

Tetyana Nagornyak, ScD in Political Sciences

STATE AND SOCIETY IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINIAN EVENTS LATE 2013 – EARLY 2014

The article is devoted to the problem of intercorrelation between State and Society in the context of Ukrainian Euromaidan. The author concludes that it is necessary to realize the social assets and liabilities of Maidan for subsequent modernization of the country: During the years of independence, Ukraine has almost never carried out the policy of forming a unified national (political) identity. Foreign ideological centers; holding the ATO and its information accompaniment, including civilian casualties, destruction of infrastructure, blocking the supply of products and medicines in localities, propagandistic negative effect of Russian mass-media that explains the support of separatism in a referendum; In the context of feeling the new cycle of decolonization, the fall of empires, which seemed to be invincible a few years ago, the sacred integrity of Ukraine is the value. It is necessary to work on the Center of the Ukrainian Text's structure in order to fasten the Ukrainian unity; Donbass in Ukrainian discourse always felt itself as chosen. Close interweaving of historical development, interests and economy in two Ukrainian regions – Donetsk and Luhansk – led to an informal association in their general historical, cultural and economical Donbass region; The control points in relations between the State and Society are fixed by blood of peaceful citizens in Donbass today. Ukrainian soldiers and officers from all parts of the country leave their lives here for a united and strong, free and sublime Ukraine.

The fundamental difference between Ukraine «before» and «after» – is cohesion of community. And now it is community's time. Ukrainian people either will fix a course towards a free European country together or will allow the government to decide the fate of their children. Donbass and the war in the East will remain in the political history of independent Ukraine as a test on the integrity and strength of the national spirit.

The maturity of a state always correlates with the strength of the national (not ethnic) community's identity. The quality of such correlation becomes crucial and often improves during the trials. Peace has never existed without war¹, but the worldwide development is constant in its changing cycles of colonization (confirmation of Empires/confederations, movement towards the bipolarity, strengthening of military-technogenic human potential, global of economics and identity) and decolonization (territorial reconstruction of the world, development accent's shift towards the social equity, branding «comfort places», peripherality of capitalism). Each socio-political developments (war and a coup d'état, terrorism and AIDS, natural disasters and changes in

¹ Басовская, Н. И. (2002). *Столетняя война: леопард против лилии*. Москва.

social display) as attractors of such cycles actualize the question about the maturity of relations between a state and society. The format of such relationships could be acted by religion, political regime, social contract that establish systematic game rules, which converts political support for public institutions by masses into increasing of various incomes among the population (economic stability, legal, financial and social population security, distribution of capabilities and software and growth prospects system on the whole, its symbolic and social equity). The chosen format of relationships between a state and society is the core of the system modernization, key actor's responsibility (government, community, business and media-environment) and the correspondence of their activity with a single strategic model (which system aims at) is a major factor in its successful renewal. Control points of relations between a state and society are reflected by the media-space. Its quality (both national and global – external to the system, which is transforming) establishes the roles among the media-representatives from professionals, who are able to create an adequate picture of the world, to «vultures», who are against all and maintenance of individual actors, their mouthpieces and writers. Multidisciplinary researches of the relationship between state and society prove that they are caused by the principles that have formed:

- historically (form of the relationships between state and individual, territorial structure, administration, historical memory) and civilizationally (mental features of the population, its ethnic composition, model of outlook, the ability to self-organization and authentic forms of political geno-text (authentic set of mental people's values that are reflected in verbal and non-verbal discourses)¹;
- geoeconomically (factors of original nature (resources, location) and development factors, which are made by human (traditional capitals of system²;
- by the current social display (social stratification of the population, groups of interests, social roles, priorities and character of interactions in society, social codes³, intellectual and cultural resources of the nation, the maturity of territorial communities);

¹ Пирс, Ч. С. (2000). *Логические основания теории знаков*. Санкт-Петербург: Лаборатория Метафизических Исследований философского факультета СПбГУ; Алетейя.; Крестева, Ю. (2004). *Полілог*. Київ: Юніверс.

² Бурдые, П. (2007). *Социальное пространство: поля и практики*. Москва: Алетейя.; Зубаревич, Н. В. (2014). *Развитие крупных городов России. С креативного неба на землю*. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YmRhD5tcsY8>>

³ Гофман, И. (2003). *Анализ фреймов: эссе об организации социального опыта*. Москва: Ин-т социологии РАН.

- by political and informational environment (political discourses and feno-text systems (modern manifestations of political text in the form of messages and speeches, which are produced by the authors and text's moderators in order to control over the center of the political text's structure)¹, authority's organization and developed civil society, transparency of elections and justice system, the maturity of the political market, the quality of the media-field, ensuring political rights and citizen's freedoms).

The groups of principles-conditions (which are above) are the «territory», where the values of political nation are produced. Principles (or defined conditions) are not values. «Principles are the territory. Values are the maps. If we appreciate the true principles, we'll come to the truth – to the understanding of the phenomena as they really are. Principles are similar to the lighthouses that point the path. These laws are natural. It is impossible to break it. Principles are guiding light for human behavior. They definitely have a stable and constant value»².

The nation-state with the principles, which are foundation for a dialogue between society and the state, has to accumulate values and engrain them in the Center of the Society Text's structure (it is principal, system-value-core, which is the guiding light for nation– the set of social values that are positively perceived by an absolute majority of the population)³, which would be equally crucial lighthouse both for in government institution's activity, media-representatives and society. It should be the measure of each election campaign, information propaganda, social demands, social movements, business projects and government efficiency.

Events late 2013 – early 2014 in Ukraine became the culmination of the confrontation between the State and Society in the format of «the top» do not want, but «lower classes» could. *This paper is an author's effort to understand the essence of Ukrainian events late 2013 – early 2014 along the axis of the conflict – State and Society in the context of further Ukraine's modernization.* Confrontations between State and Society in Ukraine are interpreted by the author as a result of «system achievements» in the context of its modernization in 2013, including objective and subjective (according to the current key figures) factors:

- historical – objective (centralized etatism in management and social demand for a «strong hand» among the population, inherited territorial-administrative structure from Soviet system,

¹ Крістева, Ю. (2004). *Полілог*. Київ: Юніверс.

² Covey, S. R. (1989). *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*.

