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THE CONCEPT OF THE ELITE IN THE UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHICAL IDEA

The article deals with the genesis of the Ukrainian national elite, the orientation of its formation in modern conditions, the creative heritage of domestic thinkers, which contain a deep philosophical analysis of Ukrainian mentality, national consciousness, economic and political culture of our people, as well as features of the national elite.

Key words: elite, national elite, national consciousness, theory of elites.

КОНЦЕПЦІЯ ЕЛІТИ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ФІЛОСОФСЬКІЙ ДУМЦІ

В статті досліджується генеза української національної еліти, орієнтири її формування в сучасних умовах, творча спадщина вітчизняних мислителів, що містять глибокий філософський аналіз української ментальності, національної свідомості, економічної та політичної культури нашого народу, а також особливостей національної еліти.

Ключові слова: еліта, національна еліта, національна свідомість, теорія еліт.

КОНЦЕПЦИЯ ЭЛИТЫ В УКРАИНСКОЙ ФИЛОСОФСКОЙ МЫСЛИ

В статье исследуется генезис украинской национальной элиты, ориентиры ее формирования в современных условиях, творческое наследие отечественных мыслителей, содержащих глубокий философский анализ украинской ментальности, национального сознания, экономической и политической культуры нашего народа, а также особенностей национальной элиты.

Ключевые слова: элита, национальная элита, национальное сознание, теория элит.

Topicality. Historically there are certain social minorities in the tribal or bourgeois, democratic or totalitarian, European or Asian societies, in spite of all internal and external (even absolutely polar) differences. They identify, direct, organize, and ideologies the main aspects of public life. In this connection, it should be noted that in the individual European countries, especially the Eastern European (in particular, Slavic), the national elite is given a special role. In the period of the collapse of the empire, the formation of national self-consciousness raises the question of the role of national elites in these processes and the task of creating a social stratum capable of rallying the nation for the achievement and development of independence. The problems of creating elite in Ukraine at the present stage are of some interest. Undoubtedly, this problem is very interesting, but not new. Questions related to elites were developed by scientists in the nineteenth century. Therefore, in order to avoid mistakes in the development of a young sovereign state, we would learn the experience of the past.

The purpose of the article is studying the works of Ukrainian thinkers to create the theoretical basis for further studying the problem of the elitism of Ukrainian society in the native philosophical science.

The degree of scientific development of the problem. The interest to the theory of elites arose even in the old political concepts that opposed the leader of the masses. However, the scientific creators of the theory of elites were Italian scientists Wilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca. Gaetano Mosca is considered to be the founder of political science in Italy. He outlined his views in the book «Elements of Political Science» (1896), translated into English in 1939 under the title «The ruling class». Moska argued that power should always be in the hands of the minority. When it moves from one hand to another, it moves from one minority to another, but never from minority to majority. The author claims this ruling minority as the «ruling class» or «elite». Moskov argued, there are two main trends in history: aristocratic and democratic. None of them involves the reign of the masses, because this is impossible. According to the scholar, the difference between one elite from another lies only in the fact that the aristocratic ruling elite is a closed group that is not replenished by people outside of its circle. At that time, the democratic ruling minority recruited from the masses at the expense of people whose psychological qualities are beneficial from the point of view of the exercise of power [1, p. 13].

A well-known economist and sociologist, Wilfredo Pareto, developed the concept of elites. His work (a four-volume «Treatise on general sociology») saw the world in 1915-1919.

The contribution of Pareto to science lies in the fact that he formulated two theories: national activity and the theory of elites. The starting point of his first concept is that people act subjectively, and they set themselves certain goals and seek to achieve them. But behind this subjective reality of human actions there is their objective irrationality. The thing, what people really want, is not equivalent to what they want and what they think. Pareto saw the irrationality of human actions in human nature and believed that it was inherent in man always and everywhere, although people who have more knowledge, give them to a lesser degree. W.Pareto believes that human society is not homogeneous; people differ from each other physically, morally and intellectually. So some people are more capable than others. They are called elite. Criteria for belonging to the elite depend on abilities in one or another sphere of human activity. In developing the second theory, Pareto noted that social conditions are the reason that not all people, endowed with elite qualities, actually reach the leading state. Those who belongs to the elite, due to their characteristics, but can not enter the governing group due to their social status, economic or political factors, make up the so-called counterrelated. The social equilibrium demands that the ruling elite constantly co-opt individuals with «elite qualities» of non-elite origin. But this does not happen, because the ruling elites guard their privileges and try to inherit them. Thus, the composition of the elite is deteriorating and the quantitative growth of counter-reform is taking place. When these processes become widespread, the counterlive, with the help of mass mobilized by it, or, even without them, drops the power of the existing elite and establishes its domination [1, p. 14].

