

UKRAINIAN SOCIAL INNOVATION SOCIETY
INFORMATION AND LIBRARY DEPARTMENT
OF THE APPARATUS OF THE VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE

**E. A. Afonin, A. M. Bandurka,
A. Yu. Martynov**

GREAT CO-EVOLUTION

**Global problems of contemporaneity:
historico-sociological analysis**

**Kyiv
Parliamentary Publishing House
2003**

UDC 316.6
BLC 60.55
A94

Series “Open Research Conception”, Issue 2

The second revised and supplement edition “Great bifurcation:
global problems of contemporaneity: historico-sociological analysis” (2002)

Recommended to publication by the Scientific Council
of the Institute of History of Ukraine of the NAS of Ukraine
(Record No. 9 of the meeting held on October 29, 2002)

Reviewers:

- Sokhan' L. V. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor; Corresponding Member
of the NAS of Ukraine, Honoured Scientist of Ukraine*
- Donchenko E. A. Doctor of Sociological Sciences, psychologist*
- Vidnyansky S. V. Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor; Honoured Scientist of
Ukraine*
- Chechnev B. A. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, member of the National Union of
Journalists of Ukraine*

Afonin E. A., Bandurka A. M., Martynov A. Yu.

- A94 Great co-evolution. Global problems of contemporaneity: historico-
sociological analysis / Ukrainian Social Innovation Society, Information
and Library Department of the Apparatus of the Verkhovna Rada of
Ukraine; Translation from Russian by V. V. Kukhtin and O. O. Tokareva. —
The second revised and supplemented edition. — Kyiv, Parliam. Publ.
House, 2003. — 256 Pp. — (Open Research Conception; Issue 2).

ISBN

The changes undergone by a person, a society, and the humanity in the final
phase of formation of a global civilization are analyzed on the basis of the
authors' conception of "universal epochal cycle". A special attention is focused
on the transient processes and newest tendencies of the world development.

The book is intended for social scientists, politicians, managers, students, and all
interested in historical sociology and globalistics.

UDC 316.6
BLC 60.55

- © Afonin E. A., Bandurka A. M., Martynov A. Yu., 2002
© Afonin E. A., Bandurka A. M., Martynov A. Yu., revised
and supplemented edition, 2003.
© Kukhtin V. V., Tokareva O. O., translation, 2003

ISBN

Viewpoints of reviewers

The current transient epoch which was rather appropriately defined by the authors of the reviewed work as “Great Co-Evolution” stimulates the demand for various conceptual approaches. However, in this variety, one can separate the works interdisciplinary by sense and intention. These works are the more interesting, the greater expansion of the ideology of Post-modern related to the negation of the so-called “large narratives”, which leads eventually to the fragmentation and tessellation of knowledge. Such a state of matters launches a challenge against the theoreticians of social disciplines, because it requires to seek ways for a new synthesis of knowledge.

In this connection, the authors prove the basic possibility to form a new conceptual synthesis, in particular in the field of social globalistics. Of course, this conceptual aspect still needs the development of adequate methodological approaches, but we can recognize that the authors made an important step in solving the given problem.

Moreover, the theoretical results are successfully applied to the analysis of specific socio-historical processes. In particular, this concerns the comprehension of transient changes in the Ukrainian society. By analyzing macrosocial subjects, the authors elucidate the modern trends of development of the globalization and one of their manifestations, the European integration. With the use of numerous actual data, the main problems and prospects of these processes are shown.

In view of the above-stated, I am sure that this work will take a worthy place in the domestic globalistics.

Principal scientific researcher of
the Institute of Sociology of the NAS of Ukraine
Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor,
Corresponding Member of the NAS of Ukraine,
Honoured Scientist of Ukraine

L. V. Sokhan'

Every historical epoch is characterized by socio-psychological changes whose quality depends on the agreement appearing between basic subjects of the period of “Great co-evolution”. The humanity is suddenly faced somehow with the necessity to make social decisions common for all peoples. To survive individually becomes increasingly problematic. But to generalize socio-cultural and political values seems also to be almost impossible on the available level of the humanity’s psychological culture. The search for the “third way”, the way of mutual comprehension between the participants of “Great transition”, is one of the main problems common for the whole humanity. Just this subjective component of reality is one of the key ones in the conception of universal epochal cycle which is proposed for a scientific discourse by the authors of the reviewed book.

The complexity of the posed problem defines both strong and weak features of this work. The former include the originality of authors’ intention and the attempt of its realization in practice, and the latter do the reduplications of basic conceptual theses without a clarification of different sides of the conception.

The most part of the book is written in the wake of the modern discourse on problems of the globalization. The recognition of limits and dangerous consequences of the universal progress requires the transition to a new paradigm of social development of the humanity. In this context, one may consider, in particular, the proposed conception of universal epochal cycle which supports and represents the world tendency to deviate from linear theoretical constructions.

One of the most interesting problems posed in the reviewed book, is the topic of psychological consequences of the globalization processes, because the strengthening of the influence of a single informational space changes gradually the individual and collective psychics and not always favours their sanitation. The formation of a intercivilizational tolerance as well as definite socio-cultural identities is hampered by the absolutization and imposition of values shared by the owners of this space, which is dangerous for the survival of the humanity as a whole.

The authors interpret nontraditionally the notion of archetype. Traditionally, this psychical structure is considered to be invariable. At the same time, the authors accentuate the thesis concerning the fundamental recognition of the possibility of a historical change of the archetypes of various civilizational organisms.

On the whole, the reviewed work is distinguished by the originality of the statement of scientific problems and the means of their solution. It will be interesting for a lot of experts in the field of social science and the humanities.

Chief of the Laboratory of Psychology of Masses and Organizations of
the Institute of Social and Political Psychology of
the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine
Doctor of Sociological Sciences
E. A. Donchenko

The post-modern philosophy of history denies, in fact, the traditional cognition of the interrelation of the past, present, and future. Instead of these characteristics of the historical time, one introduces the dichotomy “traditional — contemporary”; moreover, the right to live is given only to the latter. To traditional values, one attributes the presumption of fault for the most disorders of the present time.

Therefore, in our opinion, one of the key problems of the humanistically inclined globalistics can be the restoration of the traditional perception of the social time directed not only from the past to the future, but vice versa. Such an attempt, in particular, is undertaken by the authors of the reviewed book who study the newest trends of globalization by using a cyclic approach to the research of the world-wide historical process.

The scientific discussion developed on the pages of this book includes the arguments of adherents and opponents of globalization. One of the most demonstrative theses is the necessity to carry on a globalization with “human face”. That is, it should not deny the humanistic tradition of Modern and should serve for the benefit of the whole humanity rather than of its selected part. As a manifestation of this tendency, I mention the conception of a steady development which is able to harmonize the social, economic, and ecological aspects of progress.

The important connecting link between the past and the present, as the authors emphasize, is the national identity, the most important heritage of the epoch of Modern. But the ideology of Modern, being the apologia of a unipolar world, tries to represent the national as something archaic and hostile to the idea of progress. In this context, of interest is the statement of the problem of adaptation of the national consciousness of, first of all, the peoples which had no statehood earlier to the contemporary state-forming processes and to challenges of the globalization.

From this and many other viewpoints, the book “Great co-evolution” gives a new information for the thinking to all the contemporaries of the epoch which will enter the history as the time of the decisive choice of a scenario of the humanity’s future fate.

Head of the Department of the World History and International Relations
of the Institute of History of the NAS of Ukraine,
Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Honoured Scientist of Ukraine

S. V. Vidnyansky

For the authors, the search for cycles (large and small) and internal rhythms (explicit and implicit) in the development of a socium and in its Culture is not a self-aim but bears an applied subordinate character. Moreover, the main authors' aim is the determination ("development") of that sociological (by the character of a proposed procedure) tool which would allow one to determine the state of health of the character of a "disease" of the Culture by internal pulsations. Simply saying, this tool would help us to diagnose correctly those processes which occur in the society, science, state, and persons. The authors are seeking something universal and practical at the same time. In view of this, the essence of the authors' exploratory conception could be named as the social psychodiagnostics of Culture (the innovation of the proposed approach consists just in this).

Pulsediagnostics entered our academic rationality, first of all in medicine, from the old-Tibet practice of curing. However, Tibet being always ancient and contemporary hardly assumed that this means of diagnostics is required in Europe in such an unexpected manner, namely for the probing of the pulse of Culture and Civilization.

Even an ordinary reader cannot but agree that nothing is more important for us in the epoch of Great transformations than to hold not only a hand but also a heart and an intellect on this pulse.

Executive Secretary of the All-Ukrainian weakly magazine "Zakon i Biznes",
Candidate of Philosophical Sciences,
member of the National Union of Journalists of Ukraine

B. A. Chechnev

Words to Russian readers

You take this book and meditate on whether you will read it. At the last time, many new and diverse editions appear in the world of scientific and educational literature, and it is more and more difficult to find an original and noteworthy idea in them. This search is more difficult in the field of social ideas where, as it seems to us, all has already known for a long time. But nevertheless, every day brings us a growing number of surprises.

We hope that this book will help the reader at least to liberate him/herself from the stereotypes of old thinking, allows him/her to look at old problems in a new fashion, and presents a chance to find an answer to numerous questions set by the epoch of globalization, even if it does not explain many of the contemporary problems.

In particular, even the events of the 1990s remain to be terra incognita for us in their base. This assertion is brightly confirmed by the conference which was held in Moscow organized by the fund “Liberal mission”, and devoted to the publication of the book of economists B. May and I. Starodubtseva “Great revolutions: from Cromwell to Putin” (see: Totals and prospects of the contemporary Russian revolution [in Russian] // *Obshchest. Nauki i Sovrem.* — 2002. — № 2. — P. 5–27). The scientists and politicians present at this conference highly appreciated, on the whole, the attempt of the authors to generalize that many-faced reflection which accompanied the radical public transformations of the 1990s. However, the practically unanimous disagreement with the main idea of the authors who identified the events in Russia in the last decade with the key notion of “revolution” was expressed. Similar estimates can be read in numerous publications on the pages of such Russian journals as “*Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost*”, “*Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya*”, “*Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya*”, “*Chelovek*”, etc.

At the same time, now someone hardly tries to contest the opinion about a radical character of changes occurring in the last decade, especially on the Eurasian continent. Informationally most significant and “fashionable” becomes the theme of globalization whose phantom, being the distinct from the phantom of communism, roams about not only Europe, but about the whole world. However, the globalization on the whole and the aspects of its influence on the various sides of public life, national states, and local civilizations remain still to be tabooed in the scientific community and the consciousness of inhabitants, though the participation in the process of globalization is proclaimed as an official aim of the policy.

It seemed at once after the disintegration of the USSR that the way to democracy and market-oriented reforms will ensure the return of the former soviet peoples on

the “highway of the civilization” (in the European comprehension) which leads to “values common to the humanity”. However, in eleven years, the theme of adaptation of new independent states to challenges and imperatives of the globalization has become vitally important.

It turns out that a respectable place in the new global world is guaranteed by no means even such a great state as the Russian Federation. It seems also that the citizens of the former soviet republics, namely Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, will not be able to comprehend the difference between the Soviet Union and the European Community after the achievement of their national dream, the entrance to the EC and NATO in 2004. Of course, we do not make any ideological estimations, but consider the role of Great Brother in the Orwell’s sense.

Totalitarianism defended reliably a society from terrorism, though it violated the human rights and public freedoms. The level of social protection of the majority of the population of our countries under conditions of steady social development was also higher than that under the present conditions of transformation.

At present, we observe the creation of the zones of order and prosperity for the countries of the “golden billion” and the “free protest zones” on the periphery of the contemporary world-system which includes the former soviet republics. Discussions as to the necessity of seeking the new forms of collaboration (even those where the “forbidden” word, integration, is pronounced) are still overloaded by political stamps. On the one hand, the new independent state see the intrigues of “imperialism” in the efforts of Russia to gather the post-soviet space hand to control it. On the other in order, Russia, as the experience of creation of the Russian-Byelorussian state union has shown, wants to abandon the historical experience of creation of the Eurasian empire and aspires to get a pragmatic market dividend bearing no responsibility for the social life level of its allies.

After the events of September 11, 2001, the world finds itself in the reality of the XXIst century not only chronologically. As a lawful child of freedom, terror is ready, as it seems, to annihilate the own mother. The revolutionary terror, whose epoch was anticipated by the populists in Russia and is embodied by Guevara and Bin Ladin according to their civilizational identities in the contemporary globalized world, is destroying successfully the stability of public consensus as the foundation of the west model of democracy. On the pages of the proposed book, the authors consider the main problems of development of the process of globalization as a historical stage following the long-term period of internationalization of all the spheres of social life.

The crisis of public institutions, beginning from the most ancient one, the church, the growth of intrust to the traditional (classical) social science, and the propaganda of simplified (sometimes frankly antiscientific) approaches to the estimation of the reality advance the problem of institutionalization of a new moral on the agenda. True, the opinion is formed that the new political class tries to elevate itself in many countries of the world on the level of the Nietzsche’s “Superman” on neither side of good and evil. It is possible that clons will be such. Up to now, the project of globalization has not advanced (will it advance?) great charismatic persons able to initiate the completion of the process of internationalization and to impart a more human image to the globalization.

Under these conditions of the “illness” of our time, the role of the expert community changes as well, because it is not already the magician and ruler of thoughts and expectations of the society, as it was in the years of “perestroika”. Errors in the prognosis of development

of many trends of the transient crisis period undermined the trust to the opinion of the scientific elite which transforms the own knowledge into a market commodity under complicated social conditions. The restoration of the principles of science and objectivity which is independent of the market chaos is an important condition for the establishment of democratic mechanisms of control over actions of the globalized political elite.

After the shock of the 1990s, the mass consciousness continues to be in the state of uncertainty or ambivalence. The ability to systematize and perceive complicated socio-historical phenomena was transferred to the hands of the mass culture as a tool of manipulation and curbing of the reality with the purpose to reach a more “anesthetized” adaptation to it. Decisive becomes the problem of a new post-transformational and, first of all, socio-cultural self-identification of the society and its members. At the same time, the comprehension of the transformation is related to both the search for new paradigms of social science and development of tendencies to an interdisciplinary synthesis. Under conditions of erosion of the formerly single sense of the social process during the infinite discourse, the role of a keeper of sense is again returned, as it seems, to the censorship. We bear in mind the censorship of scientist’s conscience and its adherence to not only Faust’s demon of science, but to human ethics.

The book “Great co-evolution. Global problems of the contemporaneity: historico-sociological analysis” is proposed to the attention of Russian readers as the revised and supplemented translation of the Ukrainian edition named “Great bifurcation: global problems of the contemporaneity: socio-historical analysis”, Kyiv (2002). The central point of the book is the problem of historico-sociological interpretation of the effect of modern global tendencies on various sides of the lives of a Person, Society, and Civilization.

As noticed by many experts, the globalization manifests itself specifically in the economic, political, and cultural spheres of activity of the world community, changes significantly the ideas of national-public development of countries, and alters socio-personal characteristics, the psychological aspect of person’s life, etc. The studies devoted to this problem create, in fact, the own scientific trend, globalistics. Its objective exploratory field and methodological and conceptual approaches are based on the interdisciplinary synthesis of social science and the humanities.

Being a direct consequence of the realization of the policy and practice of internationalization, the globalization becomes simultaneously a transient historical period when a new actor appears on the proscenium of history. The new type of social subject, the Individual, substitutes the Collective which has exhausted the own forces. The period of globalization becomes, indeed, the time of inexhaustible potentialities of the Individual, the origin of many alternatives, and simultaneously the period of serious trials for the whole Humanity. Such a comprehension of the epoch predetermines the title “Great co-evolution”. In this case, the authors comprehend the profound sense of co-evolution as not only the common development of an individual and the nature, as it was conceived by the famous Russian mathematician Academician N. Moiseev, but also as the common development of self-supporting Individuals which get a powerful push to intellectual development. Such a development will occur in the wider frameworks of the individual freedom which changes the collective freedom.

The authors hope that the Russia’s year in Ukraine which was announced by Presidents of Russia and Ukraine will favour the expansion of book’s ideas.

Foreword

The authors' articles joined in this work are integrated by the common conceptual exploratory spirit and scientific problems connected with the analysis of the influence of current global tendencies on various social subjects and processes.

Now the globalization affects really the various aspects of the social, economic, political, cultural, and socio-psychological life of individuals, various social groups, national states, and local civilizations. Numerous studies devoted to the given complicated problem have formed, in fact, in a separate scientific discipline, globalistics. Of course, globalistics is still in the state of the formation of the own subject field and the conceptual and methodological approaches, whose essential part is based on the interdisciplinary discourse.

In essence, the current state of both the globalization and its scientific comprehension testifies to the availability of properties of a transient period, which opens new possibilities, forms different alternatives, and launches serious challenges. Such a comprehension of the epoch, we being its contemporaries, induces us to choose the name of this book as "Great Co-Evolution". That is, we write about the social phenomena which become typical of the defining amount of countries (national-public formations) and characterize the civilization as a whole.

The content of this work includes four parts composed twenty two chapters. In that way, we combined the general theoretical and specific socio-historical researches, which are carried out in the format of the common conception of universal epochal cycle, by using the single logic.

In particular, the first part is devoted to the conceptual and theoretical principles of the new approach to studying the socio-historical problems. In the articles included to this part of the book, the attention is accentuated on the conceptualization of the socio-historical paradigm of general and specific socio-historical studies.

The following parts of the book include the analysis of the problems concerning three levels of macrosocial subjects within the common conceptual approach: a national state (by the example of Ukraine and some Balkan countries being in the transient period of formation of a state), a local civilization (by the example the actual tendencies of development of the European integration process), and the whole humanity (on the level of the formation of the modern global civilization).

The common conceptual logic of the main parts of the book is drawn up around the clear comprehension of the key notions of a social cycle, operation of its mechanisms, elucidation of the peculiarities of transformational processes, and interpretation of the interconnection and differences between internationalization and globalization.

In particular, in many articles which have become the parts of the book, the matter concerns the universal epochal cycle. The reader has a possibility to trace the creative process of comprehension of this concept and the step-by-step description of action of the social mechanisms determining the change of its different stages.

The differentiation of the notions of transient and transformational processes is connected with the authors' sight at the peculiarities of the global socio-historical development in the XXth century. Thus, the start of the turning (in essence, co-evolutionary) process of transformation in the Euro-Atlantic civilization is connected with the time of the Great Depression of 1929–1934, when this social system suffered the most acute crisis period. Other local civilizations enter, in fact, the period of transformational changes at the turn of the XX–XXIst centuries, when the co-evolutionary socio-historical changes acquire really global features.

This is testified by the present stage of development of the globalization staying now in a cradle. Such a situation is confirmed by the impetuous discussion between the adherents and opponents of globalization. For example, in the final communique of the World summit on the problems of stable development in Johannesburg (September 1–4, 2002), no compromise valuable estimation of the present global processes was performed.

The authors focus the attention on the differences between two contemporary parallel processes, internationalization and globalization. The great epoch of internationalization in the world history was opened by the great geographical discoveries, and its sense was in the inclusion of various nations into the common social time and compacted social space and in the formation of the infrastructure of information, communication, trade, military, socio-cultural contacts between various countries and local civilizations.

With the beginning of the epoch we name “Great Co-Evolution”, we become witnesses of the formation, by the words of ancient thinkers, of the global polis. However, if we return to the analogy with the ancient Greek history, we may expect that “new cosmopolitans” will live mainly in the space of the urbanized Euro-Atlantic civilization, by leaving the chance for the rest of the humanity to stay on its periphery.

This book suggested to the reader's attention continues the scientific series “Open research conception” started with the book by E. A. Afonin, O. M. Bandurka, and A. Yu. Martynov “Social Development AD”, Kyiv, 2000.

For two last years, the certain progress in the realization of the proposed project took place. In particular, with the support of the Faculty of Sociology of V. N. Karasin Kharkiv National University, we made the first step to the creation of an Internet-area for scientific discussions as the Internet-forum with the address: <http://www.sociology.kharkov.ua/afonin/ukr/index.asp>.

In addition, the initiators of the project realized a further development of the conceptual bases and tools of the new approach. For example, with the participation of the Faculty of Sociology of T. G. Shevchenko Kyiv National University and Laboratory of masses and communications of the Institute of Political and Social Psychology of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, the development of methods of the analysis of the empiric base of researches was carried out.

The authors thank sincerely all colleagues whose help promotes the realization of the ideas of the open exploratory conception.

Section I

Social cycles

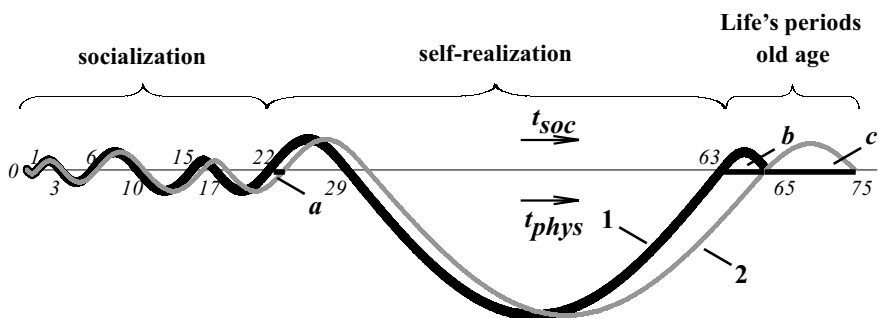


Fig. 1. Epochal cycles of development of a person in Ukraine under the following conditions:

- 1 — industrial society
- 2 — post-industrial society (prognosis)

t_{phys} — physical time

t_{soc} — social time

Consequences of a social transformation for a person:

- a — increase in the period of socialization (infantilism)
- b — increase in the period of self-realization
- c — increase in the period of old age (population's aging)

Chapter 1. Problem of modelling in interdisciplinary researches

At the beginning of the XXIst century, wider and wider becomes the area of countries which undergo transformations. At the same time, more and more persons agree with the assertion concerning the necessity of recomprehension of the classical principles of construction of the scientific theories which were intrinsic to the “traditional” period with growing knowledge. The new epoch of “post-modern”, whose tendencies are displayed clearer and reinforce its influence further in the world, opposes the very possibility of existence of metatheories. New social conditions stimulate the researchers to the search for truth on the way of modelling in the framework of interdisciplinary researches. Such a successive “agnosticism” forces us to appeal to epistemology by taking into account its close connection with the history of science.

In this relation, it is worth noting the position of the American philosopher T. Kuhn whose work “Structure of scientific revolutions” states the presence of a regular character of the development of scientific knowledge. In particular, by leaning on the cyclic model of development of scientific paradigms, he affirmed that they go through both the normal (steady) stage of their development and the stage of scientific revolution. Having agreed on the whole with the concept of the cyclic development of science and with the thought about crisis phenomena in social sciences which sounds increasingly stronger among scientists, we consider it necessary to emphasize the significant distinctions of the essence of crisis phenomena which are revealed in the contemporary science in the countries of the West and East. The character of cultural-historical development which is nonuniform on the whole and, as a consequence, the cultural bipolarity really existent in the world complicate the very ideas of a model of developing scientific knowledge.

At the end of the XIXth century, by reflecting the genetic nature of the development of science, F. Engels proposed the following classification of sciences in his work “Dialektik der Natur”: mathematics, mechanics (along with astronomy), physics, chemistry, biology, sciences about thinking, and sciences about society.

On the whole, this classification mirrors the development of fundamental and applied researches, first of all, in the West. This viewpoint is supported by the history of scientific discoveries which determine, to a large extent, the character of the “second nature” surrounded us.

The Aristotle’s picture of the world predominated up to the appearance of the spirit of a “Faustean” or “Promethean” man who sets the aim to demythologize the animate nature and to place the inanimate nature in service.

From the second half of the XVth century, observations and experiment become efficient practices of scientific researches. For example, the yearbooks “Ephemerides” were published beginning from 1475, on pages of which the daily calculated disposition of planets was presented. In 1492, the first globe was constructed and, already in 1507, N. Copernicus discovered the heliocentric system which was not yet mathematically described at that time. J. Bruno introduced the notion of the infinity of the Universe having no center. At the same time, Paracelsus as a doctor, botanist, and chemist reformed medicine, by trying to explain the chemical and physical bases of life by means of the analysis of phenomena. The improvement of navigation devices gave a possibility to realize the long journeys in open seas by mastering the geographic-spatial scopes. Intellectual horizons were successfully mastered by Leonardo da Vinci who, in addition to a spiritually rich creative activity in art, made the significant contribution into mechanics by inventing a pump, lathe, hydraulic press, etc. Of essential meaning for everyday life were the inventions of pocket clock and printing press.

Beginning from the period of Renaissance, a man is perceived in Europe as “a model of the world”, and a human mind is recognized as capable to improve the Universe created by the God. Due to this, the new outlook legalized a social motivation of innovations.

Instead of this, the Chinese spiritual tradition still resisted to the idea of linear progress intrinsic to the Europeans of the New time. The Chinese did not perceive the technological discoveries as the process of creation of a new “Babylonian tower” which would lead the humanity on the level of co-creation with God. In our opinion, this explains the fundamental distinction of the scientific traditions of the West and East.

During the XVII–XIXth centuries, empiricism and rationalism promoted the discoveries in natural sciences. We call only some of them. *Mathematics*: invention of logarithmic table (1614), formation of analytic geometry (1637), calculation of infinitesimals (1665). *Mechanics and physics*: discovery of the laws of fall and a pendulum (1609), refraction of light (1618), motion of planets (1619), diffusion of gases (1662), deviation of light (1665), gravitation (1666), speed of light (1675), wave theory of light (1690), light

aberration (1728), kinetic theory of gases (1738), static electricity (1790). *Chemistry and biology*: study of the blood circulation (1618), discovery of spermatozoa (1672), salts of silver (1727), systematization of living creatures (1735), discovery of hydrogen (1766), oxygen (1771), nitrogen (1772), invention of artificial sodium carbonate (1791), cement (1799).

It is worth noting that important scientific discoveries became possible due to the use of such technical inventions, as microscope (1590), telescope (1610), mercuric barometer (1643), pendulum clock (1657), manometer (1663), mercuric thermometer (1718), calibrated scale of thermometers (1742), boiler (1681), casted steel (1735), spinning machine (1738), breech-charged gun (1751), steel rolling production (1754), steam engine (1769), aerostat filled with hot air (1783), mechanical loom (1785), hydraulic press (1795), lithographic printing machine (1796), paper machine (1799), lathe (1800), steam-ship (1807), etc.

From this time, the technical civilization becomes the master of culture and subordinates science. Generally, one can say that, whatever a scientist made in the XXth century, he developed a next variant of arms. First of all, this concerns the following discoveries and inventions. In *physics*: quantum mechanics (1925), wave mechanics (1926), Geiger counter (1928), discovery of neutron (1932), artificial radio-activity (1934), fission of nuclei (1938). In *biology*: discovery of vitamins (1911), establishment of man's genetics (1912), discovery of the map of a chromosome (1919), formation of the doctrine about human heredity (1921), theory of gene (1928), etc. The same can be said about the birth of nanotechnologies which are used now in genetic engineering demonstrating the encroachment of instrumental intellect to the intimate principles of reality. At the same time, it becomes clear that the rate of even artificial genetic transformations cannot compete with the self-development speed of electronic systems. In *chemistry*, people became armed with macromolecular chemistry (1925), syntheses of vitamin C (1934) and nylon (1938). In *engineering*: sound movies (1919), propeller-driven aircraft (1922), jet engine (1930), valve transmitter (1913), wireless trans-oceanic telephone (1927), television (1932), test of the first A-bomb (1945), first artificial satellite (1957), first flight of a man into space (1961), man's landing on the Moon (1969), etc.

A short acquaintance with the history of scientific discoveries shows that natural disciplines, which were developed very intensively during the XV–XXth centuries, left behind the humanities. About the structure of nuclei, atoms, the Earth, and Cosmos, we know much more than about the “structure” of a man, society, or civilization. It is probable that, for this reason, knowledge about a man and a society acquires the highest priority for the further development of science on the whole in the countries of the West (starting

from the times of the Great Depression in 1929–1934). In this case, the leading role is allotted to such sciences as psychology, sociology, and history.

We may say that the appearance of new tendencies in the development of the West science is caused by the exhaustiveness of the way of the development of fundamental knowledge, including the sphere of humanitarian disciplines. In our opinion, it is in order that the comparative analysis and interdisciplinary exploratory synthesis, whose methodological foundation became the thought “all was already said, beginning from the times of antiquity”, get a significant urge.

At the same time, the overbalance to the side of “applied synthesis” and “applied knowledge”, which arose in the West in such a way, created the social need in the theoretical comprehension of applied scientific achievements. Properly, this forms the foundation of the crisis of the current West science.

The present scientific crisis in the countries of the East should be considered as such which transforms their former fundamental science into the side of highly specialized applied researches requiring to reinforce the interdisciplinary ties and comparativistics.

We emphasize that the tendencies of the development of science which are ambiguous in their content and orientation express themselves most clearly in the humanitarian sphere. The last can be explained as follows: in the transient periods of the development of complicated social systems such as a man, a society, or the humanity, not only their external material social essence changes, but also the internal ideal psychic world of peoples, their behavioural stereotypes, valuable orientations, and social norms. We can also say that the type of a man (including a scientist-researcher) and his/her psychoculture are changed. For example, a scientist possessing the emotional-sensitive psychoculture which ensured him/her the solution of fundamental problems of science is substituted by a scientist with abilities and stereotypes of rational thinking, which predetermines the appearance of cardinal changes in the contemporary science, including sociology.

Thus, quite adequate to the time and character of the contemporary crisis phenomena is, in our opinion, the more differentiated (than that of T. Kuhn) cyclic model of the development of science which is composed, respectively, from four periods: two normative (steady) periods (“involution” and “evolution”) and two transient (crisis) ones (“co-evolution” and “revolution”).

The steady involutionary development of science which is preceded by an impetuous period of revolutionary discoveries, forms actually the bases of fundamental theories gravitating to the structurization into a single metatheory (as was, for example, with the theory of historical materialism) and to a holistic pattern of the world which is formed (and, in their limit forms, is impressed)

in the social consciousness from generation to generation such public institutions, as schools* (middle and higher) and science** (fundamental and applied). Typical signs of this period are the encyclopedic character of human experience, namely, universality and fundamentality of scientific knowledge and polytechnical abilities and skills possessed by a state and its citizens. At the same time, science is weakly connected with practice and this gap becomes further more essential.

The crisis state of the period of co-evolution is induced by the critical mass of anomalous facts which do not fall into the framework of the existing scientific paradigms and cannot be explained within the existent unique harmonious metatheory. In this situation, there arises the urgent need “to refine” the basis of fundamental science and, more exactly, to transform it to the side of its mirror antipode, applied science.

The evolutionary stage of the steady development of scientific knowledge is related to a certain controversy with involution, namely, the negation of the former fundamentality and the development of applied science called by needs of social life. Under these conditions, science is differentiated, its development is intensified, the narrow scientific specialization and experimental method acquire the vital stimuli, and the interdisciplinary scientific practice and researches are actualized. More intense becomes the process of accumulation of the enormous experimental material which requires a relevant conceptual comprehension. Moreover, the new hypotheses which make a path to new paradigms come forward. On this stage, “methodological anarchism” (the words of P. Feyerabend) prevails in interdisciplinary researches. Following T. Kuhn, we name similarly the crisis state of science which follows the period of evolution and induces the necessity of creation of a new paradigm as the stage of “scientific revolution”. This stage completes, on the one hand, the both main periods of development of scientific knowledge and, on the second hand, begins a new cycle of genesis of scientific theories.

Forming the methodology of historical sociology on the post-Soviet area occurs during the impetuous, uncoordinated, and sometimes unsufficiently argued discussion between historians and sociologists. The last, in particular, accentuate rather frequently that “history does not have the own methods

* In 1931, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR approved the resolution “On the common-educational polytechnic school”, according to which the USSR took a policy directed to the generation of comprehensively developed persons, which yielded “the universalism” of the professional personnel in the Soviet Union. In fact, this was noted by British Professor T. Shanin at the conference on social activity held in Kyiv at the beginning of the 1990s.

** At the beginning of the 1990s, the Ukraine’s budget expenditures on fundamental and applied sciences differed by almost one order (by 8 times).

of analysis of the social as such”¹. Such a radical negation of efficiency of the methodological tools of special historical disciplines is, in our opinion, a bright example of agnostic attitude to the possibilities of theoretical history.

At the same time, the importance of establishment of interdisciplinary methodological ties between history and sociology is recognized in the four-volume edition of Russian scientists “History of theoretical sociology”. There, the term “historical sociology” means “the application of the historical and social approaches to analysis, respectively, of social aspects of human existence and of historical process”². That is, conditionally saying, a methodological abyss is preserved between both scientific disciplines. But certain theoretical bridges can be thrown over it, which would generally expand the exploratory abilities of both sciences.

Generally, the specificity of theoretical and methodological ties between sociology and history is conditioned, first of all, by the peculiarity of the formation of sociology. It arose in the XIXth century due to the attempt of contemporaries to comprehend the western society of those times, which experienced a complicated and contradictory process of transition from the traditionally estate form to the industrially class one of its existence. Accordingly, the circle of scientific tasks of sociology was determined by its priority attention to Modern (revolution). In this case, historical genetic ties remained a certain time outside of the limits of really sociological theoretical researches. From this viewpoint, a Polish sociologist P. Sztompka considers historical sociology as a critical reaction to the specific use of history which is typical of the founders of sociological science³.

It is not strange, because the very natures of historical and sociological researches are different. For example, historians prefer the problem thematic field defined by certain socio-cultural predicates and chronological frames. But the majority of sociological researches is focused on the determination of sociological regularities by quantitative (mathematical) and qualitative methods. That’s why, the exact statistical data, which are the important foundation for sociological conclusions, acquire a special meaning for these methods. In this case, the really sociological methods to collect information (field researches, public-opinion poll, mathematical analysis of statistical procedures) are used quite seldom by historians⁴. In the choice of methodological principles of historical researches, they stop most frequently on the achievements of positivism by preferring the historic-descriptive, historic-comparative, and, sometimes, intuitively logical and empiric-analytic methods.

However, the essential distinctions between the methodological tools of history and sociology as sovereign scientific disciplines of the humanitarian profile terminate to be extremely clear, when one considers the really

theoretical level associated with the general conceptualization of researches of a man and the society. This tendency can be observed most clearly on the classical stage of development of historical sociology which is connected with the creative activity of K. Marx and M. Weber. From this viewpoint, extremely significant are their works "Capital" and "Protestant ethics and spirit of capitalism".

The class approach to the analysis of social stratification and social structure, which was renewed by neo-Marxists, remains quite popular up to now, first of all in the left professorship environment in the West. In a contemporary scientific discourse, actual are the works of M. Weber as a researcher of sociological aspects of the history of world religions and history of economies. Namely he succeeded partially to show a way to solving the scientific problem posed by K. Marx: in which way an idea becomes a material force while capturing masses. Under the present conditions for the formation of a spiritual space of the global civilization, the Weber's theoretical heritage acquires a special meaning for researches associated with the analysis of historical traditions, social norms, and moral and valuable systems. On the whole, it can be said about the enhancement of a role of historical and sociological works which substantially influence the spiritual characteristics of the epoch.

In the work "Philosophy of history", G. Hegel noted still long ago that we always attempted to define how to write history rather than to write it⁵. Because every new generation, is forced actually "to rewrite" the already known history according to its valuable ideas in order to act intelligently, a change of paradigms in historical science as distinctive optical devices, which allow one to study the past, can occur quite frequently. In this case, historical sociology is transformed into the kernel of the theory of social changes⁶.

During 1990s, the objective crisis of the dogmatically orthodox marxist paradigm of a socially historical methodology, which was intrinsic for a long time to the methodological arsenal of the soviet historico-social science, stimulated a lively discussion around the problems of formation of new methodological approaches. A peculiarity of this discourse consists in that it develops in light of new theoretical elaborations inherent in the spirit of the period of post-modern. At the same time, the appearance of the epoch "after contemporaneity" stimulates, in turn, the crisis phenomena in humanitarian sciences which now develop under influence of the growing spirit of scepticism.

On one hand, intensively takes place the process of further differentiation of scientific disciplines and the specialization of their object fields and the circle of tasks which they are called to solve. The case in hand is, for example, about the really theoretical sociology and history and] about a number of applied

sociological disciplines. An analogous position is observed in the environment of special (or auxiliary) historical disciplines whose number is already about one hundred. They widened significantly the own subject-problem field including the contemporary developments in the branch of social sciences which are oriented on mathematical and comparative methods of analysis.

On other hand, the formation of “highly specialized” scientific branches closed on themselves limits the possibilities for efficient use of the achievements of various scientific disciplines. A paradoxical situation arises, when we know increasingly more about a decreasing problem field, but simultaneously lose the general conceptual perspective. That’s why, we meet now the objective need of not only permanent analysis, but of a certain conceptual synthesis.

The major joint problem concerning the general methodology is the cognition of the social historical time. The spatio-temporal characteristics essentially influence the determination of methodological approaches to the analysis of the social and historical reality. This tie can be traced in the still rather popular civilizational formational paradigm of many historical researches. For the classics of marxism, there existed in essence only one global civilization which developed according to the objective historical laws. These laws should be comprehensively learnt and put on service to a progressive class called to substitute the general social position by a better one. However, with the comprehension of cultural-anthropological differences between different geographic zones and with the critical realization of a simplified black-and-white picture of the social reality and the historical past, the scientific picture of the world begins to resemble a complicated multicolour mosaic.

Respectively, the cognition of historical and social characteristics of various objects under study becomes nonlinear. Indeed, it is clear that certain local civilizational characteristics set the geographic-spatial parameters of “a place of development” and the temporal characteristics define the formational ones.

At the same time, such a turn of scientific thought induced the general crisis of methodological tools of the world history. There arose the problem of interpretation of not only the very possibility of existence of the general history, but also the possibility of its development by scientific laws. In the systematic way, these claims to “the poverty of historicism” were formulated by K. Popper. He emphasized that the universal humanity history does not exist, but there are only the separate variants of the history of local parts of the humanity. In history, there exist personal and irrational factors which make it unique and unrepeatable. Therefore, any historical prophecies as for the world history, which goes as if by a definite course, are impossible⁷. This made actually a first ideological impact to the classic understanding of the socio-historical time

whose vector goes in the process of development from the past through the contemporary instant to the future.

However, the modern history philosophy still continues its influence on public consciousness by forming the already lesser but really existent (and hardly dying) area with countries which carry the sense of socio-historical development through the idea of *unity of historical time* whose foundation is composed by the monotheistic idea of the unique God. The will of the Creator and his co-authors (various social actors) defines the vector of historical time from the reference point to the dreamt final which clarifies the sense of human reality. The Ideal of the epoch of Modern still acts and offers a joint future for the whole humanity irrespective of locally civilizational distinctions. Today, big political and theoretical constructions associated with marxism and liberalism continue to work for this idea. Both trends were and remain joint in the single vision of the perspective of modernization of the general problem of social adaptation of the peoples earlier “delayed” in their development to calls of the contemporaneity.

But K. Popper, by declaring the historical design directed to radical social changes to be impossible, was able for some time to cold the impetuous imagination of “social engineers” of the future. Moreover, after the crash of the soviet alternative historical project, it was declared about “the end of history”. The author of this concept, F. Fukuyama, asserted that, near “the end of history”, there is no need for all the societies to be liberal and it suffices that any ideological claims for other forms of organization of social life be forgotten”⁸.

Thus, the ideology of post-modern dominating henceforth retains only the right to live “in the eternal contemporaneity” in the world divided by social statuses, by forgetting any great socio-historical projects. In this case, the classic concept about socio-historical time as the unity of the past, present, and future is substituted by a new paradigm of dichotomic opposition of the archaic past to the almost ideal present. By this reason, the traditional societies are declared to be unable to an adequate answer to challenges of post-modern. In this way, the global civilization is again divided into selected peoples which live in the time of Internet and into nations-derelicts which try to survive in the unfavourable environment. By considering “the limits of growth” (close to the ideas of T. Malthus) proclaimed by experts of the Rome club still in the 1970s, the latter remain only to fit the contemporary imperatives of the so-called “steady development” and to fully forget about the content and tendency of socio-historical time.

In view of the above-presented, we consider, in essence, the need to “rehabilitate” historicism. In fact, the position of criticism of the present from the position of the sacral future allowed the first Christians to challenge the Roman globalism.

A man of the European period of the spiritual Reformation introduced the postulate of valuable inadequacy of the past, present, and future into social philosophy⁹. So the revival of ideas of humanistic historism will mean the ability of the global socium to carry on the responsibility for the further tragic character of reality.

The principle of historism remains to be one of the most important ones for sociology as well. In order to understand a contemporary social phenomenon, it is necessary, as a rule, to analyze its sources and the processes underlying it. In this case, socio-historical phenomena can be correctly explained only within the frames of their historical time. At the same time, the historical experience testifies to that Modern generates social actors which are unable to wait and to prepare successively and systematically themselves to the future. This forces to absolutize the present as an alternative to the past and future which threaten by new challenges.

The Russian philosopher O. Panarin stated that the ideology of Modern gave birth to two methods to do violence to the past as something qualitatively different: these are its discrediting and modernization through the projection of contemporary standards and ideas on it¹⁰. In his opinion, this aim is supported by the so-called new social history which deprive, by applying contemporary methods to the analysis of the farthest historical epochs, its consciousness of a shock from the meeting with the qualitatively other method of thinking and values.

All that turns us to the dilemma with which M. Weber was faced all his creative life: how the principle of attitude to a value and the principle of freedom from evaluative reasonings correlate in the real process of historical cognition. The famous German sociologist offered to distinguish two sides of an object of historical cognition, namely its ideal type and "secondary historical data" which concern the valuable characteristics of an object¹¹. So the important methodological finding of M. Weber, the notion of "ideal type", takes a functionally meaningful place among the tools of historical sociology.

