

17. Bakalchuk V., & Tyshchenko Ju. *Relations of Non-governmental organizations and government: on the borderline of identity, culture and politics* Retrieved from <http://ua.kulturaenter.pl> (in Ukr.).

18. *Document of Joint Working Group "Realisation of European Neighbourhood Policy in 2010". Report on realisation of project in Ukraine, in addition to "Common Message of Commission to European Parliament, Council of Europe, Economic and Social Committee and Committee of the Regions". New response on changes in countries-neighbours.* Retrieved from http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/ukraine/documents/eu_uk_chronology/enp_report_2010_ukraine_uk.pdf (in Ukr.).

19. Krejmer, D., president of Freedom House et al. (July 2012). *Sounding the Alarm – Round 2: Protecting Democracy in Ukraine*, which is the follow up to a previous report (unofficial translation from English). Retrieved from <http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Ukraine%202012%20Ukrainian%20FINAL.pdf> (in Ukr.).

20. Pozhydajev, Je. (2007). Non-governmental organizations in social and political life of Ukraine: limits of participation and priorities of activity. *Strategichni priorytety (Strategical priorities)*, 4 (5), 19–26 (in Ukr.).

Kalynovskyy Valeriy. S.

Ph. D. in History, Professor, National Academy of Internal Affairs, Kyiv, Ukraine.

Kapichon Olga. G.

Undergraduate student, National Academy of Internal Affairs, Kyiv, Ukraine. ol4ik-blondy@rambler.ru

PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC AND STATE BUILDING IN THE WORKS OF PROFESSOR Yu. RYMARENKO

Full text. Ukraine is a young state in scale of the history. However these 22 years of independence are based on a long history of our country. Having won the independence we still have not gained our national consciousness. This is not surprising. From ancient times the Ukrainian nation was under the yoke of its oppressors different at different times, but equally ruthless to our nation. Of course, during 22 years of independence it is difficult to overturn the history and lay the foundation of the ethnic and national consciousness which first of all shall be based on the principles of patriotism and national unity. That is why till today the ethnic development of the state is a cornerstone for the Ukrainian people.

Many famous national and foreign scientists, philosophers and cultural specialists tackled an issue of the identity and ethnos. From among them we should mention the following: M. Hrushevskyyi, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Fichte, Pityrym Sorokin

etc. Yuriy Ivanovych Rymarenko (1929 – 2006), a true patriot of his Fatherland, lawyer, doctor of philosophy, professor, corresponding member of the Academy of Legal Sciences of Ukraine, Colonel of the internal service, who at the end of the 20th – the beginning of the XXI century was investigating the matter of the ethnic and social revival of Ukraine, took a prominent place among the scientists [1, 473; 2]. Being a leading expert in the field of domestic relations he actualized the issue of identity of the Ukrainian nation. To support this issue the scientist examined in detail the theories of many scientists, in particular: the theory of social solidarity of E. Durkheim, the idea of the Russian philosophy of natural law, explored the works of scientists and representatives of the national-state direction and others. At that time Yu. Rymarenko addressed the issue of establishing the ideas of statehood, building a new democratic Ukraine not with authoritarian power already, but with power of authority and respect to authority the carriers of which the Ukrainian people were [3, 8]. He was confident that to live peacefully it was necessary for the national and state interests to be as close as possible, and for the state interests to be increasingly deprived of subjectivity, and to approach the interest of the Ukrainian nation. In the scientist's opinion the ideal of unity and the raise of political and ideological culture had to become a core of revival, because Ukrainians were a nation with a long history of struggle for creation of their own state [4, 31]. We cannot fail to mention Zaporizhian Sich, the 4th Universal of the Central Rada (Council), which declared the independence of the Ukrainian Public Republic, the creation of the independent Carpathian Ukraine in March 1939, the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty on July 16, 1990 and, as a consequence, the proclamation of the Act of Independence of Ukraine on August 24, 1991, which showed that despite all the political tempests the idea of statehood and national unity, which was genetically encoded in the mentality of the Ukrainian people, was indestructible. Neither the 340-year enslavement of Ukraine by the Moscow Empire, nor more than seven decades of the totalitarian and repressive communist regime eliminated this idea from the minds of our people. The formation of the Ukrainian state has a reliable basis and everlasting love of freedom of the Ukrainian nation.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the problem of further state structure – “national state”, “unitary”, “federal”, “multinational” – arose to the independent Ukraine. This dilemma found its consolidation in the Constitution of Ukraine as of 1996, where it was clearly stated in the 2nd article: “Ukraine is a unitary state”. In the ethnic and state aspect the unitary is treated as an association for high purpose – national unity of Ukraine, independence in all of its spheres [5, 243].