Presenting main material. The scientists of the twentieth century have done through a detailed analysis of the theory of elites and the role of psychological criteria, giving preference to political and even economic concepts. They also abandoned the broad historical and philosophical design in favor of elite research leading elites of various political systems.

The elitist mood is not new in Ukrainian socio-political thought. They are especially intensified after the defeat of statehood in the 20's. The ideas contain a certain rational grain that can be used to explain the exceptionally disturbing state of current political processes. The theory of elites objectively exists in every nation and it is the creator, the bearer of progressive, democratic, national liberation views and the main sub the object of their practical implementation. In particular, the concept of a national elite is thoroughly developed in the writings of D. Dontsov, V. Lipinsky, I. Franko and others. In order to answer the question about the genesis of the Ukrainian national elite, the guidelines for its formation in modern conditions, first of all, need to comprehensively explore the creative heritage of domestic thinkers, which contain a deep philosophical analysis of Ukrainian mentality, national consciousness, economic and political culture of our people, as well as features of the national the elite.

The two most prominent figures of the 20-ies - V. Lipinsky and D. Dontsov, substantiated the need for a political elite in Ukraine in accordance with the needs of the national revival and gave it a leading role in the creation of the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian state. D. Dontsov (1883-1973) focused on criticism, on negativism and his constant emphasized on the «nation-bastardi», which could form even a lesser-lore stereotype. V. Lipinsky tended to engage the noblemen and the russified nobility in the Ukrainian statehood and created their own national a sacrificial high moral elite. In his understanding, the state could not exist, the more formed, without the aristocracy. In general, the national liberation movement of the 20-30's came to the understanding that the formation of the elite must contain three fundamental directions: strength, morality, high intellectual level [2, p.15]. Absence of a power element made the very notion of the aristocracy problematic. Strength, and a will are the qualities that make it possible to organize in its support a more passive mass, to withstand destructive tendencies. It is not in vain that the idea of voluntarism, as a rule, is followed in pairs with the elitist sentiments. We used to criticize D. Dontsov's extremism, forgetting that even considerably moderate and tolerant V. Lipinsky also says that the aristocracy can not appear without the spontaneous will to power, to power, to risk, to victimhood, to domination. And the loss of militancy, unpretentiousness, the development of fleshiness and pacifism are considered a negative process by the theorist of the Ukrainian monarchism, which leads to the destruction of the aristocracy [2, p. 15]. Therefore, the views on this issue of the prominent Ukrainian scientist Vyacheslav Lipinsky (1882-1931) give special attention, which are based on a combination of historical, political science, philosophical experiments and high patriotism.

The theory of elitism V. Lipinsky contains fundamental differences with the similar ideas of W. Pareto, K. Manheim in the main issues: the origin of the elite, independence and plurality of elites, etc. The political doctrine of V. Lipinsky is based on the conviction that without its own Ukrainian state can not be in Ukrainian land of civil life. V. Lipinsky notes in his work «Letters to brothers-farmers» that neither the ethnographic mass of people nor a separate territory or language automatically create a nation. This requires an initiative group of people whose purpose is to develop and promote the political, state and cultural values on which it is formed. «Without its own national aristocracy ... there is and can not be a nation», - emphasizes the scientist [5, p. 53]. It is this group that is the bearer of a national idea that unites the nation. According to Lipinsky, the creation of a nation and a state requires the presence of a new, strong, organized and «high-ranking» intelligentsia, which should replace the old and politically bankrupt, declassified, weakened by internal hostility and separation, separated from the common tradition, culture, common economic interest, deprived of its own, exactly defined line. V. Lipinsky did not seek terminological intricacies, using the words «aristocracy», «leading classes», «new classes», etc. According to V. Lipinsky, Ukrainian elitism should be perceived first of all in the moral and spiritual sense, without professional or industrial differentiation. The notion of «aristocracy» is one of the main things that V. Lipinsky characterized the basic foundations of every historical life, and state formation especially, because the movement for Ukrainian statehood was considered an aristocratic movement, the will of the leading stratum, and not the masses. This concept is dynamic in Lipinsky. The essence of the aristocracy is in the constant restoration of its organizational and ruling role. It may be representatives of different sections of the population. The peoples who do not know how to create their own masters, that is, the leading class, are condemned to endure the mischievous aliens forever [3, p. 139]. To organize a people means fighting for power in society, and in the further development of their state and nation. Attention Lypynsky is concentrated on the class of farmers. Lipinsky regards land as the main conservative component of the nation's existence. On the basis of our history and the experience of other peoples, he argues that the revival of the state and nation in Ukraine is unthinkable without the self-organization of the agricultural sector. Such a self-organization can occur when the remains of that layer, united together with new leaders and organizers of the peasant caste, will become the leading strata of Ukraine.