When speaking about the methodology of historical sociology, it is worth to pay attention to the possibility of application of methods which strengthen interdisciplinary ties between social sciences. One of the founders of the school "Annales" close to researchers of the new social history, T. Bloch underlined properly that the isolability of every specialist enables one to comprehend only a half of truth even in its field. Therefore, the single true history which is possible only under the mutual help is the world history¹².

Beginning from the second half of the XXth century, the important methodological changes take place in theoretical history. In this case, as theoretical

history, one understands more and more frequently the study and description of causal-resultative ties which are based on the interdisciplinary approach. These ties determine the behaviour and the field of development of big social groups in great chronological intervals with prognostic potentiality¹³.

The statement of futurological tasks in front of theoretical history is a rather new phenomenon. In history, the past quickly acquires the features of stable inevitability which cancels any alternative variants of development. Therefore, it is traditionally believed that one can foresee only the future. The past is a reality in which there is no place for the possible¹². If we admit that any knowledge is probable by its nature, then we must agree that the prognostication of the future is such a complicated thing as the interpretation of the past. The differentiation of these scientific problems is associated with different methodological tools.

The new comprehension of the vector of socio-historical time argues that the past can be similarly unforecasted as the future. The problem of interpretation of alternative variants of the past lies in the circle of tasks of historical phenomenology. Its paradigm is formed on the basis of philosophical ideas of E. Husserl and M. Heidegger who posed the problem to find the objective essence of consciousness. The studied object of historical phenomenology is a certain source as the intersubjective reality. The main methodological task of a historian-phenomenologist is the assignment of the right on monologue to a strange consciousness. Thus, historical phenomenology rejects the marxist-hegelian paradigm which posed the task of explanation of the historical reality. Instead of this, the problem of comprehension of a man from the past and, on this basis, the interpretation of the surrounding world should be considered¹⁴.

The development of this trend of historical researches has formed the scientific directions of “microhistory” and “history of daily life”. The last concentrates attention not on political history which is actually perceived as the history of elite but on the people’s life in its functionality. In particular, verbal history turns to subjects of everyday life by including the unconventional historical sources which give a possibility to learn moods of the “silent majority” into the scientific turnover, which influence significantly social processes. Methodologically this direction of historical researches is close to sociological poll. During the processing of the results of investigations, a significant meaning is acquired by the cliometric, namely mathematical, methods of historical research of social systems, institutions, and trends¹⁵.

At the same time, by concentrating on the research of important details, historians began to neglect by a large-scale vision of the past. An important step from “microhistory” to the Big or Universal history, which is based on the interdisciplinary approach with the use of ideas of synergetics, psychology,

and futurology, was done on the boundary of millennia. In the most successive and laconic way, these ideas were presented in the Russian sociology in the work of A. Nazaretyan “Civilizational crises in the context of Universal history”¹⁶. The Universal history considers the problems of interaction of the noosphere and biosphere, tendencies of development of vectors of the historical evolution, and futurological forecasts.

As one of the perspective directions of contemporary socio-historical researches, we mention historical globalistics. It also concentrates attention on contemporary evolutionistic theories. In the format of the global history, the researches within the “world-systemic theory” of I. Wallerstein and the historical projections of geopolitical ideas are developing as well. The methodology of historical globalistics brings back historians from the field of really humanitarian knowledge to the sphere of social sciences.

This direction of researches is formed under conditions of the crisis of methodological models of structuralism and the loss of ideas of the essence and unity of the historical process. Its development takes place under conditions of the actualization of the cultural-historical approach and domination of the concept of historical relativism which casts doubt on the possibility of application of philosophical concepts in the process of historical analysis¹⁷. Instead of this, historical globalistics objects to eurocentristic, linear, and purely deterministic concepts of the traditional world history. Its methodological tools include the theories of cultural anthropology and synergetics. In this case, the socio-historical reality again becomes existently open for various possibilities.

On the whole, the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the third one, the formal start of a new historical epoch, and the qualitative renovation of the world socium (the humanity), which is the principal thing, stimulate the imperative need in a renovated paradigm of social theory for the scientific community. We bear the paradigm of social science in mind which translates adequately the ideas of humanistic social engineering on the contemporary situation and joins the idea of cyclic development. The creation of a suitable relevant model opens new horizons for synthetic interdisciplinary researches.

Chapter 2. Historical motion of the semantics of the notion of “social”

The historical experience evidences that the development of humanitarian sciences is largely associated with the permanent search for consensus as for the fundamental categories whose understanding and interpretation define the determination of the subject field, tasks, and methods of researches. Among such gnosiological problems which form the structure of the entire multistory building of sciences about a man, the determination of the notion of “social” takes a key place. In this case, the examination of the development of semantics, i.e. meaning senses, of the named category on different stages of the historical development presents not only a theoretical but practical interest.

For the methodological convenience, one can conditionally separate three clearly differentiated large epochs: traditionalism, modern, and post-modern. On the whole, the complexity of the society life grows with each new stage of its development. For a man, of significant meaning are the various cycles which become the content of his activity. This yields, as the Russian researcher A. Akhiezer asserts, the need to analyze the cycles intrinsic to the thinking and actions of a man. So all the man’s life in the traditional society is an infinite system of cycles which he reproduces as rituals. Moreover, the different types of activity are not yet differentiated objectively. However, dual oppositions are formed already on this stage as the tools of analysis and synthesis of the vital experience. In particular, A. Akhiezer considers a dual opposition as a result of differentiation of the undifferentiated. The formation of the sense of a certain phenomenon takes place due to the transition of a subject’s thought from one pole to another one¹⁸.

As to the interpretation of the notion of “social”, the components of dual oppositions are the categories of “individual” and “collective”, “biological” and “cultural”.

Social and traditional. The sense-forming of the social took place simultaneously with the development of anthroposociogenesis. The development of norms, stereotypes, communications, and status signs occurred in parallel

with the formation of a man as a subject of object-practical activity. So, already at the history daybreak, homo sapiens separated from herd animals which have “social instincts” due to the presence of a normative-valuable system, i.e., a specific culture regulating an individual behaviour. In this sense, a monkey did not create a man by its persistent “labour”. On the contrary, a clever man rose over the animal world due to, first of all, the development of linguistic communication. With the appearance of specialized information-sign activity, the material world was doomed to the idealization by the action of the magic of Word. From that times, a psychological abyss arose between the animal and “social” worlds. Indeed, an animal wishes only that it needs at a given specific instant, but a man always dreams about and aspires to something.

An important factor of anthroposociogenesis is morally social bans or taboo whose role in the development of a man was clarified by S. Freud in his work “Taboo and totem”. The tie between the social and the psychological was also revealed in the theoretical constructions of C.-G. Yung, in particular in his concept of collective consciousness and collective unconsciousness which form the deep streams of the human history¹⁹.

On the stage of development of traditional societies, especially demonstrative was the unity of the biological and the social in a man. For example, Aristotle, by emphasizing the presence of the animal (biological) and the social (political) in a man as a part of the nature, named the society’s members by “political animals”. Platon thought that individuals join into a socium in order to ensure their basic needs. Only the ideal society is able to do this in the best way, because social life is the natural essence of a man.

In fact, the negation of the biological in a man on the benefit to the social is related to the religious tradition which opposes sharply the corporal (sinful) to the spiritual. The biological ensures the functioning of instincts. The social is responsible for cultural values and norms. An anthropologist K. Lorentz, for example, thinks that some higher values (sympathy, solidarity, altruism) interact directly with instincts. At the same time, the social allows one to make control over the biological. On other hand, cultural values are not inherited biologically, but are acquired socially.

The tie between the social and the sacral is extraordinarily important by revealing the hierarchic feature of the social world²⁰. The social carries out vitally important sacral functions. First, this is concerned with the problems of connection with the world of Absolute, spirituality, operation of the mechanisms of psychological compensation; secondly, the social and the sacral assist the integration of members of a certain socium around a sanctioned world outlook and moral-ethic norms; thirdly, the sacralization of the social in the traditional society legitimated the mechanisms of social control and formed

the stereotypes of public behaviour; fourthly, the sacralized social promotes the solution of existentialistic problems through the production of new senses of the public activity on certain historical stages; finally, fifthly, the traditional legitimation of power, as was proved by the classic of sociology M. Weber, is realized through its sacralization²¹.

From the viewpoint of historical sociology, a significant interest is presented by the motion of the notion of “social” in the existent world religious systems. In this context, important sense have the works of M. Weber devoted to the comparative analysis of the economic ethics of world religions. In particular, he emphasized that the outwardly similar forms of economic organization can join with an economic ethics completely different by its character and, by depending on its specific features, can exert quite different historical effects. For each religion, one can mostly separate those strata whose vital behaviour will be defining for it even if to a certain extent. At first, Islam was the religion of world’s conquerors from the knightly order of disciplined fighters for faith which differed from Christian orders created by its standard in the period of crusades only by that it required sexual asceticism. Christianity was at first by the doctrine of itinerant craftsmans and by a really urban religion by its character²².

It is worth to note that the idea of the category of “social” in world religious systems is quite related. In particular, christianity whose genetic root reaches the socio-cultural system of the ancient East was finally formed as the most widespread world religion, and all the near-Eastern-Mediterranean area was joined under power of the supernational Roman empire. The Christian social norms came to many socio-political doctrines, in particular in socialism, first of all, as to the problem of attitude to rich and labour. In this sense, a true overturn happened in the times of the protestant reformation. From the time of M. Luther and J. Calvin, rich is perceived as the evidence of the God-selected position.

The religious reformation in the Western Europe became a true revolution in the idea of “social”. First of all, the postulate about a possibility of collective rescue for believers was denied. There appeared the phenomenon of a free individual which got, first of all, the own body in his private ownership. The capitalist relations destroy a community as the main matrix of the traditional society. There arises the market of purchase-sale of the man power. With the purpose to escape the war of all against all, the free individuals form a civil society. Competition becomes a basic social mechanism in such a state where the freedom of one individual is limited by the sphere of freedom of another. Thereafter, the western anthropological myth recognizes a man to be malicious by his social nature. The traditional cultures continue to think that a man is created by image and likeness of the God and lost the Eden because of the Fall.

The ethics of Islam does not call to the active change of a social order, and the differentiation by property is explained in Koran by the Allah's will. The possession of riches is temporary and changeable²³. Analogous motives can be found in Buddhism and Confucianism.

The main distinctions between the East and West manifested clearly by beginning from the "axial time" picked out by K. Jaspers into the period of the VIII–VIth centuries B.C. when the active realization of both the distinction of an individual and his/her ethics from, respectively, a collective and its ethics and, simultaneously, the interdependence of an individual and the socium occurred. For example, in ancient Greece, private ownership became a structure-forming factor which promoted the formation of the polis democracy, legal civil guarantees, and emancipation of an individual from the socium. The traditional Eastern civilizations attempted to control a private proprietor: in Confucianism and Islam, the state makes this control, and the caste system implements it in Buddhism. So, East civilizations developed on the principles of subordination of an individual to the collective.

The Eastern social institutions successively denied any social innovations which could undermine the traditional social relations in the historical perspective. In particular, the religiously determined social behaviour assisted to this in Islam. The stake was made on the socium which was disciplined and subordinated to the charismatic leader. In this case, the history of Moslem countries convincingly proves that there existed a quite high degree of vertical social mobility. Because all are equal in front of Allah (of course, except for women), a talented former slave could stand by an emir, a peasant — by a military leader, and a poor man — by an expert on Islam under favourable circumstances.

In Buddhism, defining is a religiously determined individual behaviour. Here, in view of the principle of individual karma, the principle of collective rescue which is typical of Orthodox Church is not recognized. In this case, the believers realize that they must lay the foundation of their future karma in the present life in order to have a chance to be born again with clean conscience and a possibility to reach the state of nirvana and to break out the cyclic circle of regenerations.

The Chinese Confucian tradition is based on the value of the optimally organized social life whose source is the permanent self-perfection of a man intending to become a sage or to manage the state. In turn, the state directs the socium to arriving at the highest internal harmony. In traditional Eastern civilizations, the notion of "social" served namely to this aim. This notion was interpreted first of all as the collective which is consecrated by all the experience of socium's historical reality.

So, the basically different characteristics of the content of the notion “social” were formed approximately prior to the period of big geographic discoveries and their continuation, colonial raptures in the West and East. As far back as ancient Greece and Ancient Rome which were by the cradle of the medieval Western civilization, the individualistic stereotype of social behaviour was formed and it set both the priority of personal aims in front of the interests of a certain social group and the self-identification on the base of personal attributions and not through the identification of oneself with a group. The traditional Eastern civilizations prefer collective values which have a priority in front of individual interests. In this case, an Eastern man identifies oneself, first of all, with a certain socium²⁴.

The gradual negation of traditional ideas of the social as such that is given from the God and is managed therefore by the Supreme Intellect took place in the XVII–XVIIIth centuries in the European epoch of Enlightenment. Aristotle considered the social Space as a closed system. After the discovery made by J. Bruno, the concept of the infinite Universe became gradually consolidated. Since that time, a man considers the environment as a subject of scientific and experimental cognition. Starting from the XVIIIth century, time becomes linear and irreversible. Instead of cyclic historical ideas, the ideas of infinite historical progress are established.

A significant contribution to this process was made by J.-J. Rousseau who advanced the hypothesis of origin of a “civilized state” which is characterized by the presence of a civil society due to the conclusion of a public treaty. The Great French revolution of 1789–1794 began a new big social cycle of the history whose sense of not only in the transformation of a man into an irreligious sceptic, but into a co-author of the Creator. These ambitions are the basis for the development of the social under the conditions of Modern.

The social and Modern. Essential changes in the semantics of the notion “social” happened for the time of Enlightenment. The desacralization of the social world as Space occurred gradually, which was typical of the sensation of traditional society. The religious reformation of the XVI–XVIIIth centuries in Europe gave birth to a civil society whose structures operate in the urban civilization. The Protestant idea of the division of peoples into the selected (proprietors) and derelicts (proletarians who, by the tradition of the Roman right, have only their descendants in property) caused the transition from the estate-based differentiation of the society which is inherent in traditional sociums, to the class-based one. Rationalism liberated a man from traditional taboos. One of the consequences of this process is racism. In this case, a colonization compelled to deviate from the Christian idea of general brotherhood of peoples, since the savages of other sociums should be “civilized”.

The modern global civilization was formed in the XVII–XIXth centuries by the efforts of western rationalists as a complicated system of many cultures and local civilizations.

By starting from different ideas of the social, peoples formed differently the systems of production and distribution of material goods. Traditional societies are characterized by the production for consumption. Whereas, in the modern society, the production is oriented to the receipt of income. The main metaphor of the traditional socium is the idea of the social as the related. But, for the modern society, the social is, first of all, the competitive and market-based²⁵.

The modern paradigm for the notion of “social” was proposed into 1845 by K. Marx who stated that the man’s essence is not a certain abstract inherent in a separate individual but, in its reality, is the totality of all public relations. That is, the actions of individuals generate a society. However, a socium and an individual are indivisible and form each other. The phenomenon of “social” is identified out of the limits of personal contacts and is functioning with the help of social institutions.

The famous historian and social thinker A. Toynbee considered a society as an institution of higher order which comprises all other institutions, but it does not belong to any one²⁶. He stated that a society cannot be a source of social action, but a separate individual or a group of individuals whose fields of actions create a society can be such a source. A society is a mediator such that individuals interact between themselves with its help. Persons rather than societies create the human history.

At the same time, the dual opposition of the individual and the collective allows one to state about the impossibility to negate a mass factor in the historical process. With special force, this tendency manifests itself from the time of formation of the so-called mass society, a diagnosis to which was given by the Spanish philosopher J. Ortega-y-Gasset in his work “The revolt of the masses”. In this case, in socio-historical processes, decisive are not only the quantitative characteristics of a certain social group, but its size multiplied by social activity. For example, in the 1960s, the West was an arena for the competition for social influence between the class of professional politicians and the movement of various civil initiatives. The democracy of participation calls for enhanced social activity out of the limits of the production sphere in public-political affairs. However, the mass consumer society subordinates more and more the socio-cultural and political spheres to its interests, which implies a gradual dehumanization of the notion of “social”.

The social and post-modern. The founder of sociology A. Comte determined the future society as its object which will cover and join the whole humanity²⁷. Such an aim at modernistic globalization was leading in

the XXth century in the period of competition of the socialistic and liberal social paradigms. At that time, modernism leaned on the formational vision of the joint world history whose development was characterized by gradual progress. On the boundary of the XXIth century, it is understandable that a developed consumer society is the monopolistic product of only the western civilization.

The Russian politologist O. Panarin stated that contemporary societies do not simply reproduce themselves in history, they are involved in the creation of a megasociety. Therefore, the decisive social relations are now those concerning the strategy of formation of the future rather than the relations of property²⁸. The ideology of post-modern denies the steady norms and procedures of social life and criticizes totally “the big senses” and projects. The faith in the Messianic historical perspectives is lost. Post-modernism deprive the history of the vector of future. From the times of K. Popper, the historical design is declared by “poverty of historicism”⁷. The socio-historical methodology of the period of modernism existed on the principles of formation of objective laws and tendencies. The leading values of Modern were democracy, equality, and progress. Liberals of post-Modern affirm, on the contrary, the equivalence of any time intervals and offer to give up any troubles about the sense and directivity of social time²⁹.

Most symptomatic for post-Modern in the interpretation of the social is the return to the concepts which prefer the priority of the biological constituent of a man. The case in hand is racism and social-Darwinism which lead a socium to the arena of struggle for existence in which only the most adapted persons can win a victory. The joint historical time of the beginning and end of the history is replaced by the global segregation of peoples divided into the selected and derelicts. In this case, the powerful center as a global City exploits the poor provincial periphery.

The termination of the social cycle started by the Great French revolution of the end of the XVIIIth century is marked by the search for the new content of the notion of “social globalism”.

Thus, the historical motion of the semantics of the notion of “social” allows one to make attempt to typologize the mostly used definitions.

Descriptive definitions: the social is the totality of certain properties and peculiarities of public relations which is integrated by an individual or a community in the process of joint activity under specific conditions and manifests itself in their connections, the attitude to a place in the society, phenomena, and the processes of social life. The field of realization of the social is focused on the interaction and coexistence of the individual and the public.

Historic definitions: the social is a product of traditions and all the previous development of the humanity. In this context, one should also consider the problem of historical ties of different generations.

Normative definitions, as a rule, accent attention on the social life of an individual and a socium governed by the system of normative regulations and control over their execution. In this case, a special attention is paid to the role of ideas, symbols, and structures in social life.

Definition of the social through the psychological and vice versa. K. Marx, in particular, noted that a social reality determines consciousness. That is, the psychological reveals itself in this paradigm through the social. However, because the social and the psychological are indivisible in essence and have a joint object, namely a man, we may suppose that, in the world of post-material values, on the contrary, it is appropriate to interpret the social in terms of the psychological³⁰.

Such a content of the notion “social” opens wide possibilities for the development of new methodological approaches to historical sociology.

Chapter 3. Introduction to the social theory of probability

Problem of the social and social development. As known, the term “social” comes from the Latin word *societas* — society. The inclination to cognize and to comprehend a social essence accompanies the humanity during the whole history. This categorial universal pierces literally through the terminological hierarchy constructed by the socio-philosophical cognition of the objective reality.

Sociology as a science about society, first of all about the mechanisms of its operation and development, also focuses its attention on the category of “social”. Its numerous definitions evidence for the extraordinarily complicated nature of this human formation. At the same time, while forming and developing in the process of collective activity, this phenomenon has a wide variety of its specific manifestations, because it is the most complicated from human formations. Below, we consider some of the latter.

For example, K. Marx stated that the category of “social” is the totality of properties and relations appearing in the process of joint activity. This category materializes itself under specific historical conditions and appears in interpersonal relations and in the attitude of a person to oneself, his/her place in society, phenomena, and the processes of social life.

In this case, the specific character of the social is characterized by the following features:

- general property which is intrinsic to a person and a group of persons and arises in the process of their integration with the formation of public relations;

- expression of a certain position of persons conditioned by modern public relations (economic, political, socio-cultural, etc.);

- clarification of the relations of persons between themselves and their attitude to a position in the society, phenomena, and the processes of social life;

- the social is a consequence of the joint activity of various individuals which manifests itself in their contacts and interaction.

Public relations are a specific form of social relations which are induced by the activity of persons conditioned by their unequal positions in the society and roles in social life.

Thus, the society is, in essence, a complicated system of ties between individuals and groups of individuals which determine themselves through interrelations. It is clear that such a system can be static or dynamical. This quality conditions the process of permanent development of an externally given (material) social essence. The internal reflection (consequence) and, simultaneously, creative origin (cause) of the social is the psychic process composing the developing spiritual essence of a man.

The attributive qualities of the social are the interdependence of persons in the process of joint creation and the positive (ethic) attitude to a partner. On the basis of this immanent ethicality of the social, one of the founders of contemporary sociology, the French philosopher A. Comte named sociology by a form of positive religion.

In 1830s, A. Comte introduced the notion of “sociology” in the scientific turnover, i.e., a science about society. According to his thought, it should integrate, in itself, all the branches of knowledge about society. A. Comte believed that sociology as a positive philosophy has to realize the observation, description, and systematization of facts and the processes of social life.

Thus, *sociology* is a science about the formation, development, and operation of the society, social communities, social relations and social processes, about the mechanisms and principles of their interaction. Thus, sociology as a science implements certain functions: cognitive-theoretic one which consists in the systematization and production of new knowledge, critical, socio-administrative, outlook-ideological, humanistic, practical-transforming, informational, and prognostic.

The social essence is established in social institutions as forms of fixing the means of realization of a specialized activity which provides a stable functioning of public relations. Thus, the society is interested in the assistance to the stability of social institutions which is ensured by the constitution, laws, and other normative-legal acts. Whenever social functions are not realized through formal rules, one says about an informal institution. Social institutions are classified on the basis of functions they execute. We bear in mind economic, political, educational, cultural, and religious institutions, including social institutions in the narrow sense of this word. Economic social institutions include those which realize the production and distribution of social goods, services, labour organization, and regulation of money turnover. Political social institutions are associated with the establishment, execution, and support of the power (the last is, first of all, the parliament, President,

government, judicial bodies, and parties). Educational and cultural are the institutions created for the development of culture, socialization of the young generation, and transfer of the cultural society's values (at families, schools, etc.) to it. Finally, religious social institutions help to satisfy the inquiries and needs associated with the understanding of the supernatural and sacral. In fact, the society's power is determined by the level of its spirituality.

Social institutions are in a permanent dynamical state which is manifested through the notion of "social process", i.e., a successive change of phenomena of social reality.

It is rightful to distinguish the following social processes *which take place on various levels*:

- intrapersonal,
- individual-personal,
- interpersonal-group,
- national-state,
- international (interstate),
- civilizational (general-human)

and those *which change a social structure and public relations in the framework of*:

- separate national-state formations;
- separate communities and local civilizations;
- humanity (global society) on the whole.

The development of the social essence is described through the system of social laws. In this case, a social law is the objective repeated causal tie between social phenomena and processes which arise due to the public activity of the people or its actions. Social laws reflect both the invariant coexistence of social phenomena and tendencies of development, as well as they establish a functional dependence between social phenomena.

Social institutions are connected continuously with valuable normatives and ideologies like the external forms of sensitive emanations of ethics are related to psychology of public relations on various scales, namely, individuals, groups, societies, communities, and the humanity on the whole

In this case, the traditionally comprehended interconnection between "the social" (external, material) and "the psychic" (internal, ideal) is reflected in the quite known formula by K. Marx: "social being defines social consciousness". In other words, it is rightful to assert in the period of the traditional forms of social development that the consciousness as a psychic (internal) form of reflection is predetermined and manifested itself through the social being.

At the same time, the French researcher S. Moscovici drew the inverse conclusion by analyzing the modern West society. He inferred in his book

“La Machine à Faire des Dieux” published in 1988 that, in the process of analysis of the human society, the social can be separated from the psychological only in abstraction, i.e., they are inseparable. But in this case, psychic processes (beliefs, emotions, and passions) become the defining factor in the formation of social structures and institutions. On this ground, he concluded that the psychic forms the foundation of sociology.

Thus, we may say that a cardinaly different character of connection between the psychic and the social is established in a post-industrial society when the influence of the psychological aspects on various processes of production, exchange, and consumption of goods and services becomes stronger and defining. By refusing the economic determinism in a post-industrial society, one can logically explain social phenomena by psychological reasons. In essence, sociology and psychology become the adjacent scientific disciplines, whose objective boundaries intersect and have no clear demarcation line, in the process of social development.

At present, under conditions of the development of the processes of economic, political, and cultural globalization, the discussion as for the search for universal characteristics of human behaviour, i.e. for that what unites rather than disconnects the peoples in the world, is actualized with new power. In this case, the quintessence of achievements of sociology and psychology will give a possibility to approach to the solution of this task.

Characteristic of the social is its existence in a complicated structure which develops permanently under the action of various factors (socio-economic, political, cultural, psychological, demographic, etc.).

The notion of “structure” is central for many branches of knowledge, therefore it is one of the most used terms of everyday language. At the same time, real is the problem of definition of this notion in such a way that it would be employed in various branches of the social reality, irrespective of their scales.

The famous Polish sociologist P. Sztompka stated that the notion of “structure” should reflect the idea of dependence between elements, idea of regularity, conformity to natural laws, and stability, idea of fundamental measure, and idea of determining³¹. Structure is the hidden network of stable regular ties between elements in a certain branch of the reality which influences significantly the development of phenomena in the sphere of observations. In the circle of empiric sociology, the notion of structure is mainly used as the synonym of the statistic distribution of the data of observations or as a configuration of statistic correlations, but really it is considerably wider.

P. Sztompka considered four processes of the creation of social structures: the institutionalization of a social structure (appearance of social norms and

values), articulation of the ideal social structure (appearance of beliefs, looks, myths, and stereotypes), expanse of a social structure (expansion of the network of social contacts and communications), crystallization of the structures of social interests (appearance of a hierarchy on the basis of differentiation of the access to material goods, power, and prestigious status).

In the context of our general idea, we can add that there exists the correlation between the processes of formation of a social structure of the society and the personal development which is revealed by structural-functional analysis.

The field of realization of the social focuses on the interaction and coexistence of the individual and the public. The individual and the public can be considered as dual characteristics of the social which appear in turn in the foreground. The classical sociology omits the consideration of individually unique properties and features of a person which are intrinsic to him/her as a subject of development of the society. In sociology, a person is not only a part of a small contact group, but also is a typical representative of a big social group which bears norms, traditions, values, visions, and relations intrinsic to this group.

Integration of an individual to a society is realized through the socialization, i.e., the process of formation of a person and mastering of the values, norms, aims, and standards of behaviour incident to society to which an individual belongs.

On other hand, the individual is more changeable as compared with the public. The limits of stability of the former do not cross the lifespans of age cohorts. At the same time, significant historical periods of the social are composed, as it were, (like a nested Russian doll) from the periods of development of generations playing simultaneously the roles of “keepers” and “builders” of the past, present, and future societies.

The famous German philosopher O. Spengler put the rhetorical question in his classical work “Decline of Europe”: Do the features intrinsic to the individual life lie in the basis of any historical process? The answer to this question leads us to the construction of a refined concept of socio-historical development which allows one to overcome a present paradigmatic crisis of the system of social sciences in general and sociology in particular. At the same time, a reasonable question arises: why must a new approach or a new system of historical periodization or, in other words, classification be created if such systems already exist in the sufficient amount? The main arguments for the benefit of a new approach consist of its empiric origin ensured by the application of a complex of societal indices, the high heuristic potential, and the significantly higher degree of prognostication, which is very important

for the elaboration of efficient strategies of the social development which would include the consideration of negative consequences of the use of various social-engineering technologies.

As was stated by S. Moscovici, there exists neither a culture, nor a history in which the society planned by the people was not transformed into a real society which is adequate for the majority of its members. Without this point, the society would remain to be stillborn. Moreover, the majority of futurological approaches does not carry out a constructive approach, but only gives a socio-philosophical explanation of the reality.

Our periodization (being cyclic by its nature) of the socio-historical development is constructed on the basis of the biunited socio-psychological process of development of a person and the society. In this case, it is understandable that a social essence reveals itself both on the public level and the personal one. The properties of these subjects are transformed in the process of transition from the individual state to the collective one. A group thinks, feels, and acts otherwise than its individual members.

The main aim is the development of a universal approach to the elaboration of structural forms of a model which will reflect the socio-historical and psychological aspects.

In the XIXth century, the French psychologist J. Piaget developed the concept of the psychology of activity. According to this concept, any behaviour of a man involves the power, structural, or cognitive aspects. Those which are named in life by common sense as “feeling” and “intellect” by considering them as two “abilities” opposite to each other, are two forms of behaviour. The first form is directed to the people, and the second — to ideas or things. In this case, each form possesses both the cognitive and affective aspects of action which are always combined in real life and are not independent abilities in any way.

Many psychologists established the divisibility and, at the same time, interrelation of two above-mentioned spheres (emotional-affective and intellectual). This interrelation really exists, but psychologists failed for a long time to clarify it. This problem was solved by D. El'konin (1971) within the frameworks of the theory of activity which develops in the system “child in society” (the term was introduced by O. Leont'ev). This system is composed from the subsystems “child — thing” (child is a public object) and “child — adult” (child — public relations).

By considering the leading man's activity, he found the hidden (such that appears at the surface during the so-called psychological crisis) dialectical discrepancy between its two aspects: the operation-technical aspect (“intellectual-structural”, by J. Piaget) which is associated with the development

of the subsystem “child — thing” and the emotional-motivative one which is related to the development of the subsystem “child — adult”.

Respectively, the general sequence of leading activities in the course of the vital cycle of a man includes alternating activities with the priority development of one of man’s features by forming, in such a way, the social cycles of development of a person in ontogenesis.

The age psychology separates rather clearly the above-mentioned social cycles and periods (epochs) of the psychic development of a person up to the age of 17. Unfortunately, the further psychic development of a person is still badly described (from the viewpoint of separation of social cycles and their periods). By solving this problem, we employed (1992) the original method of analysis of age cohorts which enabled us to verify the required cohorts to within one year.

The application of the given method in Ukraine showed that the upper bound of pensionary age for the population of Ukraine was 63–64 as of the time of measurement. In light of the obtained result, one may agree with the criticism which the International Labour Organization utters on Ukraine’s address for a long time by attracting attention to the necessity of increasing the upper bound of pensionary age.

By analyzing the above-mentioned discrepancy, the authors paid attention also to a disagreement in the periodizations of psychic development of a person derived in the experiments of J. Piaget and soviet psychologists. In particular, the boundaries of periods of psychic development which were established by J. Piaget differ from the appropriate results got by soviet psychologists approximately by 1.5–2 years. In the experiments of J. Piaget, they are “shifted” to the side of greater ages (Fig. 1). Such a shift can be mainly explained, in our opinion, by the peculiarities of socio-historical conditions and their influence on the psychic development of a man under the West (post-industrial) and Soviet (industrial) socio-historical conditions.

One can characterize the phenomenon of interrelation of the individual and public psychics through the notion of “*societal*” brought into the scientific turnover by A. Keller in 1903. This notion determines the general-systemic properties of a society as a social whole. Respectively, the new notion of “societal psychics” gives a possibility to integrate three basic levels of the social, by the definition of P. Sorokin: man, society, and civilization.

The need in the idea of integrity of a society, being under conditions of transformation, demands the socio-cultural approach, i.e., the comprehension of the society on the basis of the unity of culture and the social. One of the methods of such an interpretation is the definition of the notion of a societal process.

Thus, a societal process is the field of socio-cultural interactions on the scale of a society (including societal-functional structures) which has a certain vector and is stably reproduced in a certain temporal interval³².

As the system of indicators which characterize a societal process, state, and properties of societal psychics, we take, following O. Donchenko, six scales of binary oppositions³³.

Extroversion/Introversion. Extroversion is the directivity of societal psychics to objective circumstances, first of all, to the nearest environment. In this case, the society is more traditional and corresponds, in the Spengler's variant of the concept, to "closed cultures" which form, respectively, totalitarian civilizational organisms. Introversion is directed to internal subjective circumstances. It is intrinsic mainly to the so-called "open society". In the general case, the societal characteristic extroversion/introversion is classified and described by the Swiss psychologist C.-G. Yung. It is significantly influenced by a geopolitical state which is immediately related to the historical destiny. Therefore, it is especially important in the course of further researches to trace the changes in various national-state formations on the same territory during a certain historical time. This will allow one to clarify the action of the social mechanism of interrelation of "closed" and "open" cultures.

Irrationality/Rationality. They characterize the ability of cognition of the reality and, respectively, a dominating directive concerning the cognition which lies in the basis of formation of a certain pattern of the world.

Executivity/Intentionality. It is a dual characteristic of the gender (male or female). The authors developed a unique psychodiagnostic method of determination of this societal characteristic on the basis of the domination of "cold" or "warm" chromatic gradations in dual chromatic preferences.

Emotionality/Pragmatism. It is the important societal characteristic of the society which strikes almost at once when one says about the signs of the society's mentality and its directivity to emotional-sensitive or cogitative processes.

Externality/Internality clarifies the method of adaptation of a certain social subject to the environment.

Intuitivism/Sensority is the societal characteristic which is last but not least.

The authors agree with the thought of H. Eysenck about the presence of a certain interrelation between societal signs which determine eventually "the mental peculiarities" of a certain social organism (individual, society, local civilization, and the humanity as a whole).

The following societal states are also well known: *conventional* — "so", *correcting* — "no", and *chaotic* — "other". However, the question remains open: Does this present the mechanism of operation of the societal? In particular,

it is our belief that the correlation of the conventional, correcting, and chaotic societal states with the Toinby's concept of "challenge — response" is possible.

The emanation of societal psychics is the notion of archetype which was introduced in the scientific turnover by C.-G. Yung. The archetype can be considered as a superpersonal factor of psychosocial evolution. The analysis of the archetype is a method of study of mentality, protohistory, and future. The archetype is a form of the unconscious which is repeated many times in history. Since ontogenesis repeats phylogenesis, a higher organization includes immanently the whole previous hierarchy of archetypes of the former stages of social development³⁴.

Among main questions of sociology, P. Sztompka picks out the search for answers to the question what is a society and how it changes.

H. Spencer named the idea of development as a key in scientific analysis. Organic development is the transition from the state of homogeneity to the state of heterogeneity (involution/evolution). The law of development spreads not only on all material phenomena, but on psychological ones. Mental progress is the evidence for social progress. Organic progress consists in the gradual transition from homogeneous to inhomogeneous³⁵.

Therefore, one of the most important sociological principles is the principle of historism. Indeed, in order to comprehend any contemporary phenomenon, it is necessary to return to its sources, to analyse the processes stimulating his development. So, the sociology of history helps to more deeply comprehend the theoretical regularities of social development.

Idea of universal epochal cycle. The French philosopher S. Moscovici emphasizes that "many unfavourable events have sources in a deformed vision of social phenomena and those forms of practice which are conditioned by them"³⁰. Therefore, a certain correction of the theoretical vision formed under conditions of an industrial society will give a possibility for the realization of a more adequate and efficient social practice by contemporaries of a post-industrial society.

So, public processes can be explained by social and psychological reasons.

The important characteristic of social changes is the historical time. To social events, the rhythmic or chaotic change of intervals between them is intrinsic. Time reflects a rhythm of collective actions and, at the same time, is a regulator of the named actions.

Thus, P. Sztompka determined social time as "events in time" and "time in events"³⁶. Social time carries out important functions: synchronization, coordination, succession, timeliness, measuring, and differentiation.

Time is relative in the historical and cultural sense. Workweek and calendar have socio-contractual character. Every society possesses immanently the own time configuration.

Because the man's life is, in fact, a cyclic process, each stage of which has own characteristics, one can advance the hypothesis as for the possibility of explanation of the historical process from the viewpoint of development of certain cycles. This idea, like the majority of scientific approaches, is not absolutely new. It was touched earlier by L. Gumilev, M. Danilevsky, M. Kondrat'ev, P. Sorokin, A. Toynbee, and O. Spengler.

Older is the cyclic concept of the comprehension of changes which was associated with the practice of ancient agricultural societies and their annual cyclicity of works. With the development of the industrial method of production, the linear concept of the cognition of time and history begins to prevail. As usual, it goes from the Judaic-Christian philosophy which expanded the idea of development of the humanity from the Fall to the Rescue and Kingdom of Heaven. Still greater was influenced the secularization of the idea of linear time by the ideology of Enlightenment with its idea of gradual progressive development. Therefore, P. Sorokin wrote not by chance that "the social thought of the second half of the XIXth century is marked by the linear concept of socio-historical changes"³⁷.

The notion of cycle is perceived as a reiteration of certain stages of development. Of course, there exist the evident astronomic cycles: day and night, Moon's phases, and seasons. Well-known are the biological cycles which have important consequences for social life: birth, childhood, youth, maturity, old age, and death. Quite clearly are displayed the political, economic, and social cycles.

As *social cycle*, one can consider the certain state of a system, in which it can be at any stage of its development and which was already inherent in it in the past³⁸.

Astrology gives the old example of the faith in the cyclic character of social changes. Contemporary astronomy gives reason to say about big cosmic cycles which realize the philosophical idea of infinity, unhandmadeness, and eternity of the Universe. According to the last data of astronomers, the Big Bang which occurred about 15 bln years ago started a next cycle of expansion of the Universe. Then one should expect the phase of contraction, and a next big explosion will happen finally.

Long ago, ancient Chaldeans opened a 223-month cycle, i.e., its duration is about 18 years. Near the end of this cycle, the lunar eclipses begin to return with analogous intervals and in the same order as those at its beginning (the Saros cycle). For this reason, it becomes possible to make use of the cycle as a time unit for measuring the future periods³⁹.

Gradually, the theories of cyclic and periodic reiterations of the historical process arose. The Old Indian philosophical thought distinguished three

different concepts of changes: the theory of progress, theory of regress, and theory of big cycles.

All the world history, according to the concept of thinkers of ancient Persia, has one big cycle which is composed from many fluctuations.

The Chinese philosopher Confucius proposed the theory of periodicity and recurrence of small social cycles in three, nine, eighteen, twenty seven, and thirty years.

The most famous representative of the cyclic concept of the history in ancient Greece, Plato, thought that the history of any people successively passes through three stages birth, blooming, and destruction. Plato also marked small cycles in the change of forms of governing from the tyranny through the aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy, and ochlocracy to a new tyranny.

By analyzing the reasons for many revolutions occurred in old times, Aristotle stated that they have analogous reasons, and the history repeats itself in this aspect.

N. Machiavelli asserted that the states pass from the state of order to that of disorder and then pass from the chaos to a new order. At present, analogous ideas are advanced by synergetics which considers order and chaos as one matrix of social changes.

J. Bodin emphasized the existence of periodicity and rhythms in social changes.

Finally, in the work "New science" by G. Vico, the cyclic concept of the history and social changes finds its most systematized presentation. G. Vico admitted that all nations go over the cycles of its appearance, development, disintegration, and end and recognized the external distinction of cycles which are repeated by simultaneously emphasizing their internal and essential identity.

P. Sorokin also gives the characteristic to cyclic theories which existed at the beginning of the XXth century. Periodic cycles and rhythms include: 24-hour cycles and rhythms, 7-day cycle, annual cycles, 3–4-year cycles, 60-year cycles, centenary cycles, etc.

The duration of a cycle can be different. O. Spengler divides the history of development of closed cultures into 1200-year periods, moreover, there exist the cycles of the protohistory, the history proper, and the post-history. Economic cycles by M. Kondrat'ev cover 60- and 120-year cycles.

In addition to periodic rhythms and cycles, there exist aperiodic ones, among which P. Sorokin named the cycle of inventions (ascent, plateau, and descent), cycle of a social process (copying, research, opposition, and adaptation), cycle of social institutions and organizations (appearance, growth, differentiation, and disintegration), and cycles in the life of ideology and ideas (three stages: this is impossible; something is in this; this is well known).

In general, a man, the society, and various civilizations undergo simultaneously the action of many cycles with different complexity and hierarchy (from big space cycles to little physiological ones). It is worth advancing the hypothesis about that the greater cycles, which belong to the upper levels of the hierarchy, as if subordinate the development of lesser cycles by rhythm and periodicity. At the same time, the “failure” of several cycles of lower levels can, probably, break the dynamics of development of big cycles.

Society and civilization, as a man, pass the big vital cycle in its development which, in turn, consists of, by the authors’ hypothesis, five epochal cycles. Moreover, the ontogenetic development of a person can be described by four small cycles of socialization and one (final) big epochal cycle of man’s self-realization. The epochal cycles of a society, on the contrary, develop from the big cycle of the protohistory to small cycles of society’s self-realization. The ontogenesis of development of a person and the genesis of development of the humanity (civilization) are similar (by form). The general view of the correlation of forms of the ontogenetic development of a person, society, and civilization is given on Fig. 3.

To simulate the process of social development, we introduce the notion of *universal epochal cycle*. Each specific cycle forms the separate phases replacing one another: revolution — involution — co-evolution — evolution — revolution.

In this case, a *revolution* is a distinctive summary and original point of development of a public system. On this stage of a cycle, a lived historical period is generalized and the choice of a new way of development is realized. The principal form of activity of historical subjects on this stage of the universal epochal cycle is the emotional-motivative activity. It displays in an increase of the field of the social freedom from the obligations and chains of the old social structure. This transient period is associated with a radical change of the societal characteristics of a society. On this stage of development, the freedom of an individual which is objectively limited by the state of the war of all against all generates a qualitatively new political system. One observes oscillations of the degree of freedom from anarchy to dictatorship. The economy is in a chaotic state and forms a new socio-cultural paradigm of management due to the change of owners of property.

Every time after the next (sudden to a certain extent) revolutionary period of renewal of the society, the normative period of *involution* comes. It is associated in the semantic historical meaning with the mastering of constituents of the social (personal, public, civilizational) system of new general-systemic qualities. By its content, this period reminds that of socialization of generations.

