

V.I. VERNADSKY TAURIDA NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

**LEADING TENDENCIES IN HUMANITIES:
PHILOSOPHICAL, HISTORICAL
AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS**

Collective monograph



Lviv-Toruń
Liha-Pres
2019

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Leading tendencies in humanities: philosophical, historical and political contexts : collective monograph / Y. Horiunova, V. G. Kosmyna, I. G. Kudrya, V. Z. Popov, etc. – Lviv-Toruń : Liha-Pres, 2019. – 180 s.

ISBN 978-966-397-111-7

This collective work is a critical analysis of the main tendencies of contemporary humanitarianism and their evolution within the framework of philosophical, historical and political contexts. Different directions of humanitarian knowledge are considered, ranging from historiosophical, civilizational, political, ethical, culturological and philosophical, historical and memorial.

The book is intended for researchers, post-graduate students, students of humanities.



Liha-Pres is an international publishing house which belongs to the category „C” according to the classification of Research School for Socio-Economic and Natural Sciences of the Environment (SENSE) [isn: 3943, 1705, 1704, 1703, 1702, 1701; prefixMetCode: 978966397]. Official website – www.sense.nl.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
FEATURES OF MEMORIAL POLICY IN CRIMEA IN THE CONTEXT OF RUSSIAN ANNEXATION Horiunova Y.....	5
THE HISTORICAL FACT IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-NON-CLASSICAL SCIENCE Kosmyna V. G.....	26
HISTORIOSOPHY: BETWEEN ESCHATOLOGY, MESSIANISM AND POETRY Kudrya I. G.....	46
TRAGIC AND COMIC IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF UKRAINE IN 1917-1920 Popov V. Z.....	67
WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY? Predeina M. Yu.....	91
DOMAINS AND STAGES OF CREATIVITY IN CULTURE Tarasiuk L. S.....	111
MORALITY AS A SPECIFIC FORM OF HUMAN ACTIVITY MOTIVATION Tymoshenko T. S.	133

**THE LESSONS OF HISTORY AND POLITICS:
PROGNOSTIC FUNCTION OF THE MODERN POLITICAL
STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**
Chekanov V. Yu. 152

CONCLUSIONS..... 173

INTRODUCTION

This monograph is the result of the long work of the staff of the Department of Philosophy and History of the Educational and Scientific Humanitarian Institute of the V. I. Vernadsky Tavria national University. The author's team hopes that the monograph stimulates a wider interest in humanities. This book will find readership among a wide range of scholars: philosophers; historians; political scientists; scholars engaged in cross-cultural research; scientists especially interested in interdisciplinary approaches and methods of cognition; and anyone who is interested in modern humanities.

The monograph is an intellectual platform for some potentially heuristic multidisciplinary discussions. Before moving on to the specific issues discussed in this paper, it should be noted that the monograph is created in the context of a broad academic debate around humanitarian, especially its leading tendencies. Cultural conditions humanitarian as a special type of knowledge, have developed in the Renaissance. It is at this time that there is the idea that a person is a special type of being. The transition from the preconditions to the formation of the sphere of humanities as a special sphere of knowledge occurs when a person becomes an independent subject of knowledge. Humanities are not separated from philosophy and history.

Esse Igor Kudrya ("Historiosophy: Between Eschatology, Messianism and Poetry") is devoted to historiography as a special type of philosophy of history, which has a providential religious character, that is, it presupposes the existence of a transcendental ultimate goal of history. Kudrya argues that the subject of historiosophy, in contrast to the philosophy of history (rationalist doctrine of the laws of history), is the cultural-historical ideals that define history through higher goals or absolute values. Real historical events play insignificant role in historiosophy, the messian-eschatological image of historical events is in the forefront. Kudrya, attaches great importance to historiosophy in the transformation of the historical event into messianism. Messianic imagination plays a significant role in the historiosophy. Unlike the philosophy of history, historiosophy, in interpreting the laws of history, is based not on the rational conceptualization of historical events, but on mythology, poetry, art and eschatology.

Interesting essays are the works of *Vitaliy Kosmyna* (“The Historical Fact in the Context of Post-non-Classical Science”) and *Vsevolod Chekanov* (“The Proceedings of History and Politics: Prognostic Function of the Modern Political Studies of International Relations”). Ece Kosmyna focuses on the methodology of civilization analysis of the historical process, which involves a set of certain categories of historical science. According to Kosmyna, the central category of this analysis is a historical fact. In addition, modern historical science requires rethinking not only the object of historical research, but also the subject. In this sense, historical fact is both a category of cognition and a category of self-knowledge of historical science, which undoubtedly affects its status and significance. Its problematic nature should be analyzed on the general background of all scientific evolution as a separate sphere of cultural activity. Along with the analysis of the historical fact in the context of modern science, the essay Chekanov explores the predictive function of the latest political studies of international relations. Chekanov sets himself the task of studying the place of predictive function in political theory as a whole, and for this purpose it is necessary to study the role of the forecast in the decision-making process and analyze the place of the future expectations in the field of international relations.

Taras Tymoshenko (“Morales a Special Form of Human Activity Motivation”) raises questions of moral choice in the context of ethical research of the general principles of analysis of human activity in general and a targeted approach - an analysis of the correlation of goals, means, and outcomes. Tymoshenko is convinced that the special allocation in the moral of such universal characteristics of activity allows us to decide whether the choice of purposeful means is an integral element of the system - moral activity, whether the criterion of purposefulness is external, and that does not express the essence of moral choice, and the last is exhausted by the axiological advantage, contains the value irrespective of the effective realization of the set goal.

Lara Tarasiuk (“Domains and Stages of Creativity in Culture”) offers vivid reflections on creativity, especially concerning the sphere and stages of creativity in culture. For Tarasiuk, creativity is primarily determined by the fact that modern society directs a person to the implementation of a creative person, but at the same time does not provide the necessary resources for this. At the present stage of the development of culture in

the age of globalization, the problem of creativity is extremely relevant, because through the creation new models of life, as well as moral values are formed through creativity. The creative personality is important for culture at all stages of their formation and in various forms of manifestation. In connection with this, it is necessary to study the phenomenon of creativity in the spheres of culture and philosophy, which can become a philosophical and methodological basis for further research of creativity in other areas of humanities.

Like any monograph, especially in humanitarian studies, this monograph contains a productive elaboration of its own position on the fundamental issues of the humanities. For example, there is the essay by *Maria Predeina* (“What is philosophy?”). Predeina in the context of postmodernism proclaims that thinking means to resist, the only thing that remains philosophy in modern conditions is resistance. Philosophy has always resisted, even in its form, which today we call natural philosophy. Natural philosophy, resisting the gods, made possible the emergence of modern science.

In the history of everyday life, he presented his essay *Viacheslav Popov* (“Tragic and Comic in the Everyday Life of the Urban Population of Ukraine in 1917-1920”), in which he attempted to problematize the tragic and comic as the central categories of everyday life of the urban population of Ukraine in 1917-1920. Popov characterizes the everyday life of the industrial regions of Ukraine in 1917-1920 through a series of specific rice. The social structure of the urban population was quite diverse, which created the possibility of comparative consideration of behavioral practices of different segments of the population. Some features of the Ukrainian urban life of industrial centers during the period of socio-economic changes belonged to all groups, regardless of their social status. At the same time there were specific behaviors of certain categories of citizens.

Mainstream historical memory studies develops in his essay *Eugenia Goryunova* (“Features of the Memorial Policy in Crimea in the Context of Russian Annexation”). One of the key areas of the Russian hybrid war against Ukraine, says Goryunova, is the Kremlin's memorial policy. Memorial policy is the main means of forming the cultural space of the Crimea, which is filled with Russian symbols, ranging from monuments to street names. This space was formed for several centuries, along with

the myths about primordial belonging of the Crimea to Russia. After 2014, Russia is actively implementing new humanitarian vectors, distributing cultural symbols that are in line with its current memorial policy, taking into account Crimea's specifics. New monuments that appeared in the Crimea after the Russian annexation completely coincide with the tasks of demarcation of the Crimean symbolic field in accordance with the modern Russian historical tradition - a combination of imperial and Soviet principles with an emphasis on a militaristic format.

Thus, this monograph will become a serious scientific complement to the contemporary discussion in humanities, especially because it involves a broad interdisciplinary approach.

Igor Kudrya

FEATURES OF MEMORIAL POLICY IN CRIMEA IN THE CONTEXT OF RUSSIAN ANNEXATION

Horiunova Y.

INTRODUCTION

The Russian Federation is waging a hybrid war on various fronts. The Kremlin uses almost the entire complex of its means Against Ukraine – from real military hostilities in the eastern part of the country, although under slogans “we are not there”, to a powerful anti-Ukrainian information campaign. Wars of the XXI century are already far from the traditional perception of an armed conflict, because they ceased to be solely military actions. “It is necessary to take into account the socio-cultural, techno-economic and geopolitical dimensions of a war,” a hybrid war scholar, F. Hoffman, said¹.

One of the key features of the Russian hybrid war against Ukraine is the Kremlin's memorial policy, which helped the Russian authorities to justify “the return of Crimea to their native harbor.” Accordingly, statements about the Crimea as an integral part of Russia continually appear in program speeches of the Russian President Vladimir Putin. Allegedly, these ancient ties of the peninsula with the “Russian world” start from the baptism of Volodymyr in Korsun (Chersonesus).

The memorial policy and the formation of a corresponding cultural space of the Crimea promote the implementation of the Kremlin's strategy. This strategy is filled with Russian symbols, ranging from monuments and ending with names of streets. This space has been forming over several centuries along with the myths about the “ancestral affiliation” of Crimea and Sevastopol to Russia.

During Soviet times, Russian imperial symbols disappear from the Crimea. Monuments to tsars were destroyed and replaced with mass renaming of settlements and streets in honor of Soviet leaders. During the time of independent Ukraine, the symbolic field of the Crimea has not

¹ Hoffman F. G. Hybrid Warfare and Challenges. *Joint Force Quarterly (JFQ)*. Issue 52. Forth Quarter. 2009. P. 36.

changed much, because the Ukrainian authorities did not pay close attention to the implementation of the humanitarian policy on the peninsula. Accordingly, the Russian-Soviet cultural heritage prevailed, which greatly facilitated the annexation of the Crimea.

After 2014, Russia has been actively implementing new humanitarian vectors by distributing cultural symbols that are in line with its current memorial policy, taking into account Crimea's specifics. New monuments that appeared in the Crimea after the Russian annexation completely coincide with the tasks of demarcation of the Crimean symbolic field in accordance with the modern Russian historical tradition – a combination of imperial and Soviet principles with an emphasis on a militaristic format.

1. Russian-Soviet symbolism preceding the annexation of the Crimea

When the Crimea was within the Russian Empire, and then within the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the corresponding cultural and symbolic space of the peninsula was formed. It combined Russian and Soviet cultural codes. Despite the fact that since 1954 the Crimean oblast was part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ukrainian cultural symbols were presented very limitedly, which gave Russia additional opportunities to insist on its rights to own the Crimea.

The symbolic space of the city of Simferopol demonstrates certain features of the cultural and symbolic space of Crimea right before the Russian annexation. For example, as of 2014 out of the city's eight squares half is related to the Soviet past. These are the Square of Lenin (the main square of the city), the Soviet Square, the Square of the Soviet Constitution, Kuibyshev Square (in honor of a Soviet leader). The names of other two are neutral – Vokzalna and Sportyvna, one is associated with Russia – Moscow Square. Another square in the city center has the name of twice Hero of the Soviet Union, Amet-Khan Sultan – a Crimean Tatar pilot, hero of the Great Patriotic War.

We have the similar situation with the names of the streets of Simferopol. As of 2014 there were more than 700 streets in the city (excluding alleys and passages). All central streets of the Crimean capital kept Soviet names: Lenin (besides the street there is a boulevard), Kirov, Marx and other revolutionary figures. The buildings

of the republican authorities are located on the streets with the following names: the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (ARC) on Karl Marx Street, and the building of the Council of Ministers – on Lenin Street.

In total, 46 streets of Simferopol were named in honor of the participants in the revolution of 1917, in the civil war and of the Soviet leaders, 20 of which are not related to the city at all. Several streets were named in honor of revolutionary figures who were directly related to the bloody executions – Bela Kun, Mate Zalka, Dzerzhynsky. For example, Bela Kun was the initiator of mass repressions in the Crimea in the 1920-1921.

The names of more than 20 Simferopol streets are connected with the revolutionary events of 1917 and the Great Patriotic War. For example, The 60th anniversary of the October Street (in honor of the October Revolution of the Bolsheviks in 1917), the Heroes of Stalingrad Street (in honor of the Battle of Stalingrad in the winter of 1942-1943), the Red Army and Red Flag Street (in honor of the Red Army during the Civil War in Russia).

But most of the streets were named after heroes of the Great Patriotic War and Crimean underground resistance – 65 streets, only 10 out of which are not related to the Crimea (to a large extent, they are members of the “Young Guard” – an underground youth organization in Krasnodon USSR in 1942-1943).

The number of streets named in honor of Russian cultural figures is 34 (20 of them have no relation to the Crimea); eight are named in honor of historical figures (five of them are not related to the Crimea); seven were named after representatives of Soviet culture.

Following the returning and settlement of the Crimean Tatars in Simferopol some streets have been named after the Crimean Tatar heroes of war and those who fought for the rights of these deported people. There are about 30 of such streets, but all except the Square of Amet-Khan Sultan were located in the Crimean Tatar districts of the city.

As for Ukrainian cultural or historical leaders, only five streets bear their names – Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, Lesia Ukrainka, Hryhorii Petrovsky, Ivan Franko and Taras Shevchenko. Everyone except Petrovsky are Ukrainian writers and poets.

Following the collapse of the USSR, the process of decolonization and de-Sovietization unfolded in Crimea, but it was very short and touched only six streets. In 1991, the Voroshilov's Street (the Russian revolutionary and Soviet statesman) was renamed to Bitak Street. The Parkhomenko Street (the revolutionary figure and the participant of the Civil War) – to the Karaim Street (in honor of one of the peoples who live in the Crimea). The Quay of the 60th Anniversary of October Street became the Quay of Ismail Gasprinsky, a prominent Crimean Tatar enlightener.

A new wave of renaming has begun in 2008 by the initiative of Russian organizations of the Crimea, who managed to secure the returning of the pre-revolutionary names to three streets from the local authorities. Thus, instead of the streets in honor of the German revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Dovhorukivska Street appeared on the map of Simferopol (in honor of Russian historical figures) and the October Street became the Petropavlivska Street.

Historical monuments carry a special semantic load. Although, there are not many on them in Simferopol, but there are already two to the “leader of the world's proletariat”. One stands in the center of the city – on the main square, where ceremonies and celebrations take place; the other one was meeting the guests of the peninsula near the railway station. That is, both monuments are located in the iconic places for the city. The small-scale attempts by the public to remove these monuments caused a fierce opposition from local Communists.

A bust of Mykhailo Frunze, a Soviet figure who was involved in mass terror in the Crimea, was moved from the main building of the V.I. Vernadsky Tavrida National University (TNU) to another university campus only in 2013. But these actions caused dissatisfaction of some part of university instructors. A monument to Volodymyr Vernadsky, who headed the university in 1920, was erected at the entrance to the main building of the TNU.

Also a monument to Pavlo Dybenko, a revolutionary and statesman of Ukrainian origin, remained in the city on the square named after him. And the bust of Mykola Kyrychenko, the first secretary of the Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A very interesting building in the city center is called “A shot in the back”. This

is a monument to the “victims of Ukrainian nationalists”, that is, the fighters of the OUN-UPA – the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. It was erected and financed by the Crimean Communists in 2007.

According to the first secretary of the Crimean Republican Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Leonid Hrach, “about four thousand Crimeans, the representatives of peaceful occupations, died from the hands of Fascist supporters, in Western Ukraine”².

The installation of this monument triggered a tough reaction from representatives of the Ukrainian right-wing parties. So, the leader of the People's Movement of Ukraine Leonid Pilunsky called these actions of the Communists a provocation by the Communists, who were executioners, since tens of thousands of people were murdered by them in the 1920s of the last century³.

Regarding Russia's historical or cultural heritage, it is represented by the Dovgorukov Obelisk which was erected in honor of the victory over the Turkish troops (1842), monuments to Alexander Suvorov, Alexander Pushkin, and Petro Tchaikovsky.

The Ukrainian cultural heritage in Simferopol was represented by the bust of Taras Shevchenko at the entrance to the park bearing his name, and to General Petro Hryhorenko, who fought for the rights of the Crimean Tatars. In other cities of Crimea monuments to the Ukrainian Kobzar (“Bard” in the Ukrainian culture and literature) were also erected in Sevastopol, Yalta, and Yevpatoria. The monument to the Ukrainian poet Lesia Ukrainka was established in Yalta in 1971.

After the rehabilitation and mass return of the Crimean Tatar people to the Crimea, the memorials dedicated to the victims of deportation appeared on the peninsula. One of them is near the Botanical Garden of the V. Vernadsky Tavrida National University, the other is on the territory of the Crimean Engineering and Pedagogical University (KIPU).

Among of the most important memorials for Simferopol were the monuments in honor of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War (so called

² Коммунисты открыли в Крыму памятник «жертвам ОУН-УПА». *УНІАН*. 14.09.2007. URL: <https://www.unian.net/common/64616-kommunistyi-otkryili-v-kryimu-pamyatnik-jertvam-oun-upa.html>

³ Симоненко открыл в Симферополе памятник жертвам ОУН-УПА. *Корреспондент*. 14.09.2007. URL: <https://korrespondent.net/ukraine/events/207397-simonenko-otkryl-v-simferopole-pamyatnik-zhertvam-oun-upa>

the events of the Second World in the Crimea following the USSR and Russia). First of all, these were the traditional Soviet-era memorials “The Eternal Flame” memorable boards. In 2010, a monument to the Separate Maritime Army was opened in Crimea, which liberated the Crimea from the Nazis.

A lot of memorable signs in honor of the Great Patriotic War remained throughout the Crimea in the form of monuments or military equipment mounted on a pedestal (tanks, airplanes, etc.), and obelisks with a red star. The largest number of them is in the heroic cities of Kerch and Sevastopol, with the similar memorials.

This kind of cultural and symbolic space was in the Crimea on the brink of the annexation, which created a mental field for the real occupation. The sociological surveys conducted in the Crimea before the annexation capture the domination of the Russian cultural tradition on the peninsula.

According to a poll conducted by the Razumkov Center in the Crimea in 2008, 55.5% of respondents identified themselves with the Russian cultural tradition, 14.6% – with the Soviet, 8.8% – with the Ukrainian, and 8.3% – with the Crimean Tatar. The corresponding absolute majority of the Crimeans had a Russian-Soviet identity five years before the annexation of the peninsula, which became the basis for the implementation of the concept of the “Russian world” and the “protection” of Russian-speaking citizens in the Crimea. In the whole Ukraine, another tendency prevailed, 57.9% of respondents attributed themselves to the Ukrainian cultural tradition⁴.

It should be noted that such sentiments prevailed not only among middle-aged and elderly people, but even among young people. According to the polls of the Crimean student youth that was systematically conducted during 2007-2012, 35% of young people considered the “October Revolution of 1917” as a positive event in history, 21% considered its consequences as negative, and 44% did not have an answer⁵.

⁴ АР Крим: люди, проблеми, перспективи. *Національна безпека та оборона*. 2010. № 10. С. 3-72.

⁵ Хриенко Т.В. Молодежь Крыма о политике и политиках (опыт социологических исследований) : монография. Симферополь, 2013. С. 92.

Majority of student respondents (50.5%) believed that there was no historical need for liquidation of the USSR (2012 poll). Based on such considerations of the Crimean students, the answer to the question if there is a need for the revival of the Soviet Union as an updated federation (1991 referendum type) is not surprising: 61.5% of students supported the restoration of the USSR.

The domination of the Russian-Soviet mentality explains the attitude of young Crimeans to Soviet monuments – the vast majority (83.5%) were strongly against the demise of such monuments and condemned the corresponding actions in the Baltic countries (79%). A provocative monument “A shot in the back” was supported by 43% of respondents, against were 24%, and a third was not able to answer the question⁶.

The Russian historical tradition prevailed in the answers to questions about the Soviet history. Thus, almost 70% of the surveyed Crimean students considered the Soviet-German war as a “liberation war of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders” and only 19% perceived it as a war of “the Fascist Germany and the USSR for spheres of influence in the world.” Therefore, an absolute majority of Crimean students (84%) did not see problems in decorating cities with the Soviet red flags and celebration of the Victory Day on May 9th. The Russian mythology about the Crimean Tatars as traitors and the limitation of their symbolic space is explained by the fact that almost 40% of young respondents supported Stalin's decision to deport the people.

Thus, the Crimea's existence in the Russian-Soviet cultural-symbolic, and accordingly, the mental sphere, greatly facilitated the annexation of the peninsula by the Russian Federation in the spring of 2014.

2. The Right to the historical memory of Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars on the peninsula after the annexation

Prior to the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation, Ukrainians together with the Crimean Tatars were a minority. According to the 2001 census, over two million people lived in the Crimea, 58.5% of which were Russians, 24.4% were Ukrainians and 12.1% were Crimean Tatars. That is, representatives of the title nation of the Ukrainian state on

⁶ Хриенко Т.В. Молодежь Крыма о политике и политиках (опыт социологических исследований) : монография. Симферополь, 2013. С. 127.

the peninsula were representatives of the minority, which significantly influenced the implementation of the memorial policy in the Crimea.

Monuments to the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko have become the central venue for Ukrainian events in various cities of the Crimea. It is worth mentioning that unlike in Sevastopol, Yalta or Evpatoria, where large monuments of the Kobzar were installed, in Simferopol, the capital of the Crimea, only the Kobzar's bust was installed in 1997 which was a gift to the city from the city of Lviv. Traditionally, this was the place where representatives of the Crimean officials laid flowers on the Independence Day of Ukraine (August 24), on the Day of Unity (January 22), on the Constitution Day of Ukraine (June 28) and on the birthday of Taras Shevchenko (March 9). However, the first persons of Crimea were far from always present at these events. For example, on March 9, 2013, at the celebrations there was no speaker of the Crimean parliament Volodymyr Konstantynov or the head of the Crimean government Anatoliy Mohyliov. Even the mayor of the Crimean capital, Victor Ageiev, wasn't present there. Only the Permanent Representative of the President of Ukraine to the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Viktor Plakida and the deputies of the Crimean Prime Minister Aziz Abdullaiev and Olga Udovina came to commemorate the memory of the Kobzar.

In addition, it was very difficult in Crimea to hold events dedicated to commemorating the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Since there were no memorable signs in Crimea, representatives of Ukrainian organizations brought flowers to the bust of the Kobzar in Simferopol. But their actions were hampered by representatives of various pro-Russian parties and organizations, the local Russian Cossacks and the Crimean Communists.

During the Russian occupation of the peninsula, the monument to the Kobzar has become the place of the Ukrainian resistance to the Russian aggression. Thus, on March 9, 2014, when the peninsula was de facto occupied by the Russians in the guise of "the little green men," a rally in support of Ukraine was held near the Shevchenko bust, where several thousands of people tried to resist the aggression peacefully and stressed that Crimea is the integral part of Ukraine. A similar rally took place on March 9 in Sevastopol near the monument to Shevchenko. However, the

representatives of pro-Russian structures tried to disrupt it and resorted to outright provocations.

After the official date of the annexation of Crimea, the monuments to the Kobzar have become a symbol of Ukrainian national identity and a center of public resistance to the occupation. Flowers appeared there not only on the birthday of the Kobzar, but also on the Day of Constitution or Independence of Ukraine. But the Crimeans were forced to do it under the supervision of the local police and security forces. Sometimes the Crimeans had no choice other than bringing flowers at night, as it was on October 14, 2015, when the Day of the Defender of the Fatherland has become the national remembrance day in Ukraine. In the morning, the Russian police surrounded the monument, and representatives of the city services quickly cleaned the bouquets with blue and yellow symbols.

In 2016, webcams were installed near the bust, therefore, all who come to the monument automatically fall under the supervision of the Russian special services as unreliable. Many Ukrainians were forced to leave the peninsula because of the pressure on them from the Russian occupation authorities to save their lives.

On March 9, 2014, the last gathering took place near the monument to the Kobzar in Simferopol, because in March 2015 the Crimean Ukrainians were forbidden from honoring the memory of the poet near his bust. Instead, they were offered to hold the event in another place – in the city park. A few dozen of people walked wearing embroidery shirts and under the Ukrainian flag. But its organizers and participants were detained by the local police for “violating the established procedure for organizing or holding a rally”, that is, for the use of the Ukrainian symbols. All detained activists were sentenced by the Russian court in Simferopol to pay fines.

Since 2016, the Russian authorities have been involving the controlled “Ukrainian community of the Crimea” in the celebrations on March 9, whose representatives in the national clothes played roles laying flowers to the Kobzar's bust and reading his verses. The Crimeans, who came independently to the monument, at first were not even allowed to approach. Later they were given the permission to put the bouquets, but quickly and one by one being at the gunpoint of police, cameras and special services.

In 2017, activists of the Ukrainian Cultural Center (UCC) intended to hold a public event to conduct a memorial near the Shevchenko monument. This organization has emerged after the Crimean occupation by Russia and emphasized its exclusively cultural activities and the preservation of the Ukrainian culture in the Crimea. However, the Russian authorities denied the UCC's request, referring to mistakes in completing the application form for the event.

The official celebrations near the Kobzar in Simferopol in March 2017 were conducted by the Ukrainian community of Crimea which was controlled by the Russian authorities, along with representatives of the Russian and Belarusian communities. These groups emphasized the Slavic cultural affiliation of the Ukrainian poet in their speeches. "Taras H. Shevchenko is an outstanding person for the entire Slavic world, who made an invaluable contribution to art. He taught people to live together under peaceful skies, without bloody wars, and we must keep that in mind," said the head of the Ukrainian community of Crimea, Oleh Usyk.⁷

In other regions of the peninsula there are no official events, nor any significant restrictions on the laying of flowers to the monuments of Shevchenko. But the majority of the Crimean Ukrainians try to spend memorable days indoors by reading poetry.

In 2019, the occupant authorities of the peninsula allowed to hold a rally on March 9 near the Simferopol Kobzar to the pro-Russian organizations that came with the Russian flags and called Shevchenko a "Russian writer." After that, the Crimean Ukrainians finally managed to put flowers to the bust, read poems and perform some Ukrainian songs.⁸

Since the monuments to Shevchenko became centers of gravitation of the peninsula's pro-Ukrainian forces right during the annexation of The Crimea, the Russian authorities have been trying to restrict access to them and, through the use of controlled organizations, to promote their own version of the history of "the one people and Slavic brotherhood".

The Russian authorities of the Crimea demonstrate similar attitude towards the historical memory of the Crimean Tatars and try to impose on them only official events, where the most tragic date in the history of the

⁷ Память украинского поэта Тараса Шевченко почтили чтением его стихов в Крыму. *РИА Крым*. 09.03.2017. URL: <https://crimea.ria.ru/society/20170309/1109425136.html>

⁸ От митинга до подполья: как в Крыму отмечают день рождения Шевченко. *Крым. Реалии*. 09.03.2019. URL: <https://ru.krymr.com/a/photo/29082441.html>

Crimean Tatar people, the deportation, is interpreted in a completely different way.

On May 18, 1944, the mass deportation of the Crimean Tatars began and lasted until May 20. More than 32 thousand servicemen of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) were involved in the special operation against the Crimean Tatars⁹.

According to the archival data, during the special operation 18,686 “persons of Tatar nationality” were evicted from Crimea. In addition to them 8,995 servicemen of the Crimean Tatar nationality demobilized from the Soviet army were sent to special settlements. A significant number of deportees died at the resettlement places: the percentage of deaths among deportees was 19.6%¹⁰.

Before the annexation of the Crimea, Crimean Tatars were traditionally gathering on May 18th for a mourning rally in the center of Simferopol at the Lenin Square near the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. However, immediately after the annexation, the occupant authorities banned Crimean Tatars from conducting a mourning action in the center of the Crimean capital in May 2014. For this purpose, the acting head of the occupant Council of Ministers of the Crimea, Serhii Aksionov signed an order prohibiting mass public gatherings in the Crimea by June 6 in connection with the “tense situation in the east of Ukraine.”

The Chairman of the Republican Committee of Nationalities Zaur Smirnov explained the prohibition of the rally in the center of the Crimean capital by security concerns. “While we are not sure about the general security in the Crimea, there will be no mass events on Crimean Tatar subjects in the near future,” he said at then¹¹.

The Crimean Tatars were still allowed to hold a rally to the 70th anniversary of deportation, but on the outskirts of Simferopol and under close police supervision. The territory was surrounded by security forces,

⁹ Довідка про операцію по виселенню з Криму осіб татарської національності, підготовлена в Управлінні МВС по Кримській області. 12 серпня 1956 р. Крим в умовах суспільно-політичних трансформацій (1940–2015): Збірка документів та матеріалів: за ред. В. А. Смолія. Київ: Кліо, 2016. С. 71.

¹⁰ Головченко В. Депортація кримськотатарського народу 1944 р. – прояв злочинності сутності національної політики сталінізму. URL: <http://www.memory.gov.ua/publication/deportatsiya-krimskotatarskogo-narodu-1944-rproyav-zlochinnosti-sutnosti-natsionalnoi-pol>

¹¹ Герасименко О., Галустян А. Что будет с крымскими татарами при российской власти. *Власть*. 22 сентября 2014. С. 12.

police vans were standing nearby, and helicopters were circling in the air. “People perceive it as follows, “We were forbidden even to cry.” It [the rally] was initially forbidden, then we were sent to the cemetery, and finally it was allowed to hold it, but outside of the city. And the whole entourage: police vans, paramilitary, soldiers, helicopters, snipers on the roofs created such a feeling that you are either in a reserve, or in a concentration camp”, Crimean Tatar journalist Lilia Budzurova wrote.

Since that time any mass public events on the Day of Sorrow of the Crimean Tatar people are no longer held in Crimea. In 2015, the Crimean authorities refused to conduct a mournful action in Simferopol. In some districts of Crimea local Mejlises (the Crimean Tatar Parliament) held small rallies, the organizers of which later received fines from the occupant courts¹².

The administrative protocols and fines were received by eight participants of the rally under the Crimean Tatar flags on May 18, 2015¹³. In 2016, some local Mejlises submitted applications for mourning rallies and received a refusal from the local authorities.

Since 2015, the occupation authorities have decided to take control of the Mourning Day of the Crimean Tatar people. On May 18, 2015, the prime minister of the Crimean occupation government, Serhii Aksionov, together with other officials, put flowers to the memorials of deportation.

In 2016, the laying of flowers by the Crimea’s officials was accompanied by the opening of the first part of a memorial to the victims of the deportation at the Syren station in the Bakhchysarai district. According to the plans of the occupant authorities, the memorial will include the historical museum of deportation, a mosque and a church. In this way the Russian authorities of the Crimea emphasize that not only the Crimean Tatars were deported from the Crimea. “Everything should be immortalized in order to allow people to come and remember the events of deportation, precisely at the place where people were deported from Crimea. This day should unite the Crimeans and demonstrate our unity,” Aksionov said at the opening of the memorial¹⁴.

¹² Смедляев: главу регионального меджлиса в Крыму суд оштрафовал за митинг к годовщине депортации. *Крым.Реалии*. 26.06.2015. URL: <http://ru.krymr.com/a/news/27094951.html>

¹³ Полиция задержала 60 участников автопробега в Симферополе. *Крым.Реалии* 18.05.2015 URL: <http://ru.krymr.com/a/news/27022959.html>

¹⁴ Под Бахчисараем открыли первую очередь мемориала депортированным. *РИА Крым*. 18.05.2016. URL: <http://crimea.ria.ru/society/20160518/1105062508.html>

Thus, following the annexation the Crimean Tatars were banned from holding traditional mournful public events throughout Crimea. Instead, the occupant authorities have imposed official events on the Crimean Tatars with the participation of Russian officials on the peninsula, during which the focus is on the tragedy of all deported peoples, and not just the Crimean Tatars.

3. The Russian marking of the symbolic space of the Crimea as an instrument of the hybrid war

A special place in the hybrid war is allocated to the symbolic space that the aggressor state can actively use for its political ends. According to M. Hon, a symbolic space is a reflection of the collective memory that is formed by and is a product of the actions in the political sphere. Monuments are the tools of this policy; they “emit” those semantic impulses that promote self-identification of citizens on the basis of new values and rethinking of the past¹⁵. That is why Russia pays special attention to the annexation of the symbolic space of the Crimea and by using monuments it attempts to consolidate “the native Russian status of the peninsula” in the minds of the Crimeans.

Symbolic space is not created by itself, but is the result of a certain policy. Under normal circumstances, the cultural symbolism of a city or region is created, to a greater extent, by the local political elite. In the case of the Crimea, the symbolic space is filled with the codes of memory by the invading state, who has annexed this space and created the conditions for the formation of the corresponding collective memory. Russian monuments are instrumental in this annexation of the symbolic space of the Crimea.

The main features of the modern marking of the symbolic space in the Crimea by Russia is the implementation of its new ideological paradigm – the combination of imperial and Soviet principles with an emphasis on a militaristic format. Therefore, several new monuments to Russian emperors quickly appeared in the Crimea, among which the first place belongs to Catherine the Second, during the rule of which the Crimea was annexed for the first time.

¹⁵ Гон М., Долганов П., Івчик Н. Місто пам'яті – місто забуття: палімпсести меморіального ландшафту Рівного: монографія. Рівне: Волин. обереги, 2017. С. 15.

It is important to note that the first monument to the Empress appeared in the Crimea before the annexation of 2014. It was installed in June 2008 in Sevastopol to commemorate the 225th anniversary of the city's founding. The initiative to establish a monument belongs to the Veterans' Council of Sevastopol, who has begun the campaign to install the monument since the late 1990's. The struggle between pro-Russian activists and local authorities lasted for more than 10 years. In 2005, the local administration granted permission to install the monument for the first time, but due to litigation it was forced to confirm its decision two more times already in 2008, when the monument has already appeared in Sevastopol. Thus, the pro-Russian forces of the city were able to establish a marker of the Russian imperial tradition by installing the monument of Catherine the Second in the city center.

In Simferopol, the idea of installing the monument to Catherine the Great was related to “restoration of historical justice” – the monument to the queen already stood in the city center during pre-revolutionary times, but in 1921 it was dismantled. Attempts to revive the monument in the center of Simferopol started in the 1990's, but they were hindered by opposition from the Crimean Tatars. However, after the annexation, all obstacles disappeared.

In March 2015, the organization “The Russian Unity”, headed by the wife of the head of the occupant Crimean government O. Aksionov, had initiated the restoration of the “historical monument”, while the Russian Foundation of St. Basil Great had begun to raise funds. Over the course of several months, 46 million rubles were collected, and in the summer of 2016 the monument to Catherine was opened in the center of the Crimean capital.

The new monument was created by Moscow sculptors K. Kubyshkin and I. Iavorsky based on pre-revolutionary photographs in less than six months. The bronze statue of Catherine the Second takes the centre of the composition, and the sides of the monument are accompanied by the busts and statues of those whose names are associated with the first annexation of the Crimea – V. Dolgorukov-Krymsky, G. Potiomkin, O. Suvorov and Y. Bulgakov.

The next imperial monument appeared in the Crimea in the fall of 2017 – it is a monument to Alexander III in Livadia, which was opened

personally by Russian President Vladimir Putin. “Alexander III loved Russia and believed in it, and, by opening this monument today, we pay tribute to his affairs, achievements and merits, express our respect for the continuous history of our country,” V. Putin said¹⁶.

The memorial includes a monument to the emperor who sits on a stone, relying on a saber, and a stele behind his back demonstrating the achievements of the Alexander III era: from warships, cannons and rifles of Mosin to the Cathedral of Christ the Savior.

According to the plan of the author, the sculptor A. Kovalchuk, the emperor’s uniform, the saber and his gaze at the Black Sea symbolize the end of the Russian-Turkish war of the 1877-1878. The crown of the militarist style of the monument is the carved phrase, which is attributed to the emperor, “Russia has only two allies – its army and navy.” Obviously, the view of the Black Sea symbolizes the ancient Russian dream of controlling the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and the Crimea is an important springboard for the implementation of this plan.

