (nirvana) has no time, no forms, no divisions. In each dharma (moment of consciousness) there is present, past and future, time is recognized by Buddhism, but as a change of states of consciousness. The center of attention in Buddhism is transferred from the world of phenomena to the inner world of a person, while the external world is viewed primarily as a function of its mental processes, projecting the illusion of samsara in consciousness, and these processes themselves, in turn, act as reflections of meta-consciousness (nirvana). If at the level of samsara, space and time retain their relative meaning, then at the level of nirvana, space becomes its opposite, emptiness, and time – in the absence of time or eternity.

The ideal of Buddhism is to eliminate the main contradiction between empirical being (samsara) and calm (nirvana), in achieving a state of identity. The path of self-improvement is the path of suppressing passions that cause suffering, the achievement of inner balance (it is for this purpose that arts such as the tea ceremony, martial arts and ikebana serve in East Asia). Suffering comes from ignorance (avidya). Ignorance exists at the level of samsara, to overcome which the thoughts of Buddhism are directed.

By stopping the wheel of being, one can enter nirvana. If the empirical and absolute inseparable, then the ultimate goal is available to everyone. The goal of Buddhism – deliverance from being – has determined its relation to being: the visible world is not true, not real. In Buddhism, the phenomenal world is subject to constant change and therefore unreal, illusory, it is maya, or the untrue world. Maya is a void, illusory world, as opposed to the undivided world that stands behind it and which, from the point of view of Buddhism, is the true reality.

From the point of view of Buddhism, the true world is non-existence, the Buddha called this world the world of nirvana, which knows no boundaries, knows no form. Really true-being. True-existence is attribute-free, empty, in it, in an undetermined form, everything is already there. The original truth of Buddhism is the statement that life is suffering: birth is suffering, unfulfilled desire is suffering, and satisfied desire is suffering. The source of suffering is attachment of any kind. Non-existence or emptiness, where things are not dependent on each other, Buddhism considers the only reality. In reality, that which is permanent, indestructible, and indestructible that which does not arise, does not create, is the true, original nature of things.

The Buddhist way of getting rid of being is the eightfold way: the right look, the right attitude, the right speech, the right action, the right behavior, the right aspiration, the right memorization, the right concentration.

The first two phases of the eightfold path – the right view, the right attitude – are the immediate perception of the world. The fourth phase of the octal path, the «right action» – freedom, unconditioned, means non-violation of the natural development of things. In the highest, eighth phase – «right concentration» – the non-duality of consciousness is reached – the state of one-being. This is enlightenment. Only through

concentration is liberation possible. The less contact with empirical being (samsara), the more a person shrinks in his desires, the more he approaches nirvana. To reach the center of the twelve-fold circle of being is possible only by overcoming all twelve types of attachments to samsara. The eightfold path is the deliverance from suffering, having passed which a person achieves liberation.

Confucianism and Taoism do not diverge in this main issue of attaining deliverance with Buddhism: enlightenment can be achieved only through the efforts of one's own spirit. Everyone goes to liberation in his own way. To follow one's nature, to be oneself – this is Tao (way) asserts Taoism. And Confucianism believes that the ideal person is impossible without ethics: humanity, duty-justice), sensitivity and mind-knowledge.

Equally important in the understanding of the culture of the East Asian region is the philosophy of Yinyang (yin-yang). This is the oldest ancient philosophical schools in ancient China specializing in ontological issues. An important aspect of the yin-yang philosophy was astronomy and astrology. The yin-yang school emphasized the correlation of human activity with the positions of the sun, the moon and the stars. Within the yin-yang school, natural phenomena were studied, including weather, clouds, fog and winds. Astronomical and astrological observation was an important part of Chinese practical philosophy, since it was used to determine the favorable times for a wide range of social, cultural and political actions.

Yin-Yang represents systematic cosmology, which is based on the correlation and analogy between man, state and space. Correspondence (correlation) between social and natural phenomena (such as natural disasters, astronomical and meteorological phenomena) was one of the basic principles of the yin-yang philosophy.

The notion of conformity is closely linked to the idea of the middle, which is considered differently in Chinese philosophy: conformity, cooperation, integration, stability and equilibrium. The middle – it means not to deviate in any direction. Constancy means immutability. The middle ground is the achievement of the equilibrium of the beginnings. Hence – the understanding of the middle as a moving equilibrium, equilibrium, a mobile type of communication that forms the whole. The middle, linking all things, keeps the world in equilibrium. Due to the law of the middle there is order in the universe, alternating day and night, four

seasons. The middle was understood as a supreme ideal. The middle produces harmony.

According to the ideas of East Asian culture, the whole world is based on the principle of the middle – nature, man, society, art and state. «Yet, the prephilosophical age also knows a cosmological, sacral geography in which the world is divided into regions of increasing ontological importance with the royal domain as their center».[3]

The meaning of the middle category is very important in the Chinese philosophical, ethical and aesthetic concept; it is understood not only as a certain state of consistency, but also of its own cosmological significance, existing in its own right, rising in line with such concepts as Tao and Li. The basis of true art is the ability to find and feel the middle. Action must control the middle, and then the result will be the consistency of the external and inner worlds. The whole thing is in the middle, and accordingly, the world rhythm. The main thing, when all the elements are balanced, are in a state of moving equilibrium. Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism proclaimed the law of the middle path.

The main principle of this school was the change in the circle – everything is in constant change, but the change itself is on an unchanging path. Constancy – in a constant rotation in a circle, in a series of darkness (yin) and light (yang). Light darkness, yin-yang are inseparable, interpenetrating. By constantly changing themselves, they lead to the change of one situation by another, interconnecting each other.

Interaction of yin-yang generates five elements: in the center – the earth, around – water, fire, tree, metal. Thanks to the yin-yang and the five elements all things are born. The twofold nature of the absolute, the interpenetrability and complementarity of centrifugal yin and centripetal yang (yin as it were enveloping yang) form an introvert model. Yin-yang are inseparable, closed within the same circle in the form of curved halves, ready to move one to the other.

The law of the world rhythm leads to the change of one situation by another, spreading the path to world development (according to the principle of moving back and forth, decreasing-increase, tide-tide). Constancy – in the law of the middle, holding the world in equilibrium. The visible world is a process, the world of the invisible is peace; real is not a phenomenal world (that which is, will surely disappear), but a

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[3] Roetz H. Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age: A Reconstruction under the Aspect of the Breakthrough Toward Postconventional Thinking. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993. P. 40.

strictly conditioned process of alternating situations. The real coordinate system, which captures the path of world development, is the law of change, conditioned by the yin-yang cycle (yin is peace, yang is a movement). Everything moves on the principle of back and forth, descending-growth. Everything meets the natural rhythm. The sun is coming, the moon is rising. The moon is coming, the sun is rising. By opening the law of change, the principle of the alternation of things, the universal states of the world, one can foresee the impending situation. In fact, things speak little about what, but if you open the system of their changes, then you can foresee what will happen to them at the next moment. In the yin-yang school, the sky was the highest archetype. The sky created images that were realized on the earth. So there were changes.

Cosmos (the sun, moon, stars) creates images, and on the ground, the landscape, flora and fauna (mountains, rivers, animals and plants) acquire forms – and everything is in constant circulation. Presenting in all, yin-yang act in each other, which creates an internal source of motion. There is no need for the firsthand, the first motor, in external opposition: the Tao follows to himself. Universal development is the result of the yin-yang interlacing.

The yin-yang school developed a concept of space consisting of *qi* (the energy that forms and organizes matter and causes change), the interaction of yin and yang and the five elements. Yin-yang, the five stages and the concept of qi eventually united to provide the basis for a new theory of correspondence between heaven and earth, on the one hand, and the political sphere, on the other. «Indeed, the Chinese assumed a fully monistic cosmos: "Man and nature did not form two separate reals, but one unique society"».[4]

From the point of view of the yin-yang school, space is due to the circulation of qi, circulation is due to the interaction of yin-yang. The ability to circulate is immanent qi, due to the twin nature of Yin-yang, to bring them in motion wasnot needed external force. Not only the character of a person, but also the nature of the season depends on the circulation of qi. Human health depends on the extent to which it is endowed with qi and whether it circulates correctly. You can accumulate qi, you can lose it. Complete loss of qi leads to death. Things with the same qi are attracted to each other. Qi can form the basis of both good and bad.

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[4] Puett M. J. To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self – Divinization in Early China. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. P. 8.

The practice of the yin-yang school is understood as a process that is powerful in its cosmic influence. Social and artistic practices (calligraphy, Wushu) are formulated in accordance with the energy circulation – yin and yang. The cosmological, epistemological and ethical meaning of the concept of qi is revealed in philosophical writings, anthropological – in works of medicine, martial arts, geomancer, aesthetic – in treatises on calligraphy, painting and poetry. There is no area of Chinese culture where the category of qi would not play a key role. Interpretation qi is the central problem of sinology since its inception up to the present time inclusive. Chaos and order are two faces of energy-qi. Yin yang two modes qi (pneuma).

In the process of cosmogenesis, qi is polarized on yin and yang. Qi is a material energy substance. Qi, being in a constant motion, forms things, causing change. Qi is a material power, energy, as well as vitality and in this capacity, takes part in the process of the formation of things and people. In Chinese philosophy, li and qi (principle (form) and matter (content)) acted as two aspects related to each other.

The yin-yang philosophy is the result of observing the phenomena of nature (the change of the night-day, cold-heat, rest-movement), the result of which was the idea of the two-united nature of the absolute, the two-united nature of things, or the non-dual model of the world. The idea of the perfect absolute, introverted yin-yang, has become a structuring beginning, which manifests itself literally in any aspect of East Asian culture.

In fact, the yin-yang cosmology emphasized the correlation between heaven, earth and man as components of a single cosmic order. «For China, he argued, the dominant tendency was "to associate the transcendent with the notion of an immanent cosmic and social order. Transcendence, then, occurred in China even within its immanentist cosmology»[5]. The central idea of the school is the universal unity of yin and yang, which is the basis of all ontology, cosmology and science of China, the Far East and South-East Asia.

Taoism, which experienced the influence of the yin-yang school, also recognized the development, the return to nothingness. The emptiness is deprived of form, but all throws in itself. Emptiness – the condition of the existence of things, allows them to find their nature. Nothing disappears, but only returns to nothingness, in order to reappear at the appropriate

[5] Puett M. J. To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self – Divinization in Early China. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. P. 12.

moment. Non-being has no form, being has a form. Nothingness – emptiness – is the world of peace, being is the world of motion. What tells the whole movement is Tao. Tao is driving himself. Tao general, cosmic law, and the path of each being separately. Everyone has his own Tao.

The whole phenomenal world, which is not a real Tao, is its manifestation. Non-being and being pass each other, obeying the two-way movement back and forth, but between non-being and being there is no essential difference, being is only a temporary manifestation of nothingness. This determined the type of connection between what is not shaped and the shape. Higher being, or nothingness, emptiness, Tao, without form, has no plurality, no divisions, even in the form of higher initial forms or ideas as special immutable entities, independent of things, but are their prototype. Time, like space, is a Tao attribute, can't be measured.

Confucianism made the Tao a moral one. It specifies Tao in li: son's respect and brotherly love, loyalty and reciprocity, humanity, knowledge and courage, dignity, caution, justice, correct movements of the body, face expression and language. Representatives of the military thought school (Bing -Fa) also put the concept of Tao into the foundation of their theory. In Sun Tzu, it is defined as the first of five principles of military art (along with the conditions of heaven and earth, the qualities of the commander), which consists in the unity of the willful

thoughts of the people and the upper classes. Since the war in the treatise is regarded as a path (Tao) of deceit, the Tao connects it with the idea of a trick that was developed in late Taoism. «In Chinese, the phrase military strategy consists of two parts: Bing (meaning 'soldier') and Fa (meaning 'doctrine'), which together can also be translated to mean 'the art of war'. The golden era in the development of classical Chinese military strategy was the few hundred years between the beginning of the Spring-Autumn period and the end of the Warring States period in Chinese history (772-221)».[6]

The idea of spontaneous development, defining in Taoism, led to a special model of behavior, the principle of non-intervention, non-violence over the nature of things that is called non-action. The idea is that we must stop trying to force the action. Our actions should be natural, then the desired results are achieved.

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[6] Chen Min. Asian Management Systems: Chinese, Japanese and Korean Styles of Business. London : Thomson Learning, 2004. P. 33.

The principle of non-action is a natural consequence of the reality of non-existence. Spontaneity was understood as following one's nature. Following your nature, you follow Tao. To follow the Tao, it does not require any violence over your nature; you only need to trust it. To follow wu wei means to feel the rhythm of the cosmos. To control non-action is to understand the nature of what is happening, not to resort to violence. Inaction is the use of natural properties. This is a model of behavior, based on the principle of non-violation of the natural order of things, to act by non-action. To act is to disrupt the harmony of the universe. Everything is already in potency, and you need not to act, but to guess, to penetrate into what you already have by the power of intuition, and you just need to find the appropriate moment to reveal it. In addition, Taoism sought – to reveal its own nature. Thus, wu wei is an action consistent with the laws of nature, commensurability with the natural rhythm, with constantly changing conditions.

To catch the rhythm of the universe, to get into the thing, to live with it in unison. A person who did not want to violate the rhythm of world development had to change in accordance with it.

Taoism recommends cultivating inaction, watching the natural world. Created in the war, the Taoist concept in the wu wei argues that action must merge in harmony with the forces that rule, go with the flow, in contrast to the Confucian concept to do the right thing. The wu wei is an important element of the art of war. The tradition in the wu wei is a conscious opportunism, activity taking into account the needs of place and time. The philosophy of Taoism puts the problem of the natural in the center of its reflections, that is, to live in harmony with the circumstances. The mind that seeks general patterns and builds calculations, Taoism contrasts the coincidence. The Chinese tradition in the wu wei contrasts with the Western heroism.

The wu wei principle is connected with the idea of a non-causal connection, according to which the world is a huge organism, a spontaneously developing continuum, where everything is correlatively connected with each other in accordance with the yin-yang model. Everything cooperates in mutual service, moreover, each thing, having relative freedom, plays its role, depending on the position in the system. Everything in nature is so interconnected that the slightest fluctuation does not pass without a trace.

Taoism has questioned the standardization and unanimity of events and processes in society. The Taoist approach emphasized the spontaneity of phenomena; the nature of society contradicts any attempts to classify, control and manipulate. Taoism was divided into philosophical and religious – faith in spirits and worship of local deities. The symbol of Taoism – water, other symbols of a dry tree – a state of meditation, which simultaneously provides a shadow for the traveler, butterfly – a symbol of metamorphosis. Taoism complemented the yin-yang principle of the Tao principle. The cosmos appears to be an appropriate, Taoist, Taoist-driven, Taoist principle that is natural expediency. When a person does not prefer a certain temptation, he is able to control his behavior, adapt to any situation, that is to go to the path of Tao. Unlike Confucianism, Taoism argues that both people and the state should be guided not by artificial, ethical norms and rules, but by the laws of nature. The only way of life is to adhere to the Tao's natural law. In a practical plane Taoism embodied in alchemy, self-defense schools, which acted on the basis of the idea of the vey – to act without acting. «Civilizations of Asia did not, for specific socio-political historical reasons, generate the conditions to sustain either the city as we commonly understand it today or the modern university. In other critical respects, however, China was ripe for a cognate revolution in ontological frames: the absence of slave labour caused less suspicion of the utility of inventions; Taoist precepts regarding Nature, whilst anti-nomothetic in form, assisted in the development of medical, alchemical and physical sciences; and the achievement of a high degree of ethical rationalism, as Weber had already alluded to, was historically surpassed only by the irrationalism of Protestant sects which later proved fateful for both the New World and Europe.»[7]

One can't ignore and Confucianism with its idealization of the past. The immediate cause that Confucius prompted to turn to the past was dissatisfaction with his contemporary orders. Confucius's call for the revival of ancient times was based on its negative attitude to reality, to the principles of state administration. This explains the idealization of the oldest society, which in its image was a golden age, and its rulers are wise rulers guided by the principles of justice, virtue, loyalty and humanity. Indeed, the picture of general welfare, represented by Confucius, can't but

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[7] Mandalios J. Civilizational Complexes and Processes: Elias, Nelson and Eisenstadt. In Handbook of historical sociology / ed. by Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2003. P. 74.

call the relation to the past as an ideal. To restore the past, to help the human memory to hold the found – not less creative moment of development than the search for a new one. New is existing thanks to the old, grows out of it. By returning to the original, man reaches the integrity, unity with the world. This is the essence of Confucian traditionalism.

With the notion of traditionalism, the observance of the normative passed inextricably linked ethics of Confucianism. Recognizing the ineffectiveness and obsolete practice of legalism, Confucius proclaimed that not the law should be the basis of society and state, but a ritual based on normative tradition. «The long-term result was the loss of dignity of Heaven, the growing emphasis on its dysteleogical natural side, and a "humanistic" turn in thinking».[8]

As we see, Confucianism puts forward its special ethics – the ethics of a thoroughly ritualized life. The achievement of this ethical ideal requires unceasing moral endeavor. Such an ethical will was not a temporary emotional impulse or the result of a spontaneous decision, but a constant discipline that did not depend on sentiments, feelings and external circumstances. Confucius likened to the noble man of cypress, endowed with this discipline, that does not dump his green suit even in the cold. Achieved by training and self-improvement the internal state of an ethically perfect personality arises in the process of strict self-restraint. These were heroes of moral behavior who did not make any movement, did not say a single word that was not consistent with the proper rules of conduct. «And in a time when the old order declines, Confucians established a new, unmythical center of the world: the junzi, the "gentleman", whose very presence, wherever he might be, is an assurance of the existence of morality and culture».[9]

According to Confucius, a wise ruler should take care of the correction of names. The latter implies the moral verdict of judgments and deeds. The most important thing in politics is correct, relevant, proper and accurate use of words. Confucius formulated the concept of correction of names, so that inappropriate words did not make a mess in the affairs of the state. For Confucius the word is one of the Tao attributes; you must keep it clean so as not to break the path. The word is the organizing

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[8] Roetz H. Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age: A Reconstruction under the Aspect of the Breakthrough Toward Postconventional Thinking. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993. 373 p. 39.
[9] Ibid.

moment of the general order. The word in the system of Confucian consciousness had the same measure of reality, as the objective world, as well as things that correspond to general concepts, thus, the concrete and abstract is not delimited.

Historically, the emergence of Confucianism can be regarded as a process of rationalization of archaic religion and social structure in the categories of morality and administrative control. In general, in the Chinese classical philosophy, the Confucianism -Legalism distinction can be traced based on the orientation towards ethical and ritual decency (le) or on the legal law (fa), «… interschool polemics of the late Warring States, is presented in the guise of a debate between "law" (fa) and "ritual" (li)».[10]

The Confucian priority of decency as an ethical norm and the proper management of people with the help of lee stems from the idea of the primordial good nature of man, and the opposite position of the Legalism who gave priority to the law and the proper management of people through punishments and rewards is due to the idea of the primordial evil nature of man. In this case, the management of people is derived from human nature. The essence of Confucianism in its ethics and humanism. The fact is that, giving preference to ethics, Confucianism chose a non-violent social order, based on a set of rules of proper conduct (li).

In Confucianism, the concept played the role of the basic ethical principle governing relations between people in different spheres of life, norms of their behavior. Is the system of norms of behavior, the embodiment of the correct way from the point of view of Confucianism. «When Confucianism subordinates politics to morality, it overtakes the legacy of the belief in Heaven».[11]

The notion of the influence of moral qualities on the phenomena of nature – one of the main in Confucianism. The order of a person depends on the behavior of a person in space: the correct change of seasons; the correct alternation of yin-yang, from which, in turn, the correct ratio of the five elements depends. From the correct ratio of the latter depend on a well-ordered life, the correct relationship between people, and on the behavior of people depends on the correct ratio of elements, that is, the entire world order. In Confucianism, the world does not divide into human

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[10] Roetz H. Confucian Ethics of the Axial Age: A Reconstruction under the Aspect of the Breakthrough Toward Postconventional Thinking. Albany: SUNY Press, 1993. P. 39.
[11] Ibid.

and natural, physical and psychic, but perceived as an organic whole as integrity. One can say that Confucianism loves the ritual and the scientist, placing them at the center of the historical process. «This is no accident, since the fundamental structural characteristics of civilizing processes were obviously present in an imperially immured China: the monopolistic means of control of social and economic life by a scholarly officialdom ('the mandarins') who relatively early secured (a) the pacification of feudal warrior-dominated spaces and (b) the 'means of orientation', that is, knowledge production, acquisition and dissemination.»[12]

The basic principles of Confucianism were: ritual; humanity; honoring ancestors; education. Confucianism, as the official ideology of China lasted until 1911. If the Taoist philosophy is cosmological, then the Confucian moral. The fact of the primacy of Confucianism among the other Chinese philosophical schools is due to the historical evolution of concrete, material magic and mantic through ontology and cosmology to ethics and abstract universal moral imperative. «It further involved a struggle of "rationality" over myth and an "ethical rebellion" against "the unreal figures of the gods"».[13]

The transition from cosmological antithesis to chaos-space, to the universal ethics of good and evil. Therefore, the transformation of an ontological-unmatched Tao into an ethical li caused a certain spiritual upheaval in the Chinese system of values, «… the movement from mythos to logos or 'from religion to philosophy,' or from analogical to causal thinking …»[14]. A feature of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, is that they are simultaneously religions, sciences, philosophies and the main ethics.

CONCLUSIONS

Chinese civilization and its philosophical and ethical concepts have formed the fundamental cultural and spiritual values of the entire East Asian region. The Chinese philosophical and ethical tradition lies at the basis of family relations, education, socio-economic and ideological and political structures of East Asian societies. The complex of transcendental

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[12] Mandalios J. Civilizational Complexes and Processes: Elias, Nelson and Eisenstadt. In Handbook of historical sociology / ed. by Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2003. P. 69.

