

УДК 323.22/28 (477)

Igor Khyzhnyak

VIRTUES AND VICES OF THE EUROMAIDAN'S LESSONS: THE SECOND STAGE OF "STATE DEFIANCE" AFTERWARDS

The article presents an innovative fusion of the approaches to specific features of "State Defiance" second stage and as of its consequence factor the EuroMaidan's phenomenon as well as their mutual impact on the main historical events and fundamental problems in Ukraine after president Yanukovich's ousting.

The first sign of drastic changes in political architecture of Ukraine was expressed in the thesis that power may be also fought for peoples' craving for social legitimate trust but not only by means of universal suffrage.

The Maidan's Eurorevolution is a Revolution of Human Dignity. The Maidan in Kyiv is a new generation Maidan of the second decade in the XXI-st century. Still it is after the European values. It is a reforming factor of obsolete system and is a conflict inside the society but not that traditional one of opposition vs high-ranking state authorities. A new type of ethics has just started forming a new sociality in the country. The time of ruling of transparty corruption over almost a quarter of the century marked a visible sign of "state defiance." Due to that, incorrigibility the newly formed political elites have to avoid the extremes of society's reunifying shortcomings and disintegration as well as ethical apathy and false community. To the definite essentials among the EuroMaidan's attainments one may attribute the rising requirements for the new figures in politics. However, these are not to be simple doers of the deliberately assigned tasks. The figures in need have to stand primarily for the abilities that drastically change the rules in the political games and the original system of state power fraudulently imposed by former high-ranking state authorities. The EuroMaidan may also be accounted for its polyvectorial nature not only as a critical model to be followed but foremost to be consolidated at a remarkable pace for true democratic legitimacy.

After changes in setting up priorities over "state defiance" category one registers emergence of the unexpected "Russian-speaking Ukrainian nationalism". The essentials of such an oxymoron picks up the pace as an ideological stream and instinctive political movement with full colors of special sort of firm patriotism born in the Central and Southeast regions of Ukraine. As the critical reason for its coming up serves the perfidious annexation of Crimea by Russia and her illegal "invention" of the so-called terroristic "DPR" and "LPR". It takes root as a special ethnic and political variety and embraces alternative to the traditional "Western nationalism". In a certain sense, the oxymoron may be practiced in defining as "civil nationalism".

Keywords: imperatives, "state defiance", Ukraine, national identity, the union of the Ukrainian society, civil society, legitimacy and trust, ethics of the new type, transparty corruption, changes of elites, Maidan's agenda, "the Russian-speaking Ukrainian nationalism", "civil nationalism".

*To build a state means never
having to recognize the true
level of weapon's power rather
than unconditional superiority
of teacher's word.*

Otto von Bismarck

Ex-president Yanukovich's categorical reject to sign the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU on November 29 2013 originally proved to

be either of actual tectonic or historical significance. It has been found by public opinion as a really striking surprise for the whole society in Ukraine. The result turned out into true consequences of the phoney sovereign's choice who had been personifying and concentrating total amount of power in the country. The latter had also been forced to contract his legitimate being in a head of state position and to thievishly flee the state definitely earlier before his presidential term expired. All this fraudulent political venture has proved fatally ended for his inglorious feudal and autocratic reigning.

The first sign of drastic changes in political architecture of Ukraine has become to be expressed in the concept that *power can be also fought for by people who are craving for social legitimate trust but not only by means of universal suffrage*. It has happened as an innovative measurement of November-December temporal period of 2013 format for establishing *the national state of the engendered type*. Due to objectively proceeded process the newly created entity must have had rather different features of political organization and traces of national independence. And a decisive step toward a quest for *a conceived and fairly arranged system in the country* has been emulated. By that reason implicit previous homefront repercussions of **“the state defiance”** were fraught with explosive mass discontent of the middle class representatives as well as that of foremost among students at high educational establishments in Kyiv [1]. The foregoing incredible dissatisfaction was also ostensibly intensified by unexpected cardinal change of foreign policy vector ranged from the European Union towards the Customs Union. Conversely, it became clear that the simultaneity of fingers clicking on one hand and bitter reminiscences of notorious time of war communism, if pivoted backward, had formerly caused mass adversion for arbitrary decisions of impostured rulers inside the “Soviet power”. Their regrettably known utterance: “The quiet waters of the Kuban river will flow in the direction where “the Bolsheviks” shall command them to go” have entirely emerged to be sacredly born in people's minds.