The researcher singled out the following signs of the Ukrainian new aristocracy.

Firstly, it is outspoken, because it is recruited from all social strata.

Secondly, it is connected with Ukraine through its own, implementing force («producer»), with which we have always had land.

Thirdly, it must be a self-motivated and self-renewal force at this historic moment.

Fourthly, she must adopt such a method of organization that will nurture her «nobility and chivalry» and raise her moral authority.

Fifthly, it must be the bearer of a unifying organic and authoritative ideology and genuine traditional religiosity.

Sixth, its task is the harmonize relations between those who rule and those who rule [10, p. 55].

The problems of the national elite were studied by a prominent Ukrainian philosopher, historian, political scientist and literary critic Dmitry Dontsov. He formulated a kind of ideal type of social structure and political organization of the nation, on the basis of which he developed his theory of socio-political system in Ukraine for the future. He used this model for interpreting the social structure of the Kyiv Rus and Kozachchyna, and for criticizing the period of the 19-20th century. This model reveals to us its understanding of the social processes and the social and political forces that play a decisive role in the life of each nation. The theory of the «leading stratum» and the national elite were a basis of understanding of social existence by Dontsov. The main content of the existence of the elite is activity in the plane of social practice, which is aimed at theoretical knowledge and expedient transformation of the whole system of social relations, realization of national and social aspirations of the people. According to D. Dontsov, «the leading stratum» should be created from all social conditions of society on the basis of the rigorous selection of the best, with the further preservation and constant cultivation of its spiritual and moral superiority and purity. Dmitry Dontsov believed, an active minority was able to turn the world, make it better. It is opposed to the passive majority, which must be convinced and pursued. Not all people take a part in the creation of their own history. The case is more complicated. Initially, there are leaders assume responsibility, unordinary individuals who formulate goals and objectives, and after that there are mass movements and epochal shifts. The main task is the education of a new Ukrainian elite. «The ruling caste» is made through the selection of the best members of society, which are inherent omniscient signs. It occupies the highest historical position in society in terms of their rights and privileges. At a time when the idealistic outlook prevails in members of the ruling caste, all subordinate layers seek to satisfy their most basic daily needs. «The ruling caste» is a state-building, it thinks national interests, and it able to rise above private interests. Subordinate groups are the most negative in terms of state-building features. They all together form a mass, which looks and seeks to protect his wealth, his peace and work, and to care for the rest, not his mind. Dontsov's «ruling castle» is a kind of political elite of a nation in which the power is concentrated in the state, and this group must be organized in the form of an ideological homogeneous order, that is, an authoritarian political party [4, p.241]. In substantiating the leading role of the elite in nation-building activity, he notes that it is intended to develop and implement a national idea, to subordinate their own people to national tasks. In the work «The Spirit of Our Antiquity» D. Dontsov reveals three main features of the national elite, the main signs of the «ruler's spirit». First, it is a noble impulse of the form-maker, blurred only in one purpose. The second feature of the elite is the presence of the concept of its design, the concept of the form, which must be embodied in things. Finally, the third feature is the «firm hands», the power that holds the matter and does not hesitate to subordinate to it «rebellious» tendencies to its design and bursting. This means that the realization of ideas of the national elite involves restraint, determination [6, p. 63]. The Ukrainian philosopher attaches great importance to the presence of a unifying idea among the people. In the book «Two Literatures of our time», the idea is expressed that whatever difficulties they have not overcome «a regime», he stands up when his strong idea is in the hands of contemporaries, and the fact that ceases to exist as an idea disappears as reality. At the same time, the

establishment of a certain ideal in society is a consequence of the conscious activity of the «leading strata» of the national elite. Subsequently, this ideal embraces the entire nation, becomes universally accepted [6, p. 62].