So, the morally-ethic constituent of development becomes priority in this case. On this stage, the society attempts to support the own traditional foundations, but a person prepares, on the contrary, to be in opposition to the society which reinforces the role of mythologemas. The increasingly progressing collectivistic moral advances socio-meaningful aims and interests on the priority place. The moral imperative “at first, think about the Homeland and then about oneself” which limits the individual’s freedom pushes the people to the sacrifice by turning the life into the continuous service to ideals. By a reliable psychological base becomes the emotional-sensitive man’s behaviour oriented to the external control prevailing over internal self-control. The political system is characterized by the order which is functioning at the expense of the limitation of civil freedoms and is supported through autocratic methods or the formally representative democratic procedures. The economy develops at the expense extensive methods with a corresponding attitude to natural and human resources.

The crisis period of *co-evolution* is “the turning point” from the normative period of involution to the normative period of evolution. By its essence, co-evolution is the creation of collectivized individuals, which yields the reformed system of norms, social institutions, and relations which supplement, as a mirror, the relevant characteristics of the precrisis steady period. This transient period forms the preconditions for the harmonious coexistence of a defining amount of “self-supporting individuals” in the future evolutionary period. Under pressure of the increasingly growing innovative wave, they reinforce the synthesis of order and chaos and thus a real threat of “stable nonequilibrium”. By an indicator of the co-evolutionary period becomes an explosion of individual activity. Gradually, the price of an innovation becomes defining. Order begins to prevail over chaos. The political system acquires the signs of pluralistic, when the subject “We” is finally depreciated and the subject “I” confidently strengthens itself. The economic order is transformed to the side of expansion of the field of the freedom of economic activity.

The normative period of *evolution* second after involution is characterized by the development of general-systemic processes which is accompanied by the development of social processes, complication of a social structure, and increase in the innovative activity. The main characteristic of the period of evolution is the stability of changes. Society acquires new social features and attributes, the emancipation of individuals occurs, and the cognitive component of a psychological person’s structure becomes stronger, which gives the signs of rationality to the society. In the political sphere, the principle of freedom of a choice and the principle of consensus in a decision-making become dominant. becomes The thesis “the state is strong due to strong citizens”

becomes a widespread slogan. Economic growth takes place at the expense of intensive economic methods and the development of innovative processes and technologies which gradually modernize the society. On the whole, the historical development come to a higher level.

The normative periods of development, *involution* and *evolution*, are characterized by the integrity and stability of the tendencies of simplification (for involution) or complication (for evolution) of the social structure. In this case, there appears no disparity between separate dimensions of structures, groups, communities, and the society, as well as between the normative structure, ideal structure, interactive structure, and structure of interests. In the personal aspect, this means that the people's obligations related to their positions agree with their persuasions and correspond to their interests.

The transient stages, *revolution* and *co-evolution*, are characterized by the anomaly (the discrepancy between the normative dimension and the dimension of interests), schizophrenic public consciousness (the discrepancy between the ideal dimension and the dimension of interests), social frustration (the discrepancy between the interactive dimension and dimension of interests), refusal from legitimization, and the discrepancy between the normative and ideal dimensions.

But, according to the thought of S. Moscovici, if the society wishes not only to survive, but to develop and to counteract to conflicts which destroy social ties, it should mobilize beliefs and passions. The loss of beliefs and apathy can give rise to the loss of both the social network of ties and ability to actions. Beliefs and passions are periodically capable to reproduce the solidarity and desire to participate in actions which exceed the individuals' abilities and become general for this reason.

The co-evolutionary character is intrinsic to the changes with a transformation inside of a certain system. But the changes of revolutionary type are characterized by a radical change of the very system.

The normative periods of the universal epochal cycle are *involution* and *evolution*.

Involution and evolution are characterized, respectively, by the processes of socialization and social control. In the state of involution, the social consensus and the power of laws prevail, and the people is ready to sacrifice by its welfare for families or the Homeland. The involutory state of a *socium* is characterized by the position when the reality determines consciousness. In this case, the public regulations and norms are in resonance with general beliefs. In the evolutionary phase of development, on the contrary, consciousness dominates and forms a reality, and personal interests and passions prevail. In the involutory phase of development, the social

determines individual psychological peculiarities. But in the evolutionary state, on the contrary, individual psychological peculiarities determine the social processes, phenomena, institutions.

The involutionary period of our history is the soviet one which is common for Ukraine and Russia, but not for Byelorussia. The last then still was in the evolutionary period. The soviet involutionary stage and the western evolutionary one differ on the whole by the amount of social roles (the term of H. Spencer): 30–40 thousand for the Soviet area (by example of Soviet Ukraine) and 70 thousand for West. In this context, we may say that the differentiation in the Soviet countries was underdeveloped.

In general, the involutionary period is characterized by a certain social regression and the simplification of a social structure. Involution can be considered as a regress as compared to the previous evolutionary period (within the framework of this cycle). On the contrary, the evolutionary period is characterized by the progressing differentiation of a social structure. The involutionary phase of development mythologizes the society, whereas the an evolutionary phase makes the public life more pragmatic and the ties between subjects rational. Involution is the period of domination of collective norms with the relevant limitation of individual's freedom.

The development of the universal epochal cycle indicates that the societal characteristics undergo historical changes. For the periods of revolution and co-evolution which reveal the systemic crisis, scarcely one can say about definite societal characteristics. These transient periods are characterized by fluctuations as the state with dynamical nonequilibrium. The involutionary period of development demonstrates extroversivity (orientation of the societal psychics to the material essence of external objects), externality, irrationality, emotionality, intuitivism (orientation of societal psychics to abstract ideals), and executivity (the female in gender which is directed to a process). From the viewpoint of our model, the evolutionary period will be defined by introversivity (orientation to the spiritual essence), internality, rationality, pragmatism, sensority (orientation to mundane values), and intentionality (the male in gender which directed to a result).

The presence of the above-mentioned interrelation between societal indices allows one to reconstruct all indices if one of them is known. For example, by determining the quantitative characteristics for the index intentionality/executivity, one can reconstruct others. However, it should be noted that the social cycles of three basic subjects types oppose pairwise to one another: the individual social cycle opposes to the public social cycle, and the last, in turn, does to the civilizational one (Fig. 3). Namely this circumstance was not taken into account by British psychologists who performed, for the first time,

the so-called populative measurements of societal indices on the scale of H. Eysenck (extroversion/introversion) in 1946 and 1962.⁴⁰ The British researchers measured, in fact, societal characteristics of two different objects (society and civilization) and did not distinguish them by social cycles. Therefore, they were not able to explain the mirror-opposite results.

Respectively, every subject of the historical process has its own cycles of development. During the specific phase of a cycle, the own problems conditioned by the principal form of historical activity are solved.

A model of the graph of relevant indices can be given as follows. Three axes (social, national-state, and civilizational) are distinguished by the criterion of historical time. The vertical axis is the values of a societal index for a certain subject. Moreover, the integral curve on the graph will not be the sum of components. The hierarchy of cycles can be represented, as a nested Russian doll, by beginning from the highest civilizational cycle, through the national-state one, to the personal cycle.

The personal social cycle develops quicker than the national-state and civilizational ones by realizing itself through the change of generations. Some time ago, the Spanish philosopher J. Ortega-y-Gasset stated that the rotation of human generations is an important historical mechanism. In detail, socio-political cycles were analyzed by W. Pareto who developed the theory of circulation of elites. The historical science includes the ideas of the traditional agrarian society, modernized industrial society, and post-modern post-industrial society. In this case, different societies which form the own national-state structures are on the different levels of the socio-historical development. In the same way, there arise distinctions between local civilizations as well.

The national-state cycle is longer than the personal cycle, but shorter than the civilizational cycle which is the quintessence of all national-state cycles. They can be uncompleted if a certain national-state subject lost independence due to unfavourable historical events and develops as a component of other subject, mostly an empire. The named cycle was considered still by Plato who paid attention to the change of political regimes from dictatorship, oligarchy, aristocracy (meritocracy in our time, which means the power according to public merits), and democracy to ochlocracy and a new dictatorship.

The civilizational cycle is longest. Its rhythm depends on many national-state formations which enter the socio-cultural area of a certain civilization. These problems were investigated by M. Danilevsky, P. Sorokin, and O. Spengler. A. Toynbee advanced, in fact, a cyclic civilizational theory of birth, blooming, and destruction through the mechanism "challenge — response".

Thus, the theory of social probability creates the own methodological base for prognostication. It leans on the objective measurements of societal

indices which give information about general-systemic socio-historical processes. On these principles, one forms, at first, the first approximation to a hypothetic prognosis. Then, on the base of corrections, one constructs the possible scenarios of development and chooses finally the most probable variant of development of events.

Methodology of socio-historical prognostication. A man exists in the system of the past, present, and future which characterize the irreversibility of the course of time. The comprehension of these three states of time came to the humanity only after the invention of written language. In fact, the past becomes only then “turned back”, when it is not only remembered but is written. The differentiation of the past, present, and future is shown most clearly by the Judaic-Christian tradition.

Really, the difference between the past, present, and future is not very clear. The present does not exist at all. Indeed, if social processes have some duration, they are passing continuously from the past into the future at every moment. That is, they are already in the past, or they are already not in the future. While we are speaking, each word is already in the past prior to the termination of a phrase. In the general case, the socio-philosophical thought admits that the past and the future allegedly meet in the present. Moreover, it is already impossible to influence the past, the present itself is influenced, and the future is influenced only in potency.

The humanity always wished to know about its future, and the capacities for foresight were highly appreciated. Ethnography and archaeology evidence for that the problem of future worried the people still on the early stages of development of the society. At first, it was fixed in fairy-tales and myths which are now by important objects for the analysis of various archetypes.

Beginning from the times of antiquity, the genre of prognoses develops in the form of utopias. Among the most famous utopias, we name the Plato’s idea of a social system where philosophers govern the state. In the Middle Ages, a number of prominent utopias was created (“Utopia” by T. More, “Town of the Sun” by T. Campanella, “New Atlantis” by F. Bacon), where the authors posed the problems of ideal social system and moral values. In the XVIIIth century, utopias used widely the ideas of Enlightenment.

The second half of the XIXth century saw the start of the impetuous development of scientific fantasy.

In 1948, J. Orwell created the famous antiutopia “1984”, where he posed the socio-philosophical problems of control over the future through the manipulation by the past.

In the 1960–70s, the attempts to search for a reliable methodology of scientific prognostication were carried out. They were associated with the development

of activity of the so-called Rome club created in 1968 by the initiative of A. Peccei, the Italian businessman and public figure. The club joined scientists which had the aim to attract attention of politicians and the public to global problems of contemporaneity. In the first lecture at the Rome club named “The limits of growth” (1972), the American professor D. Meadows made conclusion on the collapse of the humanity associated with the exhaustion of resources and contamination of the environment. He proposed to search for a withdrawal from this state on the basis of “zero growth” of the population and industry. The distinctions of global modelling from the futurology of the 1960s are not only in the use of computer-based models, but in the application of the alternative multivariant approach to the determination of tendencies of the development of the future.

The general information about the future is derived through the foresight, i.e., the grounded supposition about the future state of phenomena of the nature and society and about the phenomena which are not known at present, but can be revealed. In this case, a prognosis is a probabilistic opinion about the state of various phenomena in the future.

A prognosis is an integral function of science whose development takes place with reinforcement of the prognostic function. Prognostication has also a great applied meaning.

The important problem of the methodology of prognostication is the revelation of factors which determine the future which follows from the present and has roots in the past. The law of causality states: a reason conditions obligatorily a consequence. In fact, such a causality induces the basic problems of prognostication which were analyzed by the Russian researcher O. Panarin. In particular, he emphasized that the same reason can generate different consequences. The determined hierarchies “reason — consequence” and “essence — phenomenon” do not always act in highly organized systems such as the society and its social life. In addition, any list of the *a priori* reasons which we construct to make a determined conclusion as for the future is always incomplete. Moreover, many processes which take place in the society's life are connected not by causal-resultative ties, but by the relations of complementarity⁴¹.

There exist different types of prognoses. Social prognostication is carried out with the purpose to develop recommendations as for the optimum influence on a forecasted phenomenon or a process with the purpose of their realization or prevention. Depending on the period, on which the prognostication is rated, one distinguishes current, short-term, middle-term, and long-term prognoses. Depending on the aim, prognoses are divided into prospecting ones, i.e. such that construct a forecast on the base of conditional extrapolation (continuation)

of tendencies, which acted in the past, to the future, and normative prognoses as forecasts of a desired state of phenomena on the base of the previous determination of norms, ideals, and aims.

The basic methods of prognostication are the interrogation of experts and the population, modelling, and a prognostic scenario⁴².

The interrogation of experts is based on the collective generation of ideas on the basis of intuition and the logic-analytic technique.

The method of periodic interrogation of the population (monitoring) is realized with regard for changes in a situation.

The method of modelling is based on a mathematical model of a certain process. This can be an equation, table, and the graph of a curve. The so-called trend (extrapolational) models are used most frequently, whereas factorial analytic ones are applied more seldom.

The method of prognostic scenario allows one to carry out a prognostic search. That is, one reveals not a really expected state, to which it is necessary to adapt, but the hierarchy of problems of different levels which should be solved.

The British sociologist H. Spencer, by saying about the development of the methodology of prognostication, stated that science reaches only the reliability of a forecast on the first phases, and further it still does the completeness. An undeveloped science gives mainly a forecast of qualitative characteristics of some phenomenon, whereas a science more developed methodologically gives still quantitative ones. The difference between usual knowledge and science is only in a degree. The law of progressive motion is not intrinsic to separate constituents of a science. The progress of science can go from the general to the special and, on the contrary, it is analytic and synthetic simultaneously⁴³.

In our opinion, these demands are satisfied by the above-presented scientific-hypothetic model of the theory of social probability in the form of the concept of universal epochal cycle.

Chapter 4. Social subject: the problem of typology and development

On the boundary of the third millennium from the Christmas, the determination of character, functions, specificity of development of a socio-historical subject remains the major problem of humanitarian scientific-theoretical analysis. This key question is methodologically central in any research of social reality.

The classics of sociological thought paid attention to various aspects of studying a subject. A founder of the French sociological school E. Durkheim proposed to consider a society as an outside- and superindividual reality which has imperative force as for individuals and does not depend on them. M. Weber interpreted subjectivity through the notion of “ideal type” and “rationalization”⁴⁴.

In the post-modern situation, when the role of a subject in the socio-historical process becomes stronger, the individual attitude to society becomes the important factor of structurization of the socium.

The German philosopher E. Husserl, a founder of phenomenology, stated that “I” exists before all the thinkable, and this appears to be a primary intentional base of the world for a subject who says such a judging⁴⁵.

During 1990s, the discourse gradually developed around a new subject’s role for times of the so-called globalization. This is a socio-historical phenomenon, which is associated first of all with the development of contemporary informational technologies, declared loudly about itself under conditions of the termination of the ideological, political, and military opposition of the worlds of capitalism and socialism.

The American researcher of the Japanese origin F. Fukuyama introduced the term of “the end of history” as the global expansion of liberal values and the formation of one civilization embracing the whole humanity on this base. The stop of the ideological opposition brings allegedly the world to exhausting the resources of the conflict-related historical development.

On the other hand, a famous concept of the American analyst S. Huntington emphasizes the perspective of a true “collision of civilizations”, first of all,

due to religious contradictions. Under these conditions, the socio-cultural boundaries of world civilizations become dangerous, in particular Balkans, Near East, South Asia. One of the fundamental reasons for different interpretations of tendencies of the future development is the inadequate understanding of the role of a new global subject of the world-wide historical process.

Globalization determines the appearance of new organizational forms of large social spaces and new valuable reference-points. It is inexpedient to reduce the problem of globalization only to the contemporary tendencies of development of the world economic system, first of all in the sphere of finances and the so-called Internet-economy.

Of basic sense are also the appropriate socio-cultural processes. In leading countries, a person gradually gains more individual freedom by using innovative communication systems and creates the own virtual world which goes beyond the scopes of a national state organism. At the same time, an individual becomes a leading producer of intellectual information, due to which he/she has the reasons to pretend to a role in the world space which is independent of the state and a social group. On the other hand, this gives rise to a certain conflict between flexible interests of an autonomous person and social values consolidated within the framework of a nation. It is possible that namely this factor will stand a main discrepancy between the global subject "I" and the traditional forms of social organization already in a new cycle of the world-wide historical importance development.

In fact, one observes a discrepancy between an individual and the power which was successfully described by ideologists of anarchism from P. Kropotkin and M. Bakunin to contemporary anarchic groups. The last make protests against, in their thought, antihuman ideas of globalization during the work of various international forums.

Thus, the following question arose: which social group will defend person's interests in the world community? Not by chance, the problems of defense of man's rights are actualized. As usual, these problems are ambiguously perceived by various regimes of power and have contrary interpretation in the cultural-historical legacy of world civilizations. It is one of the most sharp questions of the post-modern system of international relations.

However even in the time of the seemingly "continuous" globalization, we are faced with the real unevenness of development of separate sociums which entered this process, being in a certain stage of development intrinsic to namely them. Therefore, such sociums are globalized in different ways, and the appropriate results can be observed in the majority of social phenomena. Urbanization and formation of a post-industrial economy are associated in leading countries of the Western civilization with the development

of information technologies and the service sphere and with a decline of the traditional agrarian sector which difficultly adapts to consequences of the so-called “green revolution” whose content is the introduction of results of genetic engineering to agricultural production. On the “periphery” which was only partially touched by these tendencies, on the contrary, a certain deindustrialization of the economy takes place, which restrains the development of such countries.

In essence, such a phenomenon is a consequence of the reaction of social subjects differentiated at different stages of development. In this case, the question remains open whether a new subject should obligatorily go the way of development of its predecessors²⁰. It is possible that some variants of the socio-historical development will appear which will support or disprove this thesis.

The process of formation of a single subject runs in two hypostases: common-generic, when the humanity will realize oneself as a form of the living and individual-generic in the process of “individualization” of the humanity⁴⁶. So, it is necessary to elucidate a new approach to the typology of socio-historical subjects on the contemporary stage of global development and to show the possibilities of an appropriate theoretical approach for comparative analysis of the newest development of political subjects in Ukraine and the Russian Federation.

Parameters of theoretical comprehension. As typology, we understand the differentiation of the systems of objects under study and their grouping according to a certain model (type) with the purpose of comparative analysis of signs, ties, and functions of some subjects. The informational-energy interaction between the socium and an individual, i.e. between “We” and “I”, occurs permanently. Respectively, the communication ties between societal psychics which characterizes the socium’s parameters as an integrity and the individual psychics of a certain person are being constructed as well⁴⁷.

So, we have all grounds to consider, as a subject, only that component of the socium which actively influences other objects. For example, subjects of the policy are big social groups with their specific interests which determine a sense of political actions. On a certain stage of their development, they create political structures called to efficiently act for the benefit of their groups.

The immediate organizers of political actions are the individuals which determine the direction, course, and content of political processes. Therefore, the important role is played by still one subject, namely the political leader as a man which decisively affects the members of a certain social group. The leader is a subject which realizes the organizational and integrating influence. The rich historical experience testifies to that the leader’s activity promotes the revelation of the creative potential of a small or big social group, but sometimes, on the contrary, hampers it.

By the Weber's typology, the following basic types of leadership are distinguished: traditional type founded on the faith in the sainthood of a certain subject of power; rational, legal, or bureaucratic one which is based on the faith in legality of the present order and its expediency; and charismatic leadership which is supported by the faith into extraordinary abilities, i.e. it is formed on the base of the cult of a person⁴⁸.

By style, one distinguishes the authoritarian leadership, which involves the individual guiding influence on the basis of the mechanism of a threat to realize force sanctions, and the democratic leadership which allows the members of a group to participate in arriving at aims and in the management of its activity.

By speaking about the typology of subjects, we have in mind "ideal type" according to M. Weber, i.e., the establishment of meaningful ties typical of some community or the sequence of events⁴⁹.

The role of a subject in history is most completely elucidated in the existentialistic philosophical trend, whose different directions are joined by the belief that existence precedes essence. For example, J.-P. Sartre stated that subjectivism means, on the one hand, that an individual subject chooses himself by himself, and on the second hand, that a man cannot come beyond the scope of human subjectivity. By choosing myself, I create the general by understanding the project of any other man, whatever epoch he belongs. This absoluteness of a choice does not liquidate the relativity of each epoch. Historic circumstances change. A man may be born as a slave in the heathen society, a feudal seignior, or a proletarian. But it remains invariable for a man that he/she needs to be in the world, to work there, to be among others, and to be mortal in the world. Scopes are not objective and not subjective, rather they have objective and subjective sides⁵⁰.

A representative of the French school of sociology H. Marcuse, by emphasizing the drawbacks of an industrial society, conflicts of an individual and the society, and contradictions between freedom and existence, stated that reality becomes technological reality and a subject is interlinked with an object so closely that the notion of object includes obligatorily the notion of subject into itself. The very subject is the constitutive part of a scientifically determined object. A subject of scientific methods and a subject of business life is the expression of the same subjectivity, namely a man⁵¹.

The above-presented thoughts characterize, in general, adequately the initial stage of formation of a post-industrial civilization which is experienced by the humanity at the beginning of the XXIth century. At the same time, it is necessary to study the profound foundations of the typology of a socio-historical subject.

Typology of a subject of the history in context of the universal epochal cycle. Society as a subject of the history and the civilization passes a big vital cycle during its development. Social (public or individual) development can be shown

through the cyclic dynamics of certain changes: from order to chaos, from the steady to the transient, and *vice versa*.

Socially-historical development can be explored as a successive development of universal epochal cycles in the spatio-temporal continuum which are the relevant units of analysis and prognosis of the socio-historical reality⁵².

The ideal model for each from the above-mentioned cycles can be represented in the form of successive development of four elements of the single historical essence. These elements of the structure of the epochal cycle replace each other in a certain sequence: steady (involution), transient (co-evolution), steady (evolution), and again transient (revolution) periods of the social development.

The epochal cycle is opened by a revolutionary period which creates the necessary and sufficient preconditions for the transition of a society to a new level (to a new cycle) of its formation. This impetuous period is associated with a radical change in the societal characteristics of the society. A revolution allegedly summarizes the previous development of the society and opens simultaneously a new cycle. It is opposite to other transient period, co-evolution, by the direction of historical changes.

As we show below, co-evolution is the phase transition from the normative period of involution to the normative period of evolution, allegedly combines two normative periods, and is realized within the framework of one epochal cycle. But revolution is a qualitative transformation of the entire society's structure. At the same time, it creates a mechanism of transition from the normative state of evolution (a cycle being completed) to the normative state of involution (already a new cycle), a new level, and a new modus of the developing social entity.

During a revolutionary period, the role of a subject-individual is activated. Recall the period of the Great French revolution of 1789–1794, when a special role on the historical arena was played by distinctive personalities. The names of Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, and Napoleon became significant for each of the stages of the revolution, and their actions are typical of analogous processes.

Almost the same was observed in Russia in 1905–1917, when the cohort of activists-revolutionaries exceeded, in fact, the demand of the history for them. On this stage of the epochal cycle, we observe the activization of remarkable historical public figures which lead the creators of the history from the masses. We recall the battles of the European bourgeois revolutions 1848–1849, when embodiments of the subject “I” played the essential roles in each country. They are leading historical personalities such as A. Thiers in France, C. Cavour in Italy, O. Bismarck in Germany, and L. Kossuth in Hungary.

The period of involution arises every time after the next (sudden, to a certain extent) revolutionary period of renovation of the society. This period of epochal

cycle starts from a revolution which generates actually a new subject of the history and, by having changed radically social qualities, opens the new horizons of social development.

The historical sense of involution is the mastering by structural parts of the society, by human generations, of a new social quality. In a certain sense, we may say that this is the period of socialization of generations as well as the time of their generalization and moral aging. With the entrance into the state of involution, the social mechanisms which actualize a role of mythologemas and traditional bases of the regulation of social behaviour and social life as a whole strengthen their influence. In the involutionary stage of the cycle, we are concerned with characteristics of the so-called “closed society” (by K. Popper).

In such a society, the freedom degree of individuals is limited by the influence of a collective and the moral makes progress, which advances socially meaningful aims and interests on the first place. The moral norms similar to those which acted in the Soviet Union (“Think first about the Homeland and then about himself”) turn the individual’s life into the continuous service to high social ideals. By a psychological basis becomes the emotional-sensitive (but not rational) typology of man’s behaviour which is mainly oriented to external social control prevailing over internal self-control. Respectively, the leading socio-historical subject into the period of involution is a collective, almost total “We”.

For the political system of this stage, typical is an order which is functioning at the extent of the limitation of civil freedoms and is supported by autocratic methods or through the formal-representative democratic procedures. The economy develops at the extent of extensive methods of management and the appropriate attitude to natural and human resources.

Public consciousness is dominated by the steady stereotypes levelling the role of a remarkable historical person who only realizes the aspirations of public masses are the single true creator of the history. The “banner-bearer” of ideals of the period is the ordinary collective subject “We”. But, as compared with “We” of the co-evolutionary period, this subject suits more favourably to traditional collective values and norms of behaviour. At the same time, a general degree of freedom depends in the involutionary period of a cycle on the peculiarities of socio-cultural differentiation and on the general temporal characteristics of the historical development. During the precrisis stage of a cycle, one may observe a certain lowering of the involutionary order caused by exhaustion of the previous tendencies of development and growth of the need of new generations in a rise of the degree of individual freedom which is a necessary condition for social creation. This is more intrinsic already to the following period of the transition from the involutionary system of social coordinates to the very evolutionary development.

Coevolution is the phase transition from the normative period of involution to the normative period of evolution. During a transformation of the co-evolutionary type, the role of a subject of the socium, i.e. of the subject “We”, becomes stronger.

The general characteristic of the period of universal epochal cycle depends on both the crisis and post-crisis states of the society. At the beginning of the transient period, the attribute of the “new (evolutionary) order” manifests its force, which is indicated by a revival of individual activity. However, in the course of time, a social system falls again into the inertial gravitation field of attributes of the “old (involutionary) order” by depending on the rate and depth of transformations and therefore passes to the symbolic scope of the final exhaustion of its historical resources and eventually to the final orientation to the conditions of recreation of the new social order.

By its essence, co-evolution is a creation of exceptionally socialized (collectivized) individuals, which leads to reforms of the system of normatives, social institutions, and social relations which, speaking conditionally, are mirror-opposed to the appropriate social characteristics of the precrisis steady period, i.e. involution.

The principles of coexistence of a defining amount of self-supporting individuals in the future evolutionary period, which reinforce the threats for “stable nonequilibrium” under pressure of the innovative wave, are formed in depths of the transient co-evolutionary period. In this historical period, the political system acquires the signs of pluralism, when the category of the subject “We” is already finally depreciated and the category of the socio-historical subject “I” increases surely the social weight, which is a necessary precondition for the start of the evolutionary period of the universal epochal cycle.

The characteristic features of the second (the first is the involution) normative period (evolution) of the cycle are the development of social processes in space, complication of the social structure (for example, in countries which outlived the period of the Great Depression of 1929–1934 and are now in the state of evolution, the amount of social roles exceeded 70 thousand, whereas it is approximately 30–40 thousand for both the home space and the entire post-soviet one), and innovative activity of citizens.

The principal characteristic of evolution is the stability of changes. The society acquires intensively new social features and attributes which lead its historical development to a qualitatively higher level. Being in the given epochal period, the society is open for its signs unlike the involutionary society. The emancipation of individuals occurs, and the cognitive component of the psychological person’s structure becomes stronger, which gives rational signs to the society.

In the political sphere, the freedom of choice and the principle of consensus prevail and become the conditions for existence and efficient functioning of the democratic order. Society and individuals recognize that “a state is strong due to strong citizens”. Stability of a new social order is ensured by the supporting of conditions for the enhanced innovative and communicative activity of citizens (“free individuals”) in the society. The innovative social dynamics developing like a nuclear chain reaction in the society reaches eventually the critical limit and generates a real threat to the stability of a further social development.

Thus, the typology of a socio-historical subject in the context of the universal epochal cycle can be given in the following ideal model: *revolutionary* period which is characterized by the activation of activity of the subject “I”, when remarkable historical persons lead the people to the winning of joint fruits of the historical creation; *involutionary* period to which the priority of collective forms of the historical development is intrinsic and when the activity of the subject “We” is of primary importance; during the *co-evolutionary* period, the dominant influence of the collective socio-historical subject is still kept; finally, the *evolutionary* period of the epochal cycle is characterized by the activation of the subject “I”.

It is worth to underline that, by a conditional scale of values, the subjects “We” and “I” are characterized, respectively, by moral-ethic values and rational-pragmatic or, one can even say, egoistic values. Moreover, for a subject-collective, the category “I” is, in fact, the emanation of “individual manifestations of nationality”⁵³, whereas for a subject-individual, “We” is a personification of the social.

From the viewpoint of social psychology, the “I-concept” has the following structure for individual and collective subjects²⁴:

Valuable directives	Individual subject	Collective subject
Identification	Individual aims	Social aims
Priority	Personal interests, rights, and freedoms	Group aims and solidarity
Condemnation	Conformism	Egoism
Slogan as a style of life	“Be loyal to oneself”	“Nobody is an island”
Culture	Individualistic	Collectivistic

Thus, the subject “I” prefers personal aims over the aims of a certain social group. Self-identification is realized on the basis of personal attributions, but not through the identification of oneself with a group. The subject “We”, on the contrary, prefers the aims of a social group (“We”, the Soviet people, are building communism”) rather than personal tasks. Namely the social ties define

a man's behaviour and determine his/her social status. Independence of the subject "We" does not mean "to act in one's own way", but "to be responsible"²⁴.

Now we define the peculiarities of the present social development in the countries of the West advance-guard from the viewpoint of the universal epochal cycle.

France is in the final phase of the evolutionary period of development whose sources belong to the time of the "Great Depression". In this case, the student disturbances in 1968 became distinctive "political frosts" which stimulated left-centrist political directives. In the geopolitical sense, they arose, we may say, in the controversy to tendencies of the Renaissance of right-centrist political moods in the countries of social commonwealth in the period of the so-called "political thaw" happened in the USSR after the death of I. Stalin. The socio-historical subject "I" remains to be leading now for France.

Germany is, after the national unification (1989), in the final phase of the evolutionary period of development like France. The process of accumulation of innovations stimulates gradually, but inevitably the appearance of preconditions for the start of a new cycle of development of the German social organism as a supernational community within the framework of the European Union. Of course, the socio-historical subject "I" continues also to play the leading role there.

Great Britain is also solving problems of the evolutionary stage of the epochal cycle from the governing of "new labourites". The active phase of this stage can be referred to 1979–1990, the period of the governing of M. Thatcher, which is evidenced by the transmission of authorities from the center to the periphery (the renewal of local assemblies in Scotland, Welsh, and North Ireland). The subject "I" remains to be a key historical factor.

Italy experiences the evolutionary stage of development with sharpening the contradictions between the rich northern regions where the socio-historical heritage of the Latin West prevails and poor southern ones with domination of the cultural-historical Roman-Byzantine influence.

United States of America will come, possibly in the nearest time, into the revolutionary stage of a new epochal cycle as a universal superstate. The first symptoms of socio-historical changes appeared already during the presidential elections in November 2000. The subject "I" manifested itself in the full scope. For example, the 43th President of the USA G. Bush even refused the electronic correspondence with friends, because his e-mail letters could stand by a matter of public discussion. At the beginning of the XXIst century, USA will take examination as for the ability to adapt to the complicated and contradictory life of the post-industrial society⁵⁴.

By the examples of the USA and countries of West Europe, we can trace the tendency to the gradual vanishing of traditional political parties of the industrial

epoch and the objective formation of “parties of a new type” as a result of the new post-industrial values of the Internet epoch. That is, the subject “I” becomes active on the party level as well.

Thus, in the leading countries of Western Europe and the USA, we see the existence of a synchronization of the phases of development (of course, with a certain national specificity) and the type of a leading socio-historical subject “I” which is intrinsic not only to the evolutionary period of the epochal cycle experienced by the majority of the above-mentioned countries, but it is primary importance for the next revolutionary period which will open a new cycle of social development.

For this reason, we have all grounds to consider that the pattern for the leading eastern-Slavic countries, Ukraine and Russia, will be similar.

Newest development of political subjects of Ukraine and Russia: comparative analysis. Ukraine and the Russian Federation have 337 years of the joint history from 1654 to 1991, at first as parts of the Russian empire and then those of the Soviet Union. Both countries include the numerous national minorities: the Ukrainian minority in Russia and the Russian one in Ukraine. By the way, namely the diaspora, in the opinion of M. Danilevsky, is the defining tuning fork for the cognition of the leading tendencies of development of the maternal nation. Therefore, the mutual influence will be essential under such circumstances. At the same time, the activity of an individual political subject is built in into the system of political culture of the nation and a social group which give a general sense and significance to it.

By analyzing the history of two peoples in the XXth century, it is easy to see that the major historical events had appropriate resonance on both sides of the Ukrainian-Russian border so far not finally delimited. For example, the revolutionary period of 1905–1929 terminated in Ukraine and Russia with approximately identical result, though with certain national specificity.

The differentiation was mostly revealed during the events in 1917–1922, when Ukraine had the more clearly pronounced subject “I” on the revolutionary stage of the cycle, in particular during the sadly famous atamanship (we mention only the self-made-man Nestor Makhno). In Russia, the individual subject intrinsic to the revolutionary stage of social development was revealed in the charismatic leader V. Lenin and in the whole cohort of bright revolutionary persons (L. Trotsky, N. Bukharin, I. Stalin).

In the period of “perestroika” of 1985–1991, the Ukrainian SSR and Russian SFSR entered almost simultaneously into the co-evolutionary period of the epochal cycle. On this stage, a leading role is still played by the subject “We”. At the same time, the tendency to development of the subject “I” becomes gradually prevalent.

For the time of “perestroika” as well as for the next decade of the 1990s (up to January 2000 when the phenomenon of the so-called parliamentary majority declared itself simultaneously in the cities of Simferopol, Kyiv, and Moscow), Ukraine delayed from the social and political processes which took place in Russia by 1–2 years on the whole.

In Russia, the period of 1991–1993 was associated with the sharp struggle for power. President B. El'tsyn attempted to introduce a new Constitution. After the shooting of the building of the Russian Federation Parliament from tanks and the referendum in December 12, 1993, the predemocratic regime of personal authority was actually set. In Ukraine at the same time, the complicated process of formation of the structures of the independent state took place, but the political processes occurred according to the national mentality in peaceful, more compromise forms without the Russian maximalism of the blooming time of the political career of B. El'tsyn.

In Ukraine, the development of the crisis around the reception of a new Constitution was slower. This process reached an apogee in 1995–1996, when Russia came into the first military campaign in Chechnya. The reception of Ukraine's Constitution in June 28, 1996 coincided in time with the re-election of B. El'tsyn as President of the Russian Federation. For this reason, the resumptive tendencies of the common development were clearly synchronized for the first time.

In fact, this completed the first stage of the realization of transient processes, which was indicated by reaching the compromise between the political elites of two countries. This made possible the signing of the Treaty about friendship, partnership, and collaboration between Ukraine and the Russian Federation of May 30, 1997. Further, the inversive processes which were considered by a Russian culturologist A. Akhiezer arose and become to gather force both in Russia and Ukraine.

The period of 1998–1999 was related to dusks of the political career and to searches for a “successor” and, in Ukraine, with the attempts of President L. Kuchma to consolidate its power with the purpose to guarantee the second re-election. Synchronization of political processes becomes stronger. This was revealed during the presidential runs in Ukraine in November 1999 which actually occurred according to the Russian scenario of re-election of B. El'tsyn in summer 1996, when the “democrat” fought with the “communist alternative” undesirable for the majority of the society.

In 1998 to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the representatives of influential financial-industrial groups and the so-called political holdings (“oligarchs”), which concentrated earlier mainly around the executive power, were elected. In such a way, they got possibilities for a greater influence on President, which is

especially manifested in the organization of the dismissal of the governmental guided by V. Yushchenko and in the development of the process of destination of Prime-Minister for ten months to the parliamentary elections in March 2002.

At present, on the party-political fields in Ukraine and Russia, typical is not the multiparty system, but the presence of a huge amount of small parties. In addition, parties are universal by their programs and traditionally sluggish by their tactics. By concentrating their attention on the processes and problems of “state construction”, the parties remain still to be hardly attractive for the subject “I” left to the mercy of the chaos of the 1990s. By spending the credit of public trust for a decade, the parties are seeking actively the new efficient means of influence on and manipulation by public consciousness. The reflection of these processes is the discussions about the problems of “machiavellism”.

Three basic political streams are clearly revealed in the context of integration processes starting at the turn of centuries. The first one is the power party. In Russia of the period of guidance of V. Putin, it is more consolidated after the unification of the Duma’s fractions “Unity” and “Homeland is all Russia”. But, in Ukraine, the power is dispersed between many party influential structures (in the spirit of the national tradition: two Ukrainians are three hetmans). The second stream is represented by the official communist opposition, the parties CPU and CPRF which are by only the top of the pyramid of separate left parties in Russia. In Ukraine, the left political flank is more fragmentary. Finally, the third player on the political arena is national-democratic forces. They are separate in Ukraine, but are joined in the “Union of right forces” in Russia.

Thus, the subject “We” remains dominant and gathering force under conditions of inversion in both countries. This tendency is typical even of the formation of certain coalition party structures.

The elections of the State Duma of the Russian Federation in December 1999 were, in fact, the PR product. For a short time, the power party “Unity” (“Bear”) was rapidly created, which maximally used the political technologies of influence on electors. Due to the patriotic rhetoric on the crest of the second Chechen war, “Bear” pressed CPRF on the Duma’s olympus for the first time from 1993.

In January 2000, the “majority” was created in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and lasted to April 2001, when it disintegrated first of all due to the “cassette scandal”. The last embodied all the peculiarities of development of the Ukrainian political subject “We” in the time of the transient co-evolutionary period and child diseases of the ontogenesis of a civil society and showed that the mentalities of the power and opposition are identical.

In March 2000, V. Putin who fulfilled the duties of President was elected President of the Russian Federation. Even by his biographic data, he reminds quite essentially a representative of the Soviet special services of the time of Yu. Andropov⁵⁵.

Thereafter, the processes of strengthening of autocratic tendencies which are opposite to the pre-democratic regime become stronger.

The co-evolutionary process in both countries is generally focused on the development of a democratic legal state. The last is the project and simultaneously the result of the rationalization of a vital space which goes far beyond the limits of the purely political sphere⁵⁶. However, the rationalization would touch, first of all, the political life characterized by the action of the principle of separation of the state power into executive, legislative, and judicial ones. In the ideal case, they act independently from one another, but with the identical degree of responsibility in front of the society.

Both in Ukraine and Russia, most complicated is the process of constituting of the “fourth power”, namely the independent mass media called to be by the feed-back channel between citizens and the state. During the co-evolutionary phase, mass media played the important role in a decrease of the stress state of the public system beginning from the times of “glasnost”, by stimulating the cognition of the new rules of a play by citizens without active protest. With growth of autocratic tendencies, the freedom of mass media is destroyed first of all.

The 1990s saw the gradual process of recomprehension of the role of a socio-historical subject. During the involutionary soviet period, a man was perceived as a small screw of the state machine which was the idol of the industrial society. But, with the beginning of the co-evolutionary period, a man becomes gradually not only by an object of the political influence, but by the aim of the development of a political system and its active subject.

The rational interests of different strata of the society were formed in a complicated way. By estimating the consequences of the Chechen military campaign, V. Chernomyrdin which was appointed Russian Ambassador in Ukraine in May 2001 said: “We wished it to be better, but it went out as always”. This, in essence, is the formula of a relation between rational and irrational factors in a political process during the co-evolutionary period of development of the epochal cycle.

Of course, the formation of a viable post-industrial society in Ukraine and Russia is the matter quite remoted. So far, both societies experience, by using the terminology of A. Toffler, “futuroshock”, i.e., a certain schizophrenic socio-psychological state, when the mechanisms of adaptation to radical changes are delayed as compared with the rate of reforms⁵⁷. Therefore, it seems that a joint democratic choice will have to be made at least twice.

The first step was done in 1991–1996. It was the true break with declaration of public freedoms, but any specific measures were lacking both in Ukraine and Russia. The second choice is to be final and be grounded on the unity of words

and business. At the same time, the second choice will be made under conditions of “renovation” tendencies associated with the return to autocratic political traditions of the previous period of development. In particular, the old management system is regenerated. The post-Soviet political elite is ready to this, but the old political subjects are unable to solve the qualitatively new problems stimulated by the co-evolutionary phase of development. The democratization started, when public consciousness was not finally ready to its cognition. Therefore, autocratic consciousness actualizes. In this case, the society will be forced again to clarify the situation it fell in. This tendency is a quite widespread historical phenomenon. For example, the prosperity of the present Germany would be impossible, if the Germans were not forced to make their choice twice: for the first time, as the unsteady democracy of the times of the Weimar Republic (1919–1932) which fell under pressure of national-socialism, and then after the Second world war, by getting a sorrowful social experience. The Frenches made their republican choice on the still more thorny historical way through the revolution of 1789 and the Napoleon’s empire and are finally defined only after the defeat in the war of 1870.

However, let’s return to the question of growth of autocratic tendencies. Unlike a totalitarian system, an autocratic system ensures the preservation of power for the elite in any way, including a straight violence, eliminates any competition in the political sphere, but does not interfere with those life spheres which are not directly connected with policy. An authoritarian society is built by the principle “it is permitted all, besides of policy”. Therefore, authoritarian regimes can be rather stable, but, on a certain stage, the coexistence of strong power and free economy becomes impossible. The communist China goes on just this way from the time of the reforms started by Den Xiao Ping and will have to make its “second choice” after the unification with the capitalist Taiwan.

In the Soviet Union, the transition from the totalitarian to autocratic governing regime took place gradually, actually by starting from the death of I. Stalin. But the true symbol of these displacements appeared with the rise to power of Yu. Andropov in 1983. From that time, the tonality of ideology began to change. By Professionalism became gradually the political ideal of power. It was declared that specialists are necessary everywhere — in the state bodies, science, and art — and that all drawbacks come from incompetence, corruption, and idleness. Therefore, each has to make its business. From the viewpoint of Yu. Andropov, just a careful execution of instructions can move a situation in the country to the better as compared to enthusiasm.

