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THE MODERN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UKRAINE

Abstract. *The article investigates the features of political leadership within and at the end of «Euromaidan». Petro Poroshenko is considered as one of the political leaders of «Euromaidan», who demonstrated excellent behavior from others and thus become the main beneficiaries eligible for the redistribution of supporters. As the President of Ukraine he has demonstrated the ability to structure the cognitive space by creating mass awareness, promotion and support of social categories that is able to accommodate the largest possible number of followers and implements positive program of presidential political leadership.*

Keywords: *political leadership, «Euromaidan», political party leaders, constituents, presidential political leadership.*

The study of political leadership in Ukraine again and again becomes relevant due to continuous updating of the representatives of this institution, as well as of the conditions of its existence, in particular, the mechanisms of formation of political leadership.

You may consider the administrative political leadership the most widespread in Ukraine. Perhaps the most important for the country is the president's political leadership, which you may consider one of the varieties of political administrative leadership. For example, by the results of early presidential elections in Ukraine in 2014 Poroshenko took the first place, following him: Julia Tymoshenko, Oleg Lyashko, Anatolii Hrytsenko, Serhiy Tigipko. Except Oleg Lyashko, the other participants have quite a considerable administrative experience and perceived primarily as officials. Oleg Lyashko is party leader. Yulia Tymoshenko is also a party leader, but her ranking is mostly linked to the experience as prime minister of Ukraine.

The election was preceded by Euromaidan and some of the activists and leaders of the protest movement also took part in the presidential elections. For example, participants were: Olga Bogomolets that has less than 2% of the vote and Dmitry Yarosh - less than 1%. Looking at the experience of the presidential election in Ukraine than its winners, until recently, were former prime ministers, people with extensive experience in public administration.

Parliamentary and presidential elections held in the last 20 years in Ukraine, reveal peculiarities of political leadership in the country. Incidence of ranking of the Ukrainian presidents at some time after the elections is due to the fact that they failed to offer its citizens, as distinct from their voters, sense of a united «we», which was to unite the society and the leader, none of them could show themselves

as a instance that supports «collective identity».

Presidential political leadership of Leonida Kuchma didn't adhere the basic conditions for effective leadership, such as the ability to form social categories that enable the opposition of «us» and «them», the ability to link these categories to the needs and attitudes of followers to perform the role of «prototype» that is the epitome of the proposed social category. The positive meaningful program of presidential political leadership was almost missing.

During the 2004 presidential election the alternatives of further national development were defined, that marked just the presence of positive meaningful programs that have led to the mobilization of public and political forces. However, both positive content programs did not have sufficient capacity to consolidate the society, because sometimes they appealed to opposite categories. We can talk here about the wrong choice of agenda for positive content programs.

In the 2004 election, Yushchenko did the emphasis on the positive side of the identity of «Europeanism», i.e. began actively impose on the society new categories such as «European integration» that potentially could cause rejection, he activated the category of «reform,» «democratization.» His proposed identity bare deepening of internal contradictions in regional and ideological format. Consequently Yushchenko in the status of the President faced a very difficult problem of consolidation of society.

Viktor Yanukovych during two presidential campaigns partially preserved his proposed program of positive content. However, a noticeable disadvantage was that under its «prototype», that the followers were up to, occupied the central factor in the opposition, so he built his leadership rhetoric in opposition to «us» and «them» as they were representatives of the «orange» camp. This contributed the mobilization of his supporters, but again, bore visible signs of regional identity.

In the 2010 presidential election positive meaningful program of Viktor Yanukovych, oriented on such categories as «stability», «historical memory» took the second place against the negative categorization. But today we can see a clear attempt of the President of Ukraine to offer to society the positive program content throughout activating the categories of «European Integration» and «modernization.»

Leadership differs depending on the characteristics of the political process: extraordinary, selective, normal. During the election campaign the attention of followers is attracted to its direct participants, who apply for relevant positions. The advantage of this process use those who already have the relevant experience, because voters prefer the current mayor than his competitors and experienced officials, than to those who don't have that much experience, hoping that their experience will enable them to better perform their functions. Thus administrative experience is a competitive advantage in the electoral process in itself provides a selection of needed kind of political leader. Relevant professional skills are the part of «ideal image» of the candidate for mayor, MP and the President of Ukraine.