[13] Puett M. J. To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self–Divinization in Early China. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. P. 11.

[14] Ibid. P. 18.

values developed by Chinese civilization is the value axis of the formation of the socio-cultural context of the Far East. This value complex is decisive in the historical processes taking place in modern East Asian societies. Despite the presence of national characteristics of the countries of the Far East and the fact that in each country the influence of Chinese civilization superimposed on a certain cultural and ethnic base, Confucianism was the skeleton on which the culture and history of the East Asian region is based. Indeed, in the dialectic of the single-specific-the general-specific, the national is a manifestation of the common, the universal. The general is the essence of the concrete. By discovering common features in cultures, we comprehend the meanings of cultures.

The notion of the introversion of Yin-Yang served as a formative principle that determined the structure of the thinking of the Far Eastern peoples, superimposed on any type of human activity, starting from an understanding of the real and ending with an understanding of the due. The dual (or non-dual) model of the world implies the inseparability of physical and moral laws.

The interaction of the interpenetrating forces of the yin-yang – led to the second feature of East Asian cultures – focusing on the inner as a source of self-development of the thing. If the universal movement is understood as the transition of yin to yang, then with concentration on the inner, on the center of the monocentric model, development occurs cyclically. Yin-Yang, gradually diminishing, gradually growing in each other, mutually alternate, which creates movement in a circle. The world develops in cycles in a monocentric pattern, by moving back and forth, increasing and decreasing. The center is at rest – the absolute, from it concentric circles diverge being. One era passes under the yin sign, the other under the yang sign. The focus on the inner and cyclical permeates all aspects of East Asian culture. If time is cyclical and the past repeats, then future time is nothing but a renewing present and past. All three times are located as if in the same plane. Consciousness, oriented to the laws of nature, to the idea of cycling, where everything comes up from nothingness and returns to non-existence. The universe has no beginning, no end, one year ends, another begins.

True reality is non-existence, the absence of forms, but where everything is already there and occasionally floats into the phenomenal world. Thus, the difference between non-being and being in this system of

thinking comes down to the fact that one has a form, a visible appearance, the other has not, but there is no gap between non-being and being, they constantly go into each other. Tao personifies the unity of being and non-being. Hence the relativity of all oppositions: life and death, good and evil, movement and peace. Non-existence, not something otherworldly, not a mystery, terrifying, a sign of imminent death, disappearance, but the potency of life. Not without reason, Tai Chi (absolute) is depicted as a circle, two curved halves of which, light – yang and dark – yin, are ready to go one into the other.

The world is a non-stop process of becoming, and ideas about it must constantly change. Associated with this is the peculiarity of oriental terms, their ambiguity, situationality – dependence on place and time. They are mobile, for they reflect the process, they are situational, for they bear the color of that state or the person to which they relate. The essence is inseparable from the phenomenon, the subject from the object, the idea from the image. Hence its artistic form.

The world spontaneously develops from itself, and therefore the source of its self-development, non-being, from which everything grows, takes on major importance. But if nothing is the root, the source of being, then complete, absolute disappearance, like the emergence of something fundamentally new, is impossible. In nonexistence, everything is already there, and man is only called upon to imitate and reveal what is. If the basis of Western civilization is the idea of being, then the basis of Eastern is the idea of non-existence. Without awareness of this postulate, it is impossible to understand any category of East Asian culture.

The feeling of non-being time. If consciousness placed an emphasis on the fluidity, the elusiveness of things, then there could not be a fixed time linear to its perception. The goal is to free a person from the sensation of space and time, which allows you to soar above being, to penetrate into the invisible. Hence the timelessness of the East Asian world perception. This timelessness conveys the natural rhythm of nature. The constant cycle of the four seasons is one of the main organizing principles of East Asian culture. Historical dates are not mentioned in art and literature, there is a season – spring, summer, autumn, winter. In the Eastern tradition, the recognition of two-way traffic gave rise to the idea of the reversible nature of time. The idea of non-being disposed to non-existent perception of time. Such an attitude towards non-existence gave

rise to the tendency of time to move backwards: the vector of time is directed to the past even when it comes to the future.

According to M. Weber, the gap between «worldly» and «otherworldly» caused in Western civilization a sense of dissatisfaction with the existing order on earth and pushed it towards social changes. Eastern tradition is alien to active austerity in the world. The Far Eastern teachings considered the order existing in nature as the only correct one. Hence the principle of non-doing, not re-making the world.

Far Eastern consciousness turned to the past. Such a mentality could not but affect the historical path of nations. A special attitude to the past as a pledge of the future has created a desire not to overcome, but to preserve what is in the past. This led to traditionalism – not to replace, but to preserve what was once found. The ideal of East Asian culture is not directed to the future and is not so much connected with creativity, as it has a strong tendency to appeal to ancestors, to the great heroes of the past. Looking for ideals and models in the past is a kind of specificity of Eastern thinking. For a long time, following ancient patterns was legalized, it was a sign of authentic taste and education. The notion of cyclicality was one of the origins of traditionalism.

SUMMARY

The article discusses the philosophical and ethical aspect of the formative influence of Chinese civilization on the cultures of the East Asian region. The author emphasizes that the philosophical and scientific thought of East Asian states developed in line with the basic ethical-value systems of Chinese civilization, such as Taoism, Confucianism, the Yin-Yang School and Buddhism. East Asian cultures form the sociocultural macrosystem of the Far Eastern type of civilizations. In the middle of this macrotype there are certain cultural differences. The peculiarity of each culture is manifested through the system of customs, ideas and practices characteristic of it. However, all East-Asian cultures have one basis – the Chinese value tradition. This article is an attempt to identify the transcendental content of East Asian cultures.

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Information about the author:
Kudrya I. G.
Doctor of Philosophy,
Associate professor of V. I. Vernadsky Tavria national University
Educational and Scientific Humanitarian Institute's
Chair of History
33, I. Kudri str., City of Kyiv, Ukraine

THE EXPERIENCE OF TIME (REPETITION) IN HISTORY

Predeina M. Yu.

In some periods of time history is made, in others – people get to experience it, experience what has been already made, and what has been already made begins to become a subject of thought and emotion. Such events cause time duplication to occur, a phenomenon of two time layers overlapping, as in the title of a well-known Karl Marx's work "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte", so it is absolutely impossible to certainly make a statement which time is real: if we consider that the real is *actionable* and producing, could it be that the Eighteenth Brumaire is in fact not more real and producible then Louis Bonaparte? Isn't it or rather the shadow of Napoleon Bonaparte standing behind him creates six million voices of peasants for Louie's nephew? – Karl Marx's well-known work is rather unhistorical in a sense that it looks into repetition, repetition of experience, experiencing history like work-classes of people passing from the picture: peasants want to re-create Napoleon Bonaparte for achieving a goal of defending themselves from repetition of making the same mistake, an unclear mistake that made them, free owners of parcels, quickly sink into debts, but from Marx's perspective it is not a mistake, something that is put them into debts, but rather a historical necessity. Marx makes a bet on the creation of history. – I think I wouldn't be mistaken considering the influence that his work had on the 20th century, that Marx awoke our interest in comedy and tragedy of repetition, he made us up to date with Hegel's phrase "History repeats itself twice". Marx begins the "Eighteenth Brumarie" with a reference to Hegel, but he can not remember where Hegel said such phrase – "*somewhere*" – writes Marx. I am not setting myself a goal of finding an unfound phrase, I'm going to mention that in the "Logic of the Science"

trying to find the answer to the question "Where should we begin science?", Hegel says that in order to move forward you have to take a step back. Or if I directly quote Hegel: "Moving forward means *going back* to our *origins*, to *your initial* and *true state*, because that decides where we are going to start and that is what gives birth to a new beginning"[1]. – *Moving forward is in fact moving backwards*. Abstracting ourselves from the logical arguments that Hegel proclaimed, I will ask you the following: where did he get his feeling? Even though everyone saw Hegel as an "emotionless" person his works are definitely not lacking emotion, his unusual for an uninitiated person language helps him express his personal emotional stress, one may even say for a confession. People who knew Hegel felt that, Heine for example (you could look up what Deirdre Lucacs in his work called "Young Hegel and the problems of the capitalist society").

Feeling of repetition is born within two times, in *between-the-time*, described within two structures: "not yet" and "no longer" – Hegel's time was exactly *that time*. If Marx had already found out that 1848 began a new era, an era of laboring revolutions, then Hegel lives in a time where what Marx said was "not yet…", but also the French revolution for Hegel is already "no longer…". When you live between-the-time you have nothing to do except experiencing the same thing that you have already done, but this experience turns into farce easily (Marx mentions that for the first time history plays out as a tragedy, for the second time as a farce which is definitely not pointless) – Just like farce with tragedy elements, tragifarce, there was a series of obtrusive efforts to repeat the French revolution in the years of restoration, that was attempted by a group of Italian revolutionists in a motion picture by Taviani brothers called "Onwards, sons of motherland! (Allonsanfan in French) *"We came either too late or too early"*[2] – says Fulvio, a character in the movie to himself, but he actually says it with his dead companions mouth, who was killed by Fulvio himself, so he could escape fulfilling his duty. – In a film by Taviani brothers we could see the phrase that we are going to hear a lot of times in the future: *"Too early – too late"*.

The life of Deleuze in a monumental work "Motion Picture" describes cinematography of Louis Bunuel as the *cinematography of repetition*. "In Bunuel's work we can see the replacement of entropy with

[1] Гегель Г. В. Ф. Наука логики. М.: Мысль, 1970, т. 1, с. 127.
[2] «Вперёд, сыны отечества!» (Allonsanfan, реж. братья Тавиани, 1974), 74-я минута.

the concept of a cycle or the infinite reversion" (but such infinite reversion that will break the vicious circle, free itself from the circle, and stop being eternal) "But isn't the repetition powerful enough to go beyond the boundaries of its cycles and "jump over" to the other side of good and evil? The repetition is destroying us, but it could also save us, and give us a chance to quit another repetition»[3]. – Louis Bunuel – is an unusual producer, who is known for his long life in cinematography: between his «Andalusian dog» and «Golden age», on the one hand, and for example «Humble charm of bourgeoisie», on the other hand, not only one epoch stands. However, it is even more interesting to ask a question: in which moment does repetition enter his works? «Golden Age», which was shot in 1930, has a feeling of the approaching threat, a threat of fascism, a threat that shows itself with a drum-roll, although there is no repetition, maybe history is moving in a wrong way, but at least it is going forward. Perhaps, it was the first time that repetition showed itself with such clearance[4]. Repetition shows itself in the «Angel of Destruction», which was shown in 1962 and we could also hear such words: the *week-will*. – *«We have to use all the strengths to overcome this week-will»[5],* – says one of the guests, a doctor, the guests who have been invited to dinner and they are realizing that they can not exit the dining room. They do not have the will to do it. «Let's all stop talking for a couple of minutes, group up and we will use all of our will to try and exit»[6], – says the ill-fated host of the dinner. But nothing else! – Our world that is chained with week will, the world that is resentful from its week will, the world that is ready to show the will only to make a sacrifice for its week will, – the guests who are ready to kill the host. However, all of a sudden one of the guests says: «How much places have we changed during this terrible eternity. We were thousands of different chess combinations, and now we are playing our own roles and recreating the same events of that evening.»[7]. *Let's go! Everyone, follow me!* So they finally leave. However, Deleuze's optimism is too early: yes, they finally manage to leave, but only to get stuck again in a church after a thankful praying for their great rescue. – Bunuel also leaves no hope for the viewer in the "Humble charm of bourgeoisie", where two bourgeoisie families who constantly visit each other to have

[3] Делёз Ж. Кино. М.: Ад Маргинем, 2004, т. 1 «Кино 1: Образ-движение», с. 195.
[4] В «Виридиане», 1961-ый, мотив повтора всё же дан намёком.
[5] Ангел истребления (по исп. *El ángel exterminador*, реж. Луис Бунюэль, 1962), 33-я минута.
[6] Ibidem – 36-я минута.
[7] Ibidem – 83-84-я минуты.

dinner together never sit at the table to eat, this problem will never find its solution, even their death will not be their salvation, because it seems that they are immortal. It seems like the happiest ending to this story is a terrorist with a gun, who has broken into the dining room, but unfortunately he was just a dream of one of the sad guests. – *Does anybody here have their will?*

It seems like something that separates Bunuel's works into stages also separates cinematography as a whole into two stages, – cinematography of wars and revolutions is the cinematography of *action*, *creating history*, for example, in Eisenstein's work history is definitely "*made*", it is the cinematography of calmness, calmness that has already come, it is only realizable with time as its long-lasting, ongoing state, it is the cinematography of repetitive experience of the former history, it is the reflection of the former history. It is possible that if we ignore some indecision we could clearly see that repetition is represented by a way out, especially if no one could find another way to find a way out. –We could see the same repetition being used in Taviani brother's film «Onwards, sons of motherland!»: Fulvio-senior had lost faith in everything, he does not have any energy left to believe in his beliefs, but on the other hand, his nephew, who has the same name as his older brother (a clear example of repetition being used in the film), Fulvio-junior experiences the world with a thoughtful look that more reminds us of a judge then of a child: what has caught his eye? What judgment did he make? What kind of path did he form for us? We expect the repetition from that boy, and maybe with that repetition he will find a way out. – It is interesting to know that Taviani brothers in their film which was shot in 1974 re-created the years of the Restoration and they did it in a very modern way, the film does not look like a «historical picture» at all. – Now we could feel exactly what Hegel felt, but what Hegel felt after Marx's dream could only be described as finding repetition for the sake of discovering a way of achieving that dream.

And finally, to finish our long-lasting introduction: why did I choose cinematography? – It is because cinematography is no longer considered as only a form of entertainment, it has become something «intellectual» (I'm quoting Deleuze here) and with that he saved his *emotions*, feelings in his «intellectual» variants. And we could feel that strong emotion during two or more hours, so if I would refer to one of famous creators, it *«emotionally touches»* for a couple of days, especially if we are talking

about books, writers had a lot of time to express exactly what they wanted, but if we are talking about films it is an entirely different thing because a film has to do the same in only a couple of hours, in that aspect cinematography shows a lot of efficiency. – Just as the same author said, the author of the words about «emotional touching»: «Circus and cinematography are the most important forms of art for us».

I. – Too early, too late

«Too early – too late» – is a film by Jean-Marie Straub and Daniel Yue shot in 1981, it places the viewer between two times at once: we can *hear* Danielle Yue voice reading letters from Engels to Kautsky, which were written in 1889 mentioning the Great French Revolution; we can *see* the French provinces where Engels gave Kautsky statistics in 1789, they see them just as we can see them now, that means that they see them at present time, in 1981; *we ourselves* do not really know in which time we are because there is no contradiction between our ears and our eyes, our ears hear about poverty, and our eyes see it, but only when our ears hear the unusual *«in seneschal»,* our pedantic brain stars to reminds us «this is not about our present time». – To be exact, this film has even more than two times, and only our limitation makes us think that there are only two of them, – times even overlap each other in Engels's letter, and in that letter there are also more than two times. The easiest problem to solve is the one with the formal reasoning of the letter: Engels reacts to Karl Kautsky's article, which was published in «Neue Zeit», probably to the anniversary of the French Revolution, Engels criticizes Karl Kautsky because his article has every common flaw that anniversary articles usually have, articles that are usually written dedicated to some occasion, which means they are written superficial and without any actual detail. However, the statistic, which concludes a big part of Straub's and Yue's film is borrowed by Engels from «the best work about peasants», which was written by Nikolai Kireev in Russian in 1879, and a question arises: why all of the sudden and what for Kireev started working on the «issue about peasants» just right at the French revolution eve? To put a question means to answer it: therefore, the *French* «issue about peasants» was actualized for *Russian*. – First of all, Marx and Engels got interested in Kareev's work because of the land rent, and secondly, they were learning

about the Russian revolutionists' movement, – it turns out that not only times overlap, but revolutions as well.

First five minutes of the film it turns us around the Bastillian square, it spins us to giddiness, – I'm not sure that it is exactly the Bastillian square because I'm kind of a stay-at-home person, but if we think about it logically we definitely should be there. If I'm mistaken – then it is only worse for the facts. All of that time that we are turning and spinning around until our vision gets blurry, the voice of Danielle Yue manages to keep up with the speed of frames rapidly changing, he slowly reads: «It turns out that bourgeois have shown their cowardliness once again, just as they always do, they are too weak to defend their beliefs; starting with Bastille plebs had to do all their work for them; without their interference on the fourteenth of July, from fifth-sixth of October to the tenth of August, the second of September, etc. ancien régime would definitely defeat bourgouise, the coalition made a union with The Royal Court and would supress the revolution it would the only way for plebs to accomplish their revolution»[8]. *«Just as always».* We should feel giddiness from spinning around a circle, but not only from our successes, but also «just as always», but that «just as always» could only be understood in a context of 1830 and 1848 years, where the July Revolution and the February revolution took place. – Just in case: French people had their own February revolution. – We see a black screen soon after that, which is followed by Yue reading Kareev's statistics.

«Just as always» also has a different name *«too early-too late»*: the movement begins *«too early»*, when we do not have an understanding what our goal is, and understanding comes to us *«too late»*, when there is no movement and our goals are replaced with exhaustion. – On the twenty fourth minute of the film the camera turns to a scene somewhere in a French province, where at the edge of the village, somewhere near the roadway, with a slogan that says «The peasants will rise again!» While our eyes can see the wall, our ears hear the following phrase: «The formula of «welfare for all is based on labor» – this quote was too precise to describe the motivation of plebs *brotherhood* at that time period. No one knew what they wanted for a long time after the commune had fallen, and Babeuf did not want to put it into a certain form. If the commune with its ambition to join the brotherhood spoke out too early, while Babeuf, in

[8] Энгельс Ф. Карлу Каутскому, 20 февраля 1889 г. // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1965, т. 37, с. 126.

his turn, came too late»[9]. – But if the Commune spoke out too early, that means that it was the reality, and reality always comes too early, when Babeuf was only a speculation, a speculation that was striving to be fulfilled in farce «The conspiracy of the equals», even if he saved himself from the farce, he paid the price of his partners lives, who were executed by the government. Should we mention that Babeuf is a tragic figure of the French revolution, tragic because he had to realize that «I came too late»? Isn't this what he realized when he, got released from prison in 1795, forms a conclusion that «in order to reeducate our people who are in devotion to freedom we need more than just to conquer it»? – These words that I have remembered were said by Babeuf and they definitely set the tone to the phrase that we have just heard, but what shadow does Babeuf's figure throw back on such slogan?

We have time to think about that: Yue will finish reading his words and camera will hold this slogan in our sight for three more minutes, the viewer is going to look at it and hear the noises of cars speeding by. Does it bother the invisible, but noisy cars that are passing by in complete indifference right past the slogan, giving him a judgment of «too late»? – Repetitions include each other like a matryoshka, doesn't it promise that another repetition will break the circle of repetitions to end the «infinite reversion»? However, *who* will break the circle of repetition? While discussing repetitions we almost forgot that repetitions aren't made by someone, they are made just like a desired repetition, that will end all repetition isn't a gift from the heavens, *someone* need to create it. *Who?* – The film by Straub and Yue discovers the *absence* of someone, or we were to say it in a philosophical language, it discovers the absence of subject, literally the absence of such word – in the film, precisely in its first French part (there is a second Egyptian part), there is *no* people, no one. – We hear cars passing by, but we do not see people, it is like people do not exist on such abandoned land, trying to skip it as fast as they could. For this deserted, abandoned land it is *«too late»*, there are no people left on it.

II. – Comedians

«Comedians», a film by Theo Angelopoulos, shot in 1975, is a fiction film, and the producer finds another methods to show the viewer how two

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[9] Энгельс Ф. Карлу Каутскому, 20 февраля 1889 г. // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1965, т. 37, с. 127.

time layers overlap each other – he does not split two time layers between two main receptors in the human body that are used while viewing the film, them being hearing and eyesight, but he rather fills one street with two times, that's why you will need time to adapt to the film. Let's assume that we appeared on the street where we felt two different states, happiness and sadness, enthusiasm and despair, at that exact moment we are walking past that house, we are walking in current time, but right as we get to the next corner we discover that current time for us has changed, we are seeing and hearing, we are experiencing what had already *happened* here, that is exactly happens in Angelopoulose's film, we join the main heroes as they walk into the street in 1952, we could hear elections slogan's of some general being shouted through the loudspeaker and suddenly we are travelling ten years back in time and through the same loudspeaker we could hear an announcement that doctor Gebbels has arrived. This is unexpected for us, but not for the heroes, this is the time that we need to adapt to the movie, – this is the time that we need to acquire a luggage of memories, that in the first frame of the film heroes already have, but we don't. Angelopoulose's film is structured vice versa, in a lineal storytelling first frame should be the last, and the last should be the first. «In Autumn of 1952 we went back to Aegion, we stayed as the same troupe, also we are very exhausted and we have not slept for two days»[10], – The off-screen voice says after the curtain is lifted up for the first time, just as we get to see the troupe, that is slowly concentrating on a square that is located near the railway station (We could have easily mistaken Aegion's square that is near the railway station for the regional centre square that is also located near the railway station.) *«We still remain as the same troupe a little bit»*. However, how less is a little bit? The first frame of the film immediately ruins the intrigue, we see who managed to survive, but what we are seeing at that exact moment gives us nothing as we do not know their names and who these people are. Strictly saying, if we were to answer the question of *«How less?»* we could only answer that after the last frame, where the off-screen voice will read these words: «In Autumn of 1939 we went back to Aegion, we stayed as the same troupe, also we are very exhausted and we have not slept for two days»[11]. It is the same square near the railway station, and the only thing that changed is the troupe, and only in the last frame we realize *what* price has the troupe paid for these years. – This

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[10] Комедианты (О Θίασος, реж. Тео Ангелопулос, 1975), 3-я минута.
[11] Ibidem – 221-я минута.

amount of time that we get to experience in the film is the amount of time that we need to fully get attached to the troupe and understand the last frame to the point where we could switch places with the characters – in the first frame the characters of the film already had what we did not – a luggage of memories, but in the last frame the characters are free of that luggage of memories, but we are heavily affected by them, we feel tears on our eyes when the characters do not have a reason to cry yet.