The intellectual part of society should become the leading stratum of the Ukrainian nation; this is the general idea and D. Dontsov. Indeed, without the activity of the elite, the nation is not capable of a full-fledged solution to life's problems. However, D. Dontsov said that the creative potential of the «initiative minority» should be primarily due to wisdom. Wisdom is an integral element of an elitist spirit, it is the basis of national consciousness, from which the knowledge of the ultimate foundations of the existence of personality and society grows. So, without philosophy, as a way of self-consciousness, as a generalizing form of folk wisdom, the fruitful activity of the elite for the formation of nation-consolidating ideas is simply impossible. In relation to the whole society, the leading caste in the projection of D. Dontsov should act as an initiative minority, to be a group that should rule, rule and think. Dontsov left out all the issues that bundle with the problem of the social and political organization of society, confining themselves to very general considerations of social stratification. The feature of Dontsov's concept is the attempt to combine the idea of «creative violence of the minority» by J. Sorel with the Nietzschean idea of «strong man», as well as with the Machiavellian formula «aiming for all means of compliance».

Thus, D. Dontsov considers activity as a way of social existence of the national elite in the context of the dynamics of the priorities of material and spiritual needs. At the same time, the thinker believes that the will is the main strength of the individual and society. Therefore, he rejects the so-called «little», «weak man» and, in contrast, extols the active personality, the strength of the spirit.

D. Dontsov's philosophical credo is an active work of a citizen for the benefit of his native people, the consideration of all forms of activity from the standpoint of the national idea, the superiority of social interests over personal and material. The thinker believes in man as an active force of history and calls not to humble dementia, but to form life. At the same time, it is necessary to form the state consciousness of the people, to persevere and persistently build the state, and the «leading stratum», the national elite, must be a constant engine, the creator of new ideas that will grab the whole society on the path to the boundless prosperity of the nation in its independent Ukraine [6, p. 63].

Both thinkers not only recognized the priority of the elite as a leading nation, but also emphasized the fact that it was its preferred representatives, the «caste of the best people» (D. Dontsov), and correlated it with the aristocracy (Greek «Aristokratia» is the best). V. Lipinsky said: «In order to organize the state, the nation must distinguish itself from the best, most capable organizers». He believes that the national elite is the group of the best at the concrete historical moment of the representatives of the nation, under whose leadership she lives, grows and develops. This group is the creator of the material and spiritual values that belong to the whole society. In the opinion of D. Dontsov, they are better because of their wisdom, nobility, courage [5, p. 54].

Conclusions. There is no doubt that the works of Ukrainian thinkers have created the theoretical basis for further studying the problem of the elitism of Ukrainian society in native philosophical science. As historical experience shows, the task of creating a Ukrainian elite has not lost its relevance. Therefore, the ideas of D. Dontsov and V. Lipinsky can serve as a peculiar benchmark for its implementation in practical use.

Thus, in the elites' theories are reflected the processes of differentiation and stratification of society, the existence of a social hierarchy, headed by a minority. We have found that the main thing in the modern sense of the elite is the function of management in various areas of social life. Thus, we can conclude that since society is hierarchically structured, on the top of this hierarchy is the elite. Due to the lack of elaboration of the problem of the elite in social philosophy, the idea is that this concept belongs exclusively to sociology and political science. The analysis revealed that it is social philosophy that considers a particular activity of social life, is the methodological basis of the

problems of elite in other sciences.

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КОЗАКОФІЛЬСТВО – ФЕНОМЕН СОЦІОКУЛЬТУРНОЇ КОМУНІКАЦІЇ В УМОВАХ ГЛОБАЛІЗАЦІЇ

В статті дається аналіз козакофільства під час розвитку сучасного інформаційного суспільства, відмічається, що інформація як атрибутивна характеристика життєдіяльності суспільства проникає в освітосферу і є однією з головних задач націотворення, - в сучасних умовах головною метою української держави повинно стати виконання освітньої програми гуманітаризації кризового суспільства.

Ключові слова: кризове суспільство, освітоцентризм, глобалізація, інформаційне суспільство, освітосфера, соціокультурні комунікації, інформаційно-комунікаційний дискурс, Національна програма гуманітаризації, завдання козакофільства.

КАЗАКОФИЛЬСТВО – ФЕНОМЕН СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНОЙ КОММУНИКАЦИИ В УСЛОВИЯХ ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИИ

В статье дается анализ козакофильства в развитии современного украинского общества, отмечается, что информация как атрибутивная характеристика жизнедеятельности проникает в сферу образования и является одной из задач политической нации – в современных условиях главной целью украинского государства должно стать выполнение образовательной программы гуманитаризации кризисного общества.