³ Соссюр, Ф. (2007). *Курс общей лингвистики*. Москва: КомКнига.

misunderstanding between East and West Ukraine concerning the symbols, which are contained in historical memory) and civilizational (superpolyethnical composition of the population (more than 130 ethnic groups), the tendency to «**steading**», freethinking, sincerity and family-oriented nature, self-organization in small groups);

- geo-economical objective (the country is rich in natural resources with a location at the crossroads of European routes, as a result of governance, the outflow of assets abroad (both financial flows and human capital), high agglomeration effect with depressed border empty territories, slight infrastructure, manual control of the economy, harmful ecology);
- current social display of Ukrainian society (flattening of the social stratification pyramid of the population (the marginalization of the middle class), opaque social elevators, forming the cliques, coalescence of financial and political capitals, primitive social codes, a high level of intellectual capital of the nation and qualitative changes in the direction towards the strengthening of social capital groups territorial community's immaturity);
- current political and information environment (emptiness of Ukrainian Center of the Text's structure, the contradiction between political discourses and feno-text in Ukraine, opaque organization of the government and the elections, judicial system, recruited mass-media and ICUs, immaturity of the political market, the violation of political rights and freedoms, the monopolization of power by the President Yanukovich, multiparty system in reality, slight national branding¹, controversial steps in foreign policy, information warfare from outside, creation of simulacrum in basic meanings of Ukrainian nation).

In consequence of the irresponsible State's activity concerning the overcoming of contradictions (which are highlighted above), Ukraine demonstrated an unprecedented example of self-organization of society «from below» to the whole world. In its socio-political substance, the events of late 2013 – early 2014 in Ukraine and especially the military conflict in Donbass are the most important part of the global phenomenon of self-organization of society against politics, which is not able to represent the interests of society and take responsibility for citizens.

¹ Нагорняк, Т. Л. (2013). *Брендинг території як державна та регіональна політика*. Донецьк: Видавництво «Ноулідж».

Geopolitical aspect of protests from the end of 2013 till the first half of 2014 in Ukraine.

There is a geopolitical conflict between the imperialist system of the USA and the EU on the one hand and Russian subimperialism on the other. One of the subjects of the conflict is a control over Ukraine and attempts of economic weakening the opponents by involving in the conflict (sanctions from the EU to Russia, in Ukraine – from Russia and former Soviet countries that support it, the interests of the energy industry of the USA and the Russian Federation, information war with a world scale, evidence of participation Ukrainian and Russian sides in the crashing of the passenger aircraft «Boeing 777» Malaysian airlines). The escalation of geopolitical conflict on the background of intensification of the political crisis in Ukraine acquires both the open forms of public condemnation of the Russian role in the military conflict in Donbass and element of conspiracy concerning Ukraine (determination of influence zones in the so-called «federation» under the common protectorate). Geopolitical conflict between USA / EU and Russia has a real implementation in military operations in Ukraine late 2013 – early 2014 and in controlled incitement to a full-scale world war.

As a consequence of geopolitical trend of world aspiration towards the bipolarity, peripheral capitalism and transition societies become fragile primarily. Preterstates of the world pretend to control these territories and resources, national governments are not able to resist for many reasons (corruption and state betrayal are not the last), societies are self-organizing for the sake of national interests, territorial integrity and social justice, coping with national spirit's tests. Russian politician T. Vorozheikina claims: «In 2011-2014 protests of this type, though with varying degree of intensity, spread from the Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Caracas to Madrid, Tunis, Cairo, Sofia, Istanbul, Moscow and Bangkok. All these protest movements were united by acute dissatisfaction with the institutions, which do not allow people to achieve their goals through legitimate political channels. This also affected on authoritarian (in Venezuela, Ukraine, Russian Federation and Arab countries) and democratic (Brazil and Spain) political regimes. In most cases, a protest against the corruption that runs through the state institutions and the ruling group became an important factor, which united those who went into the streets. This protest mixed variety of requirements – from social justice and increasing equality to democracy and fair elections. Such movements cannot be described adequately with the help of the traditional «left-right» coordinate system. Tens and even hundreds of thousands people went out onto the street because they are driven primarily by acute sense

of rejection of the political system in which they are, in fact, do not have the voting right... Until now Ukraine poorly used the opportunities that opened up in front of it after independence in 1991 and after the «Orange Revolution» in 2004 [The Economist, May 31st 2014]. Perhaps this change of government and society and the relationship between them will not be remained as a «great illusion» of the Ukrainian revolution; and the Russian government, the main strangler and destroyer of its democratic potential, will finally understand that it confronts the opponent with extremely strong spirit»¹. The connection between geopolitical and socio-economic factors of confrontation between a state and society in Ukraine is close. The demonstrative is the fact that there are about 60% debt obligations to the United States and 30% to the Russian Federation in the structure of Ukraine's debt. And it can be used by them to put pressure on the political leadership of Ukraine.

Socio-economical aspect of protests from the end of 2013 till the first half of 2014 in Ukraine.

It should be noted that, regardless of flags and slogans, all Maidans late 2013 – early 2014 in Ukraine had an economic component and primarily rebelled against power's oligarchisation, social injustice, lumpenization not only professional strata, but the whole territories, washing out the middle class of society. Each Maidan has its own oligarch (government of Viktor Yanukovich from the one side, «Kiev junta» – from the other). Maidan late 2013 – early 2014 is mass and prolonged protest action in the center of Kyiv, which began on 21st of November 2013 in response to the suspension of preparation for the signing of the Economic Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union by Azarov government. The economic strikes against policy of the government Azarov started in small towns (Krasnodon, Krivoy Rog, Thorez). In process of spreading of mass protests and its transforming into Euromaidan/Antymaidan, and then into the war in the Eastern Ukraine, rate's increasing and flirting with the oligarchs of the new government A. Yatsenyuk, aggravating escalation of conflict between the center and the regions, between Donbass and other part of Ukraine, between migrants from the East and those, who remained in the area of ATO (anti-terrorist operation) became more noticeable (for all regions). Protest movement, which was articulated on the socio-economic basis, always was transferred into the political field both as a geopolitical actors and representatives of Ukrainian politicum, who aspired to get dividends

