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ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ "БРАТЬЕВ-МУСУЛЬМАН" В ЕГИПТЕ ПОСЛЕ СВЕРЖЕНИЯ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА М. МУРСИ

Революция в Египте 2011 г. и приход к власти "Братьев-мусульман" стали сенсацией для всего мусульманского мира и вызвали особенный интерес политических лидеров ведущих стран Запада. Однако военный переворот в стране в июле 2013 г. не только перечеркнул предыдущие достижения "братьев" в политической борьбе за власть, но и поставил под угрозу само существование этой организации. В статье сделана попытка выяснить причины политического поражения президента Египта М. Мурси и его команды, а также проанализировать внутренние противоречия среди "Братьев-мусульман", в результате которых возникла угроза раскола организации. Также не менее важным есть задание определить реакцию мусульманского мира на военный переворот в Египте и перспективы дальнейшей деятельности "Братьев-мусульман" в условиях внутренней борьбы за власть и активизации преследований правительством президента А. Аль-Сиси.

Ключевые слова: "Братья-мусульмане", исламизм, режим А. Аль-Сиси, мусульманский мир, арабский Восток, Исламское государство.

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POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE "MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD" IN EGYPT AFTER REMOVAL FROM THE PRESIDENCY M. MORSI

*Political activity of the "Muslim Brotherhood" in Egypt after removal from the presidency M. Morsi
Revolution in Egypt in 2011 and coming to the power of the "Muslim Brotherhood" became a real sensation for the entire Muslim world and generated a special interest of the political leaders of the West. However, military coup in the country in July 2013 cancelled previous "brothers" achievements in the political struggle for power and jeopardized the very existence of the organization. The article attempts to clarify the reasons of the political defeat of Egyptian President M. Morsi and to analyze internal contradictions among the "Muslim Brotherhood", due to which appeared the treat of the organization's split. Also equally important task is to determine the reaction of the Muslim world on the military coup in Egypt and the perspectives of further "Muslim Brotherhood's" activity under the circumstances of internal struggle for power and strengthening of persecution by the government of President A. Al-Sisi. Despite political failure in Egypt "Muslim Brotherhood" continued activity in the country, trying to organize united opposition of Islamist and not Islamist parties under their supervision. The authors have attempted to follow the main ways of creation of antigovernment organizations, where "brothers" play key role. Among them are "National Union to support the legitimacy", "Egyptian Revolutionary Council", "Administrative Office of Egyptians Abroad", "International Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood", located in Europe, and others.*

Keywords: the "Muslim Brotherhood", Islamism, regime of A. Al-Sisi, Muslim world, Arabian East, Islamic state.

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APPROACHES TO THE DEFINITION OF "PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS"

The problem of public policy analysis' definition is explored in the article. The approaches to the understanding of public policy analysis are analyzed; its main components are defined. The functions of public policy analysis are singled out and described. The author's view of the concept of "public policy analysis" is proposed.

Keywords: public policy analysis, analysis, politics, public policy.

Public policy analysis today is extremely important scientific and practical activities. It not just give the opportunity to solve urgent social problems by developing effective public decisions, but also has an important communicative function in society, enables civil society to

actively get involved and monitor important decision making process in the country. The participation of civil society takes an entirely different view than just protest activity, it becomes intelligent, its main instrument becomes the expert analytical work that enables to solve

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professionally any socially important issues and ask the right (justified, reasonable, timely, adequate) requirements to authorities.

Problems of public policy analysis development by such famous foreign and Ukrainian scientists as: C. Weiss, A. Wildavsky, D. Weimer, A. Vining, E. Vedung, B. Hoghwood, L. Gunn, M. Howlett, W. Dunn, T. Dye, S. Turonok, L. Pal, O. Valevskyi, T. Brus, O. Demyanchuk, U. Kalnysh, O. Kiliyevych, C. Patton, V. Rebkalo, V. Romanov, V. Rubanov, O. Rudik, D. Sawicki and V. Tertychka.

As with any young science, development of public policy analysis is quite thorny. There is a lot of discussion about definitions and categories, subject area, methodology of technology, generally place in the social sciences. Thus the purpose of our research is the definition of "public policy analysis" and singling out its functions.

As for the interpretation of the term "public policy analysis" today there is no consensus among scientists. It due to the peculiarities of the translation of category in English, and with youth of political analysts in Ukraine in general.