Mass public adversity for the ruling elite adherence to “the new deal” course forged ahead by Yanukovich over the period of some countable hours has turned into unpredictable burst of people's anger consequently transformed into the public riot. Emerged entity was correspondingly named after definitely challenging and well-known appellation – as **“the Maidan”**. It was originally turned out into the symbiosis with another connotation – *“the Eurorevolution on the Maidan”*. And on the day after namely on November 30 2013 the place notably known all over the world as **“the Maidan for Independence”** appeared to be entirely overcrowded with have never seen before number of students inspired with righteous outrage. A transformity component of protests against openly expressed arbitrariness of Yanukovich's camarilla ruling has witnessed renewed motions of the new impulses carried through stormy flows of public indignation. The “new vector” of a criminal autocrat political selfishness along with his self-willed coterminous actions on the Pechersk hills have painfully inflicted expectant and hopeful adolescent's feelings –

to hear their inner disposition to decisive changes and wishes and for them to finally uphold their position at any price. And it happened so that after brutal and atrocious reprisal against students at night time between November 30 and December 1 the new quality **Maidan** has commenced to be either an arena for certain *imperatives* unknown before or a place of setting up a *peculiar identity* marked with principally other type of content. And just due to that fact it is expedient to understand now the truth about the *imperative's* regularity for consequent emergence and further comings into *the agenda* as apparently **the EuroMaidan** has been functioning in the way of a particular type of entity. Though the latter could seem to be of spontaneous and chaotic character at least at first sight. Albeit being allegedly as a definitive uncertainly the inner logic of **the EuroMaidan's imperatives** was based on objective and natural needs of historical and political development of the whole country. Let's consider the structure of challenges (named in our study as *imperatives*) that required urgent reaction of newly emerged state authorities.

Imperative №1. **The Maidan's Eurorevolution is a Revolution of Human Dignity. The Maidan in Kyiv is a new generation Maidan** of the first decade in the XXI-st century. And now it stands for **the European values**.

As it is known the civil society format principally assumes the prevalence of ideological diversity, the observance of original rights of all subjects proceeded from various theories which reflect major practices of life in society. More over those are these subjects who are inclined to assert their positions. But what originally did catch adolescents' vision in real life? Programmed from "above" ostentations and desultory conversations imposed in cookie-cutter fashion and being entirely of spectacular and theatrical character but not in the slightest degree had envisaged cardinal decision of basic problem. The latter didn't also mean an efficient and insistent course to practice the European class variety of reforms based on principles of the true but not slogan-mannered democracy. The high-level authorities' peremptory demands were bitterly true along with contiguous direct threats to the whole society. The essences were absolutely categorical – everybody had to indisputably follow "the letter of the law" way. But as to inviolable position of their own (this was not for public divulging) to proceed from the meeting of personal and persistent needs that were continuously growing. That meant, you guys, keep strictly to the established "law and order" but as to us we'll do manage in accordance with our exorbitant appetites somehow in the manner of "beyond any law limits" ("po bezpredelu").