In Angeloupouse's film two plays are being played out, they repeat each other, – we could see the cinematography of repetition here as well, just like it is in Bunuel's works. – When you hear the word *comedians* you probably think about two loud actors, glitters and tinsels, that is just as wrong as imagining Greece as a warm and luxurious southern county, in a lot of the frames we could see piercing wind and sometimes even snow falling down, glitter and tinsel do not separate us from the comedians, there are no glitters and tinsels, and even if they are comedians they are comedians, they are only comedians in a sense that we are all comedians, one way or another living our life. They are comedians in a sense that August Octavian has inlayed in his words: «If we played good, then applaud us and tell us good advice on our way back». – The first play – is the play that they are performing, it is a play about an unwanted love of a shepherd girl named Golfa; there is no need to say, that the play is the same each time, but the hall and what happens around the hall, sometimes it is the howl of bombers, sometimes its Germans, or something else. The second play – is the play where they live, we do not realize it at first but the life of characters in the film is also a repetition – of some old play that was performed a long time ago, only the names of the brother *Orestes* and his sister *Electra* give us a hint. –We are not present at the pastoral of Golfa, we are present on the «Orestes» of Aeschylus. In the decisive moment we realize, that «Orestes», or to be exact its second part, *«Sacrifice on the Tombstone»*, where two plays intertwine: Orestes appears on the stage where the play about Golfa is being performed just to shoot her mother and her lover two times, to shoot the traitors, that have denounced to the Germans that he had left to join the guerilla, and in revenge they have shot his father. Should we mention what Electra told Orestes about family relationships? – It is an old story, which intellectuals have used to analyze fatherhoods law victory against motherhoods, it actualizes and repeats itself to a new form, and there is a

very small chance that someone will see the problem between fatherhoods and motherhoods law in it, in it we could hear something that Aeschylus did not have – a small human being, a father that does not look like Atrid, who is proud of his fame, who is the ruler of husbands of Agamemnon, he is thin and puny, but nonetheless he is more of an Ellada's son then Atrid is, he is more connected to his home land and maybe even to that never-ending play that is being performed on that earth. – «I am from Ionia, where are you from?»[12] – Father asks the Germans, as he is being shot. For some reason he does not find this as important as it is. – There is *Agamemnon*, there is a Sacrifice on the Tombstone, but there is no Eumenids, there is no Athena, there is no upper instance which if not sets the justice, then it sets the law, it sets something *what* is the law and of course what is not considered the law, let me remind you that if Orestes was taking his revenge on Klitenmenstra for taking Agamemnon's usurped priorities, Klitenmenstra was taking her revenge on Agamemnon for taking downtrodden law from Iphigenia, one law against another, Athena decided *which* of the injustices (justices) was the law, and which is not, even if she does not reconcile both sides, she will set peace upon them, norm that we should obey, even if we have to close our hearts.

Aeshcylus's Orestes needed Athena, but Angeloupouse's Orestes did not, but that's why there is absolutely no chance for peace here, there may be strife and victory, but definitely not peace. Aeshcylus's Orest promises Athena to obey her and ends this story, it is not important what the verdict will be, this verdict will end strife and disagreement and will law and norm upon everyone, and the choir's prophecy which was told at the beginning will come true:

> «Through suffering and pain
> Zeus will lead mankind to intelligence
> To intelligence he leads.
> Persistently remembering our suffering
> At night, while sleeping, it hurts our hearts
> Against ours sharp mind's will.
> Heavens don't know the meaning of mercy
> Strength is Gods greatest mercy»[13].

However, *our* Orestes does not need to be educated about intelligence, he rejects the God's law just as he would reject the law of

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[12] Ibidem – 75-я минута.
[13] Эсхил. Агамемнон // Трагедии. М.: Искусство, 1978, с. 188.

some higher instance, such as English and American people when they replaced the Germans, educating him is a motive that is perfectly represented by Jean-Marie Straub and Daniel Yue in their film *«From darkness to rebellion»*, – the events of the film take place on the same earth, the earth of Ellada and Italy, from time to time, from generation to generation, rebellion breaks out more and one question arises: Why did we as people let Gods to appropriate these rights?

Too early – too late. How could you live without it? If the concept of «too early – too late» did not exist, then maybe this kind of cinematography wouldn't exist, it is the cinematography that emerges us into emotional stress, into experiencing the repetition of time. «The air of freedom is in the air. Onwards! And let's all cry from the bottom of our lungs: Onwards! Onwards! Let the slaves rise once again, let them come to life!»[14] – the crowd sings on the square after liberation, and in the sky over the crowd flags are waving, all of them, soviet, American, Greece. This is also repetition, but it's more likely that it's the French repetition of 1789, 1830 and 1848. We could read what Engels is writing and Yue is reading: «But that (here he talks about the French Revolution's success because of the plebs – M.P.) would be impossible if the *plebs* would not contribute to the bourgeoisie's demands such meaning, that was not there, if they would not make final decisions about equality or about the brotherhood, and if they wouldn't turn bourgeoisie's slogans upside down because these slogans turned into their exact opposition. The brotherhood and equality of *plebs* could only be a dream back then, when people were discussing about creating something *completely opposite* to them and just as always, just as irony in history goes, the plebeian understanding of revolutionist's slogans became the most powerful impulse to achieve the opposition: *bourgeoisie's* equality in front law and the brotherhood – in exploitation»[15]. – If we were discussing about Greece's opposition, it was lead by the plebeian understanding of equality and brotherhood, but it was not the plebs who have appropriated the benefits of their victory, just as victory was prevailed it was possessed by the *titleholder* – bourgeois and its allies, to be exact: Marshall Papagos, whose aristocratic opposition against Germans, his royalist contumacy were converted into the leading post. Plebs went from victors to criminals. «Long live Marshall Papagos!

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[14] Комедианты (О Θίασος, реж. Тео Ангелопулос, 1975), 107-я минута.
[15] Энгельс Ф. Карлу Каутскому, 20 февраля 1889 г. // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1965, т. 37, с. 126-127.

If we do not want to see violent gangs with sickles and hammers roaming our streets, if we don't want a new Red October, then we should all unite and support the marshal… Long live the *national* forces!», – this is what we hear on the fourth minute of the film, this is what the characters of the movie hear through the loudspeaker when they are in Egion. On the six minute of the movie when they come to a another corner, they hear the same speech while being in a different cast: «Tomorrow the minister of the Third Reich's propaganda doctor Gebbel's will come to our city, the national youth organization invites you to meet him, we require you to be dressed in a flawless suit». – Just as always, just as irony in history always plays out, the plebs contributed amazing efforts to gain absolutely nothing, and that's what Angelopoulos manages to greatly represent with the help of a loudspeaker and constant noise changing. – The protest where under every flag people sang about the wind of freedom quickly changed to strife and street fights: «We are going to destroy palaces and thrones, heavy chains of captivity, emblems and law, living like this should be drowned in blood!»[16]. An interesting Greece song that we could hear as repetition: «We are denying the old world, we will shake off its ashes from our feet...».

And even thought we are *too late* as always, in Angelopoulose's film there is someone who is going to repeat history and maybe he will break the cycle of repetitions, if we were to say this in philosophical language, subject, or if we simplify it: a human. – Orestes and Electra never give up even though they carry a heavy burden on their shoulders, he will be someone who could start everything over, he would revert time to something that once motivated Orestes and Electra to move forward. –A *child* – A child that must make an important choice is very common in mythological history; Angelopoulos leads us to that child in the film just like he leads us to everything in the film – gradually. – Neither Orestes nor Elektra have children, but their sister has a child. Elektra's sister, just like Antigona's sister evades family matters, a matter of dignity, she gets married with an American officer. We can ignore the fact that this American officer or even a noncommissioned officer is a paradigmal figure for cinematography that leads us to the years of occupation either of Greece or Germany. (I am mentioning the occupation of Greece with consideration of past events of the Red October, when allies stood de-

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[16] Комедианты (Ο Θίασος, реж. Тео Ангелопулос, 1975), 114-я минута.

facto to one side of the barricade with people from which they were liberating Greece with pro-fascist forces)

An American officer that gets control of our woman, either Greece or German, and by taking our woman they are emasculating our man. One of the most important decisions of that theme belongs to Reiner Werner Fassbinder in the film «The Marriage of Maria Brown»: When Maria's *husband* came back home from captivity, he peeks into their slightly opened *bedroom* door just to see a black noncommissioned officer trying to engage in a contact with his wife, and when the door opens wide, either by him or the draft that's howling around, the first thing that her husband does is he rushes to the bedside table, grabs an *American* cigar and smokes it greedily. – Angelopoulose's American officer is just like all of them are – very naive, and he doesn't realize in what metaphysical tragedy has he got himself into, even the Germans are more likely to answer the father's quote then he is: «I am from Ionia, where are you from?». His American officer is a representation of money and landlessness, but not in a form of landlessness peasants, it's a representation of the quote «Money doesn't have an owner» opposing the quote «There is no land without an owner». I'm going to mention that everything that concerns owner's attachment to the land is the same attachment that peasants have, the land in fact owns them, just like Proust have noticed, you could find materials either in German duchess or in François, who is his Proust's servant. – Husband of Maria Brow rushed to smoke an American cigar, but Electra's and Orestes's son didn't even touch anything at the wedding table, he didn't even reached his hand to his mother's American husband, that kindly said: «Hey, little guy!». His son chose Electra. – The marriage scene is the most heartwarming and lighthearted scene of the movie, it's the first time we see the warm sea, sun shining and for the first time we hear lighthearted music playing, but for all of that they had to pay the price of rejecting their battle, the price of selling themselves to those who have killed Orestes. The earth and the sun do not belong to Ellada just yet, they need to be conquered and fought for just like his grandfather, Orestes and Elektra did. This is the path that their son chooses.

III. –Last Summer in Marienbad

Alain Resnais is mainly a producer of films that are based on politics, but we could see the repetition in his non-political film «Last Summer in

Marienbad», which was shot in 1961. – Alain Resnais was making films about Genrike and Hiroshima, two cities that were affected by the *experimental* bombardments. «*Try* to calm an animal that feels that death is coming. Go ahead and *try* to explain to the mother why her son has died. *Try* gain peoples trust you when everything is on fire»,[17] – Reads the off-screen voice while in the films we could see frames of Pablo Picasso's «Genrika», that tries to run away, that tries to set herself free from people's hands, neighboring with who became dangerous, innocent, uninvolved horse, a mother with a dead child, a man who got to be responsible for children and woman by traditions and who is unable to protect them, a man whose hands are tied to the ceiling of the basement, where a lamp swings on the ceiling. Death makes humans and animals equal. In Genrike and in Hiroshima people have run into something that they can't even fight against it, it's something that easily wins over them, even if there are survivors in Hiroshima, they are only *temporarily alive*. – We see frames of doctors helping those who have been burnt by the nuclear fire, doctors who making hard operations on those who are alive but have been already destined to die. These doctors do these things even if they are pointless, they are doing to save our *human* society, to support human relationships, even if they don't really matter after what happened. People try to seek help and help each other as it still matters if they help each other or not. Soldiers carry injured people on stretchers, doctors operate the, – people still have interest in each other and they are socializing, they still have relationships between each other even thought the civilization just collapsed right in front of them. «*Try to gain their trust, when everything is on fire*» – reads the off-screen voice and we see a helpless man, who is just like the horse rushes into the despair. «*Try it…*» – is a verdict, this is the death of the subject that we were talking about, that we were creating all this time, who we were educating with politic brochures, manifests and protests. If the destruction of Gernike was an experiment about the effectiveness of using fire-based demolition bombs against citizens, that experiment had one more interesting aftermath that could be summarized as this question: «What is our politic line worth against a bomb?». «*Try it…*» is addressed to the Spanish republican, not the German pilot. – It seems that in «Gernike», which was shot in 1950, Alain Resnais doesn't know the answer just yet, more specifically, his

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[17] Герника (Guernica, реж. Ален Рене, 1950), 8-я минута.

answer doesn't go over the lines of his moral imperative: «Under Gernike's dead oaks, in Gernike's ruins, under the clear skies of Gernike a man returns holding a bleating goat and a dove on his heart. He sings the song of uprising for the people, he is thankful for love and he denies anger»,[18] – Reads the off-screen voice as we see another Pablo Picassos work, it is the repetition of Greece's «Moshofor», a man who is carrying calf, who is in peasant's vision is an antic anticipation of Christ. –Yes, it's an uprising. And yes, it is the purity. «Purity will defeat all crimes», – concludes the voices. Gernika will win because it was pure. But Hiroshima wasn't pure. – That is exactly why «My love, Hiroshima» which was shot in 1959, is Alain Resnais's new understanding of this problem in my opinion. Purity is not a condition; it happens that Genrike was on the right side, and Hiroshima was on the wrong side. When the camera shows us the protest, and the off-screen voice reads: «The anger of the whole city is targeted against discrimination from one nation to another, does not matter if we are admitting it or not. It is against racism from one race to another. It is against discrimination from one class to another.»,[19] – Could we ask what was «Japan doing in Asia?» – ? – The answer is of course going to be no. When we see soldiers carrying injured people on stretches, could we ask «Have they been to China and Korea?» – ? Of course we couldn't. No, because a new subject has been already born, a new subjectivity, if we mean a kind of disseminated ability to be a subject, its dissemination between people, people who are still going to engage in human relationships in a time where human interactions and relationships lost their sense, and those who continued to engage in those relationships showed other people that relationships aren't pointless. – That bomb destroyed all relationships, the rushing horse freed itself and ran away, but people stayed and fulfilled her duty.

«Last Summer in Marienbad» – is a non-political motion picture, it is a film of illusions, it is the same illusion *as* Hiroshima, Hiroshima that was seen by the main heroine of the movie, a French girl, an actress *«just like when you are in love*, an illusion appears, an illusion that you will never forget, and that's exactly what happened to me, that's how I see Hiroshima, just like I see love»,[20] just like in my vision of Hiroshima:

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[18] Герника (Guernica, реж. Ален Рене, 1950), 11-12-я минуты.
[19] Хиросима, любовь моя (Hiroshima mon amour, реж. Ален Рене, 1959), 11-я минута.
[20] Ibidem – 9-я минута.

Could we ever deny the fact that these doctors, these soldiers, all of this people did not know about what going to happen, they did not know that they are only temporarily alive, maybe their biggest fear was not the bombs or the diseases caused by radiation, maybe they were in fear of being scolded by the government?» – In «Marienbad» We do not know and we will never know what was an illusion, what happened last summer, we will never know if that man actually loved this woman last summer, have they planned a meeting this summer or not, he says «yes», but she, he remembers everything to the smallest details, but she does not remember anything (Or maybe she is too afraid to remember?). Just like in love an illusion appears, an illusion also appears in history, and that's an illusion that we will never forget. The fact that he remembers everything could mean that nothing happened. – Events take place in a hotel which has been and old castle before, more like a baroque mansion, a hotel that is not located at a point in time, it's an oasis of an old world, where time doesn't exist: She is not the only one who can not remember what happened, but there is also two gentleman who can not remember if light frosts were on last summer or on the summer that was before the last, either in twenty eighths or twenty ninth, they always talk about the same thing and they forget about it every time. It is so strange that the twenty ninth and that castle, that castle and the historical time, a giant crisis or the Great Depression. – Time disappeared for that castle just like that castle disappeared in time. «In a speechless castle, where sounds of footsteps are absorbed by giant, heavy rugs, that are so thick and heavy that any sound of footsteps is immediately absorbed, just like if our ears could walk through this hallway, these galleries, these buildings of some different period in time…»[21]. In this buildings of some different period in time, in these living rooms of some different period of time, these labyrinth of French geometric gardens, there you absolutely can't get lost, but it's very easy to lose your way, the past disappears just like it disappears in labyrinths of libraries, in endless tomes of interpretations. Just like those two gentleman don't know when these light-frosts were, they hope to find this information in a newspaper, but I can't believe that they will find out how she begins to forget him, if she even knew him last summer, because we will never find out about the past, we will never find out what happened in the twenty ninth, and that means we won't know what

[21] Прошлым летом в Мариенбаде (L'Annee derniere a Marienbad, реж. Ален Рене, 1961), 2-я минута.

happened before that. – Did she even love him last summer? It's not important; What is important is if she is going to go away with this in mind: if she is going to go away with him this summer, that means that his words «we loved each other and promised to meet again next year and never get separated again». And these words would be the truth, even if they were just an illusion, by deception of his memory, if she does not go out with him that means that these words will be a lie, even if they were already said. Illusion becomes the truth in motion, illusion becomes reality as much as it creates reality. «Wasn't the great Moloch ruling here?» – asked young doctor Marks, who has critiquing typical representation of reality. If the illusion is bad it is definitely not because it's an illusion, but because it confuses us in endless corridors, it forces us to make the same mistaken again, just like French peasants did with Louis Bonaparte, and even then the illusion doesn't become worse, it is just not an illusion anymore if it helps us to free ourselves from the endless corridors, if it rewinds time for us and gives us a chance to have effect on it. – She leaves the castle along with him, when they finally find an answer to the question of repetition.

What Deleuze says about Bunuel's cinematography, or to be precise Resnais' cinematography, and Resnais definitely relies on repetition's productivity, and repetition in Resnais's work is a tool that turns illusion into reality. – In *between-the-time* we would be too self-confident, if we thought that our theories, our political lines are at least somewhat true to reality, and we can not rely on the past, because the past either lost our the faithfulness of what was real, something that we have already done, or to be exact, what we are still doing, or maybe it never had that faithfulness in the first place, while it was always existing for us, who were born too late, like a destiny, like a legend, a heroic legend. «No one would approve my opinion about Spain. I don't even like it myself» – says Diego, we will call him Diego because he has too many names, he is a Spanish communist, he is middle-aged and a hero of a movie called «The War is over» which was shot by Alain Resnais in 1966. "Oh, longsuffering Spain! Heroic Spain! I am so fed up with all of this; Spain became a conscience for everyone, a myth for retired warriors. Nowadays there are 14 million tourists visiting it. Spain is heaven for people who are spending their holiday there and it is a legend about civil war. And I'm also very fed with the theatre of Lorca, I'm tired of its village dramas! And stop it

with the legends! I have never been to Teruel, I didn't not participate in the battle near the Ebro»[22]. – «The war is over» – Resnais talks about Spain one more time, and at first sight this movie is completely opposite to «Genrike» – as a legend about Spain, and «Marienbad» as a legend as a whole, Diego want to free himself from the world of the illusions, he want to get to the real Spain, not a dream of thirty sixth, but to the reality of sixty fifth, but if we look closely we could see that all of the relationships in the movie are based on legends, dreams, illusions, and that means that legends could be productive. In some type of way Diego frees himself from the hands of illusions, he ruins his relationships with others, with his friends, but without these relationships it is impossible to really do something for Spain. – If fourteen million tourists bothers us, that means that the dream of thirty sixth, on the contrary is it that bad that fourteen million people couldn't ask themselves «Is the government there democratic?» Before going there to spend their holidays near the see? – «In Spain there is a revolution that has been going a quarter of a century revolution going, but tourism is still the best source of income for the government, nowadays millions of people think that Spain is a normal country and they only associate with sweet memories that they got while spending their holiday there, this is a dangerous factor for politic mystification, and the activity of the European anti-fascist is slowly fading away. This is why we should have an impact on tourism!»[23] – says the young revolutionist, a terrorist, but unlike Diego who is Spanish, he is French. What brought them together? Nadine is a daughter of an engineer who gave Diego his passport so he could travel to Spain, but most importantly – «quarter of a century revolution situation» or just an illusion about that situation, strictly saying, we don't know if that situation exists there and even people who live there don't know if it actually exists, and we won't know if it's real unless we will start acting like that situation actually exist.