The major factor of authoritarian consciousness is the mass alienation of the subject “We” from power. For the totalitarian regime, this process is not typical, because then peoples identify themselves with power. Together with alienation,

the authoritarian regime induces the sense of apathy and steady distrust to any actions of power. This tendency is amplified by the appropriate style of relations of the power with the people. Autocratic power does not admit a free dialogue with the society which cannot become civil in any way. To the great extent, the situation in the society is not interesting for the power, therefore it is alienated from the society.

This phase in the development of a society scarcely can “be jumped over”. Starting from 1999, Ukraine even outran Russia in the process of growth of reverse authoritarian tendencies for some time.

At the same time, it should be understood that post-authoritarian system is not a true democracy. This is seen by the example of historical events between the revolutions in February and October 1917, when the so-called pre-parliament acted up to the elections of the Constitutive Meeting. In our time, the post-authoritarian power also can be named “pre-democratic” since it already allows the civil society which is passing through the period of formation and different social groups to influence the decision-making. However, a really democratic society elects power carriers and forms the variants of solution of problems by itself. The democratic public consciousness is characterized by the domination of the concept that power is not alternativeless and that the trust to power is not timeless, because it is given in credit. If this credit exhausted, power becomes a bankrupt.

A legal state can develop only simultaneously with a civil society, whose weakness hampers the legal defense of citizens’ rights from power and, to a certain extent, makes the power to be less defended against the people’s anger.

Thus, each type of a subject has the own features of political consciousness which is distinguished by five basic signs.

The first sign is a character and a method of realization of the power. In the totalitarian society, this is a general control and violence. Whereas, in the autocratic society, the certain zones of freedom which are inaccessible for control arise. During the pre-democratic regime, the power begins to carry on a dialogue with independent groups which are ripened still for the times of autocracy in the distinctive enclaves of public freedom, but determines the results of this dialogue by itself. Finally, in the democratic regime, the power is realized on the representative base according to laws.

The second sign is the attitude of peoples to the regime of power. For the totalitarian consciousness, the merging with power is typical, for the authoritarian one — alienation from power, for the pre-democratic — limited influence on power, and for the democratic consciousness — free choice of specific carriers of power.

The third important sign is the status of horizontal social structures. The totalitarian regime destroys any horizontal structures; the authoritarian one

admits their existence if they do not have political character; the pre-democratic one permits any organizations excluding those which pretend to power, in this case, the opposition has the same mentality as the power; in the democratic society, a structure of social organizations becomes the foundation of a political system.

The fourth sign is the hierarchy of social taboos. In the totalitarian society, it is admissible that which is defined by power, the rest is forbidden; in the autocratic one, the right on life has that which does not concern the policy; in pre-democratic one, it is admissible all excluding the change of power; in the democratic society, it is admissible all which is not forbidden by laws.

Finally, the fifth sign concern political ideals. In the totalitarian society, the power should possess the omnipotence, and the people should be enthusiastic and modest. In authoritarian society, the power should be competent, and the people should reveal professionalism and loyalty. In the pre-democratic society, the power is required to be moral, and the people should be active and irresponsible. In the democratic society, the power and citizens must strictly obey laws⁵⁸.

Thus, the dominant socio-historical subject in the period of globalization is the subject "I". Therefore, it enters objectively into a conflict with the co-evolutionary subject "We", which is manifested both in Ukraine and Russia. This stimulates the certain foreign-policy problems, by beginning from the relations with the European Council and the problem of speech freedom to the relations with the leader of the advance guard of globalization, the USA.

The natural question arises: how much will the reverse phase of autocracy hold in Ukraine and Russia?

It is possible that the turning moment will come in the period of 2002–2004, when the parliamentary and presidential elections will take place in Ukraine. The re-election of President V. Putin in 2004 on the second term can be forecasted already now with large probability. So, a relevant power regime in Russia will exist at least up to 2008. Therefore, by taking into account the significant ties between the political elites of both countries, we may expect that analogous tendencies will prevail in Ukraine also after the presidential elections in 2004. It is quite possible that the public consciousness of two peoples will require more time (to 2012, when again the development of socio-political processes will be affected by such powerful natural factor as a new peak of the Sun's activity) in order to do its second and final choice of the democratic way of development.

Chapter 5. Co-evolution and structure of social reforms

The problem of social reforms takes a key place into the scientific discourse as an important question of, first of all, socio-historical knowledge. The experience of the world history convinces us with weighty arguments in the necessity of permanent efforts for the creative transformation of the imperfect reality whose creators and subjects are the simple mortal individuals.

The question of the realization of reforms acquires a special actuality at present, when the radical transformation of all the structure of the world civilization takes place as a consequence of the contemporary tendencies of globalization. Not only separate countries, but the whole local civilizations must fit to the consequences of this objective process.

The adaptation to the globalization occurs in different societies with unequal speeds. One of the most complicated and contradictory aspects of this direction of socio-historical development is the guaranteeing of necessary social transformations which combine in themselves the major problems of formation of the future global community.

Despite the efforts of countries which belong to the advance guard of the world civilization due to peculiarities of its historical development to include the developing countries to the created global institutions, such as the World Trade Organization and different regional integration structures, the course of socio-economic processes “on periphery”, by using the term of I. Wallerstein, give no reasons to hope for a fast equalization of qualitative and quantitative indices of social development. In fact, this is only confirmed by the annual reports of profile departments of the United Nations Organization which, in particular, indicate the increase in the gap between the absolute indices of development for the poor and overpopulated South and the rich North experiencing a demographic crisis.

Various civilizational organisms also fit ambiguously to the newest tendencies of globalization. Gradually, a distinctive intracivilizational disunity in the internal structure of local civilizations reveals itself increasingly clear.

The world religious systems which form the foundation of the civilizational self-identification for many, by repeating the words the Russian philosopher M. Danilevsky, socio-cultural types are quite inert to react flexibly on the dynamical changes in the moral-ethic principles which are stimulated by radical successes of the scientific-technical revolution. The creation of the global information network turns over the idea of the traditional regularities of spatio-temporal expansion of information. Indeed, now socio-cultural boundaries already do not hamper various information flows.

The lag from these technological innovations puts countries-outsiders in the hopeless position of those countries which cannot master the high-speed optical-fiber communications. The eldest world religious systems say about the humanity as a whole, which corresponds generally to the tendency of formation of a certain cosmopolitan world. But the process of formation of new institutions, which are called to determine the suitable rules of a play and to regulate the mutual relations between basically new structures of international relations, delays hopelessly from the rate of destruction of old normative systems.

A striking example is presented by the problem of cloning of a man which disturbs a number of, by words of F. Dostoevsky, residual moral-ethic problems. In fact, the humanity is actually found itself in front of the unprecedented challenge to its religious beliefs. Christianity and Islam, Buddhism and Confucianism, i.e. the majority of traditional religious systems functioning now, recognize the secrets of man's birth and live to be sacral. The latter are the embodiment of the intention of the Creator rather than an object of manipulations of geneticist-experimenters. Actually with the development of genetic technologies, life, being up to now such which it is from the time of creation of a man, is found itself under threat which is considerably more dangerous, than the threat of a nuclear war. In this case, the problem of creation of international institutions which would control, in particular, the processes of cloning will not be rationally solved still long.

Such a state of "organized global chaos" is a very fruitful environment for the development of various antiglobalistic tendencies. This motion can acquire various forms, put various tasks in front of itself, and use not always moral methods for reaching a purpose. This was observed, in particular, under the terroristic acts in the USA in September 11, 2001. These events elucidated the available problems associated with inadequacy of the really existent global institutions to the scale of problems which they are called to solve.

Thus, the UNO actually turned into a passive tool of realization of the foreign-policy aspirations of a single superstate and a number of the so-called "great states". The system of international right as a universal

normative mechanism of intergovernmental contacts falls out of step more and more frequently at decisive instants, when the old legal institutions make attempt to substantiate certain force actions.

Proceeding from the foregoing, we have all grounds to infer about the presence of the state of global anomaly, when the old norms called to regulate the international relations do not act already, whereas new norms will not be formed quickly by virtue of the complex of objective (the scale of impressive changes and the complexity of new problems which are to be an object of regulation) and subjective reasons (the main one consists in that such a state is suitable for players of the contemporary system of international relations, by liberating their hands).

However, we cannot say that no efforts are made in this direction. For example, the famous financier G. Soros which is considered by somebody by the almost principal figure of the world “shady government” proposed to create a distinctive system of international control over national power structures⁵⁹. The development of this process will inevitably require both a further limitation for the principle of action of a national sovereignty and the noninterference with internal affairs. In particular, the present General secretary of the UNO K. Annan, by making a speech at the ceremony of rewarding the UNO by Nobel’s prize of peace in December 2001, emphasized the need of fixing the possibility of efficient intervention of the world community into internal affairs of certain countries under the systematic violation of man’s rights by them in the norms of international right.

It is clear that this principle scarcely will stand universal, especially under conditions of intense expansion of nuclear arms. Any country which already has or will have weapons of mass destruction will not admit such an international intervention. In this case, the system of national antimissile defence developed by the USA will scarcely help. Despite the rhetoric concerning the support of USA in the antiterroristic campaign, powerful regional forces (Russia, China, India, and other countries) are not ready to finally give up freedom in international affairs. Therefore, the creation of “world government” as a new mechanism of regulation of international relations (most likely, under the aegis of one superstate) is an utopia for the present. Of course, this can be the final aim of the process of political globalization, but the last is perceived so far on the periphery as a permanent socio-cultural shock which only reinforces the state of global anomaly⁶⁰.

Thus, we cannot say so far about a fair play with rules on the international arena. Today we are only witnesses of that how the interesting process of diplomatic haggles determines those who will form these rules.

The complexity of this process is confirmed by the amount of new subjects of international relations. The number of only international organizations was equal to 6020 in 1998. But if we include to this circle all the structures whose activity is revealed on the international arena (including the charitable funds, religious orders and communities, public motions, regular conferences), then their number will grow almost to 50 thousand⁶⁶. Each of these organizations, so to say, answers for the state of affairs in a certain field. By considering the laws of development and operation of complex systems, it would seem that the induction of a certain order in one of the elements of a system has to contribute to the expansion of this tendency on others. However, whether the critical mass of positive changes is still insufficient or whether the chaos has a considerably larger scale than that of small affairs by which these international institutions are mainly occupied, but the above-mentioned regularity does not act so far.

It seems to us that this phenomenon can be explained from the viewpoint of synergetics, when the point of a bifurcation is not yet overcome and the global system is not still stabilized finally.

Of course, to support the efficiency of the global economy, the global society is necessary. But it will not form quickly. So far, it is created gradually, by overcoming the complicated way of a search for compromises between the different interests of subjects of the contemporary system of international relations. The degree of adaptation to the present global transformation depends on the ability to successfully implement the necessary social transformations and to come into a future global informational society so that not to remain on the wayside of a new universal civilization.

As a rule, social reforms have complicated systemic character and cover the various spheres of the socium's life, namely the policy, economy, culture, and structures of social organization and social control. In this case, the degree of radicalism of transformations depends mainly, on the one hand, on the rate of dismantling of the old mechanisms of social control which hamper increasingly more the formation of new parameters of various social processes during the development of reforms. On the other hand, it depends on the rate of creation of basically new levers of social control as the guarantees for fixing a qualitatively new state of the social system which appears eventually due to the radical transformation.

In the course of development of the processes of social transformations, the major elements of the institutional social control such as administrative-organizational, power, and ideological ones and the self-control of various social subjects acquire the key meaning.

Generally, the notion of “social control” is one of the most contradictory in the contemporary system of sociological terminology. Most widespread is the interpretation of social control as the totality of norms and values of the society and the sanctions which are used with the purpose of their realization. In particular, such a viewpoint on the mechanism of realization of the social control belongs to E. Durkheim. He gave a significant place to the control of social norms in his social theory, by emphasizing that their deformation leads to anomy, i.e. the paralysis of the mechanisms of formation of social norms, and to crisis phenomena in the society which are associated with a dismantling of social solidarity. In this case, the public will is paralyzed in the state of anomy⁶¹. That is, under such socio-historical conditions, one can observe a state in which the institutional force still is, the individual will is, but the general will of one subject directed to the control over fulfilment of social norms, which are the basis of the mechanism of social control, is absent.

In this context, the classical work “Protestant ethics and spirit of capitalism” by M. Weber states the importance of mutual effects between the norms of social control and self-control, in particular, as various forms of religious asceticism.

One observes the gradual formation of new, first of all, moral-ethic norms called to regulate from outside the everyday public life. A new mechanism of social control established in such a way is consolidated due to the formation of appropriate social institutions such as state power structures and the means of formation of the public thought adequate to the reality.

The notion of social control is identified rather frequently with political authority. For example, the American politologist P. Morgenthau recognizes this term in the field of politology as the control over the consciousness and actions of others⁶². A similar method of social control is used from the very beginning of the written history. For example, it was widely known in the ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, where a caste of priests realized the sacral power in such a way. In the times of the late Middle Ages, due to the radical change of the spiritual image of the ordinary western European by Reformation and to the “ideological” efforts of N. Machiavelli, the differentiation of religious life and the secularization of “civil” policy occurred. In this case, the habits of realization of the efficient social control received a special weight for the Machiavelli’s Ruler.

The society as an organic community, “Gemeinschaft” and “Gesellschaft”, if we use the terminology of the German sociologist F. Tonnies, is characterized by various types of social control. For a still weakly structurized community and the modern society, respectively, authority and legal norms have the important sense. M. Weber stated that the traditional domination

is based on the faith in the sainthood of orders which exist for a long time, the charismatic domination is founded on the devotion to the leader's charisma, and the legal domination exists due to fixed regulations, and its most pure type is the bureaucratic domination⁵¹.

In this context, social manipulation as a method of management acquires the significant meaning in the modern society (which develops the new methods of creative construction, accumulates and expands information as an important powerful resource, etc.), especially with the development of contemporary communication technologies. This method consists in the development of hidden influences on public consciousness and peoples' behaviour with the purpose to force them to act or to be passive in interests of certain social circles⁶³. Such a mechanism of social control is most frequently realized through mass media. By characterizing it as one of the manifestations of mass culture, W. Churchill stated in his memoirs that, after the end of the First world war under conditions of a sharp social crisis, Great Britain was saved from a ruinous social revolution by public opinion, soccer, and traditional beer pubs.

During the XXth century, the institutions called to realize the social manipulation became widespread and their organization became more and more complicated. The sociotechnique of management was oriented increasingly more to the immediate formation, adoption, and realization of political decisions. The tools of this process as one of the major forms of social control includes various methods of regulation of effects such as legal norms, power pressure, rational or irrational argumentation, and even straight manipulation. The objects of influence are a man as the main object of communication and the public opinion as a carrier of communication⁶⁴.

The famous British statesman B. Disraeli emphasized with comprehension of the matter essence that which is named as the public opinion deserves rather the name "public emotions". Therefore, this sphere is an object of permanent manipulations which become by the universal mechanism of efficient social control over the being of the informational society⁶⁵.

A more narrow, even "specialized" comprehension of social control appeared in the American sociological thought. It is related with the interpretation of the organization of control over the different embodiments of, first of all, deviant behaviour. The classic of the American sociology R. Merton thought, in particular, that the American society generates intensively a significant discrepancy between the desires induced by developed consumer psychology and the circle of the legally reachable. This leads to the weakening of norms and institutions which regulate and discipline the peoples' behaviour, which gives rise eventually to the negation of the authority of social norms

and to various forms of deviant behaviour⁶⁶. With the development of the global propaganda of moral norms of the consumer society, this tendency gradually, but tirelessly covers the increasing number of countries.

Thus, in addition to the forms of social control as certain powerful mechanisms, which operate on the state level and in structures of the civil society, and the control over a deviant behaviour, the no less important category which determinates two previous ones is the individual's self-control. This notion interprets successfully the term of social psychology, "locus of control", which consists in the fixation of degree and measure of that how a person perceives the own life: as such which is controlled by his/her own efforts and actions or such which is controlled from outside (by chance or by anonymous external forces)²⁴.

One more type of social control is associated with the management by conflicts. The foundation of contemporary conflictology as the theory of management of various conflicts was laid by R. Dahrendorf. He offered the theory of rational regulation of a long conflict which should be managed and thus should be under social control. Political conflicts are defined as a method of transformation of the frequently destructive energy of the civil opposition which does not yield to any regulation into the constructive energy of searching for the ways of a withdrawal from the crisis state. The last situation is under control of a political class.

All the above-mentioned forms of social control interact always in a complicated system, but cannot be considered separately. The mechanism of social control operates namely due to the complicated interaction between appropriate institutions called to regulate the public relations and moral-ethic norms of the self-control of individuals, whose decisions influence substantially the institutional social control.

At the same time, any functional form of social control is always relative since the actions of historical subjects during a certain "contemporary" period are usually determined by the past and are able to determine the future. But the future events yet cannot influence these actions, therefore the social control depends always on the unsteady balance between the social statics and dynamics. Unique historical events influence decisively the further changes of dominating social conditions which, into turn, determine the direction of socio-historical development.

Structure of social transformations. The socio-historical sense of public reforms can be comprehended on the basis of a combination of the structural and functionalistic approaches to their interpretation. From the first viewpoint, one should pay attention to the radical change of, first of all, the totality of the norms and procedures of reception of administrative decisions.

On the other hand, we must take into account the changes in the field of social ethics and moral, in particular, those concerning the authority of certain status groups or power structures associated, first of all, with social control. We say, in particular, about such traditionally important public institutions as school, church, police, and army.

The structure of social reforms can be imagined rather conditionally as a complicated model of interaction of their constituents, among which we separate the following ones:

- economic reforms whose quintessence is the changes in the property relations and the tax, land, monetary reforms;

- political reforms have no less importance: the change of a political system, creation of new subjects of the political process, administrative reform which touches the basis of the state bureaucratic apparatus, and the reform of the election legislation with the purpose of guaranteeing a honest possibility for electors to correct inevitable mistakes of the former elections at the time of new elections;

- the third constituent of social transformations, which is last but not least, is actually the socio-cultural reforms among which the educational reform is major. This, so to say, determines the ideological guarantees for a new socio-political system and its reproduction in forthcoming generations. The transformations in the sphere of the spiritual society's life shut down the old mechanism of social control and start a new one.

In the general case, a push to reforms always causes the abolition of current mechanisms of social control. Respectively, a period of social reforms results, as a rule, in the establishment of new norms of social control which are a consequence of these systemic transformations. In this case, of great importance are the new social values which are, so to say, the quintessence of any system of social control.

Thus, the objective criterion of the start of certain transformations is attack of various social agents on current social values whose mental field maintains actually the current social order.

By explaining this process, the Italian communist A. Gramsci (whose theoretical works of the first half of the XXth century played an important role in the development of the newest concepts of social control, unlike orthodox marxists who stated permanently about the necessity of the mainly power control of authorities in a class society) underlined that the mechanism of power is not only in compulsion, but in persuasion. Any dominant elite has to legitimate power and to maintain it by persuading the society in justice of the current social system.

The meaning of public opinion for the realization of efficient social control was considered by the “father” of the newest sociological thought A. Comte still

long ago. In particular, he stated that the entire social mechanism operates on the basis of different viewpoints⁶⁷. Therefore, the formation of independent public opinion which arises mainly in the structures of a civil society is a critically important stage for the efficient action of democratic mechanisms of social control. In this case, critical are the reforms of power levers of the influence on the society and the control over the formation of public opinion.

In the general case, from our viewpoint, the structures of social reforms on certain stages of the historical society's development differ basically. The most adequate model for the research of these processes in the states of social statics and dynamics is the idea of universal epochal cycle. On stable (normative) phases of the cycle, involution and evolution, the systems of social control acting on a certain time interval are preserved. In this case, reforms have partial, so to say, "cosmetic" character. In general, they do not change radically the current mechanisms of social control, but are directed to its perfection and improvement.

However, already on the evolutionary stage of development of the cycle, the accumulation of important social innovations is observed. After arriving at the critical amount of innovative changes, qualitative changes can be observed.

The dynamic (transient) phases of the epochal cycle are associated with the preparation and realization of social reforms. In this case, on the co-evolutionary stage of the cycle, we can observe a shattering of the old system of social control which reaches such a degree of intensity which is already objectively fixed by public consciousness.

Radical systemic changes take place, as a rule, on the revolutionary stage of the epochal cycle which shuts down the historically "exhausted" cycle and starts a basically new one.

Consider as the offered model "works" in the analysis of famous social transformations.

Historic experience of social reforms. Let us focus on the most loud revolutions which formed eventually the social conditions in the contemporary forefront of the historical process. We say about the Dutch, English, American, and French bourgeois revolutions of the XVI–XVIIIth centuries. All they have the important analogies, despite the rather significant distinctions in the historical circumstances of development, the rates of changes, their radicalism, and the evenness of the formation of a new social system.

First of all, this concerns the influence of the religious factor (as a key one on the traditional form of the organization of social control) on radical social transformations. In this aspect, especially demonstrative are the first three revolutions. They were implemented under the valuable influence of the ideas of Reformation, and their subjects were consolidated around the ideas of different branches of Protestantism and Catholicism. As a result, the process of formation

of new institutions of social control intrinsic to the bourgeois society happened approximately during the lifespan of one generation.

The French revolution of the end of the XVIIIth century was grown on the ideas of Enlightenment. It formed the basis for the secularization of a civil society on the base of its transformation in an object of almost religious worship. It suffices only to mention the Jacobins' attempts to introduce the cult of Intellect.

In each specific case, the legitimation of transformations took place on the principles of a refusal from the traditional mechanisms of social control. In the Netherlands, this was the domination of catholic Spain which was considered as the obstacle to not only free religion, but as the impudent exploiter of Dutch riches which were gradually accumulated with the development of commodity-money relations. In England, such an enemy of capitalization arisen by the course of socio-political processes was the old semi-feudal king's authority which broke the nonvocalic social agreement as for taxation by its inadequate actions and persecuted radical dissidents (just so the adherents of religious Reformation named themselves). Eventually, they transmigrated to the North America, where they created new settlements, but quite do not absolve themselves from the control system from the side of the mother country.

The American revolution, which coincided with the birth of the so-called American style of the development of capitalism, was synchronized with the struggle for independence of the North-American colonies from the British crown. On the other hand, it influenced the start of the French revolution which opened actually a new global cycle of socio-historical development and formed the contemporary institutions of social control.

It is worth to state that a process of globalization, which intensified itself after the disintegration of the socialistic camp, forms the basically new tendencies of social transformations. In this case, for example, G. Soros sees the threat to an open society in instability caused by the lack of widespread social values. To save the position, he proposes to act in a proper and moral way, even if this seems sometimes to be inexpedient, i.e., to transform the method of attainment of an aim into the aim proper.

The famous sociologist and futurologist A. Toffler offers to solve the problem of control over changes by methods with clear realization of long-term social tasks and the democratization of ways of their attainment⁵⁷. In this case, we cannot observe the intense humanization of social transformations, because the consequences of social modernization are still associated with a remarkable decrease in the number of the population and with the whole complex of negative social phenomena which are intensively developing in the favourable environment of anomy and permanent stress of the

overwhelming majority of strata of the societies, being in the state of transformation.

However, the historical experience of social reforms indicates that their consequence is eventually the establishment of new mechanisms of operation of the society and a qualitative renewal of social institutions called to realize a permanent social control. From this viewpoint, we consider the newest experience of our country and that of our big northern neighbour.

Ukrainian and Russian ways of reforms and social control. The dismantling of the soviet social system occurred in both countries with certain specific features, but simultaneously in the course of “perestroika”. Gradually, step by step, the departure from the traditional mechanism of social control and its gradual fracture were carried out. In particular, a refusal from article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, which established the leading role of the communist party, became the true “soft” revolution. This removes actually the structure-forming pivot of the soviet political system which ensured the legitimation and sense of its existence.

The further course of “perestroika” was related to the delegitimation of the majority of current legal norms (this was assisted by the postulate: “all which is not forbidden by law is permitted”). This promoted the creation of favourable conditions for the expansion of not only legal nihilism, but various methods of privatization of the public property by representatives of the former soviet administrative elite. In such a way, the true social revolution was performed gradually, with relatively small blood, which is testified by the radical changes in the status and social roles of “working class”, “working peasantry”, “intelligentsia”, and ruling elite.

All this process was accompanied by the demobilization of collectivistic stereotypes of public behaviour and the active propaganda of the hedonistic individualistic moral directed not to the “protestant asceticism” of the primary accumulation of capital (in the Weber’s understanding of this notion), but to a new form of “robbery of the robbed” with simultaneous fracture of the production and scientific potential. A consequence of these basic transformations was the dismantling of the system of social welfare and all the social sphere, from kindergartens (due to the true demographic catastrophe) to schools and higher schools.

The social institutions which must provide, by their functions, the permanent reproduction of the system of social control, namely school, church, science, army, executive and legislative authorities, and mass media, found themselves in the profound systemic crisis.

School got stuck in unreasoned reforms which leveled the universal approach to assigning the elementary knowledge and gave rise to the hard class stratification of pupils.

Church appeared unready to give answer to the moral crisis of the society. By the Byzantine tradition, it entered the union with the power. In Ukraine, the Orthodox church is divided at all into quarreling confessions because of political reasons.

Science is disoriented by the market-based approach to its activity, when scholasticism of the plans of scientific discoveries was replaced by the prose of commodity-money relations.

Executive and legislative branches of the power focused on the distribution of power. In Russia, this “constitutional process” caused the bloody naturalistic performance with the shooting of the “White house” in October 1993. In Ukraine, the Constitution was adopted for one night after the long clarification of connections between power branches, and now we observe the permanent process of its “reformation”.

So far, mass media do not turn into the “fourth power” called to perform the informal control over the activity of all representatives of the power. Therefore, they did not become by eyes and voice of the civil society. If a “civil society” is taken as various social groups whose differentiation occurs due to a certain distribution of labour, such societies in Ukraine and Russia are still on the stage of self-cognition and definition of its functions in the realization of social control over the state. Into turn, the state does not hurry to delegate such a right to the civil society. The last, being sick from the birth, cannot defend this right, by permanently making advances to the state.

One of the numerous reasons of such a position is that the majority of mass media found itself under the control of different financial-industrial groups under market conditions and, by turning aside from the execution of functions of the “watch-dog” of democracy, turned into a decorative doggy which barks only after the master’s command.

In this case, still one constituent of the formation of independent public opinion, namely the so-called “ties with people” (public relations) also turned into a function of big business and leans on the famous postulate by M. Twain that honesty is the best policy, especially if it brings moneys.

So, the joint problem of both post-communist countries is a lack of efficient structures of the civil society, which yields the deficit of the efficient constructive noncommunist opposition. In ideal, the social control over state institutions in the political sphere should be like an incorruptible and objective judge called only to trace for that all the subjects of the political process obey the fixed play regulations, rather than to support certain political forces.

In this case, as stated by the Russian politologist A. Panarin, policy comes forward as the innovative process of production of new power status and influences within the limits of the universal legal norm⁶⁸. On the basis

of this reasoning, the scientist comes to a reasonable thought about that the basis of political revolutions is formed by the conflict between the subsystem of production of new public demands and the existent subsystem of adoption of political decisions rather than the conflict between “productive forces and production relations”.

In Ukrainian and Russian realities of the transient period, the dismantling of acting state control along with the crisis of controlling mechanisms from the side of the mobilized public opinion generated a distinctive phenomenon of “privatization” of the public power which acts frequently against the interests of taxpayers by spending their money. In this case, the society played the role of a passive observer of the elucidation of the relations between various groups of the newly formed elite.

A dialogue between the institutions of a state power and the structures of a civil society as one of the forms of realization of the efficient mutual social control does not occur so far. Therefore, the process of institutionalization of the relevant political field runs slowly.

The lack of an efficient political provision of social reforms decelerates essentially their rate and hampers the crystallization and differentiation of various social interests. The last processes should lead to a stable political structurization and the replacement of the fine-party structure by a multi-party one, when several parties with clear ideological orientation which represent the objective interests of various strata of the society become efficient political factors.

From the very beginning of the stay of V. Putin on the post of President, the remarkable steps in the implementation of a new stage of reforms were carried out. They were directed, unlike those made in the period of El'tsyn's presidency, to the formation of new mechanisms of social control rather than to the fracture of remainders of the old ones. In particular, the tax and land codes were adopted, and the judicial and military reforms were started. At the same time, the pro-presidential political forces do not have again a constructive opposition. The party “Apple” guided by G. Yavlinsky and the party “Liberal Russia” newly created by B. Berezovsky in December 2001 attempt to pretend on this role. In our opinion, already the following elections to the “State Duma”, when different political forces will have in mind the perspective of re-election of V. Putin into 2004, will become by a test for new mechanisms of social control which are not formed finally so far and manifest themselves only as a tendency.

An analogic trial will wait Ukraine approximately at the same time. The loud “cassette scandal” which bursts in one year after the presidential elections of 1999 became one of the symptoms of a long anomaly, namely

the lack of efficient mechanisms of social control. However, it stimulated also, as any crisis, certain positive tendencies, by reanimating the political activity. As a result, under pressure of the results of the referendum in April 2000, the majority in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was formed. It was able to approve a number of important laws under complicated political conditions. In particular, the session of the Verkhovna Rada which was last in front of elections approved the land, civil, and criminal codes. But the problem is in that to which extent the legal nihilism is overcome in order that the existent legislation be fulfilled by all the subjects without exception and work for reforms.

So, all this evidences that the search for an optimum model of organization of both the distribution of power and the institutional social control will still continue in Ukraine and Russia at least in the first decade of the XXIst century. This does not allow us to say about the termination of transformational processes in both countries and about the completion of the transient period of reforms, whose symbol would be the formation of new mechanisms of social control.

It is worth to consider also the influence of external factors on transformational processes in both countries. These factors are associated with the global transformation and the complexity of formation of new play regulations on the international arena, which can affect significantly the further course of events in Ukraine and Russia. After the terroristic acts of September 11, 2001 in the USA, the relation of forces on the international arena is intensively changed. Russia supported politically actively the USA in the course of the antiterroristic operation which stimulated the sharpening of contradictions in Eurasia, in particular, between India and Pakistan possessing nuclear weapons. The attack of terrorists on the Indian parliament in December 2001 sharpened still further the position on the Indostan peninsula. Complicated and contradictory remains the position on the Near East.

All these events complicate the foreign-policy positioning of Ukraine and Russia. The question of the place of these countries in the new global system, in particular from the viewpoint of their subordination to external control, remains open. With the withdrawal from the Treaty on systems of antimissile defence, the USA prepare actively to the role of a global policeman, and the post of "deputy sheriff" will be occupied by Great Britain rather than Russia.

The resource possibilities of Ukraine in the context of the defence of national interests from external control are quite limited at present. The continuation of the negative demographic growth and the accumulation of problems associated with aging of the population, as well as of unsolved social, economic, political, ecological, and other problems can yet more weaken

the competitiveness of our state under conditions of globalization. One of the possible ways of solving this problem can consist in the synchronization of reforms in Ukraine and Russia and the mutual reinforcement of their positions in the world, without transferring their problems on the shoulders of strategic allies.

The first decade of the XXIst century opens a possibility for the choice of strategic priorities and the directions of development which can open the field for the innovative potential or bury finally a hope, even if it is last.

References

1. Sociology [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 1998. — P. 137.
2. History of Theoretical Sociology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1997. — Vol. 1, P. 137.
3. *Sztompka P.* Sociology of Social Changes [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1996. — P. 255.
4. *Chernykh A. I.* Historical sociology in West (the end of the XXth century) [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 2002. — No. 2. — P. 88.
5. Philosophy of History. Anthology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1995. — P. 73.
6. *Chernykh A. I.* History and sociology — problems of interaction [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 2001. — No. 10. — P. 16.
7. *Popper K.* The Poverty of Historicism. — London, 1957.
8. Philosophy of History. Anthology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1995. — P. 304.
9. *Panarin A. S.* Temptation by Globalism [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 241.
10. *Panarin A. S.* Global Political Forecast [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 2273.
11. History of Theoretical Sociology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1998. — Vol. 2, P. 349.
12. *Bloch M.* Apologie pour l'Histoire. — Paris, 1961.
13. *Malinetsky G. G.* Nonlinear dynamics and historical mechanics [in Russian] // *Obshch. Nauki i Sovr.* — 1997. — No. 2. — P. 101.
14. *Yurganov A. L.* Experience of historical phenomenology [in Russian] // *Vopr. Istor.* — 2001. — No. 9. — P. 36–49.
15. *Khvostova N. V.* Quantitative methods in history [in Russian] // *Vopr. Filos.* — 2002. — No. 6. — P. 68.
16. *Nazaretyan A. P.* Civilizational Crises in the Context of Universal History [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001.
17. *Ionov I. N.* Historical globalistics: object and method [in Russian] // *Obshch. Nauki i Sovr.* — 2001. — No. 4. — P. 133.
18. *Akhiezer A. S.* Between the cycles of thinking and those of history // *ibid.* — 2002. — No. 3. — P. 124.
19. *Jung C.-G.* Psychology of the Unconscious. — London, 1917.
20. *Guenon R.* Crisis of Modern World [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1991.
21. *Mauss M.* Social Functions of the Holy [in Russian]. — St.-Petersburg, 2000.
22. *Weber M.* Economic ethics of world religions. Introduction. — In: *Weber M.* Sociology. General-Historical Analyses. Policy [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 1998. — P. 397–399.
23. *Vasil'ev L. S.* History of Religions of the East [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1988. — P. 135.
24. *Myers D.* Social Psychology. — 1999.

25. *Kara-Murza S.* Historical Materialism and the “East — West” Problem [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 34.
26. *Toynbee A.* A Study of History. — Oxford, 1946.
27. History of Theoretical Sociology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1997. — Vol. 1, P. 80.
28. *Panarin A. S.* Politology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999. — P. 112.
29. *Panarin A. S.* Temptation by Globalism [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 21.
30. *Moscovici S.* La Machine à Faire des Dieux. — Paris, 1988.
31. *Sztompka P.* The notion of social structure: the attempt of generalization [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 2001. — No. 9. — P. 3–12.
32. *Lapin N. I.* Socio-cultural approach and societal-functional structures [in Russian] // *ibid.* — 2000. — No. 7. — P. 3–12.
33. *Donchenko O. A.* Societal Psychics [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 1994.
34. *Donchenko E.* The archetype of psycho-social evolution from the viewpoint of political management [in Russian] // *Sotsiol.: Teor., Met., Marketing.* — 2000. — No. 2. — P. 51–65.
35. *Spencer H.* Scientific, Political, and Philosophical Experiments [in Russian]. — Minsk, 1999. — P. 1408.
36. *Sztompka P.* Sociology of Social Changes [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1996. — P. 73.
37. *Sorokin P. A.* Review of cyclic conceptions of the socio-historical process [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 1998. — No. 12. — P. 3.
38. *Sztompka P.* Sociology of Social Changes [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1996. — P. 25.
39. *Spencer H.* Scientific, Political, and Philosophical Experiments [in Russian]. — Minsk, 1999. — P. 549–592.
40. *Jung C.-G.* Psychologische Typen. — Zurich, 1967.
41. *Panarin A. S.* Politology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999. — P. 399.
42. *Matvienko V. Ya.* Prognostics. Prognostication of Social and Economic Processes. Theory. Methods. Practice [in Russian]. — Kyiv, 2000. — P. 64.
43. *Spencer H.* Scientific, Political, and Philosophical Experiments [in Russian]. — Minsk, 1999. — P. 482–548.
44. *Scherbina V.* The subject component of a theoretical study as an object of reflection for various directions of sociology [in Russian] // *Visnyk Kharkiv Univer.* — 1998. — No. 5. — P. 6–7.
45. *Husserl E.* Formal and transcendental logic. The experience of the criticism of logical intellect [in Ukrainian]. — In: *Foreign Philosophy of the XXth Century.* — Kyiv, 1993. — P. 137–138.
46. *Cheshkov M. A.* On the vision of the globalizing world // *Mirov. Ekon. Mezhd. Otnosh.* — 1999. — No. 6. — P. 49.
47. *Donchenko E. A.* Societal Psychics [in Russian]. — Kyiv, 1994. — P. 35
48. *Weber M.* Three pure types of legal domination. — In: *Weber M.* Sociology. General-Historical Analyses. Policy [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 1998. — P. 157–160.
49. *Aron R.* Main Currents in Sociological Thought. — Garden City, 1968.
50. *Sartre J.-P.* Existentialism is humanism [in Ukrainian]. — In: *Foreign Philosophy of the XXth Century.* — Kyiv, 1993.
51. *Marcuse H.* Intellect and revolution [in Ukrainian]. — In: *Foreign Philosophy of the XXth Century.* — Kyiv, 1993. — P. 227.
52. *Afonin E. A., Bandurka O. M., Martynov A. Yu.* Social Development AD. — Kyiv, 2000
53. *Kazintsev A. I.* New Political Myths. The Experience of Publicistic Study [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1990.
54. *Martynov A. Yu.* Elections of the 43th President of the USA: Lessons of democracy [in Ukrainian] // *Lyudyna i Polit.* — 2001. — No. 1. — P. 81.

55. *Werner A.* Das Neue Russland Putins. Aufbruch mit Schwerem Erbe. — Wien, 2000. — S. 165.
56. *Habermas J.* Democracy. Intellect. Morality [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1995.
57. *Toffler A.* Future Shock. — London, 1970.
58. *Gozman L. Ya., Shestopal E. B.* Potitital Psychology [in Russian]. — Rostov-na-Donu, 1996. — P. 216–218.
59. *Soros G.* The Crisis of Global Capitalism. Open Society Endangered. — 1998.
60. Modern International Relations. Manual [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 220.
61. *Korte H.* Einfahrung in die Geschichte der Soziologie. — Munchen, 1992. — S. 64.
62. Politology [in Ukrainian]. — L'viv, 1994. — P. 140.
63. Sociology [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 1998. — P. 296.
64. *Matvienko V. Ya.* Social Technologies [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2001. — P. 234.
65. *Kara-Murza S.* Manipulation by consciousness [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000.
66. American Sociology. Prospects. Problems. Methods [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1972. — P. 292.
67. History of Theoretical Sociology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1997. — Vol. 1, P. 68.
68. *Panarin A. S.* Politology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999. — P. 5.

Section II

Ukraine

at the crossing of co-evolution

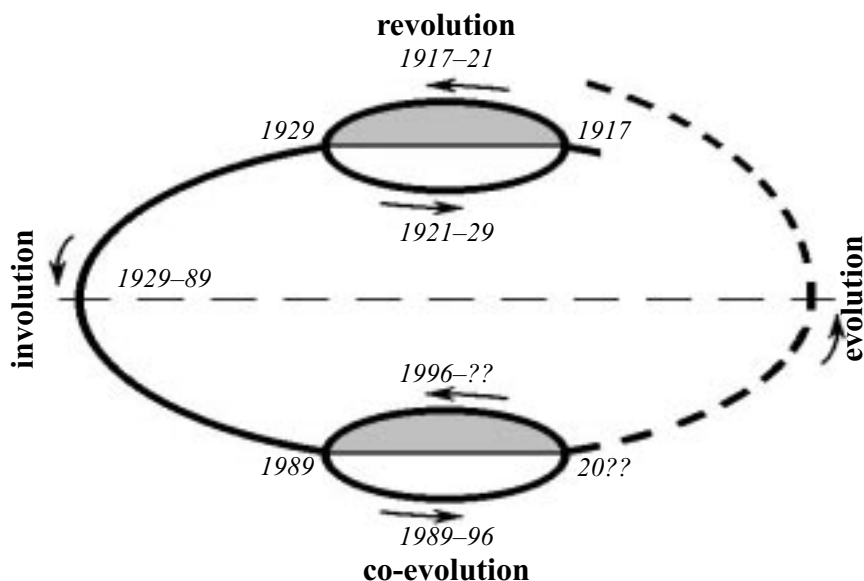


Fig. 2. Contemporary epochal cycle of Ukraine's development:

revolution (transient period)	1917-21 — policy of war communism 1921-29 — new economic policy (inversive process)
involution (steady development)	1929-89 — policy of industrialization
co-evolution (transient period)	1989-96 — policy of market reforms 1996-?? — search for public consolidation (inversive process)
evolution (steady development)	?? — policy of post-industrial society

Characteristic signs of steady development:

involution (industrial society) — democratic centralism, planned economy, invariant culture, collectivistic moral

evolution (post-industrial society) — political pluralism, market economy, polyvariant culture, individualistic moral

Chapter 6. Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Russia: the peculiarities of historical development in the post-transformational period

The analysis of the special socio-economic, politological, and historical literature published in the 1990s of the XXth century evidences more for a diversity and inconsistency of estimates, typologization, and simply of the description of the specificity of transformational processes on the so-called post-Soviet space. Their reasons should be sought in both the objective complexity of the scientific analysis of topical historical situations (socio-historical processes) whose development has not been completed else and the significant traditional character of scientific thinking which is oriented to a simplified analysis and, to a less extent, to a synthesis in the study of complicated socio-historical processes and phenomena.

The transformation of public relations which began since the times of “perestroika” (1985-1991) and the reflection of its results in the public consciousness of the population of newly independent states differ remarkably. This fact is clear because the structure of the USSR was formed, during its creation, by republics being on different stages of their historical development.

Of course, the “empire modernization” which was implemented in 1922–1991 in the framework of the Soviet civilization promoted the formation of common standards of the single economic, political, and cultural space. At the same time, the available significant cultural distinctions, e.g., of the republics of the Baltic Sea region, the Caucasus, and the Middle Asia cannot but striking our eyes at once. This was the profound, even mentally archetypical differentiation of the soviet people rather than the ethnographical exotic features. Such a differentiation attracted the permanent and intent attention of Western sovietologists but slipped away from the attention of soviet science which fulfilled the socio-political order and was oriented to the problems of internationalization of the “Soviet people” and to the final solution of the national problem in the USSR.