¹ Ворожейкина, Т. (2014). *Может ли общество изменить государство: новые протестные движения и революция в Украине*. Голицыно. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yvnXos_sk0E>

with the help of self-organization in society. However, the amount of economy shadow sector was 50% (according to official statistics)¹. There is almost no positive in this index, but it should be mentioned that specifics of Ukrainian shadow economy – is the possibility of informal gains not only by oligarchs, but also ordinary people. At the first stages this fact saved the monopolization of the shadow economy (in 2010) with constant increasing of unemployment people in the industrial cities and villages of Ukraine. The practice of state's deception at all levels was formed in a society. It is logical that centralization of the economy in the hands of «Family», its returning to the beginning of the 1990s with «observers» in regions, external management of companies and corporations led to additional tax, banking, financial and humanitarian schemes, and eventually to the «death» of small and medium business, increasing of unemployment segments, increasing of those people, who live below the poverty level in Ukraine (officially – 35%, unofficially – 55% of the population)². Under these circumstances, civil protests and military operations in Luhansk and Donetsk transferred economy into the wartime mode without formal establishment of martial law, which resulted in the following:

- Since October 2013 local currency (UAH) was devalued more than 50%. Since the beginning of 2014 inflation was more than 30% in annual terms.
- Standard of living dropped approximately 25%, decline of real incomes – almost 20% (up to \$ 250). In reality – much worse (– auth.).
- Fuel prices have risen up to 35-40% for different types of bread – from 30 to 70%³.
- Migration of Donbass people led to the fact that Donetsk – a leader in corporate governance efficiency, in the accessibility of new technologies and in the development of business in Ukraine – not just almost ceased its commercial and financial activities, but remained empty and dying due to focus of separatism, the location of hired militants. It became a front-line area ATO.

¹ *Теневого сектора экономики Украины в 2013 году.* <<http://112.ua/ekonomika/tenevoy-sektor-ekonomiki-ukrainy-v-2013-godu-sostavil-poryadka-150-mlrd-dollarov-ekspert-20904.html>>

² *Лещенко, С. Борьба с теневой экономикой может вылиться в социальный кризис.* <http://institute.gorshenin.ua/news/1100_borba_s_tenevoy_ekonomikoy_mozhet.html>

³ *Экономический раскол Украины.* <<http://voprosik.net/ekonomicheskij-raskol-ukrainy/>>

Ukraine is called:

- one of the poorest countries in the world, equally with Africa¹,
- the state with partially authoritarian regime equally with Kosovo²,
- place of unhappy people, equally with Zimbabwe and Sudan³,
- corrupt country (equally with the Congo and the Central African Republic)⁴.

Both the official Kyiv and self-proclaimed government of «People's Republic» DNR and LNR have tried to use articulation of protests in Donbass around the socio-economic problems. At the stage of its realization, neither implementation of declared points in Maidans nor communities' integration without politics in a single antioligarchic breakthrough for Ukraine has not happened. Official Kyiv – represented by A. Yatsenyuk head of the Government – (in the context of decentralization by M. Hroysman instead of federalization) offered experiment concerning the economical independence of Donbass, which has to feed itself (the direct subsidy from budget is 34 billion on 180 thousands of miners) during the Kharkov round table. Among the solutions of socio-economic nature, which were declared by «people's governor of Donetsk region» P. Hubaryev, property's nationalization of large private capital is a prior purpose. Effectuation of both offers in reality would have enormous consequences for Ukraine and for the whole former Soviet Union capitalism. The situation, which is one of a kind «mind tricks», could happen. Hegel called it as setting own course of history through various subjective actions.

Ultrareactionary Russian nationalists («Russian World», «Yzborskyy club», «Eastern Front») supported by the UOC-MP formally began social (not socialist) antioligarchic revolution that became clear and acceptable for most people in the region. However, after the arrest of P. Hubarev – its ideologist («second» after the Russian A. Dugin and V. Krylov) revolution was transformed into a military operation with professional mercenaries aimed at «rescue Russians in Donbass» under the guidance from the Moscow by O. Boroday, I. Strelkov, O. Hodakovskiy and other⁵. Eurointegral slogans of ideological leaders from Maidan also transformed into state power's reformatting, mobilization and quick

¹ *The 2012 legatum prosperity index*. <<http://www.prosperity.com/Countries.aspx>>

² Nations in Transit 2013. *Freedom House*. <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/nations-transit-2013>>

³ *The Happy Planet Index*. <<http://gtmarket.ru/ratings/happy-planet-index/info>>

⁴ *Failed States Index*. <<http://ffp.statesindex.org/>>

⁵ *Пресс-конференция А. Борода и И. Стрелкова*. Донецк. 10. 07. 2014. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08KdvFpz-84>>

recreation of efficient army involving community, preterm presidential elections and ATO in Donbass. This transformation was contributed by a complicated situation in relations between the regional political elites and FIG (financial-industrial groups) with DNR / LNR. Firstly, elites were interested in enforcement on Kyiv in order to redistribute powers and financial flows, but certainly the situation got out of control after the military wing of separatists became on the foreground (Boroday – Hodakovskiy). A vivid image of this is both a conflict between «the host of Donbass» R. Akhmetov and DNR and castling in separatist's leadership (Zaharchenko – Mikhailov). The wars between oligarchs in Ukraine and locally in Donbass are also the components of transforming social movement into the military conflict. The key players are: – «Dnepropetrovsk residents» headed by I. Kolomoyskiy (he has a prolonged confrontation with Akhmetov Rinat and demonstrates nationwide claims after returning to Ukraine and obtaining the post of Dnepropetrovsk governor (battalions «Dnepr», strengthening of the state border, business-conflicts with Russia in the Crimea, participation in parliamentary elections and local control of South-eastern regions); – inhomogeneous «Donetsk residents» – R. Akhmetov, Yanukovych entourage (V. Pshonka, V. Zaharchenko etc.), group of revanchists from PRU (O. Yefremov, T. Bahtyeyeva, M. Lyevchenko), the group of «young reformers» (V. Homutynnik, O. Klymenko, S. Arbuzov etc.), «Kiev residents, who have own interests in Donbass» (V. Medvedchuk, P. Poroshenko, A. Yatseniuk et al.).

Under these circumstances economically beneficial scenario for Ukraine was possible, but it remains in history as unrealized chance. Clash of the new economic policy in official Kyiv and «People's Republics» could become not so much conflict between State (center) and separatists as class conflict (which was suppressed by all its sides, by transformation the socio-economic struggling into political-territorial war with serious armored vehicles and mass casualties (because of the threat to their own oligarchic system in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, including the Donbass). Purely conditionally, such union of progressive components from Maidan and Antimaidan based on socio-economic program concerning Ukraine's disoligarchization» from below» and the rejection of external influence is that improbable chance of «miracle» for Ukraine, which did not happen. As a result, in the end of July 2014 Ukraine, which is in the conditions of war, political and economic crisis and humanitarian catastrophe, is preparing for parliament's re-election.