Ukrainians considered the state to be the center of national spirit realization. But to understand the boundless aspirations of Ukrainians to distinctiveness we should compare the conceptual aspect of the definition of “nation” for our and the West European culture. Under the concept of “nation” the foreign scientists understand a large social group of people which through a new objective and subjective

preconditions accepted in some areas integrated into a single society, which was aware of this special community and had an inherent desire to live in a common state structure. [6, 179]. However this approach does not contain ethno-social background. It to a greater extent concerns the political concept of “state”, as far as does not contain such unifying ethnicity factors as language, culture, religion, psychology, common history. Whereas it is more pragmatic, because focuses on the signs of state community and common being within a single ethno-political organism. This is so-called etatical theory of nation according to which the nation is identified with the population of a particular state. According to this principle the largest ethnic community forms a basis of the state, and the latter constitutes a state organism with different ethno-structural elements. Therefore the concepts of “nation” and “state” in the West European lexicon are identified.

Therewith it is objectively impossible for us, who are at the center of Europe, to copy the West. Since the early 18th century the West has been moving by certain political forces to the creation of a “single nation without ethnic” in the societies, that is to creation of human communities which consist of single nation - population of different ethnic origin, which shall not differentiate itself in segregated ethno-historical units and is a single ethno-consolidated factor in the political area. As a result it may be noted that the national states were mainly formed in Europe. Therefore the politically inline concepts such as “nation”, “people” and “state” are used in the West.

It is not inherent to our mentality. For historical reasons, having no independent state, our people have carried their identity, culture, language and traditions through the generations. But there should be a balance and solidarity to ethnic groups in order that the desire for self-determination does not grow into chauvinism. It is the aspect that the Professor Yu. Rymarenko stresses in his works, pointing to the necessity of symbiosis of the etatic and ethnic approach to the development of the Ukrainian nation. This approach can be introduced by the concept of “Ukrainian political nation” which unlike ethnic one may be regarded as the “sovereign co-citizenship”. Indeed such a concept overcomes the contradiction between the root (core) nation and ethnic groups, fills the Ukrainian idea with the nation-wide meaning and direction. The concept of the Ukrainian political nation can become an important means of the inter-ethnic relations stabilization, the titular nation and ethnic groups’ interests harmonization. And only to the extent that the population of Ukraine feels like a real subject of ongoing transformations, it is possible to count on success of the latter. [6, 179]. The events of the autumn 2004, when people in unison defended their choice, are a convincing example. There was no differentiation based on the ethnic principle, but the nation was formed as an integral unit, which in a legitimate way defended its rights and achieved its purpose without shedding a single drop of blood. The nation is a unity of spirit of the population and love for its Fatherland, and therewith neither color of skin, nor religion or language plays any role.

Yu. Rymarenko indicates that the term “Ukrainian political nation” appears as synonym to the concept of “people of Ukraine”. But the “nation” in this context is not considered as a community of a higher than national level. This refers to a combination of social and national interests of classes and social groups, residents of cities and villages, employees of mental and physical labor, nations and ethnic groups in this concept. This dream, the Ukrainian dream, to which we should go, stimulating the integration processes in the society which reflect the common economic needs, political preferences, idea and purpose – the development of an independent and united Ukrainian state. Yu. Rymarenko stated that what we call national or All-Ukrainian unity would reliably begin to work in this context. [6, 180]

Indeed, the ethno-social revival is a result of the raise of political culture of citizens, and the national ideology must meet the needs of different social groups of population and ethnic minorities. Yu. Rymarenko insisted that the nation formation was a political process, and the nation itself was an indissoluble unity of the state and civil society. Ethnic factors could not be a basis of the nation formation as the mono-ethnic nations did not exist. Therefore, according to the theory of Yu. Rymarenko, it is possible to achieve harmony in society and development of the nation only in the unity of all ethnic groups which live on a joint territory and are united by the same purpose. He insists that there should not be any oppression of minorities in the Ukrainian legal democratic state. In his opinion the ethnicity consists of not dominant and controlled nations, but of equal ethnic groups united by the same patriotic idea of the titular nation.

Thus tolerance and respect to the national minorities are indeed an indicator of maturity and stability of the nation. But unfortunately Ukrainians have not yet reached the level to fully realize themselves as an integral unit united by patriotism and love for their Fatherland. Therefore an official investigation of the fact that Ukraine is a national state which bears the name of the largest among its indigenous ethnic groups – Ukrainian - shall become an important step towards de-politicization of ethnic relations. Such constitution shall become a starting point for a fair resolution of all issues of national-state and national-cultural development, and in particular overcoming the politicization of ethnic relations. This politicization can create the grounds for conflicts between the state and multi-ethnic population.

But the titular nation is still a fundamental in the ethnic development of the state. For example, the problem of titular nation is absent in the USA while it is urgent in Ukraine, because our state has indigenous population. In a multi-ethnic society one nation necessarily dominates over all, - namely dominates, but not rules, specifically is the most significant, the most decisive in socio-economic and politico-cultural life of the whole nation, but not “simply outweighs all”. Naturally this is a so-called “titular nation”, that is that part of the state's population which nationality determines the official name of the state [7, 301]. But it has no right to impose “its idea” and take the “mission” provided or intended for indispensable “ruling over the society”, because it will be a manifestation of its ethno-centrism, ethno-isolation, ethno-egoism. Instead the

ideas of the all-nation social unity and civil-political reconciliation shall dominate in spiritual and political dialogue and socio-economic interaction of people. And therewith it is more than ever important to develop trust to the state, which guarantees human rights, to overcome the anti-state disease, low patriotic consciousness, which is sometimes associated with ethnic intransigence, strengthening of anti-state ideas in the east and south of Ukraine. We should be proud that we are Ukrainians, proudly carry this title and glorify our nation. But therewith, the warning of Yu. Rymarenko is quite modern: “Be patriots, not chauvinists!” [8, 62].