The architects of “perestroika” and the ideologists of reforms did not take into account the socio-cultural specificity of the union republics (at present, we see practically the same). This was a result of the habitual “democratic centralism” when the decisions made at the top of power by command-administrative methods were implemented in the provinces. At the same time, when the country entered the epoch of openness (“glasnost” by M. Gorbachev) and democratization and saw the “parade of sovereignties” (1990), the former party-economic nomenclature of union republics captured the property and took, in addition, the real levers of administration into their hands under weakening the mechanisms of public control.

This nomenclature was faced with the fast and intense growth of national identification and national self-consciousness of peoples after the disintegration of the USSR and the break of the economic and cultural ties which joined the entire country some time ago. No wonder that the very process of reforming proceeded on the post-soviet space, in the former soviet republics, with significant differences. Even in the very Russian Federation, the autonomous Moslem republics such as Tatarstan sought the independent ways of their historical development. The majority of problems of the Russian way of reforms has concentrated at Chechnya. In this North-Caucasian republic, most brightly manifest themselves the existentialistic problems concerning the future of the Russian Federation and the preservation of its territorial integrity. But the latter should be realized not at the expense of the destruction of the Orthodox-Moslem civilizational consensus cementing the foundation of the building of the Russian “Eurasian identity”.

Therefore, the development of the process of reforming in the Russian Federation is conjugated to a considerable degree with the search for their direction and rate of realization under the federal consensus. By virtue of the incompleteness of the process of reforming of the Russian federalism, this process was not institutionally shaped in many cases and “hung” on the level of realizations of metropolitan decisions in the Russian remote settlement.

Starting from 2000 when, due to the efforts of President V. Putin, seven federal districts were established and the mechanism of formation of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly was changed, we observe the attempt to restore the vertical of central executive power in all 89 subjects of the Russian Federation. It seems that this process will proceed with a certain probability at least till the elections of the State Duma in 2003 and those of President in 2004. Therefore, the next five years will not become, most probably, a watershed behind which the stage of “stable social development” of Russia will begin.

Some former soviet republic being more monoethnic had no problems analogous to the Russian ones but they revealed the own specificity. As a result

of the clearly oriented and efficiently realized “European way” of reforms, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania will be countries-members in the European Union and NATO in 2004. But, for example, Central-Asian states go, on the contrary, to the specific “Asian way” of their historical development, by moving away from the geopolitical control of Russia.

It is clear that similar civilizational differences should be taken into account, because they define not only the peculiarities of the transformation but also the fate of various regional political formations on the post-soviet area.

From this viewpoint, the Commonwealth of Independent States which is transforming slowly but surely into a “President Club” by interests is preserved as a diplomatic tool for consultations by the model of British Commonwealth of Nations rather than an integration structure. At the same time, such structures as the Eurasian Economic Community and the Customs Union whose creation was initiated by Russia by the model of the European Union try to acquire the real integration potentialities. However, it was forgotten in this case that the foundation of the EC grew from the process of economic cooperation and integration and was not constructed by starting from the political roof. In this case, the different dynamics and directions of changes in the political regimes and economic reforms in such members of the Eurasian Economic Community as Russia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Tajikistan, and Kirghizstan hamper the formation of the common market of labour force, capitals, and goods.

In addition, in the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community, we observe the process of differentiation of its members. Uzbekistan, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan and the Central-Asian states under conditions of the penetration of the USA in Afghanistan need the Russian guarantees in the field of safety increasingly less. Moreover, this region attracts the special attention of China, and Russia tries to take this fact into account in the framework of the nonformal association “Shanghai Six” (Russia, China, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan).

After 5 years of political manoeuvres, the attempts to create the union of Russia and Byelorussia remain incomplete acts which were initiated without regard for the cardinal distinctions in the directions of real social processes running in the framework of the national-state formations of the countries-participants and the disbalance of a projected united socio-cultural system. The inclusion of Byelorussia as one of the subjects into the composition of the Russian Federation is unacceptable, first of all, for the Russians which enter a new stage of evolutionary development and are not ready to the process of “adsorption” organically intrinsic to the involutionary stage of development of the cycle. The alternative variant of the Russia-Byelorussia union by the model of the EC looks inorganic for Byelorussia being on the involutionary stage of development.

It is clear that the Slavic union being revived needs the third participant in order to be stable and promising. This participant should have the common cultural specificity and the tendencies of development which should be unidirectional relative to one of two other participants. Ukraine can be potentially such a participant. Possessing the related Slavic culture and the tendencies of socio-cultural development which are unidirectional (to the side of evolutionary transformations) with those of Russia, Ukraine defines itself more and more as a social subject which is a competitor to the national interests of Russia. These competitive relations can be potentially balanced by Byelorussia to which the polarly opposite tendencies (relative to Russia and Ukraine) of development are intrinsic. Namely Byelorussia as “a connective tissue” (by N. Rerikh) is able to ensure the national identity and, simultaneously the unity of Slavic peoples under new historical conditions in the post-transformational space of the global civilization which is being formed.

In the economic sphere, the converging of Moscow and Kyiv proceeds quite intensively beginning from 2000. The Russian capital enters the Ukraine’s economy increasingly actively. This fact determines, a priori, the vector of economic integration for Ukraine. In this case, the interests of the west-European and American capitals which are present in Ukraine still symbolically do not ensure the critical mass of attraction necessary for the realization of an alternative variant of integration.

In addition, the expansion of the EU and NATO which will become real by 2004 will lead to the appearance of “a velvet wall” between the full-right members of European and transatlantic integration structures and so-called “special neighbours”.

In the years of the “cold war”, the “iron curtain” constructed from the east side hampered the formation of the “Great Europe”. But on the modern historical stage, on the contrary, the “Schengen curtain” from the west side makes the idea of “common European house” from the Atlantic to Vladivostok to be utopian.

But does this mean that Ukraine, Russia, and Byelorussia are “doomed” to reunite? The proper comprehension of both the nature of the transformational processes running in the post-soviet space and the peculiarities of development of Ukraine, Russia, and Byelorussia as well as the exactness of a forecast of their future is valuable not only from the scientific-cognitive viewpoint and is important for the practical development of these countries and for the geopolitical situation in Europe on the whole.

For the sake of convenience, we simplify the variety of existent definitions of the contemporary transformational processes by reducing them to representative analogues mostly expanded in the domestic scientific literature.

They include: the “dismantlement of the soviet totalitarian system”, “process of radical economic and democratic reforms” or, in the extreme political estimations, “the historically first transition from socialism to “wild” capitalism”, etc. This list can be continued, but we note the fact that the scientific consciousness dominating now undertakes, on the whole, no attempts to identify transformational processes with the notion of “revolution”.

For example, in opinion of the leading Russian sociologist T. Zaslavskaya, a number of objections can be opposed to the conception of “Great Russian revolution of 1991–1993”. Indeed, the new elite consisted by three fourths of the former nomenclature, and the supreme power remained the principal actor of social transformations. Therefore, one has to say rather about the chain of crises changing one another. By virtue of these facts, hardened discussions about specific ways to withdraw the country from the crisis state are continued in Russia up to now¹.

Not going into the infinite discussions of the terminology which became firmly established comparatively long ago (from the 1930s) as the notion and practice of the transformational processes which cover now, may be, the most part of the land, we note that the amount of the accumulated information is sufficient for the revision of some traditional ideas.

Thus, the pattern of the transformational development of East-Slavic peoples seems to us as follows in the framework of the cyclic approach described in other sections of this book to the analysis of the socio-historical process.

Ukraine. It is rightful to identify the entire soviet period of its history which preceded the present transformation with the involutionary processes started from the Ukrainian national-democratic revolution (1917–1919). True, this revolution is faded in the soviet historiography against the background of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 which stimulated the revolutionary activity of Russian margins by accelerating, in some cases, the course and, sometimes, the direction of social processes running in the framework of separate “national histories”. Under contemporary conditions of the society going to the globalization, such a social practice can be completely associated with the practice of social engineering. As bright examples of the latter, we mention the events in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and the ripening ones in Iraq.

We may say, by following this line, that the Ukrainian national revolution of 1917–1919 was the untimely act and such that it had no remarkable political consequences for the soviet period of development of Ukraine. On the whole, we can say that the collectivization and industrialization of Ukraine were performed in the framework of involutionary processes as well as its internationalization called “the Russification of Ukraine” by one of the leaders of Ukrainian 1960s-men, I. Dzyuba.

Beginning from 1990-1991, Ukraine (along with Russia) is in the co-evolutionary phase of the transient period. This phase is related to the gain of national-state independence, implementation of political reforms (the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers), processes of denationalization, privatization, and formation of the market economy. At the same time, the data of monitoring (see *Diagram 1*) testify to that the inversive processes (recurrent ones relative to the declared European values and standards) gather force more and more clearly beginning from the second half of the 1990s. At the same time, the very united Europe worried by the own problems of expansion to the East, a possible weakening of the common money unit, and threats to its safety announces distinctively the own civilizational limits of expansion. The going out of these socio-cultural boundaries threatens to the European Union by the loss of the own identity.

In this case, the aim of reforms in Ukraine, which was announced officially and consists in the achievement of the quality standards in its socio-economic and political development allowing Ukraine to pretend on the beginning of negotiations on the entry to the EC, can pose a more complicated question if this aim will be reached: why must the already rich Ukraine subordinate to the power of Brussels' bureaucrats? Especially in view of the fact that the socio-economic and administrative problems of the EC have a real chance to become seriously aggravated with the expansion of the EC to the East. May be, is it better to collaborate with the EC under similar hypothetical conditions, not being its member?

In the general case, the question about the correlation of national interests under modern geopolitical conditions and the imperatives of the global civilization being formed which require "a command play", a competitive struggle, and, hence, the entry of Ukraine into various integration structures (the EC and Eurasian Economic Commonwealth) remains most complicated in the strategy of reforms. Probably, it will mainly define the whole subsequent period of Ukraine's historical development.

Russia. Approximately the same rhythmic is intrinsic to the realization of the modern cycle of socio-historical development in Russia for which the period of transient co-evolutionary processes started also with the beginning of the "perestroika". At the same time, we see the actualization of the public discourse which defines, from the time of the westernization of Russia by Peter the Great, the themes of discussions about the place of Russia in the modern system of civilizations.

At the beginning of the XXIst century, the sharp discussion proceeds between modern "Westernists-Atlantists" and "Slavofils-Eurasians". The former see Russia as at least a great European regional state. True, this aim can hardly be

achieved without the restoration of the union with Ukraine and Byelorussia in some form. The Eurasians insist on that the idea of joining Russia and the European civilization is utopian².

The hypothetical “third way” of historical development consists in the balance between the Atlantists and the Eurasians, at least to the completion of transformational processes in Russia. By its content, it is related to the postponement of strategical decisions and the accumulation of a potential for organic competition under conditions of globalization and therefore looks most realistic now.

Byelorussia. As shown by the authors’ results of measurement of the societal characteristics of the Byelorussians, this country demonstrates a probabilistically other pattern of development of historical cycles.

For the soviet time, this republic differed essentially from the neighbours, Russia and Ukraine, both by mentality and, on the whole, social behaviour close to the west-European standards. Here, the soviet hierarchical style of servility and subordination did not get accustomed in that period. As a bright example in this relation, we mention the last leader of the republic, Peter Masherov. On the whole, he revealed the style of European politicians and demonstrated the accessibility and openness of the republican authorities. Such a behaviour of the Byelorussians was called in the soviet period as the highest manifestation of internationalism, though the nature of such a behaviour was defined really by the societal characteristics of the Byelorussians and Byelorussia which were in the final stage of the evolutionary cycle of development of the universal epochal cycle contrary to Ukraine and Russia. Whence it is clear that the 1990s became the period of revolutionary stage of the beginning of a new epochal cycle for independent Byelorussia.

Thus, the peculiarities described above of the historical development of Ukraine, Russia, and Byelorussia indicate that the east-Slavic peoples are really now in the opposite phases of development of their national historical cycles.

For Ukraine and Russia, the completion of the post-transformational period coincides, on the whole, with approaching to the final of the co-evolutionary stage of development. But, for Byelorussia, the transformational dynamics has the other character related to the start of a new historical cycle.

In this case, the expansion of transformational processes onto various spheres of social life is inhomogeneous in all three countries. Having reached the maximum to the middle of the 1990s, the radical transformation in the economic, political, and cultural spheres experiences the ambiguous inversive tendencies at the beginning of the XXIst century.

But they have also the own national specificity. Most brightly manifested the socio-cultural specificity of east-Slavic countries in the process of social

consolidation whose symbol in the sphere of internal policy is *the process of formation of a parliamentary majority*.

In Russia, the first step in this direction was the election of V. Putin as President in March 2000. The image created by the activity of V. Putin as Prime-Minister and Deputy President was a specific feature of the socio-political situation formed in the mass consciousness of the Russian people at that time. As written by the Russian researchers E. Bashkirova and N. Laidinen, the traditional values of the Russian mass consciousness were actualized in V. Putin. They are the orientation to a strong leader, idealization of a politician, and personification of successes in various spheres with him/her. In forming the image of the politician, the accent was made on his youth and activity, his ability to act efficiently in situations of any complexity, to establish the order in the country, and to solve the social problems of the population³.

In December 1999, the elections of the State Duma in Russia were held against the background of the socio-psychological atmosphere of the triumphal procession of V. Putin to the Kremlin. In the opposition's opinion, then the formation of the centrist pro-President Duma's majority was, in fact, the process of transformation of the Duma into the department of the President administration. Bewitched by the record rating of popularity of President V. Putin, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) yielded rather easily the political initiative to President. In the framework of the process of "controlled democracy", CPRF lost the control over seven committees and one commission at the Duma in April 3, 2002 which were distributed by the fractions joining the pro-President party "Unity", namely by "Homeland is all Russia", "Union of right forces", "Apple", and "Regions of Russia". Due to the process of "bolshevization" of the Duma, the Speaker G. Seleznev went out of CPRF.

As for the Russian mass consciousness, its readiness to metamorphoses of the inversion of the transient period is ensured by the cultural-historical heritage of Russia, which is evidenced by the more than bicentenary history of the Russian literature indicating the organic and functional character of the power Russian charisma. The societal characteristics of the Russians measured by us evidence also for that the Russian socium proper is a very unstable social system needed functionally in a strong power charisma.

In the light of the above-presented, it is clear that the period of "perestroika" preceded to the Russian transformation was associated by the social opinion of Russia as a raging of freedom which led to the start of the decay of the Russian statehood. When the pendulum of inversive tendencies was shaken to the side of strengthening of the social control, rather actual become the words of P. Stolypin who emphasized that liberal reforms in Russia can be conducted only under toughening of the regime. As only the Russian power loses

its ideocratic charisma, it loses also their functional characteristics. Respectively, the strengthening of the executive vertical of power bodies becomes a key problem in reaching the executive efficiency.

In Ukraine, the problem of parliamentary majority announced first about itself in January 2000. In many aspects, the first attempt to solve it reminded the Russian variant which agrees weakly with the Ukrainian national specificity. It is probable that therefore the “force solution” of the problem did not receive, on the whole, the expected support from the side of the Ukrainian people. After the elections of the Verkhovna Rada in March 31, 2002, the process of formation of a parliamentary majority took nine months. Upon the election of Speaker V. Lytvyn at the beginning of May 2002, the political blocks which won by party lists yielded the initiative to the pro-President block “For united Ukraine” and its allies. As the payment for the compromise, the oppositional fractions “Our Ukraine”, “Block of Yu. Tymoshenko”, “Communist Party of Ukraine”, and “Social Party of Ukraine” got the leading posts in the majority of parliamentary committees. In his speech in August 24, 2002, the anniversary of the declaration of independence, President L. Kuchma posed the problem of formation of the stable consolidated parliamentary majority which, however, was not formed by virtue of contradictions between the victors and vanquished after the parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, the creation of such a majority was a key point of the proclaimed course toward the transformation of Ukraine into a parliamentary-presidential republic. But the approval of the appropriate amendments to the Ukraine’s Constitution will necessarily require 300 votes of deputies which have to be still found.

The formation of a coalition government was the decisive point in the establishment of the parliamentary majority. Whereas the majority in the Parliament of the previous convocation was formed situationally in January 2000 for the support of the government guided by V. Yushchenko which was unable to provide the interests of all groups of influence, the government guided by V. Yanukovich was formed in November 2002 on the basis of the preliminary coordination of the positions of all financial-industrial groups. As a result, the agreement between the parliamentary majority, coalition government, and President as for the program of common actions was signed in December 7, 2002. As seen, the process of social consolidation runs in Ukraine according to somewhat other scenario. Here, the position of President L. Kuchma was politically weakened by the two-year “cassette scandal” and opposition’s actions. In Russia, on the contrary, the political positions of President V. Putin are strong as never before.

In Byelorussia in 2001, the results of the parliamentary and presidential elections were sufficiently predictable, because they were held in the framework of technologies of the changed Constitution. At the same time, under conditions

of other phase of development, the Byelorussian variant of social consolidation is less stable. Here, we observe the other type of inversive processes. By using the analogy with the soviet history, the republic is, as if, on the stage of transition from the “war communism” to “new economic policy”.

The common peculiarity of the transient processes in Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia is their socio-psychological incompleteness. This fact is evidenced by the phenomenon of the unstable public opinion, which testifies to the proceeding process of, figuratively saying, changing the socio-cultural code of the national-public and locally civilizational development. In this case, the mass consciousness is, as if, in the state of prostration and inability to rationally think and act and to distinguish the social reality from the propagandistic copy of this reality formed by the elite.

Starting from the reforms of Peter the Great, the Russian political elite orients itself quite frequently to west political standards and self-affirms on the basis of the own national tradition. Answering the extremes of the west-oriented phase, Russia has always constructed its identity as an east state leaning on the religious-moral fundamentalism of the Orthodoxy⁴. In the XIXth century, the Russian Slavofils noticed the important peculiarity of the political archetype of the Orthodoxy in discussions with the Westernists. I. Kireevsky wrote in the letter to A. Khomyakov by concerning a legal state: “Even the very word “right” was unknown to us in its western sense, but it meant only justice and truth. Therefore, any power can grant or give the right to nobody, because justice and truth cannot be sold or taken, but they exist by themselves independently of conditional relations”⁵.

Democracy cannot be created by decrees of even the most progressive government. First of all, democracy is the control of the electors over their elected representatives in power bodies. On this basis, a civil society appears as the mechanism of solution of the social contradictions and that of social integration. However, under conditions when the joining of business and power occurs, the process of formation of the independent structures of a civil society reminds more and more a farce.

Some west experts, e.g. R. Pipes, propagandize insistently the idea of the desired continuation of the decay of Russia’s institutional structures up to their vanishing else from 1992. A similar radical surgery “is a necessary preliminary condition for the true progress”⁶.

However, the fate of west liberal ideas remains marginal on the post-soviet geopolitical space up to the final change of the code of civilizational development which is the focus of the hard work of all interested sides. The question about the relation of westernization and modernization in the post-transformational period of the history of Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia remains also open.

Chapter 7. Development of contemporary Ukraine: macrosocial approach

The macrosocial approach to the study of a society as a system requires to use integral indices. However, this problem in sociology is not yet solved at all. From the beginning of the 1990s, the scientists of the Institute of sociology of Ukraine have performed a number of scientific works which allow one to attain to a certain extent to solution of this sociological problem. In particular, Doctor of Sociology O. Donchenko generalized and described societal (general systemic) features of a society which, in our opinion, are quite suitable for adequate description of both the statics (steady development) and dynamics (transient state) of public development in the combination with the cyclic approach. Consider the dynamics of societal changes in the Ukrainian society. A schematic representation of the epochal cycle for Ukraine is given in Fig. 2.

One of the defining social qualities is intentionality/executivity which represents, by its content, all the totality of social (professional) roles. The last can be integrally reduced to two contrary types of social behaviour, conditionally “active” or “passive” life, which are formed, respectively, by the male and female socio-cultural (gender) halves of the humanity.

As was noticed in Chapter 3, the authors developed a special procedure of societal measurements. This procedure allows one to carry out the measurements of separate (six binary scales-oppositions: extroversion/introversion, irrationality/rationality, executivity/intentionality, emotionality/pragmatism, externality/internality, and intuitivism/sensority) societal indices and the integral societal index which is not the sum of its separate composing indices. These measurements are performed by using a sociological sample which represents the adult Ukraine’s population (aged at least 18). The basic results of the monitoring performed according to this procedure during 1992–2002 in cooperation with the “Socis–Gallup” and “JFK–USM” firms are presented in *Diagram 1* [see also the edition: Ukrainian society: 10 years of independence (sociological monitoring and comments of a scientist). — Kyiv, 2001. — Pp. 575].

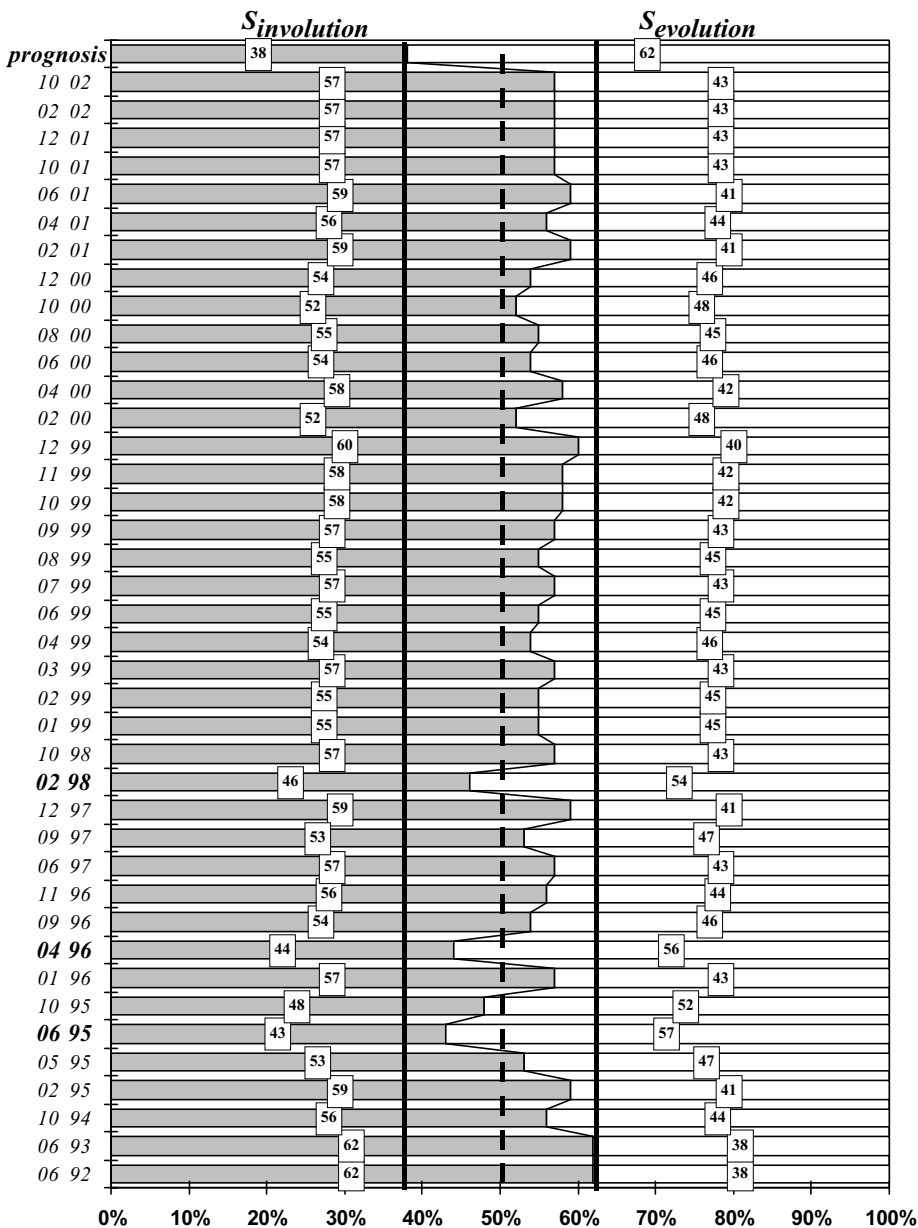


Diagram 1. Dynamics of societal changes in the Ukrainian society (1992–2002)

As seen from the diagram, the integral societal index under study was stably invariable for 1992–1993 and amounted to the value of proportion (distribution) 38:62, which is associated with the notion of “gold section”. For the sake of comparison, we note that the analogous general-systemic indices for Russia and Byelorussia were defined by the proportions, respectively, 44:56 and 63:39 as of 1992. The data derived testify to the significant societal differences and simultaneously to the closeness of the socio-cultural systems of three Slavic peoples. There are the reasons to assert that the established societal characteristics were invariable during the whole soviet period of their common coexistence.

As seen in *Diagram 1*, by starting from 1994, the societal index under study underwent the fluctuating changes into the direction of its new stable state of mirror opposition (62:38) or intentionality (“male origin”). After the completion of this outwardly hidden process of change of the given element of the latent societal structure of the society, we expect the start of “crystallization” of a new social order in Ukraine and the stable economic, political, and cultural development.

It should be noted that the symmetric state of the investigated index (50:50) is a critical limit for the society, when the “forces” for the further development in a definite direction are already exhausted and the society is faced with the possibility to choose: to move in the previous direction or decisively to take the way with new historical perspective.

The diagram shows that the present systemic crisis which took beginning from 1994 can be characterized as very complicated by its essence. The crisis includes simultaneously three components: political, economic, and spiritual ones. Just during this period of a systemic crisis, the social structure and social relations in the society along with their empiric referents in the political, economic, and cultural spheres of the society’s life experienced the maximum destruction.

The transient co-evolutionary period in Ukraine, specifically the stage of disintegration of its social structure, can be formally characterized by the following frames: 1989–1991 — disintegration of the political system of the USSR and the gain of sovereignty by Ukraine; 1991–1994 — economic decline, redistribution of the property, and the formation of the private sector of the economy; 1994–1996 — “spiritual” decline which ensured the separation of powers and their constitutional approval, which is manifested in the so-called constitutional crisis of 1995–1996.

The stage of integration of the social structure of Ukraine still requires to be studied in detail. However, even the surfacial analysis of the data presented in *Diagram 1* allows us to indicate the defining influence of inversive tendencies

on the character of integration processes. For example, beginning from the President's elections of 1999, the integral index under study "stuck" in the zone of values defining the "old" quality of the latent societal structure. The same situation is observed in the study of real social processes occurring in Ukraine. For example, we cannot but note that the country which proclaimed the "European choice" and the acceptance of the European system of values and standards reinforces really the command-administrative principles of management, preserves the bureaucratic character of management and control, and does not stimulate the development of small and middle businesses and a civil society which are the basis of formation of the middle class, etc.

We note such a social phenomenon as "parliamentary majority" which appeared in the framework of the developing integration processes in Ukraine in January 2000 (also in Russia). It "was not noticed" by social scientists (politologists, sociologists, culturologists, social psychologists, etc.) and, respectively, was not comprehended in a proper manner. This "challenge" did not meet the adequate answer from the side of politicians and announced about itself with new force in 2002. By not pretending to the full estimate of the situation, we note that this social phenomenon proceeds, on the whole, against the background of a real integration process and is connected with the search for the foundations of political consensus, first of all, by representatives of Ukraine's financial-industrial groups. In this consensus, one may see the prototype of a future public treaty, whose basis would include the principles of leadership of the right and the equal responsibility of all citizens in front of laws. The perspective of development of a civil society in Ukraine will mainly depend on the first step in this direction.

By forming a prognosis concerning the further development of events in Ukraine, it is worth to pay attention to the period of "new economic policy" which historically existed after the revolution of 1917 and the civil war. It repeats completely in Ukraine, but "on the contrary". In those far revolutionary years, after the total nationalization of private property and the introduction of planned economy, the need "to learn management" was appeared. This is revealed in the "new economic policy", namely in the controlled renewal of private property and market elements. But now, after the total privatization and the introduction of elements of the market economy, the elements of state management and planned principles of the economy subordinated to the task of economic revival ("economic renaissance") become increasingly stronger.

This period has, properly saying, to renew the relation between new (strengthening market-based) and old (planned by its content) forms of management which is natural for Ukraine. The duration of this "economic renaissance" will depend on the degree of radicalism of economic transformations.

We emphasize that the renaissance phenomenon of the previous historical period, which is more clearly reveals itself in the post-soviet space, is not accidental, though changeable, being limited in time mainly by the frame of economic stabilization.

As for the general perspective of development of the above-mentioned countries in the following (evolutionary) period, it will reflect, on the whole, the basic characteristics of the previous state of the countries of Western Europe or the USA. But it will be related simultaneously to the properties intrinsic to the national culture, as well as with those acquired during the previous (involutionary) historical period. Both the previous (involutionary) and next (evolutionary) periods of development of countries under transformation compose together one epochal cycle, in the scope of which the social essence which is indivisible and simultaneously distinctive realizes itself in a natural way.

While analyzing the European history of the XXth century, it should be noted that one of the consequences of the societal changes in the countries of Western Europe which were introduced by the Great Depression is “rationality” which is now manifested by contemporary western societies and public consciousness. It is quite natural that “rationality” is connected with science and its carriers, scientists, and the notion of social scientist means, in the contemporary European and American traditions, a scientist or a scientific school which tries to assign the character of exact science to the science about society and to make it normative, including the sphere of policy⁷.

In view of the presence of joint features between the social crises occurred during the Great Depression and the present “transformation” (there are certain grounds for such an idea), it would be quite natural to expect the substitution of “irrationality” typical of the country in the soviet period by new signs of “rationality” in post-transformational Ukraine. Thus, it is logical to put the following question: whether the Ukrainian society changes actually in the direction of formation of the signs of “rationality” in it?

Prior to answering this question, we note that the results of a sociological poll, which was carried out by us in 1988 [performed by the authors by the order of the department of personnel of the Committee of State Security of the USSR; the sample (1009 persons) represented the regular staff of the department by basic demographic signs and the membership to one of the separated six groups of the subjects of management] with the use of proper test methods, indicated the domination of the “irrational” psychological type of social behaviour in the USSR (including the UkrSSR). We also obtained the data of correlation analysis which certified the presence of hidden socio-psychological mechanisms. These mechanisms ensured the system of the separation of labour which existed in the department and concentrated the personnel with

developed intellectual abilities at “the center” (on the top levels of management) and that with the organizational ones on the “periphery” (on the lower levels of management). It is evident that these socio-psychological foundations provided the functional distribution operating in the USSR according to which the “center” analyzed and planned a work, and the “periphery” executed the five-year plans of socio-economic development of the country adopted by the “center”.

With the beginning of the systemic crisis in Ukraine which coincided practically with the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the second convocation and those of President of Ukraine (1994), societal changes started in our society. The results of psychological researches [they were performed during the elections to the Ukrainian parliament in the Poltava urban district (1994) and in one of the rural majority-based districts of the Chernihiv region (1998)] indicated that the situation in Ukraine in these periods was determined, respectively, by the “irrational” (March 1994) and “rational” (March 1998) types of social behaviour.

During 2001–2002, we realized the complex of psychodiagnostic studies with participation of the Chair of psychodiagnostic and medical psychology of the T. Shevchenko Kyiv National University (Head of the Chair — Doctor of Psychological Sciences, Professor, Corresponding Member of the APSU L. Burlachuk; researchers — K. Malysheva and O. Morozova) and the Laboratory of Psychology of Mass and Organizations of the Institute of Social and Political Psychology of the APSU (Director of the Institute — Corresponding Member of the APSU N. Slyusarevsky; Head of the Laboratory — Doctor of Sociological Sciences O. Donchenko). The results of measurements derived as of October 2002 testify to that the social behaviour of Ukraine is characterized by extroversion, emotionality, rationality, sensority, internality, and intentionality. In this case, four last characteristics (rationality, sensority, internality, and intentionality) were acquired by Ukraine in the past years of reforms. True, the degree of expressiveness of the new qualitative characteristics is slight, and they cannot still “overcome” the influence of the first two ones (extroversion and emotionality). In our opinion, this predetermines the vitality of inversive tendencies in the Ukrainian society.

The analysis of the results derived allows us to consider that the formation of new societal characteristics such as “rationality”, “sensority”, “internality”, and “intentionality” was ensured in the Ukrainian society mainly by the political campaigns of 1994, 1995, 1996, and 1998.

These political campaigns were organized mainly from “above”, which “joined” on the whole with the united context of social transformations beginning from the economic reforms of 1983. We bear in mind the first large-scale

attempts in the USSR to change the tendency of development to the better side: in particular, the attempts of Yu. Andropov “to launch” economic reforms through the so-called self-supporting independence of enterprises; re-orientation of the country to the large-scale “perestroika” by M. Gorbachev; attempts to realize the various programs for the withdrawal of the USSR from the crisis, for example, the “program of 500 days” by Yavlinsky — Shatalin).

From two basically possible schemes of such a transition [the “Chinese standard” (successive reformation of, at first, the economic block and then the political one) or the “Polish course of radical reforms” (simultaneous reformation of all the spheres of public life)], the Ukrainian society chose namely the last scheme which agrees, on the whole, with its socio-cultural specificity.

In any case, the formation of a new societal quality is associated with the formation of new socio-psychological stereotypes of public consciousness, being the distinctive foundation and simultaneously a guarantor of social stability. This foundation is formed by the educational (theoretical) and practical social experience obtained by citizens during real institutional social transformations.

By analyzing the present situation in Ukraine from this viewpoint, one can see many drawbacks on the whole, in particular in the system of professional education and education for adults which is not consistent with the specificity of hidden unemployment in the country (in this context, we consider the experience of the USA of the time of the Great Depression to be attractive, when the government introduced a special program for the unemployed persons within the framework of the “New Deal” by F. Roosevelt, whose constituents were the special blocks of measures concerning the development of the system of higher education and the expansion of possibilities of public libraries, which will require the intense development of such its forms as post-diploma, postal tuition, distant education, etc.). We only add that even a superficial analysis indicates the recent steady growth of the social demand for education, library resources, information from mass-media, etc.

As an essential drawback of the decade of the Ukrainian reforms, we note the “suppression” of the population, being artificial in many aspects, from the practical participation in social transformations. This also concerns the processes of privatization whose character continues still to be mainly far from public, the state and prospects of development of small and middle businesses in Ukraine, and the real participation of the people in the administrative-legal reform and the management of production. It seems that the present tendencies to strengthening the command-administrative principles in management are sooner working to support the soviet administrative tradition of “vertical subordination” rather than are oriented to “intentionality” which has formed really in the socio-behavioural complex of Ukraine and can fully ensure the social self-control

and the functional character of management. The latter themes enter the conception of administrative-legal reform approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine of July 22, 1998, No. 810/98 “On the measures on introduction of the Conception of administrative-legal reform in Ukraine”.

As a bright evidence and a result of the situation formed in the Ukrainian society, we mention the data of the monitoring of public opinion which was conducted in the framework of the project “Ukrainian society at the turn of the XXIst century” by the Institute of Sociology of the NASU with the participation of the Fund “Democratic Initiatives” and the “Socis–Gallup” firm from 1994 till 2001.

In answers to the question “Which social groups play a considerable role in the state construction in Ukraine?”, the public opinion distinguished invariably three social groups:

- mafia, felonry (with the typical tendency to enhancement of the influence of this group for the last years from 34 to 49 %);

- officials of the state apparatus and official persons (with a slight enhancement of the influence of this group from 29 to 36 %);

- businessmen (with a relevant growth of the influence of this group from 24 to 31 %).

The estimate of the participation of wide categories of the population in transformations (in particular, of workers and peasants) turns out to be lower. Moreover, their influence has, on the whole, some tendency to lowering during the period of reforms. In fact, this explains the low level of trust of citizens to power institutions.

The inconsequence of reform-oriented actions and the absence of succession also do not consolidate a positive attitude to authorities and to the reforms implemented by them.

However, the fate of reforms depends now as never before in many aspects and even in the defining manner on the support of reformers on the socio-psychological prerequisites which are present, as we have discussed above, in the Ukrainian society.

Thus, “inactive” (not included in the real context of reforms) socio-psychological mechanisms can potentially generate a conflict between the higher and lower links of the state management and, on a wider scale, between the population and the power.

It is also clear that the success of reforms in Ukraine depends now in many aspects on the adequate comprehension by the Ukrainian political elite of the radically changed nature of the Ukrainian society and its social behaviour underlain by a psychological factor.

Chapter 8. Socio-psychological factor of co-evolutionary changes of the social structure of the Ukrainian society

From the viewpoint of the theory proposed by us, we consider the socio-historical tendencies which developed in the countries of the Pan-European area during the 1930–1940s and in the countries of the former USSR during the 1980–1990s and will try to compare the completed, actually involutory (reducible) process of formation of the social structure of the industrial soviet society with the process of formation of the social structure of a post-industrial post-soviet society which only begins to arise in Ukraine.

First of all, we notice that there existed the social structure which was single for all the republics in the USSR and simplified (as compared with that of the pre-revolutionary historical periods) and actually characterized the very essence of the soviet history. Many researchers state properly that, by leveling a certain inequality of material welfare, the soviet society was in a certain social state, rather than had a structure⁸. At the same time, the simplified social structure, in which the soviet middle class dominated — working class, collective-farm peasantry, and working-peasant intelligentsia — did not provide a long-term social stability or the self-regulation of social processes, though this was declared by the theorists of socialism. From time to time, the spontaneous manifestations of mass discontents occurred on industrial enterprises beginning from the period of “thaw” of 1956–1959 in separate towns of the USSR (e.g., in the towns of Temir-Tau, Kazakh SSR; Novoshakhtinsk, Russian SSR; Krivyi Rig, Ukrainian SSR). After 1980, under the influence of the examples related to the Polish working opposition “Solidarity”, such events happened practically in all the near-border republics of the USSR including Ukraine. Moreover, the dissident motion spread among intelligentsia.

The post-socialist transformation which develops today as a social process yields, first of all, the complication (multidimensionality) of the social space. However, whereas the simplified social structure of the industrial soviet society

provided its steady development at the expense of involutory processes, i.e., at the expense of universalization, simplification, and reduction of the social structure, the steady development of a post-industrial society will be ensured by the evolutionary tendency, which will complicate its social structure. In this case, the processes of integration and disintegration occur permanently.

The period of social integration is associated with the stage of a steady development of the society, harmonization of relations between its various groups, and determination and organic operation of the normative and socio-cultural regulative mechanisms. One of the empiric criteria for the determination of such a state is a steadiness of societal characteristics.

The process of social disintegration which determines the dynamic state of a society, on the contrary, is accompanied by disintegration of the social unit on separate parts, social anomy, the crisis of joint social values and interests, fracture of the mechanisms of social control. In this case, as indicated by data of the monitoring carried out by us (see *Diagram 1*), the societal characteristics are in the state of fluctuation.

In the general case, the social structure of a society which is in the state of transformation is characterized by instability, amorphousness, and a lack of steady public social strata with cognized interests, politico-ideological orientation, and generally accepted standards of behaviour⁹. The use of the categories of social synergetics allows one to describe these social parameters in the context of the transition of order into chaos and vice versa.

Other approach was offered by T. Zaslavskaya who introduced the notion of “transformational structure of a society” which is, in fact, by the projection of its social structure immediately reflecting the instant of the unity of the past and the future¹⁰.

The experience of reforms in the countries of West, Central, and South-East Europe indicates that the transformational period can have different durations. The socio-historical time when a society stays in the process of transformation depends, in our opinion, largely on the accumulated societal-structural and societal-functional experience, i.e., saying simply, on the “historical age” of the society. The accumulated societal experience is reproduced from one generation to other, by suffering the certain changes caused by the processes of adaptation of generations to a new social reality.

The objective basis of such a socio-historical development is the man’s activity. By influencing the psychic development of a person, it forms his/her psychics and simultaneously reflects the forms of the psychics in such a way that its communicative and objective sides actualize alternatively themselves in the structure of the developing social activity. In this case, the dynamics of alternative

changes on the forms of activity forms distinctive epochal cycles, whose totality composes, in fact, the integral social space of a man which is a distinctive “impress” of the society. Each epochal cycle is composed, in turn, from two interrelated normative periods which realize the appropriate tasks: a) mastering of the aims and motives of social activity (moral-ethic plan) and b) mastering of the methods of social activity and formation of operational-technical possibilities of a man (objective plan).

The transition in the framework of a separately taken cycle from one normative period to the other (“turning point” of development) can be considered as a distinctive addition to parts of the unit (cycle). At the same time, the transition from one cycle to the other (“node point” of development) is, in essence, the jump to a new level of the personal development which is stimulated by the appearance of disparities between the conceived methods and the operational-technical possibilities of a man and the outdated aims and motives of social activity¹¹.

In the framework of a purposeful study of the subjective component of societal processes, states, and qualities intrinsic, in our opinion, to the development of a man, a society, and the humanity, the authors performed a number of empiric and theoretical researches.

In particular, we made attempt to determine the normative limits of age cohorts of the Ukrainian society on the basis of the generalized ideas derived in the course of analysis of the conceptions of the American school of transpersonal psychology, the cultural-historical and activistical conceptions of the Swiss and soviet psychological schools, and the sociological ideas of age cohorts with the use of original tools. The work performed allows us to establish five cycles of socio-personal development. As of 1992, the scope of the cycles of ontogenetic development of persons in Ukraine was determined by such critical age points (in years): 0–1–3 (I cycle); 3–6–10 (II cycle); 10–15–17 (III cycle); 17–22–29 (IV cycle); 29–63–X (V cycle). In this case, the critical values 0, 3, 10, 17, 29 characterized the so-called “node points” of the persons’ development, and the values 1, 6, 15, 22, 63 do “turning points” of ontogenesis. According to the determined limits of age cohorts, cycles I, II, III, and IV of the ontogenetic persons’ development are connected with the origin and socialization of a new generation and only cycle V is connected with the self-realization (the mature period) and aging of a generation.

Thus, the data obtained and new possibilities presented by the tools used are those innovative results, which will help to efficiently solve many social tasks: the reform of the high and professional schools, the pension reform, optimization of budgetary social payments, etc.

For example, we recall only that Ukraine is criticized by the International Labour Organization for the understated (early) age limit of retirement.