It has just happened so that the very case of "**the state defiance**" appeared, but under some other conditions, as a mere *metaphysical category at the second stage of its formation and development*. And then unexpectedly the already **conterminous EuroMaidan** has started holding a key stance as a new segment over historical realia in building up a *society of another type* in Ukraine. The mere fact of transference to *higher stage* of the Ukrainian national development – the political nation – has commenced turning into expanded understanding and detailed connotation of this

category. The process has also resulted in the introduction of the new quality approaches with respect to the particular *code of values* born in **the EuroMaidan** itself. **The EuroMaidan** is a peculiar and a subjectivized expression of peoples' will in the Ukrainian society. They simply **entrust their status of the only and a true sovereign** to high-ranking authorities being temporally in power. Besides **the EuroMaidan** is also a subject of the Ukrainian's society political will and it simultaneously shows a definite certainty of it's ripeness efficiency in comparison to those who had been personifying the previous high-ranking authorities panopticon when in power. **The EuroMaidan** started to be taught to administer politicians along with an emerging notable claim for *direct sovereignty* of the people. More over the tendency of appreciable public disappointment over those who were earlier affiliated to politics additionally enforces and simultaneously futhers flaming out the high level of protesting feelings in the society. An enormously-suffered **idea of the only European choice** together with the **human dignity** one has become of primary importance in the **EuroMaidan** rather than faces of "the known-all" mass media-orchestrated politicians. The year of 2013 has become a point of progressive comprehension in political forming of the new nation in Ukraine as well.

Imperative №2. **The EuroMaidan** is a reforming factor of ostensibly obsolete system. It is a conflict within the society itself but it is not that one of the traditional opposition vs the high-ranking state authorities. A strategic task basically lays in the whole nation's potency to progress and renovation as well as its ability for turning into self-regulating and self-developing organism. The base for its implementation extensively includes forming of appropriative foundation for the whole Ukrainian society unification down into a certain historical community with numerous social and ethnic groups. The previous practical active implementation of "**the state defiance**" category and especially over the period of Yanukovich's 4-years presidency (surely with its own political benefit) has only generated direct artificial and forcibly imposed deformity of ethnical identity in Ukraine. All prospects for the national Renaissance over identificational distinctions have been designated for the full-scale involvement of both either political or social institutes. The key task of those committed the full-time presence in **the EuroMaidan** provided aspiration for strengthening unity and integrity in the Ukrainian society along with keeping for inviolability and originality of the national identity as well as of the individual communities.

Imperative №3. Passionate adherents for a new type of sociality based on recently emerged ethical basis have already been starting its forming in **the EuroMaidan**. Such kinds of ethics entailed drives to the priority of such values as solidarity, mutual support and sincere respect of personality. The foregoing notions stipulated on real basic principles for accepting international norms, values and spirituality. An incredible aura of similar feelings was so heavily a function of those simultaneously being present in **the EuroMaidan** and communicate with residents of various areas either from Ukraine, close bordered territories or foreign guests. The vanguard

positions of such a sociality has started to be provided primarily with social network organization. The letter has surely acquired dominated position with respect to the traditional models of social communication too. In practice that was eventually the most effective way in finding essentially prioritive, socially active and adequately thinking personalities in parallel to newly-formed institutions in the media communicative sphere.

An extraordinary model from the viewpoint of previous practice in independent Ukraine defines an untypical coincidence of romanticism and pragmatism. As rather picturesque event **the EuroMaidan** has originally generated the sacred dream of freedom preponderance and chooses the long-wished tantamount search for the path to corresponding pragmatism. Among other innovations **the EuroMaidan** itself has initiated unexpected drive to acknowledged unity of values and solidarity. And it naturally is asserted as being a true place for reconstruction and matching the social orders aspired in the society. Likewise it has assumed the role of striking contrast to demonstrative “brown-nosed” toadyism of fraudulent and autocratic decisions of a “family-commissed” Yanukovich’s criminal clan. The latter’s hirelings (“titushki”) were continuously precipitating the bludgeon swoops against political scenes as well as the most successful business. Afterwards one has started to be watching simultaneous unification of interests among business institutions for the civil society has commenced openly declaring its own conceptual independent stance for sequential status as an individual subject in politics.