The second direction of Russia’s modern policy of memory is “the glorification of the Great Victory” in the Second World War. The Soviet myth of the Great Victory was reflected, firstly, by a monument devoted to the Yalta Conference of 1945, which was installed in February 2015 in Livadia.

The composition is represented by bronze sculptures of the three leaders of the winning states in the Second World War – F. Roosevelt, W. Churchill and J. Stalin. The monument was created by the Russian sculptor Z. Tsereteli in 2005 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Yalta conference. However, the attempts to install it failed due to strong opposition by the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar communities. The protests of the local prosecutor's office forced the local authorities of Livadia to cancel the decision to erect this monument.

After the annexation of the Crimea there were no obstacles left for Russians, and the monument was solemnly opened marking the 70th anniversary of the Yalta Conference. The installation of this monument triggered sharp criticism from the Crimean Tatars, who were deported from the Crimea in May 1944 by the order of the Soviet leader.

¹⁶ Открытие памятника Александру III. URL: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/56125>

“The attitude of the Crimean Tatars to Stalin is well known. If the monument is still installed there will be a public demonstration of our position regarding the memory of Crimea and our people. The authorities should understand that they are directly responsible for the consequences of establishing this monument. This is a blasphemy”, the member of the Mejlis of the Crimean Tatar people A. Egiz wrote regarding the monument¹⁷.

A memorial to the victims of a Fascist concentration camp was another major project of the occupant authorities on the peninsula. It was installed on the territory of the “Krasny” state farm in the village of Myrne near Simferopol, where 8 to 15 thousand people were killed according to various estimates.

The idea of its construction appeared even before the annexation. The decision to mark the territory of the former concentration camp as a historical monument of local significance was approved by the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea on May 18, 2011.¹⁸

In fall of 2012 deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the ARC decided to create a memorial complex on this territory. In 2013 they promised to allocate 150 thousand UAH from extrabudgetary sources to establish this monument.

First of all, the memorial was solemnly opened on May 8, 2015, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great Victory. Then the main works were completed: a museum of memory of prisoners and a chapel were built, as well as an eternal fire, a memorial bell, memorabilia on the places of the “wells of death” and a bronze figure of a girl were installed as a monument to the children who were killed in the camp.

The erection of this memorial has not so much historical, as the political context, because the Russians emphasize the fact that this “death camp” was precisely guarded by the battalion No. 152 “Shuma” formed from local Muslims (Crimean Tatars). According to the Crimean historian

¹⁷ Абдураман Эгиз: Установление памятника Сталину – кощунство. Меджлис крымскотатарского народа. Официальный сайт. URL:

<http://qtmn.org/новости/4591-абдураман-эгиз-установлениепамятника-сталину-кощунство>.

¹⁸ Постановление ВР АРК “Об объявлении территории бывшего фашистского концлагеря, располагавшегося в годы Великой Отечественной войны на землях совхоза “Красный”, историческим памятником местного (Автономной Республики Крым) значения “Концлагерь “Красный”. Портал Государственного Совета Республики Крым. URL: <http://crimea.gov.ru/act/10101>

O. Romanko, with the advent of this battalion “the ordinary concentration camp turns into an extermination camp.”¹⁹

Obviously, such statements fully correspond to the Russian theory of justification for the deportation of the Crimean Tatars as a punishment for cooperation. According to the Crimean Tatar historian G. Bekirova, collaborators were among representatives of other peoples of the peninsula too. But “the facts of collaboration can not be a justification of the criminal decisions of the Soviet leadership about the deportation of entire peoples, implementation of which has brought countless tragedies to millions of innocent people”²⁰.

On the other hand, the occupant authorities constantly emphasize that not only Crimean Tatars were deported but also other peoples of the peninsula – Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, etc., with a total of 37,000 people²¹.

Considering the deportation as a policy aimed at the forced eviction of non-Slavic peoples from the Crimea, Russia is trying to deemphasize the crime of Soviet power against the Crimean Tatar people. This is exactly what the decree of the Russian President of April 21, 2014 is about; it is aimed at implementing measures for the rehabilitation of all deportees from Crimea – Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Crimean Tatar and German peoples.

Within the framework of this policy, a memorial is being erected for the victims of deportation in the Bakhchysarai district near the “Syren” station, where the deportation of the Crimean Tatars began. “Everything should be immortalized in order to allow people to come and remember the events of deportation, precisely at the place where people were deported from Crimea”, the head of the occupant government of Crimea S. Aksionov says revealing the meaning of Russian memorial policy regarding the deportations of 1944²².

¹⁹ Романько О. В. Немецкая оккупационная политика на территории Крыма и национальный вопрос (1941–1944): монография. Симферополь: Антикава, 2009. С. 161.

²⁰ Бекирова Г. Крымскотатарская проблема в СССР (1944–1991). Симферополь: Оджакъ, 2004. С. 21.

²¹ Зарубин В. Г. Депортация из Крыма армян, болгар, греков и представителей других этносов (1944 г.). *Проблеми інтеграції кримських репатріантів в українське суспільство*. Матеріали Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції, м. Київ, 13-14 травня 2004 р. К.: Світогляд, 2004. С. 181–191.

²² Под Бахчисараем открыли первую очередь мемориала депортированным. *РИА Новости*. 18.05.2016. URL: <https://crimea.ria.ru/society/20160518/1105062508.html>

The third direction of marking the Crimean symbolic landscape is related to the military codes that appear on other monuments (Emperor Alexander III), as well as represented by personal monuments in honor of the military.

In June 2016, in Simferopol, a monument to the “Little Green Men” was opened commemorating the Russian special forces who seized the Crimea in February – March 2014. The sculpture created by the Russian artist S. Shcherbakov is represented by three bronze characters: a bronze soldier, a girl with a bouquet of flowers and a cat that should symbolize the politeness of the Russian military and the “peaceful nature of the Crimea's accession”.

A similar logic is represented in the monument of the People's militia of all time, which was established according to the project of a member of the Crimean “self-defense” paramilitary V. Kliuiev in Simferopol at the end of 2016. A monument of 11 meters in height and at a cost of 19.5 million Rubles combines the three waves of the “people's militia” – the time of the Crimean War of 1853-1856, the time of the Second World War and the period of the “Crimean Spring” of 2014, when the pro-Russian organizations of the peninsula created units of paramilitary “self-defense” to “protect the Crimea from the Kyiv junta”. With the help of this memorial, the Russian authorities of the peninsula are trying to prove that the Crimeans not only wanted to join Russia, but they were also prepared to “protect the Crimea with arms in their hands.”

There were only a few Ukrainian symbols in the Crimea, but both monuments dedicated to the military history of Ukraine were taken from Crimea immediately after the annexation of the peninsula.

In April 2014, the Kremlin's appointee, the governor of Sevastopol Serhii Meniailo ordered to dismantle two monuments – a monument commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Naval Forces of Ukraine, and a monument to Hetman Sahaidachny. According to S. Meniailo, Sevastopol is a city of Russian sailors. “There were no other seamen in Sevastopol from time immemorial. Therefore, it is necessary to restore justice”, he stressed. Although in fact, during the Crimean War, a third of the sailors of the Russian Black Sea Fleet were Ukrainians; they were

recruited mainly from the population of the Tavria, Kherson and Yekaterinoslav provinces²³.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the main features of the hybrid war is that it is not for a territory, but for controlling the minds of people. This particular battle for the minds of the Crimeans, has been led by Russia since the collapse of the USSR through a variety of pro-Russian organizations that lobbied Russian symbols on the peninsula.

A large number of Russian-Soviet cultural symbols conditioned the domination of Russian-Soviet cultural identity, to which more than 70% of Crimeans indicated they belong. This fact greatly facilitated the occupation of the Ukrainian peninsula.

Following the annexation of the Crimea, Russia has implemented its historical policy on the state level by annexing the Crimean space of memory and consolidating Russian symbolism in the mass consciousness of the Crimean people. The peculiarity of the formation of collective memory in Crimea is that it is created in the context of modern Russian mythology, where the peninsula is given an important position – to demonstrate the indisputable Russian status of Crimea through historical ties.

New monuments to the Russian emperors symbolize the “joining” of the peninsula with the help of military force, as well as further use of it in the implementation of Russia’s military plans. The militarization of the symbolic space of the Crimea is solidified in the modern monuments – the “people's militia”, which combines imperial, Soviet and contemporary times, focusing on “people's struggle against the enemies” and the “little green men” as “polite Russian soldiers.”

The deportation of the Crimean Tatars in Russia is attempted to be closely linked to the forced eviction of other peoples, creating in collective memory the notion of a general deportation of the non-Slavic population of the peninsula during the Stalin's times.

Some Ukrainian cultural codes have been dismantled, while others are attempted to be injected into the Russian memorial policy with the

²³ Громенко С. В. #Кримнаш. Історія російського міфу. К., 2017. С. 76.

help of the artificially created and controlled power of the Ukrainian community of Crimea.

Such memorial policy of Russia is aimed at the mental integration of the Crimea to the Russian cultural and symbolic space.

SUMMARY

This article analyzes the features of the cultural and symbolic space of the Crimea before and after the annexation of the peninsula by the Russian Federation. It is determined that the symbolic landscape of the Crimea is a Russian-Soviet heritage, which has predetermined the dominance of the Russian-Soviet cultural identity on the peninsula. It is proved that after the annexation, Russia has attempted to impose their own vision of history on its representatives of the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar communities and creates a correspondent symbolic space behind it by installing new monuments of imperial and militaristic orientation.

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THE HISTORICAL FACT IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-NON-CLASSICAL SCIENCE

Kosmyna V. G.

INTRODUCTION

Studying the methodology of civilization analysis of the historical process foresees understanding the range of categories of historical science in a certain perspective aiming at establishment of a socio-cultural component there. It is directly related to the fundamental category of historiography, namely, a historical fact. In addition, modern post-non-classical science requires such rethinking not only in relation to the “object” of historical studies, but also their “subject”, that is, historical science, which is an indisputable historical fact itself in the life of civilizations, at least during the last one and a half or two centuries. In this sense, “a historical fact” is both a category of cognition and a category of self-knowledge for historical science, which undoubtedly affects its status and meaning. Its problematic nature should be analyzed on the general background of the entire science evolution as a separate area of social activity.

The fact has been and remained the basic component in any field of scientific knowledge. However, its interpretation in different periods of the history of science was different. In classical science (in the 17th-19th century), it was considered to be the ascending repetitive unit (“an atom”) of scientific research, which objectively reflects reality, if it can be proved by the experiment. Non-classical science (the 20th century) states the dependence of its values in complex and “non-obvious” systems (for example, in quantum mechanics) under the conditions, means and theoretical substantiation of the experiments themselves, and therefore, it requires additional recognition by the relevant scientific community for the confirmation of its scientific status. Post-non-classical science, having formed in the last three decades, considers a fact as an element of a complex system of interconnections, capable of self-organization, which includes a person, and therefore, in the assessment of the fact the

purposeful features of the subject are added to the previous characteristics, as well as conditionality and limitedness of the latter by the state of the intellectual sphere itself (noosphere) and the cultural meaning of the age¹.

All these changes in the interpretation of the fact occurred mainly in the field of natural sciences. However, in the social and humanitarian sciences, especially in history, it was more difficult to resolve the issue of the fact. The point is not only that the deeper the history was, the less preserved the sources were, or that it was impossible to carry out direct experiments to verify one or other empirical data. First of all, instead of the unequivocal scheme of establishing the fact along the line: the subject – the object, which was usual for natural science, historical science, usually, had to deal with a fundamentally different scheme: the subject (historian) – the subject/the object (author of the source/source) – the subject/the object (human consciousness/human action in history). And that fact still caused ambiguity in determining the very object of the study: what (event) or who (the person) should be studied at first? This problem of the subjective-objective dichotomy of the historical fact resulted in the main difficulty in its study, and hence, in the scientific study of the history itself.

So, in the article we will try to outline the content of the historical fact issue at the early stages of scientific development and possibilities of its solution within the framework of post-non-classical science, namely, in N. Luhmann's theory, as well as to determine parameters for the implementation of new interpretation of the fact in civilization studies.

1. Immanent Difficulties in the Analysis of the Historical Fact

In the age of classical science as well as non-classical one with some remarks, the fact, following the pattern of natural sciences, was considered as objective reality, as “a thing”². Only different strategies for its study were proposed: through a scientific analysis of historical sources as direct evidence of it (positivism); or through hermeneutical “understanding” of subjective actions of historical characters (Neo-Kantianism). Non-classical

¹ Див.: Мелков Ю.А. Факт в постнеклассической науке. К.: Издатель ПАРАПАН, 2004.

² Див.: Дюркгейм Э. Метод социологии // Дюркгейм Э. Социология. Ее предмет, метод, предназначение / Пер. с фр. М.: Канон, 1995. С. 18–40.

science focused on the problem of the fact-source, having discovered, according to the pattern of quantum physics, the methodology of indirect study of sources, their “interviewing” not so much about events but about language, culture, mentality, psychology of people of historical time. This initiative of the French School of “Annales” (M. Bloch, L. Febvre), combining positivism and Neo-Kantianism, resulted in the attempts to reconstruct the stable social and mental structures in history and contributed to the emergence of powerful streams of structuralism and different versions of “new scientific history” associated with it in one way or another in the second half of the 20th century. However, the issue about the theoretical “load” of the historical fact has already arisen here, as well as its inevitable subjectivity and distortion by the historians themselves, relying on their discovery and analysis of a particular logically derived theory. In the USSR, by the way, in the 1980s the historians also began to recognize the historical fact as “double subjectivized” – by the author of the source and the historian³, – but they demonstrated confidence that relying on Marxism as “a single true scientific theory” provided necessary objectivity in the studying of facts.

Significant difficulties in the operation of “a historical fact” as something certain in many respects are due to the internal logical contradictions of this category. After all, the term “historical” refers to the variability, fluctuation, whereas the concept of “fact” (Latin *factum* – made) points to another thing, namely, the completeness of something, the ending, the result. By the concept of a “fact” we, in fact, “stop” the fluctuation (procedurality) of the “historical”, we take out one or another line (event, phenomenon, process) and begin to analyze it then as something separate, constant, self-sufficient, appealing both in its interpretation and in conjunction with other “facts” to a logical, sufficiently rational scheme for us. Then not the events and sources themselves, but the logical scheme in the form of theories or metaphors like “mechanism” or “organism” dictates the vision of the historical process. So, “as soon as it comes to the long evolutionary processes in time, consisting of a set of events, then quite obvious gnoseological

³ Ковальченко И.Д. Методы исторического исследования. 2-е изд., доп. М.: Наука, 2003 [1987]. С. 143.

barriers between “*following the sources*”, “*studying the source*”, “*studying the historical process*” appeared⁴.

The problem of substituting immanent procedurality of events – logical and inevitably artificial – correlates with one more problem of historical facts – their perceptions as heterogeneous, “multi-ordinal”. History which was the only science about the past long ago (“science of memory” in the concept of F. Bacon) – in the 19th-20th century was in considerable methodological dependence on other sciences – sociology, economics, political science, cultural science, etc., which developed theories and methodical tools for studying “their” subsystems yet clearly distinguished in the structure of the Western society of that time. As a result, in historiography, especially in generalizing works, the “classification” – the consideration of the past as actually different histories – political, economic, social, and “cultural” became common. This made the resolution of the ancient problem of integral and systematic study of the world history extremely complicated: both in the paradigm of a one-line world-historical process and in the paradigm of the history of local civilizations.

The obviousness of the specificity of cultures themselves and the development of various cultural and historical regions required the search for manifestations of this specificity in elementary historical facts further. However, there were no methods of such search in the means of historical science, and it forced the researchers of civilizations to turn to the philosophy of history, or even metaphysics. M. Y. Danilevsky, O. Spengler, and to a certain extent A. Toynbee, in explaining the spatial-temporal connections between the facts and the significant differences between civilizations, relied on the analogy between civilizations and organisms, not deduced from particular facts, and imposed on them from the outside – from the theory. At the same time, the authors mentioned, in fact, openly declared the position of the external observer, from which they examined the world history and which is latently present in any study of history. There it was the position of the Absolute Observer over the entire human world – God, Divine Providence.

⁴ Ионов И.Н. Логические модели и источниковое знание: проблемы соотношения // История и синергетика: Методология исследования. М.: КомКнига, 2005. С. 45.

Therefore, in the traditional interpretation of the historical fact for the 19th-20th century a number of strong methodological contradictions, with the most significant of which being its subjective-objective dichotomy, have appeared. The issue of the historical fact turned, according to the famous historian A. Y. Gurevich, into the “cursed” problem of historical knowledge, “unsolved for generations of historians”⁵. All its depth was demonstrated by postmodernism ruled in culture in 1970-1980s, having obtained a significant philosophical justification in post-structuralism (J.-F. Lyotard, G. Deleuze, M. Foucault, etc.) and deconstructivism (J. Derrida, D. La Carpe, etc.). Structuralist’s constructs in social sciences were dissipated as incompatible with the actual procedurality of history (event, case, freedom), and “meta-narratives” – the great theories of modernity (of modern times) of philosophical, historical, sociological, political science – as a reflection of only literary practices and structures of thinking of a certain cultural age. And in the historiography, H. Wyatt, R. Bart, F. Ankersmit showed the direct influence of speech structures on the designing of scientific and historical facts by scientists, the connections between them and the entire presentation of historical material in general. So, if classical science problematized the object of study, namely the historical fact of reality, then non-classical science focused on a historical source, but now the subject of science itself, namely, the historians have become problematized. Their “objectivity” was established as the precondition of their aspirations, reason, style of thinking, etc., by objective language practices of a certain age, that is, by culture and society.

The formation of a new paradigm in science – post-non-classical – was the response to this postmodern challenge, which noticeably touched the natural sciences. Its general methodological basis was formed by synergetics (I. Prigogine, H. Haken, E. Jantsch, etc.), studying nonlinear high-complex systems characterized by self-development, self-organization, synchronicity and irreversibility of changes, etc. These comprehensive systems (especially biosphere, noosphere, meta galaxy, civilization) include a person as well and, therefore, do not allow the position of an “outside observer” for science and a scientist as it was in

⁵ Гуревич А.Я. Что такое исторический факт? // Источниковедение. Теоретические и методологические проблемы. М.: Наука, 1969. С. 88.

classical and non-classical science, leaving them only a place for “intra-system dialogue” with the phenomena studied. However, attempts to apply the synergetic paradigm directly in historical science have not changed its conditions a lot, since they leave the “tangle” of accumulated problems with the historical fact aside.

In this perspective, the pioneering sociological systems theory of German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann (1927-1998), which if not able to remove completely, but can minimize the severity of these problems and is of great interest in the methodology of history. The scientist set forth the theory in a generalized form in the book “Society of the Society”⁶, five chapters of which were published as independent volumes and in Russian language⁷. In scientific literature the issue of implementation of the theory mentioned to the analysis of the historical fact has not been considered yet.

It should be noted immediately that the theory of N. Luhmann is presented in an unusual way for humanitarians both in the sense of the arguments presented in it and in the terminology. As in post-non-classical theory, it has an interdisciplinary nature, organically combines elements of the theories of social-humanitarian and natural science (from the field of sociology, philosophy, cybernetics, cognitive sciences, theory of communication, theory of evolution, theory of consciousness), it is based on their conceptual apparatus, and, moreover, claims to be universal and it is quite formalized. Its various aspects reflect and at the same time modify the achievements of systemic sociological theories of T. Parsons (the theory of social action) and J. Habermas (the theory of communicative action) and directly overlap with the synergetic theories of I. Prigogine and H. Haken, the theory of autopoiesis (self-creation) systems of Chilean neurophysiologists U. Maturana and F. Varela, the theory of second-order cybernetics of the Austrian-American physicist H. von Foerster. Comprehensive substantiated concepts of the communicative system of society, systems evolution of society and systems differentiation of society are its integral parts.

⁶ Luhmann N. Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977. 1150 s.

⁷ Луман Н. Общество как социальная система. Пер с нем. М.: Изд-во «Логос», 2004; Его же. Медиа коммуникации. Пер с нем. М.: Изд-во «Логос», 2005; Его же. Эволюция. Пер с нем. М.: Изд-во «Логос», 2005; Его же. Дифференциация. Пер с нем. М.: Изд-во «Логос», 2006; Его же. Самоописания. Пер с нем. М.: Изд-во «Логос», 2009.

According to the theory, society consists of communications between people exclusively. Each communication as an individual operation of the communicative system includes three elements: the addresser's message – the information contained in the message – understanding the message (the extraction of personal information) by the addressee. It is also an operation of observation of the system. Observing the reference of messages to previous and subsequent operations of the system (self-reference of communications), the system refers to an internal, consistent meaningful relation of its operations. Observing the reference of information to the relevant events in the environment (hetero-reference of communications), the system refers to the external, reactive meaningful relation of its operations with processes in the outside world. By differentiating between itself and the environment, the system constructs itself (in relation to the world). Differences come to the place of traditional scientific “objects” with their inevitable subjective-objective dichotomy. In communication the objective and the subjective are mutually annihilated.

In Luhmann's theory, the mechanism of the society evolution as a communicative system is revealed. It includes variations in communications, the selection of some of them by the dominant structure of meaningful expectations and re-stabilization of society under the new conditions. Separately, N. Luhmann analyzes four forms of systemic differentiation of society: segmental form is based on verbal communication, centered-peripheral and stratification forms are based on written language, and functional form is based on a book-printing.

2. Historical Fact in the Science of Post-Non-Classical Age

We can evaluate the prospects of the methodological application of the Luhmann's theory in historical science, especially in the system-civilization analysis of the historical process. It should be noticed immediately, that these prospects in no way foresee the refusal of the history from “classical” trends of its knowledge, namely, direct empirical studies, the discovery of unknown facts of the past, or the same thing – the “covering of the white spots” of history. It is about the other field of studying – historical generalization, system analysis, where as experience of the 19th-20th century shows, historical thought never created the

methods of society integral description based on the facts that it had discovered. The post-non-classical theory of N. Luhmann, corresponding with synergetic, autopoietic and other modern theories, makes such a holistic description possible, but at the same time it allows overcoming other traditional difficulties with the historical fact. However, it requires a completely different view of the fact itself. If in society there is nothing but communications, then one should use the same perspective to look at historical facts. The sociologist himself points out that “under the *communication* (as, in a narrower sense, and under the *operation*) a certain event taking place in a certain historical way, and therefore depending on the context is understood”⁸. Still one can make at least three conclusions from this definition: 1) each specific historical event (historical fact) is a communication, and each communication is a fact; 2) since the effectiveness of communication depends on its understanding by the recipient, then any conversation, act, action, work of art, text (scientific, religious, artistic), demonstration of experience (values, love) and other manifestations of human activity, that is, any fact of reality is communication, if it becomes a message to other people deliberately or unknowingly, if it is understandable to any degree; 3) the meaning of certain communication (a fact) entirely depends on the context, formed at the intersection of the meaningful lines of various social processes and phenomena that are happening now at this place.

Thus, the old interpretation of the historical (social) fact as a real object, a thing, a certain entity that is subject to cognition is rejected decisively. According to O. Antonovsky, in N. Luhmann’s theory, people, consciousness, organisms, artifacts “lose their significance as the social fact in his Durkheim’s sense”, to that end, they can not directly “join” in communications: “Not an object, but its description, its representation in the form of a theme, or more precisely, its thematizing communication becomes the main and only social fact from now on. All subjects of communication (its external worlds: people, consciousness, objects) can be represented only communicatively, that is, within the society, which thus becomes a closed sequence of operations that relate only to one

⁸ Луман Н. Общество как социальная система. С. 72–73.

another”⁹. However, it changes the methodological approach to the facts. Luhmann emphasizes specially that “the most radical restructuring ... consists in moving from thinking about objects to considerations on differentiation”¹⁰. The perspective logic is the following here. If there is no traditional object, then there is no traditional subject, that is, the issue of subjective-objective dichotomy is removed from the agenda. Everything in society is its internal communications. In the context of the issue studied, the fact of reality is communication, and the fact-source is communication, and the scientific study of them (the so-called scientific-historical fact) is also a communication that the historian introduces in the subsystem of science and into society as a scientific publication.

So, how can communication “study” communication? Here, the meaning of the “differentiation”, emphasized by N. Luhmann, appears. It is the meaning of observation inherent in almost every communication, and it leads to differentiation of self-reference (messages) and hetero-reference (information about the outside world) in it. The problem, however, is that this observation can focus either on one side of the form of communication (why is it reported here?) or on the other (what is new they are talking about here?), but it can not be both at the same time here and there, and even more it can not establish exactly their differentiation. That is, the very meaning of communication, its belonging to one or another meaningful code is not discussed in communication, it does not demonstrate it. However, it can be detected and described by way of observation on observation that is carried out purposefully by historical science, or observation of the second order (this notion is introduced by N. Luhmann from cybernetics). Scientific communication can simultaneously observe both self-reference and hetero-reference of communication-fact, to differentiate them, to establish their interdependence, to compare them with previous communications of the same meaningful orientation, with information about the whole external world of this communication, and eventually to establish and describe the certain historical significance of this historical fact.

⁹ Антоновский А. Никлас Луман: эпистемологические основания и источники социологического конструктивизма // Луман Н. Общество как социальная система. С. 208–209.

¹⁰ Луман Н. Общество как социальная система. С. 63.

Such analysis is often carried out on the basis of the study of written communications-sources, which either directly represent the communication-fact and contain it, or describe it from the outside, in its hetero-reference. In the second case, the source, depending on its content, may be the observation of the second order in relation to the primary communication-fact. However, the science, which is its observation, should also analyze and evaluate through the differentiation of its own self-reference and hetero-reference, that is, to reveal its own meaning. In general, every source is the same communication-fact of the historical evolution of the society system, as well as others, and it should be taken into account as part of the whole historical process.

In the same way, the works of historians (as well as scientists from other fields of science) are communications-facts in the system of society and can be evaluated on the basis of differentiating them from self- or hetero-reference. Essentially, the scientist themselves as a system of consciousness, which, according to N. Luhmann, belongs not to a society, but to the outside world, can perceive the fact of the past well, and society itself as an external object¹¹, but their scientific message (essay) is a communication – an integral component of a social communication system. The historical science can not consider society and its history from outside. Being one of communicative subsystem of a modern society, it depends on general social “context”, and it performs the function of its self-description in the society in historical retrospective.

From stating communicative operations as elementary historical facts – because there is no other factuality in society, and each communication is actually “a fact”, that is done, completed – a significant logical consequence arises: the system of society at each given moment is a sequence of historical facts of one or another level of universality, speaking this way “it is weaved of facts”. From stating the same historical facts as communications – and all communications are micro-processes that continually change one another and turn into the comprehensive social macro-process – not less important conclusion follows about the total procedural functioning of the social system and all its facts, about procedurality, which, however, is not spontaneous and

¹¹ Луман Н. Общество как социальная система. С. 92.

chaotic, but subordinated to certain meaningful lines of communication and their intersecting. Factuality and procedurality of the communication system mean that every fact brings irreversible changes to the system, but at the same time it is itself a product of a constantly changing system of meanings, it can only be recognized by belonging to this system, and thus, be considered and changed. Therefore, it is unique in terms of meaningful content and is generated by a specific configuration of meaningful structures in social and mental systems at a certain point in time. Since the repetition of such configurations is impossible, because the fact itself changes it, the assumption about the repetitiveness of the facts is groundless, and therefore – about domination of some rational laws in the history.

According to the Luhmann's evolution theory, various fact-communications can have a different effect on the historical process: some of them make changes to the system on a purely local level, while others are on a system-wide basis. Each fact-message, able of making visible changes in the life of society, must be in the circle of already known meanings (to be clear) and at the same time to be a deviation from the established norm of any of them, which is possible due to *yes-no-coding* of language and meanings. The degree and direction of deviation (variation) are not programmed and can be considered random. After all, many different offers can be made in the communication. The selection of one of them by the structure of meaningful expectations in a society also depends on the temporal state of this structure and does not necessarily turn out to be optimal (here we have contingency of choice). Re-stabilization of the system after the structural changes made, may either improve its state, or worsen, or even ruin it over time (contingency of re-stabilization way). Does this mean that there is a total contingency in society? – Definitely not. Necessity exists at the level of evolutionary functions itself. Thus, the necessary, that is, naturally determined, is the following: for communications – the variation of information, for meaningful structures – selection of the most suitable variations and rejection of the rest, for the system – achievement of stability, to which it always aspires.

Such a contradictory combination of necessity and contingency in the history characterizes all its dynamics. The assessment of the historical

process from the view of rationally constructed and logically consistent theories is of little help in its understanding, except for the discovery of one or other “irrational” plots in it. Therefore, the disclosure of the communicative meanings of historical facts and their “survival” on the complex path of variation-selection-re-stabilization is much more productive in historical analysis. After all, some events, some ideas and undertakings, having passed through this “sieve” of historical practice, eventually radically changed the state of society and acquired the significance of “outstanding facts”, and their initiators gained the status of “great personalities”, while the authors having much more useful ideas sometimes did not even find an understanding in society.

Luhmann’s methodology does not reject the accumulated experience of establishing empirical facts of history by historiography, the fact that some event took place. However, this methodology allows us to go further – to the systematic analysis of a particular event, and through it – the entire historical process, based on the statement that “events create structures, and structures direct events”¹². For meaningful analysis of the fact it is necessary to clarify the following: a) what was the variation of the new communication; b) what meaningful structures delegated it; c) what new meaningful structures it created; d) how it changed the system of meanings in its re-stabilized state, or may be it, on the contrary, misbalanced it? “Thus, – the sociologist writes, – “the evolution theory gives rise to a practically infinite program of historical research”¹³. It is possible to reveal the same historical meaning (“historical significance) of a certain fact only within the limits of the dynamic system of society, identifying the dominant structure of meaningful expectations in it, which ensured the selection of the fact and its “continuation” in new communications.

And, perhaps, the most important achievement of the Luhmann’s methodology is precisely that it allows studying the entire system of society in its dynamics and civilization meaningful specifics by historical and scientific methods that require deliberately moving from sources to scientific historical knowledge. If the traditional methodology of history had no tools at all for a holistic civilization analysis of society and had to

¹² Луман Н. Медиа коммуникации. С. 19.

¹³ Луман Н. Эволюция. С. 106.

consider separately its political, economic, societal, cultural subsystems, relying on the methods of the corresponding sciences and hoping in vain for their uncontroversial connection, then such toolkit has appeared now. The basic unit (a kind of common denominator) in the study of all fields of social life is meaningful communication, always having the same, three-component structure. Differences can relate to their own communication meaningful lines (self-references), but they do not isolate the subsystems of society from each other, since in their other hetero-references of communication, they always observe processes in other subsystems and accordingly “correct” their own meanings. This is how the main methodological setting of post-non-classical science: “unity in diversity” is implemented.

3. The Historical Fact in Civilization Studies

Therefore, N. Luhmann’s systems and communications theory discovers the prospect for a systematic study of the history of civilizations no longer within the philosophy of history, as it has been before, but directly within the framework of historical science – on the basis of the establishment of meaningful relations of facts-communications. At the same time, his theory of systems differentiation determines the ontological and epistemological parameters of civilization analysis: 1) Civilization has not yet included unwritten archaic, segmental societies. 2) Modern Western society can no longer be studied as a classic civilization, in which, based on its own media-codes, functional systems of politics, law, economy, science, art, intimate relationships, religion, morality have separated, and, to the extent in which these systems have spread in the world – as well as the relevant public sectors in other regions. 3) Social differentiation in societies of “high cultures”, as N. Luhmann named civilizations, includes the division into a center and periphery and/or strata as partial social systems. 4) The main integrating mediums in civilizations are written language, power, religion, and morality. 5) There were from 20 to 30 such civilizations in the history of mankind (obviously, N. Luhmann relies on the classification of A. Toynbee and his followers here).

Such theory of differentiation was developed by other sociologists (T. Parsons, S. Eisenstadt). However, N. Luhmann radically changes its

meaning, combining it with the communications theory. Now civilization is not an abstract structural model, but a “living tissue” of facts. Moreover, these facts are not scattered chaotically in space and time, they are not collected artificially in conglomerates for the convenience of the analysis of “structures”, but occupy a natural place in the system of society at each period of time, uniting on the ground of belonging to certain or other meaningful lines and their intersections. Tracking these lines, revealing self-reference and hetero-reference in the meaningful systems of facts enables a “comprehensive” description of the civilization functioning.

The most important thing is the ability to make such description by written sources, which often serve as important system-forming elements (communications) in civilization themselves, such as sacred texts that are comprehensive self-descriptions of not only religions but also societies for which they are decisive. In addition to sacred texts, which are unchanged, although in the course of time they can be “read” with new emotional shades, as well as supplemented by relevant comments, the texts (documents) of the power are of general public nature, which, of course, are agreed with sacred texts, but peculiar self-description of power and public relations around the power. Less comprehensive for civilization are self-descriptions of partial social systems – aristocracy (dividing into a center and periphery) or individual strata, and within them – social organizations (shops, guilds, etc.) or territorial social units. Even specific situations, events may have their own descriptions and self-descriptions. Thus, the social hierarchy is reflected in the text hierarchy and the corresponding hierarchy of meanings, which is subject to analysis in the corresponding scientific observations. These meanings may vary, but mainly at the low level of social communications and within the limits allowed by the dominant meaningful structures. After all, a significant variation of meanings at the upper levels (power, and especially religion) is risky for society and threatens it with a split, or even a collapse, that is why the system usually strives to prevent it.

Despite the presence of various civilization meaningful lines in communications (economy, trade, law, power, marital relations, etc.) and the inevitable and necessary variation of meanings, civilization has demonstrated an amazing integrity, orderliness and preserved its own identity for centuries and millennia. It depends on the fact that, it has a

universal medium, in addition to religion and authority, in which everyday communications are monitored and controlled. It is a morality that clearly separates all actions in different fields into good and bad, approving the first and denying the latter. It has its own code – *respect/disrespect*, which suppresses the self-reflection of potential functional media codes. The morality, which in various strata connected with ethics, and may have its own shades, is usually based on the past, on the “wills of the ancestors”, but gains its highest meanings in religion (although historically it may be vice versa – religion, first declaring ethical norms, agrees them with the existing morality). Civilizations, therefore, have a traditionalist nature (including the pre-modern Western Europe), which in all the troubles of changes, hold the past from old centuries as a reference point. As a result, it is the religion based on the morality of everyday life that appears the very meaningful structure, performing the selection of meaningful variations, and thus retains the traditional lines of meaningful communications.

In the “laces” of more or less movable meanings a “face” of society being its culture is revealed. N. Luhmann is skeptical about the possibility of creating some general theory of culture, because culture does not create meanings, but is created by meanings; therefore, it always has a very specific, changing form and content in time. The sociologist writes: “In the interaction of all media communications – languages, media distribution and symbolically generalized media – there is a condensation of what can be called by one common notion of *culture*. Condensation should mean that the meaning used every time, on the one hand, remains the same for repeated use in different situations (since otherwise there would be no reuse), but on the other hand, it is confirmed and enriched by the meanings, which can no longer be reduced to one form”¹⁴.

Approaching to the culture as a system of condensed meanings, although dynamic, to a certain extent, it is possible to objectively carry out a general comparative analysis of different cultures and civilizations. It becomes possible by comparison that the common meanings of life in people of different civilizations are the same and predetermined by human nature itself. The science recognized the effect of biological instincts of people behind the emergence and functioning of such communicative

¹⁴ Луман Н. Медиа коммуникации. С. 259–260.

media as power, property, intimate relationships long ago. Austrian ethologist, Nobel laureate K. Lorenz, always stated that social behavior “contains an instinctive meaning that is not subject to change under cultural influences”¹⁵. Differences between civilizations are revealed mainly in a different hierarchy of meanings, their different structural cohesion and combination, which is already due to features of the geographical environment, historical experience, psychology of ethnos, etc. Comparative-historical analysis of civilizations can be carried out by comparing forms of structuring the meanings in the communicative systems of the respective societies. It will allow us to reveal the specifics of each civilization and understand the unique content of life and development of each of them better.