That means that the situation that we are currently in is the same situation that happened in «Marienbad», we do not know if we loved each other last summer, it is uncertain if we were waiting to meet each other during the year, we also don't know if the Spain revolution even happened, we do not know if its going to wait quarter of a century for us, my memory could have easily tricked us, I could've liked her and thought

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[22] Война окончена (La guerre est finie, реж. Ален Рене, 1966), 44-я минута.
[23] Ibidem – 103-я минута.

that we loved each other, my political line could've tricked me… but she went out with me! – Diego travels to Spain one more time (using someone else's passport) so he could do something which he was trying to prove that wasn't actually possible for the last couple of days, which we, the viewers were witnessing for the last couple of days. Does he believe in repetition? It is unimportant, we do not know what is going to happen in the future, but he believes in human relationships, brotherhoods, that was born by who? Maybe vision of what is real changes: reality isn't a true fact, and human relationships, revolutionists Spain exist because people exist, that act like it actually exists, people, whose brotherhood is based on it, and it is very important to acknowledge that this is what produces, creates it in our reality. This something could be an illusion, but that illusion could be productive because it produces human relationships, and we need to evaluate this illusion based on its production of relationships, if we look at this from the point if the relationships that were produced could free themselves from the bewitched circle, their love in Marienbad could be a mistake that was created by his memory, but it helped them to find a way to quit the castle, and the light-frosts on the twenty ninth could also be a mistake or maybe it isn't a mistake, but they are unproductive either way, because they don't lead us anywhere, they leave both gentlemen in an enchanted castle, and the revolutionist Spain could also be just a legend, but it creates relationships that let us to take action on some events, and the movie has a clear ending scene – the *beginning of a new action.*

IV – Yearning; Instead of Imprisoning

We saw how relationships are being made; maybe they are made based on illusion, relationships in which children are involved, in a literal and metaphorical sense, because those who was taking action, children, like Ramon, another character of the film «The War is over», that has never been to Spain, he is a son of those who fought there, nowadays he is already an adult even thought he is clumsy and he is still a big dreamer in heart, because his dream about Spain is his method of escaping his everyday routine, because his dream about Spain helps him communicate and make new friends, when Ramon's hearts stop beating, we are going to see his friends that have came to say goodbye to him, these people aren't tied by blood, they are tied by something much stronger then blood. – But

what if his heritage is not even an illusion? A film by Rainer Werner Fassbinder «Katzelmacher», which was shot in 1969, it's a yearning film, where there is constant yearning for someone or something that could have *created* relationships; there are people who are standing in line, leaning on the tube that is located along the apartment block, this is a typical representation of our courtyard, they are just like what Marx said about French peasants, their relationship could described as two potatoes in a sack of potatoes, they aren't really waiting for something, it's more like that they are yearning something that will tie them together, something that's going to create a relationship between them. Their yearning can be clearly seen when they lose their patience and they start creating the subject, someone who could connect them together, and that subject turns out to be a stranger, a foreign worker from Greece: first of all because he is renting a room in their apartment complex, and because it is also to give a stranger any characteristics, you could create him with any individuality. «When he appeared I immediately knew that he was a communist» – says a bored young man, who was sitting on a bed after having boring sex. – «From Greece?» – Doubt his words a woman, saying something along the lines of that in a country like Greece there is definitely no communists. – «I read it in a newspaper once, Greece is full of communists», – says the young man who could actually read. – «Really?!» – «It's the truth.» (Pause) «Greece is full of communists.» – The court: «Rosie learned that from François and told me». – «I can't believe that it's the truth». – «I agree. We should avoid him because he could cause us some problems, communists are a real threat to us.» – Bar: «He is a communist, and it is against the law here». – «It should be against the law, he came to our country and turns our he is one of them.» – «It is definitely illegal. We should do something»[24]. – Do something; here they are united by some action. If students who studied together are going to beat up the stranger from Greece, that means that that stranger, who is a communist in their opinion have awoken fascist feelings in them, he tied them together with his fascism methods. But that is definitely not necessary, maybe they will beat him up later because he didn't justify their beliefs, he didn't realize himself as a communist, they won't beat him up right away, they will wait until he will realize himself, and he will never do it. Just as Slavoy Zhizek noticed, fascism is a

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[24] Катцельмахер (Katzelmacher, реж. Райнер Вернер Фассбиндер, 1969), 65-ая минута.

reaction to a an unsuccessful revolution that has never happened, it's the revenge of the revolution because it was unsuccessful, it's the revenge of those who were lead into this road and were dropped half-way thought. They all expect something from the Greek, just like one of the girls, Gunda is the only one who does not have a lover, awaits that she is going to be raped by the Greek, isn't that common in Greece? They all await that that the Greek is going fertilize them, but he is just like all of them – infertile. This misfortune happened because two nothings met. – When Maria, a woman who says that she tied herself in love with the Greek says that «this summer we are going on a trip to Greece». We could feel that this trip is never going to happen just like all of these young people have said. – Let's talk about Fassbinder, for example, Fassbinder is not really demanding, he doesn't demand the truth, he doesn't need us to reach the high peaks in the ending, that this tale would become reality someday, the only thing that he wants is to see this cycle of repetitions finally ending, repetitions that make our stupid and asleep, maybe that's because that movie ended with words that even the German youth, nor the Greek could justify these words: *«Its better to make new mistakes than repeating our old ones again and again»*

SUMMARY

Nowadays cinematography could help us to learn history, or at least learn what made people make important historical decisions, if we aren't assuming that history is just statistic data and «true facts», that means that we need to understand even the illusions of people who are taking action, one way or another in a historical way. Cinematography is a witness of historical events. In the twentieth years of past century a cinematograph by the name of Dziga Vetrov became a new-founder of a new genre of motion pictures, its name already tells us what is it about «The Motion Picture of Truth», «Motion picture-eyes» «A man with a camera», shortly, he did something absolutely new based on past experience of reality-shows, it was without actors, without a scenario, and without decorations. Dziga Vetrov believed that he captures the making of history with his camera and that history is being made in every moment and every action, maybe even in actions of pioneers, that portrait the adult visitors of bar like friends of tuberculosis. The more quietness comes and the realization of that quietness cinematography with fixation of making history is

changing its genre to experiencing the repetition of history that has been already made, and that experience, or if we were to say it in a philosophical language, reflection in history becomes some sort of saving «the connection of times». Maybe cinematography is producing illusions, but its attitude towards illusion changes in that exact period changes, people try to find an illusion hoping that it would re-connect human relationships and connections, that it will give people strength to reach historical time, to re-new the nowadays stale process of creating history. The main contribution to new cinematography and old cinematography was contributed by unknown producers; it was them who came back to the times of revolution in France, Spain and Greece. This is why I chose exactly these films and producers in this article: Jean Marie Straub and Danielle Yue, Theo Angelopoulos, Alain Resnais, Reiner Werner Fassbinder and the others.

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Information about the author:
Predeina M. Yu.
Candidate of Philosophical Sciences,
Senior Lecture at the Department of Philosophy and History,
V. I. Vernadsky Taurida National University,
33, Ivana Kudri str., Kyiv, Ukraine.
E-mail: m.y.predeina@gmail.com

CIVILIZATIONAL CHOICE OF UKRAINE IN 1917-1920: REASONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Popov V. Z.

INTRODUCTION

The study of the structures of everyday life in the past makes possible to evaluate the present day in a different way, its precipitance, and at the same time its connection with other similar days. Each of these days is not an accident, but an integral part of the whole cultural tradition. On the other hand, studying the history of everyday life lets you see the typology where it is most difficult to see, i.e., in specific decisions made in various situations. And then it turns out that history repeats itself because we are changing slowly- not abstract, virtual social structures, but exactly we are, the living people. The history of everyday life proves that people do not move along the same rut, and therefore the inductive path – the path to comprehending the common (ideas about the world of a group of people or the whole society) through an individual (the lives of individuals) – is a very productive way of recreating the life of past centuries.

The category of everyday life includes the scope of public everyday life events, above all, the small private events, during which the people are looking for a ways to adapt to the events of the external world. Everyday life includes all kinds of circumstances of private domestic life, daily routine life in its sense, as well as the emotional side of events and phenomena, the experience of everyday events and everyday circumstances by individuals and groups of people. In a broad meaning, our daily life is an activity to satisfy our needs, the nature of which and the possibility of realization depend not only and not so much on ourselves, but on the nature of the epoch and the level of the socio-economical development of society.

Extreme events disrupt the course of everyday life, although experiencing these events refers to the daily being. However, the recurrence of extraordinary events introduces them into the circle of usual phenomena. An unusual lifestyle, which is not repeated by anyone, can be considered a daily practice for certain categories of citizens.

In the paradigm of the history of everyday life, there is a wide range of possibilities for exploring the specifics of the conception of everyday needs by contemporaries of profound social changes. In the conditions of the political crisis of the Ukrainian society in 1917-1920 citizens tried to keep their lives ordinary in not ordinary conditions, sometimes choosing the most unexpected ways and means. The history of everyday life in this case includes the forms of human behavior in specific conditions, and the survival strategies chosen by them. An extraordinary changes made a normal existence to be a kind of rare privilege. It was a survival that gradually became the main motivation of human behavior. The informative side of survival was the desire to preserve the usual way of life.

Society developed primitive responses to its needs. In extreme conditions, there were certain changes in the behavior of people. In such conditions, people became puppets, who were tugged by real players, which could be biological instincts, economic processes, external orders, results of socialization. And the result of such changes for the further development of society could be completely unexpected.

1. The impact of the social crisis of 1917-1920 on the everyday life

The modern period of Ukrainian history began with the proclamation of the state independence. The first years of state-formation were accompanied by numerous crisis phenomena that directly affected both the society as a whole and its individual layers, and each individual person. Serious experiences endured by our people at the end of the last century brought contemporaries back to the history of its first decades. The actualization of historical memory was due to fact that in the conditions of the restructuring of all spheres of public life, an ordinary citizen had to make a great efforts in realization of his ordinary needs, sometimes that efforts were not less than his compatriot made during the revolution and civil war. In this regard, the experience of previous generations allowed to make a new look at the problems of the present stage of historical development. The consequences of the systemic crisis of 1917-1920 and the nature of the changes that occurred during these years have became a part of our cultural code, and are still affecting the modern Ukrainian society.

The destruction of the usual world, the traditional society and the state led to the devaluation of the values on which the human world of the

previous historical era was based. This process opened the way for a new social reality, which in turn changed all aspects of the existence of an ordinary person and his social environment. The tremendous changes led, among other things, to the disorientation of individual and collective mind. The revolution radically changed social life, which acquired new meanings, and assumed forms that did not exist before.

Under the conditions of a systemic social transformation, the daily life of an ordinary person acquired a special meaning. By tradition, it included a description of a person's position in society and a social group, his needs and the possibilities of their achievements. The concept of everyday life included an individual and collective practices, as well as customs and traditions regulating people's behavior. It included forms of communication, experiences, norms, habits.

Changes in everyday life of ordinary citizens were more intermediated. At the first sight, it was outside of big politics, was an antipode of historical cataclysms. At all times everyday life had a certain degree of autonomy, a strongly marked inertial character, and it tried to protect itself from the pressures of social processes. Any contemporary tried hard to keep the privacy of his own little world. The growth of crisis phenomena has narrowed the people's view of the world. But political events took place on the background of everyday life, in this conditions human destinies were realized. The everyday life was a basic need for human activity, it was a background of the socialization of each person, including a political activists. It reflected all the diversity of social relations that existed in society. It became a link between private and public interests, between routine life and working, between behavior of each individual and events of national importance.

Everyday life in a conditions of a social catastrophe was deprived of its fundamental features. The settled, normative everyday life acquired signs of extraordinary and extreme. In the realities of civil confrontation, fixed in people's minds patterns of behavior based on common sense and life experience, had stopped. Usual algorithms of solving the problems had failed. Daily routine and monotony, so prevalent in usual human being, became an unreachable fantasy. Every new day put a person in front of the need to search for non-standard ways to solve trivial tasks. Realization of needs and interests always appeared to be a personal

104

choice. In an era of crisis, the choice became fateful, life has literally depended on its correctness.

Each historical era formed its own rules of human behavior. Prohibitions and permits were formulated, thereby the borders between the norm of human existence and unacceptable deviation from the norm were established. The features of everyday life depended on the level of human needs and abilities, and was determined by cultural restrictions of a certain social group, cultural normative of a particular era. In 1917-1920 most of the prohibitions were lifted, the line between the norm and pathology became unclear, relative. The level of culture of different social classes was equalized. The daily routine of each era has its own subjective feeling of time. The time acquired an extremely compressed character due to the speed of revolutionary changes. In everyday life, a person daily met with repeated events, processes, deeds. But the conditions of daily human existence were changing so rapidly, and this rapidity was intensified by people's emotional reaction to the changes that were taking place.

The daily life of the population of large cities during crisis acquired a special character. Cities as a product of civilization died as well as the normal life. For urban people, implementation of both sides of everyday life, both technological and mental, was extremely difficult. A lot of efforts and wonders of ingenuity had to be applied to find out the ways to meet everyday needs – what to wear and where to live, how to move, what to use in work, education and leisure, how to take care of health. On the other hand, it was difficult for the townspeople to find a new semantic content for their life, to work out a system of life guidelines – how and why to live, what values to follow, what moral principles to adhere to. The past habits, priorities, tastes was gone. On the peasants social changes were reflected less. The traditionalism of rural labor and life, relative detachment from power, closeness to the land as a source of rescue made the village an island of economic stability and political inertia.

A feature of the revolutionary era and civil war was an appeal of political military figures to global concepts and categories. They made history, they decided the fate of countries and peoples. The characters of the historical drama were classes, nations, states. The destinies of some contemporaries of events were lost in their confrontation. Ordinary citizens, for whom, according to political declarations, this long-term struggle has been started, often did not understand what was happening in

the country. The disaster, which broke their insular world, put the inhabitants in front of many new and unexpected realities. They once found out that the united country in which they were born and raised, no longer exists, it disappeared without voting and referendums. The periodically changing power was of a usurping nature, and did not carry any sign of legitimacy. Information about the events taking place in the country was, most often, fragmentary, controversial, unreliable. A city dweller could only believe what he saw with his own eyes – lines in stores, prices in the nearest market, spontaneous meetings, crowded train stations. Armed strangers, sometimes dressed in uniform, and more often wearing anyhow, could enter private houses. On a street known since childhood, a lot of dangers could be waiting for a passerby, and it was not known whom to complain and ask for help. Rumors, which were one more fantastic than the other, taught people not to trust anyone or anything but their own impressions. Nevertheless, the relentless law of life forced them to join the struggle not for political ideals, but for their own existence. In this struggle, many destinies ended tragically. Majority of survivors joined the winner side.

The question of how and why they survived, what is the main reason for their final choice, has not yet been the subject of attention of researchers. The history of the "little person" of the great time has not yet been written. Meanwhile, the transformations of human conception, due to the specifics of everyday life in 1917-1920, was a factor which determined the nature of the political, economic, social development of the country and society for next decades. Through the everyday life we can more deeply understand the content of a person who participated in the political events of 1917-1920, that's why reference to the history of everyday life is fully justified and necessary.

2. Transformations of urban everyday life

The nature of everyday life and work in 1917-1920 determined by the general situation in the country. Everyday life was depended on the logic of civil confrontation and political cataclysms. It was subjected to certain restrictions, regulations and political control. The spring of 1917 for the urban population became a time of great hopes, the human interest in politics increased. Thus the greater was the disappointment. In the autumn 1917, apathy became the dominant political mood among the citizens.

Unfulfilled expectations caused mistrust to an authority. The other side of indifference and apathy was a political extremism. Separate groups of the population, first of all demobilized soldiers, sought to immediately satisfaction of their needs. The struggle for existence by frustrated citizens of a "failed to become free" country denied them of any political engagement. Since spring of 1919, all kinds of public street speeches had stopped – not only political, but also economic. They were replaced by ordinary workers' strikes due to material motivations. Throughout the revolution and the civil war, the attitude of the urban population towards the leaders was characterized by three different approaches. A person sought either to become a leader in order to use all possible preferences at the moment, or to ask the current ruling authorities for help in solving his everyday problems, or to distance himself as much as possible from the authorities which prevented him from maintaining his usual lifestyle. Moreover, all these three behaviors could be seen under any of authorities.

The solution of everyday problems, which individual could not manage himself, started to be done by different social groups. These were associations based on gender, professional, ethnic, national, territorial attributes. The main types of public associations were trade unions, cooperatives, consumer companies, social, cultural, educational and sports organizations, mutual aid societies, and self-relates establishments in public education.

There was a spreading of "meetings democracy". Meetings were supported by public institutions, which did a formulations to requirements of the participants and referred these formulations to the relevant authorities. With an uncertain quantitative and qualitative composition, their power was truly unlimited. The meeting's democracy ended after the establishment of power of the Central Rada in the spring of 1918.

The formation of various associations of city dwellers was caused by need of society to assume the functions of government on the one hand, and on the other – by need of citizens for protection. These associations were represented by various groups. For example, trade unions had been created almost in every manufacturing department.

The issues that were solved by public organizations can be divided into three groups. The first was assistance and mutual help to socially disadvantaged groups, and providing of meaningful activities. The society in general worked out with these tasks independently. The second group

included the protection of the rights of citizens, including ensuring their safety, and the provision of education. Here, social activists sometimes had to be supported by the power of the political system. Finally, the third group included sanitary-epidemic measures and ensuring the manufacturing process. In these problems, state organizations owned an undisputed priority. Repeated military operations, frequent change of power, the collapse of the economy led to the fact that at the end of 1920, public organizations experienced a serious crisis.

It is hard to accept the statement of M.V. Borisenko, that the house committees and their chairmen turned into full and uncontrollable owning of houses, that all residents feared them, regardless of their social origin[1]. Particularly during the periods of Bolshevik's government in Ukraine, the chairmen of the house committees, no matter how respected they were, were threatened with immediate punishment if the tenants failed to comply with the absurd orders of the new government. It is also impossible to agree that the standard of living of the population of small towns has crossed the lower limit of the resumption and preservation of the population. In small towns the chance to survive was higher than in megacities due to the proximity to the land.

The main feature of the attitude of the population to participants of the civil war was the lack of fear of urban inhabitants in front of them. Hiding from artillery and machine-gun fire, the townspeople solemnly, or at least, curiously greeted the next army. Since there was never a clear front line, there were quite a few adventurers crossing the combat zones in all directions. The threat of accidental death has always existed, but it was rather hypothetical, and the threat of death from hunger and cold remained real with all the authorities, so people took the risk to get food or prepare fuel for the winter. A man with a gun could be both a source of danger and a guarantee of security, depending on the ability of specific members of the civilian population to build relationships with him.

Not quite right, in our opinion, I.N. Shklyaev, who believed that Odessa always passed from hand to hand without a fight, with "few" shots[2]. At least in the winter and spring of 1918, during the battles of the Ukrainian army, respectively, with the Bolsheviks and the White Army,

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[1] Борисенко М. В. Житло та побут міського населення України у 20-30-х рр. XX століття. – К.: ВД «Стилос», 2013. – С. 255.
[2] Шкляев И. Н. Одесса в смутное время. – С. 136.

108

the fightings were long, cruel, and were accompanied by active participation of the civilian population.

The preservation of the level of civilization was closely interrelated with the tasks of survival of society in conditions of chaos. And if there was or was not any kind of power in a particular place, everyday interaction between people was carried out mainly in traditional forms. The feature of everyday life in extreme conditions was social inertia, manifested in the ability of social structures and individuals to maintain the usual forms of interaction in a changing situation. This quality of everyday life was supported by social autonomy, that is, by the ability of social structures to carry out their tasks, regardless of the administrative actions of the authorities, or even without them. These structures, first of all, were utility services of the municipal government, education, medicine, transport, trade, and some other social institutions.

If you try to determine the level of ability of social institution to organize itself, then the best examples would be an education and health care which had the maximum autonomy. Educational institutions, as well as medical institutions, were created and maintained during the years of the revolution and civil war by local governments, local professional organizations, charitable foundations, and private individuals. Both of them could not completely distance from the political sphere, although they strongly emphasized their non-political nature. Statement of I.V. Narskoy[3] about the destruction of traditional bases of socialization in Russia in 1917-1920, in relation to Ukrainian realities is only partly true. Schools and hospitals worked during all political regimes. But they had to ask for help from the government in case of violation of their rights from another sides. It was the human rights sphere that remained the prerogative of the state, or structures that positioned themselves as state ones. By the way, such structure could be any armed squad. The social sphere was falling into decay without sufficient funding, since even charitable assistance could be carried out only in conditions of a stable economy. The transport, with all the facts of being an independent organization, was too dependent on technical support, which, in turn, could not be provided sufficiently in the conditions of a crisis.

A personification of social institutions had a specifics of a social functioning as a structure. General norms ceased to operate, and the

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[3] Нарский И.В. Жизнь в катастрофе: Будни населения Урала в 1917-1922 гг. – С. 588.

activity of most spheres of public life was transferred to the competence of certain individuals, who, despite a lot of problems, continued to follow their duties. Therefore, the quality of medical care or educational services was depended not only on the solvency of consumers, but also on the qualifications, integrity and dedication of the people who provided these services. This explains the presence of hospitals and schools that worked throughout the civil war, whereas there were many institutions that very quickly stopped their activities.

In the daily life of cities in Ukraine in 1917-1920 there were numerous signs of such a socio-psychological phenomenon as a social revenge. Representatives of the high class of the urban population were forced to get used to the lifestyle of the lower classes. First of all, it was demonstrated by changes in the kinds of food. The intelligentsia, which included lawyers, teachers, doctors, had a limited food consumption, which was mainly plant products. At the same time, workers and small entrepreneurs who have not lost contact with the village, for a long time could afford meat and other animal products. However, this situation persisted only until 1919, when the character of food of all urban classes became approximately the same.

As a second sign of social revenge could be considered a change in the appearance of yesterday's "owners of life". They took off their uniforms, coats and hats, and maximally democratized their outer clothing. Previously depressed people started an extensive use of clothes and things confiscated from the rich people, including underwear, as well as clothes exchanged for food. Thus, the situation on the city streets resembled a kind of overall carnival, when no one wore their own clothes, and people massively donned someone else's clothes.

The third type of revenge should include the loss of old, familiar, cozy furniture and other household utensils. The furniture was actively confiscated by the Bolsheviks, who took away a lot of tables, chairs, cabinets, and at the same time bed linen, wall clocks, musical instruments and other household utensils. Finally, the furniture was transferred under the management of the new government, and filled up an empty places there. Furthermore, furniture that people saved from confiscation, was burned down in the stoves during the long years of war. Beds, baths and more other things went for the hospital appliances. The townspeople were

forced to huddle two in one, or three in two beds, or even to sleep on garden benches, tables, or simply on the floor.