Hence it is a rule of thumb that the key position of the middle class in the civil society is ensured in every industrially developed state. And that only just started to be dominant social stratum is a definitely sort of mentally resourceful, horizontally enforced, constructively critical and socially inclined as to its responsibilities section of population in Ukraine today. It’s potentials in building up an effective political nation have been accently expressed over the whole period of vehement withstanding in **the EuroMaidan**. And adding to all earlier mentioned negative traits of “**the state defiance**” category’s inconsistencies the striking paradox is blatantly registered through dubious absence of the middle class’s persuasive presentation with its convincing and effective political program in the Verkhovna Rada. More over the vanguard of the civil society still has been striving for **committing its own presence in correspondingly affiliated and disposable mass media**.

As to priorities in the founding values within the abovementioned creative social stratum its primaries are being registered between the credentials of **legitimacy and trust**. And if to extrapolate all stated above as the ideas of human values and spirituality and augment them to **the EuroMaidan’s** tasks (an author deliberately doesn’t concentrate on ostensibly belligerent and brutal propagandistic incitements of certain political circles) one may acknowledge them as true hopes and expectations of both people and society in Ukraine. Hence publicly longed for **legitimacy and trust** have noticeably sufficed their inseparable identity and sameness. **The EuroMaidan’s values** being vivaciously supported by the creative middle class have

also clearly indicated a striking earlier incongruity (at least in Ukraine) to basic assessments of entailing drives to principal raising limits of *moral* credentials as well as the similar ones in politics.

Now the *new type of ethics* has just only generated the starting point in forming a *new sociality* in **the EuroMaidan**. The letter goes along as a topical image due to its gradual impeccability over social practice to establishing *the new stage* in forming the political nation in Ukraine. Unfortunately the rerdering of momentum mechanism marked with a minus sing that corresponds to transformity segment of **“the state defiance”** category has been opened up for sufficient negative resource. And the striking incongruity between its negative and positive composings still remains obviously unfavorable for the latter.

In the future *the imperative's of №3* functions and its significance will evidently be expected either to be actual or deprived according to availabilities of the whole complex of historical circumstances.

Imperative №4. The political elites have to obligatory avoid of the extremes of reunifyind shortcomings and disintegrty as well as their ethnical apathy and false community. To the definite essentials among **the EuroMaidans** attainments one may indubitably attribute the truely imminence of rising requirements for the new figures in politics. But these are not eventually to be simple doers of the deliberately assigned political tasks. The figures in need have to stand primarily for the abilities that drastically change the rules in the political games and foremost in the original system of state power fraudulently imposed by former high – ranking state authorities. Though it has to be likely one of the most astounding features within **“the state defiance”** phenomenon over the previous 24 years of Independence in Ukraine. More over it was the time when “the big dogs” had been inviolably administering the artificially latent system of transparty corruption. The tangible features of their exposures were lavishly coloured with constant quarrels, mutual outrages, eloquent media disclosures especially during the terminals of the election campaign and numerous talk shows. And all this has to be indispensably accompanied with “thoroughbred hits in the politicians’ kissers” in the Verhovna Rada and simultaneously transmitted with the numerous TV cameras in “the 3D format”. This is so to say for popular digest. But the mature latency has been carefully nidden by “the peoples’ delegates” whose tasks were imperatively outlined before by the former leading high – ranking state authorities. The latters – devised political construction has been steadily verifying a dogmatic position disposed on founding values of the material wealth and originally basic source determinant – big money.

The repeated tendency of restoring “a parliamentary republic” formula *at the stage* of certain transformations has been turned out to be obvious again. It simultaneously goes through the attempts to at last clearly separate responsibilities among branches of power and tries to form a stable and resulted government. Although the present day one had not been legitimately and entirely supported yet by

the Verhovna Rada at least up to the moment of the 2014 parliamentary elections. The similar efforts have also been entailed to creating of an independent judicial power. For the same purpose there has also been under taken some efforts to establish an effective institute for tangible struggle with corruption, setting up consensus of political class and newly formed image of the society as well as relative prospects for strategic state development. The foregoing concepts generally reflect basic priorities in altering the correspondingly existing state system in power and embody **the EuroMaidan's** key demands.