Political aspects of protest's prerequisites and consequences late 2013 – early 2014 in Ukraine.

The presidential and local elections in 2010 gave a start for strengthening the power vertical of «Donetsk residents» in the capital and in the regions. The level of «nepotism» in the Viktor Yanukovich policy considerably exceeded the Viktor Yushchenko policy. «40 persons from the nearest entourage of the President (brothers, sisters, children, godfathers) obtain various positions in state agencies, courts. They are members of the Verkhovna Rada and work in local councils. All together they form the large group (almost 100 people)"¹. In early 2011 a phrase «I'm from Donetsk» is included in the Ukrainian part lexicon. It has the format of threats and large claims. Revenge of the PR after a defeat in 2004 was fast and comprehensive. In 2011 Ukraine turned into a pyramid with a single point of management, where «loyalty to the leader of the party» and «party feasibility» – were the highest criteria for involvement in the president team. Both criteria included territorial affiliation. Migration «Donetsk residents» in Kyiv, along with demographic indicators in 2011 deprived Donetsk of status «city with one million population». 2012 was the parliamentary year, which came into political history of Ukraine as an election year without a choice, because all five political parties that got in the Parliament were the President project. They were not going to create opposition to (CPU, PRU, «UDAR», «Batkivshchina» and «Svoboda»).

«Top» control and willfulness of the courts and the police, fiscal services and mass media led to political protests. The first one was called «Vradiyevskiy Maidan» – action of people disobedience in Vradiivka (Mykolaiv region) and in some towns of Ukraine, including Kyiv from 30th of June to 15th of August 2013. From 7th to 17th of July 2013 Vradiivka residents (including the representatives of political parties «UDAR», «BYT», «Svoboda») initiated a «march to Kyiv» (400 km). Rallies against the lawlessness of the police were in Donetsk and Lviv, Odessa and Ivano-Frankivsk, Kiev and Odessa, Simferopol and Kharkiv. The main requirement was punishment of guilty people in Vradiivka crime, other police crimes and resignation of Minister of Internal Affairs V. Zaharchenko. Vradiyevskiy Maidan was suppressed by «Berkut» and other forces of the Interior Ministry, but it was the beginning of protest's actions that began in the capital on 21st of November 2013 in response to the suspension by Azarov government of preparation for the signing of

¹ <<http://ru.tsn.ua/ukrayina/po-urovnyu-kumovstva-vo-vlasti-yanukovich-pre-vzoshel-yuschenko.html>>

an Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union and was supported by public performances in the majority of Ukrainian cities. After the Vilnius summit «Eastern Partnership» (28 – 29th of November 2014), dispersal of oppositional tent camp and the law adoption on 16th of January 2014 that provided tougher sanctions for participating in mass protests. Maidan took fundamentally anti-government and antipresidential nature.

February 22 2014, after Yanukovych escape from the country, Verkhovna Rada adopted the Resolution «On self-withdrawal of the President of Ukraine from performing his constitutional duties and setting early elections of the President of Ukraine» on 25th of May 2014. Since February 23 duties of President Ukraine were assigned to Parliament Speaker Oleksandr Turchynov. Presidential elections were preceded by the annexation of Crimea by Russia on the referendum basis, Ukraine's secession from the CIS, «Russian Spring», returning to the Ukraine's Constitution 2004, mass deputy's withdrawal from the Party of Regions, parliamentary reformatting and some rather hasty laws adopted by Parliament, terrorist attacks in Odessa and Mariupol, which increased the amount of those, who came to the «referendum» in the Donbass in order to argue against the «fascists, who kill people», who caused PR-campaign of R. Akhmetov and assignment of I. Kolomoyskiy entourage on positions in public authorities in the East of Ukraine. The power of the former opposition and the attempt to cancel the Law «On Language» by new Ukrainian leadership that provoked a political crisis in the Crimea and the mass protests in the South-eastern regions of the country, which escalated into an armed conflict.

Several fronts were formed in Ukraine:

1) Institutional. An external vector of development could be considered as formalized subject of the first front. Supporters of Eurointegration – Maidan's Institutes (The headquarter of national resistance, All-Ukrainian union «Maidan», National Council of Ukraine), fractions in the Verkhovna Rada («Batkivshchina», «UDAR», «Svoboda»), individual deputies, The Cabinet of Ministers (since 02/27/14), party Democratic Alliance, civil organizations (Mezhlis, Avtomaidan, Ultras, CPFDD (Committee of Patriotic Forces of Donbass), CVU (Committee of Voters of Ukraine), Congress of Ukrainian nationalists, Ukrainian platform «Sobor», UNA-UNSO), regional councils (Zakarpate, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Rivne regions), detachments of self-defense, «Right sector», «National Guard»). Supporters of the pro-Russian vector of Ukrainian development – Ministry of Internal Affairs, The Cabinet of Ministers (till 02/22/14), The Internal Troops, «Berkut», «Grifon»,

«Tiger», traffic police, Security Service of Ukraine, the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine, the Party of Regions, The Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. The pro-governmental political and civil organizations («Eastern Front», «Russian World», «The single choice»). «Ukrainian Front», the detachments of nomocracy, the Don Cossacks. The regional councils in Kherson, Donetsk, Lugansk, Kharkov, Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovograd regions, DNR (D. Pushylin), LNR (V. Bolotov), «Novorosiya» (O. Tsarov), official representatives of Kremlin in Donbass (O. Hodakovskiy, O. Boroday etc.).

2) *Armed* (official military groups and self-created military groups by community). The subject of military conflict that is located in Lugansk and Donetsk regions of Ukraine is administrative and territorial status of Donbass. Representatives of the State, who defend the territorial integrity of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Donbass is the National Guard, regular army of Ukraine, the General headquarter of ATO, battalions «Donbass», «Dnepr 1», « Dnepr2», «Aidar», «Azov», «Mykolayiv» «Polissya», «Cherkasy» and others. The military groups, who believe that Donbass should be an independent state formation or Federal Subject of the Russian Federation are – «Oplot», «East», «Slavic militia» (I. Girkin), «Zorya», «Donbass People's Militia Donbass» (I. Bezler), «Alpha» and the GRU – Main Intelligence Directorate (Russian Federation).