Deliberate change of appearance, as a way to dissolve in a democratic environment, can be called social mimicry. That was the dressing of high-ranking townspeople in simple clothes, and the officers – in soldier overcoats. The simplification, the abandonment of bourgeois habits, such as taking care of their external appearance, were one of the survival techniques. Deliberate untidiness of former intellectuals, who tried to merge with the crowd of proletarians, was another sign of the "carnival". A change of social affiliation could be considered as a type of mimicry as well, to which resorted not only the former privileged class of people, but also the proletarians of yesterday. Former hand-workers, when they became a Soviet employees, simply "commissars", categorically refused to provide services in their previous work to those in need of assistance. The city dwellers from the highest groups who were not engaged in speculation, had to earn a living by unskilled labor, which did not require a special preparation. They served as a waiters, couriers, peddlers, order takers, firewood sawyers. By the way, for a long time there was such a field of activity as domestic servants. The institution of servants survived during all regimes, including two Bolsheviks' regimes, and ceased to exist because of the impoverishment of employers, but not because of the struggle for universal equality.

Social antagonism has became so acute that the class hatred reached a signs of social racism, that is, perception of members of another social group as being of a lower priority. This could be expressed in irritation about the appearance – too clean and well-groomed in one case, and too neglected and untidy in the other. The saddest thing was that this attitude was linked in minds of the inhabitants of both groups with the prospect of retaliation. In this phenomenon were the psychological roots of civil war.

Another type of deformation in the psychology of urban inhabitants was a change in their attitude towards the arrival of the new government. At the first stage of the revolution, the leaving of one army and the coming of another were often accompanied by panic attacks, there were fast transitions from depression to euphoria and back. Moreover, the polar feelings took possession of various social classes, caused by their interests which armed force will protect them in the future. In 1920, panic as a state of mass consciousness disappeared, on the eve of the change of power, the

urban population remained completely calm. Inspiration and enthusiasm disappeared from the palette of public sentiment in the urban environment. The loss of external signs of culture was accompanied by an internal suffering, mental trauma.

Legal regulations stopped to operate. The previous were abolished, and the new ones had not yet been accustomed. Therefore, problems were solved not by law, but by acquaintance, and people who had some useful acquaintanceships, same as the money, were taking care by themselves, avoiding using it at the request of others.

The authorities and local governments tried to introduce a rationalized distribution of public services – particularly the electricity and water, and in extraordinary situations they applied emergency measures to employees of the relevant services. They sought to provide construction, utilities and other needs – such as garbage collection, street cleaning, lighting, heating. Private trade, handicrafts, and cooperatives had persisted.

Residents of the cities showed extraordinary diligence, energy and ingenuity in finding sources of lighting and heat, in providing food for themselves and their families, in preserving human relationships and human appearance.

People continued to do traditional things – they were taking care of their homes, teaching children, going to the hairdresser, sewing new clothes and shoes and re- sewing old, making homemade soap, with all their mights were solving problems of heating and lighting, renting and renting out houses, and were using the pre-war stocks of matches, soap, salt, kerosene, light bulbs and other.

The history of the revolution, of course, contains examples of the opposite nature, especially at the final stage of the revolution, when the stocks of food did not meet the needs of people, and the results were exhaustion, illness, mental disorders. The strength, accumulated in the urban environment, was quite high. For example, in the autumn 1920 in the Donbass, in spite of numerous political and military changes, citizens saved a significant part of the pre-war property – as a furniture, books, musical instruments, and even clock which was still working. The market had continued active exchange of clothes and other things for food. However, the condition of the cities reached catastrophic, the possibilities

for survival were almost exhausted, and for this reason, the new rulers were forced to decide on a transition to a new economic policy.

There were deep deformations of the world around. The usual signs of peacetime have disappeared – well-groomed parks with garden benches, clean streets, well-functioning public transport. The urban environment has been destroyed starting from the big to the small. First began the destruction of usual appearance of parks, squares and streets. In addition to the destruction of green spaces, the facades of houses and street cover were damaged, old monuments were replaced with new ones, usual posters were covered by a revolutionary posters. Unauthorized garbage dumps appeared, first outside the courtyards, then inside the courtyards. Finally, the interior spaces of houses and apartments were cluttered, so, the basis of the internal space was destroyed. Cold houses, lack of communal amenities, the need to do household in improper conditions, all of these factors deprived people their usual comfort. The need forced to abandon a lot of useful and cute things in life, in exchange for food. Home libraries disappeared from the apartments, the books were either for kindling or for sale. Bolshevik's requisition completed the case. Having lost all the outward signs of urban culture, people lost their urban lifestyle, and turned into seekers of a piece of bread and firewood, which meant a loss of social identity.

3. New Priorities for Meeting Needs

The crisis has put society in front of the necessity to rigidly determine priorities in meeting the needs. And in particular, the issue of food supply of population remained strategically important throughout the civil war. In 1917-1918 in addition to centralized supply, private trade was actively functioning, and there was a serious difference in prices for products between geographically closed regions of Ukraine. This fact prompted many citizens to search for cheaper food.

Separate categories of the population faced hunger as early as 1918, large cities found themselves in a food blockade in the winter of 1918-1919. The workpeople were suffering from malnutrition during all ruling authorities, and starved under volunteers too. Residents of the cities found solutions in earnings in the countryside, in the exchange of their poor property for bread, in the gardening. An additional way to be saved from the hunger death was public catering. During the Bolsheviks period, a

network of canteens developed, and were providing the scanty meals to those who need. A characteristic feature of psychology at that time was the reduction of threshold of disgusting, when hunger didn't let people notice the unacceptable sanitary conditions of the dining room, the low calorie content of the dishes offered, the terrible condition of the products that were used for the preparation. Clothing stopped to be a determinant of social status, new clothes were stopped being sold, the only way to get a new dress was to buy a military uniform. For the rest, the secondary clothing market was successfully working. The society still was in need of a numerous services, and they has been provided by professionals of the corresponding profile, depending on the ability of people to pay.

A.A. Ilyukhov is wrong when he claims that during a civil war there was no such service as public catering, and that the proletarians had nothing to sell on a flea markets[4]. The canteens in the Ukrainian provinces gave many poor citizens a chance to survive, while the workpeople, wearing rags, carried the last property to the market.

The necessity to obtain up-to-date information became a kind of primary need for the population. Knowledge of the prospects of the current government and the possibility of onset of political changes caused the start of planning of specific actions, firstly, to choose behaviors aimed at ensuring one's own security, and, secondly, to create at least minimal food reserves. Therefore, ordinary citizens were greedily catching every printed word, were eagerly awaiting another batch of news, and in the absence of newspapers they heard various rumors, sometimes completely unbelievable, but sometimes more accurate than official press reports. In addition, ignorance of the instructions of the authorities could have resulted in the worst consequences, though the references to the inaccessibility of printed materials would not help. In these cases, rumors were helping, however, sometimes making a panic worse, but more often they were confirmed.

The failure of established system of values was accompanied by the formation of a new morality and ethics. Human life has been devalued, becoming a convenient field for social experimentation. Violence was absolutized, it was elevated to the cult by all military-political parties. The value of life has fallen below the lower limit, in fact, murder has became as commonplace as, for example, a robbery. The list of threats to the

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[4] Ильюхов А.А. Жизнь в эпоху перемен: Материальное положение городских жителей в годы революции и гражданской войны. – С. 86.

average person was expanded, the risk of being a victim of an attack increased to the maximum.

The methods of individual and collective salvation from criminals were not diverse. The person in the street has always sought to hide, to isolate himself from danger. The documents contain only few facts of the use of weapons by civilians against bandits. Firstly, people simply did not know how to handle weapons, and secondly, armed resistance could end badly, and the lack of resistance gave a chance for salvation. From a real attack, home-guard could protect only with the help of people from other houses and areas. Workers groups were the most militant. In addition, as in any other field, professional guards succeeded in protection. Of course, most of them in the winter 1918-1919 turned out to be part of different armies, but episodes of providing of paid security services were taking place until the end of active armed operations.

During the war, a prevalent phenomenon was the creation of self-defense detachments, functioning either parallel with the so-called governmental detachments, or, in some regions, existing independently. The organization and activity of overlapping defensive enforcement structures created a certain tension between them, sometimes leading to direct conflicts. The local population was ready to bear the material costs for the sake of at least relative safety. Practically with any authority, self-protection was self-financial, that is, it was payed for by citizens. Acquisition of security was carried out in various ways. Firstly, security functions were performed in turn by residents of houses. Secondly, working collectives were choosing their most reputable representatives to protect. Thirdly, periodic mobilizations were carried out, either by the authorities or by self-appointed initiators. Finally, there were squads of voluntariness.

The composition of guard groups depended on the kind of authority. The Soviet institutions preferred to involve the former front- line soldiers, workpeople — preferably miners and metallurgists, and the poorest farm workers. The White Guards sought to rely on small and medium owners living in the city and village – homeowners, merchants, wealthy peasants. Groups and detachments of law enforcement also included retired officers, students, high-school students, intellectuals, declassed elements, and former criminals. Central authorities, local governments, political and public organizations, and house committees were responsible for the

creation of security groups. On the territories with population mainly engaged in industrial work, self-protection was created at mines and factories, in the countryside – by a common peasant meetings. Ways of armament were also very diverse. Local councils, army units were providing the weapons, which was confiscated from social opponents, as well as it could be confiscated from the invaders. Usual hunting rifles were used. The documents do not contain information about the use of weapons brought by former front-line soldiers. Indirectly, there is an evidence of its presence among the population, and there are facts that while authorities were arming the guard groups, at the same time they were trying to fight with uncontrolled possession of weapons, sometimes with very tough measures.

Self-defense squads were performing numerous functions, which include the fight against speculation, ensuring discipline at public events, protecting their communities from gangsters (red, or white, or green though), detaining opponents of existing power, suppressing riots, preventing shambles.

Security was provided at the level of the city, district, quarter, separate house. The security groups were hired by both homeowners and ordinary citizens. Security was always created in response to the increased threat of criminal encroachment, but never in advance. The effectiveness of homegrown security, we can say, was low, rather due to the lack of weapons, lack of training, and lack of relevant experience. This weakness was emphasized by most witnesses. The only exceptions were the Red Army units in the workers' districts. The low fighting qualities of protective groups were explained by the fact that both representatives of the same social groups, and sometimes the same people, were robbing and protecting people. In general, the organization of self-protection, supported both from a top and a bottom, became a natural reaction of society to the growth of anarchy and, despite its numerous costs, brought serious positive results.

One of the examples of inertia of social development could be the development of the sector of leisure of urban residents. This sector has remained traditional, with the exception of attempts by authorities and public to fill certain areas with revolutionary or national content. The search for innovative forms in art, characteristic of any revolution, was carried out mainly in the way of previous approaches. Characteristically

there was a desire of individual representatives of the intelligentsia to preserve cultural habits as a way to stay themselves, to guarantee the stabilization of their worldview. The autonomy of the leisure sector was confirmed, firstly, by the predominantly apolitical nature of artists and, secondly, by the functioning of cultural institutions even in the conditions of a transitional period between different authorities.

In 1917-1920 cinema and theater, both professional and amateur, performed several functions. First, they were a kind of abstraction from reality, made it possible to create some kind of imaginative world to hide in it from the reality. Secondly, they were a source of income for artistic groups and technical staff. Thirdly, theater and cinema were a propaganda tool that was actively used by the Bolsheviks. And finally, it was a way of entertainment in the context of a shortage of other entertainments, a channel of joining to cultural values. The Bolsheviks sought to nationalize theaters and cinema, limiting entrepreneurial activity. The White Guards left theatrical and cinematographic sphere for private initiative, but sometimes they were doing a confiscation of the relevant buildings and premises for wartime needs.

The activitiy of theaters and cinema was actively used in charity, either in the form of mark-ups for tickets, or in the form of discount tickets for certain categories of viewers, or, most often, for charity events – performances, concerts, and a actor groups gathering. Recipients of charitable assistance were educational institutions, people with disabilities, including war invalids, sick and wounded Red Army soldiers, mothers with small children. Theatrical buildings were also used for lecturing and performing a conferences, meetings, and celebrating calendar and memorable dates. The repertoire of theater and cinema was practically not updated compared to the pre-revolutionary times; classical plays were staged, with rare exceptions, when sometimes classic was replaced by political agitations on Soviet themes. The lack of films forced to demonstrate the old tape, passed on, so-called, from hand to hand.

Musical groups and individual performers were not less popular than theaters and cinemas. The performance of Russian and foreign composers' concerts, according to contemporaries, was causing a transfiguration of the public. The painting experienced a shortage of materials due to the high cost, faced with certain financial difficulties. The folk libraries (in the villages — reading rooms) worked throughout the

civil war, their number diminished, then increased, but never fell to zero. Under Soviets, the libraries were under the administration of the departments of public education, under other regimes they were controlled by zemstvos, cooperatives, and rural communities. New books were received in insignificant quantities only in 1917-1918, later there was no new books received at all, so it was necessary to protect them by any means, and to restore the old funds. Newspapers came as soon as were published, only their content changed – depending on the ruling political power. Certain events were held in the sports field and other forms of leisure. In general, the development of culture was carried out in 1917-1920 in traditional forms, filled with occasional new content.

Trade was developing in conditions of not only armed confrontation, but also under the prohibitive policy of central and local authorities. Economic separatism of individual regions of one state, as always in a crisis, preceded political separatism. Governmental bans in the trade sphere were supported by mass public attitudes, which required equal distribution of goods in the conditions of shortage. The population under Bolsheviks relied solely on requisitioning practice.

Nonetheless, a private trade turned out to be an absolutely natural experience, which was based on a developed social division of labor. Without a wide distribution of private trading operations many people simply would not have survived. Even the Bolsheviks were in need of private trading in conditions of collapse of the economic mechanism. The imperfection of the public supply was compensated by private initiative. The fight against speculation led only to higher prices. Entrepreneurial citizens found the most exotic ways to overcome the prohibitions. Direct barter prevailed in international trade. The supply of workers became an own job of each manufacture.

The market was an indicator of the state of society. It would be suspended at the slightest threat, and re-started at the minimal opportunity, as a life arises without any outside interference, when the necessary conditions of it occur. The market during the civil war clearly demonstrated the essence of money as a result of a public agreement, because without some equivalent, only through a direct exchange, trade could not exist. Naturally, the money course was determined solely by the traders of goods. The social composition of sellers and buyers, the quantity and range of goods, the most popular monetary kinds, even the

appearance of markets' visitors, differed significantly in different years of revolution, and made it possible to accurately evaluate the situation in a city, region, or country.

N.B. Lebina and A.N. Chistikov argued that the profession of ragman in the era of the civil war was revived only with the restoration of commodity-money relations[5]. In the markets of Ukrainian cities, commodity-money relations never disappeared, various monetary units were in use even under the Bolsheviks. Barter existed simultaneously and in parallel. The profession of the ragman has the same permanence, and was mastered by the representatives of the privileged class of society.

In historiography, there is a prevailing feature of everyday life such as a recurrence of the same events that requires a response to the actions risen to automatism. A feature of everyday life of citizens in the conditions of revolution and civil war was the repeatability of the unrepeatable. And the needs of people, regularly arising and constantly existing, could be considered a repeatable phenomenon of everyday life in 1917-1920. The ways of their satisfaction in some cases could be unique, but always unexpected.

For example, the constant need for food could be satisfied in many ways. Those could be: getting a bread after a long standing in the "tail", exchanging the household utensils to food, earning food in the village, growing in the own garden, buying for some money that was in use in the market. It was possible to have lunch in the public canteens, to get a job as a Soviet employee and get the right to have a food ration. In the end, sometimes there was an opportunity to get a charity bowl of soup, or, as an exception, to get to a banquet in a rich house. In the same way, the constant need for clothes was realized by buying, occasionally, by private sewing from the textile received for the coupon, by renewing the old dress, by receiving confiscated items on a Soviet basis, by a military warehouse marauding, or even by removing clothes from those who were killed.

If you try to classify that society by means of livelihood, then all urban residents can be divided into three groups. Representatives of the first group, the most wealthy in comparison to others, had the opportunity to earn their money in the old manner, providing services according to their specialty. This group included tailors, shoemakers, furnace workers, and other specialists in the service sector. And they could earn only if they

[5] Лебина Н. Б. Чистиков А.Н. Обыватель и реформы. Картины повседневной жизни горожан в годы нэпа и хрущевского десятилетия. – С. 114-115.

had a full set of necessary tools, as well as at least a minimum stock of materials. The second group, which included those with professions of little or no demand, who in the conditions of revolution and war, got new specialties, including unskilled works, in order to provide a goods for themselves and their families. These were former soldiers who did not want to take up weapons again, lawyers who were out of work after the destruction of the previous legal system, and officials of the disappeared administrative structures. They worked in delivery services, in firewood sawing, in cleaning the streets. The position of art workers was ambiguous. Sometimes they managed to find work in their specialty, particularly, by organizing tours, but mostly used to have an odd jobs. Finally, the third group did not try to solve their problems on their own, and turned to the authorities for help, in the best way starting to work in the service of this authority. The category of dependents in the total civilian population kept rising steadily as a result of the gradual destruction of the economy. Such a transformation of the social structure increased the pressure on the state mechanism, which was forced to satisfy the needs of the mass of people. By and large, the majority of ordinary citizens were not interested in the nature of power, and even less interested in its political overtones.

The system crisis determined the crisis of working nature of representatives of all sectors of society. A common consequence of the chaos caused a significant narrowing of professional activities. The nature of work and the nature of payment have changed. The usual economic incentives of labor, which returned to the most primitive forms, have lost their force.

CONCLUSION

Hunger, devastation, endless war brought the population of cities to the threshold beyond which was the complete disintegration of society and mass death. The heightening of fighting operations was reflected in the attitude of the military people towards civilians, the tiredness of both those and others from the long war sometimes led to unmotivated aggression. The constant external insecurity caused apathy and indifference, the wishes of order and rules were accumulated from endless anarchy.

The most striking features of public spirit were changes in the ideological and political views of the population, the destruction of social class characteristics, desires and expectations of certain social groups, the loss of legitimate levers of regulation of social processes. The society in a state of permanent transformation was characterized not only by changes in the public awareness, but by a gradual increase in its chaos and eclecticism.

The level of public claims to power has noticeably decreased, almost the only one requirement was to stabilize the situation. All other needs were derived. This state of society has prepared the psychological ground for the final victory of the Red Army, as the most massive and disciplined armed forces.

Only the Bolsheviks could give society hope for the future, even if only in a form of a guaranteed minimum of food and order on the streets, provided with total terror. Thus, it was not an ideological myth that won the civil war, but food ration and Mauser.

Ukraine resisted the decaying influence of the global crisis longer than most Russian provinces. The limit of social resistance was reached only in the winter of 1919-1920, when all social reserves were exhausted. After that, the restoration of the former social relations became impossible, firstly, because most of the carriers of these relations died out or stayed in internal or external emigration, and secondly, because the will of people to resist was undermined due to the hunger.

Thus, all obstacles to the establishment of the Bolshevik dictatorship in the cities were eliminated. Cities were defenseless in front of the most insane social experiments. The new economic policy was implemented in a centralized way, and its termination did not cause organized mass protests. The hunger-time in the urban environment had place during the period of the civil war, and affected all social classes, including the workers. The village did not suffer, it survived the war quite well, and therefore, in order to neutralize the peasantry, a second period of hunger was needed, and this time it was organized from the beginning to the end.

Only a tough, cruel, centralized state could win the turmoil and overcome anarchy of civil war. Such a victory had far-reaching consequences. People were accustomed to cruelty, accustomed to fear of the state machine. At the same time, it turned out to be a very convenient opportunity to shift to the state responsibilities not only the concerns

about their own safety, but also the solutions of many other problems, including domestic ones. The nationalization of all aspects of life destroyed the germs of civil society in Ukraine. When everything began to be provided by the state, it got the opportunity to take it all back without fear of open disagreements. The civil war pushed our country onto the Asian path of political development, turned its surviving citizens into dependents, without a sense of freedom and a sense of responsibility. And only now we are struggling to get out of the psychological heritage of the civil war, very slowly, with hesitations and deviations, joining the European values.

SUMMARY

Events of 1917-1920 in the cities of Ukraine demonstrated, firstly, the fantastic ability of ordinary inhabitants to survive; secondly, a clear division of society into two groups depending on the style of behavior in extreme conditions. The first group of citizens tried to earn their own livelihood, and belonging to this group did not depend on social status. In the second group, dependent moods prevailed. This category of citizens was the main support and personnel reserve for the Soviet government.

The crisis put society in front of the need to rigidly determine priorities in meeting their needs. The attributes of everyday life in extreme conditions were social inertia manifested in the ability of social structures and individuals to maintain the usual forms of interaction in a changing situation; social mimicry as a conscious change in appearance, as a way to dissolve in a democratic environment; and social revenge, as a form of revenge for previously privileged groups of the population.

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Information about the authors:
Popov V. Z.
dr. history sciences, professor
V.I. Vernadsky Taurida National University
01133, Ukraine, Kyiv, 33 Ivana Kudry Str.

GEOPOLITICAL AND GEO-ECONOMIC CHANGES
IN THE BLACK SEA REGION AFTER
THE ANNEXATION OF CRIMEA

Horiunova Y.

INTRODUCTION

The annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation radically changed the geopolitical situation in the Black Sea region and modified geo-economic processes in the region. First of all, having occupied the Ukraine's peninsula, Russia got a powerful military foothold in the Black Sea. As a result, the military balance of forces in the region has changed significantly to the advantage of Russia actively engaged in militarization of the Crimean Peninsula. The deployment of ships equipped with nuclear-armed Kalibr missiles and nuclear-armed bomber aircrafts allows the Kremlin to threaten not only the Black Sea countries, but also the whole of Europe, the Caucasus and Middle East countries. Russia uses the military forces deployed in Crimea for the Syrian campaign, increasing its influence in the Mediterranean region.

