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**CLERICAL PARTIES AND PUBLIC POLITICAL
ORGANIZATIONS OF GALICIA 1820 – 1930th
IN THE CONTEXT OF CONSERVATIVE HERITAGE OF UKRAINE**

In the article the phenomena of Galicia conservatism is considered on the example of public – political organizations and clerical parties activities which worked in 1820 – 1930th on the territory of Galicia. The main attention is given to the ideological outlook and organizational – political positions thanks to which the new Galician structures appeared and their work made the underground for appearing the peculiar political tradition of Galicia. Also the author analyzes the logic of development of the last one which was specified by the social practice of Greek Catholic Church, national liberation and autonomous aims and by the estate-corporate foundations of social system of Galicia region.

In spite of problems (ambitions, radicalism, amateurism, various vectors of views on the problem of Ukrainian state formation, etc.), in the whole it can be noted that in 1820 – 1930th the formation of main contours of Galician conservatism occurred. The last one as the complex phenomenon, held in itself the chain of components which are the important in politological key: firstly, consolidating, conservative – creative and conservative – preserve role of Greek Catholic Church in social – political life of Galicia people which played not the ordinary but in whole the positive role in state formation processes of Galicia; secondly, the conservative discourse itself had different vectors (romantic, moderate, radical) and camps (social and clerical) which were ideologically combined into the idea of Galicia like the “Ukrainian Piedmont”, but practically they shared methods of achieving this goal; thirdly, conservative environment and ideology were the factors which supported the national state revival, including the situation with Austria-Hungary and the Second Rzecz Pospolita but also the factors of safety of national life of Galician-Ukrainians from destructive impacts of liberalism, socialism, bolshevism, etc.

Key words: Galician conservatism; Greek Catholic Church; clerical parties; public and political organizations; authority; order; autonomy

УДК 327(477:470+571)

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UKRAINIAN FRONTS OF «NEW MODERN WAR»

In this article the Ukrainian-Russian confrontation (that has lasted since 2014) is studied in the light of «new modern wars» notion. The relevance of such an approach as distinct from the analysis of the RF’s military conflict with Ukraine as the hybrid war is grounded. It is ascertained that for the detailed investigation of Russian-Ukrainian war it is necessary to take into consideration the existence of the inner front, which is determined by the interests of Ukrainian ruling class’s survival, which, in its turn, determines the ruining of grounds for the formation of civil society in Ukraine. In the article the special attention is given to the role of Ukrainian education in demodernizing actions of Ukrainian ruling class for the sake of regress up to the neofeudal type of system that is the condition for Ukrainian oligarchs’ survival.

Key words: «new modern wars», hybrid war, neofeudalization, demodernization, education.

Ukraine has been conducting the war with Russia since 2014. In spite of the long negotiations and different forms of Minsk agreement, withdrawal from the military confrontation can hardly be achieved in the nearest future. So, the investigation of the reasons, peculiarities of military

operations and the character of the confrontation is extremely urgent and important to find a solution for the conflict.

On the post-soviet scientific space this confrontation is regarded by scientists (e.g. S. Datsyuk, S. Rastorguev, G. Potseptsov) mainly as «a hybrid war», because, according to the means of conduction, it is a mixture of different war types with the significant segment of information activity [1; 2; 3]. Indeed scientists usually determine the characteristic feature of Ukrainian-Russian confrontation as the widening of military confrontation space at the expense of virtual areas, where they revive the tasks and subjects of former wars (fascists, banderivtsi) and conduct conversational battles in social nets between supporters of Russian World and supporters of independent Ukrainian state.

However G. Potseptsov's remark that «the war didn't change, the world changed and it, in its turn, transformed the war» stipulates the appeal to groundwork of western science that states the epoch changing of war by globalization [4]. From this point of view the reformation of essence and reasons of war, as organized violence, is inevitable, because globalization is the junction of opposite and simultaneous processes such as integration and fragmentation, homogenization and diversification. Great number of synonyms: «conflicts of low intensity», «privatized wars», post-modern conflict, degenerate warfare show the different attempts of scientific fixation of this phenomenon [5; 6; 7; 8].

To our opinion, the notion «new modern wars», which originates from Ch. Tilly's statement concerning the influence of different variations of capital and compulsion on state's evolution, is the most perspective in terms of war peculiarities in globalized epoch [9, c. 318].