3) *Socio-political* (participants of mass protests and social groups of interests) front was called «Maidan» and «Antimaidan.» As noted above, Maidan and pro-Russian protests in Donbass (Antimaidan) by its nature are similar phenomena, because the majority of people were dissatisfied with socio-economical system, power's corruption and insecurity of the population. It is possible to claim that the Maidan was not homogeneous and eventually acquired different forms of struggling.

The first Maidan was unprecedented (before the resignation of Viktor Yanukovich and his government). Intellectuals and representatives of large and medium businesses, students and pensioners – all segments of the population with Ukraine in heart came there. After the power's re-election, they returned to their homes and jobs. The other Maidan was created in Khreschatyk Square. It expressed its opposition in more extreme and primitive forms – a kind of nationalism or geopolitical orientation through archaic and aggressive reactions, patriarchal of political culture. The community of Kyiv did not notice that the capital turned into a dirty city, where unemployed people and those, who did not want to work, found refuge in tents. They called themselves the Maidan. The situation in Donbass was different. First Antimaidans were formed under the influence of administrative resources of the Party of Regions

(which covered not only the local authorities, but all managers and a significant number of businessmen) and the Russian media. Donetsk Maidan was full of intellectuals, students and European-minded people. In one place on the neighboring platforms there were two different communities that did not want to hear each other. Every time such public actions ended with fights and civilian's casualties, which took place due to non-interference of police and other law-enforcement agencies. Last front of social contradictions was beyond the boundaries of peaceful protests and territorially – beyond the boundaries of Donbass and Ukraine. Each of the socio-political groups received support. Maidan got it from other regions of Ukraine, Antimaidan – from Russian Federation. The ideological confrontation between residents of the one region turned into a war between the Ukrainian army and foreign militants with their supporters (citizens – adherents of the state's dividing).

Under these circumstances early elections took place in Ukraine. It was the «way out» for the majority because there was the one, who can take all the responsibility. This was supported by the residents of both the West and East of Ukraine. The victory of P. Poroshenko in the presidential election was confident – one round (54.7%) -against the background of a systematic crisis, the occupation of two regions of Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea by Russia and external pressure. Crimea did not take part in the voting, 9 of 34 polling stations were opened in Donbass because of separatist's control. June 27, 2014, he signed an Association Agreement with the European Union (economical part).

The most radical residents of Donbass call the state power «Kiev junta» and protesters – «maidanuty», «benderovtsy» and «fascists of right sector.» Radical representatives of the Western Regions believe to call the residents of Donbass «vatniki», «colorady» and «rashysty.» As a matter of fact, DNR and LNR are military juntas (LNR from the very beginning, DNR after the coup, which took place on 11th of May 2014 referendum) with ultra right clericalism (extreme nationalist ideology) that guided by separatist idea of Russian World's victory in the world. They thwarted presidential elections, launched persecution of their opponents using a wide range of antisocial methods (terrorist attacks, gunning the housing areas till the destruction of the whole regions, kidnapping people/children, racketeering, marauding and intimidation of civilians).

Nowadays Ukrainian state has the most right government in Europe. There are extremely dangerous signals (an attempt to ban the Communist Party and PRU, sanctions of the State Committee in Television and Radio-Broadcasting of Ukraine concerning the mass media, which

broadcast the direct speech of DNR and LNR representatives, etc.). They transform into the trend coalescence the repressive apparatus with extreme (ideologically) organizations. In case of prevention of these trends, the reproduction of situation of Latin American dictatorship is possible. It should be noted that the beginning of this trend was initiated by Yanukovich government, when violence towards the Maidan's protesters was used not by VSU (Internal forces of Ukraine), but by «titushky» – fighters-mercenaries, when fighting against dissidence was prosecuted by SBU (Security Service of Ukraine) and profit of «Family» grew directly proportional to the exhaustion of small, medium businesses and the marginalization of the middle class in Ukraine. Confrontation between institutions and their structural units is caused not only (and not so much) by ideological positions or «skeletons» in cupboard of elected Maidan's representatives, but by redistribution of large capital in Ukraine. Informational and political field of Ukraine turned into a «war» between I. Kolomoyskiy, R. Akhmetov and S. Lovochkin. Parliament, The Prime Minister, mass medias well as the fiscal, banking, media and economical system of the country became hostage of oligarchic misunderstandings. Nothing personal – just business. As a result, broken destinies of ordinary people, who lose their jobs (due to closing of enterprises or changing the mode) or have to move to other areas, where the companies are moved by their owners, broken psyche and demoralized social comfort in the sequel of oligarchic battles on central Ukrainian TV channels, excluding even the Internet.

Unpopular decisions of A. Yatsenyuk (CMU) and lobbying by President P. Poroshenko issue of parliament's dissolution and early parliament elections 10/26/14 are features of two tendencies, which become the disappointments of Maidan now. The first – is the centralization of power in a president (the desire to have obedient Parliament and Cabinet of Ministers and to be rather independent from the oligarchs). Tendency is not new and it was the reason of protests in Maidan. The second trend -is the dependence of State's solutions (government institutions). Such tendency was formed as a result of actual absence of independent bureaucrats, who do not execute someone's commandments, play up or are not the representatives of FIG. Therefore, the decision of The Cabinet of Ministers acquired features of the scales between the leaders of big business. Accordingly, the fractions in parliament, which support their patrons, vote or do not vote for them. The presidential pressure on Parliament led to non-adopted government initiatives. The solution is nationalization of business of all major oligarchs in wartime (it would absolutely correspond with the requirements of all Maidans in the country

and it would reconcile the society and give carte blanche for State). It remains the dream of an ordinary Ukrainian. Meanwhile, the government «sanctions» apply partially, taking into account the owner. Iron ore sector of R. Akhmetov is the president's bargaining chip. On the contrary, it seems that A. Yatsenyuk plays on the field of «master of Donbass». The proofs are his fiscal initiatives (which were hastily created contrary to the tax initiatives of I. Kolomoiskiy) that contradict to the policy of the president. Voting for this draft law «On Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine ...» in which the mining business of SCM remained immune in contrast to other sectors of the economy, also confirms the game for the benefit of R. Akhmetov that received support from the fraction of S. Kurchenko and C. Arbutov «For peace and stability» (ref. voting in Verkhovna Rada).