The occupation of Crimea allowed Russia to establish control over the Kerch Strait and then, after the Kerch Strait bridge construction ('Crimean bridge'), over most of the Azov Sea, which should be jointly used by Ukraine and Russia under the bilateral agreement. This fact significantly limits the economic opportunities of Ukrainian ports on the Azov Sea, the cargo turnover of which now depends on the Russia's position.

On the other hand, due to the annexation of Crimea, Ukraine lost the lion's share of natural gas production on the Black Sea shelf since its drilling platforms were seized by Russians that led to massive losses for the country's economy.

All these actions of Russia radically changed the situation in the Black Sea region and created serious threats to many states both in military-political and economic dimensions that they are trying to solve in various ways.

1. Military and political consequences
of Russia's annexation of Crimea

The Russia's annexation has changed the geopolitical situation in Europe's east, greatly strengthening Russia and, conversely, depriving Ukraine of the naval base and a large part of the navy. According to James Sherr, the Russian aggressive policy is driven by its security concerns. Because while Western countries understand threats in terms of opportunities and interests, Russia considers threats in the context of territories. "Ukraine is a territory, Baltic states are a territory and seas are territories… This means that when the Russia's influence increases, its security perimeter should increase as well. This perimeter includes all the neighboring countries, so its minimum baseline corresponds not to the Russian Federation's border, but the borders of former Soviet Union," the researcher says[1]. This means that all states having common borders with Russia (and not only they) are at risk of either the direct occupation by the Kremlin or political destabilization by using hybrid war tactics.

According to the Polish researcher J.Gotkowska, annexation of Crimea and Russian military intervention in the Donbass demonstrated the Kremlin's readiness to use military force to regain a hegemonic status, strengthen its positions in global and regional arenas and restore its leadership in the post-Soviet space[2].

Since 2014, the Russian Federation has been engaged in the militarization of the occupied peninsula that allowed the Chief of the Russian General Staff Valeriy Herasimov to talk about the creation of a self-sufficient military force in December 2014. In November 2017, he announced that this military force consisted of the naval base, army corps, aviation and air defense divisions[3].

According to the Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies (CEDAW), after two years of the Russian occupation of Crimea, the number of Russian troops on the peninsula has almost doubled – from 12,500 to 23,800 people. By 2025, Russia is planning to increase its

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[1] Дж. Шерр. Захід не розуміє різниці між Україною та Росією. *Мілітаризація окупованого Криму як загроза міжнародній безпеці*: тези доповідей міжнародної конференції. 14 березня 2016 р. К., 2016. С. 43.

[2] Justyna Gotkowska Polish defence policy and the security of the Baltic Sea. *Security in the Baltic Sea Region: Realities and Prospects. The Rīga Conference Papers 2017*. Riga, 2017. P. 57.

[3] Генштаб заявил о создании в Крыму самодостаточной группировки войск. РИА Новости. URL: https://ria.ru/defense_safety/20171107/1508335581.html

military forces to 43 ths. people that means nearly a four-fold increase in the number of its troops[4].

In 2014-2018, Russia has significantly increased the number of military equipment on the peninsula. For example, the number of tanks increased by 40 times (from 0 to 40 units), artillery systems – by 6.8 times (from 24 to 62 units), armored vehicles – by 6.3 times (from 92 to 583 units), aircrafts – by 5.5 times (from 22 to 122 units), the number of helicopters almost doubled (from 37 to 62 units), the number of warships increased threefold (the number of frigates doubled), submarines – by 7 times (from 1 to 7 units)[5].

Russia deployed powerful air defense systems such as the Bal division, which is a mobile system to control territorial waters with missiles with a range of from 160 to 260 kilometers, and Bastion systems that can strike both at ships and ground targets on the peninsula. They provide 600 km coastline protection, that is, it can be used far beyond the Black Sea.

In May-June 2014, Russia deployed layered air defense systems (AD), including S-400 systems (internal layer defense) and Pantsir-S1M (inner layer defense) near Feodosia. The first and second S-400 systems (Triumf) were deployed in Crimea in March 2017 and January 2018, respectively. As of January 2019, S-400 systems were placed in Sevastopol, Feodosia, Yevpatoria and Dzhankoi, fully closing the air zone over the peninsula.

According to the Russian military expert Pavlo Felgenhauer, the deployment of Russian Triumf systems demonstrated the Russia's preparation for a major war. "Triumf systems located in Crimea are able to reach the sky over some of the East Europe countries, where NATO aircrafts and strategic reconnaissance drones operate. Thus, we see some preparations for a world or pan-European war on the peninsula," the expert said.[6]

In early 2018, new Russian Nebo-M radar stations (radar locators) that control not only the airspace over Crimea, but over the entire Black Sea to the Strait area were transported to the occupied peninsula.

The air component of the Russian occupation forces in Crimea is represented by bomber, assault, fighter and military air corps units, air

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[4] Валентин Бадрак. Мілітаризація окупованого Криму як загроза міжнародній безпеці. *Мілітаризація окупованого Криму як загроза міжнародній безпеці :* тези доповідей на міжнародної конференції. 14 березня 2016 р. К., 2016. С. 7.

[5] Мілітаризація Криму. Укрінформ 05.11.2018 URL: https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-other_news/2572955-militarizacia-krimu-infografika.html

[6] ПВО против кого? Россия задействовала в Крыму комплексы С-400. *Радио Свобода.* URL: https://ru.krymr.com/a/28232371.html

defense systems and Russia's Black Sea fleet air forces (Russia's Black Sea fleet).

Russia pays particular attention to the modernization of the Black Sea fleet based in Crimea. In 2015-2018, the Russia's Black Sea fleet deployed in Sevastopol consisted of three frigates ("Admiral Grygorovych", "Admiral Essen" and "Admiral Makarov"), two small missile-equipped ships ("Vyshniy Volochok" and "Orekhovo-Zuyevo") and six submarines, two of which are now at the Russia's base in Syria in the Mediterranean Sea. All of them are equipped with Kalibr missiles with a range of up to 2,500 km and a nuclear armed option. According to the Russia's Black Sea Fleet Commander-in-Chief Vice-Admiral Oleksandr Moiseyev, the fleet will include another 12 ships (6 combatant vessels and 6 auxiliary vessels) in 2019[7].

The deployment of nuclear weapons in Crimea poses a special risk for Europe. According to Ukrainian intelligence reports, Iskander systems have been already deployed on the peninsula, and in March 2019, Russia announced the deployment of Tu-22M3 bomber aircrafts, which can carry nuclear weapons (with range capability of up to 5 ths. km), in Crimea.

The Russian official circles neither confirm nor deny the information on nuclear weapons deployed on the peninsula. But the Head of the Department of Non-Proliferation and Arms Control at the Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mikhail Ulyanov said that Russia had every right to deploy nuclear weapons in Crimea. "Russia, of course, has the right to deploy nuclear weapons anywhere within its territory, including on the Crimean Peninsula, if necessary," he emphasized[8].

In 2015, a territorial body of the 12th Main Directorate of the General Staff of the Russia's Ministry of Defense dealing with nuclear weapons was established on the peninsula.

In such a way, Russia is not only engaged in the peninsula militarization, but it creates opportunities to deploy short- and medium-range nuclear forces in Crimea, violating a number of international agreements.

Active militarization of the Crimean Peninsula is accompanied by military training exercises, the number of which is constantly increasing.

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[7] В следующем году Черноморский флот пополнится 12 новыми кораблями. URL: https://crimea.ria.ru/society/20181210/1115723101.html
[8] МИД РФ: Россия имеет право размещать ядерное оружие в Крыму. URL: https://ria.ru/20150601/1067511681.html

During 2018, more than 20 different military exercises involving war ships, aviation and air defense systems were conducted.

In four months of 2019, the number of military exercises increased by a quarter compared to the previous year: de facto training exercises are conducted every week. They include naval exercises involving ships, missile-firing exercises, military exercises involving air defense systems, artillery test-firing in Crimean test facilities, air exercises and landing of marine troops as well as military exercises by using Bal, Bastion and Pantsyr systems.

In such a way, the militarized Crimea poses a significant threat to the whole Europe that requires a coordinated policy from Western countries to counter possible aggression of the Russian Federation in the Black Sea region.

In 2014, NATO responded to the growing challenges posed by Russia with a new Action Plan on ensuring readiness and enhancing deterrence and defense forces aimed at strengthening collective defense capabilities.

According to the document, the Alliance's measures to enhance Europe's defense capabilities are aimed at "continuous air, land, and maritime presence and military activity in the eastern part of the Alliance". But this presence is more in the Baltics, where the number of fighter aircrafts is increasing and the practice of surveillance flights is applied. The new Action Plan also provides for an increase in the number of ships in the Baltic, Black and Mediterranean Sea and the deployment of ground troops to the eastern parts of the Alliance[9].

At the Warsaw summit in July 2016, Russia was recognized as a country, which aggressive actions "were a source of instability in the region and a main challenge for the Alliance, which was damaging the Euro-Atlantic security system"[10]. This led to the creation of new High-Readiness Joint Forces, ready for military actions within a few days, as well as the deployment of 8 multinational NATO Force Integration units.

The militarization of Crimea along with the peninsula annexation, destabilization in Eastern Ukraine and deployment of modern Russian dual-purpose missiles in Kaliningrad was for the first time considered as a

[9] Readiness Action Plan. URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_119353.htm
[10] Warsaw declaration on Transatlantic Security URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_133168.htm?selectedLocale=en

threat to NATO in the Brussels Summit Declaration (July 2018)[11]. NATO members responded to such actions of the Russian Federation with an agreement to create a military group consisting of 30 naval vessels, 30 mechanized battalions and 30 air squadrons, which should be deployed during 30 days, by 2020.

The NATO actions in the region are limited to the deployment of a multinational brigade in Romania and the creation of a Black Sea functional centre at the NATO Naval Command dealing with regional security issues. The Alliance considers it is important to have the permanent presence of naval vessels in the Black Sea and conduct military training exercises.

"NATO does not have a permanent naval presence in the Black Sea. Through the Montreux Convention, the non-Black Sea countries of NATO may stay in the Black Sea for only 21 days. This reduces NATO's actions in the Black Sea only to temporary operations, which are carried out, mainly in ad mode hoc", military expert Glen Grant said[12].

For example, in 2014, the number of NATO naval ship visits to the Black Sea increased almost threefold compared to previous years (they demonstrated a similar activity during the Russo-Georgian War in 2008). However, the number of NATO ship visits has fallen by one third in subsequent years – to 20 visits[13].

Along with the militarization, Russia used open aggression having taken crews of three Ukrainian naval vessels prisoners in November 2018. As announced by the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg earlier this year, such Russia's actions force NATO to demonstrate active counteraction to Russia in the Black Sea and increase the presence of Alliance's naval vessels in the region. But at this stage, this task is difficult to accomplish, because the Montreux Convention regulating the transit of vessels in the Black Sea specifies that naval warships belonging to non-Black Sea states cannot stay more than 21 days there.

A serious problem for NATO in the region is the lack of agreement on actions among its Black Sea members. For example, Romania is a powerful outpost of the North Atlantic Alliance in the Black Sea trying to counter Russia navally. Bulgaria and Turkey have a different view and

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[11]Brussels Summit Declaration. URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_156624.htm?selectedLocale=en

[12] Глен Грант. Політика Заходу залишається невизначеною. *Мілітаризація окупованого Криму як загроза міжнародній безпеці:* тези доповідей на міжнародної конференції. 14 березня 2016 р. К., 2016. С. 49.

[13] А.Кліменко, Т.Гучакова. Чорноморська небезпека та реакція НАТО. К., 2018. С. 7.

continue to cooperate with the Russian Federation in energy and even military and political areas.

At the NATO summit of 2016 in Warsaw, Romania proposed to create an Alliance's inter-allied flotilla. This initiative has appeared after the deployment of the American anti-ballistic missile system interceptors in Romania at the end of 2015, which makes it a potential target for Russian aggression from its militarized Crimea.

However, the Romanian initiative was blocked by Bulgaria, the prime minister of which Boyko Borysov said that he would like to see cruise liners instead of military frigates in the Black Sea and finally proposed to declare the Black Sea "a demilitarized zone without warships and submarines"[14].

According Grant, Bulgaria continues to be a weak spot for Western security politics. The internal political situation in the country is in a crisis situation, the armed forces have not taken the necessary steps towards reformation and optimization since the time of joining NATO[15].

In early 2019, Romania called for increased NATO presence in the Black Sea. "NATO should strengthen its defense capability on the eastern border. That's why Romania strongly supports increasing coherence in the eastern flank. Moreover, we need more NATO presence in the Black Sea region, where the security situation is a big challenge, as we have seen recently," the country's president Werner Johannis said at the Munich Security Conference.[16]

In February 2019 NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg has promised that the Alliance is looking into strengthening its presence in the Black Sea region to support Ukraine. Speaking at a Brussels press conference following a two-day meeting of NATO defense ministers, Stoltenberg said: "We had a very good discussion with Defense Minister Stepan Poltorak where all Allies expressed their very strong support to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. NATO Allies have of course clearly stated that Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine are unacceptable. The illegal annexation of Crimea, the continuing efforts to try to destabilize Ukraine through its efforts and presence in Donbas, and also,

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[14] Болгария отказалась присоединиться к флоту НАТО в Черном море. *DW*. 16.06.2016.

[15] Глен Грант. Політика Заходу залишається невизначеною. *Мілітаризація окупованого Криму як загроза міжнародній безпеці*: тези доповідей на міжнародної конференції. 14 березня 2016 р. К., 2016. С. 51.

[16] Президент Румынии поддержал усиление НАТО в Черном море. *УНИАН*. 16.02.2019. URL: https://www.unian.net/politics/10448742-prezident-rumynii-podderzhal-usilenie-nato-v-chernom-more.html

of course, the totally unjustified seizure of the Ukrainian ships near the Kerch Strait."[17]

In April 2019 Stoltenberg has noted that NATO Allies agreed a package of measures to support Ukraine and Georgia in the Black Sea amid Russian aggression with the aim of enhancing security in the region. We discussed what more we can do to enhance our security in the Black Sea region. We agreed a package of measures to improve our situational awareness. And to step up our support for both Georgia and Ukraine," NATO Secretary-General said[18].

But Turkey trying to take advantage of contradictions between the West and Russia to obtain preferences has a particular position in the region. In spite of the fact that the country has been a NATO member for many years, recently it intensified both energy and military contacts with Russia.

In the summer of 2016, when there was a failed coup attempt and an internal political crisis in Turkey, its Government prohibited American aircraft flights to the NATO Incirlik military base with about 50 U.S. nuclear weapon units deployed. Obviously, under such circumstances, Washington was afraid of keeping nuclear weapons in Turkey. In August 2016, some European media reported that American nuclear weapons were relocated from Turkey to Romania, although the Romanian government denied this information.

However, such a redeployment was quite possible in the context of rapid reconciliation between Moscow and Ankara after a half-year confrontation as a result of shooting down a Russian bomber aircraft Su-24M by a Turkish F-16 fighter in the sky over the Turkish-Syrian border.

The normalization of Russian-Turkish relations was followed by information on the possibility of using the Turkish Incirlik base by Russian aircrafts to make air strikes on Syria. On the other hand, the Turkish Government found different excuses to slow down the process of building an airdrome and a command post for German reconnaissance aircrafts in this base.

In September 2017, Ankara announced the purchase of four Russian S-400 systems for $2.5 million (Russia proposed 55% of this amount as a

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[17] НАТО хоче розширити свою присутність в Чорному морі – Столтенберг. *УНІАН*. URL: https://www.unian.ua/politics/10446723-nato-hoche-rozshiriti-svoyu-prisutnist-u-chornomu-mori-stoltenberg.html

[18] Press conference by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg following the first meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Foreign Ministers' session. URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_165234.htm?selectedLocale=en

credit). In response, the USA promised to exclude Turkey from an international group involved in next-generation F-35 fighter jet construction, if Turkey armed itself with Russian air defense missile systems. Ankara proposed the USA to provide Turkey with similar systems and threatened to purchase Russian fighter aircrafts if its participation in F-35 construction was blocked. Such Ankara's actions cast doubt on the credibility of Turkey as a NATO member and hamper the development of a common NATO's strategy in the Black Sea region.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that only Turkey has the required military capability among Black Sea NATO members. Its Navy is more than Bulgarian and Romanian forces. Moreover, while Bulgarian and Romanian warships are mainly vessels remained from the Soviet era and old European ships, Turkish warships are modern frigates and corvettes.

In 2018, Romania launched a program to upgrade its navy, having announced the purchase of four corvettes within seven years.

On the other hand, after Russia's annexation, Crimea became a main base for military invasion in Syria, since Russia's Navy (ships and submarines along with the marines) participated in the military campaign in the Middle East. For example, the Russia's Black Sea fleet was equipped with 56 of 100 Kalibr cruise missiles used against the targets in Syria (other missiles were fired by the Russian Navy's Caspian Flotilla). In addition, the military equipment and ammunition were supplied to Syria by ships of the Russia's Black Sea fleet based in Sevastopol (the Syrian Express). The division of Bastion missile systems as well as S-300 and S-400 systems were delivered from Crimea to Syria[19].

All this creates serious threats for Europe and requires an adequate response from Western countries.

2. Geo-economic changes in the Black Sea region after Crimean annexation

The Crimean annexation and the militarization of the Black Sea's water area significantly limited geo-economic opportunities of natural gas extraction on the shelf. Initial Ukraine's hydrocarbon reserves in Black and Azov Sea water areas were about 9.327,7 mln tons of fuel equivalent (7.3

[19] А. Кліменко, Т. Гучакова. Чорноморська небезпека та реакція НАТО. К., 2018. С. 4-5.

billion cubic meters of natural gas). A quarter of them are on the shelf of both seas[20].

Proved natural gas reserves in the Ukrainian area were estimated at 80-300 billion cubic meters. In 2011-2013, Ukraine agreed with leading global companies (ExxonMobile, Shell, OMV, ENI, EDF) on gas exploration and production.

But the situation has changed dramatically after the annexation of Crimea. Due to the fact that Russia considers the sea waters near the peninsula exclusively its economic zone, Ukraine's sea sectors reduced in size from 130 to 40 ths. km.

After annexation, the Crimean government controlled by Russia nationalized the "Chornomorneftegaz" (a subsidiary of Ukraine's state-owned oil and gas company Naftogaz) and its equipment, including operating drilling platforms in the Black Sea. During the annexation, the Russian Federation extracted 8.8 billion cubic meters of natural gas in Crimea.

At the same time, other Black Sea states have intensified the search for hydrocarbons at depths. Turkey cooperates with American companies in the exploration of deep-sea natural gas reserves in central and western parts of the Black Sea, Romania invested billions of dollars in shelf development and estimates its reserves at 100 billion cubic meters.

In addition to producing natural gas on Ukrainian platforms, Russia also uses them to place its radar stations (radar locators) to monitor surface ships. For example, Neva systems were placed on the Tavrida jack-up drilling rig, the MSP-17 platform of the Shtormove gas condensate field and the MSP-4 platform of the Golitsynsky field.

Each radar locator automatically detects and tracks up to 200 targets at the same time. Their detection range is from 15 km for small targets to 55.5 km for large ships[21]. In such a way, placing radar locators on Ukrainian platforms, Russia has almost full control over the traffic of commercial and military ships that go to Ukraine's ports.

Since 2018, all Ukrainian platforms seized have been guarded by a brigade of ships – they provide 24-hour coverage being rotated every 2 weeks.

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[20] Михайлюк О.Л., Стеценко С.В. Шляхи інтенсифікації видобутку енергоресурсів на українському шельфі Чорного та Азовського морів. *Науковий вісник ОНЕУ*. 2012. 312 (164). С. 112.

[21] А. Бургомістренко, С. Гайдук, М. Гончар, П. Лакійчук. Морська газова інфраструктура у російській протидії НАТО на його східному фланзі: потенціал гібридного використання у Чорному та Балтійському морях. *Чорноморська безпека. Аналітичний часопис*. 2018. №2 (32). С. 15-18.

Another Russia's area of activity in the Black Sea is to deprive Ukraine of its transit state status through the construction of gas pipelines to Europe. In 2014, due to some counteraction from the EU, Russia failed to build the South Stream pipeline with four parallel lines with capacity of 15.75 billion cubic meters each, through which Russian gas should be supplied to a number of European countries (from Bulgaria to Italy). Its construction started in December 2012. In the context of Crimean annexation, they were going to change the route as initially it was planned to build the gas pipeline through the peninsula, which would allow to significantly reduce the construction cost due to skirting around the Turkish economic zone.

After Crimean annexation, on April 17, 2014, the European Parliament recommended to stop the South Stream construction recalling the need to ensure the gas supply diversification and reduce the dependence from the Russian Federation in its resolution[22]. Bulgaria, which was a key country in the project, decided not to participate in it under pressure from the EU and the USA.

In December 2014, Russia announced the termination of the South Stream project, but proposed to replace it with another project (Turkish Stream) with only half the capacity (two lines with 15.75 billion cubic meters each; one of them should be brought to Turkey and other – to the Greek–Turkish border). At the first stage, it was also proposed to lay the gas pipeline near Crimea, but then the route was changed.

This project was not hindered by the EU, because unlike the previous one, the Russian Gazprom company had no monopoly on gas transportation to Europe, but agreed to use the Trans-Adriatic gas pipeline infrastructure transporting gas from the Caspian Sea to Europe.

But the project implementation faced various difficulties, as it was suspended after the Russian bomber aircraft incident. In the summer of 2016, when Moscow and Ankara resumed their relations, the project was also reactivated, but Turkey has not provided the necessary permits for a long time until it received a $1 billion gas price discount as a retroactive payment.