In light of the results derived by us, this criticism becomes quite understandable and grounded. Running ahead (as the expected result), we can assert that the points presented above for critical man's development, including the limiting age of retirement, "will displace" to greater (relative to those derived by us in 1992) age values in the post-transformational Ukraine. Because of the expected changes, the society will meet the social phenomena such as late social maturing (children's infantilism), "aging" of students, increase in the creative age of a person, etc.

The monitoring of social changes realized by the authors from 1992 in the Ukrainian society under the support of the "Socis-Gallup" and "GFK-USM" firms showed that the systemic phase of the transformational crisis in Ukraine started from 1994. The study of the dynamics of societal changes allowed us to establish certain regularities of the very transformational process. For example, by generalizing the derived data of the monitoring, we distinguished two interrelated semiperiods in the single crisis period:

- 1) period of active social reforms accompanied by attempts of the new subjectivity to "break" into a new societal quality (1995, 1996, and 1998);

- 2) period of reverse (inversive) tendencies which began to manifest themselves in their latent forms already after the constitutional crisis of 1995–1996 and, in the explicit socio-material form, beginning from the presidential elections of 1999.

The inversive tendencies are clearly traced by the example of the administrative-territorial reform which levels mostly the first achievements of the transition to the functional principles of management. Especially, this concerns organizations of the budgetary sphere (there where the influence of state officials is significant) and, first of all, state bodies of management. As one of the people's deputies of Ukraine said at the meeting with a group of students during their acquainting excursion at the Parliament, some ministries and departments "were transformed" 6–7 times in such a way.

The observation of the development of events on the political olympus testifies actually to the invariable devotion of the present politicians to the social stereotypes of the soviet legacy. Thus, the motion of the country to a post-industrial society will be associated with the appearance of the young generation of the Ukrainians in the big policy.

Our observations show that the socio-demographic factors predetermine mainly a social structure of any society. By combining with other socio-economic and socio-status characteristics, they determine the process of position-making of individuals, social groups, and classes and social stratification on the whole. A certain age cohort also reflects the social structure of the society, and the relations between generations join actually the past, present, and future by real social mechanisms.

Thus, the generations create the history leaving the various traces of its activity. A change of generations not only transforms a social structure, but starts new historical periods. For example, the “perestroika” was begun by the generation of “persons of the 1960s”, whose representatives were socialized in the period of “Khrushchev’s thaw” and, accordingly, were born in the period of collectivization-industrialization and World War II. The norms and interests of this generation came into conflict with the social system in the middle of the 1980s.

By the data of the general census of the population in 2002 which was carried out for the first time in independent Ukraine, the general number of the population for the period 1989–2002 decreases from 51 million four hundred and fifty thousand to 48 million eight hundred and sixty thousand¹². The factors stimulating this process are located on the surface of the social life. Among them, we distinguish, first of all, the depopulation (superiority of the death rate over the birth rate). The death rate is accelerated by the worsening of both a health state of the majority of the population and the ecology, biological factors of risk, lowering of the level of welfare, pathological stress called by the expansion of social destructive aggression, degradation of the general spiritual atmosphere, and neurotic emotional state of the society¹³.

A high price for the transformation is paid by the unborn generations. The lowering of the birth rate in Ukraine is significantly influenced by the global factors besides the objective local factors associated with the complicated socio-economic state, crisis of a family, growth of the level of social unprotectedness of children, fall in the level of sexual norms and moral¹⁴.

In the world civilization, Ukraine belongs to the Christian area. Its leading confessions are the Orthodoxy and Greco-Catholicism. Therefore, the country undergoes the action of general negative tendencies typical of the Judaic-Christian civilization on the whole. For example, approximately from the end of the 1960s with the development of the so-called sexual revolution, failure of the traditional moral, and victories of the feminist movement (in this case, by establishing the facts, we are far from simple estimations of these phenomena), the progressing tendency to a lowering of the birth rate with a simultaneous increase in the lifespan, first of all in Europe, is observed. On the other hand, in the Moslem civilizational area which defends its traditional values by all means, on the contrary, the general birth rate level remains stably high¹⁵. Therefore, the ageing of the population of member-countries of the European Community will force them hereafter to search for the new ways of solving the demographic problems, possibly at the expense of immigrants from, first of all, the civilizationally close areas. Already now, despite the rather hard Schengen visa regime, about 2 mln Ukrainians of the most productive age work illegally in European countries.

Thus, by taking into account the current tendencies of development of the dynamics of societal indices, the prognosis for the demographic component of the social structure of the Ukrainian society seems to be not very optimistic. At least during the active phase of the transformational period which can continue, in theory, still approximately a decade, the further depopulation, i.e., a reduction of Ukraine's population, is foreseen. To a certain extent, this tendency will weaken with the termination of the transformational crisis. However, it is evident that this process will require the coordinating participation of the state. We say about an efficient coordination which is possible only within the framework of the national (by scale) social policy of the state which should be defined by a special law of Ukraine.

Just such a means of action, being discussed and approved by the parliament, will become the adequate answer of the state and society to the socio-natural factor of depopulation which will permanently accompany the development of the post-industrial Ukraine. Only in such a way, the conversion of Ukraine in a new social "wild field" can be prevented.

Chapter 9. Energy dependence of Ukraine

The years of political independence of Ukraine became the period of permanent struggle for the survival of the national economy which fell in the trap of tough energy dependence. Its reasons are mainly rooted else in the soviet period, in the industrialization of Ukraine which was begun in the 1920–1930s and assumed the creation of the single closed economic complex of the Soviet Union. Nobody accounted the energy expenditures under conditions of cheap all-Union oil and gas.

The industry of the Ukrainian SSR became a distinctive assembling shop, the major part of its production was further processed by subcontracting plants. The break of economic ties which were regulated by the command-administrative methods caused the mass downfall of production. Under such extremely complicated conditions, the national economy can be supported at the expense of energy-consuming and ecologically dangerous branches, namely metallurgy, chemical industry, etc. Just on the basis of these sectors of Ukraine's economy, the first significant capitals were gathered in the post-soviet transformational period, and the contemporary economic and political elite of the country was formed.

At present, having mastering the “command heights” and having created various offshore mechanisms, the new Ukrainian “meritocracy” is not economically interested in a radical change of the situation, which can lead to the undesirable redistribution of the pie of national income and, respectively, the resource of power. Therefore, all the efforts are directed to the preservation of the political status quo and to the development of “basic branches” of the national economy, which collect, properly saying, the rent from the whole population of Ukraine.

In this case, the complete privatization of the regional energy companies will inevitably lead to an increase of the price of electric energy but not to the accumulation of resources necessary for the introduction of energy-preserving technologies. In the opposite case, this will threaten by a reduction of incomes of the richest persons of the country. At the same time, Ukraine find itself, the further the more, in the hopeless position of a traditional industrial state

which loses the productive potential and delivers raw materials at damping prices, but buys, in this case, energy-carriers at world prices.

This disbalance cannot be preserved infinitely. As a result of the action of “price scissors”, the majority of production assets in the branches of the economy which fill the budget lost their amortization and attains the state of critical wear. Such a “self-eating” type of the economy which consumes a lot of expensive energy resources cannot work for a perspective. Moreover, by screening oneself by the absence of money, nobody is engaged by the development of energy-preserving technologies.

Such a situation formed in Ukraine is also advantageous for energy-suppliers. First, they get a guaranteed and modest sales market by virtue of the monopolistic dependence. The second, the high-level inertia of energy consumption of the Ukraine’s production per unit of production guarantees them the comfortable existence up to the time when the extensive approach to the exploitation of energy resources exhausts by itself. On the whole, such a paradigm of development of the economy is very typical of the transient phase of socio-historical development which is else closely connected with previous parameters of the society’s life.

From the viewpoint of the conception of universal epochal cycle of the history which is being developed by us, the whole soviet period of the Ukraine’s development is identified as the involutionary stage which is characterized by the extensive manner of management and the expensive economy on the whole.

The formation of a basically new type of the economy whose peculiarities are energy-saving technologies and the mastering of new energy sources (the use of the energy of winds, the Sun, and sea ebbs and flows, the reduction of energy expenditures under its transportation, etc.) is related to the new cycle of development of the current global economic system.

The adaptation of Ukraine to the new imperatives goes in a very complicated way. The main national supplier of energy resources, coal industry, declines and is a permanent source of social tension. As for the nuclear energetics, Ukraine fulfilled its obligation to the world community to close the Chernobyl NPP in December 2000. But this source of rather cheap energy also depends on the external sources of nuclear fuel for NPPs, because the closed cycle of the production of nuclear power in Ukraine only begins to form. Under the present conditions, even the trade in energy resources with Russia by the rules of the World Trade Organization can put the national economy to its knees for a long time or even to finally destroy it.

Thus, at the beginning of the XXIst century, Ukraine falls actually in the double energy dependence on the monopoly supplier of main energy resources (gas and oil) and on the tendencies of development of the global energy market.

Situation on the global energy market. Beginning from the 1970s, the development of the global energy market depends on the prognoses of “the growth limit” established by the Rome club. The exhaustion of the deposits of natural energy resources (oil, gas, and uranium) will happen apparently in a short time.

The development of this objective tendency requires the formation of new intense models of alternative energy provision, first of all, of the post-industrial sector of information-based production instead of the traditional extensive form of energy consumption which is characteristic of the involutionary stage of the economy. In other words, the dependence of the informational economy on the traditional energy sources can provoke the conflict between new technologies and old means of provision of their functioning. This can lead to the complete collapse of the global economy. However, it is clear that the leading countries are else far from the comprehension of this real threat which can be compared with the problem of global climatic changes.

In 1996, as a result of complicated and long discussions, the Kyoto protocol about the protection of the Earth’s climate was signed. The quotas for the reduction of emission of carbon dioxide as a principal secondary product of energy consumption were calculated on the basis of the volumes of the consumption of energy resources. In this case, 29.9 % of the emission falls on the North America, 24.7 % on Asia, 20.6 % on Europe, 10.8 % on CIS, 4.6 % on the Near East, 4.2 % on the South America, 3.5 % on Africa, and 1.7 % on Australia¹⁶.

Thus, the Kyoto protocol foresaw the preservation of the level of contamination of the ozone layer in 2012 on the level of 1990. However, even this measure, being modest by the scale of the problem, induced the resistance of the main polluter, the USA. After the accession to power of the administration of G. Bush, the White House refused in March 2001 to fulfil the Kyoto protocol by arguing this decision by that its parameters are not favourable for the American economy.

The development of new technologies in the USA stimulated the huge demand for energy. The California state which is most advanced in economic development fell into the true energy crisis in spring 2001.

Of course, the ecologists and Greenpeace’s members required the introduction of energy-saving technologies. But, contrary to their proposals, President G. Bush announced the intention to extract oil in the prohibited zones of Alaska. This corresponds to the interests of leading American oil concerns almost knowingly hampering the expansion of economically grounded estimates which show and prove that the investments to the design and introduction of energy-saving technologies are paid off more rapidly than those to the mastering of new deposits.

The ecologically directed policy is carried on actively by the Green party in Germany which is in the coalition with the Social Democratic Party at the government.

Only for the period of 1998–2001, the investments in Germany to the study of new energy-related technologies grow threefold. In particular, the government supports actively the idea of the provision of houses of German citizens with solar batteries.

However, it should be noted that the global structure of energy provision includes, at the beginning of the XXIst century, 39.9 % of oil, 27 % of coal, 23.2 % of gas, 7.3 % of nuclear power, and only 2.7 % of alternative sources of energy¹⁷.

On the whole, the situation on the global energy market is determined by the strategy of establishment of the USA's control over the majority of main sources of energy resources. In 1997, leading American oil concerns performed the rearrangement of forces yielding a number of amalgamations of companies. The part of the market controlled by them gives the possibility to influence the global market by energy resources comparable with those owned by OPEC.

In view of the antiterroristic actions of the USA in Afghanistan and then in Iraq, the situation on the global energy market changes very rapidly. At the end of autumn 2001, the price of oil sharply dropped, which was connected with the actual start of the global economic recession and the significant reduction of the demand for oil in leading countries-consumers. If the crisis of the America–Iraq relations will not be solved peacefully, the prognosis for the world economy will be very gloomy.

Geopolitics of energy communications. The communications for transport of energy-carriers have essential meaning for the development of the situation on the global energy market. Their prime cost and exploitation safety along with the expenditures for extraction will form the major part of the price of energy resources. The net of pipelines which deliver energy-carriers to consumers is the main nerve of the foreign-policy interests of many states. In this case, the USA remain to be the principal global geopolitical player.

After the discovery of large deposits of oil in the Azerbaijan part of the Caspian Sea, the acute struggle for the route of a pipeline begins. The leading American oil concerns consider the Russian variant as unsatisfactory from the geopolitical viewpoint. From this position, the route “Baku — Supsa — Jeyhan” was taken as most beneficial, though it was not the cheapest. But it gained the advantage because of the aim to attract Turkey as the main American ally in the region.

But this decision does not mean that alternative variants have no chances in general. In the business of oil delivery like on the stock exchange, it is unreasonable to place all eggs to one basket. Therefore, the diversification of the ways of delivery of energy-carriers is an axiom of energy safety.

After the terroristic acts in September 11, 2001 in connection with both the beginning of the American antiterroristic operation in Afghanistan and the tense situation on the Near East, the chances for using the first turn of the oil pipeline “Odessa — Brody” increased objectively. Moreover, the Romanian and Bulgarian variants for the delivery of Caspian oil are considered. The war in Macedonia

at the first half of 2001 was considered by many analysts just from the viewpoint of struggle for the establishment of control over the territory through which the pipeline from the Balkans to Europe must pass.

On the other hand, if the government of Afghanistan will ensure the reliable work and safety of oil- and gas-pipelines from Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, the large volumes of new energy resources will appear on the world market, which will lead to the enhancement of the struggle for the leading position in the business of transport of energy resources.

It is obvious that the diversification of the ways of the delivery of oil to Europe is inevitable. This process concerns directly the Russian projects of the delivery of gas with pipelines going round the territory of Ukraine.

Russia possesses 25.9% of the world deposits of natural gas and 9.3 % of those of oil and plays the important role in the transport of energy resources to the world market. At once several large-scale projects of the construction of new transport communications are designed. This is, first of all, the gas-pipeline "Yamal — West Europe" which must pass across the territories of Byelorussia, Poland, and Slovakia by rounding Ukraine. This is also the gas-pipeline "Blue flow" which will deliver the Russian gas to Turkey and further to the Near East. The long-term plans concern the construction of a gas-pipeline to China and Japan.

All this reminds the strategy of transformation of Russia to a raw-material addition of the leading subjects of the global economy by means of the priority investment of the above-mentioned projects and the objective retardation of other branches of the Russian economy due to the shortage of financial resources. Such a choice hardly corresponds to the Russian national interests, but any alternative variant is not traced so far. Though Russia is not a member of OPEC, it is forced to fit its energy policy to the actions of this oil cartel. In November 2001, OPEC stated that, by possessing a low prime cost of oil extraction, it will speculate for a fall of the price of oil in order to exclude Russia from the oil market. The Russian oil companies answer by a reduction of their quotas of oil extraction. The price of oil became critical as for the fulfillment of the revenues of the state budget of Russia.

Whereas Ukraine depends on the import of energy-carriers, Russia depends on their export. Both variants form a structure of expensive economy which is inconsistent with the post-industrial phase of social development and develops on the basis of the social credit and at the expense of future generations rather than for an increase in welfare of the present generations. By preserving further the status of "protected zone" for the energy sector of the economy, Ukraine has a chance to remain fully at the periphery of the process of globalization, whereas Russia can be admitted to it only in only one branch of the economy, energetics, which is important but has a very specific character.

Chapter 10. Ukraine in the system of European and world safety

From all the crises known to the humanity, the most sharp and terrible by its historical consequences is the identificational crisis expanded now on the territories of the countries undergone a transformation (especially, the countries of East Europe and the former USSR). Indeed, the determination and political expression of the vitally important interests of countries and peoples are basically impossible without identification in the coordinates of the historical time and the geopolitical space and outside the steady productive tie between philosophical thought, social science, and social practice.

The crisis of of the sense of social development and the loss of historical and socio-cultural perspectives and the criteria of identity are already not an abstract problem, but a fully specific partial one which passes into the sphere of regional and global safety. We say not only about the search for a national idea proper, but about a sense-formating idea which is able to harmonize some specific complex of efforts directed to solving the problems in the framework of a separate country-socium as well as in the general civilizational frameworks of the world community as a whole. As indicated by the unpalatable experience of the crisis of 1929–1934 in Europe, it is scarcely rightful to reduce the determination of the existentialistic sense of social development exceptionally to the search for a national doctrine, some single plan similar to the five-year plans of socio-economic development existed in the soviet practice in the past. Any fetishization of the determination of aims of the national development will induce indispensably a sharpening of the contradiction (conflict) between free self-determination of countries which have obtained powerful stimuli to self-development and the real environment which is globalized increasingly and subordinates the participants to the common logic of actions.

The contemporary world processes and tendencies actualize the problem of search for the basically new paradigm of a policy able to overcome the defects of the one-sided “linear” method of thinking and action, which is well pronounced each once during a steady social development, but remains inefficient in the quenching of numerous national conflicts and practically feeble in the prevention of a global crisis.

Place of Ukraine in the system of European collective safety. From the first days of the declaration of state independence, Ukraine attracts the permanent attention of the European and world communities. The eloquent evidence for this is the high international authority acquired by the country which refused voluntarily from nuclear weapons, defined its status as block-free, and aspires to enter with dignity into the circle of developed European states literally in the first years of independence.

True, the real movement of Ukraine to European structures was permanently balanced in the subsequent period with its participation in the affairs concerning the CIS. At the same time, a rather stable interrelated geopolitical triangle was being formed in Europe in the first half of the 1990s, consciously or unconsciously, due to the policy of bidirectional relations implemented by the country: Western Europe (first of all, the NATO countries) — Ukraine (together with the countries of the Black Sea basin) — East Europe (the Russian Federation and subjects of its European part together with Byelorussia). This scheme becomes more transparent if one elucidates its economic aspect. It is not accidental that the European politicians reminisce Ukraine more and more frequently as the geographic center of Europe.

There are still two evidences which supplement significantly our ideas of Ukraine not only as the European geopolitical and economic center of attraction. We bear in mind the socio-cultural characteristics of Ukraine which underlie both the division of social labour and, hence, the basis of the Ukraine's economy and policy.

As was established by us in 1992, the “alive tissue” of the Ukrainian society is characterized by the same properties as for other essence possessing the property named “golden section”. Most bright and acceptable from the culturological viewpoint is the evidence of N. Rerikh who was liable to identify Ukraine as such a country, whose axis of development (evidently, also the axis of interests) lies on the line “North — South” (contrary to the vectors “West — East” or “East — West”, being more typical of Europe). In particular, he wrote: “The Scandinavian culture which is threaded by Byzantine treasures led to Kyiv”. It is possible that, just for this reason, yellow and blue colours which are the state symbols of Ukraine and are returned from the old history into the contemporaneity are similar to the state symbols of Sweden. Sometimes (owing to various economic and political motives), Ukraine demonstrates its unconcealed high interest to countries of the Middle East, in particular those of the Black Sea basin, where it carries on now a rather active foreign policy and even occupies the leading positions. The same reasons explain, as it seems, the leadership of Ukraine in the association of GUUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Moldova).

The established latent characteristic of the social system “Ukrainian society” explains most adequately “exsanguinity” of the transformational period

of Ukraine's development. Namely it favoured the formation of the tolerance of population's behaviour and simultaneously inspired Ukrainian politicians to make optimum (least sacrificial) steps in rather ambiguous and unpredictable situations occurring in Ukraine under transformation. Even such a complicated and sharp political process as the separation of powers (into legislative, executive, and judicial ones) occurred in Ukraine in 1995–1996 weightedly as compared with Russia (1993) and other countries of the former USSR. Despite all the seriousness of Ukraine's intentions as for the integration into European structures, its relations with Russia which can be the theme of a separate research will scarcely acquire the irreversible character. We only note that these relations have the perspective of reproduction due to Byelorussia which joins two great cultures, the Russian and Ukrainian ones, as a combining cloth (by N. Rerikh).

Despite the inconsistency of Ukraine's foreign-political course, it will not lose, as it seems, its attractiveness on the whole for the European and world policies. Its present so-called "multivector" or "two-sided relations" policy (more exactly, the notion of "indeterminate foreign policy") is elected by the international diplomacy as a foothold more and more consciously. Thus, Ukraine transforms itself into a distinctive "strong point" for Europe, and the diplomacy gets additional and rather efficient possibilities of mediated influence. We mention, for example, the island of Zmiiny in the Black Sea which became a tool for realization by the Romanian diplomacy of intentions as for the entry of the country to NATO. No less eloquent are the examples of the so-called sharpening of the problem of the Black Sea navy and the status of the town of Sevastopol which are facts of the badly hidden reinforced pressure of Russia on Ukraine in response to its acclamatory position as for the expansion of NATO to the East.

Reinforcing of the integrity of the European and world policies.

Increasingly louder (in words and in actions) become the problems related to the lifelong questions of war and peace which are cognized by science and domestic consciousness quite solidary at the beginning of the XXIst century through the rather abstract notion of "collective safety". However, the relations between intellectuals and politicians are not such cloudless and solidary, especially in the connection with the last developed innovatory approaches to the prognostication of social development.

During the last decades, numerous innovations in the field of social sciences appeared as, probably, the reaction to the failures to predict the student actions of mass protests in France in 1968 and in the USA in 1975) and especially to the unpredictability of the transformational processes, on the whole, in the countries of Central and East Europe. They became possible due to the study of the basically new type of systems-objects which self-organize and self-develop by fundamental science in the second half of the XXth century. The results of studying such "open",

by their essence, systems (a society of the “transient period” and the humanity at the “turn of epochs” can be rightfully referred to them) indicate the necessity of a radical change in mechanistic (“linear”) concepts about social nature, which still define, unfortunately, the consciousness of politicians.

We recall that synergetics considers the following properties of “open” systems (dissipative structures, according to I. Prigogine): coherence of the whole and a part; “order through fluctuations”, when small causes lead to big consequences; ability to remember initial conditions of formation; simultaneous existence of deterministic and stochastic ties; nonequilibrium as the initial state; and irreversibility of processes. All these features can be clearly diagnosed (even on the daily level of consciousness) in the policy of Ukraine. To be more exact, the results derived by the authors together with the “Socis–Gallup” firm during the sociological monitoring evidence for that Ukraine began to acquire the properties of a dissipative structure from 1994 and keeps them up to now. There are the certain foundations to consider the presence of a similar social consciousness and a “dissipative structure” in Russia and in many other countries, republics of the former USSR.

It is worth to underline that, according to many estimates and expectations, Russia (from 1996) and Ukraine (from 1997) could already begin to withdraw from the economic crisis, which would certify of the “recovery” of countries: a weakening of the action of the features of a dissipative structure” and simultaneously the return of our social systems to the “normative” social development usual for a stereotype policy.

The inconsistency of the above prognosis and many others concerning the beginning of stable economic development on the territory of the former USSR is explained, in our opinion, by the tendency to the globalization of transformational processes, on the other hand, and the invariability of west-European countries undergoing the growth of the processes of economic recession, on the other hand. The perspective of development of nonequilibrium states in these countries becomes more and more evident (the same is true for the situation in the world on the whole). Such a conclusion seems to be quite reasonable if we take into account the following.

From the middle of the 1990s, we observe the increase in the number of expert conclusions in the scientific literature which evidence for that the economy of many countries of Europe, South-East Asia, North America, etc. reveals the negative tendencies. In this case, the range of such estimations oscillates from a simple mention of the fact of a “decrease in the economic growth rate” or “symptoms of weakening of the world currency system” to the conceptual substantiation of “inevitability of a global economic and financial catastrophe which threatens to the civilization by the death”.

For example, by forecasting the negative perspective of development of the world financial system, the famous American economist and author of many

original strategic ideas and projects (including the defense project SDI) L. LaRouche wrote at the beginning of 1995: “Under contemporary conditions, I think, the crash of the financial system is inevitable. Whether it happens next week or in a few months, in one year or somewhat later, is not significant historically. But it will happen. The current financial system is doomed, and if we will not create the counterstructure of an alternative economic system and will not bring it into action, we can become witnesses of the disappearance of three fourths of the Earth’s population during the life of one generation”.

In view of the argued validity of the above-mentioned conclusions, it is evident that they could not be thrown away or underestimated, because the matter concerns the highest value, life on the Earth. Thus, it remains one of two variants: to passively expect of the falling reduction of the Earth’s population, i.e. the global (civilizational) catastrophe, or to activate a turn of the policy to the direction of formation of alternative economies and financial systems by realizing the depth of responsibility before the humanity. In any case, the exceptionality of the situation in the world requires to mobilize a basically new thinking and a nontypical and constructive action of subjects of the world policy for prevention of the global catastrophe.

However, why do policies-practices not perceive that intellectuals offer? Can the discrepancy between Tradition and Novation which forges both Sword and Ploughshare be overcome? And finally, whether the Balkan war and numerous local and regional conflicts on the Earth were inevitable? Will the chaos of the transient period of social development, which more and more reproduces a new “Noah’s Ark” for the humanity by pushing it away to a more shaky edge of survival, remain hereafter?

Paradoxically, but the answers to the questions raised lie on surface and consist in the formula said by the leaders of Russia and China in their joint declaration of April 1997. The main thought of this document reads as “multipolarity of the world” which goes on a change to the current “bipolar” world (temporarily, it was “unipolar”). This thought looks over in numerous Western expert estimations of 1995–1996. According to them, we should expect the formation of at least five equivalent economic zones in the world in the nearest time. Though the experts name specific countries-personages among the leaders of economic development not quite clearly and unambiguously, especially in the European and Asian parts of Eurasia, they formulate rather clearly the thought as for the polycentricity of the future world order.

However, this future will come, by the thought of the English historian A. Toynbee, after “a challenge of the history” which will be outlived by the humanity before its further political, economic, and social growth will occur on a basically new foundation.

Chapter 11. Destiny of East-Slavic peoples in the post-transformational world

We consider the problem of historical destiny of East-Slavic peoples in the context of the authors' conception. The first epochal cycle of the Ukraine's history reaches the history of the Kievan Rus. The revolutionary stage of the cycle is related to the geographic and military-political mastering of the way "from Varangians to Greeks". This is the period from the reign of Oleg to the conquering campaigns of Svyatoslav (964–969 A.D.). The beginning of the involutionary period of the first epochal cycle is identified with the reception of Christianity by the Byzantine ceremony in 988, i.e. with the choice of a civilizational membership. The co-evolutionary and evolutionary phases of the first epochal cycle are related, respectively, to the Mongolian-Tatar incursion (1237–1240) and the existence of the Ukrainian lands in the composition of the Great Lithuanian principality.

The revolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle was begun by the popular-liberating revolt headed by B. Khmel'nyts'ky (1648–1654). Its involutionary period is associated with the Debris beginning of the Ruin, namely the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands in the composition of Russia and Poland. The co-evolutionary period started by attempts to implement bourgeois-democratic reforms in the Russian empire in 1861. But it was broken with the revolutionary events in 1917–1921. During all the soviet period of its history, Ukraine remained in the involutionary state of the third epochal cycle. The co-evolutionary period of the third epochal cycle began in 1991 from the disintegration of the USSR.

The hypothetical scheme of the Russian history can be represented in the following form. The revolutionary stage of the first epochal cycle is related to the political separation of the north-east principalities from the Kievan princely table. The involutionary phase of the cycle is identified with the Mongolian-Tatar incursion or with the choice of the "Eurasian" geostrategy. The co-evolutionary phase of the first epochal cycle is related to the governing of Ivan the Terrible ("Code of laws" of 1550, conquest of the town of Kazan in 1552, oprichnina in 1565–1572). The evolutionary stage of the first epochal cycle of the Russian history is associated with the territorial expansion which began from the campaign under the guidance

of Ermak in 1581. This historical period was appropriately characterized by V. Klyuchevsky: “The state swelled, but the people fell into decay”.

The revolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle began with the West-oriented reforms of Peter the Great (1698–1725). The involutionary period which started at once after the death of Peter the Great continued to the defeat of Russia in the Crimean war (1854). The co-evolutionary turn was related to the attempts of implementation of bourgeois reforms in the middle of the XIXth century, however it was interrupted by the revolution of 1917, being the beginning of the third epochal cycle. The entire soviet period is identified with the involutionary phase of development. The co-evolutionary turn occurred with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The methodology of the authors’ conception gives grounds to tell about the disparity of the cycles of development of Ukraine and Russia, on the one hand, and Byelorussia, on the other hand.

The first epochal cycle of the Byelorussian history was started in the XIth century by the political separation from Kiev. The involutionary phase of the cycle continued up to the XVIIth century. The co-evolutionary phase of the first epochal cycle was associated with the addition of the Byelorussian history to the Ukrainian and Russian in the time of activity of B. Khmel’nyts’ky. Namely at this point, we notice some distinctions. At the end of the XVIIth century, Byelorussia enters apparently into the evolutionary stage of development which was actual for it also in the soviet period of its history. In 1991, Byelorussia entered, unlike Ukraine and Russia, into the revolutionary stage of development of the second epochal cycle. We recall that the co-evolutionary stage of the cycle remains to be actual for both Russia and Ukraine.

The borders between principalities and various state formations of East-Slavic peoples varied during their entire history. We recall that the Ukrainian-Russian state border changed essentially after the events of 1917–1921. In the memorandum to the Central Committee of the Communist Party “On the regulating of the state border between UkrSSR and RSFSR”, it was noted that, during that time, the territories with 278,081 person were joined to UkrSSR and those with 478,009 persons were added to RSFSR¹⁸. However, it was only an administrative border in the soviet period.

The situation changed with the disintegration of the USSR. In August 1991, P. Voshchanov, the then press-secretary of President B. El’tsyn, declared the necessity of the revision of borders between the allied republics. This was a straight way into the hell of the civil war which would develop by the scenario worse than the Balkan one in view of the presence of nuclear weapons on the post-soviet territory. Uniquely correct was the decision to recognize the borders between the allied republics which existed *de facto* at that time to be the state ones.

After the signing of the Treaty about friendship, collaboration, and partnership between Ukraine and the Russian Federation in Kyiv in May 31, 1997,

the negotiations about the delimitation and demarcation of the state border proceeded more rapidly, which is a natural process from the viewpoint of international right.

It should be noted that the internal federal territorial structure of the Russian federation is rather instable. Solving the Chechen problem by military methods is only a palliative. However, this problem threatens the preservation of the Eurasian Russian civilizational space as the arena of interaction between different cultures and world religions.

The creation of seven federal districts in May 2000 was to guarantee the unity of the politico-legal and market Russian civilizational space. It is not a secret that there exist the strategic plans of division and capture of the Russian space. For example, Z. Brzezinski considered earnestly the perspective of creation of the Siberian republic (the Yakutiya-Sakha takes the important place in any geopolitical allocation) and the sovereignization of the moslem republics (Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Ingushetiya, and Chechnya). V. Novodvorskaya sees the guarantee for the preservation of the democratic Russia only as a national state rather than an Eurasian quasiempire, even if within the limits of the “Moscow principality”. The politico-geographic centralization of power is condemned by, for example, the Union of right forces which considers that Russia as a democratic state can exist only as a federation. However, this is already the tendency of the following evolutionary period which will come into its rights at the beginning of the epoch of Water-carrier (after 2003) if this will be assisted by the “global context”, namely the necessary “societal” changes in those countries, the leaders of the social progress, which acquired the experience of the Great Depression into the 1920–1930s.

After the constitutional referendum of 2000, Ukraine also runs in the direction of federalization. However, the solution of this problem will be related also to the transition to the evolutionary stage of the historical development. The western Ukraine’s border will become very soon the east border of the European Union. Instead of “the iron curtain” of the period of “cold war”, “a golden curtain” will appear and will separate the rich Europe from East-European “poor relatives”.

If we imagine a model of Euro-continental development in the form of ellipse, we may say about the transfer of the center-of-mass from its one part to the other. In this case, the question is the possibility of immersion of the European Union in the period of shocks at the beginning of the XXIst century which was named still by A. Toffler as a “futuroshock”¹⁹. Then development initiative will go over to East Europe. In this region, Ukraine could get most likely the present cultural-civilizational role of Belgium in the Western Europe. That is, the question is the special mission of a cultural-political center.

“The way of Russia to the maternal Europe passes through Kiev. This is not the great-power way with the new joining of Ukraine to Russia, but the penitential way of the joining of Russia to Kiev as to the center of the reviving Byzantine motion. The historical destiny of Kiev is to stand by the spiritual capital of the revived Slavonic peoples”²⁰.

One can agree with this prognostic viewpoint of the Russian politologist O. Panarin. It is evident that the renewing of the former Soviet Union in the old form is an utopian idea which loses more and more a socio-political support. However, this does not exclude but, on the contrary, foresees the search for new forms of integration. The future will show whether it will be the model of the European Union or Eurasian Union. However, it is clear that the transition of Ukraine and Russia to the final phase of the co-evolutionary stage of the universal epochal cycle foresees some complications, including those concerning spatial structures. It is possible that one will succeed to overcome the tendency of the end of the XXth century which is related to the disintegration of big socio-cultural spaces, because the process of globalization has two identically meaningful components, regionalization and integration. The relation between these tendencies will determine the destiny of East-Slavic peoples in the XXIst century.

References

1. *Zaslavskaya T. I.* On the social mechanism of post-communist transformations in Russia [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issled.* — 2002. — No. 8. — P. 5–7.
2. *Vandalkovskaya M. G.* Russia between West and East: Eurasian conception of the Russian history. — In: *Russia and World Civilization* [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000.
3. *Bashkistrova E. I., Laidinen N. V.* President: the phenomenon of the public support [in Russian] // *Obshch. Nauki i Sovr.* — 2001. — No. 9. — P. 36.
4. *Vasilenko I. A.* Political Globalistics [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 179–180.
5. *Kazintsev A. I.* New Political Myths. The Experience of Publicistic Study [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1990.
6. Russia's chance by R. Pipes [in Russian] // *Komsomol. Pravda.* — 1992. — 28 July.
7. *Romanovsky N. V.* Sociology and sociologists in front of global cataclysms [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 1999. — No. 3. — P. 6.
8. *Lepekhin V. A.* Stratification in modern Russia and a new middle class [in Russian] // *Obshch. Nauki i Sovr.* — 1998. — No. 4. — P. 32.
9. *Golenkova Z. T.* Dynamics of the socio-cultural transformation in Russia [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 1998. — No. 10. — P. 78.
10. *Zaslavskaya T. I.* The socio-cultural aspect of transformation of the Russian society [in Russian] // *ibid.* — 2001. — No. 8. — P. 4.
11. *Golenkova Z. T.* Dynamics of the socio-cultural transformation in Russia [in Russian] // *ibid.* — 1998. — No. 10. — P. 44.
12. *Argumenty i Fakty* [in Russian]. — 2002. — No. 12. — P. 16.
13. *Gundarov I. A.* Spiritual trouble and demographic catastrophe [in Russian] // *Obshch. Nauki i Sovr.* — 2001. — No. 5. — P. 58.
14. *Baranov A. V.* On some factors of the populational crisis [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 2000. — No. 7. — P. 116.
15. *Yakovets Yu. V.* Globalization and Interaction of Civilizations [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 346.
16. *Handelsblatt.* — 2001. — 5 April.
17. *Süddeutsche Zeitung.* — 1998. — 17 August.
18. *Sergüchuk V.* Ethnic Borders and Ukraine's State Border [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2000. — P. 21.
19. *Toffler A.* Future Shock. — London, 1970.
20. *Panarin A. S.* Politology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999.

Section III

World in the net of globalization

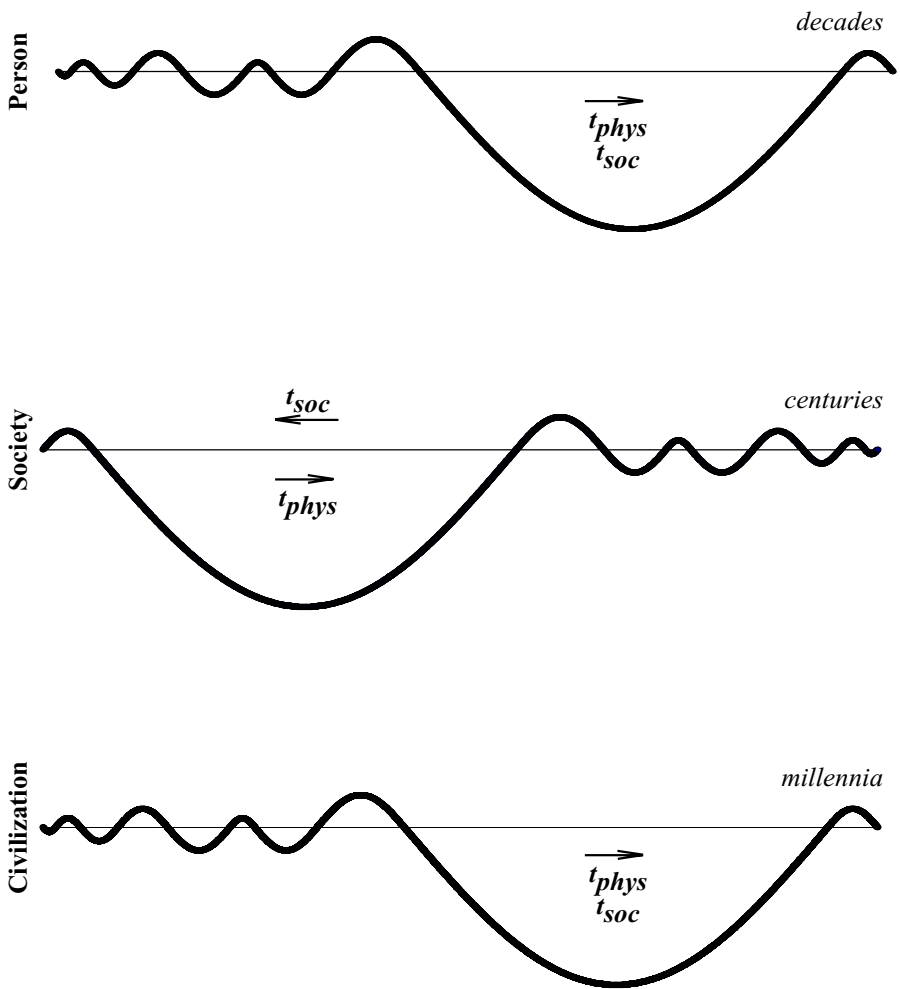


Fig. 3. Epochal cycles of development of a Person, a Society, and a Civilization

t_{phys} — physical time
 t_{soc} — social time

Chapter 12. Global aspect of socio-historical development

One of the prominent Russian scientists in the field of globalistics M. Cheshkov stated that “globalistics doesn’t determine its subject and it blurs between two opposite tendencies such as fragmentation of knowledge (the development of disciplinarily different methods of globalization) and infinite expansion (the identification with the humanity’s history). Besides of this, “the question remains to be open about the process of globalization — whether it includes the alternatives and variants or it is imperative; whether this process leads to the creation of a uniform world integrity or it includes the possibility of different identities and different components of the humanity; whether this process is a result of the latest changes in industry, informatics, and culture or it has its own historical roots and historical precedents”. The subject of globalistics covers the world as a whole creation and it is liable to be studied by common socio-historical science¹. But, as another Russian scientist Yu. Shishkov notes, “We have to become ripe for the formation of over-disciplinary globalistics”².

The conceptual apparatus and interdisciplinary methodology of the synthetic science of globalistics are being formed now. This term itself is connected with the “globe”, i.e., with the conventional model on a reduced planetary scale. Usually the word “global” means “including all the Earth”, “common”.

The scientific term “global” in its modern sense appeared in Oxford dictionary in 1961. Little by little, the field of global researches became increasingly popular. Before the middle of the 1980s, about 1600 editions which are related to the global problems in various ways were published in 55 different languages.

After the disintegration of the USSR and due to the formation of united global economic system, which is not separated by the socio-economic and ideological criteria, the notion of “globalization” became, at the same time, the conjuration for some people and the damnation for another.

As M. Cheshkov noted rightly, the polarization of social thought in the estimates of globalization is so significant that it prejudices the possibility of a common theoretical vision of globalization “without anger and passion”, as the Romans said.

Global and common. Let us begin the analysis from the conceptual apparatus, because if people explain exactly what they mean under certain terms, then the humanity can get rid of, at least, a half of its mistakes.

Let us examine the basic thesaurus of globalistics. We can pick out impartially such determinant notions: “globalization — internationalization”, “autonomization — integration”, “localization — regionalization”, “centralization — municipalization”, “internationalization — civilization — globalization”.

We consider *internationalization* and *globalization* as the notions which are mutually complementary. The socio-historical development in the period of internationalization is extensive and it is intensive, on the contrary, under the conditions of globalization.

Traditionally, the internationalization means a synonym of the notion “between nations”. The globalization can be understood as the highest step of internationalization. In fact, the contacts between the nations on the scale of a given historical period and corresponding oikumene always took place, another question is about its character, forms, and motive forces.

When we say about the modern period, we have to bear in mind that all socio-historical processes have accelerated greatly because of the newest achievements of the scientific-technical revolution. Thus, it isn’t accidental that the most capacious characteristic of the “global” information-communication space is the Internet. On the other hand, “global” is only a component of the notion of “common”, if it is comprehended in the sense of “all-unity” by V. Solov’ev.

Autonomization and *integration* is another couple of important notions. The term “autonomous” means, as a rule, a self-governed independent subject. The phenomenological sense of “integration” consists in joining some parts or elements into the whole. For example, the modern stage of the European integration provides the joining of efforts of the subjects with the purpose of solving the common tasks of development. The activity of the European Union also is the example of the harmonious interaction between “autonomization” and “integration” through the principle of subsidiarity, in other words through the resigning of the power to the level that is able to solve the stated problem. But, in the context of globalization, the autonomization can mean the keeping aloof from the “main line” of development with the aim of preservation of a national or religious specificity. In such a sense, “autonomization” is an alternative to integration.