It goes without saying that a direct comparison of certain facts-communications on the history of various civilizations (even facts of the “same type”, that is, belonging to the equivalent subsystems of society) will not be cognitively productive if it is carried out beyond their internal civilization and, moreover, the peculiar historical context of the meaningful context. On the other hand, there is no sense in attempts to compare civilizations in their general meaning, since it is impossible to “derive the formula” of some “average” meaning of communication: the meanings are always certain. At the same time, one can speak about a certain style of communications inherent in every civilization. It concerns not the internal meaning, but the external form of social communications. Style is a kind of deviation, the direction of expression of action or events. In the structure of communication, it belongs not to information, but to the message, and serves its recognition and accelerates understanding. It can be regarded as a means of communication itself.

On the ashes of traditional civilizations with specific universal communications styles, the Western modern society is notable as well as world-wide communications spreading by it around the world. In civilization studies of the 19th-20th century – from M. Y. Danilevsky to S. Huntington – it was studied by using the same methods and techniques as for the rest civilizations of the past. However, the use of a single “arsheen” in their comparison only distorted the real picture of history and

¹⁵ Лоренц К. Обратная сторона зеркала. М.: Республика, 1998. С. 457.

modernity – not to mention some predictions of the inevitable “decline of the West”. The application of the Luhmann’s sociological theory allows us to see the fundamental difference between the state of the modern West and other civilizations. As an ordinary civilization with a universal style and a universal media of communications, it has not existed for a long time. In 15th-16th century already in the Western society, the separation and self-constitution of functional communication systems as an individual systems of politics, economy, law, science, art, religion, morals, production, education, medicine, began and accelerated continuously. There is no single, universal media that would regulate all communications. Morality and religion have become as isolated systems as the rest. And these other systems, centering communications around their own codes, function independently, without any moral and religious coloring, and therefore easily spread outside the West itself, freely joined by new communications in the rest of regions. Their immanently “immoral” status allows them to easily establish themselves on the “canonical” grounds of traditional civilizations. Local moral and religious communication systems can not directly oppose them, because they do not distinguish the direct, which is, the moral-religious, “enemy” in them, which, for centuries, was Christianity (Catholicism), accompanied the colonization and strived to replace the local cults. Traditional religions can strongly (in the form of fundamentalism) react to innovations only when they can identify signs of “immorality” in the way of life, approved by functioning systems.

Individual functional communication systems of a global nature do not have a certain civilization meaning and can be identified as phenomena of a super-civilization or post-civilization. In the West, the systems of morality and religion criticized them, but no longer controlled. This new look of the Western civilization began to shape in the turn of the 17th-19th century, when adherence to the tradition lost the importance as the most essential value and civilization reference point for the society. Therefore, in the civilization analysis of the Western society of the 19th- 20th century it should be borne in mind that in this period the facts-communications in various subsystems of society usually do not contain the traditional moral and religious component, and they are “grouped” mainly around their own meaningful codes, which should now be the reference points for historians

when distinguishing self-reference and hetero-reference in the communications. It should be taken into account that all functional systems are structurally interconnected, and each noticeable fact (variation) in one system “echoes” (causing irritation) in others.

The texts created in the functional systems themselves and related fields of scientific knowledge are getting the main sources-communications for a general civilization analysis instead of sacred texts. They, and to more extent, generalized historical, sociological, and philosophical works are exactly the new self-descriptions of society, subject to observation of the second order and, thus makes civilization description possible. As for the description of non-Western societies, here it is necessary to distinguish between facts-communications of a traditional nature, the facts of the common functional systems here and the facts of conflict communications associated with the “collision of civilizations”.

CONCLUSIONS

Making conclusions from the study conducted, it should be noted that there has been a range of difficult methodological issues in historical science that accumulated during the whole period of its developmental. The most notable of them are the following: its subjective-objective dichotomy, procedurality, objective “inhomogeneity” of facts, their system relation. They have made difficult to carry out integral – civilization researches of the past because from the point of external observation it was impossible to establish both the unity of materials of historical sources and own immanent unity of historical facts usually taken as “atoms of history”, only though imposing one or another philosophical theories. “Debunking” such meta-narratives, made by deconstructivism and poststructuralism, undermined trust to macro-history and put in doubt the history as a science.

Luhmann’s systems sociological theory, created on interdisciplinary basis, allows for solving these issues in accordance with new achievements of post-non-classical science. It requires a new vision of the historical fact (fact-event, fact-source, and fact-knowledge) as manifestation of social communications. According to it, society is operationally closed communicative system and it functions as a change of meaningful communications (fact) by other at preserving meaningful

relation between them and their modification. Using Luhmann's theory in historiography allows for revealing immanent meanings of certain historical events and, what is the most important, carrying out meaningful analysis of the whole civilization systems based on facts themselves but not on universalism theories. Civilization analysis is possible within the historical science directly, in particular, meaningful research of historical sources. Studying the history of civilization, it is recommended to take into account its hierarchical communicative, and therefore – textual structure and consistently analyze religious, powerful, local, and other communications in their interrelations in it.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the issue of scientific studying of historical fact. The author mentions that the traditional methodology of history was not able to reveal immanent coherence of facts to describe history as a coherent process. The main reason for that is in the fact that despite of all innovations there has been a traditional view of a historical fact as a “thing” regardless of its internal contradictions. It is almost impossible to solve the issue of subjective-objective dichotomy of the historical fact, historical source and historical studying as well.

Taking into account the above mentioned, it is recommended to apply post-non-classical systems theory by German sociologist Niklas Luhmann in the historical science that is built on the essential recognition of immanent systematic nature and immanent procedurality of the event in social systems. Its fundamental statement that the society does not consist of people but of communications, allows for overcoming the problem of subjective-objective dichotomy. The phenomena of communications (and it is every fact and historical source) removes from the agenda the issue about the objective and the subjective, since communication is both at the same time. Communications are possible not independently but only as elements of one or the other meaningful system. This makes the holistic studying of each civilization possible by means of the historical science itself.

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HISTORIOSOPHY: BETWEEN ESCHATOLOGY, MESSIANISM AND POETRY

Kudrya I. G.

INTRODUCTION

Historiosophy is a type of philosophy of history, which has a providential religious character, that is, it presupposes the existence of a transcendental ultimate goal of history, which is the meaning of world history. For the first time the term historiosophy introduced into scientific circulation in the first half of the nineteenth century A. Cieszkowski. He combined views on the history of medieval millenarists with the Hegel's philosophy of history. The subject of historiosophy, in contrast to the philosophy of history (rationalist doctrine of the laws of history), is the cultural-historical ideals that define history through higher goals or absolute values. Real historical events play a minor role in historiosophy, in the foreground the mythological image of historical events.

In such a construction of the history of historiosophy has a leading role, it transforms the historical event into a myth. The historical hero turns into a mythological character who participates in the creation of history, completing the actions of the gods and generals. Unlike history, a myth can revive the past and become part of a collective identity, as it is impossible with history. Therefore, mythological imagination plays a significant role in historiosophy. In contrast to the philosophy of history, historiosophy, in the interpretation of the laws of history, rely not on the rational conceptualization of historical events, but on mythology, poetry, art, religion, and metaphysics. Historiosophy builds utopian teleology over the organic model of history, which asserted that every culture passes through stages of growth, stagnation and death. Historiosophy emphasizes the role in the history of supernatural, transcendental forces; national-historical, religious specifics of society; eschatology and mythology. Eschatology opened the possibility and need for the development of historiosophy. Thus, historiosophy is an intermediate position between historiography and the philosophy of history.

The birth of historiosophy dates back to the nineteenth century, an era of Romanticism, marked by an extraordinary interest in history. It is believed that historiosophy is an Eastern European phenomenon that arose at the junction of literature and philosophy, and it was no wonder that leading historiosophers were writers who served as spiritual leaders, whose creativity had a demiurgeon power over the masses. The role of historiosophy in the construction and development of national discourse, as well as in the creation of national symbols, remained the key in our time. Historiosophy served as the basis of modern nationalism in Europe. However, the main difference between historiosophy and philosophy of history lies in the fact that it is based not on rational basis but on the religious and utopian vision of history. Rejecting rationalist tradition, historiosophy raised history to the metaphysical sphere. Denial of rationality in favor of providentialism, made it possible to avoid comprehension of national history, problems of socio-economic and political backwardness. Historiosophy is a self-reflection of specific nations. In this sense, historiosophy can be defined as the experience of national history, taken in a comparative comparison with the historical destinies of other nations, proto-philosophical understanding of the foundations of its own historical existence, the search for historical roots and the forecast of the future historical destiny. Historiosophy are interested, first of all, in the question of the fate of a particular nation, of its historical role in world history. A nation can respect itself when it knows its place in world history and is confident in its historic mission.

The need for historiography is more pronounced in those societies where the question of the national and cultural-historical identity of the people is acute, that is, the search for a place in world history. Just as a single individual, insofar as he asks his own question about the meaning of life, the purpose of his existence, and the nation as their self-consciousness raises the task of understanding its historical past and forecasting its future.

1. From myth to providence

One of the first historiosophical concepts of the history of Antiquity was the theory of four centuries: gold, silver, copper and iron. Described for the first time by Hesiod, it retained its popularity throughout

Antiquity. In *Theogony* (c. 700 BC), they are arranged in a chronological order, which from the initial perfection (golden age) gradually leads to a state of decline and misery (iron age). This division corresponds to four sides of the world, the pores of the year, age groups of the person (childhood, youth, maturity, old age). Along with the mythological scheme, philosophers-naturalists have developed an alternative concept of the development of history, which is defined not by divine intervention, but by natural evolution. “They were impressed by the visible order and beauty of the cosmos, and the cosmic law of growth and decay was also the pattern for their understanding of history. According to the Greek view of life and the world, everything moves in recurrences, like the eternal recurrence of sunrise and sunset, of summer and winter, of generation and corruption. This view was satisfactory to them because it is a rational and natural understanding of the universe, combining a recognition of temporal changes with periodic regularity, constancy, and immutability. The immutable, as visible in the fixed order of the heavenly bodies, had a higher interest and value to them than any progressive and radical change”.¹

The principled position of the ancient concept of history was the idea of cycling. “Thus, on the usual view, which is the number or measure of change in nature, it understood as a circle”². The idea of eternal cycle, the movement of creation and destruction, and the constant return to oneself, is deeply rooted in the ancient historiography. In general, the circular motion was considered to be ideally correct, since it has neither beginning nor end and is in the same place, embodying eternity. The model of the cyclical movement of history was developed by philosophers from Hesiod to Aristotle, undergone a number of conceptual changes, cycles in history were increasingly attributed to the action of the human factor, determined the priority scope of the use of cyclic models – the state system. Polybius defines history as a natural and necessary cycle taking place in each state, where different forms of government – monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, as well as their perverted forms of tyranny, oligarchy and ochlocracy – follow one another in an infinite rhythm. The birth, life and

¹ Löwith K. *Meaning and History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. P. 4.

² Press G. A. *Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press – MQUP, 1982. P. 7.

death of each form of government take place in accordance with the natural law of development. It is not surprising, since it was Antiquity that gave the world the first in the history of the political form of the republic of free citizens. The ancient polis ordered the world's great civilization three great ideas – the idea of citizenship, human awareness of their rights and responsibilities; the idea of democracy – the participation of every citizen in the management of the state; the idea of republicanism – the election of the institution of power. In an effort to reveal the root cause of Greece's victory over Persia, Greek historian writers drew attention to the contrast between the democratic order in the Greek polis and the autocratic-bureaucratic structure of the Persian state.

Historiosophy in the era of Antiquity was the most important element of the mechanism of the translation of culture. A characteristic feature of the ancient historiosophy was the cycling of time. The purpose of ancient historiosophy was to comprehend the essence of history, expressed poetic means. Greek historiosophy is free from the functions of the regulator of behavior (the moral component), so its value is based primarily on artistic form – poetry (heroic epic), which determined the further development of ancient historiosophy.

Ancient Greek and Roman historiosophical thought regarded history as cyclical and repetitive – as a consequence of its antitemporal – unlike the Judeo-Christian thought, which considers history as a linear and unique – messianic, and therefore radically temporal. In ancient philosophy, time and events did not make sense. In Greek philosophy, the idea of cosmic necessity, like eternity, prevails. Eternity is always up-to-date and present at every successive moment. The ruling in the ancient worldview was the conviction of eternal return, nothing has an absolute beginning, nothing ends, because everything begins anew. This feature of ancient historiosophy, reduces history to cosmology, contemplates the eternal laws of motion, and thus rejects the movement of time, which has a certain direction. Ancient thought is permeated by determinism and cosmism. In such an eternal philosophy there can be no history in the full sense of the word. Antiquity has always seen its golden age in retrospect. The perfection of society and man is manifested in returning to the origins, but not in the forefront. In fact, this means the actual denial of history. In the ancient Indian philosophy of perception of history, if not

quite similar, then at least the same. There, the material world is only an illusion and cyclic, the soul is undergoing a consistent reincarnation, and salvation is sought to escape from time and history. Thus, one can state the qualitative difference between the ancient and Christian idea of history, the cyclical and linear model of history.

Providence-eschatological and chilialistic historiosophy. Apocalypticism and messianism arose in ancient Judaism. The apocalyptic worldview is a distinctive combination of several basic axioms, including beliefs at the inevitable end of history. The first apocalyptic visions date back to the Hellenistic epoch and include Early Enochic literature and Daniel's biblical book. Messianism is the hope of a messiah, which usually plays a redemptive role. Thus, the figure of the Messiah, is a symbol of national-political revival. Apocalyptic speculation and messianic hopes sparked three uprisings against Rome.

Medieval historiosophy comprehended the history of apocalyptic categories. The driving force of history is the apocalyptic transformation, and the purpose of the history of the birth of a new society. Christian medieval historiosophy had two main types of images – it is the end of history in the light of the idea of the Last Judgment (Apocalypse), and the history of life, suffering, death and resurrection of Christ. Medieval historiography took several stages in its development. Historiosophical works of the V-VIII centuries in its form and character, are still adjacent to the ancient historiosophy of the period of the decline of the Roman Empire. From Roman historians there was inherited passion for rhetoric and morality, borrowed from receptions to teachings, by dramatizing action. These tricks were partly associated with exaggeration, which we often encounter in medieval historians. Like ancient historians, medieval authors explained historical events to the will of God. The influence of the Bible was extremely great in medieval historiosophy, as evidenced by a large number of citations, references to this book. The rise of medieval historiosophy begins at the end of the XI century and already in the XII century it reaches its highest peak. It is at this time that its main features are finally formed: theocentrism; providentialism; the idea of straightforwardness of the historical process.

Two cultural traditions made a decisive influence on the formation of Christian historiosophy: Zoroastrianism, the founder of which was the

ancient Iranian prophet Zarathustra, it is he who first introduces the concept of temporality in the form of the idea of struggle for good and evil. Subsequently, Zoroastrianism was transformed into Manichaeism, namely from the Manichaeism in the Christian historiography, came the eschatological ideas of the Great Flood – the Last Judgment and the end of the world, the idea of death and resurrection; Judaism – Early Christianity was Jewish Christianity. Judaism originates in the territory of Palestine. There is the idea of a single abstract God (monotheism). In 950, the state collapses into the Northern Kingdom (Samaria) – Israel and the Southern Kingdom (Judea). In 586 BC Judea falls under the authority of Babylon, the idea of God's chosen people of the Jews is formed. After Babylonian captivity, the Jews are no longer returning to the idea of their own statehood. There is a concept of the ideological and literary unity of the Torah (Pentecost of Moses). First of all, the merit of this culture is that it gives the world – monotheism, which is truly colored by henotheism – the ethnic chosen of the Jews of God.

The foundations of Christian historiography were laid down by Augustine. History presents him as an opposition to the earthly life of the kingdom of God. The ideas of duality in history are especially clearly formulated in Augustine. From Augustine's point of view, God is the main determining force in history; all subordinated to the will of God, which determines the development of history. Hence the leading feature of Christian historiography – providentialism, that is, the desire to portray the entire historical process as the implementation of the divine plan, and each individual event – as a manifestation of the will of God. The implementation of this divine plan in history is drawn by Augustine in the form of a kind of linear process. Considering history as a process of gradual affirmation of Christianity, Augustine abdicates the ancient principle of the cycle of events, that is, makes history a linear one. In addition, in Augustine, the whole history is the only process that is considered in the form of a merger of two historical schemes – biblical history and the history of pagan states. In many ways, under the influence of this idea, in the Middle Ages, there were works of the type of world chronicles, in which the historian falls into the lens of the fate of all mankind; this was not the case in antiquity, since the ancient authors were little interested in the previous history of barbaric peoples. Reflections on

the fate of terrestrial kingdoms leads Augustine to the question of periodization of history. It gives several different periodization systems, which in the future were actively used by medieval historians. For example, Augustine uses periodization by age group, which was used by Cicero. In contrast, Augustine has six age stages (infantile age, childhood, youth, age of courage, elderly age and oldness), which were superimposed on the biblical dimension of history (from Adam to the flood, from the flood to Abraham, from Abraham to David, etc.) The latter period comes with the advent of Christianity and ends with its final victory after the end of the world.

Historiosophy Augustine is created in the tradition of Paulinism, although compared with what we find in the Epistles of St. Paul, Augustine gave her a much more complete and logical conclusion. All historiosophy of the Western European Middle Ages, in fact, is determined by the understanding of the history of Augustine. Augustine's understanding of history is different from the ancient understanding of history, where the world lived in the memory of the past, and not the expectations of the future, where history developed cyclically, and the existing world was only part of the cosmos governed by fate, that is, the rotation of the heavenly spheres, hence the whole history is a circular motion, and the purpose of mankind is to return to the beginning, to the origins, to the lost golden age, where people were likened to the gods.

The creator of the original historical concept was Joachim of Fiore, who lived in the second half of the XII century. "His theory of the movement of history, with the past and present leading to a foreseeable future, has been called "the most influential known to Europe until the appearance of Marxism."³. Joachim of Fiore set his task on the basis of studying the development of society in the past to understand and anticipate the future. This is the future, he does not draw as the end of the world and the coming of the kingdom of heaven, but as an offensive more perfect order on earth. According to the teachings of Joachim of Fiore, humanity is in its development three phases. The first phase is the time of the Father's God when the society is kept only by fear. This phase lasts until the appearance of Christ, but long before this embryos appear and

³ Ashe G. Encyclopedia of prophecy. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2001. P. 116.

elements of the new system develop. Thus, between the end of the first phase and the beginning of the second Joachim establishes a transition period, which receives from him the name “initiation” – preparation. The following is followed by the period of the organization of the Christian church. This is the time of the Son of God when the rigorous law changes ethics. During this period, people are not yet free, although fear has already changed conscious discipline. Consequently, the state and the church, as forms of compulsory organization of society, are still needed. But since the birth of monasticism, the seed of a new, third system for which is characterized by complete freedom of the spirit. The further development of monasticism creates preconditions for the transition of society to a higher level – the domination of the Holy Spirit. When this transition is realized, the only connection between people will no longer be fear and not discipline, but love; the state and the existing church with the elements of violence inherent in them will become useless and disappear.

The teachings of Joachim of Fiore were condemned consistently by the three councils, but became the theoretical basis for many heretical movements of all time. Joachim's doctrine of statehood contained an anarchic ideal; it became the ideological basis for further peasant uprisings as the conquest of the earthly Kingdom of God, but the defeat of these uprisings consisted of their anarchism, they had no plans for a further political system.

Joachim's chilialistic doctrine has social, political, and moral aspects. The centerpiece of chilialism is the construction of an ideal earthly society. The realist interpretation of the millennial kingdom of God on earth is defined as actual eschatology. She argues that a person is created specifically for the purpose of his own hands to realize the last idea of creation – to organize the reality according to the divine plan. Man becomes God-like. As a result, a new principle associated with the idea of building a new world is being formed. In other words, a person builds a world for himself. Man of medieval Europe has always been characterized by eschatological faith in achieving a better life, belief in the messianic role of Christianity in world history. The millennial kingdom or millenium (Latin millenium) is the kingdom of the righteous, according to the Apocalypse or the Revelation. After the end of the millenium, a final

battle will be held with the forces of evil, which will be forever defeated, the general resurrection of all mankind and the Last Judgment will be accomplished, after which the sinners will come to hell, and for the righteous – paradise life in the image of New Jerusalem. This kind of pathetic was extremely consonant with the millenarian sentiments of the Reformation. Thomas Müntzer assembled his supporters, convincing them that the near future of the kingdom of God would come after the final victory over the enemies of the true faith.«The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in northern Europe—the age of the Taborites, of Thomas Müntzer, and of John of Leyden, the “Messiah of the Last Days” was a time of diverse movements to expedite the imminent divine kingdom by a struggle against the established powers of evil. Another such period was that of the civil wars in seventeenth-century England, when we find fervent eschatological expectations among various radical sects in the parliamentary armies, especially the “Fifth Monarchy Men” (a name derived from the apocalypse of Daniel)»⁴. Millennialism has influenced all futurists. Eschatology, as a counter-history, was the ideology of the uprising against the consecrated Church of secular authority.

It was Augustine who abandoned the imperial and sectarian version of apocalyptic expectation and isolated eschatology from history. “At a time when the old millenaristic dreams were again being dreamt, at the end of fourth century, Augustine was moving ever further from the conceptions which lay behind them. Some famous chapters of his *De civitate dei* contain a frontal attack on chiliasm”⁵. The eschatological vision for Augustine was non-historical. When the church received official status, these eschatological views were annihilated by Augustine. He rejected the idea of the earthly kingdom as very dangerous. Augustine replaces the actual eschatology with an allegorical one. According to Augustine, the millennial kingdom of Christ has no physical nature, but spiritual.

Thus, the main signs of Christian historiosophy were: messianism – faith in the Savior of the world; the idea of individual salvation (the

⁴ Abrams M. Howard. *Natural supernaturalism: tradition and revolution in romantic literature*. 1971. P. 63.

⁵ Markus R. A. *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970. P. 20.

influence of Stoicism); dualism of good and evil (the effect of Zoroastrianism); idea of the end of the world. As part of the Christian historiography, the concept of world history first emerges since Christianity removes any racial or national divisions in favor of spiritual unity. Spiritual universalism allowed Christian history to become world. Christian historiography includes all peoples in world history, regardless of ethnicity, provided that they accept Christianity. The time between the first and second coming of Christ is the history of human civilization. History becomes Christocentric. In the Christian historiography, the cyclical concept of history, based

on the eternal rebirth of nature, has been replaced by a linear irreversible process that ends with eternal salvation. In the Christian theological concept, the cyclic nature of time becomes synonymous with imperfection: the continuous motion of the process expresses the principle of dispersion, unable to reach the final completion. This radical shift is reflected in the system of chronology, which now begins with the birth of Christ: Anno Domini. As the ruler of time Christ takes a place, in ancient times dedicated to solar and lunar deities. Its ordering function extends, in addition to changing the hours of the day, the seasons, and the various stages of the liturgical year.

Christian theology of history does not seek to penetrate the meaning of nature and its laws, it is primarily interested in man and his destiny. Categorical apparatus of the Christian theology of history is fundamentally different from the ancient philosophical thought. In Christian historiography, the central categories are linear time, creation, meaning of life, prophecy, providence, and, finally, faith, love and hope, which express the attitude towards the past, present and future. Faith rests on the past, hope aspirations for the future, and love stands today. Time is no longer cyclical, but becomes linear. There is the beginning of history (creation) and there is the end of history as its fullness of time. God himself is the Lord of time and history. God exists to the extent that he manifests himself in history, through a word or action.

The Renaissance historiography became the driving force of history, recognizing fortune, and the nature of history is cyclical. At the beginning of the XVI century, there is a school of political history. Its founder was N. Machiavelli, who was Chancellor of the Florentine Republic.

Returning to the power of the Medici family put an end to his political career, he was deprived of office and was in exile. In his writings, he seeks not just to teach history, but to discover the driving forces of history. The regularity of the course of history, the scientist saw in that there is a cycle of political forms: from the monarchy to the aristocracy, then to a republic with mixed rule, then again to the monarchy. The main driving force of these cycles is political struggle and chance. Machiavelli first drew attention to the importance of understanding the dialectic of the historical process. Political contradictions and interests appear to him one of the most important factors of historical development. Machiavelli's views on the historical process were characterized by the idea of cyclicity, of a natural change in state forms. "He accepts some of Polybius's ideas, and yet he deeply modifies them and ultimately rejects some of the most important consequences of his philosophy of history, especially on questions of predictability and chance"⁶. The main driving force of history is fortune (the notion denoted by the factor of the variability of the world, the randomness that interferes in the course of historical events predetermined by the mind and will of the individual). In the Renaissance historiosophy the fortune has already begun to separate from the divine predestination, which allowed to remove or completely exclude from the history of transcendental forces, replacing them with vicissitudes of fortune. From this guideline there was a willingness to take possession of fortune, which is manifested either in adventurism – the challenge of fate, or in stoicism, the intention to resist its blows.

Instead of the theological tradition of providence and the concept of telos as the ultimate goal of history, the Renaissance historiosophy offers the principle of freedom of the will of man. History is determined by the game of freedom, dignity and chance as an autonomous cause. "Machiavelli strongly rejects the first meaning of chance, excluding any outside providential or teleological control over the development of history. He also expands the second meaning of chance, that was only residual for Polybius, by establishing it as the ordinary dimension that men have to face in history. By rejecting teleology, Machiavelli focuses on the 'occasion' as the site where men can break the crude determinism

⁶ Del Lucchese F. *The Political Philosophy of Niccolò Machiavelli*. Edinburgh University Press, 2015. P. 38.

and providentialism of the Polybian cycle.”⁷. Interaction of various causes makes a history. Every reason involved in the creation of history. In the history of virtue and fortuna constantly operate. In this it turns out the realism of the Renaissance historiosophy. History is created by the own forces of a person who is capable of mastering a favorable opportunity (having *virtu* to conquer *fortuna*). This realism is the nucleus of the Renaissance historiosophy. The early modern period was marked by a holistic original theory of the historical process and methods of cognition of the history of Giambattista Vico. Vico argued that in the world history one another changed three periods: the divine (the period before the formation of the states when the family arose, writing, religion, the foundations of law), the heroic (the time of the rule of the aristocracy and its struggle with the plebeians) and human (era of predominance of reason, democracy, prosperity of cities). History was conceived by Vico as a cyclic system. Vico first applied a rational study of ancient Greek and Roman myths.

In the seventeenth century ancient myths were primarily regarded as legends, and were not the objects of historical study. Vico changed the way myths were understood. Instead of considering myths as stories applicable to all time and places, Vico emphasized that they reflect the reality of the societies in which they were created. Vico is the founder of social history. Vico considered myths to reflect the social transformations taking place in Greek society. Vico was the first who drew attention to society in the historical context. Indeed, it was his great contribution to historiosophy. “It must have strongly confirmed Vico in some of his most fundamental convictions – in the belief of Providence in history, of order and law in human affairs, of particular passions and interests being rendered by supreme reason subservient to general ends, of the analogy of the growth of the individual to that of the race, of the futility of Epicurean chance and the Stoic fate, as principles of historical explanation. But his theory of history is by no means a simple continuation of that of Augustine; on the contrary, the differences between them are as profound as their resemblances. Vico does not, like Augustine, look upon history in relation to predestination, the fall, redemption, and the end of the world,

⁷ Del Lucchese F. *The Political Philosophy of Niccolò Machiavelli*. Edinburgh University Press, 2015. P. 42.

but as a manifestation of human nature and of fixed laws. He conceives of Providence very distinctly from St. Augustine”.⁸

Vico initiated the historic school *verstehen* that goes through Herder and Dilthey to Collingwood. In general, for the historiosophy of the Baroque period, recognition was generally recognized as the driving force of the history of human passions, which, in their clashes, led to certain historical changes that led to recognition of the role of personality in history.

2. Geist in history

The second birth of historiosophy after the Middle Ages, associated with Romanticism. “...‘Romance’ in the linguistic sense, therefore modern, post-medieval, ‘romantick’, fantastic, pertaining to the ‘romance’ of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, then to the novel (‘Roman’), became in the usage of the group a universal term for everything progressive, modern, inclusive, universal, poetic.”⁹ Poetry is nothing but the human spirit itself in all its depths. History is a history of the spirit. Calling to study the symbolic language of folk tales, in which visible traces of folk stances and folk stories closely related to poetry, romantic historiosophy draws attention to the universal significance of folk poetry for history, since it overlaps with ancient memories, reflects the spirit of the nations, “... triad of history, poetry and philosophy, ‘observation’ and ‘classification’, where ‘language’ and ‘grammar’ mediate between philosophy and history. Philosophy is the basis of the truth that reveals itself in art and poetry; history needs cognition (‘Wahrnehmung’) through observation and classification. Extending the tree to its side branches, Schlegel places mythology as the mediating factor between philosophy and poetry, that which produces ‘nationaler Geist’. ‘Nation’ is in its turn to be understood as an original geographical and political unity, the ‘motherland’ of a linguistic culture”.¹⁰

And if there is a connection between poetry and history, then he is – in an attempt to unravel the mysteries of history. Under this mystery,

⁸ Figgs J. The political aspects of S. Augustine's 'City of God'. London; New York: Longmans, Green, 1921. P. 49.

⁹ Paulin R. The Life of August Wilhelm Schlegel, Cosmopolitan of Art and Poetry. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2016. P. 111.

¹⁰ Ibid. P. 218

romantic historiosophy meant the incomprehensible and unpublished law of historical changes, which gives poetic meaning to isolated events and binds them to the sole purpose. This law can also be understood as an idea of history, reproduced through separate fates – individual or folk. The very meaning, or idea, is accessible only to a particular, internal vision. It is a vision of poetry, it is born of spirit and truth and connects the past with the present. From poetry it is impossible to claim historical truth in everyday, it is rather a refraction, the subjective memory of the poet about historical events. However, romantics, it is the poets who are called to bring the story back to the world. Historiosophy returns the poet-historian and his reader to the origins. In romantic historiosophy, poetry and history are mixed with each other so that apparent fantasy and imaginary historicity are inseparable. Romantic historiosophy as a dialectic of poetry and history, has two poles. One is a metaphysical one, which is defined by such concepts as the god and the devil; the other is a historical one, which is based on a case, an event, a fact. At the peak of the tension between them and there is a historiosophy. In terms of style, this opposition is becoming the core around which events are built and actors in history are grouped. Moreover, the romantic propensity of the author to mythology and fairy tale constantly manifests itself.

Romantic historiosophy was poorly differentiated not only from philosophical, but also from artistic knowledge. In romantic historians, we observe a very interesting alloy due to the influence of philosophy, religion and art. Representatives of the romantic school in historiosophy were influenced by Schelling in philosophy, Chateaubriand in political literature, Schlegel in aesthetics and Scott in artistic prose, not to mention the mysticism typical of many romantics.

Historical romanticism relied on artistic principles, developed in romantic aesthetics and realized in romantic art. First, the word romance in Spain meant a lyrical and heroic song – romance; then great epic poems about the knights; it was later transferred to prose knight novels. In the seventeenth century romantic epithet serves to characterize adventurous and heroic works written in romance languages, as opposed to those who wrote in classical languages. In the XVIII century this word begins to be used in England in relation to the literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. At the same time, the concept of romance began to be used

to refer to the literary genre, which involves a story in the spirit of knight novels. The noun romanticism was first introduced by Novalis in the late XVIII century. At the end of the XVIII century in Germany and at the beginning of the XIX century in France and in a number of other countries Romanticism is called the artistic direction, which opposed itself to Classicism. The consolidation of this concept was facilitated by the work of Heinrich Heine *Die Romantische Schule* (The Romantic School, 1836). Romanticism has created its own direction in philosophy, art and aesthetics. It was thought that the history itself would imprint itself in the XIX century, that it defined its name, as the philosophy gave its name to the XVIII century.

Romanticism did not claim to be universal; romance was conceived within the national boundaries, and the definition of the specificity of the national spirit and national past was among their main cognitive tasks. In the interpretation of the history of romance broke up with the idea of the general nature of the historical process, natural law and other universalist principles, characteristic of the Enlightenment. The romantic trend asserted the idea that history is revealed not in the unified laws, but in the work of entire nations and nations, which is inherent in its unique development for every nation. “More concretely: only nations that combine mythology and poetry with their oral traditions deserve that name in its full sense.”¹¹. So, for a very short period of time, the principle of diversity came to change uniformity and standardization. He identified two main directions of breakthrough in historical knowledge: the development of the idea of multivariate cultures and equality in the rights of historical epochs.

The time of romantic historians is the period of the emergence of nations, the time of filling the past with national content. It was in front of the representatives of historical romanticism that the task of creating national history arose, and the national history of most European countries was medieval. Another important source, inspired by romantic historiography – the East, which he posed in the ancient and medieval tradition. The predecessor of such a direction as romantic Orientalism can

¹¹ Paulin R. *The Life of August Wilhelm Schlegel, Cosmopolitan of Art and Poetry*. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, p. 218.

be seen, for example, in numerous medieval descriptions of wonderful countries.

Intervention of transcendental subjects in the history of events, the world of miracles and monsters – all this allowed to create the image of the past as a mystery with the help of the readers of artistic means, strongly influenced by imagination. Magic and mystic – is the vocabulary of many historical works written in a romantic key. Similarly arose in the Renaissance to explain the course of history of the concept of fortune, were attributed to romantics. In many works, we find the historical communion characteristic of a historical novel, which involves the unity of the process, the only meaning and smooth narrative, which is not disturbed by the representation of sources. Another important innovation in the romantic design of the past was the emergence of a collective historical hero. In romantics, the nation plays the role of the main subject of history. The conceptualization of the past as a history of all people (peoples, classes, classes) of romance also differed from the previous tradition, which reproduced the actions of historical persons, leading characters of the past. National histories, which began to be created precisely at that time and by romance themselves, were written as the histories of peoples. On the one hand, it was due to the awareness of the role of the masses, especially in the recent history of revolutions and wars, and with the extrapolation of this role in previous periods of history. On the other hand, for the emergence of a collective hero there was a more general reason: the processes of democratization of European society. Nations begin to be seen as acting actors of history.

Along with the German romantic historiosophy developed English, so T. Carlyle, was a representative of the romantic direction in English historiosophy. T. Carlyle occupies a special place among romantic historians. “Carlyle's idealist conception of history as revelation tends to negate historical time. Since history records enacted belief, and beliefs are authored by transcendental authority, Carlyle represented history as revelation.”¹². He was one of the most respected authors of the XIX century England. T. Carlyle did not consider history as a science, but only a drama of passion, a struggle of good and evil, which the historian

¹² Vanden Bossche Ch. Carlyle and the Search for Authority. Columbus : Ohio State University Press, 1991. P. 59.

must identify and describe with the greatest brightness. Therefore, for him, when studying historical material, the main thing was not the critical study of sources, but transcendence. In 1844, he published a book *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*, in which he asserts that history is a biography of great people and the whole of the era is the product of their work. The role of the great creators of the historical process is played by the real aristocrats, and the mass of the people is a blind and silent gun in the hands of a great man. «These models of history are not dialectical; they hypostatize the elements of cultural consensus of certain eras in order to posit epochs of “nature”, “belief”, or “culture”, while they treat historical change as characteristic only of intermediate periods of “transition unbelief”, or “anarchy”. The former are idyllic and timeless states, like Teufelsdröckh's childhood or his transcendence of time and space in the Everlasting Yea. History is confined to the transitional period that by its nature is regarded as having no coherence or center. This model tends to posit three stages, a period of unbelief or transition coming between periods of belief or nature; one never finds the cycle represented in the converse manner, as a period of cultural consensus sandwiched between two periods of change.»¹³

Thus, the main distinctive methods of romantic historiosophy were: empathy, imagination; creation of the coloring of the historical epoch; the construction of a historical narrative as a novel, the use of rhetorical techniques characteristic of imaginative literature. But the main thing in the legacy of romanticism, in terms of further development of historical knowledge, is not the status of reality and not the technology of empathy, but the idea of development and diversity. Romantics approved in historiosophy the method of historicism, postulated a genetic approach to historical phenomena.