As for "analysis" as a part of the phrase public policy analysis increasingly less clear. In this context, the term "analysis" is used broadly as a detailed, comprehensive study of any object to understand, comprehend its nature or define its essential characteristics (depth studying of something). And there are not any discussions. Some different situation with the concept of "public policy".

In English, the word policy has three main counterparts (importance): 1) polity (meaning politics) – a political organization of a society, a system of principles and norms, institutions and mechanisms that bring people into the political community; 2) politics (political process) – a functioning of political system of society, the activities of its subjects, the relationship between different social groups and individuals about the use of public power institutions for the realization of their interests; 3) policy (the product of the political system – the course, direction and action plan) – a specific regulatory and distribution decisions and actions that create state policy mechanisms public decisions making and technologies of its realization, assess of their effectiveness and prediction of social consequences [1, 2, 15].

In the Ukrainian language there is only one word using for all the incarnation – politics.

Based on these approaches, we can single out two important aspects, which policy analysis can be directed on. These are, first, the public authority, namely the question of its obtaining and using (ie the functional of political system) and, secondly, the leadership and management of the society, namely the specific regulatory and distribution decisions (ie the product of political system), particularly in the form of public policy aimed at solving social problems and meet urgent social needs. In addition, the analysis can be epistemological, that is aimed directly at the content of the policy and explore the political organization of a society without recourse to accurately localized in time and space problems [1, 15].

In this context, content analysis of public policies aimed at studying the processes of management and leadership society, ie the specific regulatory and distribution solution (product of the political system) that solve certain social problems (applied – that is clearly localized in space and time).

Thus, in our view, analysis of public policy aimed at solving social problems through the development of effective public policy and the specific problems of the political system is the subject of policy analysis' research.

Also not very clear how to translate public or state policy. In Ukraine has had a tradition of taking the concept of "public policy". This translation uses in the monograph of Ukrainian scientist and well-known researcher of this problem V. Tertychka [14]. "English-Ukrainian Glossary of terms and concepts of policy policy and economics," concluded by O. Kiliyevych defines "public policy analysis" as analysis of state policy [9].

Although some scientists including O. Demyanchuk insist on the need to use the term "state policy" as public policy [8]. This approach could be argued that the main characteristic of public policy of a modern democratic state must be publicity – openness to the public, its criticisms and suggestions, and public consultations and public examination should be integral component of public policy in any area.

In addition, the modern science of management pass from the paradigm of state management to paradigm of public administration that effectively deprives the state monopoly on the adoption and implementation of public decisions. Therefore, in this context will take reasonable using the term of public policy, which involves the interaction of many actors (political parties, interest groups, NGOs, state, etc.) in making public policy.

Let's try to give a working definition of this concept: the state (public) policy – a set of related of united purposes, principles and methods of implementation of regulatory and distribution solutions and actions of the higher echelons of power (especially the government), adopted with the participation of the expert-analytical structures and civil society, and aimed at solving social problems [11].

Some authors also use the term "public policy analysis" or just "policy analysis". In Ukraine, it became more common term "public policy analysis", with the specification of which is a policy is talking about.

Public policy analysis characterized by utility, useful knowledge for solving specific social problems. Knowing that produces public policy analysis seeks an immediate impact on political processes and their adjustment in line with the intended purpose.

After defining the main components of the concept of "public policy analysis", trying to synthesize them together and give a comprehensive definition of the term. For this we consider the main approaches to the definition of policy foreign and domestic authors.

D. MacRae and J. Wilde consider the public policy analysis as the process of using data and reasons for choosing the best policy direction among several alternatives to solve a specific problem in politics [16, p. 14]. D. Weimer and A. Vining determine policy analysis as customer-oriented and based on social values advice about government decisions, [5, c. 11-12]. American researcher V. Williams believes that public policy analysis is a way of combining the available information and the results of specific studies to provide a basis for decision making (by comparison alternatives) and determine the need for information concerning the policy for the future [4, c. 59]. L. Pal considers policy analysis as qualifying use of intelligence to social problems [10, c. 41-45]. W. Dunn defines public policy analysis as activities of creation knowledge about the process of public policy and in the process [7, c. 23]. Canadian researcher P. Brown examines policy analysis as part of political management, which aims to significantly improve the management as a key feature of effective political leadership [3, c. 19-23]. Such scholars as C. Patton and D. Sawicki determine public policy analysis as a process through which identified and evaluated alternative policies or programs aimed at reducing or solving social, economic or physical problems [17, p. 17].