Under normal conditions of the political process in the foreground there are also carriers of the administrative political leadership, because they are constantly driven by dealing with important for voters affairs, they are at the center of attention while leaders operating in an environment of non-governmental organizations or

political parties are on the periphery of attention and have to make serious efforts to draw the attention of voters.

The only exception in the situation is the periods of extraordinary political process, when attention is switched from administrative political leaders to their competitors. While each of the above steps of extraordinary political process in Ukraine there appeared political leaders, no way linked to the state apparatus. «The revolution on granite» - Oles Doniy, Vyacheslav Kirilenko and Oleg Tyahnybok, «Ukraine without Kuchma» - Yulia Tymoshenko and Andrey Shkil, the Orange Revolution - Yuriy Lutsenko, Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, Euromaidan - Dmitry Yarosh, Yegor Sobolev and more. However, the appearance of this type of leaders is a phenomenon, as we can see, more situational and more widespread in Ukraine is and will remain the administrative political leadership.

The peculiarity of the Ukrainian political leadership, since the protest movement «Ukraine without Kuchma», gained a significant influence on the processes of mass protests. The last such event was the «Euromaidan», during which the status of political leaders have received a completely new faces, confirming this way its importance in the processes of creation of new political leaders.

Party leaders, such as Yatsenyuk, Klitschko and Tyahnybok showed during «Euromaidan» constructively oppositional behavior, while civil society leaders - opposition-confrontational. This difference can be explained through an appeal to the views of R. Tucker, who suggested using the term «supporting myth» of society to create a typology of political leaders. Speaking of the myth, he had meant a vision, an idea or concept of society as a whole. Party leaders are striving to preserve and use the «supporting myth» of society, seeing in the activities of their opponents the deviations from the model, rooted in myth and calling them to overcome it by changing certain negative practices.

Leaders of the civil sector, such as Yegor Sobolev, regard the situation as so fundamentally wrong that the only way out of the situation they see in the fundamental restructuring of society, that is the change of the «supporting the myth». The origin of these political leaders left a special mark on their characteristics, because their activities within the framework of non-governmental organizations have its own peculiarities. As part of such activities conservation or the loss of leadership depends on personal qualities of a man, on his ability to navigate through the complex group processes, on developing solutions that address the specific needs of people and groups in the context of social demands and social situation parameters.

Political parties are the important institution forming political leaders in Ukraine. A party leadership can also be considered as a separate social situation that requires special skills, or special leaders. It does not belong to the typology of administrative leadership, as it is entirely different situation. By the way political leaders are operating under the Parliament should also be classified into «administrative» and «party». For example Yatsenyuk in his tenure as the Speaker developed as a political leader, but it was an administrative political leadership. Instead, MPs, that did not embrace the administrative positions in the structure of the Parliament, such as Kaplin or Lyashko during the first period of its activity, are not the representatives of the administrative and political leadership and belong to

the parties.

Besides party leadership, in the context of Ukraine we should talk about the political leadership that comes from NGOs. Political parties and civic organizations provide a potential political leader with a public platform for self-presentation and official status. In this framework potential political leaders have the ability to act as members of certain social groups, to act on their behalf, demonstrate the presence of characteristic qualities of the entire group, initiate group processes, collective actions, stimulate mass movements.

Leadership in public organizations can be divided into situational and personal. Examples of the first are protest leaders of NGOs, that appeared situational, in case of appearance of counter-social motivation in response to a gross violation of the interests of social groups. These leaders are situational and they can become political leaders only in a situation where protest is transferred to the political level and requires the intervention of public authorities. The second type of NGO leaders formed due to the presence in them of personal leadership skills, self-determined activity, the pursuit of development, taking into account patterns of development in general, the ability to navigate the complex group processes. This type of community leaders has the best chance for self-realization in the political sphere.

Clearly, not all representatives of the leaders of «third sector» organizations can claim to be a political leader. Even when it comes to leadership in informal organizations, social movements or civil unions, it gains political leadership features only on the condition that the activities of these groups or teams are focused on the implementation of their aims by political activities and means of legitimate (and, of course, legal) influence on state power, or when the transition to the leader of the political activity.