Thus in some scientific researches concerning «new wars» they state that changes in the essence of modern wars are connected with the decline of state as a legal institution of violence. So, in M. Kaldor's judgment the reason of «new wars» is the erosion of autonomous state or, as a last resort, its disintegration. Such wars appear because of economic decline, increase in crime rate, corrupt practices and inefficiency, decrease in state incomes – when because of the increase in organized crime the violence is more and more privatized and political legitimacy disappear [10, c. 36, c. 38].

At the same time there is an opposite point of view based on the statement that «new modern wars» change the essence of the state by themselves. In Martin van Creveld's judgment «radical transformation of war will inevitably lead to essential changes in politics», when the bounds between private and social, government and people, military men and civil population become fuzzy... [11, c. 310, c. 312].

In general «new modern wars» are characterized by: 1) strengthening of aggression between varying combinations of state and non-state networks; 2) politics opposition to ideology; 3) attempts to achieve political, rather than physical, control of the population by means of fear and terror; 4) the state doesn't obligatory finance the conflict, it may be financed through other predatory means that seek the continuation of violence.

In our opinion the usage of the notion «new modern wars» to analyze the confrontation between the RF and Ukraine is reasonable. Thus, though the significant segment in this conflict is given to information components such as: 1) symbols, ceremonial actions, sacralization of context, events, servicemen; 2) secret intervention (when the introduction of regular forces is treated as the military support of non-indifferent to the RF citizens, arming and military education of local population); 3) imitation of negotiations that is treated by the RF as a means of warfare, where the points of agreement are the means to justify military confrontation. However the notion «new modern wars» lets show on the world level the transformation of fundamental principles of state organization, laid after the World War II, which were exhausted by technical progress, universal westernization and the appearance of new extremely powerful economic centres that started to actively compete and even substitute the state in many spheres of life.

In our opinion, the ability of the notion new «modern wars» to take into account the peculiarities of capitalist system's evolution because of the conflict of modern trends, where crises are the motive power of development and its aftermath at the same time, is not less significant. Certainly, such a situation is a perspective to analyse the essence of military confrontation between the RF and Ukraine, because it let distinguish the regional economic contents of the confrontation, where the gaining of control over enterprises, disassembling of their equipment and its evacuation to the RF, appropriation of coal mining, income from smuggling – all these are aimed to ruin the enemy state and are the means of warfare conducting.

In this context it is important that the essential part of globalized stage of capitalism evolution is availability of territories with cheap labour power. This explains the component of «new wars» connected with forcible removal of some territories out of civilised space in order to fulfil their economic misappropriation in future.

In its turn, the fact, that the war is becoming an effective means to reduce labour power in cost (those who stay and those who have migrated), demands identification changes with total correction of the past. All mentioned previously in scientific investigations of «new wars» were reflected in the acceptance of the fact that «modern wars», first of all, changed the subjects in the form of private armies, presentation of mercenaries as fighters for the rights of territorial self-determination and broaden the physical space for information battles to gain the collective consciousness by means of joining to alien political and cultural project or by means of reformation of their own one.

All mentioned above prove that the notion «new modern wars» has the potential to analyse the events in Ukraine, because it lets to show the demodernizing orientation of military operations, where demodernization is the process opposite to modernization and leads to the fall out of today and is characterized by deindustrialization, identification of state with ethnos, gap between the rich and the poor, degradation of mind from national to hierarchical (neofeudal) level. Thus the notion «new modern wars» envelops the fact that military operations conducted for identification guidelines are, in reality, the struggle for the control over the future society by means of reformatting of its memory and reconstitution of the past structures.

As rightly said Martin van Creveld, one of the most demonstrative features of new type of wars is that national boarder lines are the only obstacle for these wars, but boarders are the first to be open in these military collisions, breaking not only the content of state's existence but the whole practice of agreements after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 [11, c. 309-311].

In this sense it is possible to agree with T. Beresovets's idea that «the aim of modern wars is the existing world order based on the supremacy of law» [12]. In Ukrainian-Russian confrontation this aim is transformed into the desire to return to the RF the status of superpower by means of transference of the world to the realities of the XX century with the rhetoric of classical pragmatic policy and zones of influence and struggle of systems. The world means of the conduction of this war are lies at the initial stage, misinformation, economic pressing of the enemy and the use of the international law's weak points, such as Russia's abuse of the right of veto being the permanent member of UN.