In our opinion, the notions “*localization — regionalization*” are also mutually complementary. Local or native means limited, spread not far from a given place. Nevertheless, the regional is defined as something united by territorial features; i.e., we understand the regionalization as the space-time continuum of socio-historical development. The globalization spreads strongly on the regional level, at first in the form of various economic and political unions. This process is also connected with the notion of “glocalization” which means the participation only in such global integrational processes which suit the national interests.

The notions “*centralization — municipalization*” are mutually exclusive. The centralization means a concentration, the joining of something in one center, in one place, or in one’s hands. The centralism means, in turn, the system of management or organization in which the local administration submits to the central authorities. In the context of the globalization discourse, the centralization can mean the development of the tendency to concentrate the political and economic power in the hands of leading political forces (for example, the states of “Great seven”) or such economic favorites as transnational corporations. The peculiar form of centralization is the “undercover” or future legal “world government”.

On the other hand, “municipalization” is alternative to centralization. It is connected with the development of self-governing communities and is typical, at first, of Europe starting from the time of ancient city-states. Due to municipalization, a subject, being the “cosmopolitan” which means a citizen of the universe, can stay in the integral social structure of its municipia.

At last, “*internationalization — civilization — globalization*” is the important combination of notions. A local civilization means, as a rule, a part of the world civilizational space which includes a group of nations (ethnoses, states), which are noted by the community of mental (cultural, ethnical, religious) values, historical destiny, economic and geopolitical interests³.

As Yu. Yakovets noted, in the first half of the XXIst century, the interaction of civilizations of the fourth generation against the background of the accelerated processes of globalization and formation of the post-industrial society through the chain of crises becomes the axial problem which expresses the main contradiction of the epoch.

The “civilized society” in the socio-cultural sense means the achievement of some integrity in the process of socio-historical development due to the unity of the religion, language, and cultural traditions.

In turn, the notion of “civilization” is most associated both with the extensive period of socio-historical development under the conditions of the internationalization and with the intensive period in the process of globalization.

For the study of the specificity of the modern period of the transition from the internationalization to the globalization, it is basically important to define how new this process is.

Origins of globalization. Thus, let's try to answer the question: has the globalization the historical roots and precedents? Two opposite thoughts have already naturally formed. Some scientists consider the modern stage of the globalization as an unexampled unique phenomenon which is connected only with the development of the newest information technologies and the formation of a “new economy” on their base⁴.

We can make common cause with the group of scientists who think that at least the internationalization (as a precursor of the modern globalization) has enough deep historical roots. Indeed, from the so-called “axial time” of the world history, the humanity is connected closely by community of the development of a person with the peculiar features of its formation in various civilization organisms. If you consider the historical process as a progressive cyclic movement along the evolution spiral, we can understand the globalization as one more step along the Ascension way of the humanity to the spiritual altitudes of self-perfection.

From the revelation of America by C. Columbus (1492), it becomes stronger the tendency to a dialogue (not always equitable and righteous morally) between the Eastern (European) civilization and other civilizations which had turned out gradually under the colonial control and had become the metropolis' periphery (really, the activity of the East-Indian Company and others had reached the global dimension).

The epoch opened for the world history by the Great French bourgeois revolution and the Independence war in the USA (the end of the XVIIIth century) is connected with the formation of the structure of an industrial society. The General European revolution of 1848–49 and revolutions in Russia (1905–1917), China (1949), Cuba (1959), and Nicaragua (1979) solved the similar tasks. But, in contrast to the transatlantic industrial area, the formation of an industrial society in civilizations more retarded from the Euro-centric viewpoint took place on the “socialist base”.

The cyclic mechanism of economic globalization has been created by the industrial revolution. Thus, we can consider K. Marx as one of the first globalists, because he proclaimed, in essence, the slogan of the socio-political globalization, “Proletarians of all countries, unite!”, in “Manifesto of Communist party”⁵.

In the political context, the first global integration cycle (middle of the XIXth century — 1914) is connected with the blooming period of the British Empire. On the crest of the first wave of globalization, the world economy

was formed as a holistic system⁶. The development of private and state monopolies with their extensive methods of management stimulated the imperial pride and accelerated the struggle for the control over the world market.

Two world wars (1914–1918 and 1939–1945) which can be considered as two stages of one great world war became the confirmation of the strengthening of global tendencies in the political sphere (the creation of the League of Nations and, later, the United Nations Organization). August 1945, when the Americans bombarded Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atomic bombs, is positioned as a symbolic Rubicon of the appearance of the modern global human community.

In this historical period, the USSR which had left “the high road” of development of the world civilization became a real threat for the Western world. First, it was because of the ideological orientation toward the priority of a world revolution (the “globalization tendency” appeared again). Before the dissolution of such headquarters of blowing “the world revolution conflagration” as Comintern and before the Gorbachev’s “new thinking”, the “proletarian internationalism” stayed the main weapon of the Soviet foreign policy. Secondly, the existence of the first socialist state in the world (let’s disengage ourselves from the definitions of the Soviet socialism) was a real alternative to the capitalist system. Thus, two antipode ways of global development existed actually 70 years (1917–1987) before the peak of “reconstruction”, and this fact corresponded to the bipolar system of international relations.

Between the First and Second world wars, the Great Depression (1929–1934) had become the outstanding phenomenon. We think that namely this period was the starting point of the “new wave” of the transformation from the industrial period of world development to the post-industrial one.

Before our eyes, the old technological social model is transforming into the anthropocentric one, which opens a space for the innovative activity of a person (information technologies and genetic engineering).

From the 1970s, the determining factors of the globalization became the following:

- demographic-ecological factors (demographic explosion which stimulated the discussion about the “limits of growth”);
- globalization of the technosphere (the scientific-technical revolution created the preconditions for the formation of a new post-industrial society);
- economic globalization;
- geopolitical globalization;
- socio-cultural globalization⁷.

The rebirth of the global capitalism became a consequence of the break-up of the USSR. Respectively, the process of globalization has turned to a qualitatively new direction. As P. Sztompka wrote, now we can tell

about the global structure of political, economic, and cultural relations which spread beyond all the traditional borders and connect the separate societies into a united system. We were not able to tell about such an interpretation of the humanity even in the near past. This ontological change reflects in the epistemologic status of sociology. Sociology becomes possible as the sociology of the world community⁸.

From the viewpoint of the authors' concept of universal epochal cycle, the humanity endures the "co-evolutionary" crisis of development of the eighth epochal cycle on the global level. The revolutionary phase of this cycle goes back to the period of the Independence war in the USA (1774) and French bourgeois revolution (1789–1794) which opens a perspective for the modern global development related to the end of the epoch of Modern. The involutionary period of this cycle (the second half of the XIXth century — the first half of the XXth century) as a whole is concerned with establishment of the industrial basis of the civilization. In its Western and Eastern variants, this period is related, respectively, to the formalization of the structure of the "classical bourgeois society" and of the "classical socialist society". The Great Depression became the sign event which opens the co-evolutionary type of transition processes.

In the Soviet scope, the involutionary period is characterized by the opposition between the conservatives and dissidents. In the West, the conflict between the neo-conservatives and left radicals (1968) took place in the evolutionary period. In our country, the 1960s were a period after the revolution. But, in the West, they were a period after the Great depression.

At the beginning of the third millennium, the humanity enters a new evolutionary stage of its development. We may say that the stage of industrial civilization is completed. Thus, we think that globalization and internationalization are mutually complementary processes which develop in social and historical sense with the interval about one cycle.

Globalization and world economics. From the viewpoint of the modern tendencies, these notions become synonyms, in fact. In particular, the course of "world economics" is studied in colleges. However, the situation is changed if the "global economy" means only the "new economy" which is a creation of information technologies⁹.

The conceptual apparatus of the economics needs an essentially more precise definition. We can say about the "global market" and "world trade", about the new meaning of the terms "micro-" and "macro-economy", "economic integration", "transnational corporation", etc. It is generally recognized that that the globalization process achieves a rapid rate just in the economic field. But, we have no exact idea up to now whether this economic globalization is virtual .

Of course, somebody can consider the economic aspects of the globalization from the anti-globalist position (“Marginals of all the countries, globalize!”). Some analysts say about the “globalization myths” including the myth that globalization opens a new stage in the history of world economy’s development, is an irreversible process, and leads to an unexampled integration of the national economies (the gap between the most reach and most poor national economies keeps and increases); the myth about the creation of a worldwide market and about blurring the national borders (the national and enough closed markets are formed); the myth about a decrease of the state’s interference with the economy (under overcoming a crisis, the total regulation stays actual); the myth about the global market of capitals (the finances are concentrated on one pole — the pole of riches)¹⁰.

Others as, for example, G. Soros, are imbued with the problems of the ultra-liberal values of the global economy and say about “the crisis of the world capitalism”¹¹.

Let’s try to separate grains and empty glume and consider the development of the global economy without anger and passion.

We can say that the structure of the global economy is relevantly represented by geoeconomy which becomes gradually the modern geopolitics¹². The regional economic blocks are formed intensively. The European Union now is the most powerful and advanced organization. It goes out to a qualitatively new stage of economic integration which is concerned with a functioning of the Monetary Union. But the entrance of new poorer members can break the harmonicity and homogeneity of the EU’s socio-economic development.

The Pan-American free trade zone which spreads out from Alaska up to Terra del Fuego promises to be of the same power. In this integration group, the American economy is a structure-forming element. In general, namely the transnational companies (TNC) which have a genetic bond with the USA stay the leaders of the world economy, by passing ahead whole countries by gross indices. The American TNC are still confidently passing ahead the European ones.

Exxon-Mobil	233
Wall March Storis	191
General Motors	185
Ford Motor	170

*Largest companies of the USA (2000)
and their gross incomes (bln USD)¹³*

Daimler-Chrysler (Germany)	162.4
British Petroleum (GB)	155.8
TotalFina Elf Aquitaine (France)	114.6
Axa (France)	100.4
Royal Dutch-Shell (Netherlands)	97.1

*Largest companies of the EC (2000)
and their gross incomes (bln euro)¹⁴*

In general, we can ascertain that, by the gross amounts of products, the economic potentials of the European Union and Pan-American free trade zone are approximately equal.

Trading volumes in 2000 are the following: NAFTA — 540 billion US dollars, MERCOSUR — 18 billion US dollars, Andean pact (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador) — 5 billion US dollars¹⁵.

But, the permanent trade antagonisms between the EU and the USA are the obstacles on the path to the formation of a transatlantic free trade zone between the EU and Pan-American area.

The regional integration tendencies are a regular phenomenon in other economic areas as well. The integration processes become more rapid in the countries which are on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. The South-Asian Association of regional cooperation (SAARC) which includes India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Maldives acts since December 1985. The Association of regional cooperation of Indian Ocean countries (APCIO) was created in March 1997¹⁶.

Thus, there appeared the sub-regional integration community which unites the states of different civilizational affiliation. They include: Europeanized Australia, Hinduist-Buddhist India and Sri Lanka; Moslem Kenya, Mauritius, Malaysia, Indonesia, Yemen, and Oman; Confucian Singapore and Japan; African Republic of South Africa, Mozambique, Tanzania, Madagascar.

The similar processes develop in the field of subregional cooperation between the Pacific states. In 1967, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma create the Association of the cooperation of the states of South-Eastern Asia (ASEAN). The Asian economic crisis in 1997 weakened the “Asian tigers” severely, but it cannot unhorse them in the “rodeo” of the global economy. However, as a result of these events and the entrance of the poorest states of the former “socialist orientation”, the process

of deepening the economic integration of ASEAN member-states became slower.

The Pacific subregional economic community was created in 1991 in the form of Asian-Pacific economic cooperation (APEC) which united, in a single inter-civilization communication structure, such countries as: the USA (the volume of GDP — 9299 billion US dollars), Australia (394), Brunei (5), Hong Kong (159 in 1991), Indonesia (143), Canada (644), China (997 in 1991), Malaysia (79), Mexico (483 in 1993), South Korea (395), New Zealand (52), Singapore (85), Taiwan (288 in 1991), Thailand (126), Philippines (77), Chile (68 in 1994), Japan (4350), Russia (185), Vietnam (28), Peru (52 in 1997), Papua — New Guinea (4)¹⁷.

On the area of the former USSR since 1991 when the Commonwealth of Independent States was created, the integration processes are launched out in various planes. The “interest clubs” are forming: on the one side — The Eurasian economic community, on the other — the association of GUUAM. But in general, all of them “are sick” with the same problems as the CIS. Therefore it is difficult to create a free trade zone in one of the named structures as well as in the CIS as a whole.

Africa stays a “stepdaughter” of the civilization. The five greatest TNC have the sales volume larger than that of the total GDP of the African and Near-East countries¹⁸.

Thus, in the 1990s, the USA stays the leader of the world economy. The desynchronization of regional economic cycles (the low raw-material costs and high dollar rate) became the basic cause of the American phenomenon of the extremely long period of economic prosperity¹⁹. Being armed by the modern information technologies, the USA dominate, in fact, in the priority fields of development in the “new economy”.

The expansion of the Internet happened by huge strides. In 1991, there were 213 servers in the whole world, in 1996 — already 12,881,000. In 1998, President of the USA of that period B. Clinton cancelled tax and custom limitations for the net trade. In that period, more than 80 % of Internet users lived in the USA.

At the same time, the information technologies on the modern step of the globalization promote the stratification of the humanity, because of different financial possibilities of the rich and poor countries. The deeper separation occurs between the countries based on the information-innovation economy and those where nobody yet thinks about it.

In April 2000, the shares of “Internet-economy” began to fall. Exchange analysts told about the regular explosion of “empty vessel” of the shares of the information sector of the world economy, whose costs were raised speculatively too high.

The development of this tendency confirmed that we mustn't exaggerate the degree of autonomy and the independence of the information economy from its industrial, first of all, energy basis.

We can ascertain with confidence that the final "victory" of the post-industrial structure of the economy will not be possible until the global computer systems need the traditional energy sources which are produced on the base of industrial technologies. We say about the mining of natural energy-carriers such as oil and gas which stay the main sources of energy. Thus, the energy concerns still are the powerful global economic players²⁰.

Exxon-Mobil	202.4
Royal Dutch-Shell	129.6
British Petroleum-Amoco	108.7
Total Petrofina	51.4
Texaco	46.7

Oil extraction volume (1997) outside OPEC (bln ton)²⁰

In view of such a situation on the international oil market, the international oil concern OPEC cannot establish a control over it as a monopolist. Due to this fact, the competition between the oil producing companies for sales markets is preserved.

The demand for natural gas increased. In 1999, 520 billion cubic meters of gas went on sale on the world market, the part of Russia was 35 %, Canada — 16 %, Algeria — 10 %, Norway — 9 %, Indonesia — 7 %, the Netherlands — 6 %, Malaysia — 4 %, Turkmenistan — 2 %, Australia — 2 %, and Brunei — 2 %²¹.

We can see that the macroeconomic indices of the leading information concerns haven't yet reached the level of the leading "traditional" concerns, with which only "Microsoft" could be compared before the antimonopoly trials.

Time Warner (USA)	26.8
Walt Disney (USA)	23.0
Viacom CBS (USA)	18.9
Bertelsmann (Germany)	14.8

Market's volume (1999) of the leading world concerns (bln USD)²²

Thus, we say about the gradual transition from the geocentric mode of life support with the usage of nonrenewable resources to the anthropocentric one,

that is, on the base of natural and artificial resources with the help of intellectual gifts and keeping the ecological balance.

In the first half of 2001 at first time from 1974, the recession cycles of the American and Japan economies were synchronized. This creates the serious problems for the modern stage of development of the world economy, and therefore it is rumoured about the crisis of the globalization. But, apparently, this is only a temporary retreat before a new spurt forward. The tendency of the development of the World Trade Organization joining more than 140 states with the aim of stepwise liberalization of the world trade evidences for this fact.

The negotiations about the entrance into WTO with different levels of success are made by Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, China, Georgia, Jordan, Cambodia, Kazakhstan, Croatia (entered in 2000), Laos, Lebanon, Lithuania (entered in 2001), Macedonia, Nepal, Oman, Moldova (entered in 2001), Russia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Seychelles, Sudan, Taiwan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, Vietnam, Byelorussia, and Yugoslavia. Only such countries as Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Bahamas, Bhutan, Eritrea, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, Cabo-Verde, Comoro Islands, Liberia, Libya, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Monaco, Nauru, KPDR, Palau, San Marino, San Thome and Principe, Somalia, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Vatican have no intention to enter into WTO²³.

So, we have analyzed the influence of the global aspect of socio-historical development on the macroeconomic level upon the national economies and upon the main subjects of the globalization — the transnational concerns. A person is a subject (such persons as B. Gates and G. Soros make the active influence on the process of the globalization) and, at the same time, an object which undergoes the influence of globalization tendencies both in the economic and political fields.

Global policy in the political globalistics. The notion of “global policy” takes the material form in the second half of the XXth century, when international relations engaged in their sphere of influence, in fact, all the countries. At present, the national states stay the main subjects of international relations, but it is increasingly difficult for them to take into account the increasing role of supernational associations, transnational corporations, and various international organizations. Now we are witnesses of the economic integration which develops intensively and induces inevitably certain forms of global political unions and associations.

S. Telbott, the former adviser of the ex-President of the USA B. Clinton, has told yet in the middle of the 1990s about “end of the foreign policy and birth of the world policy”²⁴. Here, as in the field of the global economy, the USA are the exclusive leader. The USA had no time to strengthen the victory in

the first cold war, but they are hurry to begin and finish quickly the second one in order to establish their senior global role without a real “hot war”²⁵. The G. Bush’s administration tries to do it through the project of national antimissile defense, which has to solve the task of ensuring the global strategic military-political and technological advantages of the USA and to stimulate the American economy.

Now, as S. Huntington emphasized, the modern system of international relations is a hybrid and combines the unipolarity and multipolarity; it is reigned over by one superstate and few leading states. The USA can block personally the actions of one or several regional states, but they cannot solve key international problems without the support of the other leading world states²⁶.

The future “multipolar” system of international relations is formed also by the group of states with the regional level of influence. The evidence for this is the joining of Moslem states such as Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey, Egypt, Nigeria in 1998 into the “developing eight” which is, in fact, the counterbalance to the “eight” of leading industrial countries. Really, the states which try to make such an alternative are separated by the oppositions (Bangladesh waged the independence war against Pakistan in 1971; Turkey as a civilizationally border country, which is the member of the NATO and aspires to the EU, has regional problems with Iran; Egypt and Nigeria compete in the leadership on the African continent) and haven’t yet formed the constructive integration program of actions²⁷.

Under the conditions of political globalization, the Western or transatlantic world also finds itself before the challenge of own unsolved problems. The European Union pushes the political process on the super-national level, and this tendency poses sharply the problem to ensure the democratic standards of social life. Since the time of the Great French revolution (1789–1794), namely a national state in the dialectic interaction with the structures of the civil society born in Europe creates the guarantees for the observance of human rights. Now, as F. Fukuyama noted, “the globalization competes with the liberal democracy”²⁸.

The formation of joined regional labour markets and the search for better life stimulate the significant streams of immigrants, which reminds more and more the times of the Great resettlement of nations at the beginning of the Christian era. At the beginning of the XXIst century, the European Union finds itself in the historical role of the Western Roman empire at the beginning of the previous millennium, when the Barbarian tribes stayed in front of the gate of the highly developed civilization and were ready to dissolve in this structure and to add new features to it. In such a situation, we can prejudice the necessity

of expansion of the democratic process, the creation of a transparent routine of decision-making, and extension of the rights of citizens.

The USA which refuse urgently to transfer even a part of national sovereignty to international structures (we recall the denial of transferring the American troops under the command of UN peace-makers) also have problems in the home policy. The elections of the 43rd President of the USA showed the imperfection of the nominally democratic election system of the past epoch under the conditions of political processes in the post-industrial society.

The formation of a new system of corporate responsibility in the globalization epoch is yet on the initial stage. The home policy of “political correctness” in the developed countries isn’t, unfortunately, the general standard on the international arena.

On the boundary of the XXIth century, we observe the activation of the arc of instability from Balkans through the Caucasus, the Near-East to the South and South-Eastern Asia. Under the present historical conditions, the threat of collision of the civilizations becomes the problem of comprehensive choice of an answer to the challenge of other cultures by political leaders and elites²⁹.

Mirages of the socio-cultural globalization. In the global dialogue of civilizations, the political partnership is always complicated by socio-cultural problems; the integrity and uniqueness of every civilization put the natural barriers on the way to a dialogue³⁰. The results of the socio-cultural development which are variegated by their contrasts as never before become one more obstacle.

It seems that the advance-guard countries and their nations have quite felt the temptations of the epoch of a post-industrial civilization which is being born, when knowledge and information became the main economic factors. At the same time, the technological distance and, as a result, the socio-cultural one between the advance-guard and the periphery of this new global oikumene are kept and even increased. Thus, the new contradictions, which go beyond the frames of the former ideas of socio-class differences, are generated.

The examples of such contradictions are the conflicts between the aims and methods of the industrial and post-industrial epochs of social development, in particular, the conflicts between their strategies (the post-industrial economic strategy whose generator became the information-innovation sector of the economy and the traditional extensive-industrial one) and technologies which generate the discussions about the “greenhouse effect” and “deindustrialization of the inefficient national economic systems”. The increasing contradictions between the poles of wealth and poverty in the globalizing world also have their foundations.

The globalization process determines the appearance of new organizational forms of the social processes and the new valuable reference points. The way of “social modernism” and internationalization of the new social possibilities, which was started by the Great French revolution, was directed to make the destiny of the majority of nations to be universal (ideal). In this paradigm, the national development of countries was directed toward the formation of a united economic, political, and cultural space with the title nation at the head. The stability of a social system was ensured by the corresponding moral imperative. This internationalist content of the national idea provided, on the whole, the ability of nations to survive. In this case, no problems arise, as a rule, with the national-cultural self-identification of nations.

The situation has been basically changed from the second half of the XXth century, when the supernational integration structures like the European Union became to be intensively formed. A bright confirmation of this fact is the public discussion that takes place now in the countries-members of the EU about the destiny of democracy under conditions of smearing the national sovereignty and transferring the power from the national authorities to the supernational ones. Though the majority of the European nations and their elites considers the formation of the United States of Europe as an utopia, the societal socio-cultural borders will be preserved for a long time even in the Europe, being hypothetically joined on the political basis, on the base of mentality as the historically conditioned specificity of thoughts of the representatives of various countries and cultures.

In the Euro-transatlantic community, a person is increasingly separated from the socium and creates, with the help of innovative communication systems, the own Cosmos which goes beyond the limits of national states. At the same time, an individual becomes the main producer of intellectual information and increasingly pretends to a positioning independent of the state and a social group in the world space. As a result, the interests of an autonomizing person conflict immanently with the more traditional interests and values which are consolidated in the nation’s format.

Under conditions of the globalization which becomes apparent in the modern economic, political, and culture-information transformations and social changes in the world, the attitude to the minority groups becomes an indicator of the ability of various states to adapt to the challenges of the increasing immigration activity of non-European peoples. Their migration into Europe which has the features of a demographic crisis is not only an important factor of the home policy in each individual country of the European Union, but also determines the abilities of competitiveness of those countries on the modern stage of socio-cultural development.

The most complicated problem in the discourse of globalistics is that of the preservation of a religious and national identity, whose center is occupied by the perspective of socio-cultural unification of modern local civilizations. The majority of scientists recognize that, namely in the mental sphere, the process of globalization develops most slowly. Moreover, it is no mere chance. The socio-cultural sphere as a DNA molecule keeps the genetic basis of originality and vital capacity of civilizations. Of course, we can tell about the fact that the intense globalization processes lead to the unification like a rapid gender unification, when the differences between the social functions of sexes are smoothed, and somewhat medium-sexual “it” is formed.

The expansion of mass culture (to be more exact, the mass lack of culture) hasn’t yet resulted in the mutation of the mental code of immanent development of the leading local civilizations. Some of them react on this aggressive process with the outbreaks of the fundamentalism which is expressed in the extreme form by the “Taliban” movement’s government in Afghanistan. The Christianity world, as a whole, becomes reconciled to the mass culture which increasingly becomes the object of idolatry. In this fact, the Moslems see the real return to heathenism, so the Islam pretends to be the single true religion which can keep the monotheistic perspective for the humanity. For this very reason, the unification of world religions on the axiological-valuable level seems to be impossible this time.

Of course, while the natural geographic, landscape, and climatic differences remain, the total unification in the foreseeable future will not threaten to the local civilizations and corresponding world religions. However, it is probable that this tendency will be strengthened.

Chapter 13. Internationalization and real globalization

As was emphasized in the previous chapter, the contemporary science, globalistics, along with the process of globalization which is studied by it are practically on the initial stage of development. It is natural that no rather clear comprehension of this complicated social phenomenon including its characteristic signs and territorial and other specific features has been yet formed. Moreover, the question of combination (“interference”) of general tendencies of the globalization and separate political, economic, and cultural-historical peculiarities of the development of individual and collective members of the world community is poorly studied in practice.

In the scientific literature devoted to the given problems, the disagreement concerning the character and tendencies of the globalization and the relation of such key notions as internationalization, universalization, modern, and post-modern is preserved on the whole. Dominant, one may say, become the fashionable stylistic trends of the academical and propagandistic critics of the globalization in the framework of the concepts of various approaches which are antiglobalistic in their essence³¹.

In this case, else open remain the questions of interrelation between internationalization and globalization in the framework of the socio-temporal coordinates “modern — post-modern”.

However, in view of the nonuniformity of development of the modernist and post-modernist tendencies including those in various spheres of social life, the mentioned problem seems to be more complicated methodologically. On the whole, we may note that it is rightful to say only about the threshold of post-modern on the contemporary stage of the socio-historical development, which finds its expression in the sphere of socio-humanitarian knowledge and some other spheres of social life.

On the global scale, the post-modern tendencies seem to be a social practice of the remote future, because the experience of the world history testifies to that the socio-historical time of the start of modern is different for every local civilization.

For example, as the start of modern of the local west-European civilization, we may consider the middle of the XIXth century (the period of European revolutions of 1848–1849). Whereas for the local east-Slavic civilization and the Tao-Confucian or Chinese one, these starts are, respectively, the beginning of the XXth century (the revolutions of 1905–1917) and the middle of the XXth century (1949). A similar pattern, at least in that concerning the socio-historical sequence of key events, is observed on the whole in the developing period “after contemporaneity”.

By using our socio-historical model of universal epochal cycle, we can refine the quite significant theoretical and prognostic questions related to this trend. In particular, this concerns the definition of the period of the prehistory of globalization.

By generalizing various historical conceptions, the founder of the theory of “world-system”, I. Wallerstein, considered the XIV–XVth centuries as the historical epoch of the origin of the modern capitalist world-system. This happened due to the coincidence of many unique conditions related to the start of great geographic discoveries and to the weakening of the universal empires of the past such as Chinese and Indian ones. A remarkable role was played by the confrontation (the Thirty Years’ wars) of the Catholics and Protestants in West Europe which did not allow one to create a single rather universal geopolitical force able to construct a system of imperial domination. The matter was saved by the fact that two empires, the Russian and Ottoman ones, digressed from the total expansion in Europe due to the fight between themselves. Therefore, the west-Europeans received a unique possibility to create a capitalist world-system constructed on the principles and mechanisms of colonial dependence³².

Universalization became an “ancestral” feature of the new capitalist world-system. For the first time in the history, the tendency mentioned above reveals itself in the development of new universal and, first of all, socio-economic relations connected with the beginning of formation of the world market and a truly global structure of causal dependences in the world history rather than in the existence of universal ancient empires such as the Assyrian, Persian, Roman, Chinese, and Babylonian ones.

Thus, the created European colonial system became, in fact, a precursor of the current historical situation with existence of the richest part of the global civilization, the so-called “golden billion”, and two thirds of destitute peoples living mainly in the system of local marginal civilizations.

Being accumulated at the period of colonialism, the advantages of economic capitalization and political structurization of the west-European public systems stimulated the formation of the ideology of “progress” and the monopoly

of west peoples on the contemporaneity, “modern”. The USA, whose development began as if from “a blank sheet” of the history on lands “liberated” from the red-skinned and free from the traditions of the “old” feudal regime which opposed considerably to the formation of new tendencies in Europe, became a bright carrier of new traditions. Probably, this explains the pioneer character of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution occurred in the period of the War of Independence of the USA (1775–1783) which forestalled considerably the European bourgeois-democratic revolutions (1848–1849) but failed to obscure the “glory” of the Great French revolution (1789–1794) which became a symbol of the new historical time.

On the whole, the XIXth century preserved the idea of “universality of the historical progress” and advanced the thought that the today’s life of the most “developed” peoples represents the tomorrow’s life of “backward” peoples. These ideologems entered the philosophical system of A. Comte and K. Marx and really defined the “diagnosis of time” during the whole XXth century. Caught by east local civilizations, they along with the ideas of the Great French revolution supplemented considerably the cultural space of modernization by the experience of construction of the world system of socialism.

Having come out of the bowels of the epoch of Enlightenment and fundamental discoveries and having experienced capitalism and socialism, universal education, and industrialization of countries, modernization changes radically the system of international relations by creating supernational international organizations. In addition, it has prepared the modern world attitude of a person and his/her idea of the spatio-temporal restrictions of the universal and international communication. Formed under conditions of the local west-European civilization, the new post-modern thinking contradicts more and more actively the traditional modern world outlook of the majority of the world population. In the world public opinion, this generates the sensation of expansion of the modern international policy (its west-oriented essence) which is mainly affected by the local west-European (rather American) civilization. In our viewpoint, the expectation of conflictless existence of the new scientific-technical means accessible to the humanity and the traditionally old relations (political, economic, and cultural) universal by their nature is hardly perspective on the whole.

The phenomenon of wars acquires a new socio-historical sense with the completion of the epoch of modern. Having appeared in the epoch of formation of the statehood as a means of defence of states in the interstate relations, wars are declared more and more frequently by politicians as a factor and an “engine of social progress” under conditions of the formation of the global community. At the same time, wars are transformed more and more distinctly (at least,

by their socio-psychological content) from interstate wars to civil ones which are slightly different from tribal fights to sort things out. We may say that wars acquire the global character due to the realization of the international character of the terminating socio-historical epoch and play the role of a distinctive catalyst of the world process ensuring the accelerating modernization and the going out of the “limits of the contemporaneity” for all peoples and local civilizations. In this sense, the XXth century is marked by three world wars, two “hot” and one “cold” ones.

Thus, in the paradigm of achievement of the limits of “modernization”, East got the right to become West, but not vice versa. However, by beginning from the revelations of representatives of the Rome club made in the middle of the 1970s, it becomes clear that the “developing world” should not theoretically reach the life standard of developed countries of West, because this can lead to the economic, ecological, and other “limits of growth”. Therefore, on the final stage of the “cold war”, the leading states of West began to actually refuse the idea of a further “universalization of the historical process” cognized as an ideal of the Enlightenment connected with equal initial conditions of development for all states rather than the expansion of the American mass culture on the global total scale. Now, the American social thinkers such as S. Huntington began to introduce the idea of uniqueness of the western historical way, rather than the idea of universality, into the public consciousness.

Monopolization of the technologies defining the rate of scientific-technical progress by West erodes the idea of “universality of the progress”. The last becomes more and more a prerogative of the Euro-Atlantic area of the global civilization through the system of patents and the tariffs of the World Trade Organization under the armed defence of NATO.

Thus, the rates of the process of universalization in a number of countries and regions of the world became dependent in many aspects on the possibility for the national political elites of these countries to take participation with equal rights in affairs of the World Community. By considering the internationalization as a final stage of the universalization, it is rightful now to say only about the threshold of “globalization” whose features and peculiarities reveal themselves completely only in the remote future with development of the evolutionary period of the universal epochal cycle in the history of development of the Humanity.

From the viewpoint of the approach developed by the authors, the current “universal state” (by the definition of Z. Brzezinski), the USA, finds itself in the extremely complicated situation when the instrumental possibilities granted by scientific-technical progress exceed its cultural limiters, and the sensation of omnipotence and permissiveness begins to strengthen with growth

of the geopolitical ambitions. Moreover, the idea of the world as an inexhaustible source of resources and an object of subjugation is formed. The euphoria of success creates the impatient expectation of new victories. The closeness of desired goals increases the emotional stress but decreases the dimensionality of consciousness in inverse proportion and diminishes the cognitive complexity of a political subject. The thinking of the last becomes more primitive, and the problem situations are estimated by a subject in an oversimplified manner. Whereas the problem of preservation of the social system becomes, on the contrary, more complicated objectively with growth of technological capabilities³³.

For the USA, the situation becomes still more complicated because the globalization as a new stage of the world development accelerates significantly the internationalization of all spheres of public life³⁴, which stimulates the “maturation” (economic, political, and cultural) of the industrial phase of development of the countries of the “third world”. The latter are ready to enlarge the amount of participants of the world community being globalized. All this makes the world to be extremely unstable and unpredictable. On the other hand, by virtue of the processes of self-regulation, which are typical of the social nature, and its relative stability, one may say that the present tendency to a growth in the amount of countries-members of the post-modern (evolutionary) world will certainly lead to the polar tendency, the appearance of a modern (involutionary) world. In this sense, the contemporary stage of the prehistory of “real globalization” as a new evolutionary period of development of the universal epochal cycle can be considered simultaneously as the moment of the origin of a wave of “post-modern” and as the appearance of the “second modern” in its bowels. It is probable that the “second modern” should be searched in the countries of the west-European socio-cultural area which experienced transformations in the period of the Great Depression of 1929–1934. At present, there is already a lot of evidences for that the USA are practically on the threshold of the “second modern”.

True, it should be recognized that the idea of the “second modern” which is developed in the framework of historical sociology is seriously criticized now. For example, Professor of Sociology at the University of Bamberg (Germany), R. Munch considers it only as a theoretical hypothetical construction³⁵.

However, in the framework of the defining and long-term perspective of the world historical development, the globalization can consider “as the moving force of a transition from one type of the society to another one, from modern to post-modern or from the industrial to post-industrial public order”³⁶. As its symbol, we can probably consider the global society which will change a national state and will be in the form of polises connected between themselves by the net of communications.

The formation of the global civilization is accompanied, as was mentioned above, by unification and standardization of the models of development of the culture. The national cultural tradition is proclaimed by adherents of the globalism as obsolete. However, by remaining the foundation of the historical tradition and valuable systems of social control, the national culture preserves its significance and will announce, as we think, about its existence in the period of social crises. The present bursts of nationalism and religious fundamentalism supporting various forms of terrorism are a visible embodiment of the current crisis of the global social development.

Initiated by the leaders of the world political elite, the present “antiterroristic campaign” acquires the features of an attempt global by its scale to consolidate various national interests against the threat of “international terrorism”. At the same time, antiterrorism occupies increasingly stronger the free ideological niche of anticommunism which was the principal enemy of the “free world”. After the decay of the USSR and socialist world and the withdrawal of the ideology of “soviet communism” from the world political arena, their place was occupied by the Moslem world. Having become a precursor of the “end of history” (by F. Fukuyama), it needs in the introduction of the west model of “democratization”.

We note that the process of internationalization acquires the greater chaoticity with the expansion of the circle of participants of international relations, growth of the problem of national and public identity, and appearance of new regional force centers.

The modern stage of internationalization which has attained its limit value forms new net regional communications. In this case, the traditional international organizations such as UNO lose their priority influence on global processes. Real power passes gradually to the regional level, which leads to the expansion of the net of local conflicts and crises.

At the same time, the increase in the amount of members of such organizations as NATO and EC generates structural-functional conflicts in addition to purely technical problems concerning the operation of mechanisms of decision-making. The problem of separation of the spheres of competence between the USA and EC on the international arena is not solved up to now.

The classical comprehension of “separation” of the spheres of influence at the stage of imperialism (by V. Lenin) needs in a significant revision, because the amount of these zones of priority interests is evidently insufficient for all interested subjects of the “multipolar world”.

In this context, the formation of a “world government” as a tool to solve global contradictions looks at least, by using the words of F. Hayek, as “maleficent presumption”. Even in the framework of the initial knowledge

in the field of the organization of management, the efficiency of administrative decisions concerning a complicated system which are made by one center of power reduces as a controlled object becomes complicated in the structural and functional aspects. Moreover, the process of coordination of the contradictory interests of different “coalitions” and “groups of influence” in such a “world government” is not investigated, and its spheres of competence and responsibility are not divided.

Thus, a period of transformation which is cyclic by its nature will require a certain work of Chronos which can be inserted in the first half of the XXIst century despite the “compression” of socio-historical time.

In this case, the tendency to universalization will be supported mainly by technological innovations. Their specificity will consist in a gradual exclusion of a man from the system “man — machine”. On the industrial stage of the historical development, a man being in the system of machines controlled them and was its part. But on the post-industrial stage, a man is gradually removed outside the limits of the system of control over machines. For example, in the system of antimissile national defence of the USA whose creation is actually begun, decisions as of the answer to an attack will be made by a “machine intellect”. It is possible that the “limit of universalization” will be set by the stamping of “human” clones realized by computers and robots with the use of a conveyor method.

The process of universalization and internationalization “introduces” a new heathenism on the global scale as a form of religious pluralism beyond the limits of confessional and churchly religiosities. The global civilization being formed is unreligious to a significant extent³⁷. In the west-Christian civilization, we observe, in essence, the quite intense process of “de-Christianization” of the daily life. Whereas in states of the Moslem area, on the contrary, the monotheistic directivity of the Faith is actualized. However, both tendencies in their extreme manifestation affect the dehumanization of the contemporary civilization.

In the new historical epoch of “real globalization”, the survival of the humanistic tradition will depend on prospects of the new “axial time” whose features are seen dimly if they are considered not in the eschatological or esoteric aspect. However, the meaningful point of the new axial time will be defined, under conditions of the global chaos, by the problem of preservation of the Man’s Soul.

Chapter 14. Archetypes of world religions and globalization

The problem of the correlation between the spiritual and material bases of the human history and the spiritual and materialistic sights at the world are permanently kept in the field of vision of philosophic reflections. In this case, different types of comprehension and cultural reflection on the levels of an individual, social groups, separate nations, countries, regions, or the humanity as a whole dominated in different epochs. Nevertheless, the incomprehension of the destructiveness of the one-sided sight at the world for the humanity increasingly grew up from one epoch to another one. In the XXth century, the incomprehension of such a fact that economic behaviour is conditioned by consciousness and culture, leads to the common error when many try to explain the phenomena even ideal by their nature with material reasons, although profound historical processes are caused by the events which occur in brains³⁸. It can be accentuated that these phenomena happen, most likely, in the subconsciousness, and then the historical process often seems nonsensical from the viewpoint of a rational outside observer.

Namely on the level of subconsciousness, the psychology of the human religiosity is formed, whose form-creating basis is various archetypes. This concept was introduced into the scientific circulation by C.-G. Jung, who determined an archetype as irrational unconsciousness. He understood the unconsciousness as a nonpersonal soul which is common for all the people, even if it expresses itself through an individual consciousness. The archetypical consciousness displays itself, first of all, with the help of metaphors. Archetypes are not merely spread by the tradition, language, and migration, but they arise spontaneously at any time and at any place without any external influence³⁹. In other words, the archetype is a cultural stereotype which is fixed by the collective unconsciousness and influences the human behaviour and history.

K. Jaspers emphasized that “the historicity means the transformation of a phenomenon in consciously performed semantic ties”⁴⁰. Namely such a large-scale pattern of the world history was proposed by O. Spengler.

The morphology of the history which was implemented by him is, in essence, one of the first attempts to show the correlation between the development of the world history and the idea of archetype.

O. Spengler wrote that “Culture is originated at the moment when the great soul awakes and separates from the protospiritual state of the eternally infantile humanity, some face appears from the abyss of the featureless, something limited and temporary arises from the infinite and the eternal. Culture is flourishing on the soil of a strictly bounded landscape, to which it remains to be bound only vegetatively. Culture dies when this soul realizes the full sum of its potentialities in the form of peoples, languages, dogmas, arts, sciences and thus again returns to the protospiritual element”⁴¹.

Thus, every culture has its own civilization. In turn, a civilization is the inevitable fate of a culture. From O. Spengler’s viewpoint, the transition from an alive cultural tradition to the mummy of the European civilization repeats itself twice: in the period of antiquity (in the IVth century A.D.) and in the period of modernism (in the XIXth century). In this sense, we can say about a local civilization which is understood as a part of the world civilizational space which includes the group of nations, ethnoses, and states separated by the community of spiritual, cultural, ethnical, and religious values, historical destinies, and geopolitical interests⁴².

A. Toynbee revealed 47 such civilizations of three generations. Among them, the alive civilizations are the following: Western, Orthodox Christian, Islamic, Hinduist, and Far Eastern ones. Thus, every civilization is identified as that connected with a certain world religion: the Western civilization — with Catholic and Protestant Christianity churches; the Orthodox Christian one — with Orthodox church; the Islamic one — with Islam; the Hinduist one — with Hinduism and Buddhism; the Far-Eastern one — with Confucianism and Buddhism. This typology of the world civilizations is more logical than that proposed by S. Huntington who picked out eight alive civilizations — Western, Confucian, Japan, Islamic, Hinduist, Orthodox Christian — Slavonic, Latin American, and African ones⁴³.

One may try to describe Hinduist, Confucian-Buddhist, Western, Orthodox Christian, and Islamic civilizations with the help of the archetypes of the world religions. The initial archetype of every world religion such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam is fixed in the Holy Books. But it was formed on the basis of eighth ethical systems: Brahmanism or Hinduism; Jainism; Buddhism; Confucianism; Zoroastrism; Judaism; Christianity, and Islam.

We can pick out the religious systems which were formed toward the East and to the West from the mountainous range Hindu-Kush. Respectively, the Deity of Western religions is “open for history” and personified, and Eastern

religious systems have no, in general, monotheist Deity in the western sense⁴⁴. This fundamental archetype difference always complicates the process of formation of a mechanism of intercultural dialog and interaction. The historical socio-cultural age of each world religion and the corresponding civilization also influence essentially this communication.

