

NEO-CONSERVATIVE POSITIONS OF CULTURAL POLICY OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE AT THE PRESENT STAGE

The purpose of the work is to reveal the neo-conservative positions of cultural policy of the Ukrainian state at the present stage. **Methodology** of research is based on the structural-philosophical analysis, ideological-informative, axiological and normative-valuable approaches and principles of objectivity and holism. **Scientific novelty** of the article lies in the fact that on the basis of neo-conservatism as the ideological and political platform, which is the centrist movement and relies on the idea of national unity, national responsibility of the elite, the idea of state protection and control on the positions of "right reformism philosophy", on the principles of social stability and the guarantee of natural (evolutional) development, the strategy of cultural policy of Ukraine is proved. It should come from the harmonious synthesis of conservative (protecting) and creative-innovative components. Herewith, the first one should be the priority and the core, containing the possibility for further development. **Conclusions.** The article proves the main principle of the neo-conservative cultural policy of the Ukrainian state, on the base of which book publishing, cinema production, international cultural co-operation etc. should develop. In particular, reformation of the cultural sphere includes the unity of the traditional core and innovative superstructure. First, it converts national heritage into the competitive factor, and secondly, it gives the opportunity to keep the cultural identity of Ukrainians as the people and the nation-subject in the globalized world.

Keywords: neo-conservatism, right reformism idea, innovations, cultural heritage and identity, cultural policy of Ukraine.

Печеранський Ігор Петрович, доктор філософських наук, доцент, доцент кафедри філософії Київського національного університету культури і мистецтв

Неоконсервативні засади культурної політики української держави на сучасному етапі

Мета роботи – розкриття неоконсервативних засад культурної політики української держави на сучасному етапі. **Методологія** дослідження ґрунтується на структурно-філософському аналізі, ідейно-змістовному, аксіологічному та нормативно-ціннісному підходах, принципах об'єктивності та холізму. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на підставі неоконсерватизму як ідейно-політичної платформи, що постає центристською течією та спирається на ідеї національної єдності, національної відповідальності еліти, ідеї державної опіки та контролю на засадах "філософії правого реформізму", на принципі соціальної стабілізації, гарантування природного (еволюційного) розвитку, обґрунтовується підхід до побудови культурної політики України, яка повинна відштовхуватися від гармонійного синтезу консервативно-зберігаючої (захисної) та креативно-інноваційної складових. При цьому перша має бути пріоритетом і ядром, що вміщує можливості подальшого розвитку. **Висновки.** Обґрунтовується основний принцип неоконсервативної культурної політики української держави, на базі якого повинен відбуватися розвиток книговидавництва та кінорежисури, міжнародне культурне співробітництво тощо, зокрема, що реформування культурної сфери включає в себе єдність традиційного ядра та інноваційної надбудови. Це, по-перше, перетворює національну культурну спадщину на конкурентоспроможний фактор, а, по-друге, дає змогу зберегти культурну ідентичність українців як народу та нації-суб'єкта в глобалізованому світі.

Ключові слова: неоконсерватизм, ідея правого реформізму, інновації, культурна спадщина та ідентичність, культурна політика України.

Печеранский Игорь Петрович, доктор философских наук, доцент, доцент кафедры философии Киевского национального университета культуры и искусств

Неоконсервативные основы культурной политики украинского государства на современном этапе

Цель работы – раскрытие неоконсервативных принципов культурной политики украинского государства на современном этапе. **Методология** исследования основана на структурно-философском анализе, идейно-содержательном, аксиологическом и нормативно-ценностном подходах, принципах объективности и холизма. **Научная новизна** работы заключается в том, что на основании неоконсерватизма как идейно-политической платформы, что возникает как центристское течение и опирается на идеи национального единства, национальной ответственности элиты, идеи государственной опеки и контроля на основе "философии правого реформизма", на принципы социальной стабилизации, обеспечения естественного (эволюционного) развития, обосновывается подход к построению культурной политики Украины, которая должна отталкиваться от гармоничного синтеза консервативно-сохраняющей (защитной) и креативно-инновационной составляющих. При этом первая должна быть приоритетом и ядром, что вмещает в себя возможности дальнейшего развития. **Выводы.** Обосновывается основной принцип неоконсервативной культурной политики украинского государства, на базе которого должно происходить развитие книгоиздания и кинопроизводства, международное культурное сотрудничество и т.д., а именно, что реформирование культурной сферы включает в себя единство традиционного ядра и инновационной надстройки. Это, во-первых, превращает национальное культурное наследие на конкурентоспособный фактор, а, во-вторых, позволяет сохранить культурную идентичность украинцев как народа и нации-суб'єкта в глобализованном мире.