Due to that fact that while the writing this paper the resignation of the Government was not adopted and it would be supported only by CPU and PRU (this is not constitutional majority), we can conclude that it is a lesson of emotional harm in the political career for A. Yatsenyuk and a challenge for Deputy Prime Minister V. Hroysman, who would lead the government until early parliament elections. Irrespective of the figure-head of the government, the policy of the State will be aimed at the interests of the United States (via IMF loans) and four personal actors – P. Poroshenko, S. Lovochkin, R. Akhmetov and I. Kolomoyskiy. The confrontation between last three figures provides independence and the right for president to influence on the market in Ukraine (political and financial). Among the key players, there are no society and the interests of those, who brought these people in power, and those, who could become the focus of a new separatism in the sequel of returning to Ukraine in Premaidan times, but with new faces. The intellectual elite, which was a significant part of the first Maidan, (in November 2013 – February 2014 in Kiev) is aware of it. Against the background of long defective systemic transformation and irresponsible government, the crisis of state administration in Ukraine led people to the streets and forced the majority of ordinary citizens to look for external patron for solving internal problems. This well-organized error and step away from self-consciousness of unity and self-sufficiency of the Ukrainian nation, which is being tested by weapon. The time will come when the majority of Ukrainian will be sure that interests of society will be foreground if the government becomes a simple repeater.

Sociocultural aspect of protests late 2013 – early 2014 in Ukraine.

The historical memory, which transforms into a social display and specifics of social role's interactions with local dominants during large

crises, is important for description of the misunderstandings between State and Society in socio-cultural aspect. The dominance of the ruling class (official duties + financial and economical levers of influence), which effectively used the regional socio-cultural differences in order to get rid of socio-economical and political issues, is typical for multiethnic, multicultural, ideologically and socially heterogeneous Ukrainian society. However, it could not last forever. For a system that is transforming it is extremely important to understand on whom the power relies. If a State is based on the oligarchs and acts in favor of them, the character of regime's hybridity will move towards the autocratic or total control over the system by Center (regardless of the President's person). If a State is based on society, democratic tendencies will aspire to its parity with State. The model of Lifecycle of Ukrainian Society looks like following (see the Table below).

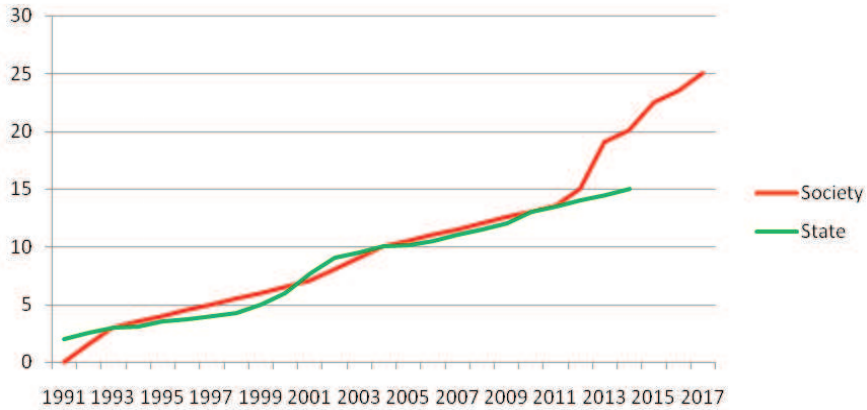
Analyzing the surges of public protests, it is obvious that they arose against a background of misunderstandings inside the authorities (the opposition to the government or the parliament with the president) and were used by the oligarchs in order to redistribute resources in the country through their «own» president. In this context, Ukraine has already gained an experience of conjunctural maidans and strikes. Maidans for integrity of the country in the end of 2013 –are the first protests in the Ukrainian history that demonstrated high level of self-organization of the community. They demonstrated that a Society could be a real political actor. For the first time Maidan arose against the oligarch's power itself, which led to lumpenization of Ukrainian and attempted to interfere with the realization of civil rights and freedoms and to decide the country's fate. According to Dahrendorf, the effectiveness of systemic transformations¹, is gradual changes. His «theory of the three times,» specifies that the temporal characteristics of duration of socio-cultural (two generations per 26 years), economic (in average – 6 years), political (consolidation of social innovations in the new constitution – 6 months) changes are fundamentally different. Therefore, the modernization of the political system should be started with reforms in sociocultural aspect through economical changes to the consolidation of updated system with young political elite with constitutional establishment of modernization model. Proceeding from the cycles, we can assume that in 2017 we should expect the birth of a new passionarity, dissemination of activist political culture in scope and amount of participants, and the ending of the cycle along the axis of State – Society.

¹ Dahrendorf, R. (1965). *Elemente einer Theorie des sozialen Konflikts*. Gessellschaft und Freiheit München.

<p>Confrontation between Government of Kuchma Leonid and President Kravchuk, 06/08-06/23– general and long strike of laborers in Donbass. The session of Donetsk Regional Council adopted the Resolution of mistrust to President of Ukraine. They required to hold a national referendum about mistrust of President, Verkhovna Rada and all councils of people's deputies at all levels till October 1, 1993. Result – early presidential elections with the support from FIG. Formation of NPGU (Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine)</p>	<p>Confrontation between Government of P. Lazarenko and President Kuchma, ideological disputes in Parliament: pro-presidential centrist parties with radical part CPU and NRU. The death of V. Chornovil and P. Lazarenko deportation abroad on the eve of the presidential election. Result – a presidential election with the support from FIG. Creation of building polarized party system, double-directional foreign policy.</p>	<p>Confrontation between Government, Verkhovna Rada and President Kuchma, ideological disputes in Parliament as a result of redistribution of big business. Result – a victory of right parties at the parliamentary elections and the presidential elections in 2004. Protests throughout the country. The confrontation between East and West. Formation and the victory of the opposition «People Power». Conflict of external actors in Ukraine = Orange Revolution and First Maidan in Ukraine. The European integration Ukraine.</p>	<p>Incapacitated Parliament, government and president. The confrontation of FIG. The tension in society and opposition Tymoshenko vs Yanukovych. The course on Euro 2012 (war inside the FIG for budgetary subventions). Result – The victory of Viktor Yanukovych in the presidential elections, the Russian vector of policy, centralization of power and economy. The highest level of social differentiation.</p>	<p>The confrontation between government and society. Protests throughout the country. The confrontation between East and West. Self-organization of Maidans 1) Vrdiyevskiy against lawlessness of the police; 2) Euromaidans; 3) Maidan against the government of Viktor Yanukovych in Kiev; 4) Maidan DNR and LNR for Malorosiya. External factors and military conflict in Donbass. Result – the early presidential and parliamentary elections. The European integration in Ukraine. Decentralization.</p>					
1993-1994	1998-1999	2001-2004	2010	2013-2014					
9 – 11years – 1 cycle – 1993 – 2004			9 – 11 years – 2 cycle – 2004 – 2014						
1991	1994	1995	1999	2000-02	2004	2005	2008-10	2011-2012	2013-14

The results of military conflict in Donbass and parliamentary elections – 2014 will become the requisite for subsequent protests (the graph-model demonstrates that public protest will increase during 2014-2017). The life-cycle model of state power in 2014 is in bifurcation phase. Its development is possible in two scenarios: a reiteration of the previous cycle (autocracy with a focus on oligarchs) or a new cycle of compromise dialogue between Society and State in Ukraine).