In May 2017, they started the gas pipeline construction, and in the spring of 2018, the first line, through which gas would be brought to

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[22] European Parliament resolution of 17 April 2014 on Russian pressure on Eastern Partnership countries and in particular destabilisation of eastern Ukraine. URL; http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P7-TA-2014-0457&language=EN

Turkey, was installed. It is planned to finish the construction of the second line in 2019.

But in the spring of 2019, there were disputes over the Russian gas price between these countries, as Ankara was not satisfied with the price proposed by the Russian Gazprom. Russia, in turn, did not want to lower the price. Such a tactic is typical for Turkey trying to get more preferences for itself while realizing the Russia's great interest in laying the gas pipeline.

In turn, Russia also is trying to increase the number of Turkish Stream participants. In May 2018, in his meeting with the Bulgarian prime minister Boyko Borysov, the Russian president Volodymyr Putin announced the possibility of installing another line through Bulgaria to Serbia and Hungary.

The construction of new gas pipelines will be used by Russia to increase the military presence in the Black Sea on the pretext of protecting the pipeline infrastructure.

The Russia Federation energy strategy is aimed at achieving this ambitious geopolitical goal. This logic leads to energy and force expansionism, which mutually justify each other. Russia needs energy expansion to gain more markets and more income, which are required to strengthen its military power and protect the territory rich in mineral resources[23].

Infrastructure ambitions of Russia are reflected in the «Energy Strategy for the period up to 2030»: "Russia will augment efforts for main regional gas producing centers consolidation (countries of the Central Asia, Iran) on the basis of its gas transport infrastructure. Russia will seek to establish the Eurasian integrated gas transportation system for provision of export and transit cross-flows between Europe and Asia… Russian pipeline infrastructure will become an integral part of the "power bridge" between Europe and Asia, and Russia will become the key center of its management[24].

On the other hand, in the summer of 2018, Turkey and Azerbaijan finished the first construction phase of the Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP), through which Azerbaijani natural gas from the Shah Deniz field can be transported to Southern Europe via Turkey, in cooperation with other European countries (Greece, Bulgaria, Albania and Italy). The capacity of the pipeline is 16 billion cubic meters, 10 billion of

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[23] Wars-XXI: Russia's Polyhybression. Kyiv 2017. P. 128.
[24] Energy Strategy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2030. URL: http://minenergo.gov.ru/ node/1026

which Europe will receive from 2020. In the future, it is planned to increase the gas supply to 31 billion cubic meters by adding gas compressor stations[25].

One more alternative to the Russian gas for the Southern Europe can be the East Med gas pipeline, through which gas from Israel and Cyprus offshore fields will be transported to Europe. Israel, Italy, Greece and Cyprus agreed on the gas pipeline construction in the fall.

But Russia continues to implement a strategy to counteract competitive projects of alternative gas routes to the European market. The Caspian Sea and the South Caucasus are in the epicenter of the Kremlin's attention. "One of the options for counteraction to the Russian Federation could be an attempt to destabilize the South Caucasus, through which transit pipelines should pump gas from Azerbaijan and possibly Turkmenistan and Iran to Turkey and then to the EU. The most probable scenario is provoking a full-scale war between Azerbaijan and Armenia… A major protracted military conflict in the South Caucasus, Armenian rocket attacks on Azerbaijan's oil and gas infrastructure may call into question the stability of energy supplies through the Southern Gas Corridor to the EU", write regional military experts in the South Caucasus[26].

Thus, the Russia's annexation of Crimea led to losing the possibility to extract large volumes of natural gas in Black and Azov Seas by Ukraine and creating additional opportunities for Russia to build gas pipelines bypassing Ukraine. But the EU policy on diversification of energy supply significantly reduces Russia's opportunities in this area.

After Crimean annexation and especially after the Kerch Strait bridge construction, Russia started gradual annexation of the Azov Sea that is a joint use sea as specified in the Ukrainian-Russian bilateral agreement.

First of all, the bridge construction limited the possibilities of navigation in the Azov Sea, because vessels with the height of 33 meters and the length of 150 meters can not go under the bridge arch. Such restrictions are set by the Russia's Ministry of Transport. In such a way, according to the Chief of the Mariupol Port Administration, 144 vessels that previously made voyages to Ukrainian Mariupol and Berdyansk ports can not enter the Azov Sea[27].

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[25] Старт TANAP: азербайджанський газ йде в Туреччину та Європу. *DW*. 12.06.2018.

[26] Russia had sold to Armenia the Iskander short-range ballistic missile and BM-30 Smerch. 17.09.2016. URL: http://www.milkavkaz.net/2016/09/rf-prodala-armenii-iskander-i-smerch.html

[27] Керченский мост: удар по украинскому судоходству 17.05.2018. URL: https://ru.krymr.com/a/29232770.html

Secondly, under the pretext of ensuring 'Crimean Bridge' safety, the Coast Guard of the Border Service of the Russian FSB detains ships that go to Ukrainian ports on the Azov Sea. The detention procedure is as follows: at first, ships are waiting to be authorized to access the Azov Sea, then they are delayed for further inspections at sea, and the last inspection is on the way back to the Strait.

According to Ukrainian analysts, the average delay of one vessel increased from 28.4 to 124.2 hours during July-November 2018 (by almost 3 times). Accordingly, during this time, the total loss of vessel time increased from 1,762 hours in July to 6,705 hours in November. In total, cargo ships lost 21,145 hours (almost 900 days) when entering the Kerch Strait during this period[28].

The second phase of detentions is already in the Azov sea, where Russian coast guard motor boats detain the vessels under various pretexts: 110 such detentions, when cargo ships lost from 2 to 4 hours of their time, were recorded from May to October 2018.

There is the third phase of detentions on the way back to the Black Sea. The average delay time increased from 57.3 hours in July to 115 hours in November, and the total loss of time for five months was 20,077 hours (more than 1000 days).

Accordingly, in total, ships have almost 1,900 days of idle hours, which, according to experts, has caused losses in the amount of more than $13 million to ship owners[29].

This Russia's policy results in large losses for Ukrainian ports and economy as a whole. According to the Ministry of Infrastructure of Ukraine, preliminary losses from 'Crimean Bridge' construction are estimated at 0.5 billion hryvnias a year. Mariupol port revenues fell by 146 million hryvnias in January-July, and Berdyansk port revenues – by 80 million hryvnias. That is, the Mariupol port lost 20% of revenues compared to last year, and Berdyansk – 43%[30].

According to the Ukraine's Infrastructure Minister Volodymyr Omelyan, the Russia's sea blockade inflicted a loss amounting to 10 billion hryvnias to our state[31].

[28] А. Клименко, Т. Гучакова. Керченський міст та поширення агресії РФ на Азовське море. К., 2018. С. 8-11.
[29] Там само.
[30] Напруга на Азові: скільки недорахувалися українські порти. 18.09.2018. URL: https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/features-45551495
[31] Міністр інфраструктури Омелян: Ми віримо, що "Азовський пакет" санкцій буде прийнято. 01.02.2019. *УНІАН*. URL: https://www.unian.ua/economics/ transport/10427901-ministr-infrastrukturi-

The Russian aggression in the Azov Sea resulted in a rather hard-line Western response that should lead to a new set of anti-Russian sanctions announced by the EU and the USA.

Due to the conflict near the Strait, the American President Donald Trump refused to meet with the Russian leader Volodymyr Putin that was to take place at the Great 20 summit in Argentina.

On December 28, 2018, the French President Emmanuel Macron and the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel made a joint statement demanding from Russia to provide guarantees for the free movement of all vessels in the Kerch Strait and release imprisoned sailors[32].

In such a way, the Western response and the threat of new sanctions changed the Russia's behavior in the Azov Sea, but it still continues to apply restrictive measures against commercial vessels. In December-March, there were no detentions in the Azov Sea, but the vessels were detained on the way in and out of the Azov Sea, although the average delay time decreased. For example, while in November, the average delay of one vessel was more than 124 hours, it reduced to 32 hours in January and to 25 hours in March. The period of vessels delay when leaving the Azov Sea also decreased from 115 to 24 hours in November-January, but it again increased to 34 hours in February-March[33].

Thus, Russia reduced the pressure on the Ukrainian ports on the Azov Sea under the threat of boosting sanctions, but didn't stop the policy of restricting free access to them.

CONCLUSIONS

The annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation radically changed the geopolitical situation in the Black Sea region. The Russian militarization of Crimea and the possibility of using nuclear weapons on carriers deployed on the peninsula threaten not only the Black Sea countries, but also other EU countries, taking into account the range of nuclear missiles and the deployment of such missile carriers on the peninsula (naval surface ships, submarines and bomber aircrafts).

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[32] Меркель і Макрон вимагають вільного проходу суден через Керченську протоку і звільнення українських моряків. *Радіо Свобода*. URL: https://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/news-merkel-makron-zayava-ukraina/29681454.html

[33] Блокада Азовського моря. Тенденції за січень 2019: нестійкі позитивні зрушення суб'єктивного характеру. URL: https://www.blackseanews.net/read/148264

Russia actively uses the Crimean military base as a springboard for the Syrian campaign, which provides Moscow with the possibility to increasingly interfere in the affairs of the Middle East and the Mediterranean region. By using military measures, Russia tries to turn the Azov Sea into its "internal" sea while creating unbearable conditions for Ukrainian sea ports.

Such Russia's actions are a matter of concern for Western countries trying to minimize the Kremlin's aggressive policy by using sanctions and strengthening the NATO's role in the region. However, before 2019, the Alliance Black Sea policy was limited to traditional measures such as military training exercises, ship visits, the number of which increased only in times of crisis, and air reconnaissance missions off the Crimean coast.

NATO decided to increase its military presence only after the Russian attack against Ukrainian warships near the Kerch Strait. But both the Montreux Convention articles and the lack of a consolidated policy of Black Sea NATO members to counter Russia prevent from increasing the number of Alliance ships in the Black Sea.

The restrictions on staying warships not belonging to Black Sea states in the Black Sea can be removed in the following way. Firstly, by expanding the NATO members' geographical coverage that will allow to increase the stay period for NATO ships in the sea without violating the Convention provisions. Secondly, by creating the Alliance's inter-allied flotilla in the Black Sea that will be based in Black sea countries. But it also requires transferring warships to Alliance's Black Sea states and its partners, primarily to Ukraine that lost most of its fleet during the annexation of Crimea, on lease or on other terms.

But it is possible to implement these actions only if there is a political consensus among NATO members that is currently difficult to achieve because of the partially pro-Russian policy of Bulgaria and the duplicitous position of Turkey.

Along with the militarization of the Black Sea region, Russia actively uses the energy policy by building its gas pipelines bypassing Ukraine. Removing the Ukrainian gas component will help Moscow to weaken the Ukraine's transit status and limit its geo-economic opportunities. Ukraine can counteract the Russian policy only with the help of the EU acting as a guarantor for the preservation of transit through Ukraine after the construction of new gas pipelines. On the other hand, while trying to

diversify gas supplies, the European Union lobbies for laying gas pipelines from the Caucasus and the Middle East as a Russian alternative.

SUMMARY

The article analyzes political and economic changes in the Black Sea region after the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation. It is noted that the main problem is the massive militarization of Crimea turning the peninsula into a strategic Russia's base in the Black Sea and threatening the European security. Both the Montreux Convention restrictions and the lack of agreed positions of Black Sea NATO members concerning Russia hamper strengthening the NATO's role in the region. On the other hand, Russia tries to deprive Ukraine of its status of Russian gas transit country by laying the gas pipeline on the Black Sea floor and restricts its trading opportunities preventing free access of commercial vessels to Ukrainian ports.

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Information about the author:
Horiunova Y. O.
PhD (History),
Associate professor at the Department
of Philosophy and History
V.Vernadsky Taurida National University,
33, Kudri str., Kyiv, Ukraine

MAIN FACTORS OF STRENGTHENING THE
ROLE OF MORAL PRINCIPLES IN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Tymoshenko T. S.

Ukraine is experiencing rather hard times. Severe economic and political situation leads to the further impoverishment of people. And all this complex of socio-economic problems is getting complicated by deeper moral-cultural crisis resulted in spiritual degradation of society, loss of value orientations and further moral decline of our people. It is known that the culture and spirituality are civilization features of any nation without which it is not possible to exist. The nation where spiritual-moral values are ignored destined to death. And it is only a matter of time. That is why under such conditions it is essential to activate efforts on increase of Ukrainian people's moral-spiritual level, the formation of a durable system of deep moral-spiritual values in them because it is these values that form the basis of motivation field of both personality and society in general. Something that governs an individual person or a certain society in their actions reflects their deep essence rather clearly. If a personality or societies professes high moral-humanistic values, then the goals and means of their achievement will be rather high and moral-humanistic. Only this way we can achieve step-by-step economic, political and spiritual rise of our country because these domains are quite tight interconnected.

Global changes in Ukrainian politics lead to disturbances in economics, determining even more catastrophic phenomena in moral-cultural domain. Low cultural and moral level of society in general as well as its all structural elements in particular, leads to creation of utilitarian value system based on which a person or a certain community cares only about personal interests not taking into account the needs of other people and society as a whole. Of course, it is important to solve economic and political problems but excessive attention should be paid to revival of society's cultural domain, moral and moral relationships formation because the development of Ukrainian nation is not possible without them.

Predicting political processes in Ukraine in 21st century, it is important to take into account the moral choice of the problem, namely, the correlation of political means used by political ethics. According to many evaluations, the present crisis in Ukraine is primarily a moral crisis, the result of insufficient developed political-ethical consciousness. To a certain degree such its state is resulted from historical conditions where political ethics has been formed. From the very beginning the political ethics of Ukrainian people showed tolerate attitude to diverse forms of political institutions and has been based on pure democratic principles. Political consciousness has perceived a certain political-ethical order with a wide variety of mixed political institutions inherent in it for a long time that is now identified with a political ideal of power division. For example, a triune scheme of unification of various power forms was a peculiar political-ethical order. In Kievan Rus every principality had ethical-political scheme, namely: princes- boyars- veche that is monarchic, aristocratic and democratic elements.

Zaporozhian Sich was a peculiar example of political-ethical behavior. For example, a person who was elected as a hetman or ataman before a military campaign had to refuse from the honor given twice and agreed only for the third time after invitations with long-lasting persuasion, ritual bad language and threats. The election ceremony ended with the placement of handful of soil on the head of a chosen person by old Cossacks, symbolizing the fidelity of the chosen to society. According to Ivan Ogienko, "all Ukrainian life, all the order of the house, all our state system – all this was always democratic. The state of servants was never oppressed in our old nobility – they were always free and equal to everyone ... All the cities in the Ukraine – in the old times, had full self-government: all the officials, all state servants were elective, elected from town dwellers themselves and always reported to that community that elected them."[1]

The role of the church in life of a contemporary Ukrainian society was of great significance, which activities also showed democratic traditions, being an essential characteristic of political culture: "Metropolitan was always chosen by free votes, and the Patriarch of Constantinople only blessed him. In Ukraine, in church life, there was an elective principle everywhere: priests, bishops, archimandrites, heguman,

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[1] Огієнко Іван. Українська культура. Коротка історія культурного життя українського народу. – К.: Абрис, 1991. – 272 с. Ст. 60.

144

and even metropolitans were chosen by free voices."[2] So, it is obvious that ordinary people had election rights, a certain political experience and political system in Ukraine.

We can not deny the fact that the Christian Church and Christianity in general played not a last role in the functioning of Ukrainian state as well as in the management of Ukrainian people at all times. Unfortunately, this point can not yet be taken into account by our contemporary statesmen due to certain well-known objective reasons. One of the most important reasons for this is lack of a single national church that would unite and gather people for solving common problems.

Speaking about the influence of the Christian church and religion on Ukrainian society in general at all times, it should be said that there is a certain stereotype, a standard attitude towards religion and religious organizations among Ukrainian citizens. However, according to sociological research, public opinion about religion, its place and role in the life of Ukrainian society has changed significantly. In particular, among a large part of the population sympathy for the socio-cultural and charitable work of religious organizations has increased. Even today, the majority tends to evaluate religion from the standpoint of its indisputable nature, extremely important role in the process of spiritual and national revival of Ukrainian people. We can hope that this process will be lasting and both the church and the society will facilitate its catalyzation.

Speaking about such national misfortune as a spiritual and cultural decline of our society, the growth of crime and other problems caused by a difficult socio- economic situation, it can be asserted that the Christian church could take part in their overcoming, the main principles of which, along with other world religious teachings and ideologies, became the foundation of all modern culture and moral.

However, depriving people of voice, autonomy, and initiative, Russian autocratic government systematically carried out a policy of weakening the ethical consciousness that strengthened its own power, but prevented the intellectual development of both Russian and Ukrainian people. "Under the influence of socio-economic, political, cultural conditions of life in Russian Empire, – notes V. Bebik- through the introduction of Moscow state system and cancellation of Ukrainian autonomy (in 110 years after the 1654 agreement) democratic values of

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[2] Огієнко Іван. Українська культура. Коротка історія культурного життя українського народа. – К.: Абрис, 1991. – 272 с. Ст. 62.

Ukrainian society are gradually "wiped out" by socially-political and psychological directives of Russian, but, in fact, Eastern (or Asian) political culture." The ethics of autocratic government was nothing more than an attempt to concentrate political ethics "in a single pair of hands" and, accordingly, releasing people from it. And someone, who is not responsible, as it is known, remains outside ethical relations.[3]

The October upheaval of 1917 became a peculiar justice on the political ethical norms. This "justice" existed in the sense that, in fact, all the former ideals were rejected, and a communist ideal was put forward by the imperative, which "released" not a single generation of people from universal human ethical norms, ultimately changing their ethical-political worldview. Ukrainian aristocracy as the main "genetic" holder of ethical values was almost destroyed. And according to the well-known Spanish philosopher J. Ortega y Gasset, disintegration of aristocracy is equivalent to society collapse. The absence of the "best ones" is the fatal spinelessness of the nation, leading to its breakdown, social chaos, because the true aristocracy of spirit is an integral part of the soul, in which there are permanent and obligatory ethical qualities that have become certain established communications in the process of mankind history.

The new political elite "from people" were deprived of moral-ethical concepts. In Bolshevik sense, "class moral" was only a hidden attempt to deprive a policy of ethical dimension. It solved its political problems by destroying its opponents. For example, a bright phenomenon in the process of establishing a new political ideal after October 1917 upheaval was the ethical and legal nihilism, under which the right was considered a defective form of regulation of social life, an institution of the past that was borrowed from the old exploiting classes only for a certain time and because of necessity. Legal norms were entirely denied, and the protection of personal independence – civil, labor, property, and creative – was considered insignificant. Social and political paternalism was distributed (understanding of "parental" care over all aspects of social life), aimed at carrying out authoritarian, and often coercive care of working people.

Ethical-legal nihilism celebrated its first triumph on January 5, 1918, when the Constituent Assembly was disrupted. It was during this period that the subordination of laws to the ideal of "the future happiness of all mankind" was laid. It looked like it was left aside that in the name of a

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[3] Бебик В. Наша політична культура // Політологічні читання. – 1992. – №1. – Ст. 20.

created ideal, the awareness of separate human life value was lost, and skills only for the military-terrorist way of solving any urgent problems were developed that had survived for many years. With the destruction of political elite, concentrating all the political ethics in its consciousness, the country was doomed to decades of political cruelty. Everything that was dear to the nation was subjected to violence. The irrevocability of moral grounds, namely, values that should have remained intact under all circumstances, was being destroyed. Political consciousness became saturated with destructive content, radicalism, cynicism.

Political ethics in Soviet times was based on the ethics of the party nomenclature, which was interested, on the one hand, in the indifferentism (indifference) of political-moral consciousness of people, and, on the other hand, it brought the ideological psychosis associated with the so-called class struggle, the confrontation between two political systems, with "ideological sabotage of decaying capitalism against the progressive world". The Communist Party of Soviet Union developed its internal party ethics, based on regulated principles.

The German-Soviet war significantly changed the social consciousness and, at the same time, the foundations of political ethics. The realization of ideals of that time was sincerely associated with the personality of I. Stalin, and then M. Khrushchev. However, the revelation of Stalin personality's cult, a certain change in the political regime towards democracy has not substantially shaken the foundations of political ethics of a totalitarian society.

In judicial and law practice of 60-70s, there was another danger associated with one of the postulates of ethical and legal nihilism. The utopian idea of close proximity of communism, which had penetrated many of the program documents of those years, gave reasons to suppose that society came close to the period of "dying of law", and this process could be forced by replacing punishment of the court with moral and educational sanctions of party and public organizations, which were practiced.

Ethical and legal nihilism appeared not only in theoretical considerations. It substantially deformed the language. The word "bourgeois" was combined with the word "law" as a negative epithet. The same applies to concepts such as "parliamentarism", "legal entity", "formal equality". Even the word "personality" had a negative shade, and

the word "mass" – a huge significance. It united with the words "folk", "labor", "revolutionary" and practically lost the socially critical content inherent in it from the old times. Everyone who in 1960s showed national patriotism, activity in public life, was subjected to repression. An ideological attack against "idealizing the past of Ukrainian people" was intensified. It was considered unethical to use epithets such as "Ukrainian", "Cossack", the phrase "Zaporozhian Sich", etc.

Already after the fall of CPSU power, the nomenclature still remained the main holder of ethical-political consciousness. On this occasion, "bloodless" revolutions, which preserved the party elites in power in many post-socialist countries, provided some succession in the field of political ethics. However, new upheavals, even if they facilitated the recovery of social system, did not strengthen political ethics.