The content of **the EuroMaidan's imperative №4** contains some special place for *irreversible changes in the elite's environment*. But nevertheless even the altering in *that very important amendment* doesn't mean certain drastic changes inside its *basic agenda*. And as it was stated before the main thing lays in the fact of *changing rules in political game*. That means the creation of the mature but not only as the simply conditional middle class in Ukraine in contrast to that one which over a certain number of previous years had been serving a base for destructive and ruinous character of **“the state defiance”** category. It also looks like as a task of special priority to tangibly alter of the political class character. The reforming in the state administering structure goes along with cardinal changes within its original pro-Soviet key components and constitutes the same urgent necessity as well. Concerning the younger as to their relatives generation in former high-ranking state authorities their preferences as earlier still entail exceptional drives to meeting personal welfare needs at the expense of the Ukrainian state resources.

The middle class does starts forming *the agenda of its own* in **the EuroMaidan's** social and political vicinity. Now in the provisional government there has appeared some rather “sympathetic” faces from the viewpoint of today's demands. But there *hasn't been introduced any key changes in nature and character of political power itself yet*.

Additionally there is a recognized existence between two social contracts in a *mainstream of the West* as well as in a *similar one of the East*. Both espire to actual and effective changes but by their separately own ways. And that's the reason why it is highly necessary to find a resourceful way for consensus that may ensure a long needed for the both task.

Imperative №5. Another **the EuroMaidan's** undisputable and conceptual acquisition may be attributed to the noticeable assertion fairly heard among its participants: “To often make mistakes in «trifling formalities» always means to lose the main ones”. The foregoing concept earlier turned out into the basic principle. It has also assumed changings in *spiritual and moral attitude* towards the provisions which even having been reached after acquiring Independence somehow have strangely started to be considered as *“trifling unnecessaries”*. The matter dealt with vulgar simplifications in interpreting the so-called the national unifying myth that had been introduced into scientific discourse by M. Grushevskiy. That *“trifling unnecessary”* directly pertained to practicable difficulties in simplifying and

choosing appropriate historical contexts under which there had been taking place the formation of the Ukrainian national consciousness. To the same category of *“the trifling unnecessaries”* (somehow with in the similar period) the tendencies of forming *a paradigm for the national identities* may also be attributed. Albeit as *the main true context* of the update currencies there should be recognized the presence of *the new historical community* or by another words *the new identity* the state citizens. Due to its seeming impeccability they have been starting to formulate this *vitality* within the boundaries of *the new stage forming of the political nation itself* in Ukraine.

There also happened a definite collapse of negative instruments gathering within **“the state defiance”** category especially following disgraceful president Yanukovich’s and his disciples ousting on February 21 2013. But the fact itself of **the EuroMaidan’s** availability and the latter’s presence like *a specific historical reality as its consequence* has resulted in a visible interpretation of the transformity within the Ukrainian peoples community. Thus it is not an area for only abstract theoretical concepts but the dilemma of the existing truth. It is evidently *the new historical reality* that has entailed sequential consideration for a necessity to consider the Ukrainian peoples community as a self-governed and self-revival. Domination of **“the state defiance”** transformity segment over 24 years of Independence has fraught with artificial deforming of ethnic identities in Ukraine. And consequently prospects for original identification revival of citizens in Ukraine fully depends upon a certain number of factors like-a full-scaled participation in preserving territorial integrity and unity of society in general as well as including in the whole process appropriate political and social institutions inside the country. In addition the parallel indisputable distinction of individual communities activity is ensured to be observed.

The definitely assured assumption of foregoing principles witnesses a certain number of widely scaled social and political dialogue alongside with *an open democratic legitimacy* which has become a peculiar type of the call board for various innovations introduced in the course of implementation **the EuroMaidan’s** political venture.