Romanticism remains significant in historical biography, popular history, addressed to the mass reader, and, of course, in historical novels. Romanticism prevails in ideologized nationalist stories oriented toward irrational myths. Another area where romanticism in the West is rooted in is the educational literature, especially for junior pupils. History is one of the most difficult and abstract subjects, not directly related to the interests

¹³ Vanden Bossche Ch. Carlyle and the Search for Authority. Columbus : Ohio State University Press, 1991. P. 59.

of the child, and for children the most acceptable version of the romantic historical novel.

Very interesting variants of historiosophy formed on the territory of Central and Eastern Europe. In particular, Russian and Ukrainian version. The German historiosophical thought did not give away not only to the Russians, but also to all Slavic peoples no place in history. For example, Herder believed that the Slavs occupy more place on earth than in history. Hegel pointed out that they still did not act as an independent moment in the series of the discovery of reason in the world. In the end, in Russia there was a peculiar historiosophy called to explain the special, messianic (in the interpretation of Slavophiles) role of Russia in European culture. Russian thought is historiosophical, it is constantly drawn to the meaning of history, the purpose of history. The very logic of historiosophical reflection was the logic of a providential, prophetic, appealing to the future, built on the oppositions, naturally derived from the general property of binary culture as the principle of its existence. The most developed historiosophical idea that has undergone various transformations, remains the Slavophile doctrine of the special destiny of, its spiritual integrity. The role of historiosophy in Russia is performed by national literature or the “second history”. Stages of the development of Russian historical discourse are associated with such classics. In general, for the works of Russian historians, there is an inherent justification of the national-historical path in its various variants. Russian historiosophy reveals special interest in religious issues. Essential core of Russian historiosophy is eschatology. Eschatological concepts of the XVII century were revived in the utopias of the XIX century and partly realized in the XX century.

Ukrainian historiosophy was formed at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and represented by a variety of trends. It was a time of denial of established norms and traditions, the destruction of old values, the search for new forms. From the beginning of the twentieth century in the Ukrainian historiosophy a new modern type of historical thinking is established. This historiosophy replaced folk views on history, when it was identified with the life of the nation and was reduced to a utilitarian purpose.

Neoclassical Ukrainian historiography is formed in view of ancient history, among all the cultures of the ancient world, European antiquity became so close to the neoclassicists. The Norwegian theory of the origin of Kievan Rus, the Varangian state-creating factor of Ukrainian history, was very popular in the neoclassical historiography. In the opinion of the neoclassicists, the European historical perspective of Ukraine was determined during the times of Kievan Rus. Another important historical concept of Ukrainian historiography was the notion of the Wild Fields (Cumania or Pole Poloveckoe) as the motive of the cultural and civilizational curse of Ukraine. The steppe space sprayed the forces of the people, summoned the riders and led to enslavement. And the steppe developed a specific type of person, which is characterized by arbitrariness and at the same time the inability to protect oneself, inability to withstand foreign influences.

In the neoclassical novel *Without a Ground* V. Domontovych, historiography presented in three styles, each of which is essentially alternatives. In the field of view, the narrator is an opposition to the folk and modern paradigms, an attempt to find out the modus of the national identity of modern Ukraine. The main focus here is on constructive (urban) and destructive (peasant) pervades of the historical existence of the nation. Ukraine in the novel *Without a Ground* is entirely urban. V. Domontovych proceeds from the fact that the history of Ukraine is a history of cities. The image of the Ukrainian city is shown in the binary opposition: an empire (an impossible Utopia) – Ukraine (perfection embodied in life). Thus V. Domontovych directs the Ukrainian historiography into the stream of modernism and urbanism.

Considering the city as a cultural-civilization laboratory, V. Domontovych makes historiographical generalizations about the nature of the history of Ukraine: the essence of the history of the Ukrainian nation is comprehended in the urban environment.

CONCLUSION

The historiography has proven its ideological, theoretical and practical importance. Due to the simultaneous opening of the past, the legitimization of the present and projection into the future, historiography

forms historical horizons. It is difficult to distinguish historical, philosophical and literary dimensions in historiosophy.

Historiosophy always gives priority to philosophical and poetic synthesis over historical chronology. Historiosophical discourse is vital for legitimizing the process of creating a state and national identity. Historiosophy acts as a form of reflection of the historical development of a certain nation. We can talk about the formation of a nation only when it has a historical consciousness and is capable of reflection.

At the heart of historiosophy is the concept of the meaning of history, which requires its finding and confirmation at various stages of history. It is this circumstance that maximizes the historical relation of the concept of historical time and transcendental eternity in the historiosophy. Special attention is paid to the metaphysical basis of history. Historiosophy traditionally is attentive to the religious factor in time, which is often regarded as a measure of history. Historiosophy refers first and foremost to the past and not to actual reality.

The historiosophy tries to outsmart time and verify the future grounds of history. Ultimately, historiosophy is a crystallized expression of the idea of history in eschatological-utopian, national-cultural and philosophical-poetic categories. For historiosophical discourse, not only is an adequate representation of its timing, but also a visionary orientation for the eternal, as a way to overcome the limitations of temporality. The natural irreversibility of the time of historiosophy contrasts the idea of spiritual and cultural completeness of the implementation of meanings.

Historiosophy is an important component of historical science, as theoretical reflection of history, together with historiography and philosophy of history forms a triune integral.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this work is to examine the theoretical and methodological foundations of historiosophy, its basic characteristics and origins. The author distinguishes the following ideological sources of historiosophy that determined its development: the ancient cyclical concept of history; medieval eschatology, messianism and chiliasm; Renaissance theory of history as a vicissitudes of fortune; Baroque idea of history as a manifestation of passions and a romantic myth-poetic

conception of history. An analysis of the content of these approaches can reveal the main content, functions and ideological and practical significance of historiosophical discourse.

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TRAGIC AND COMIC IN THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF UKRAINE IN 1917-1920

Popov V. Z.

INTRODUCTION

The daily life of the population of industrial areas in the crisis of 1917-1920 could be characterized by a number of specific features. The existence of residents of large cities and workers' settlements was almost completely depended on the rural areas that were providing food supply. When economic ties were disrupted, the urban population found itself in a vulnerable position, unlike the villages, which had a significant degree of autonomy. The social structure of the urban population was quite diverse, which created the possibility of a comparative consideration of behavioral practices of various segments of the population. Some characteristics of urban life during the period of socio-economic changes were belonging to all groups, regardless of their social status. At the same time, there were specific behaviors inherent to the certain categories of citizens.

Frequent change of power, and, as a result, changing of the political course in 1917-1920; economic chaos, the blockade of many cities set the task of physical survival for the urban population, in order to solve it various technologies were undertaken. The person who lived in the city permanently satisfied a wide range of needs. In accordance with the nature of his needs, a functional typology of the urban environment was built, which was including industrial, residential and recreational facilities, systems of public centers, communication nodes. The main functions of open urban spaces were communication, commerce, recreation, information. Closed spaces required, first of all, comfort and safety. Events in 1917-1920 in Ukraine, fundamentally changed the basic characteristics of the urban environment of a person, the content of its functions, which respectively predetermined the daily activities of citizens.

Ordinary citizens, forced to fight for existence, repeatedly found themselves in situations that had two sides – the tragic and the comic.

Laughter regarding the realities of the current time was one of the methods of survival in extreme conditions. It was a response to a psychological threat, a behavioral stress relief technique. The ironic interpretation of events gave a certain meaning to the meaninglessness of what was happening, saved from a sense of helplessness and despair in an aggressive environment. Perhaps the events of the past, perceived by us today with a smile, were causing quite different feelings and emotions among contemporaries. However, it is undoubtedly that politicians, journalists, and ordinary people could joke on any occasion. And with the deterioration of all aspects of everyday life, the reasons for irony did not become less. A feature of the social crisis was the disappearance of most of the ethical restrictions. The person began to laugh at what was previously considered as a mockery. He laughed when before an adequate man cried.

1. Transformation in everyday behavior of the urban population of Ukraine

The first months of the revolution in 1917 were marked by the growth of political activity of the most different sections of the urban population. The open places of Ukrainian cities were filled with crowds of protesters. In Odessa, people who felt an interest in politics, was gathering on the streets and squares. In the morning the big cafes were already crowded. The content of articles and telegrams was passed from mouth to mouth. Crowds gathered around the bookstores, where telegrams were hung on the windows. However, the first weeks already showed the opposite side of freedom – anarchy. According to the memories of Chernigov prison warden, Krainsky, the soldiers from the hospitals “lay side by side on the boulevards, and together with the female maidservants they got to such shamelessness that people around had to turn their sight away”¹.

Becoming more extremist, various street actions posed a threat to the safety of citizens. In Balaclava in the summer of 1917, in the square filled with armed soldiers, there were shouts to the officers: “Put them damned to the bay”, “what to look for, kill everyone”, “they drank enough of our blood”. The crowd moved to the hotel where the officers were living, but

¹ Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України (ЦДАГО), ф. 5, оп. 1, спр. 21, арк. 3зв., 7, 21.

one soldier stopped the crowd with his performance². During the demobilization of the army, after a cessation of arms with the Germans, city streets were filled with crowds of people in the gray overcoats. Almost every soldier had in his pockets gold and silver cigarette cases, watches and chains³.

Intelligent people considered it dangerous to walk the streets in the evening, and people locked themselves up, getting afraid to leave the house. Another phenomenon was a strange discrepancy. The public plunged into the endless fun. Daily posters reported upcoming dance parties. The most frequent places for arranging these parties were schools. Their directors were terrorized, and in order to please the students, they appeased them with the arrangement of parties. During the dances, young men kept themselves very cheeky with their ladies⁴.

With each new round of civil confrontation, the city residents felt themselves less and less secure, even on their own spaces – in houses and apartments. Food riots took place in the cities of Ukraine in the spring and summer of 1917⁵. When there was a shortage of bread in Chernigov, the crowd rushed through the apartments to search the intelligentsia. “Sugar, flour, cereals were taken from everyone, and also wallets, vodka and household things”⁶.

City residents were pretty scared by the bacchanalia of revolutionary elements. They perceived very painful the three-days battles in Kiev in November 1917. Even when the armed struggle was over, and life began to get better – newspapers came out again, trams returned ringing on the streets, theaters, educational institutions, cafes had been opened – anyway, Kiev citizens still didn't recover from their fright, and mostly talked “in a careful whisper, indefinite way”⁷. Gradually, the town population lost interest in meetings, and in general in politics. Instead of political actions, people preferred to spend time searching for and getting foodstuffs. Lines

² Кришевский Н. В Крыму (1916-1918 г.) // Архив русской революции. Том 13. Берлин, издательство «Слово», 1924 г. – С. 86.

³ ЦДАГО, ф. 5, оп. 1, спр. 21, арк. 49, 50.

⁴ Там само, арк. 43.

⁵ Левкович М. Женщина в революции и гражданской войне на Украине. Харьков: Книгоспилка, 1928. – С. 49.

⁶ ЦДАГО, ф. 5, оп. 1, спр. 21, арк. 28.

⁷ Киевская мысль. № 139. 8 ноября 1917 г.

for food and deficient industrial goods, so-called the “tails”, have become a constant sign of the urban view.

The shortage of food forced thousands of citizens to go to other districts for foodstuffs to change their regular way of life. The Kharkov railway station was a gloomy spectacle. “The crowding, the suffocating half-light, the rustling of the gray human mass. Sacks, baskets, dirty bags on the shoulders and backs of gray human shadows are spinning. Faces are sweaty, stupidly passive, without fire and thoughts in their eyes. Lips habitually whisper curses, without passion and excitement. People lie and sit on the spat floor for three days”⁸.

In January 1918, Kiev residents first experienced artillery shooting at the city. Taken aback, the townspeople soon became comfortable with their new position. Almost immediately, they felt a lack of food, lack of light, and soon lack of water. The lack of water was felt especially strongly for several next days. “But the person adapts to everything, and soon everyone learned to use moments of calm in order to buy provisions in the next street, fill up a bucket of water in the monastery courtyard, as in the Middle Ages, get a few candles as precious as gold, and visit friends in remote districts that were less exposed to the bombardment than downtown”⁹.

In the conditions of revolutionary chaos, Kiev fell into collapse. “Starting from the largest, but untidy and dirty main railway palace, further along the main thoroughfares that led the visitor directly to the center of the city, traces of disorder were visible at every turn; it was obvious that the “hooligan” used a situation that was favorable to him – the struggle for power.” Feeling free and unpunished, “hooligan” left an imprint of “dirt, groveling and shamelessness” on the entire metropolitan city¹⁰.

When the Odessa Military Revolutionary Committee announced the transfer of power into the hands of the Soviets, on January 15, 1918, a firefight began between the Bolsheviks and the Haidamaks. The shooting stopped on January 17. Cars with white flags were driving in the city. People appeared at their gates again. At first they were habitually stuck to

⁸ Южный край. 9 мая 1918 г. № 20.

⁹ Лейхтенбергский Г.Н. Воспоминания об «Украине». 1917-1918. Берлин: к-во «Детинец», 1921. – С. 17.

¹⁰ Омелянович-Павленко М.В. Спогади командарма (1917-1920): Документально-художнє видання / Упоряд.: М. Ковальчук. – К.: Темпора, 2007. – С. 73, 74.

the walls, then grew bolder. The streets began to revive, providing its territory for daily human activities. In addition, the sensitivity of people to something that seemed unbelievable a few months ago was noticeably dulled. Although at one of the crossroads there were still pools of blood that no one cleaned, and pedestrians left red footprints on the sidewalks, between the pools “the Greek, a tradesman of oriental sweets, spread out his traveling table”. There was no shortage in buyers¹¹.

With the rise to power of Hetman P.P. Skoropadsky “tails” at bread shops began to disappear, and were replaced by lines at cinemas. The public were visiting the numerous cafes, the “longtime non-swept” streets were cleared, “brave policemen” appeared on them, but the trams already were moving at longer intervals than before, or even intermittently, for example, in Odessa¹². A student from Kiev recalled that “Kiev streets were always very busy, and during hetman’s regimen, the Khreshchatyk street was impossible to go through. And the public was much more elegant than before”¹³.

Finnish Ambassador to Ukraine G. Gummerus remarked: “The old beautiful city has noticeably lost its rich appearance. The buildings were left unattended. Paving stones in many places were damaged. Even in the best hotels was present an impossible dirt”¹⁴. The hetman himself faced the consequences of Bolshevik’s regimen in the city. Visiting an old friend in Kiev, Skoropadsky was upset by the “inhospitable impression” that her house made to him, because it was so cozy before the revolution. “It’s nothing around, the windows are broken, the garden is ruined. It turns out that the Bolsheviks did a search here and brought the house into such a state”¹⁵.

In the cities, especially in Kiev, everything was filled with German culture: “German theater, German bookstore, touring German actors and musicians.” German dialect sounded on the streets, “a lot of German women came from a starving homeland to eat bread and sugar in the

¹¹ Російський державний архів соціально-політичної історії (РДАСПІ), ф. 71, оп. 34, спр. 102а, арк. 48.

¹² Кришевский Н. Указ. соч. – С. 124.

¹³ Дневник и воспоминания киевской студентки (1919 – 1920 гг.) // АРР, том 15. – С. 211.

¹⁴ Гуммерус Г. Україна в переломні часи. Шість місяців на чолі посольства у Києві.: Пер. з фін. – К.: ВПЦ «Київ. ун-т», 2004. – С. 56.

¹⁵ Скоропадський П. Спогади. Кінець 1917-грудень 1918 рр. Київ-Філадельфія, 1995. – С. 119.

newly conquered lands”¹⁶. Everyone rushed to buy German books and learn German. The Germans were very kind, and made a charming impression of their culture and discipline¹⁷.

Feeling the approach of even more serious shocks, people hurried to exchange paper money for at least some things. Owners of commission shops did their business on this tendency. One of these shops, a small one, where could be accommodated at the same time only 40-50 people, was overcrowded in mid-November. Crowd occurred not only inside but also outside. The owner asked the public not to squeeze out the window: “It costs over five thousands, more than all things at this auction! Don’t stuck!”. And he continued the auction: “Wonderful sea shell, 50 kopecks, who gives more? Wonderful children's shoes, a bit worn, 50 kopecks, who gives more?”. The girl said to her mother: “My doll will be sold soon!” The village woman in a scarf bought cover for the light bulbs. The owner was surprised: “Why? You do not have an electricity.” The countrywoman proudly replied: “Let me have it, not only rich men can have a lump covers!”¹⁸.

In the late autumn of 1918, on the final days of the hetman's rule, there were fewer and fewer opportunities for evening walks and rest in Kharkov: “There is no trams – you won’t get far by walking. The streets are dark, and causing fear”¹⁹. However, the residents of Kiev were almost less surprised by the forthcoming of the Petliurists in December 1918 than by the first approaching of the Bolsheviks in January of the same year. “The population got used to artillery shooting, without noticing the buzz of the guns, the public was walking, laughing, going to the cinema”²⁰.

Anarchy was established between the Petlura’s army and the Red’s army in Kiev. This period lasted a whole week. During this time, the entire population was convinced that the absence of a government is also a kind of the ruling system, “and, moreover, perhaps not the worst form”. The city was in perfect calm, shops were opened, there was a brisk trade

¹⁶ Из путевых заметок беженца кн. Е.Н. Трубецкого // АРР. Том 18. Берлин, издательство «Слово», 1926 г. – С. 143.

¹⁷ ЦДАГО, ф. 5, оп. 1, спр. 21, арк. 81зв.

¹⁸ Полтавские новости. 31 октября (13 ноября) 1918 г. № 156.

¹⁹ Южное слово (Харьков). № 2. 30 октября 1918 г.

²⁰ Державний архів Російської Федерації (ДАРФ), ф. 5881, оп. 2, спр. 232, арк. 89.

in the markets, and cab drivers were ready to serve those who wanted. “It was just somehow uncomfortably quiet”²¹.

Since February 1919, with the arrival of the Bolsheviks, the Kiev inhabitants have increasingly lost the isolation of their regular little world. Now a complete rest was not possible not only in public places, but also in their own homes. The military units of the Reds that entered the city settled in apartments. The family of the Kiev student was forced to give a space, and to accept two Red Army men. They asked for a tea. “I had to stand up and warm for them water, because the servants, who were obviously on their side, still refused to work at such an inappropriate time”. The usual conditions of apartments disappeared, the whole city was filled with carts loaded with requisitioned furniture. “stylish furniture, carpets, mirrors” had been brought to the new Soviet. Private libraries were destroyed. The streets of Kiev has changed a lot. The number of elegant, and even neatly dressed people, especially men, has decreased²². Kiev’s crowd has become “new” and “unusual”. Officer V.V. Korsak noted that it was not “an old familiar population, where everyone could be recognized in his place: this is a teacher, this is a merchant, this is a foreigner, this is a cheat”²³.

The trams stopped moving, there were almost no cab drivers, some shops were closed, others still somehow existed, waiting for the unavoidable end. But life was still felt in Kiev. The noisy southern crowd was still in a hurry somewhere, “it was only slightly worn out”, “all sorts of coffee shops and pate restaurants were full. A full-blooded, sanguine city, feeding from the fruitful black-ground fields, did not give in to Bolshevik’s poison. How all this does not look like Petersburg! The strict, gloomy capital city flared up with a crazy red flame, and died. Kiev wants to live, by all means, even with the Bolsheviks”²⁴.

Very quickly, many families lost signs of external culture. As it showed out, even higher education was not a guarantee against extreme negligence and uncleanliness. Many Kiev intellectuals stopped cleaning their apartments, started to dry their laundry in the living rooms and on

²¹ Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 52.

²² Дневник и воспоминания киевской студентки. – С. 209-211.

²³ Красная смута: сб. ист. лит. произв. М.: Содружество «Посев», 2011. – С. 145.

²⁴ Раппопорт Ю.К. У красных и у белых // АРР. Том 20. Берлин, издательство «Слово», 1930 г. – С. 230.

the front balconies, were making the dough and cutting the cutlets on the wood buffets, never took out buckets of waste, walked all day in dirty bonnets²⁵.

Private house has lost not only comfort, but also security. Every doorbell caused a feeling of horror, people began to be afraid to leave the house even for an hour, because something could happen during the absence. Some people for months did not leave the house. The soldiers, rushing into the apartments, searching everywhere, including the beds. The feeling of a “real, thorough search” was “as if stripped in public”, especially when looking at letters and books. Throughout the stay of the Bolsheviks, the Kiev's citizens hid their property with their friends, “like a thief stoles goods”²⁶.

The problem was the usual buying. Shops either completely disappeared or changed their profile. The Soviet flower trade was opened in the tea shop. In the first jewelry cooperative the selling of vegetables started. For some reason, street books trading has not been banned yet, and at every corner was a stand, or a kiosk, “over full of excellent publications”. The books were “almost all with initials, many with inscriptions”. The streets that changed their names became “more sadder and empty”. Squares and parks were “uglified by the frightful busts of Soviet leaders”. The number of “ugly futuristic posters” has increased. The benches in the gardens almost disappeared, many old trees in the parks were cut down. “Mariinsky Garden has turned into a graveyard”²⁷.

The attack of the Volunteer Army for a short time freed bourgeois class from the fear of red terror. Before the arrival of volunteers, Kiev looked terrible. Everything looked dead, boarded up, only soldiers ran through the streets and shot into the air. The city was empty, “there were very few street walkers”, however, local gangsters began to rob, “shouts and calls for help were heard everywhere”²⁸.

After the final occupation of the city by army of whites, the streets were again filled with crowds of people. “Just yesterday, each one could think that Kiev was completely emptied, and today – there are dressed up women, military men in uniforms and with orders, officials – with

²⁵ Дневник и воспоминания киевской студентки. – С. 220.

²⁶ Там же. – С. 217

²⁷ Там же. – С. 224.

²⁸ Красная смута. – С. 188.

buttonholes and badges”. Next morning long lines formed near to the newspaper’s stands, where the first “Kievlyanin” has been sold after a long break²⁹.

The townspeople got used to the fightings. There was no single resident of Kiev who could not distinguish a shot from an explosion, and even “the kind of gun that is being shot”³⁰. In the late autumn of 1919, city apartments finally lost the last signs of home comfort. People continued to go down both physically and morally. In some apartments the returned tenants put everything in order, in most others people lived indifferently “among the remains belonged to others”. One of the student’s acquaintances lived in a dirty, neglected apartment, there were broken dishes and a torn tablecloth on the table, and the owner herself wore several different dresses³¹.

In February 1920 Kiev seemed completely extinct, the trams did not move for a long time, only occasionally drivers drove by. On a dark and empty train station only a few people were seen with sacks on their backs. On some streets it was difficult to walk, sidewalks came to such a destroyed state³².

In Odessa, in the last days of the volunteers’ stay, even the street of the outskirts was lit, although dimly. Despite the lighting and the trams full of passengers, Odessa citizens were robbed by bandits hiding in abandoned quarries. Robberies took place not only on the streets, but also in the apartments. No city in Russia, Prince Trubetskoy claimed, had such a number of robberies – “day and night, in the streets and in houses”. Going out in the evening was dangerous. The Prince did not remember a single evening in Odessa “without many shots”. One of his acquaintances, returning home late at night after meeting the New Year, counted more than one hundred and forty shots during the way³³. Even if a friend’s walk home lasted about one hour, anyway they shot two or three times in a minute.

Colonel of Wrangel’s army compared the situation on the city streets under the Red and White armies: “I remember our White army.

²⁹ Красная смута. – С. 194.

³⁰ Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919-1920 гг. – С. 219.

³¹ Дневник и воспоминания киевской студентки. – С. 239.

³² Там же. – С. 236.

³³ Из путевых заметок беженца кн. Е.Н. Трубецкого. – С. 164.

Occupation of a new city. Excited population, traffic and noise on the streets. Restaurants and places for entertainment are open, people are everywhere, delight, wine, drunk people could be met on the streets. In the city unauthorized searches, arrests, riot, gunshots are heard at night”. After the Red army came, all was quiet. “Residents are sitting at home and, of course, afraid. There are few people on the street, restaurants are closed, there are no drunkards, no roistering and searches too, no shooting has been heard yet”³⁴.

Against such a kind of life, a white Crimea looked like a fairy tale. During presence of Wrangel, the streets of Sevastopol were full of people. “Cab drivers, cars, announcements of concerts, lectures, meetings, money-changing shops at every step, shops, luxury shop-windows, and all of these, whatever. Cafes, restaurants ...”³⁵. During the evacuation of the White army from the Crimea, the evening Simferopol had the usual appearance. “The brightly lit cafes were, as always, filled with military and civilian speculators, exhaling cheerful sounds of the orchestra in clouds of steam and tobacco smoke through the doors opened to the frosty street”³⁶.

The situation in Kiev between the leaving of the Reds and the coming of the Poles contemporaries called “the strange days”. The city was quiet and calm, the streets were completely empty, all establishments stopped working. The markets were empty too³⁷. From the outside, the city experienced an “idyllic state”. It was a beautiful weather, lush green blossomed. All stayed at home. “Only the brave souls decided to leave far to the center of the city. In the afternoon, bunches of curious people crowded at the doors, at the entrances”³⁸.

Lawyer from Kiev, A.A. Goldenweiser, described his contemporaries in a gloomy colors: “They walked on the dead streets of the city, looking at the exhausted and stupid faces of passersby. They read newspapers stuck on the walls, telling about the revolution in Lisbon, and about the victory on some kind of newly invented front”³⁹. The poverty and

³⁴ ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, спр. 158, арк. 34.

³⁵ Шульгин В.В. Дни. 1920: Записки. – М.: Современник, 1989. – С. 457.

³⁶ Оболенский В. Крым при Врангеле. Мемуары белогвардейца. М.-Л.: Государственное издательство, 1927. – С. 74.

³⁷ Заславский Д.О. Поляки в Киеве в 1920 году. – Петроград: изд-во «Былое», 1922. – С. 10.

³⁸ Там же. – С. 47.

³⁹ Гольденвейзер А.А. Из киевских воспоминаний // АРР. М.: Терра-Политиздат, 1991. т. 6. – С. 303.

cheapness of the new life was expressed, first of all, in “how much important the ordinary things began to be”⁴⁰.

Colonel of the Wrangel Army described the situation in the Crimea after the Whites left: “Revolutions are being made by ideas in alliance with the fear of hunger, but not with hunger”. If a person got used to “pressed caviar, oysters, asparagus and grouse”, then hunger begins for him when, by force of circumstances, “he will be placed in front of a plate of fat soup with cereal”. For a person accustomed to pea soup with bacon and big piece of bread, hunger begins when “he will sit in front of a slice of bread and a cup of water”. For the colonel, a real hunger began, when under the large linden tree growing near to his house in one of the gardens of the Crimea, “the last handful of seeds, fell from it, was collected”⁴¹.

The colonel paid an attention to the specifics of women’s behavior under the Bolsheviks. All Soviet institutions “were filled with women and girls of two types – either pretty from the bourgeois environment, or ugly party members”. Many ladies of noble birth went to serve in the Cheka, lived with red commanders, participated in feasts. “This phenomenon was more closely related to psychiatry than to virtue and women’s honor”. The real danger to life, ongoing shootings, a shortage of staff, made for these women a special “love elixir of death”. True love and passion, laughter and smile, flowers and songs temporarily stopped to exist for many people⁴².

2. Attempts of psychological adaptation

The events occurring in the conditions of revolution and civil war, and the reaction to them of ordinary citizens, more and more were looking like a theater of the absurd. Just a week after the Bolshevik’s revolution in Petrograd, residents of Ukrainian cities already knew the price of the new self-styled rulers of Russia. A modest, intelligent gentleman came to the kerosene trade place and asked to allow him to buy out of the line: “Please, give me kerosene, to cook a soup for my sick wife!”. The line was relentless: “We have been standing here since sunrise, stand in the line!” The gentleman moved aside, put on inside out his coat, put on the

⁴⁰ Гольденвейзер А.А. Из киевских воспоминаний // АРР. М.: Терра-Политиздат, 1991. т. 6. – С. 301.

⁴¹ ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, спр. 158, арк. 69.

⁴² ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, спр. 158, арк. 74.

cap, came back, and shouted: “Give me the way! The Bolshevik is coming!” The line ran instantly⁴³.

A significant part of the comical situations in the first period of the revolution arose as a result of the actions of the new government, and was reflected in the reaction of citizens to its decisions and resolutions. In December 1917, the Bolshevik Decree “The rules of divorce” was issued, establishing the right to break up the marital relations. Already in January 1918, the readers of the “Free South” learned about the brave action of one of the residents of Sevastopol. Since the decree on divorces did not reach Sevastopol, and he asked for divorce, he announced to all readers of the newspaper that he considered himself a divorced by “present statement”. The reason for the divorce was the “shameful behavior” of his wife. Moreover, the fact of shameful behavior was confirmed by “citizens X. and U.”⁴⁴.

Another category of everyday events that provided a lot causes for jokes, were numerous domestic and family difficulties caused by the economic crisis. The revolutionary epoch caused many new problems for city residents which were primarily related to the satisfaction of basic needs in the context of numerous social experiments. In the implementation of their needs, the inhabitants showed miracles of adaptability. They were exhausted from the endless “tails” for a variety of goods, but still could be ironic on this topic. “It's good if the tail is manufactory – you stood for two days, got a ticket – can go home and enjoy! But that one who smokes, in the tobacco tail, has a trouble ...” – “Why?” – “While waiting in boredom and cold, he smokes twice more... As long as he waits – he will smoke all old stock, therefore, it is necessary to make a stock again! So he will stay all his life in the tobacco tail!”⁴⁵.

Odessans did not lose their sense of humor. One of them, the head of the family, sent all his household “to different strategic points of the city” in order to get bread. When all the family members gathered around the dinner table, they had apples, watermelons, plums, and “all other food” in their hands. Only bread was not there. The man went to the neighbor, asked him for a piece of bread “instead of his wedding black jacket”, and

⁴³ Одесская почта. № 3187, 19 ноября 1917 г.

⁴⁴ Вольный Юг (Севастополь). № 41. 17 января 1918 г.

⁴⁵ Киевская мысль. № 104. 26 сентября 1917 г.

his family “began to eat this bread like a gingerbread”. After lunch, his wife categorically stated that she regretted about her marriage. “Nowadays is better to marry a shoemaker. And the best – to a baker. Such a man’s wife will never need bread”⁴⁶.

The realities of the new time were reflected in the eternal, like the world, relations between men and women. In one of the families a woo took place. The bride was a respectable person in her forties. The groom was stubborn. A matchmaker asked: “Do you like a bride?”. The groom was adamant: “She looks like a monkey!” – “She has a wardrobe!” – “To hell!” – “Dowry is five thousands”, the matchmaker added. – “What is the current rate of five thousands? I do not want to!” – And then the father of the bride intervened: “I will give ten pounds of sugar and two coupons for galoshes for my daughter”. – “I agree!”- the groom happily said. The wedding took place in two weeks⁴⁷.

The period of Hetman P.P. Skoropadsky brought certain positive changes in food supply and in other areas of life, but the episodes that have been caused the jokes did not become less. A large amount of comical information was presented by the histories of refugees from Soviet Russia, the flow of which rushed into the hetman’s Ukraine in the spring and summer of 1918. The hetman who was distinguished for his brilliant observation, described the different stages of refugee behavior in his memoirs. At first, after the arrival, “the person is silent, sleeps, drinks and eats”. At the second stage, the euphoria comes – “Ukraine is lovely, the language is so euphonic, the climate is good, Kiev is beautiful, the government is good”. The third stage already contains elements of criticism – “cab drivers are very bad, the pavement in some places is broken”. At the last stage, an active negation prevailed: “Your Ukraine is nonsense, it has no data for existence, and there are no Ukrainians, all this is an invention of the Germans”⁴⁸.

To get out of Soviet Russia, people showed maximum ingenuity. The Bolsheviki more easier were giving permissions to travel to all kinds of artists, therefore, various opera and drama troupes moved to the south by hundreds. A famous barber from Petrograd told to a Russian journalist,

⁴⁶ Одесская почта. № 3134, 19 сентября 1917 г.

⁴⁷ Одесская почта. № 3187, 19 ноября 1917 г.

⁴⁸ Скоропадський П. Вказ. тв. – С. 226, 227.

Teffy, that he and several members of his family were responsible for different roles. In the troupe there were “first lover”, “ingenue”, “grand-coquette”, mother-in-law in a role of cashier, and eleven (!) prompters. “Of course, the proletariat was a little bit confused by this number of prompters. But we explained that this is the most crucial element of art. Without a prompter the play cannot go. On the other hand, the prompter, sitting in a booth and being restricted in his movements, quickly becomes exhausted and must be immediately replaced with a fresh one”⁴⁹.

During the few months of life under the Bolsheviks’ ruling the world perception of citizens was distorted, and in the summer of 1918, when they found themselves in a prosperous Ukraine, they would hardly forget the Soviet realities. Teffi’s daughter bought a chocolate in one of the Ukrainian towns. The family was surprised that “no one asked any papers, and no one stand in line”, but simply entered the shop and bought it. It was decided to try is it really a chocolate, and then buy more. But her daughter said that next time someone else should go for the chocolate, “otherwise it will seem suspicious”⁵⁰.

The Germans were faced with the specificities of local life, when was useless to fight, and remained to call on conscience and mercy. In April 1918, a pickpocket successfully worked during a performance at the Empire Theater. As a result, the South Region newspaper asked the thief who stole a wallet with money and documents, “to return at least the documents to the poor German soldier in his regiment, at the address indicated on the documents”⁵¹.

The housing crisis was rising. The cessation of new building works and the flow of refugees had a negative effect on the state of the housing stock. Kharkiv students had to rent extremely small apartments with minimal amenities. On this occasion, journalists could still joke. Here is the hostess’s dialogue with the student: “What am I going to do to my table?” – “The medic student stayed before you. He used to sit on the bed, putting his book on his lap. Every person could be his own table”. – “There is no place even to put a chair here”. – “Why do you need a chair?” – “In case if my friend comes to me?” – “Why should he come to

⁴⁹ Тэффи Н.А. Житье-бытье: Рассказы. Воспоминания. – М.: Политиздат, 1991. – С. 339.

⁵⁰ Тэффи Н.А. Указ. соч. – С. 292-293.

⁵¹ Южный край. 30 апреля 1918 г.

you? Would be better visit him yourself”. – “You mentioned – apartment has a light”. – “There is lantern’s light from the street outside your window. And whole night there is free lighting. We are gathering a “reading hall” here on the windowsill”⁵².

The presence of Austro-German army units in the country did not provide complete security, the threat of bandit attacks remained. On the steamers that navigated in 1918 from Kiev to Yekaterinoslav and back, enterprising people appeared at various stops, offering to passengers clean 96-degree alcohol for twenty rubles per bottle. “Passengers sniffed, made a deal, swore”, and eventually bought alcohol “for a holidays”. On the next stop, the alcohol owners while moving down from the ship “were surrounded by a group in gray coats”, and unceremoniously searched, “not sparing even baskets and suitcases”. At the same time, alcohol was confiscated, but after that a new trade began on the ship. At the next station, the same thing happened, and this way it went on to the final destination. The assistant captain said that the same bottles of alcohol “walks back and forth from the starting of navigation”, and, obviously, “will walk during the whole season”⁵³.

People did not lose courage, and, at the first chance for someone to cheat and have their own benefit, they actively used this opportunity. At the end of October 1918, in the last weeks of the hetman’s reign, the newspaper “Yuzhnoye Slovo” published Mikhail Koltsov’s feuilleton about the behavior of Kharkov residents when distributing coupons for purchasing the vodka. Under the pen of a talented journalist, the constant desire of the philistines to outwit others, including administrators, has achieved the degree of grotesque. “Young lady! Give it to me! – And to me! – Do not meddle out of turn! What a mess! – I can not give it to you. Your passport does not have a registration. – Have mercy! We have already prepared the snack! Tomatoes will spoil. Feel our bad situation!” One of the Kharkov citizens tried to get a ticket for a six-year-old daughter: “I have a girl exactly like an old one! Drinking alcohol for my respect. It is impossible without this!” The member of the housing committee wanted to receive the coupon for two buckets at once: “We supposed that we would get two buckets and distribute them among our

⁵² Южный край. 14 августа 1918 г.

⁵³ Южная заря (Екатеринослав). № 2. 10 мая 1918 г.

house residents”. Another lover of liquor, single by a passport, demanded two coupons: “Although we didn’t have a priest, I have lived eight years with Anisya, she is my completely legal wife”. And it was only about coupons, the confirmed distribution of alcohol could not take place. However, downstairs, at the entrance, a group of excited citizens crowded, having already received precious coupons⁵⁴.