Most definitions of public policy analysis of Western scholars are very general and do not reveal the essence of this concept in full. They are more related information and analytical aspects of analysis and ignore the very substantive scope of this type of analysis.

B. Hoghwood and L. Gunn maintain separation of policy analysis in descriptive (way of making government programs) and order (how should produce public programs that improve processes politics and the policy). Researchers emphasize the recommendation, applied, socially significant, multidisciplinary, integrative and targeted problem-solving nature of policy analysis. They also raise questions about different ways to use the term "policy analysis", namely:

- policy analysis as research of policy content – focus is on the origin of a particular policy, its intentions and management;
- policy analysis as research of policy process – the focus is on how policy is actually implemented actions from the perspective of different agents at every stage;
- policy analysis as research of policy products – the purpose of these studies is to determine the pattern of expenditures and other indicators of policy products;
- policy analysis as the development of the evaluation – the purpose of these studies is to assess a particular government program in terms of the extent to which the results coincided with the policy objectives;
- policy analysis as a means of obtaining information for policy-making, that means gathering and analyzing data to help decide on the policy or give advice on the consequences of the alternative government program;
- policy analysis as advocacy a process – the goal is not so much understanding of the policy, as his shift upward rationality (emphasis is on how to develop policies);
- policy analysis as policy advocacy – provides using the analysis in the argument in favor of a policy
- policy analysis as analysis – provides a secondary induction in the form of critical assessments of the assumptions, methodology and validity of policy analysis.

Given basic approaches to policy analysis the authors come back to the problem of separation of analysis as a description and analysis as recommendation. These definitions typically range from narrative (the first four) to order activity (last three) [6, c. 3-48].

Thus, the researchers conclude that the policy analysis aimed at knowledge as a process of policy and the awareness in the policy. Therefore, they are inclined to believe that it is appropriate to use two terms: 1) "researching policy", which is used to show descriptive nature of analysis (knowledge of policy and policy process); 2) "policy analysis", which is used to emphasize the primacy of order (awareness in the policy).

Based on research of foreign scholars we can say that they represent a policy analysis as activity of generation and presentation of information in ways that improve the basis on which policy makers make their judgments. It involves the use of intuition and judgment and includes not only test of policy by its schedule for components, but also the design and synthesis of new policy alternatives. Public policy analysis can be directed as to develop effective public policy in any sphere of public life and in research and evaluation are currently applied public policy and programs.

Domestic scientists give a broader definition of policy. Thus, the Ukrainian researcher V. Tertychka determines public policy analysis as an advice, recommendation for an alternative strategy of direct government institutions oriented to solve a problem or set of problems based on

social values [14, c. 84]. Other Ukrainian researchers note that the public policy analysis – is a qualified assessment of the content and the development of public policy at all stages of its implementation and impact on subjects involved in the political process by their interests and needs, predicting the likely results of the implementation to prevent undesirable consequences and timely introduction adjustments in implementation on the basis of available information and specific data collected during the study [12, c. 18]. There is such a definition of public policy analysis as purposeful intellectual and practical activities to develop, critical evaluation and dissemination of knowledge on the process of formulation and implementation of public policy [13, c. 25].

Ukrainian scientists have noted that the public policy analysis is complex cognitive activity that occurs by identifying, understanding, evaluating a wide range of means by which political issues are defined, directed, resolved revised or corrected. It also provides the study of the social factors involved in this process and actively or passively influence on it [4, c. 60]. Defining these two components, scientists have concluded that the public policy analysis as the policy can be defined as the science and art. It should also be said that the basis of the effective implementation of public policy analysis advocates a harmonious combination of scientific and theoretical knowledge and practical skills.

The public nature of the problems that are the subject of public policy analysis determines it specific. The point is that the public policy analysis, because of the complexity of the problems that it has to solve; there is no single solutions, highly technical scheme of analysis in general, absolute constancy and uniformity of the process.