In a grandiloquently pompous, self-confident and infallible speech of Russian President Putin there been his born a strong resemblance to the *only imitation of similarity to legitimacy*. It was fully devoted to «unifying» (to be more correct annexation) of Crimea by the Russians themselves. The eloquent mummery contained alleged definition about Crimea: “...it always will be Russian, Ukrainian, Tatar but never be – Bandera’s”. That happened on March 18 in 2014. Besides the talkative speaker was accentuatedly grieving over the availability in Ukraine not only Russian phobia bearees, fashists but anti-Semits as well. As to the latter one needs an exclusive definition. And foremost because it just became to be an active and original bugaboo of Goebbel’s descent propaganda inspired by Putin’s providers of mass media. The psychological attack proceeded previous burst of the Anschluß offensives in Crimea that had been perfidiously occupied by “the green unidentified

little fellows”. The matter was that as if allegedly envisaging the Russian leader’s “surreptitious indercovers” as well as his exercises in drawing up atrocious realities of the Ukrainian origin. Y. Zisels the head of the Association of jewish organizations in Ukraine appearing on the Ukrainian TV “the TBI” channel has openly estimated **the EuroMaidan’s** occurrences: “I didn’t feel myself as a jew in the Maidan... The Maidan has speeded up building the Ukrainian political nation, and did it very quickly. We didn’t feel ourselves as a separate ethnic groups... We felt ourselves as a united Ukrainian people... who were standing in the Maidan, on the barricades”. To the all above mentioned it should be added that **the EuroMaidan** has emerged as an area of another important ponderable features: *solidarity* and *mutual understanding* between the Ukrainians and the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Armenians etc. (to the point, the first sorrowful sacrifice among the heroes of “The Celestial is a Hundred” has become an adolescent of the Armenian descent who dreamt of the carier of the movie star but appeared to be a true defender of the Ukrainian people and sacrificed his life to establish the new Ukrainian political nation). Albeit against a defined background it looks rather strange the fact of actual support by high-ranking political authorities in Armenia, due to the only reasons known to them, of the Russian Blitzkrieg over the Crimean annexation.

It is **the EuroMaidan’s dignity** to distinguish with *its agenda* the major painful points within “**the state defiance**” category that is our a case study. The ostensible inability and unskillfulness of the earlier ruling political class in Ukraine to act geopolitically has also been ascertained along with the latter’s inefficiency to conclusively formulate new postulates in philosophic and social format. The category’s meaning neither goes out of the distinct limits over “local postmodernism” nor proposes a definitely new world outlook in response to becoming imminently objective **the EuroMaidan’s** demands. Having summarized the previous research and certain definitely actualized in this article features of “**the state defiance**” category a case study has been also supplemented by the Ukrainian researcher F. Rudych who is quoted as writing: “In the present day’s Ukraine everybody is aware of the fact that after the fall of the USSR as well as getting its Independence the new order in the state has not been outlined and established yet to ensure the nation’s survival” [2, c. 305].

As **an utmost** among the other of **the EuroMaidan’s** surprises one may register a totally unexpected emergence of “**a Russian-speaking Ukrainian nationalism**”. The essentials of that sort of *the newly-formed national movement* have some rather specific colourings and are based on firm patriotism born in the Russian-speaking regions of the Central and the South-Eastern parts in Ukraine. It entirely offers *a particular kind of variety nationalism* that comes forward as an alternative to the so-called areal “nationalism from the Western Ukraine”. Over the last two years the latter has been inclusively representing the mobilized focus for sticking up propagandistic and ideological labels from the arsenal of informational war imposed upon Ukraine by its Northern and “fraternal neighbor”. “**A Russian-speaking**

Ukraine nationalism” is evidently a sort of *innovative political oxymoron* which definitely arises from the perfidious annexation of Crimea, illegal intrusion of “DPR” and “LPR”, Russia’s armed invasion and direct intervening into internal affairs of Ukraine as well as impudent violation of her *internal and external sovereignty*. Proponents for this perspective may also attribute *the oxymoron’s ideology* to a distinctive **social nationalism of the Ukrainian model**. The uncommon origin of **the oxymoron’s character** encourages an extensive nationalistic discourse on its peculiarities. It may also become a case study for thorough analysis and a base for further investigations throughout the scientific environment.