Junker Yakonovsky had his way to the Don with many adventures: “Our train, principally, goes to Kharkov through Lyubotin, but, of course, only principally. To make this happen, it is necessary that in Kharkov there should be the same power as in Sumy and Lyubotin. Last night there were Petliurists everywhere. Today, there are still Petliurists in Lyubotin, but already Bolsheviks in Kharkov. We do not immediately recognize this”. In Kremenchug, the cadets with help of the tea house owner negotiated with the railway workers to continue the trip, and received the following answer: “We’ll let the train go, just buy the firewood, pay the brigade and the station authorities. We will go to Nikolaev, and where we will reach, this is something we don’t know”⁵⁵.

The approach of the Red soldiers to Kiev was accompanied by the spread of a fantastic tale, with the help of which the urban community explained the slowdown in their progress. There was a rumor that the Petliurists drove off the Bolsheviks behind Nezhyn with the help of some kind of magic lantern. From the proclamation issued by the Directory, it became known that the Ukrainian army received from the French some “purple rays” lantern, from which people supposedly lost sight for six months, and then lit up the Bolshevik force detachment with “some kind of a purple searchlight”. They said that “this farce delayed the situation for several days”⁵⁶.

The Bolsheviks “exhausted the soul of the population” with their orders. The first order suggested the evacuation of the bourgeoisie from their apartments, and the settlement of the poor people there. “There was no bourgeois at all”. All residents of Kiev turned out to be “honest workers in the course of formation and strengthening of the Soviet

⁵⁴ Южное слово (Харьков). № 2. 30 октября 1918 г.

⁵⁵ Яконовский Е. Фарфоровая кокарда. [Электронный ресурс] – Режим доступа: http://www.dk1868.ru/history/FARF_KOK.htm.

⁵⁶ Раппопорт Ю.К. Указ. соч. – С. 209.

power”, all were supplied with the appropriate papers, “you will not reproach anyone!”⁵⁷.

During searches in family apartments, they were got all together, and all residents were having cherished “papers” – certificates of belonging to one or another category of the privileged class – to Soviet employees, artists, members of trade unions, etc.⁵⁸.

V.V. Korsak, who was in Kiev with the Reds, got a job at the council of the national economy. The head of the general department said that he had many departments and posts. “But no food allowances”, the meager salary, so that all newly received “began to lose weight”. The life of the Soviet institution was characterized as “paper-ink work”. Schools, hospitals, bridges, theaters, folk houses were built only on paper, in reality there were no nails and axes. A fast survey of visitors ended with the fact that “some were sent to the floor above, others – to the floor below, third – to the council, fourth – to the executive committee; briefly, all was not blessed by God”⁵⁹.

When the Volunteer Army appeared in the Donbass, employees of various institutions, in order to maintain their positions, once again urgently changed their political beliefs. The head of the Shterovka railway station became “over right”, although at different times, under different authorities, he managed to stay both “German” and “Ukrainian” and “Red”⁶⁰.

The onset of the Volunteer Army allowed the townsfolk to return to their hometowns. But not all perceived Denikin’s success with full enthusiasm. Teffi’s friend from Kharkov, whom she met walking on the street by the hand with a young actress, made a helpless gesture and confusedly said: “Why are they moving so soon! Though would rest a little. Do you not find that it is better to give the soldiers to take a breath? Of course, they are heroes, but the respite is not harmful even to the hero”. And hopelessly he added: “After all, it’s probably time to go home soon”. He had a wife in Kharkov, about which Teffi knew that she was not thrilled by the quick White’s attack too. “I suppose, after each new report of the White’s successes, she wanders around the house, tears up letters,

⁵⁷ Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919-1920 гг. – С. 211-212.

⁵⁸ Гольденвейзер А.А. Указ. соч. – С. 239.

⁵⁹ Красная смута. – С. 168.

⁶⁰ ДАРФ, ф. Р-440, оп. 1, спр. 34, арк. 14.

shakes suspicious cigarette butts out of ashtrays and writes a little note with a trembling hand: “Whites are approaching. Just in case, do not come tomorrow”⁶¹.

During the next attack on Kiev, the Kiev citizen L. and all her relatives gathered in the same apartment and searched for the safest room. This happened as follows. At first there was a discussion from which of the four cardinal sides the attack was coming. Then, “almost with a compass in hand”, this side was sought. The knowledge of where the bomb should not logically fall, did not help much – nothing prevented that the bomb could “sometimes be thrown there”. Residents tried to determine exactly who is leading, calculated the amount of water available, and for how long it might be enough. One of the neighbors proposed the method of quenching his thirst invented by him – “sucking carrots”. The hosts refused, saying that they would go to Dnepr for a water. “You will not go anywhere, but you will come to me for the carrot”, the neighbor answered philosophically. When the authorities changed, the city plunged into anarchy, to which the inhabitants quickly became accustomed. In such cases, some unknown people with bands on their arms appeared on the streets. “Whether they are robbing, or protecting from robbers, nobody knows exactly. They say that there are real ones that protect, and fake ones that rob”⁶².

In Odessa on the eve of the arrival of the Bolsheviks, the bandits also became more active. But the townspeople could not sit at home, and in the evenings “got out of their unheated apartments”. People were visiting clubs and theaters, gathering to go home in groups, hiding valuable things on themselves, and hiring guards – “five students, armed with whatever they got”. But it all did a little help. The woman who suffered from the bandit raid complained: “He, a sneaky man, listens to where it is ticking, and searches there. I said – this is my heartbeat because of fear. Do they believe a honest person!”⁶³.

Another series of tragicomic situations is associated with the third coming of the Bolsheviks to Ukraine. The head of the Kharkov provincial department of public education forbade the management department to do

⁶¹ Тэффи Н.А. Указ. соч. – С. 398-399.

⁶² Очерки жизни в Киеве в 1919-1920 гг. – С. 226.

⁶³ Тэффи Н.А. Указ. соч. – С. 331.

“performance and dance evening” in the building of a college of crafting. Firstly, because evening classes of the college and courses for workers took place there, and secondly, because latrines were idle there, and there was no heating. It turned out that students of the college and cadet workers had neither latrines nor heating required⁶⁴.

In the summer of 1920, the niggling Bolshevik’s regulation related to the property of citizens reached its apogee. A.A. Goldenweiser was ironic about this: “To move the mattress from one apartment to another, I needed an order; to move to the next station, a pass was needed; in order to buy a sheet of paper, it was necessary to pre-write several sheets with requests for the proper permission”⁶⁵.

People’s ability to adapt to changes of the living conditions was unique. When the Bolsheviks banned private marketing, they still accepted the existence of cooperatives. “And, like a magic, all the private tradings declared themselves cooperatives”. Then the cooperatives were closed, but handicraft workshops remained allowed. “In a short time, all the shopkeepers on Vasilkovskaya and Podol turned out to be craftsmen, and they started making gasoline lighters and rubber soles from stolen car tires”. Finally, trade was limited only to food products, and right there “in all the shops, bread and boxes of tea substitutes appeared in the windows; the rest of the goods were been selling in the back rooms”. When any trade was banned, shopkeepers used living places to sell staffs. Goldenweiser remembered a shopkeeper living in the same house: “The front room of the shop was turned into a living room, and through the windows everyone could see from the street, in the place where depravity of speculation reigned before, now the family of peaceful proletarians Hirschman eats and drinks tea. Trade at that time was carried out in the shopkeeper’s previously living room, which was on the side of the courtyard”⁶⁶.

One of the sides of activities of the Soviet government was the increasing role of the bureaucratic apparatus. According to the writer V.P. Kataev, “every person with a briefcase seemed to be a creature of the highest order, all-knowing and all-powerful”. The abbreviated names of

⁶⁴ Державний архів Харківської області (ДАХО), ф. Р-202, оп. 1, спр. 11с, арк. 222.

⁶⁵ Гольденвейзер А.А. Указ. соч. – С. 286.

⁶⁶ Там же.

institutions, adopted by the Bolsheviks, “put terrified intellectuals in a horror”⁶⁷.

Once being in Odessa, occupied by Red soldiers, monarchist V.V. Shulgin got to the police station, where he has been checked for his documents. The check took place under the light of some kind of oil lamp, which was considered a lamp. The information of the detained citizen was decided to be immediately clarified in the address table, the call to which was accompanied by the words: “What? No light in the address table? You cannot give any help? What? Did you harm your head? By what? Oh wardrobe? What a disgrace ...”. The story ended well – Shulgin was not only released, but allowed to spend the night in the police station⁶⁸.

Under the Bolsheviks, school teachers did not receive any payment for more than a year. They quickly found a way out, and “began to press on the students, to demonstrate an exceptional severity and exactingness towards them, with the result that the majority of students began to take a private lessons from them at home”⁶⁹.

The difficulties of the economic situation were not caused only by poverty and lack of money. Even for those who had money, the question arose whether they had money able to buy something. During the Polish occupation of Kiev, the monetary issue became fantastically confusing and actual. An infinite number of money currencies was circulating: Soviet, Duma, Ukrainian, Royal, Kerensky’s currency, Polish marks. For each of the 14 varieties of money was a special, and variable rate. And the prices of each product were different for each kind of currency⁷⁰.

The soldiers of White army, who did not leave with Wrangel and remained in the Crimea, tried to “adopt to a proletarian features”, so they started to work in re-sewing clothes. The colonel of the Russian army was working in hand-sewing, because the owners did not have a sewing machine. Dressing did not help everyone, for example, “my grandmother still kept an aristocratic look”⁷¹. Subsequently, the former colonel was appointed to follow a train carrying the Crimean wines to Moscow. There were twenty wagons in the train, and each wagon had twelve large barrels

⁶⁷ Катаев В. П. Почти дневник. – М.: Советский писатель, 1962. – С. 78.

⁶⁸ Шульгин В.В. Дни. 1920: Записки. – С. 397.

⁶⁹ Мартынов А. Мои украинские впечатления и размышления. Москва-Петроград, Государственное издательство, 1923. – С. 52.

⁷⁰ Революция на Украине по мемуарам белых. – С. 62.

⁷¹ ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, спр. 158, арк. 15.

inside. The wine was old, aged. At each station, the local administration delayed the train under any causes, “transparently hinting about the need for a bribe for further movement”. The people accompanying the train tried several times to ask for help of the Railway Emergency Commission (Cheka), but this only led to an “increase in the tax rate”⁷².

FINDINGS

The daily life of the population of large cities got a special character in crisis conditions. Cities as a product of civilization died with it. For urban dwellers, implementation of both sides of everyday life, both technological and mental, was extremely difficult. A lot of effort and wonders of ingenuity had to be applied to find 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 have, what moral principles to follow. The past habits, priorities, tastes were 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.

The jokes about main themes such as actions and orders of the government in the period of 1917-1920, and numerous domestic troubles, were sometimes reaching to the point of absurdity. It is notable that the surrounding reality was able to cause people’s laughter only in the initial period of the revolution. Be ironic about later events people could only after some time. Crazy rumors gave food for humor, circulating from time to time in society, and citizens' attempted to live like nothing had happened, distancing themselves from the ruling power. Of course, the observer’s vision from the side usually was causing him to have completely different emotions than the person who was directly in the center of events. The main thing is that people did not lose the ability to laugh, even through tears, and the need for laughter, as a means of psychological protection, remained in the most difficult times.

⁷² ДАРФ, ф. 5881, оп. 1, стр. 158, арк. 169.

SUMMARY

During the Revolution and Civil War of 1917-1920, the population of Ukrainian cities experienced significant upheavals caused by the change of powers and hostilities. These shocks gradually transformed social and individual psychology. Gradually losing interest in politics, urban residents preferred to spend their time searching for products. Every day they felt less secure. The closeness of the familiar little world of everyday life was destroyed. Familiar atmosphere of the apartments disappeared, city streets changed. Many families lost signs of external culture very quickly.

The events that took place more and more resembled the theater of the absurd, while the citizens showed miracles of adaptability in realization of their needs. They quickly got used to the fact that during changing of the authorities the cities plunged into anarchy, learned to circumvent the ridiculous prohibitions of petty Bolshevik regulations and actively used the first opportunity to circle someone around their finger. Employees of various institutions repeatedly changed their political beliefs to maintain their positions. Thus, previous ethical standards ceased to exist for the commoners.

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WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?

Predeina M. Yu.

*Based on works by
Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari
With the same name*

Do we *still* need philosophy? – I don't know; it is obvious that philosophy as the *history* of thought, the history of human spirit movement from “darkness to opposition” has the right to exist and to be studied not in a less degree, than, for instance, Homer's poetry, but is it still urgent? Is it possible, and more important, is it *necessary* to think in a philosophic way today”? – There is a phrase of junior Marx scandalizing the reader: “Philosophy and studying the real world corresponds to each other as onanism and sexual love”¹. Of course, the phrase is addressed to the Left Hegelians, but what if the Left Hegelians, unwittingly, *exhausted* the philosophy, found its end? One may recollect Engel's work written much later “Ludwig Feuerbach and the *End of Classic German Philology*”, where the end of the German philosophy is understood as the end of philosophy: as far as theoretical science appears – the philosophy of nature comes to an end, as far as history of philosophy appears – the philosophy comes to an end, and so on. It is obvious that Engels did not see the *philosophy of advertising* in his dreams. – It is not about the issue that the Left-Hegelians lacked courage, Bruno Bauer paid for his views by leaving the position of an assistant professor, which for the German of that time, as for you and me, means the same as a fire for another Bruno, Giordano, even if speaking more prosaically, they lacked an *effective* approach to the world; they replaced the study of the world with philosophy, with abstracts, for example, *based on history*. – But *what* are the philosophical texts now? The texts of Deleuze or Baudrillard? These texts are political and not entirely political, aesthetic and *not entirely* aesthetic, economic and *not entirely*

¹ Маркс К., Энгельс Ф. Немецкая идеология // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1955, т. 3, с. 225.

economic, historical and *not entirely* historical, a number can be continued, but the main thing is mentioned, these texts cannot be attributed to anything definite and, therefore, they relate to the *indefinite*, to philosophy – philosophy finds its place where it is “*not entirely*”, in a certain gap, *somewhere between*. If Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari write about a nomad, then he is *not exactly* a nomad, not a *historical* nomad, just like the *Mongol* in Max Stirner, they write about a nomad, placing this nomad at the place of *something else*, something that they neither *else* nor *already* can call by a *proper name*. In the preface to “Anti-Oedipus”, Michel Foucault formulates the main question that occupied our co-authors, “how not to become a fascist, especially if you are a revolutionary?” and answers “to love not something settled, but nomadic”. The nomad is something political, but *not* politically expressed. – In a line of political, aesthetic, economic, etc., the cornerstone element, an element without which the line will not exist, is *political*, philosophy has always been the occupation of a *political* person, but a political person in a particular *non-political* state, that is, in such a state they, could not *make* politics for one reason or another. As we know, Cicero, was philosophizing in exile, obviously, he, like his descendants, found that it was much more useful and more pleasant *to make an* experiment than to describe it, but he agreed to *describe*, if it was not possible to make it. Again, philosophy is described by the word “between”, *between* Rome and exile, *between* exile and Rome. – Philosophy brings things *in the midst of times* to life, it is the midst that determines such a special attitude to the political: *The political* with a capital letter, which is interesting to do and about which it is interesting to write, has *already* ended, the political, which exists *now* not worth spending time on it, it remains to anticipate the new *Political*, which has not yet come – one is “no longer ...”, the other is “not yet ...”. *After* the French Revolution the Left Hegelians write, namely, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, their last joint book “What is Philosophy?”, it was published in 1991, – *after* the Russian Revolution, which for the most part is *invisibly* present in their book and only sometimes reveals itself, speaking its own language; both those and that ones write *after* great events and great defeats, in a very unpleasant time, if for no other reason than the writer himself is out of time, he rather belongs to the past or future than to the present, bygone or pending, timeless of the writing

person determines the timelessness of their language, the emergence of all these non-historical Mongolian nomads. When in Rome, Cicero speaks against Catilina, when in exile, he writes “in general”. – In philosophy, it is a common belief that timelessness is a virtue, but it is a virtue from weakness; in those moments when the history is being made, it will not come into someone’s mind to use an abstract, timeless language, to appeal to the nomads and the Mongols.

Young Marx has another far more famous phrase, which today is probably also scandalizing: “religion is opium for the people”. But this is its common representation, in its context it sounds a little different: “Religion is a sigh of an oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of soulless orders. Religion is *opium* for the people”². It is not about the “conspiracy of the priests”, it is about the expression of a certain *need*, but the need of *an oppressed* creature, which is not capable of anything and desperate to free itself. – What, if taking into account all the above mentioned, the philosophy is *the same* sigh? Or, to be exact, a sigh of an oppressed but educated creature, the opium for the intellectual? – This idea is not so seditious, if taking into account, that, firstly, in the German classics, philosophy, religion and art were considered as different forms, but of the same thing, secondly, that philosophy often led to religion, it was the same on the days of Rome decline and on the days of the reaction of the 1910s. – There is a temptation to say “yes”, empty words and moralism have almost merged with philosophy, constantly and inevitably, but we can not ignore the special role that philosophy can play in its, *actually* its moment, *the moment of pause* – the reproduction of *opposition* by traditional means available to it, anxiety thoughts, this philosophy prepares the future, although, does not generate it of course. If Hegel is right and the owl of Minerva is flying out in twilight that is after the completion of historical action, – so, it is flying out *for any reason*?

I. – Agon or Anti-Habermas

In 1991, when the book “What is Philosophy?” was published, works of Jürgen Habermas came into fashion, who used almost Marx’s

² Маркс К. К критике гегелевской философии права. Введение // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1955, т. 1, с. 415.

language, but without Marxian fighting spirit, almost Marx, but tamed; it seemed that Jürgen Habermas took from Marx all the best, critical, and at the same time he did not lose his moral sense, his persistent notations about the advisability and usefulness of *compromise*, *consensus* seemed to be a powerful weapon against Marx's intolerance, he moralized in the old German spirit, but no one noticed it. – It's not that we all fall in love with a compromise, our love for compromise ends at the first objection, but a compromise as an idea, as a figure of speech, *ideology*, can finally be successfully opposed to those people who *don't believe* in a compromise, I don't even know why. There is no need to reach a compromise in practice, but you have to believe in it, a compromise is a matter of belief. – Jürgen Habermas *believed* in the compromise and taught this to others. – It is necessary to have this context in mind to appreciate the words of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari that philosophy *does not tolerate* debates, that it *is neither* “communication rationality” nor “world democratic dialogue”³. Of course, we are talking about *philosophy*, but you have to be too insensitive to the political in order not to notice the political here. Not a dialogue, finishing in a constant consensus, but *agon*, rivalry, struggle, and *someone's* victory. – On the one side, morality or better: moralism, on the other – awakening from it, a kind of return of vision lost after Habermas. – Of course, we are not used to Deleuze and Guattari's word – *agon*, which they define in Athens spirit as “rivalry of free people, athleticism raised to the common principle” again⁴, that is they use the same timeless language, the language, describing Athens and *not entirely* Athens, describing *something* else, apart from Athens. Whether to Athens or something else – but the word “*agon*” brings us back to something, it gives us back the time with all its timelessness, it gives us back history with all its out-of-historicity.

Jürgen Habermas describing his consensus referred to Julius Froebel⁵, published in 1847 his book “The System of Social Policy”, in which, apparently, he anticipated Habermas to such degree that Habermas could no longer write, if there was not the old truth that the truth became *truer* after repetition. It is worth drawing attention to *Froebel's* name, if

³ См. Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009, с. 35-36.

⁴ Ibidem. – С. 8.

⁵ См. Хабермас Ю. Демократия. Разум. Нравственность. Московские лекции и интервью. М.: Academia, 1995, с. 37 и далее.

only because it's the same Froebel with whom our reader is familiar with in Engels' work of "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany". That is, Froebel is the very happy man, happy not by philosophic happiness, who, having published a book in 1847, already a year later, in 1848, had a chance to test it in practice, becoming a deputy of the famous Frankfurt meeting, called "professorial". – It is noteworthy that such different people, sharing views very little in some points, Engels and Bakunin, agree in the assessment of the Frankfurt meeting, they consider it to be *truly* German, *truly* professorial, *truly* talkative and *truly* incapable of action. – However, Froebel was even luckier when he became a member of the Assembly; he was sent by the Assembly together with Robert Blum to the insurgent Vienna. Robert Blum, whose, according to Engels, "plebeian nature won over uncertain political convictions"⁶, understood that the fate of the German revolution was being solved in Vienna and took an active part in the defense of the city, for which was shot after conquest of Vienna. Froebel, having found the opposing sides in Vienna unable to compromise, left for Frankfurt to continue his investigations there. – Jurgen Habermas would have to explain what *prevented* Froebel, such a compromise connoisseur, from *finding* a compromise in Vienna and at the same time saving Robert Blum and the bridge over the Danube.

The issue is not that compromise is bad, but that it is only possible to find a compromise in works *on* compromise. When Habermas blames Marx and Engels during the period of the Paris Commune that having understood socialism as "the embodiment of certain morality," they forgot about the forms of communication, the forms in which all involved in the issue have to "agree among themselves, come to the same opinion"⁷, he is, above all, inaccurate, taking a step back, to Froebel, he describes Marx and Engels in unusual terms for them. If the young Marx could still say "the embodiment of concrete morality," although, even the young Marx avoided putting moral concepts in the place of real movement, then, neither Marx nor Engels would not have said so in the period of the *Paris Commune*. It is not enough to say that Habermas himself puts moral

⁶ См. Энгельс Ф. Революция и контрреволюция в Германии // Сочинения, 2-е изд. М.: Политиздат, 1957, т. 8, с. 76-77.

⁷ Хабермас Ю. Демократия. Разум. Нравственность. Московские лекции и интервью. М.: Academia, 1995, с. 43.

concepts about this movement in place of the actual movement, but he makes this replacement in all the texts concerned, as a result it appears that his opponents, Marx and Engels, lacked only a little thing, to rewrite from Froebel. However, Marx and Engels could not rewrite from Froebel, because, as we saw, Froebel “did not work”. – “Here we should see, as clearly as possible, one of the lines of philosophy that makes philosophy almost an abusive word, something shameful – moralization; a *moral* philosophy make us blind for the very best of reasons. Moralization is a disease spreading in the absence of a real activity, and if taking into account, that philosophy flourishes at such moments, at the moments of pauses between historical actions, it becomes clear why moralization is almost inevitable its companion, but it is a companion that does not prepare to action, but on the contrary grabs the hands, holds back, makes the action impossible even when its time has come. – The trouble with the Frankfurt meeting was not a lack of intelligence, but the fact that its mind was governed in the wrong direction, it was idle.

It is better to scandalize than to moralize. – People are likely to nod their heads, listening to the moralist, and, they are more likely to disagree with a brawler, but disagreement is just necessary, it sharpens the eyesight. – When Deleuze and Guattari write: “Didn’t Socrates turn philosophy into a free friendly discussion? Is this not the peak of Greek sociability – conversations of free people? In fact, Socrates constantly generated something that made any discussion impossible – be it in the short form of agon (questions and answers) or in the long form of rival speeches”, Socrates did something that turned the conversation into a “merciless monologue eliminating one rival after another”⁸, – then don’t we hear in this something that we felt when reading Plato? While reading the Platonic dialogues, didn’t we *feel* that with Socrates’ appearing the discussion did not flare up, but fade away? Yes, if we didn’t weigh the general opinion over us, we would have seen long ago, to what extent when Socrates took the discussion into his own hands, only his voice began to sound, and the others sometimes echoed. The point, of course, is not that Socrates acted badly; rather we act not well, subordinating Socrates to our concepts of the good. – The concepts of good, which the

⁸ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 200. С. 36.

German burgher developed and Kant spread, were developed within the boundaries of the most limited practice, by people who, in fact, had no idea about the political because there was no political in their life. “*You can because you must*”, Schiller made fun of this ethic. – For example, you can tell the truth because you must do it. However, *should* Zeno tell the truth? Zeno, known to us as the inventor of aporia, participated in the political life of Velia city, being captured by a tyrant on suspicion of conspiracy, he named the tyrant’s bodyguards instead of his fellow conspirators, so he lied, but the tyrant believed him and executed his bodyguards and was killed by fellow conspirators. Zeno *could* tell the truth, strictly speaking, it was more difficult in his position not to tell the truth, but the great question was, did he have to tell it? From the point of view of any categorical imperatives any Greek does not look very good. – Not Zeno’s categorical nature, however, casts a shadow on his aporia, did Zeno himself think that there was no movement, or did he lie in favor of his teacher, and some say his lover, Parmenides, just as he did in favor of democracy? But it does not matter, the question posed by Zeno in his aporia “how to think the movement?” does not lose anything if Zeno has not spoken seriously, nor does it acquire anything if Zeno has not made jokes. – Socrates turns the conversation into a *merciless monologue*, not as a result of some regrettable intolerance, but because his conversation serves as a preparation for action, with all the seeming morality of Socrates’ conversations, his morality is subordinated to politics and political action. Did Socrates, so freely engaged in myth-making, believe in Gods?

Not a compromise, but agon – this is what follows from the very essence of the action. The agon is, as we already know, the rivalry of free people, – the rivalry for what? – for the *opportunity* or the right *to change, to remake* something, that is, the famous thesis of Marx about *changing* the world, is already implicitly present in Socrates, who really wanted to change, remake his own policy, – *to capture* something and remake, remake in *his own way*. But only one can capture something, not by virtue of their unsociability, but by virtue of the fact that something can be changed only in *one way*. A compromise, possible in a state of idleness, becomes impossible in action. – “This is the situation, – Deleuze and Guattari write, – constantly described by Plato: when any citizen claims

something, they will surely meet their rivals, which means that the ability to judge the validity of the claims is necessary. A carpenter claims a tree, but comes upon a forester, a coalminer, a carpenter who says: “I am a friend of the tree”⁹. – The only compromise that is possible here is “not to touch the tree!”, but this is a compromise of idleness that is good for the parties as long as none of them have the strength to capture the tree, for example, the carpenter and the coal miner leave the tree in the hands of the forester, their enemy, until they can capture the tree *without* an ally. The forester wants the tree to grow, the carpenter wants to make a bench, the coalminer wants it to be charcoal, since the tree cannot be everything at the same time, then ... – A compromise is possible on the eve of the action, for example, the carpenter and the coalminer may agree that it is necessary to cut down the tree, but after they cut down the tree, their compromise will last until they clarify, including for themselves, their attitude regarding *the future* of this tree that has *already* been cut. The first periods of revolutions are the history of such compromises. To assume a *lasting* compromise means to assume that the carpenter will make a decision that the best destiny for a tree is to become charcoal, and he will refuse of the tree in favor of the coalminer, that is, he will give up his art and himself, strictly speaking, this is not a compromise, but a coalminer’s victory gained as a result of the carpenter’s avoidance of the struggle. – The forester, the carpenter and the coalminer argue because of the tree if there is no an instance that can judge their dispute. It is interesting that Deleuze and Guattari give a *non-philosophic* example with the tree: typical of Greek philosophers was rivalry *because of a boy*, and we can read quite a lot about it in Plato’s “Feast”, that is, about the one who is able to judge, choose among rivals someone to whom *he* will trust to change himself or his education, that is *why actually the boy*, but the tree, unlike the boy, cannot judge and choose – whether it wants to be coal or a bench? – We argue if there is no the other-sided instance, which is on the other side of our dispute; any judge is inevitably in a certain position in relation to the tree, for example, the forester judges from the point of view of the highest justice seen by the forester’s *eyes*.

⁹ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 14.

We came back where we started – philosophy does not tolerate discussions – sure, we argue because of the tree, but there is no point to argue, in fact, our concepts, in this case, these are the images of the future tree “a bench”, “coal”, – are *indisputable*, the carpenter likes benches, and the coalminer likes coal. “Communication, – write Deleuze and Guattari, – always comes too early or too late, and conversation is always unnecessary in relation to creative work.”¹⁰. – Something we are doing now is unnecessary in relation to creative work, in this sense, Marx’s scandalizing phrase, which I used to start the article with, is correct; we are busy talking, because we are not busy creating, – we have already had either a collapsed bench, or burned coal, and the question “in what will we turn trees into, into benches or coal?” refers us either to history or to the future. – “Too earlier – too late” – this phrase is familiar to us, putting our conversation into *between-the-time*, or in twilight, when Minerva’s owl is flying out again; this is a conversation taking place not to make us asleep, its conclusions might lose any meaning at noon, a favorite image of Hoelderlin and Nietzsche, but they might have a certain value now, as something we worry about.

II. – Immanence, or Anti-transcendence

Moralization, or a conversation from the point of morality view, requires a kind of other-sided instance, being outside the conversation, *the must-be* world, or, using philosophic language, transcendental ones. On the contrary, agon as a rivalry, and we have seen it, reveals regardless of any external instance, removes it; agon is not immanence, something that exists, exists in some certainty and has the name of “immanence”, it, using the expression of Deleuze and Guattari, “reveals the plan of immanence”, actually agon is the creative work, the lasting creative work. – We are interested not in the fact that we received a bench, *not the result*, which is called “a bench”, but the process of its production, the very new “plan”, that new relationship, which was appearing and is appearing in the struggle for the tree-for-the bench and, in fact, for metamorphose of the tree into the bench; if someone gave out ready-made benches, we would refuse to take them. Therefore, a philosopher as a

¹⁰ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 35-36.

lover, an admirer of wisdom, someone who does not possess wisdom, but pursues it, is in a winning position in comparison with God who possesses wisdom. To be more exact, here I have made an important mistake defined by the fact that I came from Plato, and I made it intentionally, with the purpose to have an occasion to say: wisdom as opposed to a boy (I allow myself this Hellenic liberty) can not be pursued, because it does not exist in that sense in which the boy exists, so it does not exist as something given, independent of our pursuit, the boy will not die if we lose our interest in him, although, it is possible that he will get sad, then it, wisdom, exists only in *our* pursuit, it is generated because we pursue it, and disappears, when we have just stopped its pursuit, – dead wisdom, left by us, is not wisdom anymore. – It is interesting that our eyes follow the process, they are captured by the process, but don't pay attention to the result in the texts that I call philosophical. This takes place because we have never been satisfied with the results, or at least have not been satisfied until now. If the results were different, the process of creative work would not stop, creative work would last, and it would be noon, Minerva's owl would not fly out, so a somnolent pause, which we would fill with conversation, would not start. – “Is that true that all efforts are useless, if suffering lasts forever, and revolutions do not experience their own victories? However, the success of revolution is in revolution itself, in the very vibrations, mergers and discoveries, which it gave to people at the time, when it was taking place, and which themselves represent the ever-arising monument like burial mound, where every new traveller brings stone by stone. The revolution victory is immanent and it lies in those new connections that it establishes between people, even if they are no more lasting than the material melt that forms it, and soon they give way to split and betrayal”¹¹. – In this passage, which I allowed myself to cite so extensively, Deleuze and Guattari discuss a possible monument to the revolution, a monument that would not be a tomb, but would wake up feelings again and again connected with the revolution. – It is about the process or the result? – It is likely that every result as a *result*, as something that is standing, completed, can be only dead, a tomb stone, the result only can exist as split and betrayal, not only because someone or

¹¹ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 205.

we, as discussing something, strive for a split or betrayal, however, because there has been no split or betrayal yet, it is not becoming, but emerging. Deleuze and Guattari want to erect a monument not to the dead, but alive, – to the process, revolutionary immanence. – Before writing a passage that I have cited, Deleuze and Guattari cite a passage from Osip Mandelstam's "Noise of Time", the work "revealing a plan of immanence", they quote Mandelstam's considerations that we are acquiring the language under the sound of the century, it is a very interesting idea, if we consider that Mandelstam revealed in all his tragic power under the noise of the 30s, his youth experienced the distant thunderstorms of revolution (he did not ignore the school passion for the ideas of two leading revolutionary parties of the time such as the social democrats and the socialist revolutionaries), there were its sunset reflections on his death. However, a little further than the abstract cited by Deleuze and Guattari, Mandelstam writes: "Nature is a revolution – eternal thirst, inflammation (probably, it is jealous of centuries that humbly quenched their thirst in a family way, going to a sheep watering)"¹². – Maybe, the centuries, travelling to a sheep watering, dreamt about eternal thirst and inflammation, and the sheep watering itself dreamt to turn into something like in Lope de Vega. Eternal thirst and inflammation is the very immanence, its ever-revealing plan. – The revolution, Mandelstam continues, is afraid of gaining something from the hands of others; we, as I have had an occasion to notice, have no interest in receiving a ready-made bench. – As for the monument, in Platonov's "Chevengur", that is, "Chevengur" by Andrei Platonov, a monument is being built in the true Deleuze spirit – two intersecting figures, a figure of eight – the symbol of eternal time, of eternal establishment – and the standing two-pointed arrow – the symbol of the infinite space. – "It can be said that immanence is the most urgent touchstone of any philosophy, since it assumes all the dangers that the philosophy has to face, all the condemnations, persecutions and denials that it undergoes. By that fact, it is proved that the problem of immanence is not abstract and not purely theoretical. It is not clear at the first sight, why immanence is so dangerous, but anyway, it is true. One can recognize the philosopher on

¹² Мандельштам О. Э. Шум времени // Собр. соч. в 4-х тт. М.: «ТЕРРА» – «TERRA», 1991, т. 2, с. 99.

what he gives to immanence as a ransom – as a ransom for fire”¹³. I allowed myself to cite this, in my opinion, the great text by Deleuze and Guattari, rather extensively. The problem of immanence is not entirely philosophic, although it is expressed in strange words, and not entirely political, *because* it is expressed in strange words. The problem of immanence is a philosophical one within our context, that is, the problem of a political person, but in a specific state – detachment from politics; since they formulate it, being removed from politics, they formulate it as a speculative problem, since they mean *future* actualization; they formulate it – as political. – “Long live to immanence!” “Down with transcendence!” It is unlikely that slogans can be political. However, they can be slogans, I will use Marx’s word “season”, which he uses to define a certain inter-world, a certain garden, where the sage of Epicurus went to, so they can be the very slogans produced in this “season” – is that what Deleuze and Guattari do? At certain points in history, politics is born in the circles of the Left Hegelians or in version of Chernyshevsky. (I will ignore every kind of medieval heresy which Deleuze and Guattari refer to.) – The danger of immanence arises from here. And hence the fact that immanence is the touchstone of any philosophy. – Why is not philosophy a sigh of an oppressed, though educated, creature? The opium of an intellectual person? Since it does not introduce the transcendental. Since it decides to render immanence in its immanence only to itself, a world without instances external to it, a movement without a promised good result. If only you quit then it turns into a refined religion. Or the same things, but in political language. What does it mean to quit? – Introduce the transcendent, – God in the language of religion, the state in the language of politics. To quit in the language of politics is to recognize what has become, this does not mean denying the “revealing of the immanence plan” “in general”, but it means to refer this “plan” to its revealing to the past, once it was revealing and revealing and now it has won, it has won and stopped revealing; the “Marseillaise” became the anthem of the French Republic after 1871 – is it not the evidence of victory? Once philosophy has conceded, it turns into official wisdom, perhaps even completely liberal. (But the “Marseillaise” after 1871 is not

¹³ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 55.

the same as the “Marseillaise” of 1793. And so on.) – And one more thing to be considered: Deleuze and Guattari are not against the results, but the result they are looking for should not deny the process; in their own language, they formulate something that Hegel, after the French Revolution, called the problem of “*non-objective objectivity*”, that is, something of this kind that would be objective enough to exist, and not sufficiently objective to be dead. – “*To attach consistence not to lose something from infinity*”¹⁴, – they write using their strange, not less strange than in Hegel, language.