The first systematised collection of documents and materials about public policy analysis in Ukraine, public policy analysis is seen as a set of procedures relating to the development of recommendations (advice) to authority on the best from among the possible, a course of action – public policy in general and its individual components, and evaluation, monitoring of the results and effects of the implementation of state-management decisions to improve the indicators of social development. Recommendations for the "best" choice should be based on social values in public and social choice, which is made in a democratic society. An important characteristic of policy is its publicity – involving the general public, experts, academics, non-governmental organizations to the debate that preceded the adoption of decisions [1, c. 4].

Thus, based on the aforecited try to give a generalized definition of this concept: state (public) policy analysis – a specific kind of analytical work aimed at the development, implementation, study and explanation of government policy, by means of a comprehensive study of social problems and making recommendations to the competent authorities and officials taking public decisions.

Having definition of "public policy analysis" should determine its function. We believe in this context is a reasonable approach of Ukrainian scientists who are seeing a functional purpose of policy in:

- obtaining information necessary to justify the goals and objectives of public policy formation and management;
- identifying the most realistic content of public problems and effective solutions, argues of public decision-making;
- prevention of bias and subjectivity in the definition and implementation of public policy;
- identifying social reserves and use its to improve social management;

• informing of the public policy on the possible and actual deviations from predictive models of policy implementation in life;

• identifying factors and causes that promote or impede the implementation of public policy for the timely use of appropriate action by the control system

• improve the efficiency and effectiveness of public policies based on evidence-based arguments about the possible options for its implementation, development of recommendations for its implementation [4, с. 64–65].

Thus, public policy analysis is applied branch of scientific knowledge. It directly relates to processes of development and implementation of state (public) policy. It is a combination of theoretical models, methodological principles, methods, techniques and tools of research, specific programs and recommendations aimed at practical use, achieving real results. Public policy analysis is a young science, academic discipline and practical activity, which has its object and subject. The object of public policy analysis is the state (public) policy, and subject – specific problems of public life (clearly localized in space and time), not affecting relations on the power but need to solve their political methods and solved by developing effective policy.

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ПІДХОДИ ДО ВИЗНАЧЕННЯ ПОНЯТТЯ "АНАЛІЗ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ"

Досліджено проблему визначення поняття "аналіз державної політики". Проаналізовано підходи до розуміння державної політики; визначено її основні компоненти. Описано функції аналізу державної політики, запропоновано авторський погляд щодо концепції аналізу державної політики.

Ключові слова: аналіз державної політики, аналіз, політика, державна політика.

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ПОДХОДЫ К ОПРЕДЕЛЕНИЮ ПОНЯТИЯ "АНАЛИЗ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ"

Исследуется проблема определения "анализ государственной политики". Анализируются подходы к пониманию государственной политики; определяются ее основные компоненты. Описываются функции анализа государственной политики, предлагается авторская точка зрения относительно концепции анализа государственной политики.

Ключевые слова: анализ государственной политики, анализ, политика, государственная политика.

UDC 321

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COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL CASE STUDY: THE CHARACTER POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS OF CATHERINE THE GREAT AND GRIGORII RASPUTIN

Character attacks and character assassination have been active parts of Russian culture for hundreds of years. Why some attacks succeed, while others fail, has remained a lively topic of academic discussion. This article argues that the attacks against Rasputin were successful for two reasons. First, attacks of a sexual nature against Rasputin raised serious concerns about the validity of his role as a religious leader. People who viewed him as holy would be put into the situation of explaining his licentious behavior. Alternatively, the sexuality of the Tsarina was merely a means of embarrassment, but nothing that would disqualify her from ruling; like sexual scandals disqualify a holy man from being holy. Equally, the subject matter of foreignness is important. This paper argues that though the Tsarina was in fact foreign, she made herself sufficiently Russian and the country prospered under her. In terms of Rasputin, though completely Russian, the losses in the First World War were not understandable unless the blame of the losses was put on his foreign allegiances and his misguiding of the Tsar's family.

Keywords: political assassination, case-study, reputation, image, social communication.

Introduction. The study of character attacks and character assassinations are ever timely in global politics. Today, as in all ages before, attacks against the individual as a means or influencing the public discussion remain a common tool of those seeking power. Russian history is no

exception to this rule and has a strong tradition of character attacks and character assassinations. By having a deeper understanding of how and why attacks and assassinations were used, it is hoped that the eras of Tsarina Catherine the Great and Grigorii Rasputin can be understood in a new light.

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