So military confrontation between Ukraine and the RF (from 2014 till today) has the world character, but it looks like regional events provoked by the enemy to Ukraine the RF's interests, as the RF is the promoter and sponsor of such quasi subjects as LPR-DPR (Luhansk People's Republic, Donetsk People's Republic).

However the actions at the outside front of military confrontation are determined by the RF's action as to the ruining of Ukrainian statehood by means of antiglobalization, where disassembling of industrial production, liquidation of scientific potential, infliction of migration of skilled population are the important segment of confrontation.

One of the means of this war is the practice to involve in criminal actions of LPR-DPR's power people, who because of different reasons couldn't go to the RF or Ukraine. For example,

let's look at the mobilization, when from March 21, 2017 10,000 of citizens of LPR-DPR at the age up to 50 and liable for call-up were ordered to arrive to assemblies, where military training became a photo shoot [13]. In fact, it is the establishment of personal dependence or neoserfdom of people that is used as a means to legitimize the regimes of LPR-DPR in order to make the conditions for future undermining of Ukrainian statehood if these territories are returned to Ukraine.

In our opinion, the analysis of Russian-Ukrainian military confrontation in the frames of «new war» that accentuates on overall ruining of differences between government, armed forces and society actualizes the necessity to study the system peculiarities of Ukraine as a part opposing to aggressor. In other words, the scrutiny of Ukrainian-Russian confrontation wouldn't be complete without taking into consideration the existence of the inland front, where the parts of conflict are interested to continue the war.

We may agree with Y. Romanenko's idea concerning the fact that the war reanimated the system, in which oligarchic top people planned with the help of joining with state employees to use the middle class as a donor [14]. This system of social relations was supported by uneasy equilibrium: state employees gave to the oligarchic top people legitimacy at elections and justify the looting of the state, and the oligarchic top people gave the society gratification by means of social benefits, subsidies restraining the development of middle class.

It's necessary to mention the system struggle of ruling class against social groups, which potentially make the environment for the formation of society as the population able to solve their own or social problems without appealing to state institutions. We relate to this systematic destruction of small and medium business. So, under the slogan of care of average citizens they raised living wage that involved additional taxes and small and medium business became underground.

Similarly, the systematic removal of social strata, which were the driving force in confrontation on Maidan, and are able to compete with the ruling stratum for the future by means of innovative proposition of aims and strategies to achieve them, is really demonstrative.

So the impoverishment of population is a secondary means of control that during the war became bigger because of the raise in housing and communal services' tariffs and the necessity to get state subsidies for the majority of Ukrainian population. According to the poll made by Ukrainian Institute of Future in May 2016 56% of interrogated admitted that they had no resources to bear such reforms, and 20% admitted that their patience wouldn't last longer than a year [14]. At the same time there are open opportunities for antropoflows of guest workers (migrant labour). In this regard the visa-free regime with the EU is the technology to allay the social and political tension in Ukrainian society.

To understand the logics of inner front events it is important to understand the processes taking place within the ruling stratum. So, since 2014 the reformation of ruling top with the reduction on the quantity of influential oligarchs has become of great significance. The facts of exclusion of I.Kolomoysky from the Ukrainian political space, acquisition of «Privat» bank, vulgar blockade of LPR-DPR are the first vistas of new agreements between the representatives of Ukrainian oligarchs, who are ready to play according to the rule «the strongest will remain and will control everything in Ukraine».

As we think, all these features are components of gradual of oligarch regime, where even partial lost of international subjectivity is used by the ruling strata to legitimate their own planning. So, the war is treated as the justification of the inefficiency of proclaimed euointegrational movement. In this context, the unavailability or unwillingness of the ruling class to recognize the fact of the RF's aggression against Ukraine are understandable.

Nevertheless, Ukrainian ruling class is interested in changing of Ukrainian state into anocracy with further coming down to failed state. So, the dominance of state monopolies paralyzes the economic renewal, leading the country to the periphery of world development.

Removal of small and medium business out of the competition big oligarch business postpones the changing of initiative groups into the basis of civil society. The factor of war itself becomes the condition for the justification of degradation processes and imitation of reforms by the interest in control over all the resources of bureaucrats' country as the service stratum of ruling class.