Ключевые слова: неоконсерватизм, идея правого реформизма, инновации, культурное наследие и идентичность, культурная политика Украины.

Formulation of the problem. Today we are the witnesses of a little bit paradoxical situation in the cultural sphere in Ukraine. From one side, one of the ostent of after Maidan phenomenon is the typical for the modern Ukrainian society, especially for young generation, is conservative tendencies' strengthening, as a sample, a mentality, also mood of leading groups, and in the measures of political system transformation (present day authority at least on the official stage declare its right-centrist course). From other side, according to many criteria and indicators the Ukrainian society separates more and more from traditional culture and traditional system of values under the influence of transnational economic policy and cultural globalization which feeds up the old cultural mega problem of Ukrainian – the mental fragmentation and separatism from the native organic life, neglect of own cultural identity which is closely connected with "shackles" of less value complex.

This ambivalence is specified not only the elemental mass unconscious which appears in actualization of archetypical models of the Ukrainian life, largely caused by the lack of a tradition of its own state, but also by the unsuccessful institution-ideological structure of valuable and sociable space of Ukraine, as a result of which instead of building a prosperous and one of the richest countries of Central Europe, an oligarchic russian-soviet system functions which has been becoming the source of moral and politics legal nihilism. It means, in its turn, that much time during the period of independence the Ukrainian cultural policy was implemented and fulfilled on the paper in the direction of defending national interests but in reality was fulfilled in the spectrum of interests of Russian cultural policy.

Really, today is necessary to note the positive changes in this direction which are connected with the reduction of russian content in Ukraine, awareness of this is total dominance the last one on the book shelves and in media space is becoming a big danger for national security of our country and cultural identity of each citizen. But unfortunately, all these steps and motions occur very slowly and are accompanied with the domination of more emotion than pragmatic patriotism. It adds, on our opinion, everything that happens in this direction and more remind, from one side, earning dividends by separate political parties which are in leading coalition, and from other side, "protection reaction of ethnic organism" which back up by the ideology of nationalism.

Historical – ideological heritage of Ukraine confirms that communist, socialist or other left ideas in the political culture of the state don't promote to make hard foundation of state creation. In counterweight them, the right sector is more attractive and constructive fro national political discourse and lifestyle of our country where more organic, productive and more natural looks out the ideology not the nationalism but conservatism moreover, where the are speaking about modern challenge and danger before which the Ukrainian society occurs and this "peeled" critically understanding and progressive conservatism which is in today's' realities transforms in neo-conservative flow of right reformism idea, overcoming in itself old element which are connected with monarchism, paternalism or aristocraticism.

Analysis of researches and publications. Among researchers who refer to the understanding conservative visions in cultural policy of Ukraine, is necessary to remember V. Lypynskii, S. Tomashevskii, V. Kuchabskii, M. Hrushevskii, I. Lysiak-Rudnytskii, B. Kulyk, O. Holobutskii, V. Potulnytskii, S. Helia, Yu. Tereshchenko, M. Hordienko, H. Shchokin, N. Kozak, Yu. Kovtun, O. Rozhko, O. Antoniuk, V. Dereha, K. Nastoiashcha, S. Zdioruk, L. Nahorna, V. Maidaniuk and others. Almost all given by the authors approaches must be grouped including the specific of correlation between conservatism and cultural policy in two directions: a) those which fit to the analysis of cultural policy directly from the conservative-ideological positions and b) those which were during the learning peculiarities of creating cultural policy in Ukraine reveal and reconstruct separate and ideconservative components.