III. – Who – Whom?

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari cite, as I have already mentioned, an interesting abstract from Osip Mandelstam, so I will follow them: “The birth-related tongue –tied language is over me and my contemporaries. We learned not to speak, but to babble – and just listening to the growing noise of the century and the whitening of the foam of its crest, we acquired a language.”¹⁵ – It seems to me that the tongue-tied language, which occupies a special place in the texts of Deleuze and Guattari (probably, that is why they focused on this particular abstract from “The Noise of Time”), is the best definition of the language of philosophy, – the language of philosophy is tongue-tied, philosophy hardly speaks. Everyone knows that the language of philosophy is not like human one, philosophers are proud of it, but *what* are they proud of? – The language of young Hegel, covered by the wind of the French Revolution, is much clearer, more human-like than Hegel’s old language; the language of young Marx is more foggy than the language of Marx after 1848, that is, after the beginning of a new cycle of historical action. The philosophy, appeared from the need of between-the-time, as well as Mandelstam, appeared in the “indifferent years of Russia”, still can’t speak, but only babble, strange and understandable things only to it, and the philosopher, as a happy mother, is proud that they alone understand the babble of their child who already demonstrates superior intelligence; it, the philosophy, has still to learn to talk with the century and, perhaps, having learned, it

¹⁴ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 52.

¹⁵ Мандельштам О. Э. Шум времени // Собр. соч. в 4-х тт. М.: «ТЕРРА» – «TERRA», 1991, т. 2, с. 99.

will cease to be a philosophy. And yet, a happy mother is right, that she hears superior intelligence in her child's babble, this *intelligence is not yet able to speak, but already speaks to the future*. – “The revolution is so absolute deterritorialization that it appeals to the new land and the new people”¹⁶, – Deleuze and Guattari write in a high style. *The revolution* appeals to a new land and a new people. *Philosophy* appeals to a new land and a new people. – *The coupling* of revolution and philosophy, philosophy and revolution, occurs not only in *absolute deterritorialization*, but also in the *babbling* resulting from this deterritorialization, the new people are not yet able to speak, they are *inventing* their own language. – The experience of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, babble and invention of the language is given very well in Andrei Platonov's “Chevengur”. – A new language is being *produced* along with a new relationship, as well as a participant in this relationship, a person. – Philosophy mumbles not from strength, but from weakness, it cannot think clearly until something that it thinks about is not started to produce, – its strength, if you like, is that it can babble about something before it starts to be produced; that is why philosophy values *every* coupling so much – hence the incredible interest in a couple of months of the Paris Commune; only by the fall of 1917 in its voice, the voice of the Paris Commune, childish notes appear (before that it speaks like an adult), but by the fall of 1917 its experience, the experience of this coupling, is clearly not enough for “The State and the Revolution”. – There are books that, according to the author's plan, were not completed, but this was their *best* ending: “The State and Revolution” has an open end, an end revealing that something said was babble, and a new language must appear, must be produced (produced more in tune with the twentieth century, not natural, but human-made). – And here I am almost tempted to say: only utopias do not babble, but therefore they will not grow up, they are unhappy, just like a homunculus. But...

Deleuze and Guattari return their original meaning to utopia: *nowhere, which can be everywhere*. This is their “absolute deterritorialization”. – So, that is not the order of the new society laid out

¹⁶ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 117.

in advance on the shelves, but something quite opposite. – In this *nowhere, which can be everywhere*, there is a coupling of philosophy and politics, sliding as tumbleweed on the surface of the earth; philosophy can couple everywhere and give such a valued and unique coupling. In this slide on the surface, in these couplings, the world loses its lines on the squares of countries; by the way, here the French cinema is to keep up with the texts, let us look at, for example, “The Chinese Woman” by Jean-Luc Godard, which represents the experience of the coupling of Paris students, Beijing radio and Russian literature. Something that we read or watch *has been* already there – in the disturbed Europe of 1848, Mikhail Bakunin commanded the battles in Dresden. – Marx and Engels begin their “Manifesto” with a ghost, *a ghost wandering around Europe* – what is that, if it is not an experience of perfect deterritorialization and perfect depersonalization? The ghost is trying its vocal cords in the “Manifesto”. – It is interesting that we have *no one who speaks, and no one to whom they speak*; there is neither the one nor the other, but both become and are *produced* in the process of speaking, although speaking alone is not enough, hence there is melancholy for couplings. The ghost must have a body, the vocal cords, which it tries in the “Manifesto”, there is its first corporal organ. Someone who speaks has not been produced yet, and Engels, with the sincerity of the German, complains that he, like his brothers, knows too little about the real world: our entire communism, he wrote more than once, *philosophical*, we have to learn the world. – *The ghost finds a body in a coupling*. – “Indeed, *it is in utopia where the coupling* between philosophy and its epoch *is fulfilled* <...> thanks to utopia, philosophy becomes politics and brings to a culmination the criticism of their age,”¹⁷ – Deleuze and Guattari write, understanding utopia as absolute deterritorialization. – It is interesting that in this thought I find an echo of my own, my thought about philosophy as a daughter of between-the-time, avoiding the pitfalls of refined religion and bureaucratic wisdom, thanks to the fact that despite everything, it continues *to appeal to the future* and ceasing to be philosophy at that very moment, when the future responds to its call and at that moment it acquires an intelligible

¹⁷ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 115.

language, a *political language*. So, the ghost finds its body in the coupling, and the place of coupling is fundamentally deterritorialized. In other words, the old disputes on the subject “who will begin and who will finish” do not produce anything but idle talk, someone who will have to begin- will begin, someone who will have to finish – will finish, and no one will be relieved of responsibility. – “... we see the revolution as a plan of immanence, an endless movement, absolute hovering – but as long as these features combine with the most real struggle against capitalism here and now and stubbornly start a new fight every time when the old fight ends in betrayal”¹⁸, – the same Deleuze and Guattari write in the same work. – The same thing is with the result: we are for the result, but such a result that does not fall on the process as a gravestone; we are for a struggle here and now, if you like within the boundaries of a given national square, but such a struggle that does not produce national limitation. – And this is what Deleuze and Guattari describe with the word “nomad”, a word in which the political aspect pulsates, but which is still not political. – “I would describe it through Mikhail Svetlov’s Grenada, – *Grenada*, which shuffles everywhere and nowhere in incredible ways and establishes equally improbable causal connections between everywhere and nowhere when action here means change there.

“*For everyone and no one,*” – said Friedrich Nietzsche. – That is: to the new land and to the new people.

IV. – Some Conclusions

We have approached to the boundaries of philosophy, which are *not* crossed by philosophy. – Philosophy does not produce anything, it makes us *capable* of production, namely, as you will, and it produces us as those who are *capable* of production. Friedrich Engels in “Ludwig Feuerbach ...” writes that one thing remains for philosophy – *thinking*. What does it mean? Obviously, not the fact, that philosophy gives advice to physicists – such reading is grotesque. “*We lack the resistance to real*”¹⁹, – Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari write. *To think is to resist*, so, when Engels writes that one thing remains for philosophy – thinking, this

¹⁸ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 116.

¹⁹ Ibidem. – С. 126.

means that one thing remains for it – *resistance*. – Philosophy, to the extent that it was worthy of its name, had always resisted, even in its form, that today we call “natural philosophy”. Philosophy, natural philosophy, did not discover a single physical law, it did not produce natural science, but, *resisting* the gods, it made possible the fact that scientists appeared one day. Resisting the gods, it resisted the present – at that time the gods were the real force. “*Did not ancient Moloch rule?*” – asked young Marx. It was not about explaining a physical phenomenon, but about the human *right* to explain these phenomena. Epicurus was probably the first to realize it, who did not explain physical phenomena, but it was enough for him to list possible hypotheses; he left explanations to those who would come after him, but he defended their right to come – phenomena, including celestial ones, belong to *people*, not to gods. In *history* of philosophy, it’s interesting not only *that* someone was thinking about the Sun, but that, while thinking about the Sun, he resisted. As my beloved Roman Titus Lucretius wrote:

“In those days, when in front of everyone,
The life of people dragged out miserably on earth
Under oppression of religion,
From the sky areas showed its head, looking from there
With the terrible face to mortals, defeated down,
*Hellen dared to turn his mortal eyes for the first time
Against it and was brave to resist*”²⁰.

Did Epicurus have any chance to win? Who was stronger: the present or Epicurus? It is possible that Lucretius exaggerated Epicurus’ battle enthusiasm in a Roman style, so I will leave this aside. It is important that the philosopher decides to oppose the present when no one else dares to do it, but does not even feel the real yoke of it. Epicurus friends renewed the fight over and over again, and we find quotes from Lucretius notable marks from Michel Montaigne, Paul-Henri Holbach, Karl Marx and even from our friends, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. – *Resistance is not rational*, in this sense philosophy is not so rational, as we are used to believe, it is subordinated to its will, *and it does not want*

²⁰ Тит Лукреций Кар. О природе вещей. М.: Художественная литература, 1983. С. 29.

to resign. What sense is in resistance if the present is powerful, the future is vague, and the past consists of defeats? Philosophy is stubborn in its own way. – “To wish war in spite all future and past wars, to wish agony in spite of all death, to wish a wound in defiance of all scars, in the name of becoming, not eternity”²¹, – Deleuze and Guattari write and notice that this is how philosophy becomes a worthy of the event. “What are Deleuze and Guattari doing?” In the preface to their work, they notice that they were engaged in the search for “What is philosophy?” closer to midnight; and it is *closer to midnight* – the coincidence of their personal and public history, their personal old age and old age of all that received impulse in 1917. – If Noon is the time for action and time without philosophy, then Midnight is a time for somnolence, for some people, but for others, who cannot sleep, it is the time of the bravest dreams in reality – time for philosophy. If we did not fall asleep at Midnight, then we lost control of ourselves, carried away by the thought to that place – to the new land and to the new people. – The philosopher accepts the event; nothing is more stupid than to declare “I *did not want this!*”, accepts defeat, but does it not to give up the action, but to start over from the beginning. – To become worthy of the event does not mean to judge it, as if all the people of the past only lived for us to judge them; besides, the event gives us much more than we give to it by our praise or censure. – The whole value of the book “What is philosophy?”, as well as the whole value of philosophy *closer to midnight*, is in the fact that it supports our spirit, it tells us “despite midnight, despite all past defeats, no one must give up on themselves” . It is where “no one” replaces “me,” as in Odysseus’s famous answer. – Lucretius writes, when the invisible sword is already raised over Rome, when the Mind is about to be brought to the altar of either Cybele, or Isis, or Christ, and yet the struggle will be won by Lucretius. With his win – natural philosophy will become redundant. However, Lucretius himself will not become redundant as the one who teaches no longer the nature of things, but resistance. – Resisting, the philosophy preserves the dignity, the dignity of the person, the one who wants to hold the head high. It is necessary to understand that at midnight, when history consists of defeats, and the

²¹ Делёз Ж, Гваттари Ф. Что такое философия? М.: Академический проект, 2009. С. 185.

present is empty, only philosophy and more poetry can give a person this right, or rather, they do not give this right, because it cannot be given – they, philosophy, poetry and a person *take this right, they take it independently*. – Philosophy lives for death and the death of nature philosophy is the victory of Lucretius; living for death, denying itself, philosophy becomes worthy of its event. And there is nothing more stupid than the philosophy that wants to be eternal.

SUMMARY

Do we need philosophy today? Today's philosophy is multiplying greatly, as Ockham would say, over necessary; there is even philosophy of advertising. Is such eternal producing of philosophies a proof of their right to exist or, on the contrary, it appears that the existence of the philosophy has no sense any more? Since theoretical natural science arises – the nature philosophy comes to an end. Since the science of history arises then the philosophy of history comes to an end. Engels thought in “Ludwig Feuerbach” this way, adding: there is only one thing that is left for philosophy – thinking but what does thinking mean? What does “philosophical thinking” mean? To think is to resist, philosophy is nothing but resistance. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their book “What Is Philosophy?” give the lost meaning to philosophy, and at the same time, they give us, the readers, the right to resist the present, the right for dream and dignity.

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DOMAINS AND STAGES OF CREATIVITY IN CULTURE

Tarasiuk L. S.

INTRODUCTION

The problem field of creativity and creative work is primarily determined by the fact that the modern crisis society guides the person to the creative personality fulfillment, but at the same time does not provide it with the certain resources for this. At the present stage of the culture development in the age of the global crisis, the establishment of a new worldview paradigm of creativity, required research in the realm of philosophy and cultural studies, is significant. The problem of creativity is always relevant, because new models of life as well as moral values are formed through creativity. Creative personality is significant for culture at all stages of their formation and in a variety of manifestation forms. In connection with this, the necessity to study the phenomenon of creativity appears in the fields of culture, philosophy of culture, philosophical anthropology, which may become a worldview and methodological basis for further research on creativity in other fields of philosophical knowledge.

In a modern “consumption society” (J. Baudrillard) personal creative growth is de-actualized by the focus on material values that generates a person who is a mass consumer. Such person exists at the level of everyday life, which in essence is an impersonal being – das Man (M. Haydegger). In a society of consumption it is very important to understand the importance of creativity and the possibility of its actual, but not illusory implementation in culture. The topicality of the creativity issue is largely caused by the processes of humanization of education in Ukraine, when a creative personality, their abilities and opportunities are getting the supreme value. Therefore, the philosophical study of creativity plays an essential role, which can clarify the dialectic of creativity and a worldview; it will allow distinguishing true creativity from the illusory one. In modern philosophy, creativity is perceived as a way beyond the limits of individual being into collaboration and joint creative work

(J. Habermas, H. Marcuse). This study presents domains, stages, and forms of creativity, which make it exactly a cultural as well as philosophical and anthropological issue. A person in the modern world understands the meaning of their being as self-fulfillment, self-activity, and self-performance. Each level of the worldview forms its creativity. In order to ensure our social security in the world, it is necessary to be less dependent on circumstances, and to that end one should reveal and implement own creative ideas. Human actions are an indicator of the level of their worldview. The “Western spirit” from the very beginning is self-disciplined, self-responsible, and value-oriented for functional creativity and self-fulfillment in professional field. The “Eastern spirit” is directed more into the inner world, in the mystery and depth of human nature. “Slavic spirit” is an “anxious spirit” that requires limitation, self-obedience, which, for the sake of public fame, reaches the anarchic uncontrollability of the spirit heroism. In the history of the “Slavic spirit” there was both its humiliation and liberation. Slavery information was laid and transmitted from generation to generation, but the Slavic spirit gave birth to spiritual associates ... The creativity of the Western and Eastern person has always essentially differed, but it is creativity that united people, regardless of nation and origin. Moreover, creativity can unite people with different worldviews, different nations, and different nationalities.

A modern information society lacks for a real, live creative process, capable of filling the human inner world, solving their personal contradictions as well as contradictions in society. During 30 years of the “intellectual revolution” the West was able to gain the social and spiritual powers of people and turn them into productive ones; the preconditions for the transition to the cultural-information level and communicative-value relations were formed. As a result, there was a reorientation to the social and spiritual productive forces. A creative person, who forms culture, becomes an information capital. It is the creativity that must change technical social production. In a programmable society it is an informational way of self-change. An information flow reveals human consciousness broader and deeper. If the consciousness of a person can perceive this strong, pure flow of information, then through conscious ideas, it is embodied in practical activity. Self-change of a person based

on their creative powers leads to actualization, fulfillment of their spiritual potential. However, creativity can overcome the objective world only under the conditions of freedom and love.

Creativity appears to us as a phenomenon of human existence in culture, as a problem of science of culture and philosophical anthropology. It has to overcome obstacles in its path of implementation. There is a problem of actualization of creative abilities of the person, and objectification of creativity. The author introduces a new concept of *initiation of creativity*, which means the transformation of the creative experience of the person in communication with the Other. The human spiritual growth is the fulfillment through self-cognition and revelation of the depths of consciousness and new creative qualities in a person.

1. Creativity Domains

The concepts of “creativity” and “creative work” are close but not identical. Creativity is interpreted as the ability to respond to new conditions, changing them, which also allows you to realize the new in existence, while the process of creating new things may have both conscious and unconscious nature. If creativity is the ability to create a new thing, then creative work is the process of such production; these categories relate to both possibility and reality. On the other hand, they differ in breadth of manifestation in human existence as well: creative work covers mostly the area of arts (rarely – sciences), and creativity – all areas of culture. In order to clarify and understand the concept of “creativity” in more depth, we will try to uncover the domains and stages of creativity revealing in culture. The specificity of creativity as a phenomenon of personality existence in culture is largely determined by the worldview of a person and manifests in different ways, depending on the existential dimension of the worldview (everyday, personal, philosophical) in which a person exists. The significance of creativity, fulfilled in existence of a man and a woman, is in the fact that it creates not only objects of culture, but a *subject of culture*, a new person. To define such creativity the term of “communicative creativity” is used.

Dimensions of creativity prove its specificity. In the context of philosophical anthropology and philosophy of culture, the specificity of creativity is in spirituality, transcendence, the ability to go beyond own

boundaries, in warm-heartedness, in nature, in the striving for universality in love. Creativity interacts with the moral values of personalities complementing each other and interacting, which means the emergence of a new integrity of human existence.

We can mention the domains of creativity that allow us to understand the essence of creativity in more depth.

1. A creative person possesses a reserve of physical energy, but they are often calm and contemplative, as if staying in their inner world. They work a lot, demonstrating a high degree of concentration, but distribute aura of freshness, enthusiasm, joy, and inspiration around them. This also points to their innate strength, valuable quality. There are so many examples when people in a very old age radiate strength and health, precisely through creativity. There are also examples of well-known musicians, philosophers, artists who were sick in childhood, but through their creativity they largely overcame their condition, and independently of this, they created the world masterpieces. (Beethoven and his music, he was deaf). Therefore, one can determine the domain of creativity as inspiration, work efficiency, providing for the potential revelation, and even its increase. It seems that people produce the internal energy, moreover, at the expense of their abilities, qualities¹.

2. Creative people, as a rule, are sagacious and naïve at the same time. As scientists mention, creativity is based on the high intelligence and, at the same time, revealing it. But there are examples which prove both creative work and high intelligence independence. There are studies of Lewis Terman pointing to the correspondence between the intelligence and creative work. Negative correlation of the low intelligence and the level of creative abilities do not have to be explained.

However, rather high level of intelligence may become an obstacle for the creative work. Some owners of high intelligence level differ in arrogance, confidence in their intellectual perfection, but it prevents them from listening to their own intuition.

3. The third domain, paradoxical quality is a combination of wish, discipline, in responsibility. This is the ability to lightness at the same time. A creative person observes events in society, in their life, and very

¹ Чиксентмихайн М. Креативность. Поток и психология открытий и изобретений. М.: Карьера Пресс, 2013, 528 с.

often, irony of all things seen appears, inspiring for implementation of creative ideas, implementation of own creativity. A person observes the environment, then perceives it sagaciously and generates new ideas, studying them easily².

A creative process has its stages. The first one is preparation, conscious or unconscious immersion in problem situations, which are of great interest and they awake creative initiative. The second stage of the creative process is a period of thinking over, and it takes time. During this stage the ideas spins at the periphery of consciousness, coming closer and closer to the center of thinking. There unexpected links may appear. Solving the problem consciously, we process information in a linear way. When ideas unite with each other the most unexpected options can appear there. The third stage of the creative process is insight. It is the external clarification when all fragments come to form a whole. In reality some insights can be, when we receive answers, task solutions, options for situations we have experienced. The fourth stage of the creative process is evaluation. A person should decide whether their insight has a value, whether it is necessary to work in this line from now on. As a rule, the part of this stage is the most difficult because a person feels uncertainty and excitement. Here other people's points of view, either support or critics, are significant. Either the idea is really new, urgent, or it is quite obvious. This is a period of self-criticism and own work examination. The fifth stage is improving or making better. The stage requires the largest amount of time, it accounts for the main part of the work. Edison mentioned: "Creative work is one percent of inspiration and 99 percent of perspiration".

There is a danger here: to immerse into improving and do not stop in a good time. Why: because in studies, in insights new and new insights appear every time. That is why it is crucial to stop in a good time and complete the process.

Analyzing and revealing the domains of creativity, it is necessary to mention the stages of revealing the creativity in culture; it will give us the opportunity to understand the essence of creative work and creativity in a global aspect.

² Чиксентмихайн М. Креативность. Поток и психология открытий и изобретений. М.: Карьера Пресс, 2013, 528 с.

In the context of a holistic vision, the cultural and philosophical research of creativity appears to us as a human activity in generating life strategies, cultural artifacts, and communication with the Other. Creativity is interpreted as the fundamental factor of human existence in culture; without the presence of creativity, the presence of a person in culture is only virtual and illusory. The ideas of domestic researchers in the fields of philosophy of culture, philosophical anthropology, social philosophy and philosophy of education, who analyzing human existence in culture, focus on the problems of understanding the world in the unity of essentials and existential dimensions. Creativity is determined by the will to self-protection and procreation of human existence; it is conditioned by the will to power, the will to cognition and creativity, the will to love, freedom and tolerance. In everyday existence, creativity appears as a set of adaptive strategies; manifests itself in the formation of power strategies and culture space. In the spiritual dimension of human existence, creativity is the creation of the existential integrity of love and freedom.

2. The Stages of Creativity Revealing in Culture

Such stages as implementation, objectification, actualization and initiation of creativity, make it a problem exactly for cultural studies and philosophical anthropology. It is not enough to have a creative idea, it is necessary to implement it, to realize in the human living space in meaningful forms for society.

The creativity implementation is the process of initial embodiment of the idea in communicating with the Other. On the way of embodiment, the subject of creativity must overcome existential and communicative obstacles, so the implementation 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 objectification has an ambivalent nature: either a *creative embodiment* of the idea or it can be its fall, loss.

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 culture as an objectification system. This is one of the fundamental problems of creativity that manifests the dramatic nature of creativity. The creativity of the true creator must change the world, and not overload it with new creations. 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. Thus, a creative person can not keep everything inside; they must go beyond their own limits.

The actualization of creativity is the process of “existential revival” of the work and its author, overcoming the inherent collisions of 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, the actualization of creativity in some way opposes to objectification: if objectification is the form, then actualization is the meaning. “Actualization, – as V. Frankl mentions, – is a personalization of the world, its spiritualization and creative escape. Actualization as personalization has a hypothetic nature and it is the end of existence. It awakens, constrains and develops freedom and love in existence of a man and a woman”³. Actualization of creativity has its main features: honesty, awareness, freedom and trust. It seems that an actualizing person is “dancing” among their various potentials. Actualization is the transition of creative work from opportunity to reality; it is freedom of creative work and awareness. Creative activity is the result of creative consciousness; it is an attitude to the world, inspired by love for people, respect for human dignity.

Consequently, the transition of ideas into the world, the priesthood of the production of creativity fruits, included in the context of human life, is the actualization of creativity.

The transition of the personality into a creative state is a mystery, dedication, adoration, leading to a peculiar holiness of creativity, a new measure of human responsibility for the creation of their existence and the

³ Тарасюк Л.С. Креативність у вимірах людського буття. Київ: ВД «Освіта», 2017. С. 117-118.

existence of the Other. Therefore, in the research context it is necessary to introduce a new concept – for more adequate and full characteristics of the essence of creativity – “the initiation of creativity”⁴. The initiation of creativity is the process of sacred communication at the interpersonal level, which causes creativity to life. The initiation of creativity takes place in the dialogue between the Master and the Apprentice, which becomes the *creativity of the joint creative work dialogue*. The initiation of creativity is the beginning of the creative process and, at the same time, its completion. A personality appeals to the initiation of creativity first as the Apprentice, and then conducts it as the Teacher and the Master. The existential dialectics of the initiation of creativity consists in the fact that the true Master becomes the Apprentice with each new apprentice and not only initiates, but also passes through it, updating creative opportunities.

The initiation of creativity appears as a creative transformation of the personality in the context of communication with the Other. Initiation is “dedication”, “ritual of transition”; this institute is surprisingly ancient, anthropologists find it in archaic cultures; it exists in every civilization in one form or another. Cult initiations are ceremony of “dedication”, “ritual of transition”; this institution is very ancient as well, scientists find its traces in archaic cultures, to a certain extent they exist in modern cultures. The initiation of creativity in the context of the study appears as an opportunity for a person to move from one level of their experience to another through creativity.

The initiation of creativity is in the fact that a particular person reveals abilities and obtains special knowledge, which leads to a greater degree of responsibility for their existence.

Such a person feels the mysterious, sacred power of creativity and creates; it is a sense of sacredness of initiating the transformation of oneself and own existence in culture. It is appropriate to consider the initiation of creativity, in particular, as the possibility of a differentiated transition between male and female principles from one level of their experience to another through joint creative work. In joint creative work, a man and a woman reveal the opportunities of each other, as well as of oneself⁵.

⁴ Тарасюк Л.С. Креативність у вимірах людського буття. Київ: ВД «Освіта», 2017. С. 118.

⁵ Там само. С. 119.

Studying creativity in the context of cultural sciences and philosophical anthropology, there is a need for awareness of the existential uniqueness of fulfillment, objectification, actualization and initiation as stages of creativity revealing. It is not enough to have a creative idea; it must be fulfilled, implemented in life. The process of actualization of personality's potential opportunities is necessary to implement the opportunity into reality. Creativity is always hidden in some mystery; we can only contemplate the product of creativity, and the essence of the inner creative process is partly understood through our own perception of the world. No one yet provided a complete holistic explanation of how creative work appears, how it takes place, because it is always a mystery, the birth of something new. Such concepts as actualization, objectification, implementation, initiation of creativity, make it a problem exactly for cultural studies and philosophical anthropology.

The actualization of creativity comes out as its deep meaning; it is a personalization, spiritualization; therefore, N. Khamitov gives the following explanation on the subject: "Actualization is the term of modern philosophical anthropology, especially existential anthropology and meta-anthropology and psychology of personality. It means the orientation of the personality to creative development and interaction with other personalities under the model "I-You". This concept appears in the depths of "humanistic psychology" influenced by the ideas of M. Buber, M. Berdiaev, K. Jaspers and spreads, first of all, in the creative works of E. Shostrom, A. Maslow, C. Rogers. E. Shostrom opposes the person-manipulator, who uses other objects, to the actualizing person-agent, who refers to the other as a unique person. A. Maslow emphasizes the fact that actualization is primarily self-actualization. It is the process of free revealing of person's deep senses and opportunities of own existence. C. Rogers demands to accept any personality as a subject, and not as an object of instrumental influence, in all its completeness and uniqueness of their existential world, which means going beyond the limits of manipulation to actualization and interactive relationship. The concept of actualization acquires the meaning in modern philosophical anthropology and philosophy of culture, which makes it the opposite of the concept of "objectification". Actualization as a focus on interactive relationship with

the world is the ultimate meaning of any objectification – the monologue – verbalizing action, its otherness. Thus, the process of culture creation can be understood as a fundamental interaction of actualization and objectification. Actualization is a central concept of actualizing psychoanalysis, interpreted as a harmony of spirituality and warm-heartedness in communication as well as in the inner world of the personality”⁶. If objectification is a form, then actualization is meaning. Actualization has meaning only when it comes to the Other, or the personality. The deep meaning of creativity is revealed in the cognition and creation of the Other.

Creativity in its limitless forms is the actualization of the personal principle in the world. Actualization means the growth of the completeness of personality’s existence – freedom and love in their combination. On this way, creativity stops being objectification, it transforms into the creation of existence, the existence of creation. Actualization of the personal principle is the ultimate criterion for the depth and truth of the creation existence. It transfers human, objectified creativity to the entire height of the creation existence. Actualization is possible only as a combination of male and female principles. Every loving man, and every loving woman, actualize the Other and at the same time themselves. “Actualization in their existence-making is opposed to objectification, but such antinomy is not antagonism, because actualization can include objectification.

In this case, objectification can only be a moment of existence and creation, actualization is also its sense. Actualization is the personalization of the world, its inspiration and animation. Actualization as personalization has a hypothetical nature and the completion of existence and creation. It awakens, constrains and develops freedom and love in existence of a man and a woman”⁷.

In our opinion, the actualization of creativity has the following characteristics: honesty, awareness, freedom, and trust; in this case it is the very action. It seems that an actualizing person is “dancing” among their various potentials. The actualization of creativity is, first of all, its

⁶ Хамитов Н., Тарасюк Л. Креативность. Философская антропология: словарь под ред. Н. Хамитова. С. 178-183.

⁷ Там само.

development – the transition of possibility to reality, this is freedom and awareness; and creativity in its limitless forms is the actualization of the personal principle in the world, which means the growth of the completeness of personal existence – freedom and love in their combination. It can include objectification within itself and, as much as possible, manifests itself at the level of the philosophical worldview. “The most perfect type of worldview is the philosophy that gives the person a diverse, holistic development as a system. A person in their evolution passes through various stages, including the stages of mythological consciousness, religious and philosophical ones. As stated above as for mythological consciousness, it is a certain period, which then changes to a more perfect one. In its essence the religious consciousness does not embody a form of development as well. The experience of all religions shows, that they require, but do not help in solving the problems”⁸.

Philosophy, namely, philosophical anthropology and cultural studies, must become the confirming and precious researches of the spirit and spirituality.

Philosophers must personally educate themselves for artistic contemplation, encouraging accuracy of their contemplation, master its elements, give flexibility to their perception, striving for completeness. All these imperatives require creativity from the philosopher’s side, which requires acting by conscience, forming their spiritual character in such light. The task is not easy, but its achievement is possible: to be – to act – to philosophize. A person can think and research only independently, because true thinking is independent; and no scientific study can develop 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 culture is overcoming and designing human suffering. For this

⁸ Хамитов Н., Тарасюк Л. Креативность. Философская антропология: словарь под ред. Н. Хамитова. С. 178-183.

overcoming take place, 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: 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 to leave the person without a conscience, and only conscienceless people can do this”. Freedom is an internal factor defining the degree of the human creative program completion.

Essential powers are the reference point of each personal activity and they reveal themselves as actions of spiritual powers. 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 the 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 substance, which is experienced as a special inner essence. Spiritual space in a person is not much for themselves, as for all, and you can not appropriate “I” for yourself. Recognizing the spiritual essence as only your own, “I” is in 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 by a 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 the spiritual power for their personal purposes, often fall into.

The revelation of the spiritual essence of a person 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. “Valuable-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 manifest their individuality and individual spiritual essence, and to lay the basic grounds for their self-fulfillment, to actualize their abilities.

Creativity is the value-based power that bears the spirit, the true essence of a person. By 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 a personality or identical to it. The revealing of personal in a person contributes to the actualization of the process of self-development under the 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 personal maturity. A personality who is self-actualizing not necessarily is mature as for personality. At the same time, actualization itself is together with that both a sign and a process of crystallization of the features of personal maturity, a cognitive aspiration for creative existence, that is, to the synthesis of existence and activity, to the creative principle in the essence of a person in real existence-activity in culture.

A person can move from impossibility to possibility confirming their creativity; this movement is a mystery of creativity. We call it the initiation of creativity, namely, the creative transformation of the personality in the context of communication with the Other. Initiation is “dedication”, “ritual of transition”; this institute is surprisingly ancient,

anthropologists find it in archaic cultures; it exists in every civilization in one form or another. Cult initiations are ceremony of “dedication”, “ritual of transition”; scientists find its traces in archaic cultures, to a certain extent it exists in modern civilizations. Initiation of creativity in the context of the study appears as the opportunity to move from one level of person’s experience to the other level by way of creative work.

To better understand the meaning of the sacred, holiness, one should recall the above definition of the Spirit and the Soul. Under 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 own lives; this is the power of an example and 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 spirit and substance, removing their tragic opposite. We can call initiation of creativity as “holly uncovering”. 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.

The category of the soul is dual, in its existential reality an abyss between the two extremes – pity and love – is revealed, but as femininity it can rise above pity and become love that will unite it with the spirit. It is in that moment that it becomes holiness; holiness is the liberation from the nature of matter, and in this liberation a greatness emerges, which manifests itself in existence, presented in the spiritual and cognitive action, aimed at developing the creative existence of the person themselves in the process of realizing the spiritual and cognitive activity of their spiritual power. But is it possible? For example, modern physics answers that it is possible; firstly, the existence of special elementary particles – virtual particles that can create virtual compositions – is examined, and secondly, tachyon particles that are able to change the time course, and, thirdly, spatial quarks due to gravitational fields. This suggests that some changes may occur with space and time, which can

evolve physical reality. In conditions of psycho-kinetic phenomena of a person there is their ability to influence material objects; the creation of “internal realities” is a real act – this is an internal virtual reality: greater than “creative reality”, the inner spiritual space of knowledge.

Due to the free aspiration for creativity, the will is not subject to social sanctions and is not canceled 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 a person; it is superior to all human laws and obeys only the laws of universal existence. Subjective self-fulfillment of the person comes when it is the final goal in itself of the self-improvement object, when a complete self-determination of the spiritual principle is taking place through the individual of the human subject.

Self-fulfillment on the formation of the spiritual essence of the 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. The spiritual self-fulfillment is not very complex as propaedeutics: self-improvement in a 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 continuous process of spiritual work – actualization and fulfillment of human creativity.

In the modern world, not paying attention to the complication of social situation, creativity becomes the real transforming power; it is enriched by new philosophical studies, expanding its significance in society essentially, performing spiritual and regulating function in life activity of a person and community. Philosophical anthropology is beginning to develop innovative knowledge, and as a presage of future changes in society, changes for the better, modern anthropology helps to broaden the horizons of thinking, to actualize the philosophical worldview – independent, critical, creative and systemic.

The sense of philosophy is the spiritual rebirth of a person, and this rebirth is the second historical Renaissance for the creative self-fulfillment of each individual human essence. Modern philosophy is the philosophy of the power of the human spirit, which, without imposing the will of

others, leads to social and spiritual cooperation on the common path of mankind. Modern philosophical maximum is when nobody can win at the expense of another: the individual acts in the measure of self-cognition, the fulfillment of their spiritual essence. In the age of the spiritual revolution, each person must create themselves through the awareness of the creative supreme power that governs all processes; – Creativity; the denial of inner search and the external blind belief are a stagnation of mind and a complete lack of love.

True search is inextricably linked with the creative work and is expressed as a manifestation of the spirit in action, in not revealing, but creating action. If we take into account that the human brain consists of trillion synapses, and the amount of nerve cells that transmit information exceeds ten trillion, then even from physiological data the conclusion is drawn about the possibility of enormous potential. One part of people is in the passive state, while other one – in active, the third one is in the state of passive activity; and it means, that active part of people carries out active work on conquest of evolution: creative principle, mind, supreme principle, feelings, wisdom, wisdom of the future, intelligence of the past – these are the issues of active part of mankind. Based on it, one can distinguish the factor influencing human behavior:

- 1) The level of spirituality;
- 2) The level of subconscious aggression;
- 3) The level of person's sociability;
- 4) A degree of adaptation in a new environment;
- 5) The level of freedom from traditions established, way of surrounding environment culture existence;
- 6) The level of consciousness.

Objectification of creativity is a process of idea embodiment in any professional material, in artifact, creative work (monograph, novel, film, sculpture etc.), in something that is understood as creative work in the precise value of the word.

We should note that creativity has two meanings: an internal creative act and a creative product that manifests itself externally. It is important to understand whether a creative embodiment is objectification, whether it is necessary to distinguish objectification and embodiment. In the first section, we pointed out that objectification has an ambivalent nature:

objectification can be a creative embodiment of the idea, but may be its decline, loss. Creative work 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 that manifests the dramatic nature of creativity. The creativity of the true philosopher must change the world, and not only enrich it with philosophical creations. M. Berdyaev considering this issue noted 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 state. Thus, a creative person can not keep everything inside; they must go beyond their own boundaries. This way a thinker calls an embodiment. But creativity has no form, there is no substance in the creative work, there is no meaning without form; the creative act is always infinite, and the form of creative act is final. Only the art of embodiment of created things in the world of objectification is the very art that manifests itself every time as a result of the resistance of substance to a creative act. Actually, the art of a person is just the transformation of this force of resistance into the creative power, creative weapons. Then, M. Berdyaev says that the creative light in a person may disappear in the established social forms; “the embodiment of the spirit may become an objectification of the spirit, and then the spirit can not be recognized in the embodiment. Objectification of the spirit is an exhaustion of the spirit”. He understands the problem of creativity embodiment of a person in the world quite deeply: “creative work is eschatological, because it is associated with the dissatisfaction of this world based on its reasons. Creativity is the end of this world and is the beginning of a new world”⁹. The philosopher-personalist is surprised by the fact that the creativity eschatology has not been considered before; he explains this fact from two perspectives of the creative act:

- 1) The end of the world, the beginning of a new one;
- 2) Improvement and consolidation of the world.