Under such conditions, the essence of political life in Ukraine is in the survival of the ruling class that use the imitation of modernization reforms of proclaimed movement to the values of civilization as a cover. But the political life in Ukraine is changing into the reproduction without changes, which is gained by the real blocking of social lifts and the formation of neofeudal hierarchical structures.

This process of «falling out of today» is demonstratively shown by the degradation transformation of Ukrainian educational system, because education at the period of globalization is not simply the pledge of status improvements but «it is the matter of national security» [15].

It is necessary to say that Ukrainian scientific society actively investigate this problem. General estimations of educational system's state vary from the statement, that educational institutions in crisis system – «a special state, under which they upset the balance of a singular institution, subsystem or system as the whole»— are the hostages of general chaos, to the acceptance of the fact that «education, because of its ability in an organized way to project the social norms and values, has a powerful transforming potential of influence on people and society» [16, с. 404; 17 с. 1].

To our opinion, characterizing the quality of Ukrainian educational system, it is necessary to point on it's the most significant features, such as imitativeness and eclecticism, as the unity of those that can't be united. In reality it is the practice to adopt the groundwork of western education, where diving of education at any level results in the introduction of the most interest facts, easy and effective service activities with possibility for students to choose subjects, as consumers of educational services.

In Ukrainian reality the quality of education directly depend on social status because discrepancy in knowledge given at school and the demands of outer independent estimation demands additional expanses on private tutors. At the same time, higher educational establishments, imitating the Bologna Process and gaining «the independence from the state help», have to give educational services to those, who want them without proper set, that lead to structural simplification and substitution of education by awareness.

On the deeper level the key factor for Ukrainian education is corporativization, when instead of being reformed into innovative institutions of modernization process; educational establishments become the outposts of neofeudal tendencies.

Corporativization of working in working in educational system people means the gradual privatization of educational institutes by the groups, which privatise state establishments and budget aid. An opportunity to teach is given to those, who belong to these social strata, and naturally the careers of such teachers depend on the relations and personal loyalty to leaders. At a later date exhibition of more freedom to higher educational establishments will turn them on uncontrolled place in feudal lords' from science full possession.

As a result, scientific activity is substituted for the quantity of printed sheets of plagiarism, and the science itself is at most marginalized by means of treating the scientific activity as the way to make a career by complementary quoting of scientists, who influence the decisions of Academic Council. Thus, intellect is no more a value, and mind and ability to think and generate unusual creative decisions are devalued.

However, the practice of scientific knowledge gaining is extensively spread, and the defence of a thesis gives the right of access to occupy certain niches in neofeudal structure. According to the statistics, in Ukraine from 1991 till 2013 (the statistics hasn't been conducted since 2013) the quantity of doctors of sciences increased twice (from 8 to 16 thousand), and the quantity of candidates of sciences increased from 57 to 90 thousand [18]. At the same time Ukrainian

fundamental science is dying. The reason is very simple: the system, in which administrative vertical of higher educational establishments is a hierarchical structure, where all the decisions depend on the governing leading persons. As to the competitions to take the post the permission to take part in them is controlled by heads of chairs. Thus, the quantity of people, who take post thanks to their acquaintance or relations, is being increased. And all announced competitions become the means to remove undesirable scientists.

All these as the whole make the grounds for ossification of corporative science, where the survival is supplied by the ability to make a compromise. Negotiation of a contact turns on the means to remove men of principle and uncontrolled ones. This logic is actual for the permanent changes in the demands to the giving of degrees of associate professor and professor, and pseudo reformation gives preference to bureaucrats from science, which have an opportunity to use budgetary money.

Turnover of ignorance is the inevitable concomitant of neofeudalization of educational brunch. But the deterioration in morals of teachers on all educational levels is much more dangerous. In this regard, the series of articles, where they use the sympathy of all teachers (from primary school to professors) for the position of the RF, LPR-DPR and the personality of President of the RF V.Putin concerning the conflict with Ukraine, is very demonstrative [19; 20]. All these, against the background of combat losses in more than 10,000 the fallen, look not only extremely cynical, but threaten the mind formation of young people.

Destruction of education as the infrastructure that gives the skills of self education and generating of new knowledge during the exploring of environment vests the educational institutions of all levels with the unusual functions: from the means to calm parents, prolongation of social childhood and the way to delay the army service to turning on the place to fleecing in exchange for psychological comfort of students.