In our opinion, extremely important and productive from a methodological point of view to spend quite a clear division between the leadership in the form of public activity (in fact it's variety of forms of leadership at the level of different civil society institutions, that are directed on group self-organization and joint apolitical activities) or spiritual leadership (which is, specifically, creative, scientific, religious leadership) and political leadership. Moreover, recreating the thesis about the decisive focus of a political leader on power, it's actually about state power, because, as it was pointed out by J. Blondel (this thesis it explicitly or implicitly traced in almost all studies of post-Soviet authors who study the problems of political leadership), the power of a political leader is always constituted by vertical scheme, ie - is implemented from the top down. So leadership in NGO is likely the resource for political leadership than on its own is a political leadership, the same thing with the protest leader, it is rather a resource for the development of a political leader. However, this does not obstruct us to examine the importance of civic leader and protest leader for the consolidation of democracy in Ukraine. The importance of these types of numerous leaders reflected in their numerous presences in Parliament - Sobolev, Filatov, Parasjuk, Denisenko.

The development of political leadership in parties and NGOs provokes the increase of the number of their representatives in local councils, community boards, etc., requiring adjustment of their training. One option would be the

implementation of parties' responsibility for the preparation of local politicians. However, it is reasonable to organize courses within regional institutes of the National Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine for party and civil society activists as future political leaders who influence the public administration. Successful completion of these courses is a prerequisite for participation in public institutions in the government, such as community councils and colleges, as well as registration of candidates for deputies of local councils.

Among the political leaders who have reached a new level of popularity during the «Euromaidan» we should at first remember Petro Poroshenko, who also refused to model the behavior of a party leader and were close to the leaders of the civil sector.

Political leaders are obliged to structure the cognitive space of the mass consciousness through the creation, promotion and support of social categories that can accommodate the largest possible number of followers, members of the public. Low rating in the first years after the election of all previous Ukrainian presidents is just a sign that they were not able to create a sense of a common «we», which is to unite society and a leader, none of them was able to show him as the instance that supports «collective identity.»

Can the new political leaders that appeared in the wake of the protests, avoid these mistakes? By nature they are more expressive leaders, focused on the support in own supporters a sense of unity, subjectivity and inspiration, while after the «Euromaidan» society needs leaders are more instrumental, that will indicate the clear and affordable objectives, establish communication and ensure the mobilization of the masses. If Yarosh, Parasyuk and Sobolev, as leaders were expressive, provided inspiration for «Euromaidan» participants, suggested goals, provided communication and mobilization among the participants, but then, at the end of this extraordinary situation, it was found that for the majority of the population, they are weak political leaders. Against this background, in the most advantageous position got Petro Poroshenko, who is different from them as to his nature and properties of his followers and the relationship with them and with the context in which the leadership is held. If Dmitry Yarosh can be identified as a leader - «standard-bearer», due to the presence of his own vision of reality and the desire for a radical transformation of the existing political system, the ability to determine the dynamics, tempo, character of political events, to shape a political perspective; then Poroshenko was close to the image of a leader - «fireman», trying to respond to events in the Crimea, and then the formation of DNR and LNR as the problems that have been already brought to his followers' reality. Now he is transformed into a leader - «trader», seeking to engage followers in the realization of his ideas and plans.

Poroshenko also can be considered as a political leader who has gained popularity and followers through «Euromaidan». However, he differs from all other leaders associated with this action - from Sobolev, Yarosh, Parasyuk, Bogomolets, Bulatov and others. We can talk about the prominent role of «Euromaidan» in the development of Poroshenko, a political leader, as in 2013 he didn't exist in this capacity, and in any political sympathies ratings his result was below the statistical error. The only positive reason for his rise was the same low level of anti-rating,

which gave him a considerable potential for future growth.

During «Euromaidan» Poroshenko showed excellent behavior different from all of the key public figures. Unlike most of the opposition trio, he distanced himself from any talks with Yanukovich, and the current government, did not stated any claims or positions for power, in contrast to the public sector leaders he exhibited a tendency to compromise and did not use radical statements. On the background of laconic but effective Poroshenko, opposition trio looked demagogues. Vitali Klitschko, Arseniy Yatseniuk and Oleg Tyahnybok during the protests lost the confidence of their supporters, because of the reckless statements and promises that have not subsequently been implemented. Poroshenko held steady in the enlarged circle of leaders of the Maidan, he has constantly performed at the Viche and has been actively engaged in meetings with European officials, visited European conferences and other similar activities. In the end he managed to get the role of a «third force» to avoid criticism that focused on supporters of Yanukovich and the opposition trio.