⁹ Бердяев Н. Дух и реальность. Философия свободного духа. Я и мир объектов. М.: Республика, 1994. 480 с.

The very creative act of cognition also has an eschatological nature. Cognition is objectified and transformed into a kingdom of law, necessity, and the creative freedom of a person is strengthened and tightened in resistance of this world, in its dissatisfaction with creativity, because creativity is the end and a new beginning. Creative work is noumenal by its nature, but it finds itself in a phenomenal world, the product of creativity belongs to phenomena; it covers the eternal. Cognition and creative work are realized through objectification. Based on the analysis of the rational development of reality it can be seen that cognition exists in two forms: 1) Cognition of something that is already known; 2) Cognition of something that is still unknown¹⁰.

The will and inspiration is necessary to cognize and create. Finding out what is necessary for the performance of cognition and creativity, we reveal the main differences between cognition and creativity.

Cognition is a process of personal experience, analysis and generalization of the non-existent existence, whereas creativity is the process of personal creation of a new existence – it is not just the increase of existence, but the emergence of something original, unrepeated, unique¹⁰. Cognition is fulfilled through the objectification of existence, creativity is also an act of objectification – the personality does not create the whole world as a whole and not all existence as a whole, but only some objects, defining the idea of the Creator by their internal meaning and form. Both cognition and creativity are the objectification of human freedom, freedom as an opportunity to become and be anyone. In cognition and creativity there are both freedom and inspiration. The will to inspire will magnify the will to power, freeing it from destructive loneliness. Moreover, the will for inspiration overcomes the will as such, as one directional aspiration. The tragic contradiction of cognition and creativity is largely identical to the contradiction of will and inspiration. If will is aspiration for existence, then inspiration is the very existence. The will for inspiration is revealed in the will to cognition and the will to creativity – in two quite contradictory principles; the overcoming of such a contradiction appears in the understanding of creativity as a process that is traced back in culture, but goes beyond its boundaries. The revival and

¹⁰ Бердяев Н. Дух и реальность. Философия свободного духа. Я и мир объектов. М.: Республика, 1994. 480 с.

development of consciousness is accompanied by split and alienation. A person must survive criticism of self-consciousness, criticism of mind; and passing through objectification is the fate of the spirit in this world. Objectivity in a positive sense can equip and protect a person. Having a positive role in the fallen world, it can both equip and protect a person. M. Berdyaev studied the concept of the objectification of creativity to the very depths, coming to the conclusion that in the mystery of objectification the mystery of the world is hidden, there is a source of evil and the suffering of world life in it¹¹. The problem of objectification has nothing to do with the problem of mental, physical and even everyday relationship of subjective and objective.

This problem is existential, which means the split and constriction of the world, alienation and slave dependence; it is generated by the sinfulness of the existential subject, for which everything is exteriorized and obeys the necessity. Signs of objectification of the emergence of objective relations in the world are manifested in the following factors:

- 1) Alienation of the subject from the object;
- 2) Prevalence of unique, personal over common, impersonal and universal;
- 3) Dominance of the necessity, determination from outside, violation and freedom limitation;
- 4) Adaptation to the infinity of the world and history, to average person, socialization of a person and their mind, originality, which is eliminated.

This is opposed to communication in sympathy and love, overcoming alienation; personalism, expression of personal-individual character of different existence; the transition to the kingdom of freedom, which is defined internally, the victory over slavery of necessity; the prevalence of quality over quantity; creativity over the adaptation. The phenomenon and nomen are determined by the process of objectification. The struggle against the power of objectification is a spiritual uprising of noumena against phenomena, a spiritual revolution. Nomen is a spirit, a personality; there is freedom, a creative energy that operates in this world.

¹¹ Бердяев Н. Дух и реальность. Философия свободного духа. Я и мир объектов. М.: Республика, 1994. С. 480

In view of this, the task of creativity, as Berdyaev notes, is the liberation from the necessity, from the violent power of objectivity in nature and history, the acquisition of spirituality and freedom as the completeness of real existence, always personal on its top, personal, and along with that communitarian. The opposing spirit is not by nature, but by a dependent position, externally bound and tied; this world is my objectification, which generates idols and illusions of consciousness, so I can create another, better world. So, creativity is beyond the limits of objectification, it compensates for what the objective world can not give. Everything is limited to the traditional problem of the relationship between the spirit and substance. The material world has a certain reality, and we are in a very large dependence on it.

The prophets of mankind, its creative geniuses come to this world from the noumenal world, they are the messengers of the Spirit. Although, there is no continuous evolutionary process, but there is interrupted, volatile creative process that must be creative and active. The genius is an untimely person, a person who has not adapted to their time, they challenge the world. However, the genius carries the dynamics of the Spirit, it seems that they foresee the ages, showing the illusion of this world. The eschatology of creativity is precisely in the fact that creativity can not overcome the objectification of this world. One can say that the creative embodiments of a person have a double meaning, they reflect the struggle of two worlds. Creative work dies when it can not be implemented: being one of the urgent problems of our society, it demands from a person the products of creativity, without providing any resources for their realization; in addition, creativity must overcome the big obstacles to its objectification.

B. Pascal noted that “the consciousness of person’s insignificance is a sign of their greatness”. Perhaps, the person of the spirit is aware of their insignificance in the power of cognition and creation, which prevents them from embodying their creative ideas and, at the same time, helps to overcome obstacles in an objectified world.

CONCLUSIONS

Studying creativity as cultural and philosophical anthropological problem, we came to the conclusion that it has the following stages of

revealing: actualization, objectification, implementation and initiation. Actualization of creativity is the process of “existential revival” of art work and its author, overcoming immanent collisions of personality in the creative process, and objectification of creativity is a process of idea embodiment in any professional material, artifact, and creative work. We emphasize that implementation of creativity is the process of initial embodiment of the idea in communication with the Other. On the way of embodiment the subject of creativity must overcome existential and communicative obstacles, so implementation of creativity requires special *creativity of conviction*. Initiation of creativity is the creative transformation of personality in the context of communication with the Other. At the beginning, initiation of creativity may take place as the Apprentice, and then as the Teacher or the Master.

SUMMARY

A person is vested with the infinite potential of creativity. Do they become creators and what obstacles do they have on the way? Creativity and creative work: are they identical or different? Domains and stages of creativity, self-fulfillment of personality. Initiation of creativity as a secret of moving from one level of existence to another. Relationship between the Master and the Apprentice. Actualization, objectification, implementation are the important stages for creativity revealing in culture. An effort is made to answer these and other questions in the study given. The author carried out philosophical and cultural analysis of creativity phenomenon, namely, domains and stages of creativity in the dimensions of human existence.

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MORALITY AS A SPECIFIC FORM OF HUMAN ACTIVITY MOTIVATION

Tymoshenko T. S.

Methodological content of activity approach to the problem of moral choice is in the spreading general principles of human activity analysis in general as well as purposeful approach on ethic studies – the analysis of correlation of goals, means, and results in particular. Special distinction of such universal activity features in morality allows making a decision on whether the choice of purposeful means is an integral element of the system, namely, moral activity, whether the criterion of purposefulness is external and such that does not express the essence of moral choice, and the latter is exhausted by axiological advantage, contains the value without regard to the effective realization of the set goal.

Determination of morality and human activity correlation as an aspect and the whole determines the destiny of ethical-praxeological study of moral choice, including its framework in general-philosophical target analysis. The target analysis defines such general features as axiological and praxeological ones in the moral activity, and determines the role of morality in regulating these aspects of moral activity. As a result, the object of ethical-praxeological research of moral activity in general and moral choice, in particular, manifests itself in both moral evaluation of human praxeological activity and praxeological evaluation of the moral aspect of human activity, and the very practical aspect of choice serves as an element of the whole, namely, moral activity.

Moral activity as an aspect of human activity means the application of such aspect of the target analysis to the study of morality as praxeological one. In relation to this, it seems necessary to express our attitude to the position of those authors who represent moral activity only in axiological terms, and thus try to identify the essence of distinction, since, finally, it appears that these distinctions express and define the idea about the structure of moral activity in general and moral choice in particular.

The first distinction between the points of views consists in determining the moral activity either as a type – an independent phenomenon of human activity, having its own “sector” in the field of human activity, or as parties, an aspect of human activity, an angle of its entire field. It should be emphasized that in modern works on ethics the attitude to morality as an autonomous domain of public life is practically overcome. It often occurs in the form of eclectic insertion into a different point of view, and it is precisely this shift that makes it difficult to clarify its essence and the problem of its criticism.

One of the most common is the distinction between moral activity as behavior focused on moral values, and the moral aspect of human activity, that is, the possibility of moral evaluation application to the actions of people¹. The reason for such division is the opposition of intentional and moral actions as well as such actions that did not become a consequence of moral motivation.

This opposition is rather attractive, but it gives rise to doubts whether it is possible to accurately call “morally unmotivated” actions as a “moral aspect of human activity”. Both types of actions are the objects of moral regulation, and therefore both should be called “moral aspect of human activity” or simply “moral activity”. Therefore, it does not seem convincing to distinguish between moral significant actions, that is, those that fall under the moral evaluation, but not governed by the moral consciousness of a person and actually moral actions² if in relation to one another no generic-specific bond is established, since both options of actions are subject to moral evaluation and differ only in degree (level) of motivation.

In relation to awareness and unawareness of the human activity motives, it should be noted that “unmotivated” activity is practically not “without motives”, but only motivated in a hidden form.³

The second distinction lies in the very characteristic of morality as an aspect of human activity, in meanings enclosed in the features of morality, expressing its universality and specificity. A peculiar manifestation of this

¹ Скрипник А.П. Моральное зло в истории этики и культуры. М.: Политиздат, 1992. – 211 с. – Ст. 30-31.

² Николаичев Б. Осознаваемое и неосознаваемое в нравственном поведении личности. – М.: Изд.-во МГУ, 1976. – 96 с. Ст. 17.

³ Леонтьев А. Деятельность. Сознание. Личность. – М., Наука, 1989. – 566 с. – Ст. 102.

discussion about the meaning of “moral aspect of human activity” concept is the isolation of “actual moral activity”, which is proceeded the characteristics of human activity specifics in an effort to go beyond the attitude to it as “only an aspect” that should be considered in more detail.

In case when public activity does not have its proper moral purpose, but in the hierarchy of its motives there is a moral motive, we can speak about the moral aspect of activity, emphasizing that such a division of the actual moral activity and the moral aspect of an activity includes, as a methodological basis, the concept of O. Uledov about the specificity of morals.

O. Uledov speaks about illegality of ignoring the specificity of morality, emphasizing that morality is a side, an aspect of human activity. He notices that the universality of moral relations does not mean that they represent only an aspect of public relations from the point of view of ethical categories. The essence of the issue is in the fact that moral relations have their specificity⁴. However, justice requires a true evaluation of both features: both universality and specificity, moreover, not on the principle of “both are important”, but taking into account the specific place of each feature.

Being independent and specific, morality is an aspect of human activity, not in the same sense that it is interpreted from the point of view of categories of ethics, but in the above-mentioned sense, as parties, an angle of human activity.

Moral activity is an aspect of human activity, and therefore the very concept of “moral activity” is rather conditional and should not be interpreted as a particular personified form of human activity. Every kind of human activity has a moral side. Specifying this approach, O. Drobnitsky wrote that a moral activity is a moment in any activity where it is subject to moral regulation, determined by moral relations (falls under the relevant provisions and prohibitions, is motivated by moral tasks, included in the field of moral guidance, becomes an object of moral evaluation). This activity serves as realization of duty (while being determined by a range of other social factors).⁵

⁴ Уледов А. Структура общественного сознания. – М.: Мысль, 1988. – 324 с. – Ст. 63.

⁵ Дробницкий О.Г. Проблемы нравственности. – М.: Наука, 1977. – 333 с. – Ст. 192-193.

It is understood that it does not appear from this that the concept of “actual moral activity” should be put aside. Moreover, we consider it is reasonable to use it, but in case when it means the characteristic of self-goal of moral activity. So, O. Tytarenko believes that there should be the same self-goal of moral activity in society as another person’s interests, the need to communicate with people, unselfishness of making the good, focusing on the rise of spiritual life, etc.⁶. Without going into the special analysis of the issue, we should note that all self-goals in the final conclusion are derivative or subordinated to moral self-goals. Thus, the distinction of “actual moral activity” is relevant and reasonable, but the content implicit in this expression should be limited to the following: “a self-goal of moral activity as an aspect of human activity.

The above mentioned points of view on moral activity show that in the issue of whether moral activity is an independent phenomenon of human activity or its aspect in a hidden form contains a more fundamental issue about the universal character of human activity features and their applicability in the study of morality.

At the same time, inconsistency in relation to moral activity as to the moment, the aspect of human activity, deprives the researcher of the opportunity to use the methodological approach of an activity approach in full. This concerns, firstly, the point of view of moral activity as merely spiritual, having no material embodiment within the framework of morality, and secondly, the point of view of the “operational” – praxeological – element in the act as a foreign in specificity of moral activity.

The urgent necessity for self-determination of morality, repetition of the vulgar understanding of its specificity, the traditional explanation of morality only as a form of public consciousness gave rise to one-sidedness of the inverse property, being reduced, in turn, into the spiritual activity only. At the same time – and this is naturally – two points of view appear to be interconnected. We would like to refer to two ethical works that reflects this problem.

V. Sherdakov believes that it is necessary to distinguish between acts in the choice of which there are moral motives, from those which a person performs without moral motivation. The latter, from his point of view, fall

⁶ Титаренко А.И. Структуры нравственного сознания. – М.:Мысль 1974. – 278 с. – Ст. 275-276.

within the moral evaluation because they express conscious acts of will, that is, a person's choice is manifested. However, agreeing to name the acts in the choice of which the moral motives appeared, "embodied in the moral consciousness", the author notes that the "moral action" concept means only the motivation of an action or its accountability to moral evaluations, and acts (actions) do not relate to morality, since "there is no substance of morality here"⁷. As we can see, this conception by distinction of moral-motivated and non-motivated actions shows a relevant point of view on moral activity, the peculiarity of which is the breakup of the activity elements.

The rejection of "substance of morality" existence appears here not in the sense that – as we would say – this "substance" is all human activity, any kind of it, but in the fact that the moral activity excluded means and results that make up "material" element of the act as a whole and a moral choice as its moment.

G. Humnitsky distinguishes ethical behavior from the entire set of human activity as a moment having a specific integral characteristic. At the same time, the author considers it necessary to distinguish between behavior and activity, since, firstly, from his point of view, moral activity is understood only as "the process of moral choice that occurs in subject's psyche, but not behavior itself", and secondly, any technology inherent in all types of human activities, any kind of operation is not connected with a moral behavior⁸. Dividing the moral behavior evaluation as a moment of human activity, we should recognize the similarity of positions of the above authors, who identified moral activity and reduced it to spiritual activity.

The pointlessness to consider moral activity only from the spiritual point of view becomes obvious as a result of understanding the distinction falseness between forms of public consciousness to counterbalance their real content. The methodological reason for this false distinction is, according to V. Rotnitsky, firstly, in the metaphysical interpretation of relation between form and content, according to which the form in its opposition to the content does not depend on the content, and can also be

⁷ Шердаков В. Аксиология и этика. Тбилиси: Изд. – во Тбилиского университета, 1990. – 168 с. – Ст. 156-158.

⁸ Гумницкий Г. Основные проблемы теории морали. – Иваново, 1992. – 227 с. – Ст. 22.

a “repository” of any content, and secondly – in the identification of the content of public consciousness forms with existence in general, that is, in the identification of public existence as an object of reflection with the object of reflection.⁹

Each form of public consciousness has its own subject.

However, the object of any form of social consciousness is not an entirely separate part, separated by the sector of public existence; it is a part of a complicated structure of public existence as a whole. This approach is the basis for understanding the unity of all forms of public consciousness and their specifics, implemented in public practice. Therefore, the forms of public consciousness relate to everything in public existence, but to its different sides. In this sense, each form of public consciousness is universal and specific in various ways.

As for morality, this means that, firstly, it is universal – any act of human activity has a moral value. Reflecting moral existence, moral consciousness, in turn, is objectified in it and, therefore, secondly, the universality of morality can be represented as the universality of moral activity in the unity of its material and spiritual sides.

An important step in overcoming the absolutization of morality spiritual side is in the correct issue resolution on correlation of existence and consciousness in it, in the distinction of “morals existence”. In a number of recent works it is rightly emphasized that the materialist conception of morality requires the consistent application of the philosophy basic issue and in the field of moral activity. V. Vasilenko believes that the desire of many researchers to “catch” the subject of ethics in full, to complement the results of moral consciousness study yet obtained, to complement a subjective-spiritual component of morality by content analysis of real moral actions, situations and relationship is absolutely justified both in the historical-philosophical and in the immanent-logical terms.¹⁰

Even a special research goal – an analysis of the “morals language”, such specific mechanisms of moral consciousness as motivation, sense of responsibility, conscience, etc. does not give the right to forget about

⁹ Ротницкий В. Диалектика форм общественного сознания. – Тюмень: Изд.-во Тюменского университета, 1993. – 356 с. – Ст. 166, 171.

¹⁰ Василенко В. Сознание и бытие в структуре нравственного феномена. – М.: Наука, 1991. – 166 с. – Ст. 57.

moral activity as a system of elements in which means of self-regulation of morality are, finally, the means of regulation of all human activity.

At the same time it is not right to imagine the moral activity as such that is close to the moral consciousness.

So, the interpretation of moral activity as a separate type of human activity can not be right because it leads to opposition of material and spiritual elements of morality to absolutization of moral consciousness features and their reduction to the moral activity essence in general. The definition of moral activity as an aspect of human activity makes it possible to apply a “targeted analysis” to morality itself and thus to reveal the impermissibility of ideas about it as a solely spiritual phenomenon.

The degree of application sequence of moral activity concept as an aspect of human activity and, thus, a targeted analysis of moral choice determines the ideas of researchers about the structure of an act as a “cell” of moral activity and, first of all, about the role of “operational” element of the act, its relation to moral choice and morality in general. The principal significance in this regard has the traditional distinction between “actions-operations” and “actions-acts”.

It should be noted that the necessary foundation for the moral evaluation of the act in general, including moral choice, is the unity of motives and results. However, frequent mismatches and non-conformity between the motive and the result caused by objective circumstances, not depending on a person make the ethics scholars adjust the requirements for an act. Striving to avoid the extremes, namely, absolutization of a role of the motive or the result, some authors make a suggestion to formulate the basis for evaluating the moral act in another way and thus eliminate the interference of external circumstances from the factors that analyze moral activity. Since this interference is expressed, first of all, in the result of an act, a sufficient basis is the unity of motive and act as a practically meaningful act.

However, the exclusion of such activity element as its results from the moral evaluation basis does not allow considering the unity of motive and action to be a sufficient ground, if we understand under the action – according to O. Leontiev’s definition – the purposefulness of a practical phase of the act. The correlation of motive and action lead necessarily to the fact that the act is qualified as morally positive or immoral only if the

action is seen as the unity of goals, means and results. Although, in this case, it is necessary to adjust the traditional grounds for evaluation of an act as well, namely, the correspondence of motive and result.

Methodological comprehension of analysis significance in a moral choice of a goal, means and result in terms of the necessity and adequacy of these elements, the recognition of their unity for the moral choice of human activity principles is an urgent task of ethical theory in general and of the theory of moral choice as well.

The situation of moral choice appears in case when a subject has the necessity to make a decision on appropriate option of the act. However, the condition for the emergence of moral choice necessity is the objective opportunity to act in one way or another, to choose moral goals and means of their implementation. A range of such opportunities is an objective determinant of situation of moral choice. Together with the dependence of the act choice on the subject itself, on its ability to give preference to positive moral values and to determine the optimal ways to achieve it, we thus distinguish two elements of any moral choice situation: the opportunity to choose and the ability to choose. Thus, the diversity of situation in our case is limited to the actual praxeological aspect of the limits and requirements of moral choice; the subject and the object of situation act at an appropriate angle, which, of course, takes into account the type of situation and the challenges of its solution.

In modern scientific literature there is not any special research on the types of moral choice situations. The lack of classification sometimes gives rise to inadequate application of other science provisions about human activity to the actual moral choice situation. At the same time, in order to overcome the difficulties of ethical research, the correct use of achievements in these sciences is necessary.

In these terms the works of K. Novikov are of great interest. Studying the philosophical aspect of the freedom of choice, the author distinguishes the following types of choice: 1) by their significance; 2) by the degree of their generalization; 3) by the degree of heuristicity. The author deduces his classification of choice types from the analysis of a social domain of acts of subject's choice. To what extent such human activity, its connection with nature, society and other people is diverse, the author points out, and to the same extent their choice is diverse. The diversity of

the social domain where personalities express themselves determines the specific variety of choice.¹¹

In the content of significance concept the author includes the objective and subjective value of act, its public and personal sounding. In this regard, in the first type, he divides the acts of subject's choice into the following classes: public and personally significant, public significant, personally significant.

Characterizing the second type of choice, K. Novikov distinguishes between levels of generalization and socialization of choice. The author points out that the freedom of choice is considered at the appropriate level of generalization, depending on the object of choice, such "volume" that it occupies in the social space (the choice concerning the destiny of mankind, within a small social group, an individual choice). And the level of socialization shows how much this or that particular act (whether it relates to the destiny of mankind, social system or a separate social group) has become a group, mass, and universal one.¹²

The author distinguishes the third type of choice by the degree of their creative principle, separating it from situations in which reproductive thinking is used.

As a working concept, such classification of acts of free choice can be applied to ethical research as well. However, without criticizing K. Novikov's concept, we should note that a holistic approach, that is, the classification of situation in the unity of its subjective and objective moments, is more effective for the praxeological approach to person's moral choice. In this case, we can make a conclusion not only that the high scale of the object's moral choice determines a less high (the choice of meaning of life – single acts), and the subject's choice of such scale as a class, a group – the individual's choice, but also about that the individual situation of moral choice embodies the essential features of the election situations of a group, a class, and society as a whole.

The subject of the moral choice situation can be quite diverse: it is the individual who chooses the appropriate act; and a group of people who define the norms of mutual relations between each other; a class that

¹¹ Новиков Б.В. Контуры духовности. Новые контексты идентификации // Вопросы философии. – 1992. – № 12. – С. 21-41. – Ст. 39.

¹² Там само. – Ст. 38.

strives to change or maintain its socio-political structure; finally, society as a whole, which decides on the prospects of its development.

Yet such an approximate understanding of the situation subject contains information on diversity of the moral choice object. These include such moral phenomena as the choice of a single act and ideals; the meaning of life and the line of behavior; goal-purpose and means of its implementation, etc. The fact that we encounter in the study of a moral-praxeological aspect of the moral choice situation is that the moral activity variation concept, the necessity for a plurality of options for moral solutions and the means of their implementation, that is, in our aspect – an objective opportunity to choose, does not mean social and moral limitlessness of the moral choice range. An opportunity to choose determines the way of human life, its place in the system of public relations, defined and secured in the culture by the systems of moral values.

The social dependence of the moral choice involves, first of all, the nature of objective opportunities to act in one way or another, since a person can always choose between the relevant things being a part of their life cycle. The formal diversity of behavioral options are strictly limited by social circumstances, the range of decisions is significantly different in people with unequal status in the structure of society. Social dependence of the choice opportunities is connected with worldview and moral dependence of human decisions, with the internal determination of acts. A certain decision about the most acceptable option of an act is no less important condition of choice than an objective opportunity to act in one way or another; however, all the above is not resulted in the fact that moral choices can be made beyond the limits of good and evil. The consideration of the moral acceptability of alternatives not less determines the decision of a person than the consciousness of objectively impossible options for action under the relevant social circumstances.

Moral behavior of an individual, a social group, a class also provides for a moral necessity, namely, the expression of human act determination by systems of moral norms and values existing in society. Moral necessity is reflected in consciousness in the form of a goal (aim), which individuals must implement in their behavior. Therefore, a moral choice can be truly free only if it is the result of the conscious, and the one that meets this necessity for a solution. By consciously making a decision, a person

transforms the moral necessity from external reason acting beyond the person's will into self-determination. In this sense, the relation of freedom and the necessity of choice acts as a dialectical relation of cause and effect in the chain of human acts: being a precondition for moral choice in the historical-genetic relation within the framework of certain actions human activity itself serves as a product of moral regulation. In other words, freedom of choice is a condition of person's morality, but since the choice is limited to the range of good and evil, then a person regulates the freedom of choice independently. It is this approach that allows explaining the fact that in specific selective situations, moral freedom can not be a condition, but a consequence of the mechanism of moral regulation.

Therefore, the awareness of personality's moral choice as an act of moral activity, arising in a situation that requires the benefit of one of the act options, and is expressed in the moral purpose production of the decision on effective means of achieving the goal and implementation of the moral solution, the practical implementation of it according to the moral goals of the result, is based on the active approach to morals. This approach allows distinguishing the universal features of human activity in morality, and thus applying a "targeted approach" to the moral choice: an analysis of the relation of goals, means and results. The significance of a moral-praxeological study is determined by the fact that the effectiveness of moral choice determines the implementation of its value orientation.

The issue of specificity of morality has often appeared in the form of an issue about the nature of moralistic activity itself, its relationship with the everyday life of a person. From ancient times to the present, two opposing models of understanding of this problem have been traced in ethics. In the hedonistic model, morality was deduced from the "ordinary" human nature, from their vital demands, it means that people themselves are interested in implementing moralistic demands. This tradition has reached its highest development in the concept of "reasonable egoism", but in history, morality demands as an internal factor of human activity often entered into a sharp contradiction with the aspirations of the individual. In moral consciousness it was formed in the form of a thought about the eternal conflict between aptitude and obligation, practical calculation and high motive, being the basis for a rigorist model, within which there are ethical concepts of Stoicism, Kantianism, most of the trends of Christianity

and Eastern religions. Representatives of such approach consider as impossible to deduce the justification of morality from the human nature and they interpret morality as something initially opposite to the practical interests and natural aptitude of people. From this opposition, firstly, the ascetic understanding of moral activity as a severe oppression of own natural aspirations by a person is originated, and the spontaneous aspiration to good is considered as moral one only conditionally and not in full (Luther, Kant, Barthes). Secondly, this is also connected with a pessimistic evaluation of the human moralistic capacity, the thesis of Protestant neo orthodoxy about the impossibility of practicing real morality in mortal life, provisions of existentialism about the fundamental human incapability to implement their ideals. Such understanding of moralistic activity, as well as the idea of not revealing the moral principles from human existence and about the impossibility of finding the basis of morality in the domain of existence, was embodied in the concepts of autonomous ethics, which in the 20th century took a position on denying the socially reasonable nature of moralistic activity, which is typical of existentialism, neo orthodoxy, deontological intuitivism.

An essential impulse to the development of this problem was given during the Renaissance. For example, in the views of M. Montaigne, one can observe a person and their life not through the prism of metaphysical synthesis and abstract harmony, but in the dramatic conflict appearing when the personal and the social come into collision. He cares about the difference between morality and customary-traditional guidance. He formulates this problem in the spirit of his time. Human customs are quite diverse, commonly accepted views are diverse; there is no place for the only truth and verity equal to all. The most ridiculous fiction can be a “commonplace custom” for a certain people, but where this custom is practiced, and all deviations from the custom are considered to be deviations from mind. Customs and goodness, “which are commonly said to be generated by nature, are generated in fact by the same custom”¹³. Such goodness is conditional and conventional, but not intelligent in the true meaning. The generally recognized custom is not at all a guarantee that the actions appropriate to it will always be virtuous, subject to the

¹³ МОНТЕНЬ М. ОПЫТЫ В 3-Х КН. – М.: Голос, 1992, кн. 1. – 383 с. – Ст. 146-149.

principles of morality. Montaigne points to “injustice of our customs”. The common habit “shields the actual state of things”. Taking off a disguise from the similar things and comparing it with the truth and mind, a person will feel that, although their previous judgments have changed, yet the basis under feet has become harder anyway. In his opinion, when making judgments it is necessary to rely on own mind but not public opinion.¹⁴

The customs establishing in a particular people is not yet morality or real goodness. In order to understand the true goodness, one should “take off a disguise” of external public institutions, turn to the own mind.

At the end of the 16th century, in the era of the development of individualism, egoism and political ambition, internecine wars and religious conflicts, the illusion that in the decision of moral issues it is possible to rely on a person, on their natural needs and aspirations, on the internal laws that people can draw from themselves was defeated. Montaigne, clearly noticing this critical problem of time, sees “love for themselves and a high opinion of themselves as excessive, where own views are placed on a high level so that for the benefit of their triumph not to stop due to the violation of public peace ... Ordinary law order does not recognize exceptional cases, because human life provides for an orderly community in which everyone performs the duties assigned to them and everyone mutually observes the unified laws. In any innovations he sees the desire to conquer the established public rules and establishments of tyranny instability”¹⁵. Montaigne does not conceal the sources of his own fear for the high thought about him of someone who breaks the laws of the custom as well. These are internecine wars and hostility between political and religious camps, the irresponsibility of lawmakers, ready to arrange everything in a new way, the fanatical self-confidence of struggling parties, when each of them strives to impose its other truth without wanting to know the arguments of the other party, martially intolerance and contempt for something that is unattainable to us. “It’s unreasonable to judge what is true and what is wrong based our awareness”, writes Montaigne. He points out to the “wise men” who value everything according to their own measure, dishonoring the goodness of others.¹⁶

¹⁴ Монтень М. Опыты в 3-х кн. – М.: Голос, 1992, кн. 1. – 383 с. – Ст. 148, 149, 154, 287.

¹⁵ Мур Дж. Принципы этики. – М.: Прогресс, 1984. – 326 с. – Ст. 149.

¹⁶ Монтень М. Опыты в 3-х кн. – М.: Голос, 1992, кн. 1. – 383 с. – Ст. 227, 279.

It appears that the “ridiculous thoughtlessness” of high thought about oneself is based on something that is inherent in the customary-traditional, private-local, closed-state view of things, from the desire to measure everything by its own measure and not to accept something that is far from personal point of view. Therefore, not only the social customs, against which we stand, have become spoiled, but also ourselves become the same: “Evil is in our souls, and the soul is unable to escape from itself.” So, true goodness does not exist either in public nature, or in the soul of the individual. Montaigne comes to the conclusion that in our own public activities we must adhere to the established order, “everyone must obey the laws of the state in which they live,” but “society has nothing to do with our views.”¹⁷

According to the Montaigne, public life with its laws, needs and interests, can not be the basis of real goodness. “The common benefit requires that people go for treason, lie, and merciless destruction in its name.” Telling lies “often brought benefits, and most of human matters exist at its expense and rely upon it. There are drawbacks, respected by laws, and there are “good or excusable acts that are illegal in one way or another”. So, public usefulness and morality are different things. “We mistakenly consider usefulness as the measure of honesty and beauty of one or another act,” but one should make “the difference between useful and honest, consider natural acts as not only useful and essential, but also dirty and dangerous.” Montaigne claims that it is also wrong to assume that human communities “exist at the expense of the goodness of their members. They “are formed and survive, no matter what it costs to them.”

People “created a political associations from own drawbacks as well as goal-oriented settled and fair society”.¹⁸

So, it appears that morality can not be based on either personal or public interests: it does not coincide with either one or the other. Such conclusion creates a complex problem for moral theorists regarding the basis of goodness, if it is not based on either personal or public needs of a person, but contradicts one and the other. In the future philosophical thought will unsuccessfully try to solve this problem, seeing in it the most significant thing in the specific nature of morality.

¹⁷ Монтень М. Опыты в 3-х кн. – М.: Голос, 1992, кн. 1. – 383 с. – Ст. 151.

¹⁸ Монтень М. Опыты в 3-х кн. – М.: Голос, 1992, кн. 1. – 383 с. – Ст. 151.

Summing up philosophical-ethical concepts of the specificity of morality, it can be concluded that morality was reduced in its theoretical explanation: firstly, either to the human nature, reasonable legislation, public life organization or to the cognition of the world and the person. Secondly, its specificity was understood, albeit in different ways, but it was determined by referring to some simple evidences of moral consciousness, that is, it was acknowledged but did not analyzed.

The internal connection of philosophical problems with certain areas of the moral worldview is definite, but there are also fundamental differences between these two ways of thinking. Therefore, the issue about correlation of philosophy with moral consciousness has repeatedly become an urgent problem. Philosophers not only consciously or unconsciously took some moral postulates and moralistic ways of argumentation into their system of judgment, but also sometimes critically perceived the reproduction of moral ideas in the field of philosophical thinking, opposing the strict objectivity of impartial research or real historical experience to naive moralization.

Moral regulation of human behavior in society is carried out due to the internal conviction of the personality, public opinion, tradition, and moral authority. Morality covers a wide range of public phenomena. As a regulatory institution of society, it includes moral consciousness, moral relations, and moral activity. Morality is not only a form of public consciousness, as it has been thought earlier, but also a social institution, performing (together with the regulatory function) functions of cognition, communication, education, inheritance, etc. in society.

The center of moral regulation is a moral norm having a general character. If religion appeals primarily to believers, then morality is equally demanding for all. The generality of moral norm does not consist in the fact that nobody ever violates it, but that every person needs its observance for themselves. Moral norms allow a person to evaluate their own and others' acts, to compare them with the standard, to direct and regulate relations with other people. The moral norm appears at the same time in three main qualities – as norm-prohibition, norm-instruction and norm-order. Simple moral norms – the ideas of people about good, evil, duty, happiness, justice – are passed from generation to generation. Of course, they are predetermined in a certain historical way; they are marked by the

contradictions of those or other periods of society's life, social cataclysms. However, the overall humanist basis remains unchanged. Simple norms of morality (and due to their simplicity, they are manifestation of the most generalized moral requirements and instructions) have universal nature and such a wide range of regulatory action, that it is even difficult to determine more or less obvious limits of their functioning.

The systematization of mankind moral regulators is a very complicated matter. Experience shows that morality can not be introduced into any list of standards. Any regulation of morality creates a dead end. Exception is probably only the Bible, because it does not have artificial moral systems, but only records things verified by the experience of mankind moral communication: "In everything, act in the way as you want others to act in relation to you." However, this does not mean that ancient moral standards can not be brought into the system, united by a principle, an idea, and an ideal. On the contrary, only in the system they are able to fulfill their regulatory function. Searching for uniting principles, ideas, and ideals has been started in old times and has not finished yet. So, mankind refers to such thinkers as Confucius and I. Kant once again. It was Confucius who found the formula of the eternal moral law for 500 years before our era: "What you do not want to be done for yourself, do not do for others". I. Kant interpreted this formula in the context of the Western civilization categories: "Act in such way so that the maxim of your behavior was the law of conduct for all".¹⁹

Moral regulation is based on the public opinion and conscience of each person. Its power and secret of its application effectiveness to almost all areas of public life and, at the same time, its weakness is in this. If a person has no conscience, moral regulation is powerless. Public opinion can judge (psychologically, morally), although it can not punish. So many people ignore its demands, despise the traditions, they do not recognize the common cultural values. Of course, in this case, morality is powerless, but people are not. In view of this, they continued to look for new regulatory mechanisms of life activity and, finally, they found them.

The law has become one of the most effective mechanisms for regulating of the functioning and development of society at the stage of its

¹⁹ Кант И. Основы метафизики нравственности. – М.: Мысль, 1999. – 528 с. – Ст. 91.

class polarization. The source of law is, probably, in the public practice of people, which polarized their relations (due to the division of labor and private property), which made it impossible to regulate them by religion and morality. The state generalized natural relations of people contacting in a society divided into opposing classes. The generalization acquired the status of the norm, later on – the law, and performed a regulatory function, based on the authority and power of the state.

Organic unity of legal regulators with state structures creates another qualitatively new mechanism of regulation, functioning and development of society, which is called politics. Politics as a regulatory mechanism covers, first of all, relations between large social groups – classes, nations, nationalities, etc. However, it does not ignore personality. The subject of social development is individuals and social communities. The politics concerns all people together and every personality in particular. Regulatory opportunities of politics are not limited to the area of society economic life. Politics passes through science and culture as well as a social domain. The politics advocates public interest, so there is every reason to speak about economic, cultural, scientific, social policy, etc. Politics is always state or anti-state. Methods of political regulation of one or other branches of public life, as well as society as a whole, are determined by the fact that the state (even in the presence of opposition) has a monopoly on political power in society.