At the present stage, Ukraine has declared about a tendency to transfer all responsibility for the nation destiny to the power, which is evidence of insufficient political and historical awareness of its active holders. The falseness of this point of view is explained by the fact that the state power today is corroded by corruption, clan system of bureaucracy, its merger with shadow capital and criminality. The ideal of civil society has become much more distant. All these problems are ethical, giving the rise to disbelief in the existing power, complicating the reforms.

Ukrainian political culture also demonstrates its inability to harmonize social order, organized institutional relations under the conditions of weakening traditional hierarchical power-legal relations. According to ideological parameters, it has still been under the influence of a socialist ideal (equalization, collectivism, totalitarianism), while demonstrating the tendency toward a certain deideologization.

The political culture of modern Ukraine is a culture of marginal society (vested with mutually exclusive features), manifested in orientation of citizens on mutually contradicting values: 33% believe that the capitalist system is most favorable to the republic, 25% do not have a definite position, and only 42% are convinced, that Western type of development do not satisfy them. This phenomenon is associated with an ambivalent (split) social consciousness. So, instead of mobilizing Ukrainian society there is a peculiar disorder.

The democratic culture of the community is a worldview and moral state of a person characterized by a sense of belonging to a particular state, a loyal attitude to its institutions and laws, appraisal of own dignity in relations with the authorities, knowledge and respect for human rights, the virtues of civil society, readiness and ability to require observance of own rights, demand from the state to fulfill its function, loyal, responsible attitude towards own obligations before the state, and finally, patriotism. Patriotism, a feeling love to own homeland, the respect of its history, the ability to care about its present, the destiny of compatriots, is outside the politics, it is a high moral value. The true patriot honors and loves his homeland not only in times of its prosperity, but also in times of difficulties, when the authority is possessed by unworthy, in his opinion, people. The patriot loves the country, the homeland, and not a state or power. Love for the homeland in spite of any authority is moral and civic virtue. Patriotism is considered a sign of high moral of a citizen until it becomes an arrogant chauvinism as long as a person is able to appreciate the same love of other person to the country, to respect other person's moral, patriotic feelings.

Another component of moral-political culture of society is the knowledge of how the political system of society is organized, which are the moral prerogatives and functional capabilities of its components, how it is to be influenced, appealed to state structures and official institutions, which ways and methods of interaction are acceptable and the most effective here. The culture of political involvement is determined by the level of knowledge and ideas of citizens about the essence of politics, its moralistic fullness, the relation of political forces, political regulations, procedures and technologies, and the ability to use this knowledge in practice. Modern political culture is an expression of ideas of plurality of social and political life, ideas of spirituality and moral level of society, diversity of legal forms of political confrontation, appreciation of the integrity and moral stability of society.

Peculiarities of political ethics of Ukrainian society are determined by the geographical position of our country on the so-called breakdown of cultures, socio-political orientations: if the central, western regions are guided by European standards, then in the East Euro-Asian standards are more popular. Moreover, if the goals and ideals of Ukrainian community are close to the Western, then the way of life is closer to the Eastern one.

Ukraine has always strived to participate in the European political game, but it often used methods of the Eastern origin.

Some scientists warn against the unambiguous attribution of Ukraine to Western European civilization, which, by the way, has been and is not homogeneous. It is known, that neither Hegel nor Marx and other contemporary, and modern Western European scholars, do not attribute Ukraine to Europe in this terms. Prevalence of European factor in the scientific literature may be due to the fact that it is more or less researched, and the eastern influence remains almost a virgin soil.

The political ethics of modern Ukrainian society is largely determined by lack of control under the authorities, the priority of state goals to the rights of the individual, the superiority of pragmatic considerations to system guarantees, the prevalence of traditionalism over dynamism. For example, at the request of the European public in Ukraine, the death penalty was cancelled. This is a truly serious step not only from the point of view of political ethics, but also universal one. However, the funds for the life of convicts should be found by the head of the colony.

A lot of examples of history convinced that eastern politics is focused on power, strength, and not on law or political ethics. Ukraine often had to deal with such policy, and of course, in its political ethics it is possible to find many "Asian" traces – autocracy, gerontocracy, patriarchism, secret diplomacy, susceptibility to force methods, etc.

In this regard, it is important to identify some contradictions between politics and morality, breaking the integrity of political ethics in the public consciousness. These contradictions are the background on which political relations in society are formed.

The first of these is the moral-psychological contradiction between "the desirable and valid". A very long gap between them almost always marks the split, the inner crisis of personality, and often slyness and ludicrous soul. The same thing happens if people can not organize their lives according to their own principles, can not agree their desire with the social order. The phenomena of such disagreement were observed in the past, for example, when society did not see the implementation of Khrushchev's promise "about the final construction of communism". They are also traced in the present Ukrainian history. Thus, the adoption of the new Constitution of Ukraine gave rise to the statement on the initial period completion on the formation of a democratic, social and law-

governed state, beginning the transition to the next period, that is "the implementation of principles and norms of the Constitution in a real life of society and state, in a life of each person who lives in Ukraine". However, after some time, a contradiction between declared norms, the real possibility and the desire for their implementation has appeared with a new severity. First of all, it is about a tripartite verbal structure: "democratic, social, law-governed state", which is still unattainable.

Even the actual shifts in the ideals of democracy do not lead to an adequate response due to the lack of faith in the political ideals, put forward by the authorities, and in the possibility of their implementation. It seems that most of events of last years at the 20th the beginning of the 21st century occur "outside people's soul".

Another ethical collision associated with the concepts of "we" and "they" forms the main nerve of ethical issues in individual and political morality. "We" are those who do not have authority, consider themselves "ordinary people", and "they" are those who have this power and control it. The content of political morality of "we" corresponds to something explicit, official, subject to legal control; "they" corresponds to something secret, informal, falling out of the field of legal relations. However, if a big part of social relations falls out of the field of social and legal control, it indicates the inadequacy of the social system to social practice. In a moderate amount this inadequacy can be compensated by political morality, in excessive – it leads to a decomposition of political morality, destruction of a social system. The facts of immorality of high power representatives are perceived as moral indulgence for the wider population, expressed in deviation from taxation, from licensing of professional activity, in avoidance of laws, double accounting, cooperation between law enforcement bodies and shadow structures, etc. Until such a practice is recognized by the population as morally acceptable, we will not be able to speak about realization of social and law-governed state ideal at all.

One more collision, which becomes significant for political ethics formation, is connected with the growing claims of citizens to government administration for their participation in governing the state. The administration, in spite of the claims of citizens, seeks to push people out of the politics, while trying to create the illusion of their participation in it. For this purpose, the general forms of citizens' participation in politics are

cultivated: elections, referendums, and other political actions, through which people are involved in a political domain. Quasi-politics covers the entire domain of state bonds with society, all types of political thinking. However, if political functions exist within certain forms, then individuals are forced to use abstract criteria. People do not analyze the fact that the political forms of social existence are created before their birth, they exist beyond the will and consciousness of individuals. An individual can only choose, guided by their political ideal (if any). By contributing to the policy of ruling forces, people can get their share of power: to become a party or state figure, a member of government administration, and so on. In turn, power is distributed among individuals. Of course, people can receive their share of power in case of not sharing the policy of ruling circles as well, but simply striving for a certain status in society. And this is a matter of ethical order. Many random people come to power, and political ethics presupposes the presence of moral convictions and responsibility for their actions. First of all, this applies to professional politicians who must proceed not from for considerations of momentary advantages, but to think by state categories, to compare their actions with moral values and norms, to evaluate the consequences of their actions. Therefore, the moral culture of a politician involves not only professionalism in work, but also exceptional respect for interests of the country and its citizens, the ability to use the power rationally, to behave with the opponents and the opposition in a democratic way, to be able to compromise, defending the state and civil positions fundamentally. Evidence of the moral integrity of state and public-political leaders is their high strong-willed qualities, ability to adhere to the unity of words and actions, to show realism in evaluating their own results and state policy, intolerance to incompetence, dogmatism, and stagnation.

One of the lessons of Ukrainian development as an independent state can be the conclusion that the mandatory condition for progressive transformations is changes in citizen's consciousness and morality, which occur gradually and spontaneously, but under the goal-oriented state educational influence. Such influence should be made not as party propaganda or ideological suggestion, but should be an independent and important branch of state and government policy. Not only the stage of transformation of society, but also its further stable and balanced existence on the principles of high morality, justice and law require the

permanent functioning of the national system of civic education and high morality. The formation of culture of critical loyalty and constitutional education, the civil socialization of personality is the main task and content of such system in Ukraine.

Socio-political morality is a somewhat different cultural phenomenon than an individual one: it belongs to another domain, has other criteria and norms. However, one can not ignore their interconnection and interdependence. If the members of society are immoral, the society will be the same. The moral climate of Ukraine is influenced by malice, theft, hooliganism, drunkenness, untidiness, and unpunctuality. For example, the majority of Ukrainian political parties declare their desire to adhere to moral and ethical values, since morality and culture are indispensable and important conditions for the development of statehood and civil society. But in that case why, over the years of independence, Ukraine has not made significant progress in its economic and cultural development, although according to some Western experts, after the collapse of the USSR it had significant economic and political potential sufficient to enter a number of leading countries of the world? Today, according to some indicators, our country is approaching third world countries, but not the leading world states.

Respect for a person, moral and physical dignity, inviolability of property, rights are not at the appropriate level. This is due to the fact that the ethics of individualism, interpreted as selfishness in our country, was blamed in Ukrainian ethos. The reason for this is the weak formation of a rationalized individual moral consciousness due to the priority of family ties of national culture with its tradition of transferring the center of attention from the individual to the group; in weakening the ability to moral self-identification, which causes an underdevelopment of awareness of the individual conscience category and self-worth of human views.

Relying on moral pluralism (the view that recognizes the plurality of value relations, obligations and life plans that are often incompatible), this theory provides for the necessity of a person to make a choice between what they consider to be morally correct and morally wrong. Moral pluralism does not require tolerance for morally wrong things, reconciliation of good and evil. The state can make people adhere to worthy forms of living based on ethical norms not by forced measures, but and at the same time it can discourage them to adhere to a morally

unacceptable way of life, eliminating the conditions that make it attractive. Therefore, it should not use the coercion to stop "self-worthy" persons from unacceptable activities until they harm others.

The state recognition of personality's self-worthiness, however, gives it the right to use coercion, so that no harm is done to other people, because its task is to provide people with real opportunities for personal life and realization of a self-worthy position. It can forcefully interfere with the autonomy of some persons to protect the autonomy of others. At the same time, the state can not interfere in their autonomy for any other reason. The fundamental moral justification of personality's self-worthiness and the principle of moral pluralism must become an important aspect of political ethics based on tolerance, and not neutrality.

The current background of the political ethics formation is characterized by the disorder of the external and internal life of nation, the high proportion of the secret, the superiority of power of law over ethics, quasi-politics, etc., causing deep structural imbalances and impeding the formation of civil society. Solving problems in different domains of our society is complicated by the fact that the acquisition of state independence took place simultaneously with social transformation, the transformation of public structures from authoritarian-bureaucratic or even authoritarian-etatist forms to the state called "an open society", the state of a democratic, pluralistic, dynamic, law-governed, etc.

In addition, independence was sometimes perceived as simplified, one-sided, as a separation from the traditional community, rather than as an independence of internal social governance, aimed at radically renewal of the deep principles of public life. This, the complication of external political and economic relations as well, and finally, serious mistakes in public governance, generated by a number of reasons, both objective and subjective, led to the fact that the emergence of Ukrainian sovereignty was accompanied by a deep economic crisis, an incredible decline in people's prosperity, aggravation of social problems, crisis of morality and civic consciousness.

These negative factors led to the emergence of social tension, the spread of nihilism and pessimism, which greatly devalued the idea of national sovereignty and identity of the historical progress of Ukraine in the consciousness of certain layers of Ukrainian population.

The discrepancies between the ideals and the realities of our society are determined by underdevelopment of political and social ethics. Failure to perform official duties, unrealized transactions, unpaid wages, unpaid taxes, ignored laws and public interests – all this is the difference between the ideal and social reality. To eliminate it means to restore the moral health of society.

In a democratic society, political ethics is one of the important dimensions of political life; it serves as an integral component of stability of a political system, an essential indicator of the society development and its political consciousness.

Ukrainian people's movement to the formation of a sovereign and independent state, the revival and development of national culture requires a new ideology, namely, the ideology of national revival, harmony, community and joint creation work of people living at the territory of Ukraine and beyond. The fundamental ideas of national harmony ideology have been achieved through much suffering from the contradictory development of Ukrainian cultural and national traditions, living in the minds, feelings and will of the majority of people, political programs of most political parties. However, they have not yet received a theoretically balanced and systematic representation as a humanitarian strategy for state building and cultural revival of nation.

The current problems of state building and national-cultural revival of Ukraine require careful study and deep understanding of the achievements of Ukrainian thinkers of different times regarding the nature and ways of resolving the Ukrainian national issue. The national revival has nothing to do with the isolation attitudes and thoughts that have always been inherent in some part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

The main reason for many negative phenomena in contemporary Ukrainian society is the lack of developed common morality, based on Soviet totalitarian values which are the things of the past. So, it is under the present conditions that the development and formation of a new system of moral and spiritual values, a new worldview that would be based on deep cultural and spiritual traditions of our people, are very important. Spiritual moral, religious values are the foundation of society, its living origins. If they exist, if they fill the souls of people, so no crises are terrible, people can confidently look into the future. It is impossible to overcome the socio-economic crisis until we find salvation from

desolation in the minds and hearts of people, until the morality will fill the hearts of not only ordinary citizen, but also responsible political figure of any level. Economics and politics, according to our deep conviction, are secondary to culture, spirituality and morals. Therefore, one who thinks that it is necessary to revive the economy, postponing the revival of culture, education, spirituality, morality to some day is wrong. First, the national culture, "the spirit of people" should be restored, and then, based on it, the economy should be developed.

The formation of ideologies of national revival is a kind of philosophical paradigm of state and cultural construction, a problem which solution requires a collective effort of the intellectual elite of Ukraine. Careful acquaintance with the cultural and historical tradition of Ukrainians shows that the first things among others are the ideas of social, national harmony, cooperation of nations and states, conscientious work, unity, spirituality, ecology and health care.

Considering the main factors strengthening the role of moral principles in the Ukrainian society, one can not ignore such factor as mentality of Ukrainian people. Some researchers note that Ukrainian person is characterized by an extravagant attitude to the world, associated with such features as isolation, silent nature, the desire for spiritual seclusion, subordination, tolerance, certain life asceticism, unpretentiousness, high sensuality, domination of sensuality over intellectual and volitional. Such traits as features of a good person are truly inherent in Ukrainian people, but we must not forget that, as noted by other ancient thinkers, there is nothing more terrible than a good person brought to despair. It is such manifestations that we observed on the eve of and in the days of Khmelnytsky, Ruins, Kolyivshchyna, Ukrainian Revolution of the early 20th century.

The political mentality of Ukrainian people acts as an organizing factor, uniting political-psychological and national-cultural community of people. It is inextricably linked with worldview moral and ethical orientations of Ukrainian people, is reflected in the political consciousness of Ukrainians, and manifests itself as a unity of spiritual, sensual, emotional and effective forms of people's political existence. Therefore, the so-called stereotyping is unacceptable, according to which the psychological features of the nation are derived solely from the individual

features of its individual members, which inevitably leads to misconceptions about national values in general.

At the same time, the mentality and national character of Ukrainians also contain such archetypes and features that adversely affect the development of political national establishment, political thinking and political practice. Researchers name an absolute predominance in the structure of social, group and private interests over national and social ones as one of the typical features of political mentality of Ukrainian people, especially of political elite, which led to the adoption of a stereotype of socio-psychological behavior of egocentric orientation in it. N. Yakovenko notes that objective difficulties of people's political existence are intensified by subjective, ingrained in the inertial psychology of a Ukrainian who tends to passive waiting rather than to the position of action.

Unfortunately, in the public consciousness of a large part of Ukrainian people, and in the ideological doctrines of some political figures, such approach to Ukrainian history has not been overcome by this time, when all the troubles of the Ukrainian people are explained by external factors: by the Tatar-Mongol conquest at one time, the Lithuanian and Polish domination, Turkish-Tatar invasions, for a long time, and to this day, by Russian policy. According to this approach, a simplified image of the enemy is made, not taking into account complicated relationships and influences by Ukrainian people and our neighbors. Overestimation of external factors leads to underestimation of the internal ones, both political and moral-spiritual factors which in opinion of some researchers have been decisive in the development of Ukrainian people.

As K. Jaspers and A. J. Toynbee note, in the history of every people there is its "axial time", which is an age of development (including through the adaptation of borrowed ideas) of an adequate ideological, worldview, moral and ethical "response" to the challenge of new living conditions. The true basis of people's unity is spirit, public morality, and not a generic, natural or economic unity. It is they who ensure integrity, unite people in the common aspiration to freedom.[4]

There may be no more urgent problem for Ukraine as a sovereign state than returning to the general civilization path of human development. Ukraine proclaimed its independence as a declaration of its choice: to

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[4] Ясперс К. Философская вера // Смысл и назначение истории. – СПб: Наука, 2000. – 272 с.

return to the circle of the world history. The destiny gave Ukrainians another socio-historical chance. It is important not to lose it, not to drown it in the interlacement of side socio-political and economic collisions and troubles, defending illusory priorities and protecting utopian projects.

The general civilization change has no alternatives, but there are problems, first of all, the theoretical substantiation of social life dominant principles, to which one should return in order to make up for lost social time.

However, independent Ukraine is continuing its establishment and consolidation in the world. Its people are making considerable efforts to develop those successes and progressive tendencies in this situation, which inevitably will lead Ukraine into a number of highly developed European countries.

So, an important component of the strengthening of moral principles in Ukrainian society is the revival of national spirit, national consciousness, based on a national idea, which should lift moral standards and dignity of Ukrainians, promote their awareness of significance and value of our state as an integral part of European and world civilization.

Moral regulation is based on the presence of person's ability and capacity to comprehend the decision, the rational superiority of the option of an act and moral reflection, ensuring the maximum effectiveness of political activity, taking into account moral reasonableness. Any social action is considered as a result of interaction of various interests and needs, aspirations and will, without which it is impossible to understand the general orientation of historical events, and as a result, it is impossible to achieve a comprehensive study of issues of social transformative activity, the transition of society to higher levels of its development. All this requires the necessity for a comprehensive consideration of value orientations in political activity.

In fact, the socio-philosophical angle of view on value orientations is, first of all, in the awareness of their social significance. They act as an important bonding link between society (social environment) and individual, personality, and their internal world.

A holistic picture of public and political life can only be obtained if all three types of human activity stimuli are taken into account, taken in their correlation with the respective domains of daily life activity of society – material, social, political, and spiritual. Therefore, the very

evaluation of the purpose and means of achieving such harmonious correlation depends on their interconnection.

And here the harmonious unity of morality and political reasonableness requires conscious creative efforts in all domains of human activity. The more objective the moral assessment of these efforts will be in this case, the closer it will be to the actual scientific assessment of public and political reality. Entering the most remote fields of political activity, moral evaluations act as one of the regulatory factors of political action, allowing us to combine faithful knowledge with the will to action.

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Information about the author:
Tymoshenko T. S.
Candidate of Philosophical Sciences,
Assistant Professor at the Department of Philosophy and History
Educational-Scientific Humanitarian Institute
V. I. Vernadsky Taurida National University,
33, Ivana Kudri str., Kyiv, 01042, Ukraine.

CONCLUSIONS

The research of a wide range of diverse cultural civilization process aspects conducted in this monograph as well as its historical and philosophical study allows making some conclusions. Thus, the results of scientific analysis of the integrity phenomenon make possible to apply a new philosophical approach to understanding the concept of integrity as a socio-cultural problem and expand the range of research, the subject of which is a person. Under the conditions of globalization the growth of civilization integrity of the world should correlate with a holistic personality.

In the area of applied historical studies, historians of St. Volodymyr's University of Kyiv, in their holistic view of the Byzantine civilization, were purposefully moving from the revelation of previously unknown sides of the studied object in numerous articles to the conceptualization and generalization of actual material in the fundamental monographs. In response, the creators of the civilization theory relied on the semantics of organicism. The theory of cultural-historical types by M. Ya. Danilevsky, the theory of cultures-organisms by O. Spengler, the theory of civilizations as individuals by A. Toynbee claimed to cover the whole set of facts from the history of one or another civilization in its organic connection by a single sight, by one thought. The civilization process analysis in the East Asian region shows the decisive influence of Chinese civilization and its philosophical and ethical concepts on it, becoming the basis of family relationships, education, socio-economic and ideological-political structures of the respective societies.

The results of studying the role of cinematography in forming the reflection on history and providing a kind of "connection of time" in lasting cultural-historical process are interesting. The greatest contribution to such cinematography was made by the "left" filmmakers who turned to the "experiencing" of revolution, in particular Jean-Marie Straub, Daniele Huille, Theo Angelopoulos, Alain Resnais, Rainer Werner Fassbinder and others.

As for Ukraine, the revolution, intervention and civil war in 1917-1920 radically changed the everyday life of citizens, especially in the cities. Total nationalization almost oppressed the sprouts of civil society

and pushed the country into an Asian way of political and economic development under the patterns of Russian Bolshevism.

The policy of today's Russia is aimed at limiting the sovereignty of Ukraine and weakening its allies in NATO and the EU. The annexation and militarization of the Crimea are turning the peninsula into the strategic base of Russia that threatens the security of Europe, and the construction of gas pipeline along the bottom of the Black Sea undermines Ukrainian energy and foreign economic security. Under the conditions of a very complicated present of Ukraine, it is extremely important to renew efforts in raising the moral and spiritual level of the Ukrainian people, to form a durable system of deep moral and spiritual values in them.

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