Purpose and tasks of article. Our approach more focuses to the first direction but with the one condition which consists in that the cultural policy of Ukraine is considered in the context of neo-conservatism unlike the major approaches which exist today's in the Ukrainian politological science. Under the "neo-conservatism" we understand this alternative which can be opposite the current variant of "liberalism in Ukrainian", which functions in the measures of oligarchic model of political, economical and cultural life of Ukraine on the modern stage. And it goes not about conservatism by V. Lypynskii, Yu. Lypa or H. Shchokin, but new times (neo) variant of transformed and situated type of this ideological tradition which has appeared including the pervious experience and also under the influence of challenges, ideas and concepts on the frontier of XX-XXI centuries.

The presentation of the main part. Unlike the nationalism which today in Ukraine represents as the extremely right idea-political platform, neo conservatism or conservative-national version of modern society development of Ukraine exists like centrist flow which relies on ideas of national unity and national responsibility of elite, on ideas of state ward and control on the position of "right reformism philosophy", on principles of social stabilization, guarantee natural (evolutional) development, on synthesis from traditions and modernization, etc. These principles and ideas are in the base of this idea-political platform which aims at overcoming moral and political-legal nihilism, and to revive the authority of a constitutional state which wants to create a state of development, provides private property protection and personal freedom, which is orientates on economical independence strengthening as by the small and middle business stimulation, in first turn, and by including achievements of economical equality of subjects before law, guarantee their rights which are closely connected with elimination oligarchs from power, etc.

All mentioned aspects of neo-conservative ideology directly connect with the cultural police which is accordingly to this idea political platform, must based, as M. Afanasief pointed, on the principles (1) of keeping like reformation and (2) on reforms as synthesis : "Understanding the principle of keeping civilization like necessity of maintenance of social contradictions, make balance between contradictory principles, reformation right existence... Understanding modernization like natural keeps social heredity – development of society and making a reform as the organic synthesis of social innovation and tradition for reproduction a right co-existence" [2, 43].

Near the given principles neo-conservatism goes to modern traditionology or "neo-traditionalism" which in spite of Weber explanation "tradition", which brings in itself "negative connotation" like the synonym of something backward and frozen, addresses to other connotations : "vital world", "returning to the sources", etc. Based on the structural approach, post-structural and neo-functional synthesis, emphasizes K.Nastoiashcha, is occurring rethinking of cultural tradition phenomena which appears like "trans-time, multilines, flexible, creative process (or totality of innovative-institutional processes), which specifies meaningful integrity of culture (cultural system, cultural organism) in dynamics of continuous self-adaptive own set of security features" [4, 7].

According to this understanding, tradition, firstly, structurally contains conservative and creative components, conflict between which makes selfmotion of cultural traditions and, secondly, gives grounds to accept the last one as evolutionary-adaptive unity, which is the condition of stable functioning of society and its innovative development.

Conservative component of cultural tradition keeps valuable cores, symbolic codes and "charismatic senses" (S.Eisenshtadt) without which is impossible recreation and constitution of nation in time – space continuum and also cultural identity of people. Moreover, according to this interpretation, cultural tradition, especially its cultural element, makes parameters for innovations which are to be further institutionalization [4, 8].

Neo-conservative cultural policy of Ukraine on the modern stage takes the weight of these theoretical principles and defines the priority its direction – the preservation and protection of national identity and the uniqueness of Ukrainian culture, which, in turn, provides strategy development of the Ukrainian language, creating incentives for competitive Ukrainian cultural products, forming a single Ukrainian information and cultural fields, promotion of the world's true history of Ukraine, its culture and belonging to the European civilization. It comes from the inviolability of the principles and values of cultural tradition in terms of statehood at the present stage, which will help preserve national identity, develop cultural market and promote the cultural and historical heritage of the Ukrainian people.

In this aspect, cultural policy is based on neo-conservative principles, is consistent with the ideas of national and cultural revival, it focuses on the recognition of multiethnicity and multicultural state, aimed at forming a new cultural models specific to its national character, mentality, traditions and restoration of historical consciousness" [5, 103]. This underlines the fact that cultural policy is not only a part of Ukrainian state policy, but culture in general, which, in modern conditions, can function as part of a worldwide historical process. Modern challenges recently associated with the growth of innovative and creative potential of the advanced civilization of the third millennium, forcing conservative-minded Ukrainian statemen transform cultural policy a key factor in the strategy of state building, as opposed to economic and consumer initiatives oligarchic-liberal-oriented part of the establishment. This envisages the development of mechanisms to encourage the creative potential of citizens to build common ground of cultural life, which only reinforces the patriotic mood, producing instruments buildup that aim as the preservation of cultural heritage, and to initiate the development of innovative cultural industries and create art –market requiring the necessary funding [5].