The right of nation for self-esteem under certain conditions is defined in the system of international law. The scientist argues in his works that the Ukrainian nation meets these conditions, because it is a distinct people with its own history, culture, self-awareness, and lives a common life in a compact territory.

National certainty of civil society with its deep historical roots firmly connects people to their Fatherland with many social and spiritual threads. It is this context in which the concept is defined in the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (July 16, 1990): “Citizens of all nationalities of the Republic constitute the people of Ukraine”.

Formation of the Ukrainian nation has a history that is rooted in ancient times. At various times Ukrainians fought for the right to speak their native language, believe in their God, respect their traditions. Many heads of true patriots of their Fatherland lied down for this right. And now, when we fortunately have a peaceful sky over our heads, we forget the deed of valor of those heroes. Sometimes we hold aloof our native language, abandon traditions, and lose our national identity. But this is the very time when Ukrainians have a chance for their ethnic revival, renaissance of patriotic spirit. Only in the unity of the titular nation and ethnic groups it is possible to achieve a common purpose, that is the national power of our country. And the fact of who you are by birth is not important. National self-awareness and love for Fatherland – Ukraine play a decisive role. These are the views which Yu. Rymarenko followed in his works. Unfortunately the professor is at the end of the road, but his ideas live, his works become increasingly relevant, and it is in our hands to make this theoretical basis a vivid reality. And then there certainly comes the time when each of us, Ukrainians, with head held high will be able to say: “I am Ukrainian and I am proud of it!”

Formation of ethno-national consciousness is a complicated and lengthy process. The Ukrainian nation has a strong basis for its national existence. However due to many circumstances this basis is being ruined nowadays. Patriotic spirit shall be instilled from the early childhood and grow throughout the life. The 21st century dictates its own rules which are based on material wealth, but not on formation of spiritual wealth of a human. However the people of Ukraine at various times could come together to show disobedience, express the same idea which was common to millions of compatriots. Therefore even at this difficult time Ukrainians are able to unite and fight for their right to exist as a single nation.

These are the issues which the professor Yu. Rymarenko investigated in his works. The problem of the formation of national unity, legal and social position of the titular nation and sub-ethnics in the state, development of the united Ukraine, is an incomplete list of problems which the professor addressed in his investigations. These are not just topical, but angular problems. Because if we do not strengthen the foundation for national development today, there will be nothing to strengthen tomorrow. That is why the works of the Professor Yu. Rymarenko require further consideration and detailed research.

Keywords: *nation, people, ethnos, creation of the state, title nation, state, patriotism, subethnos.*

References:

1. Shemshuchenko Yu. S. et al. (Eds.). (2003). *Juridicial encyclopedia: in 6th volumes. Vol. 5.* Kyiv: Ukrayinskaya entsyklopediya (in Ukr.).
2. Rymarenko, Yu. I. & Shved V. O. (Eds.). (1992). *Ethnic and national processes in contemporary Ukraine: bibliography.* Kyiv: Ukrainian Academy of Internal Affairs (in Ukr.).
3. Olefir, V. I. et al. (Eds.). (1992). *Yuriy Ivanovych Rymarenko: Life and creative legacy.* Kyiv: Kyiv National University of Internal Affairs (in Ukr.).
4. Rymarenko, Yu. I. (Ed.). (1991). *Ethnic and national relations in political life of society.* Kyiv (in Russ.).
5. Rymarenko, Yu. I. (Ed.). (1997). *Foundations of Ethnic and State Studies: Textbook.* Kyiv: Lybid (in Ukr.).
6. Rymarenko, Yu. I. (1995). *National development of Ukraine: problems and perspectives.* Kyiv: Yurinkom (in Ukr.).
7. Rymarenko, Yu. I. (Ed.). (1991). *Relations among nations. Terms and Definitions: Dictionary-Reference book.* Kiev: Kiev Highest School of Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR (in Russ.).
8. Rymarenko, Yu. I. (1991). *Nationalism: sources, causes, essence, psychology.* Kiev: Kiev State University (in Russ.).

Magda Evgen. V.

Ph. D. in History, Associate professor, Institute of Publishing and Printing, National Technical University of Ukraine "Kyiv Polytechnic Institute", Kyiv, Ukraine. rozumaha@gmail.com

MODERN CHALLENGES TO CONSOLIDATION OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY

Abstract. Consolidation means common work in order to reach common goal. The form of consolidation depends on its roots which are defined by society itself. The