All these stipulate the creation of specific educational product: on the basis of gained outdated irrelevant knowledge without instruments and skills to analyse the past the helplessness of young people is formed. One of the after-effects of this phenomenon is the programmed absence of historical reflection, that is the disability to understand the interconnection between the historical process and quality of today. This, in its turn, leads to the victory of enemy position by means of historical reframing, according to which the conception concerning the native country, successfulness or unsuccessfulness of chosen way is changed for enemy's benefit.

In our opinion, of primary importance is the removing of political science, which is capable to give an idea about a citizen as an active maker of political reality in general and his personal life in particular, from the obligatory for all students subjects.

So, as a result of the attempts of educational institutions a young person has the education of very low level and is indifferent to national affairs. Highschool graduates, which have neither motivation nor ability to gain new knowledge while exploring the environment by themselves, without ability to generalize won't be ever able to rise the level of problem understanding from their own «I» to the level of «We». This leads to the fact that without the reflection all the civilizing attempts of Ukrainian society lead to the disillusion in the effectiveness of joint actions. At a later date weakening of social pressure on the ruling class will help to revive the features that were tried to be overcome. This, in its turn, stipulates the deepening of the crisis process and general disappointment in native society.

At the same time, based on mosaic identification (which includes the rests of imperial, soviet mental outlook with the prevailing selfish orientations, when mass media take educational function and endless soap operas and chatting on the Net play the part of textbooks) the so-called «occasional subjectivity» or «social plankton» is formed. The most characteristic feature of this social phenomenon is dissynchronization of different social plots, which is conditioned by the inner conflicts because of personality's correlation with time and space, which don't coincide with

the reality. As the result, it becomes easier to reconstitute corporative relations connected to tough and stable social hierarchies.

An attempt to analyse the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation using the notion of «new modern wars» demonstrate that, firstly, this located regionally conflict has global interests, the aim of which is the removing of Ukraine from the civilization space by means of demodernization.

Secondly, the surviving of ruling regime in Ukraine is possible only at the expense of blocking of country's development and establishing of pseudodemocratic structures.

Thirdly, «new modern wars» are conducted for the future by controlling of social mind. Thus, the educational system of the country, which doesn't form creative people, really works on the enemy, because the loss of minds on the inner front equals to physical losses at the up-front of the war.

So, under the notion of «new modern wars» the perspectives of going out of the Russian-Ukrainian confrontation depend on geopolitical environment, influence of which on the Ukrainian state is determined by the interests of geopolitical subjects.

In order to gain the victory Ukraine must have or make such social environment that will be able to overcome the problems standing before the system. This will be possible only in the case of democratic government reforms, free market, private property defence, control of corruption, real existence of human rights. Very important is also the linkage of Ukrainian state in international projects connected with the future.

In other words, Ukraine can get the victory only when the neofeudal vector is changed for the real modernization. The term of modernization, as well as the victory in Russian-Ukrainian war, is the reformation of educational sphere that must be turned on the channel of the formation of creative staff able to answer the questions of the future.

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Стаття надійшла до редакції 08.05.2017 р.

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УКРАЇНСЬКІ ФРОНТИ «НОВОЇ ВІЙНИ»

У статті розглядається російсько-українське військове протистояння (яке розпочалося у 2014 і триває до сьогодні) крізь призму поняття «нова сучасна війна». Обґрунтовано наукову доцільність такого підходу на противагу аналізу військового конфлікту РФ із Україною як гібридної війни, оскільки дослідження у форматі «нових війн» дозволяє враховувати системні та надсистемні зміни, що характеризують сучасність. Перш за все – пов'язані із трансформацією держави як легального інституту насилля. По-друге – занепад основних принципів світової організації (закладених після Другої світової війни) у зв'язку з технічним прогресом, вестернізацією та появою нових потужних економічних центрів. По-третє – особливості еволюції капіталістичної системи, що призводить до виведення окремих територіальних анклавів із цивілізаційного простору для здешевлення робочої сили.

У статті російська-українська війна подається як різномірне протистояння, що охоплює крім військової складової економічний вимір (із практикою демонтажу індустриальних підприємств та їх вивезення на територію РФ, привласненням видобутку вугілля, контрабандою) та інформаційну боротьбу за колективну свідомість через приєднання до чужого політико-культурного проекту «Руський світ».