It must be overcome trophy and ethnographic attitude to the national cultural and artistic heritage of Ukraine towards making the latest in today's globalized world as pointed O.Antoniuk and O.Rozhok, on "culture of modern, dynamic, competitive, is capable to cure beyond folklore and poetry limited space outside the traditional genres and styles, actively assimilate new forms of creativity and cultural practices" [1, 127]. For getting such a result main subjects of forming state cultural policy (President, Verkhovna Rada, Cabinet of Ministers, National Security Council and Ministry of Culture) in a joint agreement with different institutional structures (cultural, educational, cultural and recreational institutions, formal and informal creative associations, movements, associations, etc.) should work towards under creating "National doctrine of cultural development and strengthening of Ukraine" which would ensure and protect not only the mechanisms of transmission of spiritual values but also determined the rules of participation the cultural sector in building civil society in the economic growth of the state and stabilize the internal Ukrainian politics.

Only when cultural heritage is not only be associated with a set of artifacts due to which there is preservation of the cultural identity of the Ukrainian nation, she will make an important factor in establishing historical subjectivness last on the international stage when it becomes a powerful driver of socio-economic development and factor strengthening all areas of social life, real and effective tool for building a civil society on the foundation of regional development and innovation policy, that then we can speak of effective cultural policy in our country. This is what neo-conservatism advocates that sees cultural policy resource raising the image of Ukraine in the international arena, the tool to advance its foreign policy interests, a powerful factor of national unity and inexhaustible source of innovation.

Constructive expansionism which, according to S. Zdioruk, must dominate in the Ukrainian cultural policy [3, 4] should dominate the Ukrainian cultural policy should improve the effectiveness of different chan-

nels of cultural representation at the national level achievements in the field which can then be used as a powerful factor in cultural diplomacy. The development of Ukrainian book publishing and film production, improvement of national mechanisms for the preservation of cultural heritage, creation of a single information and cultural fields, establishing effective international cultural cooperation, effective support for modern cultural industries, etc. – These steps generally known to be backed by political will and be based on the principles of transparency and openness, consistency and efficiency, democracy, innovation, tolerance and de-ideologicalism.

At the expense of the latter should be emphasized that this is a lack of ideological monism dictate in matters of cultural policy as it was in Soviet times, which naturally led to the unification of cultural space. So, was overcome fragmentation in these conditions cultural space, but almost destroyed the possibility of developing and harmonizing its national characteristics. After that neo-conservative culture policy in Ukraine at the present stage of its formation should be carried out, and we agree with some modern authors, based on moderate paternalism that balances the state protection and promotion of the needs of the market and the free development of personality, different social groups and nationalities living in the country, without which Ukrainian culture lose viability and competitiveness. As regulated without state patronage in terms of cultural development that we should not equate directly with the total team administration will not be Ukrainian culture as a valuable historical subjectivity of its nation creation potential.

Conclusions. Thus, today when European integration in cultural sphere is natural and fashion trend, is necessary to understand that in spite of numeral advantages of trans-border co-operation and intercultural enrichment, the first and the main priority of the Ukrainian cultural police from neo-conservative flow's point of view should be not an approximation Ukrainian legislation in cultural sphere to European standards but reformation and implementation of normative – legal base which fixes the first turn and constitutional status of material and spiritual cultural heritage. Only with this condition which keeps the Ukrainian culture as an original phenomenon in the world culture history, further steps are possible, especially providing competitive national product on the world market and also legislation agreement and main principles of cultural policy of EU in general and with European countries with Ukrainian normative- legal base in this question.

Let's remember that in the base of reformation as the synthesis of traditional and creative components is located the preservation of national cultural heritage and core of cultural values which enable cultural identity of Ukrainians like peoples and nation-subject – is the maim principle of neo-conservative cultural policy in XXI century.

Література

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