It is necessary to realize the social assets and liabilities of Maidan for subsequent modernization of the country:



The life-cycle model of relations between State and Society

1. During the years of independence, Ukraine has almost never carried out *the policy of forming a unified national (political) identity*. Foreign ideological centers (such as the «Russian World», Centers of NATO and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine, Romanian movements) were allowed to form a wide range of own supporters among youth and intellectual elite, civic associations and news agencies. Their activity was notably successful in areas with border identity (Crimea, Donbass, Bukovina) that were the heart of separatism. The state should reconsider the policy of recreating the Ukrainian's political nation, including ethnic and regional specifications in order to overcome these trends.

2. *Holding the ATO and its information accompaniment*, including civilian casualties, destruction of infrastructure, blocking the supply of products and medicines in localities, propagandistic negative effect of Russian mass-media that explains the support of separatism in a referendum. All this things are capable of creating a new foundation for confrontation between East and West in the public consciousness on the axis of «you (Donbass) are guilty that we died for you and for presence of terror in your territory,» while in Donbass (especially in small industrial cities of Donetsk region and frontier territories in Lugansk region) the sociocultural unity with «Ukrainian» will be buried even if the administrative capacity of Ukrainian state in the Donbass recovers. Such level of hatred, which exists nowadays between the representatives of different ideological or geopolitical positions, is inconceivable. There is a world picture with rejection of opponents. The opportunity to see the same person (like you) in oppose disappeared. On the contrary, people start to demonize contradictors, enjoy their physical death of (not only gunman, but also those civilians that adhered to other positions). Now

this exaltation exists on the both sides. This indicates that the Society is already operates in the mode of civil war. It is ready to exist in mode of guerrilla warfare and denunciations. Under such circumstances, State is responsible for the subsequent peaceful resumption of mentally united Ukraine. A new *information policy, rearrangement of professional workforce, restoration of the state order on their first workplace throughout Ukraine, inter professional stratification of the regions and common social projects* can alleviate the given trend.

3. In the context of feeling *the new cycle of decolonization*, the fall of empires, which seemed to be invincible a few years ago, the sacred integrity of Ukraine is the value. It is necessary to *work on the Center of the Ukrainian Text's structure* in order to fasten the Ukrainian unity. The primary thing in the transformation process is the clarification of a model society, on which is aimed to achieve, and strategies that institutionally constitute the multidimensional socio-cultural space and its authentic features with the help of Center of the political Text's structure in Ukraine – in other words, by those values, antivalues that would be identically perceived by the majority in Ukraine. This concept is not being implemented currently in Ukraine. The core essence of this modernization model lies in the geno-level of this political text, in other words, in a deep, archetypal, authentic layer of socio-cultural values of the people.

4. *Donbass in Ukrainian discourse* always felt itself as chosen. Close interweaving of historical development, interests and economy in two Ukrainian regions – Donetsk and Luhansk – led to an informal association in their general historical, cultural and economical Donbass region (Donetsk coal basin). The phrase «Donbass feeds the whole country», which was justified at the end of 1960 – early 1970's. in times of USSR, transformed into myth and germinated in the consciousness of the region's inhabitants as stereotypes «miner and metallurgists – are the pride of the country», «black gold is the power of Donbass», «Donbass is able to feed itself», «Donbass is Ukrainian strength and beauty». In order to understand why the Donbass residents demonstrate frontier self-identity, which is different from all Ukraine, it necessary to know the following: 1) this is the region, which is bordered by the Russian Federation that did not stop its propaganda since 1991? Consequently, a territorial identity («I am from Donbass») became a higher priority than citizenship due to absence of state policy formation of a unified political nation. Starting from the Soviet years, Donbas was the place, where huge amounts of money were rotated. Budgetary shadow schemes attracted criminals in the region. Residents of Donbass (both the top

and the working class) were respected and prosperous according to the Soviet indicators of welfare state. Society felt itself as important element of government processes. Since the mid 1970s, coal resource of financial circulation demanded large foreign investments and government subsidies. The receiving dividends from these «deposits» is complicated long and unreliable process. That is why the Soviet government began to minimize all governmental programs of the coal industry development. It was entirely closed due to the collapse of the USSR. The era, when coal was a fuel, finished in the world. Ukraine gained problematic Donbass with deprivation of the population. The discrepancy between desired and actual exists even nowadays here. In Donbas 33% of people are aged over 60 (as in any other region). Originally, they are from the Soviet Union. In other words, they associated best moments of their life with the Soviet period. This illuminates the reason of the priority of Russian mass-media, a high level of trust in Putin – President of Russian Federation, close economical, cultural, familial, academic relationships with the Russian Federation and mainly it's Southern Federal District, Russian-speaking population. They are not as pro-Russian as pro-soviet, but against the background of recent political changes, together with the first category, they «made» pseudo-referendum on 11th of May 2014. They voted against the «fascism» represented by Ukraine; 2) Along with those, responding to specific questions, the idea of the separation of area (region) from Ukraine and joining to the other state was *supported only by 8%. Only 17% of Donbass residents would like to see their region as an independent state (DNR or LNR)*. The researchers emphasize that the separatist sentiments are mostly supported by senior people in Ukraine. Among the young people up to 30 years, 13% would like to detach their region and join to another country, among the people older than 55 years – 29%. At the same time, significant amount of people (32%) believes that there are deep political contradictions, language and cultural differences, differences in economic development between Western and Eastern regions of Ukraine. Moreover, these people are sure that in prospect these regions can be divided in order to create their own states or to join the different other states. Such ideas are the most popular in Donbass (58%) and in the South (48%), less popular at the Center (20%) and West (20%). In Donbass