Thus **the EuroMaidan** has really proved being as an objectively entailed drive to much more than unusually formed stance not only for Ukraine but still unsufficient for similar comprehension of the world outlook in the West. The code of values that it tries to follow has included: *the respect human dignity, purity of moral and democratic legitimacy, objectively pronounced peoples’ will, personification of human virtues such as frankness and openness, decency, fairness and disengagement, ethics of particular openness in politics, legitimate identity and trust* – all the foregoing virtues have turned out to be so precious and so fragile for being the only acquisition of the Ukrain’s **the EuroMaidan’s revolution**. And only a thrift cherishing of the so dearly procured newly establishing treasure may do come true a noble task for forming *one and indivisible state in Ukraine*.

The author is perfectly aware of the specific character over the polyvectorial nature inside the essential political preferences among those who were **the EuroMaidan’s** participants. Besides he is also conscious to realize the latters major content and ceases accounting for their political diversities. To initially solve urgent and vital problem of a case study the certain portion of attention in the research has also been registered in favour of the intricate varieties over their unusual approaches and comprehensions toward the same facts and events. The primary author’s aim for the publication is to poke into analytical and synthetical plot of top materials to advance *a major the EuroMaidan’s premise* how to master a new political culture and start going along with still unblazed traits in historical, legitimate and moral responsibility for creation the new national state in Ukraine. Whereas **“the Revolution of Dignity”** itself after its start in **the EuroMaidan is still going on**.

References

1. A detailed summing up and characteristics of the first stage essence concerning “the state defiance” category in Ukraine have been initially introduced into scientific discourse by the author of this article. This study demonstrates conclusions on typically the Ukrainian type of state which now exists within its period of transformation. The author outlines the highlights of the first stage study of “the state defiance” category in his previous publications: Хижняк І. Держава всупереч: імперативи забезпечення державного суверенітету України доби Незалежності / І. Хижняк // Сучасна українська політика. – Спецвипуск: Політична наука в Україні: стан та перспективи розвитку. – К.: Вид-во «Центр соціальних комунікацій», 2013. – С. 332-343; Хижняк І.А. Держава всупереч: імперативи забезпечення її суверенітету – двадцять років потому Української Незалежності / І.А. Хижняк // Гілея: науковий вісник. Збірник

наукових праць. / Гол. ред. В.М. Вашкевич. – К.: ВІР УАН, 2013. – Вип. 78 (№ 11). – С. 357-360.

2. Рудич Ф. Політична нація України: передумови утвердження єдиної держави / Ф. Рудич // Сучасна українська політика. – К.: Вид-во «Центр соціальних комунікацій», 2013. – Вип. 23. – С. 299-310.

Хижняк І.А. Чесноти і вади Євромайдану: другий етап феномена «держави всупереч».

Розглядаються специфічні риси другого етапу феномена «держави всупереч» та його наслідкового чинника – Євромайдану, а також їх обоюсторонній вплив на перебіг історичних подій в Україні після відлучення від президентства адміністрації Януковича.

Першою ознакою змін всієї політичної архітектури в Україні стала теза про те, що влада виборюється насамперед легітимністю довіри народу, а не тільки виборами.

Єврореволюція на Майдані є революція людської гідності. Євромайдан у Києві – це Майдан нового покоління українців другої декади ХХІ ст. і стояв він за Європейські цінності. Він є також чинником реформування системи, що вичерпала себе – це конфлікт суспільства, а не опозиції зі владою. На ньому почала формуватись соціальність, що будується на засадах етики нового типу. Безроздільне правління латентної системи транспартійної корупції протягом майже чверті століття було однією з вражаючих рис категорії «держави всупереч». Тому нові політичні еліти, що з'являються, обов'язково мають унікати конструкцій, які роз'єднують суспільство, роблять його дезінтегрованою, апатичною, етнічною спільністю. Одне з важливих досягнень Євромайдану може атрибубуватись як запит на нових людей у політиці, але не просто виконавців, а на тих, хто, головним чином, принципово виступає за зміну правил гри та всієї системи влади. Євромайдан можна вважати яскравим прикладом не тільки різноформатного діалогу, а головне і дійсної демократичної легітимності.