Politics is a social phenomenon consisting of various (material, social, spiritual) sub-branches of public life. It is believed that this phenomenon covers such elements as political consciousness (mass and individual); political relations, phenomena and processes; political institutions and establishments; political norms.²⁰

Therefore, it is possible to make sure that morality, in spite of the widespread interpretation, is not a purely social phenomenon. Proceeding in its implementation far beyond the limits of interpersonal relations, that is, sociality, it can not be reduced to the latter by its very nature, can not be considered only as a derivative from them – just like neither art, nor religion, philosophy, science can be viewed in a similar way. All these forms of spirituality are integral manifestations of a person; however, a

²⁰ урлацкий Ф.М., Галкин А.А. Современный левиафан. – М., 1985. – 382 с. – Ст. 32.

person correlates in their formation and existence with all the surrounding environment, therefore a person can not be reduced to any particular aspect, even to the most obvious to us.

The peculiarity of morality as a means of human activity regulation is in the fact the moral demands and evaluations are directly produced by mass consciousness, approved by society will and claim to be of universal significance, they are perceived and formed in the form of unified behavioral norms as well as principles and ideals having value justification and require understanding of certain individuals in a way of personal conviction and motive for their implementation. And it concerns not only individual acts, behavior of individuals or groups but life order of society as a whole. Having such peculiarities, morality as a means of activity regulation appears as a specific form of consciousness, have moralistic aspects not only of daily individual and group life but the attitude of individuals to the process of historical development as its subject.

Political consciousness is an indirect reflection of the society political life, the essence of which is the problem of power, formation, development and satisfaction of the interests and needs of political subjects. It is clear that some worldview stereotypes (or even archetypes), ideas can be connected with the way how people understand the state and politics only indirectly.

Conscious or unconscious change in the meaning of political ideas can be realized within the time context – from generation to generation, and in case of transferring of one or another idea from one ground to another. Ideas may, depending on a particular situation or one or another social basis, have very unexpected rethinking.

So, the specificity of morality is that it is the most universal form of personal worldview and world perception, active stimulus for social actions, an accumulator of value orientations of an individual, social groups and society as a whole, a regulator of public-political and spiritual processes in society.

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THE LESSONS OF HISTORY AND POLITICS: PROGNOSTIC FUNCTION OF THE MODERN POLITICAL STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Chekanov V. Yu.

INTRODUCTION

Modern humanities underline persistently the difference between the science of previous centuries as influenced greatly by the moral philosophy on behalf of social requirement and the contemporary humanitarian studies stem out of practical, even prosaic everyday needs. That is why the personality and writings by Niccolo Machiavelli have been highly appreciated in modern times; no illusions survived two world wars with all the genocides, political repressions and totalitarianism throughout Europe.

In the period before the aim to create logically non-contradictory and smooth picture of the world was the main implied reason to develop humanities. Nowadays these sciences go on to exist even after failures to create the working models of the world; the description of the world isn't the aim anymore. It has changed now and re-shaped to fulfill practical tasks and to meet practical requirements. The humanitarian knowledge becomes more down-on-the-ground and appropriately less "high"¹. It is orientated now more onto gathering, systematization and interpretation of the data than onto working out some generalizing theories claiming to explain the whole world. The phenomena are picked up according to the certain procedure but no obligatory generalization for them is provided anymore. They get their description but not an explanation. The modern sciences are never afraid to recognize the lacunas inside.

The political science is entirely a brainchild of XX century. It started at the phase when the chances to create full picture of how policy works have been negated. In the political science nowadays various theories of it co-exist claiming to meet the public requirements. None of these theories is aimed to cover the parallel ones making them superfluous. The entire

¹ Смит Роджер. История гуманитарных наук. Р. 361, 385, 390.

structure of the discipline becomes asymmetric and clumsy cause of simultaneous presence of very different methods and approaches in it. This is the feature of rather “theory” than “science”; generalization occupies no significant place in it². Different methods and approaches (sometimes with all their theoretical backgrounds) are neighboring within – what for?

The only accessible answer here is: to meet practical requirements. This task doesn't demand the full picture and even the strict definition of subject (in fact, there is no strict definition of it in political science yet). The opinion that the political science is just “theory” of unidentified structure and of lacking fundamentals is not our pure invention. These accusations accompanied the establishment of political science from the very start. They decrease its ambitions everywhere except for the USA (where things turned out differently in some non-theoretical reasons). In the USA theoretical status of the discipline is out of discussion. In post-Soviet countries there is special term “politology” to describe the scientific meaning of this relatively “new” branch of knowledge. Of course, this local peculiarity doesn't influence the international significance of the discipline.

The task of this article is to examine the place of prognostic function within the political theory on whole; for it we have to research the role of prognosis in the decision-making process and to analyze the place of expectations for future in political programs. The limits for our research are put by choosing the field of international relations. The reason for it is that here the entirety of working functions may be achieved via head-to-head discussion only (two and more opposing expectations meet and what is left in a bottom line is a result of conflicting projects' clash).

This research is a sort of theory of science, and the problem in this key was barely looked ever. Scientists and historians of science concentrate usually on the actual trends and events (not on their prospects) never continued into future where unidentified bit of material lies. However, the political theory in the field of international relations suggests the branch devoted to the prognosis function exclusively: theory of mathematic games created to modulate some possible outcome of

² Цыганков П.А. Теория международных отношений. Р. 19-27.

dangerous international situation's further development. The results of these games are analyzed thoroughly and figurate in political documents concerning pre-played situation, although they have no normative meaning and do not match to any kind of scientific knowledge where futurology is forbidden strictly.

On the other hand our look is important for its methodological character dealing with appreciation of existing methods and evaluating the need of working out new ones.

1. The roots and origins of political theory

The concept of “international relations” as we know and use it isn't very old invention: longest periods of history of mankind full of international conflicts, wars and supporting diplomatic activity weren't covered with any theoretical grounding it. The first formula of it has been invented at the turn of XVIII – XIX centuries by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832)³. Over a century after it this concept was understood routinely: just as interstate relations. The new additions of notions like “global community”, “global market” and “global order” have been made in XX century already and fixated the new reality requiring new concepts and working methods. These methods came in the mid XX century from newly established and heavily mathematized cybernetics⁴. The very first use of it was connected with making scenarios for virtual “war games” played in NATO military headquarters to work out recommendations for further conduct with opponent – USSR and its allies from the Warsaw Pact.

It is well-known that the main failing of political theory is the impossibility in principle to possess all the sources needed to make a veritable conclusion on the certain issue. Until the political situation is on, the most important sources are classified in strategic reasons or inaccessible due to their allocation abroad; but the need of them is inevitable. Lots of research technics to reconstruct them were invented. It caused the appearance of numerous computer reconstructions. From the very beginning – since 1950s – these reconstructions have been done in

³ Смит Роджер. *Op. cit.* P. 210.

⁴ Современные буржуазные теории международных отношений. Критический анализ / Под ред. В.И. Гантмана. P. 45-50.

digital form usually to enable immediate transmission of them to computer as data to count the chances out. The widening of digital data instead of ideologically loaded documents drove the political theory to deideologization and thusly to pluralism from the monopolistic dominance of American “political realists” during first ten years of the Cold War.

The new epoch was characterized by the prevailing of indicative methods to shape the processes not having any verbal description yet. The pioneering this novelty is attributed usually to Karl Deutsch (1912–1992), one of the prominent analysts in the field⁵. Using this approach, he provoked greatly the recent situation in international relations’ science: dominance of non-verbal methods led to the rise of new approaches; each of them claimed to occupy its place as workable one. The whole political science started to divide into many independent sections applicable in concrete situations but resistible to any try to put them within one framework. The theory stopped to become scientific and left divided into separate methodological directions; their belonging to one space of “political theory” became just declarative. It wasn’t supported by any normative disposal within the discipline. The contemporary situation in the discipline is difficult to overcome and to get rid of it: it has long history, its own logic of evolution and successes in prognoses of international situation of bipolar world from 1950 to 1990s.

The strategies coexisting in the field were withstanding each other very often. For instance, K. Deutsch interpreted his own method as an assistance in choosing whether strategy to abstain involvement into some situation or strategy to get in it to take over the control of its development. For George Modelski the purpose of involvement was formulated differently and led to different results: to intrude to take over the further steps of opponent state and to control it eventually. Of course, there is much difference between controlling “development of the situation” and “opponent state”.

Each method had not only its own argumentation but – what’s more important – the statistically and mathematically grounded methodology of its own. The choice which method is better depended since then not upon

⁵ Merritt Richard L., Russett Bruce M., Dahl Robert A. Karl Wolfgang Deutsch // The National Academies Press. URL: <http://books.nap.edu/html/biomems/kdeutsch.html#FOOT4>

their comparative potency but upon the voluntary (and very often non-logical) choice of certain politician: to rely upon it or not. Since 1950s political theory existed in the situation when no method in it was ever negated or at least doubted⁶. It made it sizeless and clumsy as a whole but working successfully in all of its separate parts. The result of state of things James N. Rosenau (1924 – 2011) characterized as “pre-theory”: prognostic aspect of political theory wasn’t verbalized and just was reduced to defining variables influencing the exterior policy of the state under research. The best way of research was imitation⁷.

2. The prognosis and its inevitability in political practice

Imitative methods were introduced massively into prognosis of international situation. It meant that no actual facts (like the ones we call “physical facts” or “historical facts”) were known precisely but they were used as alleged ones according to the probability counted by the game computer.

The next failing was even more important. All the situations the mankind was in at the moment of analysis had to be taken as final ones. It looked like all of them were endings of some event consequence. In fact, only minority of them really was... but there was no way to discern these ones from the others going to continue and to develop in future. So, all the events occurred before should be seen as preconditions of some point declared the final one. The intermediate situations had to be understood as endings for the previous event consequences. No possible future developments for these “final” points could be taken into account. The aberration of facts was inevitable however its negative outcomes weren’t seen because of any methodology able to look into the future.

It resulted into decrease of practical value of prognosis unless situation changed. Such a political theory worked successfully under conditions of pending balance situation (like the Cold War). The most veritable prognoses enabled prediction for 3 – 5 years. As we know no mathematic method could predict the situation of ruined balance like the one occurred in late 1980s after the crisis of communist system in the

⁶ Современные буржуазные теории международных отношений. Критический анализ. Р. 31.

⁷ Ibid. Р. 311.

USSR. All the methods for counting out probabilities turned out absolutely helpless in predicting the decline of the USSR.

This event was absolutely unpredicted surprise for all political analysts (according to K. Booth). The year 1989 was a sort of turning point for political theory – its possibilities to predict further event have been doubted since then; the bipolar coordinate system of previous Cold War epoch vanished causing number of crucial outcomes for political analysis⁸.

It turned out suddenly that Cold War wasn't situation only. It was the research paradigm for political theory enabling it to self-identify itself as "science". The end of XX century found this situation changed forever.

K. Booth named 5 reasons why political analysts never interested themselves in future during the Cold War period:

1. Dominance of the "eternal present time" paradigm.

2. The base of sources was reduced down to official press releases.

No classified papers involved.

3. Political theory was developed mainly in the West. It reflected its reluctance to admit any possibility of future worse than Western present time.

4. International analysts tried to influence the political practice of governments.

5. Terminology was hypocrite describing post-1945 situation as "peaceful" but hiding local wars with 20 000 000 perished in the "Third World"⁹.

The approach of K. Booth to the description and explanation of the events and their concern to the political theory sounds adequate ("challenge to ignorance") although not enough to start changes. He called to the "rethinking" of political theory's background; this call itself sounded like the echoing post-bipolar paradigm influenced in many issues by Soviet "Perestroika" with its slogans to "start changes from yourself". The real need of the moment was however to free from any paradigms and to try just to open to the unknown future, but was there any to do it? Definitely no.

⁸ Бус Кен. Вызов незнанию: теория международных отношений перед лицом будущего // Теория международных отношений на рубеже столетий. Р. 334-335.

⁹ Ibid. Р. 337-340.

The experience of 1990s revealed considerable similarity to the research optimism of 1960s (based upon the possibility to influence governmental policy by practicing analysts) and the same quality of work. Overshadowed with the menace of Cuban missile crisis of 1962 mankind in that period was ready to believe to any recipe promising to wipe the threat “out of sight, out of mind”. At that time there was popular slogan of global government usually scheduled from growing role of the UNO. Under its aegis the step-by-step disarmament could be achieved by 1980. That was a common belief of 1960s¹⁰. There were three sources of it:

1. The belief in the UNO and its possibilities under impression of the UNO success in overcoming Congolese crisis in 1961.

2. The fashioned ideas of future global government enabled with the growing role of computers.

3. The expectations to have gradual disarmament in future ever growing after Cuban missile crisis had been solved successfully.

The three unpredicted outcomes of these sources killed the optimism of 1960s but so tenderly, that some of new tendencies weren't spotted for a long time:

1. The solution of Congolese crisis turned out to be the only successful action provided by the UNO throughout upcoming decades. More often the UNO was urged to send “blue helmets” into conflict region to freeze the situation preventing it from worsening. After dozens of these experiments the UNO gradually transformed into global bureaucracy commanding peacekeeping troops all over the world. No chances for its transformation into effective world's government were seen from 1970s. The idea of this government survived its time only in some classic novels and movies of sci-fi genre.

2. The vector of computer technologies' development didn't match up with the expectations of 1960s; the projects of creations of big computers taking over governance functions from human beings weren't put into practice. The fundamentals of political ruling remain intact hitherto.

3. The current events of 1970s buried the hopes to observe the step-by-step order prescribed in the first treaties for nuclear disarmament. The

¹⁰ Кларк Гренивиль, Сон Луис Б. Достижение всеобщего мира через мировое право. Два альтернативных плана // Теория международных отношений на рубеже столетий. Р. 115-131.

turn from Détente to the second “edition” of the Cold War in the late 1970s were the crucial points there. The development of nuclear-free world encountered number of difficulties in the way of its realization and even more: the situation in early 1980s resulted into the growth of the new and yet unpredicted form of “track two diplomacy” when the peoples of Europe guided by some political parties like “Greens” took over the control at the nuclear disarmament in their countries and protested against deployment of American missiles with nuclear warheads in their home countries.

The works by international analysts of the period thus lost their value (the prognostic value particularly) cause no future trend was predicted right (long before 1989 when the flop with the prognosis of Warsaw Pact dissolution opened eyes that something goes wrong in the political theory)¹¹.

But what should be underlined, it’s the fact that methodological conceptions by the creators of political theory didn’t lose their value and were appreciated as the achievements of the period. So their reduced workability never doubted their status and place in the textbooks of political science. The fact this value can be called just “historical” never used to be underlined hitherto.

The upcoming changes in realizations of some 1960s provisions were hailed as progressive although unpredicted moves. The current events became chaotic and the only sign of order was the remaining framework of bipolar withstand. Anything apart from it lost its shape by the end of 1960s causing the wave of “conservative revolutions“ in the West (with the exception for France) in the early 1980s. The predictability of situation was lost and still remains the same: “progressive” forces in European countries opposing to the nuclear energetics, spread in 1980s (after Chernobyl catastrophe of 1986 especially). They moved gradually to support the Russian Federation in early 2000s because they depended upon its fuels delivered from Siberia. The countries not so “progressive” towards anti-nuclear movements have established their own nuclear energetics (like France) and thus became more sustainable to the challenges of the new millennium.

¹¹ Кларк Греневиль, Сон Луис Б. Достижение всеобщего мира через мировое право. Два альтернативных плана // Теория международных отношений на рубеже столетий. Р. 115.

The new approach should be considered “ideological” although positioned contrary by its creators. However its prominent features contradict to idea behind “global government”: the discrepancy in the level of economic, social and political development doubted the expediency of uniting such different parts under one aegis and made their unification ineffective; the preconditions for these unification weren’t accounted properly too and no attention was paid to some real factors (although not visible at the beginning¹²).

In fact, no rethinking would help here; the source of mistake comes out from the discrepancy between scientific analysis with its special requirements and everyday life requiring something different. The above mentioned ambition of political analysts to influence practical actions played its harmful role. In everyday life people do thinking of life and making life plans simultaneously; in science there are various procedures usually never crossing. There would be analog to making life plan as a sort of “futurology” but it wasn’t allowed to incorporate into science on whole as a fake.

Correct. But not for political theory where it was incorporated more or less successfully since 1947 when the “theory of games” has been inserted into discipline as a planning of war games. It was crucial for prognosis of bipolar situation’s development of the early Cold War. This theory was created by J. von Neumann and O. Morgenstern to meet the practical needs of war planning¹³. The reality was characterized by the lack of quantitative data, thus the data missing had to be substituted by provisional data given optionally (several alternative variants at once). The only chance to count out all the probabilities was to get the digital machinery involved. Lots of technics to work with provisional data arrived into newly developed discipline destroying its scientific structure and making it absolutely different from any other “true” science.

The first war games were called “crisis games” or “voluntary political games” oriented onto purely hypothetic situations. Their development in the late 1940s was explosive cause of common belief that Western superiority in computer field will turn immediately into strategic

¹² Merritt Richard L., Russett Bruce M., Dahl Robert A. Merritt Richard L., Russett Bruce M., Dahl Robert A. Op. cit.

¹³ Современные буржуазные теории международных отношений. Критический анализ. Р. 50; Цыганков П.А. Теория международных отношений. Р. 71.

advantage in the real Cold War. The game segment occupied thus the position unparalleled by situation in any other science before. The modeling occupied in this discipline much more place than in any other.

This game segment inside the political theory had nothing to do with its theoretical background: no scientific theory can justify presence within the science obligatory and optional parts at once. But it didn't mean that obligatory parts weren't developed too: the descriptive parts of political theory went on creating serious fundamentals for analysis.

Why the political theory survived this killing situation? Mostly it happened because the descriptive ("obligatory") parts of it developed too. During 1950s and 1960s particularly the data of sociology and psychology were accepted by political theory: not as game data but to improve the grounds of it as a science¹⁴. The game playing didn't disappear due to the Cold War was still on. The continuation of war games playing was supported by considerable development of the discipline in the direction of the full-fledged science. The description of factors influencing policy making and the research of driving motifs behind made giant steps during 20 years. The game playing could progress only in pace with digital technologies' development or by taking into account more variables borrowed from sociology and psychology. It still existed in the political theory but the specific gravity of it changed.

So the use of mathematic methods of modeling caused the separation of theoretical and practical elements of science. It's because modeling meets practical needs better than theory. That is why in the period up to 1990s the presence of it was justified absolutely: digital methods were instruments to provide prognostic researches for governments of states involved into the Cold War. But we can't forget that none of these methods became normative part of it; theoretical constituent of political theory resisted to it mightily. The practical side of theory draws interest of practicing politicians; the theoretical side is more important for professional scientists.

That means that prognostic function is required in practical purposes; however it is not recognized at all by professionals on the theoretical side of the discipline.

¹⁴ Современные буржуазные теории международных отношений. Критический анализ. Р. 38, 42

3. The new approaches

The majority of states where political analysis is practiced don't recognize it as a profession: for instance, Ukraine¹⁵. The cause of it is connected with the relative accuracy of the prognosis. It never reaches 100 %. Even the luminaries like Karl Deutsch could provide precise prognosis for lesser time distance only. For instance, after the withdrawal of France from the military organization of NATO in 1966 K. Deutsch and his collaborators have been assigned to forecast the prospects of European integration under the new conditions. The veritable prognosis they dared was of 10 years penetration into future. It was performed with no use of mathematical modeling but exclusively on the basis of content analysis of publications concerning the topics examined (the content of most frequently used words, phrases and expressions in politicians' interviews since 1953)¹⁶. This was the innovation put by K. Deutsch into practice to substitute to mathematic modeling which occupied considerable place after World War II¹⁷.

However the new tendencies never made war games playing disappear: the public request to the discipline expressed by politicians was to have the prognoses, not the explanations of "how policy works". 1960s provided political theories with new directions for this explanation but war games weren't driven out by them¹⁸. Instead of direct confrontation of methods the things turned to indirect competition. The newest up-to-date contributions were:

- the scenario method combining prognosis with building the mental models of possible situation's development according the sanity;
- the "Delphic" method based upon the discussion of experts controlled by some competent body to reveal the discrepancy in vision of problem between this body and experts recruited.

These methods (especially the last one) were more open to the opinion of experts in case of their contradiction to the basic directive of the control body. Previously the topics and purposes of experts' involvement have been fully defined by the body; experts just worked

¹⁵ Класифікатор професій ДК 003: 2010. P. 330, 459.

¹⁶ Deutsh Karl, Edinger Lewis, Macridis Roy, Merritt Richard. France, Germany and the Western Alliance P. 214, 219, 230.

¹⁷ Merritt Richard L., Russett Bruce M., Dahl Robert A. Merritt Richard L., Russett Bruce M., Dahl Robert A. Op. cit.

¹⁸ Цыганков П.А. Op. cit. P. 69.

according to the scenario given and never allowed to doubt the usefulness of it on whole. But in modern times the things started to change. The new methods had the meaning of auxiliary methods: not prognostic itself, it served just to direct the discussion¹⁹. Another feature added was the accent removing from possible ways of development of situation to the viewing it by politicians and experts. On the one hand it led from future to present situation, but on the other it added the new dimension to the prognostic function of international relations' science: the understanding that future decisions by politicians depend strongly upon their present views²⁰. That opened doors to the new theories and new directions like the analysis of decision making process etc.

The new mantle of political theory was much more modernist. It interpreted policy as a field where different actors cooperate (French philosopher R. Aron called them "political units"). In 1971 G. Rosenau highlighted 6 levels of political units:

- Individuals;
- Positions and roles;
- Structure of the government;
- Society ruled by the government;
- System of relations of national state with other sides of international relations;
- Global system.

Since then the analysis and prognosis of international relations have transformed into the exploration of all possible relations of actors on these 6 levels. Basically they take place on 3 levels:

- Cast (elements composing the structure);
- Interior system (elements connected within the frame);
- Exterior system (elements and their structure connected with outer environment).

In general these levels stipulate all kinds of possible relations. The further determining parameters and factors to deepen the analysis were worked out on a basis of these fundamentals. They enable to include territory, population, political regime, level of population's literacy and technical literacy in particular, morality and life optimism of the society

¹⁹ Цыганков П.А. *Op. cit.* P. 59.

²⁰ *Ibid.* P. 54.

and nation's place in the international system. All of these factors may be displayed digitally and their influence onto exterior policy may be counted out too. It can help in forecasting further changes in policy²¹.

However this impressive approach revealed its failings very soon. Its biggest flaw was the impossibility to use both interior and exterior factors with the same reliability. Exterior factors are more vulnerable to the outer influences produced by either neighboring states or global trends. Sometimes they are sustainable but sometimes are not. To count out the probability of it was futile, and the acceptability of the new approach was decreased respecting.

To omit the negative outcomes, the exterior and interior factors there were declared equal but the issue was if they *were* equal indeed. Practically the interior factors gradually took the advantage in analysis making cause of their respective easiness to be taken into account.

The dominance of interior factors became clear soon. The system analysis turned up helpless to predict liberation wars in the countries of the "Third World", especially the war in Vietnam. The interior stability in Southern Vietnam was guaranteed by presence of American troops but the constant infiltration of partisan groups from the North provided countless exterior factors pulling down all American strategy to stabilize region²².

The next prognostic methods were more inventive but more helpless at once: there was a plan to build ideal models corresponding to real prototypes in all smallest bits where all their possible interactions had to be accounted. Anyway the effectiveness of all methods proposed never reached 100 %.

There is popular branch of mathematics called game theory (term "popularity" in case of mathematics means the use of its branches to provide non-mathematical sciences with research tools). War games of 1940s entitled similarly were related with it closely. The new trends in political theory revealed the main flaw of usage of the game theory in prognosis: it was workable in case of rational conduct of opposing sides. But this was far from reality. In fact, many international actors act irrationally, especially non-governmental groups prone to remain in

²¹ Антюхина-Московченко В.И., Злобин А.А., Хрусталеv М.А. Основы теории международных отношений. Р. 68-70.

²² Цыганков П.А. Op. cit. Р. 65.

constant opposition to any official initiative and states with authoritarian and totalitarian political regimes, where national leaders can afford anything. International relations of bipolar era were the relations between rational leaders of democratic states urged to act expediently, and totalitarian leaders of Warsaw Pact able to make any step to ruin the balance.

The most reliable expectations from international partners are based upon so called “prisoner’s dilemma”: any prisoner separated from his partners and cut out of contacts will act rationally hoping his partners do the same. The situation in the international relations is very similar because the actors never possess full information about the plans of counterpart. But international sphere isn’t like prison: the basic treaties are valid and observed thoroughly even under the conditions of crisis; hot lines between governments in crisis periods aren’t broken as well. The applicability of “prisoner’s dilemma” in international dilemma was doubted. The political actors never communicate like prisoners: they are free in choosing decisions and have lots of resources; prisoners aren’t free by default and have no resources except for survival minimum²³.

The strangest thing was that international analysts didn’t give up after discovering this. The next invention was to count out “dynamic dimension of system analysis”. In spite of clumsy title it was rather tricky brainstorm to re-schedule the basic parameters: if the establishments and states do officially, the persons responsible for decision making may be influenced personally. To predict these influences coming from various factors became the task for new research program. The negative result from its usage came again from impossibility to rely equally upon different influences: the readiness of responsible persons to observe the law or to trade their advantages admitting breach of the law was the variable impossible to express digitally.

The next attempt was to shorten the expectations from research tools. Okay, maybe no veritable prognosis is viable in the field where free-willing personality acts; but what if the true aim of prognosis is not to foresee it but to count out the best options in further development of political situation? The number of these options is reduced down to the

²³ Цыганков П.А. *Op. cit.* P. 71-72.

certain number of game play models, so any further development of situation is potentially recognizable.

The answer is that there is no chance to know if the most profitable option is chosen because any actor is not obliged to observe machinery logic, so he can choose the wrong one and follow it stubbornly. On the other hand he can choose one option and then transfer to the next. It is quite possible in non-democratic states, and the usage of these methods was aimed to provide effective withstand with them: so, the only disposal of variables predictable for analysts was if their own state were in war with its ally.

But “democracies do not fight with each other”.

4. Where it all works and what makes us optimistic?

Another aspect to be covered by fulfilling tasks of prognosis is to predict possible changes of political regimes in certain countries, enabling to act beforehand on behalf of prominent actors of international policy. The previous items discussed in this article covered the strategy of survival in bipolar situation of the Cold War. After having finished it the mankind ran into other problems yet located at the peripheral edge of political science. Moving out terroristic groups and movements to occupy the headlines of news reports led to understanding that both challenges and the strategies of fighting and predicting them have changed.

Political theory had much experience in identifying political regimes as movable constellations of political system's elements. They depend upon economic factors and political culture of the certain society making it more inherent to build up its political regime than if it was guided by logic. The differences in political culture make any agreements harder and can disable any constructive dialog providing situation when the sides of negotiations don't believe each other and think the opposite side is cheating.

The key notion is here the notion of “regime”. It bears definite negative connotations linked with negative perception of the fact that social elements defined and conserved by political power may prevail over typically democratic elements of self-organization. The governments where narrow group or one person dominates are usually described as “regimes”, democracies aren't ever (except for the USA where usage of

this notion is very specific). “Regimes” are similar to dictatorships in mass consciousness; in fact, authoritarian and totalitarian regimes are possible under conditions of dictatorship only²⁴.

The deal of political theory is here to allocate certain political regime on the scale and to try to predict the chances of its further development according to this allocation.

First issue to be solved here is to find out whether dictatorship of personality or state takes place in case examined. The authoritarianism refers to dictatorship of personality; it is prone to leave people some alternatives and options for personal choice; many fields like cultural and business branches aren't tied. They look more neglected than controlled and people can exercise much activity there unless they try to enter policy. So the conclusion is: authoritarian regime doesn't control its own subjects fully. It makes this regime more ready to negotiations and concessions than totalitarian regime. This one is a dictatorship of the state.

The totalitarianism requires substantial changes in social structures because its difference with authoritarian regime lies in full coverage of social sphere by political control. Hannah Arendt called it “atomization of the society” making faceless “masses” out of individuals²⁵. In the USSR the people was called “screws” (in the political system compared to the machine). That means that totalitarian regime requires more serious changes in social structure and thus provides more sustainable dictatorship: dictatorship of state instead of personality.

Authoritarian regime may be destroyed easily if the personality cementing it dies; sometimes the dictator may become a victim of coup-d'état organized by his opponents. So the political struggle under the authoritarianism is possible although hidden. Under totalitarianism there is much difference: the dictatorship belongs not to personality but to state. Political opposition is impossible: it is perceived the enemy of life order and its fate is deadly scary. So the opposition is hardly possible and it won't be right to rely upon it. The changes of totalitarian regime may come from economic crush or from defeat in war but not from

²⁴ Баталов Э.Я. Американская политическая мысль XX века. Р. 395; Политология / под ред. М.А. Василица. Р. 233

²⁵ Арндт Ханна, Джерела тоталітаризму. Р. 373.

oppositional activity which is never let to come into light and to draw any attention of society.

Authoritarian regimes make flexible police; they are urged to tack both in exterior and interior. Why? The most veritable answer is that these regimes are prone to non-democratic totalitarian regime but they never provide social cohesion satisfying the transformation of the society to “screws”. The economic dependence upon democracies of the West plays its role too; states with huge fuel production are less dependent and thus more ready to build totalitarian society. The states allocated far from area of Western democracies are too. At the same time the underdeveloped societies of Latin America lie close to the USA. It makes them dependent upon the US economic and military presence. A number of institutions and interstate organizations like OAS have been established to provide constant linkage between the USA and its partners in Latin America; the traditions of the US military interventions into closest parts of the region (the intervention to Haiti in 1915 lasted 19 years) play their role too.

So the outer factors are too hard to overcome and so they transform to democracies more often. It doesn't make democratic regimes in these countries sustainable but the sense of policy in regions like Latin America is to support democracies wherever they occur. The negative example of Cuba confirms the importance of observance of American interests by support of democracy. On the other hand this support is productive (what is confirmed by the examples of NAFTA and MERCOSUR in the late XX century).

The totalitarian evolution of authoritarianism is possible also if some ideological factors play their role in combination. For instance, in Germany of 1920s the combination of imperialistic revanchist plans and of anti-Semitism led to establishment of Nazi ideology that made German Fascism difficult to defeat²⁶. These factors require deeper penetration into people's minds, so it means that ideological preparation for totalitarian transformation takes much time. Totalitarianism is more “perfect” in its essence and thusly much less widespread; true totalitarian regimes are highly resistible to any outer attempts to intrude and to change them even if they are cut off their allies (like Cuba). The economic autarchy is desirable for them because it decreases the harmful influences from

²⁶ Баталов Э.Я. Ор. cit. P. 30, 167.

democracies onto their integrity provided while trying to affect them in their own interests. It was spotted in the literature that phenomenon of totalitarianism never occurred before XX century although mankind's experience of dictatorship was huge until then. But not a single bit of that experience corresponded to the global trend of XX century: atomization of society mentioned earlier. The dictators' regimes of XIX century never possessed the amount of resistibility the regimes of new age had. Another opinion well-known in the literature is that totalitarianism isn't a global phenomenon; it is possible under the certain conditions of moral political climate which arises coincidentally as a feature of contemporary society – but never before and hopefully never again²⁷.

The characteristics of totalitarianism include often the depiction of it as of fully developed authoritarianism (driven to the phase of absurdum). The trend able to stop totalitarian tendency is the globalization of economy disabling this trend and making countries prone to build totalitarianism dependent upon international capital and controlled from the outside. However the trends promoting totalitarianism are the religion and the growing of countries with considerable tradition of non-democratic governance.

The classic region of authoritarianism where totalitarian trends never prevailed and were put into practice in one state only is Latin America (with the military, economic and political support from the USSR)²⁸. To make veritable prognosis of chances to change political regime in the certain country we have to research the long-time experience of authoritarian tradition in Latin America where it shaped down in the early XIX century simultaneously with obtaining national independence from Spain. Since that time the entire region demonstrated the features of underdevelopment partly inherited from colonial period and partly caused by the pending competition of development reformist programs throughout XIX century.

In other regions of the globe authoritarian trends evolutioned, changing their meaning and re-surfacing in new combinations with new social groups and classes. But in Latin America the things seem to be

²⁷ Тоталитаризм в Европе XX века. Из истории идеологий, движений, режимов и их преодоления / под ред. Я.С. Драбкина, Н.П. Копылова. Р. 9.

²⁸ Аллен Роберт. Глобальная экономическая история. Р. 123.

conserved forever. The authoritarianism there never made sustainable progression to democracy; but it never moved to totalitarianism.

The possible explanation is that authoritarianism in this region is not just a combination of features characterizing the next phase of society's development but a constellation of factors slowing down the progress in the region; these factors haven't been overcome. They turned into "brake factor" under the conditions of reform attempts only; it caused the special character of authoritarianism in Latin America highly different from the analogical regimes in other parts of the world.

CONCLUSIONS

So now it's time to make some final conclusions concerning the special function of political theory unprecedented by any other science.

In previous centuries there was a serious trend to build up the whole picture of the past to mark the crucial mistakes and make it possible not to repeat them. In history these attempts were stopped very soon with realizing that "history teaches us nothing". There is no chance that future situations repeat previous ones in details. The free-willing people as main actors in history never reload similar events but they went on adding new characteristics of policy, economy and ideology.

We call it "progress" and so our final assumption at the point where we can stop our effort is that progress is the most important reason not to rely upon any prognosis. Progress makes prognoses pointless. Its unpredictable character disables the tries to make sorts of "road maps" for mankind. This seductive prospect – to rely upon plans scheduled beforehand and to make life just the observance of them – is killed along with the attempts to create veritable pictures of the future via prognostic activity.

1. In political theory the prognostic function was designed to fulfill the practical function to predict the possible actions of the enemy in the Cold War.

2. The earliest attempts to work out algorithm of prediction belong to the period of 1940s when the Cold War just has started.

3. These attempts were characterized with the use of mathematics methods and computers. The theory concerning understanding the things

behind decision-making process of conventional enemy was developed during 1960s.

4. No further effort to count out all the factors influencing the policy of conventional enemy brought up the prognosis with 100 % verity.

5. The failure of these efforts had crucial influence onto the build-up of political theory as a science.

6. The only field of veritable prognoses is concerned to the prediction of political regimes' evolution in certain regions of the globe.

SUMMARY

The article is devoted to the problem highly actual in the political theory because it aims to fight the negative trends connected with doubtfulness of its practical usage. The model of usage worked out during the period of the Cold War since late 1940s up to 1990s was based upon numerous efforts to find out any sustainable tool to predict the development of situation in international relations. Though dozens of attempts to count out all the possible variables influencing the hypothetic situation, no tool providing 100 % verity has been designed up to date, what decreased the trust put into political theory by politicians. The article explores the successful attempts to predict the evolution of certain political regimes in the countries of the "Third World" belonging to non-democratic systems.

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CONCLUSIONS

In general, the monograph “Leading Tendencies in Humanities: Philosophical, Historical and Political Contexts”, presented to the general public, reflects an interdisciplinary approach in modern humanities, which has led to a substantial expansion of the subject field of humanities. The content of this monograph covers a wide range of issues: historiosophy (historical mythology), civilization analysis methodology, recent political studies of international relations, ethical studies of general principles of human analysis, cultural studies of creativity, philosophical studies, history of everyday life, and historical memory studies.

The study of the leading trends in the development of modern humanities in the philosophical, historical and political contexts has firmly established itself as an independent and dynamic interdisciplinary direction in the humanitarian knowledge of the first third of the XXI century. In addition to radical updating in the light of modern social problems and cultural preferences, the high demand of humanitarian knowledge is largely due to its humanity, the focus on man and his environment in our technological, post-humane era. The conceptual triad “philosophy-history-politics” today is one of the most sought after instruments of social and humanitarian analysis.

NOTES

Publishing house “Liha-Pres”
9 Kastelivka str., Lviv, 79012, Ukraine
44 Lubicka str., Toruń, 87-100, Poland

Printed by the publishing house “Liha-Pres”
Passed for printing: October 15, 2019.
A run of 150 copies.