This idea of essential contradictions between regions is particularly common among the senior people in Donbass – 66% of people

older than 55 years, and 49% – at the age of 30¹; 3) According to the amount and population density, Donbass is superpolyethnic platform (representatives of 130 ethnic groups live here), Donetsk region – it is just approximately 4% of the territory, 10% of the population, 15% – GDP and 25% of export. However, nowadays this region is subsidized. Because of the fact, that the population makes this region a significant electoral card, Donbass always gets its political representation and state funding. Donbass is completely different from almost all regions of the country according to the circulation of capital, the level of business-administration, the number of international offices and global events. Consequently, «Donetsk residents» (FIG and elite) during the years of independence were always the mediator between the State and Society, writing the plot of performances in their favor. Residents of the region have become the hostages of their oligarchs, claims of Russian Federation and official Kyiv. Unfortunately, Ukraine had periods when Donbass became more serious player than the State. One of these periods is the subject of this research.

5. *The control points in relations between the State and Society* are fixed by blood of peaceful citizens in Donbass today. Ukrainian soldiers and officers from all parts of the country leave their lives here for a united and strong, free and sublime Ukraine. Here the representatives of Russian Federation with extreme cruelty try to establish a «gray zone» called Novorosiya. The point of «Irretrievableness» has been already overcome. Rationally, Ukraine before the protests in winter 2013 could be characterized as: monopolization of the country, impoverished people, marginalization of the middle class, the increase of external debt, dependence on foreign players, betrayal of national interests by state officials, «party feasibility», blank political text, primitive social lifts, a high percentage of urbanization, bare boundaries, manual regulation of elections, political parties, civil rights and freedoms, the vulnerability of the community. Current Ukraine – is the loss of territorial integrity, the damaged infrastructure, disabled economy, impoverished people, dependence on foreign players, the increase of external debt, «party feasibility», primitive social lifts, biased political text, the vulnerability of the community, the mobilization of the population without a declaration of war, migration and emigration, aspiration to the monopoly in the country through military actions, redistribution of business and information

¹ Опитування фонду «Демократичні ініціативи імені Ілька Кучеріва». <<http://fakty.ictv.ua/ru/index/read-news/id/1511506>>

warfare between personal internal players and their «products» – parties, odious persons, battalions and territories.

The fundamental difference between Ukraine «before» and «after» – is cohesion of community. And now it is community's time. Ukrainian people either will fix a course towards a free European country together or will allow the government to decide the fate of their children. Donbass and the war in the East will remain in the political history of independent Ukraine as a test on the integrity and strength of the national spirit. The confirmation of victory and renovation of peaceful life in areas ATO is possible only in case of military governor's assignment (for instance, like in postwar Germany) and the prevention of old elite's assignment in local authorities. Donbass community is regenerating. For the first time, Donbass realized the value of a State and power of Society, which is capable of protecting the country. The control point of Ukrainian people's victory and establishment of a compromise (Society with the State) path of development will be the practice of understanding by local communities as a real political actor that requires transparency in government decisions, able to protect the interests of the city and reproduce the prospects of free and self-contained state by real actions.

References:

1. Covey, S. R. (1989). *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*.
2. Dahrendorf, R. (1965). *Elemente ernes Theorie des sozialen Konflikts*. Gessellschaft und Freiheit München.
3. Jacques, D., Stiegler, B. (2002). *Echographies of Television: Filmed Interviews*. Cambridge: Polity.
4. *Failed States Index*. <<http://ffp.statesindex.org/>>
5. Nations in Transit 2013. *Freedom House*. <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/nations-transit-2013>>
6. *The 2012 legatum prosperity index*. <<http://www.prosperity.com/Countries.aspx>>
7. The Happy Planet Index. <<http://gtmarket.ru/ratings/happy-planet-index/info>>
8. Басовская, Н. И. (2002). *Столетняя война: леопард против лилии*. Москва.
9. Бурдые, П. (2007). *Социальное пространство: поля и практики*. Москва: Алетейя.
10. Ворожейкина, Т. (2014). *Может ли общество изменить государство: новые протестные движения и революция в Украине*. Голицыно. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yvnXos_sk0E>
11. Гофман, И. (2003). *Анализ фреймов: эссе об организации социального опыта*. Москва: Ин-т социологии РАН.
12. Зубаревич, Н. В. (2014). *Развитие крупных городов России. С креативного неба на землю*. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YmRhD5tcsY8>>
13. Майдан-декабрь и Майдан-февраль: что изменилось?. *Киевский международный институт социологии*. <<http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=rus&cat=reports&id=226&page=2>>

14. Крістева, Ю. (2004). Самі собі чужі. Київ: Вид-во Соломії Павличко «Основи».
15. Крістева, Ю. (2004). *Полілог*. Київ: Юніверс.
16. Лещенко, С. *Борьба с теневой экономикой может вылиться в социальный кризис*. <http://institute.gorshenin.ua/news/1100_borba_s_tenevoy_ekonomikoju_mozhet.html>
17. Нагорняк, Т. Л. (2013). *Брендинг території як державна та регіональна політика*. Донецьк: Видавництво «Ноулідж».
18. *Опитування фонду «Демократичні ініціативи імені Ілька Кучеріва»*. <<http://fakty.ictv.ua/ru/index/read-news/id/1511506>>
19. Пирс, Ч. С. (2000). *Логические основания теории знаков*. Санкт-Петербург: Лаборатория Метафизических Исследований философского факультета СПбГУ; Алетейя.
20. Пискунов, В. В. (2005). *Концепт общественного договора: классические и современные формы*: автореф. дис. ... канд. филос. наук. Москва.
21. *Пресс-конференция А. Борода и И. Стрелкова*. Донецк. 10. 07. 2014. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08KdvFpz-84>>
22. Соссюр, Ф. (2007). *Курс общей лингвистики*. Москва: КомКнига.
23. *Теневой сектор экономики Украины в 2013 году*. <<http://112.ua/ekonomika/tenevoy-sektor-ekonomiki-ukrainy-v-2013-godu-sostavil-poryadka-150-mlrd-dollarov-ekspert-20904.html>>
24. *Экономический раскол Украины*. <<http://voprosik.net/ekonomicheskij-raskol-ukrainy/>>