У результаті дослідження російсько-українського протистояння крізь призму поняття «нові сучасні війни» було з'ясовано, що: 1) цей конфлікт, локалізуючись регіонально, має глобальних інтересантів, які ставлять за мету виведення із цивілізації простору української держави засобами демодернізації; 2) виживання правлячого режиму в Україні можливе лише за рахунок перекриття прогресивного розвитку країни та творення неофеодальних псевдодемократичних структур; 3) система освіти країни, яка не формує клас креативних людей, здатних проводити модернізацію, об'єктивно працює на ворога, забезпечуючи контроль над колективною свідомістю.

У статті обґрунтовано припущення про можливі шляхи здобуття перемоги в російсько-українському військовому протистоянні. Автор доводить необхідність усвідомлення суспільством комплексу кроків з подолання корпоратизму української освіти,

що є умовою відтворення неофеодальної ієрархії як підстави для існування українського правлячого класу, для якого війна відіграє роль легітимуючого фактору.

Ключові слова: «нові сучасні війни», гібридна війна, неофеодалізація, демодернізація, освіта.

УДК 327(410):929Блер

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ІДЕОЛОГІЯ І ПРАКТИКА БЛЕРИЗМУ: ЗАГАЛЬНО-ПОВЕДІНКОВИЙ І СВІТОГЛЯДНИЙ ІМПЕРАТИВИ ТОНІ БЛЕРА

У статті розглядаються загально-поведінковий і світоглядний імперативи Тоні Блера, а також їх вплив на теорію і практику блеризму. Завдяки ряду загально-наукових і спеціальних методів з'ясовано, що поштовхом до осмислення своєї ролі у політиці стало дитинство Тоні Блера і його взаємовідносини із батьком. Пізніше, завдяки захопленню біографією Льва Троцького і в цілому марксизмом, політиком було зроблено висновки про те, що лише маючи чітку концепцію і погляд на події сучасності можна планувати подальшу політичну кар'єру і діяльність, основним принципом якої виступає неухильне слідування проголошеним ідеям і принципам, а також відповідальність за результат своєї роботи, неважливо який: позитивний чи негативний. Релігійні ідеї в даному контексті виступили у якості певного теоретичного базису, основою якого слугувала мораль і етика.

Ключові слова: блеризм, загально-поведінковий імператив, світоглядний імператив.

Політика – це доволі суперечливий вид діяльності, оскільки в ньому сплетені три фактори, які в тому чи іншому вигляді можуть бути протиставлені один одному, а саме: необхідність діяти в інтересах держави, необхідність діяти в інтересах своєї політичної партії і жага самореалізації кожного окремого індивіда. Процеси глобалізації і регіоналізації міжнародних відносин сьогодні призвели до необхідності переосмислення державами старих способів взаємодії, розробки нових механізмів впровадження зовнішньої політики і розробки нового концептуального забезпечення своєї діяльності.

Саме через ці фактори доволі важко виділити істинні мотиви вчинків політичних діячів і говорити про щирість і відвертість тієї політики, яку проводив чи проводить той чи інший політичний діяч, особливо якщо в процесі впровадження цієї політики використовуються категорії моралі чи етики. Даний фактор – також ускладнює проведення аналізу і надання оцінки подій міжнародних відносин, які відбуваються протягом останніх декількох десятиліть у зв'язку з тим, що після розпаду біполярної системи відносин значно послабився визначальний фактор міжнародної політики тих років – ідеологія, який визначав процес самоідентифікації держави на міжнародній арені і впливав на внутрішній і зовнішній дорадчий процеси, основні цілі і завдання, практичне наповнення політики тощо. Замість нього сьогодні на міжнародній арені можна спостерігати суміш цінностей, ідей і амбіцій держав, організацій, угруповань і окремих індивідів, які в купі формують сучасну систему міжнародних відносин і диктують політичні процеси.

Постать Тоні Блера в даному контексті є доволі показовою і контроверсійною. Про нього кажуть, що він не був народжений лейбористом, і певною мірою це так, оскільки він не був вихований в душі традиційного лейборизму. Певною мірою Т. Блер представляв нове покоління політиків, які в силу своєї молодості не відчували себе частиною «старої епохи» післявоєнного міжпартійного консенсусу, в основі якого лежать кейнсіанство і корпоративізм. Політика ніколи не асоціювали із попередниками, а головне із їх