Після зміни пріоритетних позицій категорії «держави всупереч» однією з найбільших несподіванок Євромайдану стала поява зовсім неочікуваного тренду, який можна інтерпретувати як «український націоналізм російськомовного походження». Такий політичний оксіморон починає виникати як ідеологічна течія і оформлюватись в певний політичний рух, що має специфічне забарвлення, заснований на досить стійкому патріотизмі, зародженому в російськомовних регіонах і розташованих в центральній та південно-східній частині України. Базовими причинами його виникнення є анексія Криму з боку Росії, а також створення нею незаконних терористичних формувань ДНР і ЛНР. Оксіморон являє собою особливий етно-політичний різновид, що виступає в якості альтернативи традиційному т.зв. «західному націоналізму». Певним чином цей інноваційний феномен можна також розглядати у значенні «громадянський націоналізм».

Ключові слова: імперативи, «держави всупереч», національна ідентичність, єдність українського соціуму, громадянське суспільство, легітимність і довіра, етика нового типу, транспартійна корупція, зміна еліт, порядок денний Євромайдану, «український націоналізм російськомовного походження», «громадянський націоналізм».

Хижняк І.А. Достоинства и недостатки Евромайдана: второй этап феномена «государства вопреки».

Рассматриваются специфические черты второго этапа феномена «государства вопреки» и его следственного фактора – Евромайдана, а также их обоюдное влияние на ход исторических событий в Украине после отлучения от президентства администрации Януковича.

Первым признаком изменений всей политической архитектуры в Украине стал тезис о том, что власть приобретает прежде всего легитимностью доверия народа, а не только выборами.

Еврореволюция на Майдане это революция человеческого достоинства. Евромайдан в Киеве – это Майдан нового поколения украинцев второй декады XXI в. и стоял он за Европейские ценности. Он же является и фактором реформирования уже отжившей системы – это конфликт общества, а не оппозиции с властью. На нем начала формироваться социальность, которая строится на принципах этики нового типа. Безраздельное правление латентной системы транспартийной коррупции в течении почти четверти века была одной из впечатляющих черт категории «государства вопреки». Поэтому новые политические элиты, которые появляются, обязательно должны избегать конструкций, которые разъединяют общество, делают его дезинтегрированной, апатичной, этнической общностью. Одно из важных достижений Евромайдана может атрибутироваться как запрос на новых людей в политике, но не просто исполнителей, а на тех, кто, главным образом, принципиально выступает за изменение правил игры и всей системы власти. Евромайдан можно считать ярким примером не только разноформатного диалога, а главное и действительной демократической легитимности.

После изменения приоритетных позиций категории «государства вопреки» одной из неожиданностей Евромайдана стало появление нежданного тренда, который можно интерпретировать как «украинский национализм русскоязычного происхождения». Такой политический оксиморон начинает возникать как идеологическое течение и оформляться в определенное политическое движение, имеет специфическую окраску, основанное на достаточно устойчивом патриотизме, возникшем в русскоязычных регионах и расположенных в центральной и юго-восточной части Украины. Базовыми причинами его возникновения является аннексия Крыма со стороны России, а также создание ею незаконных террористических формирований ДНР и ЛНР. Оксиморон представляет собой особый этно-политический вид, что выступает в качестве альтернативы традиционному т.н. «Западному национализму». Определенным образом этот инновационный феномен можно рассматривать в значении «гражданский национализм».

Ключевые слова: императивы, «государство вопреки», национальная идентичность, единство украинского социума, гражданское общество, легитимность и доверие, этика нового типа, транспартийная коррупция, смена элит, повестка дня Евромайдана, «украинский национализм русскоязычного происхождения», «гражданский национализм».