Problems of presidential political leadership in Ukraine traditionally is in the issue of spreading negative categorization, which led to the opposition of the followers, and the neglect of the formation of the positive content of programs, which would have led to consolidation and mobilization of the whole society, not just specific groups of voters. Poroshenko managed to avoid this, since such categories as the «end of hostilities», «the end of the political crisis», «update power» and «territorial integrity» is in the line with the needs and attitudes of followers. As a result, Petro Poroshenko - this is the first Ukrainian president who won an overwhelming majority in all regions of the country.

Now he additionally offers the activation of the categories of «European Integration» and «renewal of the country». The mobilization potential of his leadership is maintained by a clear categorization of «others», as that can now be used as «separatists» and radical elements and the corruptionists, which obstruct the modernization of the country. Thus, Poroshenko, who as a political leader is the result of «Euromaidan», is now the most successful as a political leader at the post of President of Ukraine, while maintaining the rating even in a year after the election.

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Современное политическое лидерство в Украине.

***Аннотация:** Статья посвящена исследованию особенностей политического лидерства в рамках и после завершения «Евромайдана». В качестве одного из политических лидеров «Евромайдана» рассматривается Петр Порошенко, который продемонстрировал поведение отличное от других и благодаря этому стал главным бенефициаром процесса перераспределения сторонников. В качестве Президента Украины он демонстрирует способность структурировать когнитивное пространство массового сознания путем создания, стимулирования и поддержки социальных категорий, способных вместить в себя как можно большее количество последователей, и реализует положительную программу президентского политического лидерства.*

***Ключевые слова:** политическое лидерство, «Евромайдан», партийные*

политические лидеры, последователи, президентское политическое лидерство.

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Сучасне політичне лідерство в Україні

Анотація: *Стаття присвячена дослідженню особливостей політичного лідерства в рамках і після завершення «Євромайдану». В якості одного з політичних лідерів «Євромайдану» розглядається Петро Порошенко, який продемонстрував поведінку відмінну від інших, і завдяки цьому став головним бенефіціаром процесу перерозподілу прихильників. Як Президент України він демонструє здатність структурувати когнітивний простір масової свідомості шляхом створення, стимулювання та підтримки соціальних категорій, здатних вмістити в себе якомога більшу кількість послідовників, і реалізує позитивну програму президентського політичного лідерства.*

Ключові слова: *політичне лідерство, «євромайдан», партійні політичні лідери, послідовники, президентське політичне лідерство.*

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ТЕРОРИЗМ ЯК ГЛОБАЛЬНА ПРОБЛЕМА СУЧАСНОСТІ

Анотація. *На межі XX – XXI століть феномен тероризму істотно змінився: сталася його транснаціоналізація, що значно підвищило міру небезпеки загрози. Тероризм, мотивований соціальними, релігійними, ідеологічними та політичними причинами, активно взаємодіє з різними формами організованої злочинності, такими, як наркобізнес, незаконна торгівля зброєю, легалізація прибутків, отриманих злочинним шляхом. В умовах трансграничного характеру терористичної загрози особливого значення набув чинник налагодження повноцінної міжнародної співпраці на регіональному та глобальному рівнях. Проте відсутність міжнародно-визнаного визначення поняття «тероризм» створює можливість для політики «подвійних стандартів».*

Ключові слова: *тероризм, терорист, терористична група, злочин, насильство, примус.*

Мета даної статті – аналіз тероризму як глобальної проблеми сучасності. Її основні завдання такі: виявити природу і форми тероризму; показати міжнародний характер терористичних загроз і викликів.

Нелегко дати визначення тероризму, оскільки іноді в це поняття вкладається різне значення. Сучасне суспільство зіткнулося з багатьма видами тероризму, а тому цей термін позбувся чіткого смислового навантаження. Під тероризмом розуміють і чисто карні викрадення людей з метою викупу, і вбивства на політичному ґрунті, і жорстокі методи ведення війни, і викрадення літаків, і шантаж, тобто акти насильства, спрямовані проти власності та інтересів громадян. Існує більше ста визначень терору й тероризму, але жодне з них не є досить вдалим. Слово терор походить із латинської мови: *terror* – страх, жах [3, с. 47]. Дійсно, будь-які дії терориста (навіть не пов'язані зі вбивством) завжди припускають насильство,