Since the archetype (as a phenomenon of the human unconsciousness) becomes apparent in the culture and religion, the socio-historical dynamics is intrinsic to it. Certain regularities are inherent in this dynamics of the intercultural interaction. If the formulated hypothesis will be verified, we shall be able to obtain the important scientific tools for the forecast of the development of modern globalization processes.

As a complicated alive system whose structural elements are permanently changed, the human civilization is integrated into a more complicated system with various hierarchical subordinations: from cosmic cycles to the cycles of the vital activity of generations and separate individuals.

The development of archetypes of the world religions in the model of “universal epochal cycle”. It is worth to emphasize that, on the modern stage of the development of sociology, the idea of invariability of the archetypical characteristics of subjects prevails. For this reason, the *a priori* theoretical models based on this postulate lose the characteristic of social dynamism.

We keep a basically different viewpoint which consists in the recognition of the historicity of archetypes and, respectively, of their transformation during the development of a social organism. With the help of such an approach, of course, it is more difficult to describe the characteristics of world religions which are connected, to great extent, with the archetypes of world civilizations.

Thus, in accordance with the static model of archetypes, the societal characteristics are described in such a manner: the Indo-Buddhist civilization is exposed through the priority of reverence over life; the Confucian one is characterized by the prevalence of the ethical-centrist approach and, at the same time, by the readiness to interpret the traditional values in the spirit of time; the Western civilization follows the Roman path; the Orthodox Christian one is the path of a charmed pilgrim; the Islam is the path of Allah's warriors²⁹.

On the other side, we can suggest the concept of the dynamic model of the archetypes of civilizations and world civilizations as a scientific hypothesis. First of all, we describe a possible correlation between the periods (phases) of development of a civilization, which is considered from the position of the model of “universal epochal cycle”, and the societal characteristics of the civilization as a social system.

The experimental data obtained by the authors in the crisis post-Soviet space allow us to be solidary with the thought of a psycho-diagnostician H. Eysenck who considered the individual psychological properties of persons as the system of inwardly correlated psychological features. The extrapolation of this thesis on the civilizational organism presents the grounds for the assertions presented below. As for the periods of revolution and co-evolution (the latter is characterized generally by a systemic crisis), we can hardly say about any definiteness. Rather we can say about fluctuations as a state of dynamical (unstable) equilibrium and, respectively, about the fuzziness of the qualitative characteristics of the social system under study.

For the involutionary period of development of a civilization (by H. Eysenck), the typical features are: extroversion, emotionality, irrationality, intuitivism, externality, and executivity. For the period of the evolution, they are introversion, pragmatism, rationality, sensority, internality, and intentionality. In this case, we can say about the critical points of the development that the civilizational behavioural reaction is unpredictable on the whole. We can also suppose with the same assurance that the highest intensity of socio-cultural exchange is intrinsic to the social systems being in the evolutionary stage of development. It is clear that the social organism being in the involutionary stage of development is absolutely insusceptible to such an external socio-cultural influence because of its immanent closedness.

In the context of the authors' approach, every world religious system passes the corresponding stages of the "universal epochal cycle" during its development, which can be verified theoretically with the system of indices.

We start our analysis from the Eastern religious tradition which is far from the personification of the God and the keen feeling of historical existence. Many call Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism as extra-historical religious systems which have a specific scale of the historical time or are not in general connected with the chronotope and are oriented to the idea of the karmic cycle of transformations of live creatures. Brahmanism is the progenitor of this religious system.

Hinduism is, so to speak, the geographical name of Brahmanism. The Moslems begin to call Brahmins as "Hindus" after the Islamic conquest of the Northern India. The orthodox Hinduism is, in fact, the religion of Brahmins. It seems that Hinduism has to be, by definition, the national religion of the Indians rather than the world religion. But, in reality, Buddhism is a distinctive "export variant" of Hinduism. The ethical systems of Buddhism and Hinduism correlate in the same manner as New and Old Testaments in Christianity. Therefore, we say about the Hindu-Buddhist civilization just as about the Judaic-Christian one.

The epochal cycles of development of the *Hinduism* can be presented as follows. The sources of the religious doctrine stretch far into centuries, as early as the pre-Aryan period. As known, the territory of the Northern India was conquered by the Aryan tribes about 3 thousand years B.C. In fact, it was a revolutionary stage of the first epochal cycle. At that time, the archetype of the religious doctrine was formed as the ideas of the infinity of the world, immortality of a human soul, karma, and non-identity of life and existence. Brahmanism takes shape of a caste religious-social system.

The involutionary phase of the first epochal cycle (in the Hinduist tradition, it is the Vedic period) is concerned with the adaptation of this religious doctrine to the Aryan conquerors. The comprehension of Brahmanism and its archetypal foundations were fixed in Upanishads (800 B.C.).

The co-evolutionary stage of the cycle is identified with the formation of a synthetic Pantheon of Hinduism, which joined the Aryan and Brahmin deities, and is characterized by the initial stage of the formation of Buddhism. This stage is completed approximately on the border of the beginning of the Christian era.

The evolutionary stage of the cycle is concerned with the classic period in the development of Buddhism and Hinduism (about before 1000 A.D.) when the classic Sanscrit language spread over the whole Hindustan. At that time, the epic poems “Mahabharata” and “Ramayana” were written down. Buddhism in the forms of two religious doctrines “Little chariot” and “Great chariot” spreads from Tibet to Sri Lanka.

For Hinduism and Buddhism, the revolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle began approximately from the time of the Moslem conquest of the Northern India (the XIIIth century) when Hindus had to adapt themselves to the religion of conquerors which considered Hindus and Buddhists as “infidels” who did not faith in the single God, Allah.

The involutionary stage of the second cycle is related to the British governing in India (1498–1947), when colonizers didn’t notice the native faiths. The co-evolutionary turn in the development of Hinduism took really place after finding the full independence and the division of the British India by the religious principle (the Moslem state Pakistan was created in 1947). Kashmir became the area of the Hindu-Moslem opposition. In the 1990s, after the defeat of the party “Indian National Congress” on elections, Hinduism became a political phenomenon. The religious Hinduist party “Bharatia Djanata” is on the head of the ruling coalition since 1994. In fact, on the boundary of the XXIst century, the evolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle becomes topical for Hinduism and Buddhism.

The archetype of the Chinese religious idea, as that of the Indian one, was formed ages ago. The idea of the harmony of heavenly, earthy, and human origins

is the basis of the Chinese world outlook. The “gender approach” was determined in the form of the archetypical ideas about the male basis “Yuan” and the female one “In”.

The formalization of the Chinese religious system is traditionally connected with the activity of the Taoism founder Lao Tzu and the Confucianist initiator Confucius (the VI–IVth centuries B.C.). In fact, it was the first stage of the first epochal cycle. The Confucianism in its classic form was and still is, first of all, the ethical doctrine which preaches the active human position in the tendency to become perfect. The Taoist tradition is more concerned with the doctrine of inactivity. One more specific feature of the Chinese religiosity is the principle ability of a Chinese to be the Taoist, Buddhist, and adherent of the Confucian ethical system at the same time.

The involutionary period of the first epochal cycle of development of the Chinese religious systems includes the period from the IVth century B.C. to IVth century A.D. On the boudary of the Christian era, the Christian pulpit-Nestorians and Moslem conquerors tried to grow accustomed into the Chinese civilization but those attempts were doomed of failure in the involutionary phase.

The co-evolutionary stage is identified with the unstable period in the Celestial Empire, the fight between local kingdoms. The evolutionary stage in the development of Chinese religious doctrines is related to the golden age of the medieval Chinese culture before the Mongol invasion (the XIIIth century) and it continued in fact up to the XVIIth century, when the ruling dynasty was changed again. The Manchurian dynasty dominated in Chine in 1644–1911 up to the Sin-Hai revolution.

Approximately from the beginning of the XXth century, namely from the time of so-called “boxers’ uprisings” against the colonization of China, the revolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle is identified. The creation of the Communist Chinese People’s Republic in 1949 can be considered as the beginning of the involutionary period of this stage of the epochal cycle, which remains to be actual at the beginning of the XXIst century.

Thus, the main archetypical difference between the Indian and Chinese religious systems, on the one hand, and the Zoroastriist, Judaic, Christian, and Islamic religious traditions, on the other hand, lies in the absence of any faith in a personified God who is connected with the historical processes such as the beginning and the end of the world.

Let us analyze the stages of development of the universal epochal cycle for Christianity. The idea of the God’s kingdom inside a person is the basis of the archetype of the development of Christianity.

The revolutionary stage of the first epochal cycle for this world religion is identified with the birth of Jesus Christ and his earthly way. This stage was over

with the appearance of the early Christian church organization approximately in the IIIth century A.D.

The involutionary stage is related to the persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire, which reveals the sacrificial ability of the first Christian communities in the III–IVth centuries A.D. The co-evolutionary turn is identified with the recognition of Christianity as the state religion in the Roman Empire, formation of two state and socio-cultural centers such as the Western Roman Empire and Eastern Byzantine Empire. In the West accordingly to the doctrine of Blessed Augustine (354–430), the universal Christian Church was formed which didn't direct its attention to the power of the faint emperors of the Western Roman Empire. In the East in Byzantium, the reinforcement of the imperial power was observed, on the contrary. Consequently, the ideology of Caesarism-papistry was formed, which means the orientation of the church toward the union with the power, not toward the idea of the leadership of the clerical power over the earthly one which was formed in the West.

The evolutionary stage of the first epochal cycle covers the christening of the Barbarian peoples, formation of new Christian cloistered orders, break of the previously single Church into the Ecumenical Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. Really, the Western and Eastern Roman Empires found their heirs in, respectively, west-European Romanic-German peoples and the Slavs of East Europe. Thereby, Christianity gave rise to another related civilization — Orthodox-Slavic, for which the separation from the Catholic Church (1024) became, in fact, the revolutionary stage of its first epochal cycle. Later on, the order of phases of the cycles for the Catholic and Orthodox Churches is practically the same, but the Eastern Church remains impartially to be behind the Western Church by one full cycle if we do not consider their development before the break as one common cycle for two branches of Christianity. However, let's return to the observation of the process of development of the epochal cycle for Western Catholic Christianity.

The revolutionary phase of the second epochal cycle includes the period of the crusades in the XII–XIIIth centuries which became the important landmark of the Renaissance of the ancient cultural tradition in the Western Europe. The involutionary phase of the second epochal cycle is concerned with both the mastering of new socio-cultural qualities and the culmination of development of the Catholic church as for its attempts to establish a control over the earthly power. The co-evolutionary turn took place with the beginning of the Reformation in the XVIth century and included also its antipode, the Counter — Reformation. The highest stage of this period fell in the period of the Thirty Years' war between the Catholic and Protestant states which formed mainly the present political map of Europe. The evolutionary stage is related

to both the post-reformation development of the Catholic Church and the formation of various Protestant doctrines (Quakers, Adventists, Jehovah's witnesses, Mormons). The USA became the refuge for those Protestant sects, and thus the archetype of messianic peculiarity was put into the foundation of the American statehood. For almost three centuries, this archetype has determined the rhythm of development of the American history as an earthly formation of the "perfect" state which was selected by God for the human's happiness. Namely here, one should search for the origins of the American messianic foreign-policy course which discovered a new sphere of action in the global war against the international terrorism after the terrorists' attacks on New York and Washington.

The revolutionary phase of the third epochal cycle for the Catholic branch of Christianity is concerned with the events of the Great French revolution which was the beginning of the processes of secularization. The involutionary period began in the XIXth century, i.e., it is also identified by O. Spengler as "Decline of Europe". This period of development proceeded, in fact, till the Oecumenical council in 1962–1965 which marked the co-evolutionary turn in the development of the Catholic Church in the third epochal cycle. Starting approximately from 1978 and the beginning of the John Paul II 's pontificate, we can separate only the fuzzy and uncertain border of the entry of the Catholic Church to the evolutionary phase of this epochal cycle, which is related to the activation of missionary activity, the attempts to overcome the decline of faith, the search for a model of the oecumenical unity of all the Christian churches under the conditions of globalization. Thus, the Catholic Branch of Christianity is characterized now by the evolutionary phase of development of the third epochal cycle.

As was already mentioned, the revolutionary phase of the first epochal cycle of the Orthodox branch of Christianity is connected with both its separation from the western church and the expansion among the peoples of Eastern Europe. The involutionary phase is identified with the strengthening of the Byzantine influence on religious problems in its civilizational area. The co-evolutionary turn is connected with the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) and a gradual rise of the Moscow patriarchate starting from 1589. The short co-evolutionary stage of the development is identified with the reforms of Patriarch Nikon in the XVIIth century and the appearance of the phenomenon of Raskolniks — Old Believers, and it was over with the creation of Sacred Synod by Peter the Great in 1721 which established the state control over the church.

The evolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle for the Orthodox Church began from the attempt to renew on the Council in 1917 and is associated

with the martyr fate of the Church during the years of Soviet power which are identified with the involutionary stage of the Orthodoxy development. The co-evolutionary turn is concerned with the rebirth of Faith and Church after the crash of the Soviet power. Thus, for the Orthodox branch of Christianity, topical is the co-evolutionary phase of the second epochal cycle.

Islam is the “youngest” world religion from the historic viewpoint. The revolutionary stage of its development is connected with the activity of its ideological founder, the prophet Mohammed (570–632). It was completed, in fact, in the time of main conquests of Allah’s warriors — Persia and Syria in 638, Egypt in 642, the separation of Moslems into Sunnites and Shiites. The end of the revolutionary stage associated with the appearance of Islam is identified chronologically to be 100 years later the death of the prophet Mohammed, namely the year of the Carolus Martellus’ victory over the Arabs near Poitiers (732), which determines the socio-cultural border for the Islamic expansion in Christian Western Europe. The Arabs lost the control over Spain in 1492.

The involutionary stage in the development of Islam is related to the “cooling down” the Moslems after the passionary jumps with the purpose to expand the faith in Allah. Then the closed Moslem society felt the power pressure of the Western Christian civilization at the time of crusades. The involutionary stage was also connected with the comprehension and adoption of traditions of the Moslem cultural heritage. This was the period of the creative work of Avicenna, Averrhoes, and Rumi, who formed the high examples of the self-identification of believing Moslems.

The co-evolutionary turn of Islam is concerned with the advancement toward the East. In 1206–1526, it spread in the North of India. The influence on the West was also enlarged — Constantinople and the Balkan Peninsula were conquered in 1453.

The evolutionary stage in the development of Islam is identified with the independent development of Moslem states till the epoch of colonial seizures of the Europeans, when the most part of territories of the Islamic civilizational area was found under the control of the Western colonizers.

The revolutionary stage of the second epochal cycle of the development of Islam is related to the realization of the attempts to reply the challenge of the modernization given by the Western civilization. The forms of this reply can be opposite: from the timid attempts to reform and adapt Islam to the new historical reality to the ideas of returning to the real Islam of the prophet Mohammed’s time.

During all the XXth century, the Islamic civilization was, in fact, in the involutionary phase of the development. Therefore, the attempts

of westernization and, on the boundary of the XXIst century, of globalization are faced with the jihad, the armed response of the Moslems, which is a quite normal reaction for this stage of the development of Islam.

So, the formation of a new socio-cultural model of the Christian-Moslem interaction in the third millennium A.D. has to take into account the topical features of the development of both world religions. The historical experience testifies: the period of crusades was connected with the pressure of the Christian civilization which was in the revolutionary phase of its cycle on the Moslem world which was on the stage of the closed involutory phase of the cycle. At the beginning of the XXIst century, the situation repeats itself, and now the Western branch of Christianity is in the evolutionary phase of the next cycle of development, whereas the Islamic one is in the nonsynchronous involutory phase. The archetypes of open and closed societies come again into collision.

In accordance with the proposed paradigm of socio-historical analysis, the cycles of development of the world religions can be given in such a manner:

<i>World religion</i>	<i>Actual period of a cycle</i>	<i>Actual cycle</i>
West Christianity	evolutionary	third
Orthodoxy	co-evolutionary	second
Islam	involutionary	second
Indo-Buddhism	evolutionary	second
Confucianism-Taoism	involutionary	second

Thus, the Islamic and Far-Eastern civilizations which are in the involutory phase of development of the epochal cycle are the most closed as for a dialogue. Therefore, it is no mere chance that the development of the process of globalization in these civilizational areas has its essential peculiarities. In particular, the Moslems accuse the Christians of the actual idolatry to the mass culture and fetish of money, which is now the most noticeable form of the globalization.

On the whole, we may ascertain that the Global Civilization, being created now, enters the phase of the penultimate cycle of its development before the future Ascension to Heaven.

Chapter 15. National minorities of the Balkan countries in the focus of globalization

At the boundary of the third millennium, as a new group of countries enters the region of transient (transformational) processes by beginning the post-industrial stage of their development, the problem of so-called minorities (national-ethnic, political, cultural, religious, sexual ones, and others) has declared itself in the modern world with a new force. The roots of this problem come in the depth of the European civilization history, to the period of a decline of the Roman Empire, when the oikumene involved a significant number of barbarian tribes, being different by their ethnic origins, in the force field of its interests. This process proceeded until the Latins became a minority in the sea of other peoples.

In the medieval Europe, the problem of attitude to the Jews appeared rather acute, and it developed into the Holocaust much later (at the time of the national-socialist dictatorship in Germany in 1931–1945) which became one of the most tragic chapters of the world history.

At the times of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the problem of protection of the interests of religious minorities became a key one. Eventually, on the ashes of fires of the Inquisition, the West-European tolerant political culture arose, which guarantees a reliable legislative protection to a political minority with the introduction of a general and equal suffrage.

As seen, now the problem of protection of rights of national minorities becomes a priority one. However, it is complicated by the fact that the national-ethnic map of the Old continent is inhomogeneous by the historical reasons. Many nations which possessed earlier the own statehood became a minority in other states by virtue of various historical circumstances.

Challenge of globalization: the Balkans' answer. From the viewpoint of the social-historical process, the most important events of the XXth century were the “Great Depression” (1929–1934) which influenced the destiny of the reforms in the countries of Western Europe, North America, and Japan and the transformational processes occurred in the countries of Central and South-East Europe, the USSR,

and China in 1980–1990s. The intensification of these processes is accompanied by a significant enhancement of the interdependence of various states and peoples, efficiency of the rational component of their psycho-societal culture, and susceptibility to external factors and conditions of development. The international lexicon uses more widely the terms related to the notion of global economic, political, legal, informational, and scientific-technical space.

At the same time, at the beginning of the XXIst century, we observe the actualization of the struggle of national minorities for their political rights. Armed confrontations for redistribution of various resources become a reality, and the international policy acquires the force character. A vivid example of it is presented by the wars which began owing to the disintegration of Allied Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, came across the local boundaries of South-East Europe, and destabilized the entire continent as a whole.

The results achieved in the course of the world-wide historical development are motley by their contrasts. It looks as if countries of the advance-guard and their peoples have fully enjoyed fascinations of the epoch of post-industrial civilization when knowledge and information become leading economic factors. At the same time, the technological distance and, therefore, social-cultural one between the advance-guard and periphery of the new global oikumene are kept and even increased. This generates new contradictions going out of the framework of the previous ideas of social-class differences.

As examples of such contradictions, we mention the conflicts between goals and means of the industrial and post-industrial epochs of social development and between their strategies (the post-industrial strategy whose locomotive is the economy's information-innovation sector and the traditional extensive-industrial strategy) and technologies generating the discussions about the "greenhouse effect", "deindustrialization of inefficient national economic systems", etc. There are certain grounds for growing contradictions between the poles of richness and poverty of the world becoming globalized. All this stimulates the discussions concerning the positive and negative sides of the process of globalization.

Now we can also say that the time of "social modernism", whose main goal was the movement of the majority of states and peoples to a trend guided by the formula "to reach a maximally high level of development for everyone", comes to the end. By their essence, the achievements of that period are based on such a moral-ethic component of the humanity's development as the sacrifice of "the personal in the name of the social", "the particular in the name of the general", and "the imperfect present in the name of the perfect future".

Opened by the Great French revolution (1789–1794), the way of "social modernism" and internationalization of new public potentialities was called

to make the historical destiny of the majority of nations to be universal (ideal). In this paradigm, the national development of countries was oriented to the formation of a common economic, political, and cultural space headed by the title nation. Stability of the public system was ensured by the moral imperative, according to which “any alien victims in the name of peace cannot be considered too big”, as the well-known Czech writer K. Capek said. Such an internationalist content of the national idea ensured, on the whole, the ability of peoples to survive. In this case, no problems with the national-cultural self-identification of small nations appeared, as a rule.

The situation has become basically distinct in the second half of the XXth century due to the intensive formation of supranational integration structures such as the European Union.

In the XXIst century, the European Union finds itself in a historical role of the West Roman empire at the beginning of our era. Then, the gates of the rich, highly advanced civilization were crowded around by barbarian tribes which were ready to be dissolved in this structure by giving a new quality to it. One of the popular migratory ways passes on the territory of the Balkan countries.

The Balkans are a space where regional systems of the Near East, Eurasia, and Europe have come in a direct contact on the crossing of transcontinental communications as well as the religious systems of the Islam, Catholicism, and Orthodoxy.

Moreover, while the competition in the control over regional and world communications and the markets of raw materials and industrial goods intensifies in the epoch of globalization, the Balkans acquire the important geostrategic value by preserving, at the same time, a significant potentiality of conflicts in the region.

In the 1990s, the most popular theory used for a substantiation of the reasons of disintegration of Yugoslavia was the Huntington's concept of “clash of civilizations”. During a long historical period, the Balkan region was a part of various empires. First, it belonged to the Roman Empire. Then, after its split into the West and East (Byzantine) empires, the Balkan region was divided between these arisen centers of force. In the late Middle Ages, the Byzantine empire was conquered by the Osmanli Turks, which became conductors of the oriental influence on the Balkans. The western tradition was represented by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. All these historical peripetias hampered the classical development of national self-identity and national statehood of the Balkan peoples.

The tendencies of internationalization, which were appeared on the Balkans at the end of the XXth century, were actually stopped by the processes

of disintegration of federative states, revival of national consciousness, and reanimation of the archetypes of national symbols and myths such as the battle on the Kosovo field in 1389.

In the mass consciousness of the Balkan peoples, a certain shift has happened, being induced by the conflict coexistence of behavioural stereotypes of the end of the XXth century and the archaic ideas of the own “collective I”. The national ideas and myths of the past, being reanimated by transient processes, efficiently influence the relations of various peoples with the external world and determine the character of these relations . The present-day Renaissance of the national states on the Balkans can be considered as a compensation for earlier lost historical chances.

The great past of the antique Greece and medieval Byzantium along with their ponderable contribution to the development of the culture of Europe and the Balkan peoples, in particular, stimulate the national pride of the Greeks in their country as the cradle of the Western civilization and the Balkan leader which, being a member of the European Union and NATO, has reached the purpose which is put by other countries of the region to themselves. Greece is an advanced post of the European Union on the Balkans and the Balkan representative in Europe.

The Romanians, like the Greeks, are an autochthonous people, descendants of the ancient Daci. This nation is proud of that the name of its state and the language have Roman roots.

The Bulgarians are proud of that Cyrill and Methodius have created the Slavic writing. But Slavic roots are not a unique reference point in the Bulgarian consciousness. The Bulgarian statehood began from the arrival of their Turkic ancestors from the steppes of the Northern Crimea to the Balkans. The autochthonous Thracian element is considered as the third basic line of the Bulgarian culture. Thus, the Bulgarian valuable stereotype of “collective I” is based on the interpretation of the past as a history of that the nation was unable to completely realize itself by virtue of external reasons. First of all, the heavy heritage of the 500-year Osmanli yoke should be mentioned.

Despite all historical peripetias, the Serbian national consciousness defines the own nation as “purely” Slavic by ethnic roots. Of course, it gave the occasion to claims on the South-Slavic leadership in the struggle against both East and West expansions. The Macedonians and Montenegrins also define themselves as the center of all-Slavic resistance.

The basis of the Albanian national consciousness is the autochthony and the image of people-victim which was exposed to the expansion of stronger states during centuries, but survives nevertheless.

The Turks pretend to both the antique inheritance and a fair estimation of the certain contribution of the Osmanli culture in the development of the Balkans.

Having lost a significant part of the territory of the Ottoman empire, Turkey was able to advance in its development for a rather short historical term and to rank with European peoples.

The self-perception of the Croats and Slovenes is oriented more and more to the integration with the European culture and to the removal from the Balkan regional problems.

Generally, the answer of the Balkan peoples to the challenge of the globalization remains to be inexpressive by virtue of the dissociation and difference in understanding the own interests. If one considers the regionalization as one of the alternatives to globalization, then the Balkan answer to the leading tendency of the modern socio-historical development will consist just in it.

“Reminiscence” about the future. To study the problem of national minorities of the Balkan countries in detail, let us make a small digression in the history.

During ancient times, the territory of the current Slovenia was settled by various peoples: the Celts, Norics, Illyrians, and Vends. Farmers-Slavs came there in the VIth century. Still during the mastering of a new territory, Slovenes have got under the authority of the Avarian Chaganate. In 622–626, they took the active participation in the revolt of the Slavic tribes reproached by the Avars which was led by Prince Samo. In essence, it was the revolutionary period of the first epochal cycle of the Slovenian history. The principdom Karantania, which was formed in that period, existed till the IXth century. By that time, the German feudal authority strengthened on these territories. In 820, the Karantania was conquered by the Franks. This historical event is identified with the beginning of the involutionary period. With the consolidation of Christianity, the Slovenes got gradually to the spiritual dependence on the alien people. Neither a religion, nor a social status, but the aggravated national self-consciousness and the feeling of the own national self-respect joined the Slovenes in a uniform nation. The co-evolutionary period of the first epochal cycle of the Slovenian history is connected with the development of the national bookprinting in the middle of the XVIth century. From the second half of the XIXth century, the evolutionary period of the national Slovenian history started. Slovene industrialists, bankers, and merchants took the important place in the economy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Pan-Germans consider the germanization of Slovenia as their primary task. The united Italy also pretended to the western grounds. In this situation, the question of the union of all southern Slavs, who were under the authority of Habsburgers, became increasingly acute.

The Croats appeared in a mouth of the rivers of Sava and Drava in the VIth century. The revolutionary period of the first cycle of their national history was connected with the formation of the early-feudal statehood.

From the VIIth century till the XIth century, the involutionary period of the national history was actual, and the co-evolution turn was implemented at the beginning of the XIIth century when Croatia became a part of the Hungarian kingdom. Then the Glagolitic alphabet became the symbol of the national language and culture. In the XVIth century, the evolutionary period of the history began. The border of Croatia and Bosnia became that between the Austrian empire and Ottoman Porte. The Croatian national consciousness crystallized in the struggle against germanization and hungarization. In 1868, Croatia again became a part of Hungary.

The Serbs appeared on the Balkans in the VIth century. The revolutionary stage of their national history is connected with both the establishment of early state's formations and Christianization which was mainly finished to the beginning of the IXth century. Since this period, the involutionary stage of the national history began. The Serbs had to combat Byzantium and Bulgaria for independence. The former used the Serbs as a counterbalance against the Bulgarians and Croats. The development of the Serbian national statehood became a co-evolutionary turn at the end of the XIIth century. Stephen Nemanja became the founder of the Serbian medieval royal dynasty. The beginning of the evolutionary period of the first epochal cycle is referred to the time of the highest blooming of the Serbian kingdom under King Stephen Dushan (1331–1355). However, the defeat on the Kosovo field in 1389 changed the rhythm of the national history up to the beginning of the XIXth century.

Several centuries of the Turkish domination strongly influenced the ethnic inhomogeneity on the Balkan Peninsula.

Montenegro became, in fact, a splinter of the medieval Serbian state which disintegrated under the military pressure of the Turks in the XIVth century. Having hidden in mountains, the Montenegrins have paid by a low level of social development for their freedom. Here, prior to the beginning of the XIXth century, the family-tribal system was kept. As a result of fights with the Turks, Montenegro became, *de facto*, an independent state by 1796.

As a result of long wars, the lands of Macedonia were divided between Bulgaria and Byzantium. In the VIIIth century, the Slavs of Macedonia were Christianized. In the IXth century, Macedonia became a center of the Slavic education. Solun', a south-Macedonian small town at the coast of the Aegean Sea, gave the great teachers, Cyrill and Methodius, to the Slavs. Up to the end of the XIIth century, Macedonia remained in the structure of the Byzantine Empire. At the end of XIIth century, the Bulgarians managed to conquer Macedonia, but, in 1261, the Byzantine empire which was restored after the rout again united all Macedonian lands. By the beginning of the XIVth century, Serbia captured Macedonia. But soon, the territory of Macedonia became a base

for expansion of the Turkish domination on the Balkans. Turkish authorities actively promoted the inflow of the Muslem population to Macedonia. The Greek language was, in essence, the language of interethnic contacts, and the divine service in orthodox temples was conducted in the Greek language. The process of development of the national self-consciousness of the Macedonians went slowly and with difficulties since they depended not so much on the Turks, how on the Greeks, brothers by belief, and on the Bulgarians, brothers by language. The establishment of the Bulgarian orthodox exarchate in 1870, being independent of the Constantinople patriarchate, put the strongest impact on the positions of Greece in Macedonia. In the process of weakening the Greek positions in Macedonia, the influence of Serbia and Bulgaria began to strengthen. In the XXth century, Macedonia was fated to become a detonator of the Balkan powder-magazine in Europe.

Up to the XIIth century, Bosnia had no political independence, though it was an independent territorial unit included into the structure of the early Serb state formations. In the XIIth century, the bogomil heresy expanded here, which put a huge loss to the social development of the country. In Bosnia, no significant centralized governmental power appeared. A kaleidoscope of intestine wars and crusades against heretics, the rivers of blood, economic and cultural backwardness, and poverty are characteristic of the history of Bosnia in the XIII–XVth centuries. In the middle of the XVth century, the Turks conquered Bosnia. It is worth noting that the cases of the transition in the Islam were mainly observed among the urban population after the subjugation of Serbia, Macedonia, and Herzegovina by the Turks. But, in Bosnia, the voluntary acceptance of the Islam had a mass character, having captured all layers of the country's population. Bosnia transformed, in fact, into a principal base of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. Bosnia gave many large military chiefs and officials of the Ottoman Empire, being the Slavs by origin. By the beginning of XXth century, Bosnia and Herzegovina (the southern part of the country is occupied mainly by the Catholics-Croats and Orthodox Serbs) has turned into a constant center of tension on the Balkans.

The Albanians are one of the most ancient peoples of Europe. They are descendants of the Illyrians which along with the Greeks, Macedonians, and Thracians occupied the Balkan Peninsula else in antique times. The Slavs appeared on the territory of Albania in the VIth century. Being in the composition of the Byzantine Empire, the Albanians accepted the Christianity in the XIIIth century. The main conductors of the Catholicism in Albania were influential Venetians in seaports. Up to the XIVth century, no independent Albanian state's formations existed. By the beginning of the XVth century, the territory of Albania was subordinated to the Turks. Prince George Kastrioti, nicknamed Scanderbeg,

conducted a fierce struggle with the Turks in 1443–1468. The banner of Kastrioti's clan, a red cloth with black two-headed eagle became the national one of the Albanians. Historical destinies of the Albanians of different areas are distinct. There are two dialects of the Albanian language, namely the Gag dialect (North Albania) and Tosk one (South Albania). In the North mountain areas, the main population's work was cattle breeding, and agriculture prevailed in the south. North-Albanian highlanders were free farmers in all times. As distinct from the conservative North, South Albania became the center of origin of the national-liberating movement. The Islamization of Albania passed most actively in the XVI–XIXth centuries. As a result, about a half of the country's population was Moslems by the beginning of the XXth century. Up to the middle of the XIXth century, the question of differentiation of Albanian and Slavic lands did not arise, since both were under authority of the Ottoman Empire. In the structure of every administrative-territorial formation, the mixed population lived. North-East areas near Kosovo were populated by the Serbs to a greater degree, and South-West ones were populated by the Albanians.

When Balkan peoples were in the sphere of interests of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Czechs were instigated against the Hungarians, the Hungarians — against the Croats, and the Croats — against the Serbs. But it was impossible to keep the unity of the empire, by permanently balancing on the discontent of various peoples. Also it was not clear how the association of Balkan peoples should be held: by the will of the very peoples, monarchs, or great states.

An essentially new historical stage for all the Balkan region, which is identified with a revolutionary period, began at the boundary of the XXth century. Two Balkan wars in 1912–1913 and the World War I (1914–1918) have resulted in the first attempt of realization of the idea of South-Slavic statehood in the form of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes which disintegrated in the years of the World War II (1939–1945). A revival of this idea is connected with the history of the Allied Federal Republic of Yugoslavia whose epoch, as a whole, is identified with the involutionary period of development of the country.

However, the political elite of the Allied Federal Republic of Yugoslavia failed to solve the national problem. Internationalism, as the official ideology, did not become a substitute to the national consciousness. Along with the internationalization of the national self-consciousness, the country's people revealed "national prejudices" which appeared due to the discriminating attitude to national minorities.

The interethnic peace is most easily kept under conditions of evolutionary prosperity and stability. When national groups compete for scarce resources

(this occurs in the period of co-evolution), national minorities become a scapegoat. Such a situation was formed at the Balkans by the beginning of the 1990s, when social communications and the limits of national tolerance were broken.

The question of the identification of national minorities introduces additional problems in interethnic relations. First of all, it is related to that how the national minority is identified by the society or its title nation. However, whatever historical roots a certain national group has and whatever the society perceives its history, its own position (self-identification) is of fundamental importance. The availability of potentialities in the state and society for a minority to preserve and realize the own national identity is no less important. As for a self-realization, it looks now to be problematic on the Balkans. New Balkan states continue still to carry on (actively or passively) the assimilative policy relative to national minorities. This reveals itself, in particular, in various bans to speak and be printed in national languages as well as to open new schools or to preserve old ones for national minorities.

The process of self-identification and consolidation of the Balkan social organisms proceeds. The period of the XIX–XXth centuries is too short for the completion of the full cycles of the national history and for the transformation of these states into civil societies. A natural rhythm of the cycles was constantly broken by wars, large-scale conflicts, and significant external effects. In addition, the Balkan peoples have lived the most part of two thousand years of the Christian era in the composition of various empires or foreign national state's formations.

Therefore, the problems of national minorities on the Balkans are closely connected with the question of territorial borders. The last are associated by the peoples with certain dangers for them and with unfair attitude to them both in the past and the present. All this is an important element of the self-identification and a factor of the ethnic mobilization of the Balkan peoples.

In addition, all the Balkan states possess, to a greater or a less extent, the features of the traditional society having the inclination to isolationism and to the overcoming of internal contradictions through the actualization of the image of external enemy. The potential of conflicts is not exhausted still. Stability is supported from the outside by the armed forces of international peacemakers. The ethnic purges which were carried out in the mass order in the 1990s from Bosnia to Kosovo did not promote the solution of the problem of national minorities in a civilized way. In addition, the Balkan region is too small for the ambitions concerning the creation of "great national states" which would aspire to establish a force control over the neighbors.

Horizon of a forecast. The general methodology of forecasts for a crisis (co-evolutionary) state, in which the world community is now, needs a significant correction. It should be taken into account, in our opinion, that any list of initial conditions or reasons for a deterministic conclusion about future consequences is essentially incomplete. Moreover, under conditions of a crisis with nonlinear features, the same reason may generate different consequences⁴⁵. A violation of the usual causal-resultative dependences leads also to the situation, when facts-events which seem to be unimportant can initiate incommensurably large consequences.

The XXth century was the period of realization of the idea of a South-Slavic federation: first, in the form of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and then as the Allied Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The history of the Balkan region in that time gives the grounds to identify it with the involutory period of the epochal cycle. From the beginning of 1990s, we observe the realization of the co-evolutionary turn which is connected, in addition, with the actualization of a great number of national historical cycles of development. It is obvious that the Balkans lag behind the “normally” developed European national states by one or two full cycles, on the average. This defines the specificity of their participation in the current processes of globalization. It is obvious that West-European states “have grown” to the problems of formation of supranational institutions, whose incarnation is represented by the European Union. It is also clear from the viewpoint of the approach used that the Balkan countries will be able to create objective preconditions for this only in the future (evolutionary) stage of development.

On the whole, under conditions of the globalization, the attitude to national minorities becomes an indicator of the ability of a state to adapt to the imperatives of a growing immigration activity of non-European peoples. Their migration to Europe, which acquires the symptoms of a demographic crisis, becomes not only the important internal political factor at each specific country of the European Union, but also defines the opportunities of competitiveness of these countries at the present stage of the socio-historical development. In this context, the Balkans will lag behind the mainstream of globalization for a certain period, by solving the local problems of regionalization for the time being.

Chapter 16. Prospects of comprehension and interpretation of the world history

Global (civilizational) level of approximation of the model. The usage of the model of universal epochal cycle for the world history testifies to that the next global epochal cycle (the eighth cycle if we count from 3000 B.C.) started from the temporal interval between the end of the XVIIIth century and the beginning of the XIXth century. Its content is completely described with the concepts of industrial and post-industrial development of the civilization.

The revolutionary (transient) phase of the cycle which is “opened” by the Great French revolution for the humanity is concerned with the further formation of the structure of the industrial society (the bourgeois revolutions in 1848–1849 and socialist revolutions in 1905–1917 in Russia, in 1949 in China, 1959 in Cuba, etc.) and the corresponding development of the industry and market. In the light of the proposed approach, we think that the domination of ideological concepts related to such notions as “Revolution”, “Modern”, “Industrial epoch”, etc. during the XIXth — the first half of the XXth centuries is not ungrounded.

The appearance of the monopolies (private or state) became a regular result of the development of countries and the distinctive social total of the further involutionary period of their history. But the monopolization of the capital and the extensive method of management which is intrinsic to it only accelerated the exhaustion of the internal potential of countries and strengthened their struggle for the world sales market and the world raw materials market by stimulating the imperial ambitions and preparing the situation in countries for the future reforms which were connected with the co-evolutionary (transient) period and else more with the evolutionary (steady) period of the civilizational development.

Between the First and Second World wars which can be considered as two stages of one great World war, the Great Depression of 1929–1934 became a remarkable phenomenon. Namely from it, in the authors’ opinion, starts the co-evolution as a “new wave” of the transient (from the industrial

society to the post-industrial one) period of the world development. Changing the old social model technocratic in its essence to the anthropocentric one, the co-evolution opens broad possibilities for the self-realization of a person and his/her innovative activity. After the events in 1945–1961 (the Caribbean missile crisis and the governing of J. Kennedy, President of the USA), the new tendencies started gradually to gain a foothold on the global level. Those tendencies were inherent in the evolutionary period of the eighth epochal cycle and are described in A. Toffler's book "Future Shock" in detail. But, between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s (the formal end of the "cold war", being the opposition of two superstates, namely the USSR and the USA), the co-evolutionary tendencies in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Central and South-Eastern Asia found the second wind and finally determined the perspectives of development of the civilization in the XXIst century. The birth of a post-industrial civilization which was connected with a rapid development of information technologies and genetic engineering can be dated conditionally to the 1990s. Social philosophers call this time as "post-modern". Amongst the sign events of this border, we mention the war in the Persian Gulf in 1990–1991, break-up of the USSR, the joining of Germany, and radical transformation of the geostrategic state in the world.

Continental-regional level of the realization of epochal cycles.

Eurasia. The beginning of the present global cycle coincides partly with the Eurasian epochal cycle which started from the time of the early Italian Renaissance. Its involutionary period includes, in fact, the XVIIth century when the colonial policy of the leading European states changed the "rhythmics" of the historical development of many Asian, African, and American countries. The co-evolutionary (transient) phase of the continental Eurasian cycle is mostly related to the European epoch of Enlightenment. In fact, namely the ideas of enlightenment spread slowly (but steadily) in the European and Asian parts of Eurasia. The illustrations of this fact are the "Meiji" reforms in Japan (1868), the Young Turkish revolution (1908), Sin-Hai revolution in China (1911), and revolutions in Russia (1905–1917). The evolutionary stage of the sixth Eurasian epochal cycle is connected simultaneously with the processes of "globalization" and "modernization" which were formed by the different cultural conditions of the Eurasian area. The sign events of this cycle were: the Second World War (1939–1945), "cold war" (1949–1989), creation of the European Economic Community (1958), beginning of Den Xiao Ping's reforms (1978), "perestroika" in the USSR (1985–1991), war in the Persian Gulf (1990–1991), and operation of NATO in Kosovo (1999).

North and South America (there are certain reasons to consider them as one megacontinent). The present-day second American epochal cycle started

from the revolutionary events concerned with the War of Independence of the USA (1775–1783) and the independence wars of the South American states against Spain (1810–1822). This revolutionary period terminated by events of the War of Secession in the USA (1861–1865). The involutionary stage of the continental American cycle lasts approximately till the middle of the XXth century. It was characterized by the domination of the military regimes in the majority of South American countries. For the USA, this period is associated with the immanent preparation to playing the role of the single superstate. This status of the country was formed directly under conditions of the rise of co-evolutionary (transient) processes in the world which were represented by the reforms of the period of the Great Depression. In this respect, culminating were the “transformational” events in the Central and Eastern Europe, which cause the break-up of the USSR, and the transient processes in South-Eastern Asia. For Latin American countries, the second half of the XXth century is also connected with the strengthening of manifestations of the co-evolutionary period, with a rise of democratic political regimes, and with the activization of integrating processes on the continent. Namely in this context, one may interpret the future creation of a free trade area from Alaska up to Terra del Fuego by 2005. Now we can already ascertain that the American megacontinent enters into the evolutionary period of the cycle of its historical development.

Africa. From the beginning of the process of sovereignization of African states (1960s), we can say about the beginning of the evolutionary period of the second African epochal cycle. It will last about a century.

Australia. From the second half of the XXth century, it became topical the co-evolutionary (transient) phase of the first Australian epochal cycle which is connected with the creation of a civilization having the European identity.

On the world (global) level of the analysis of the world history, there are the indisputable reasons to ascertain the completion the involutionary period of the eighth epochal cycle as a whole. Now the humanity sums up, in fact, the development of the industrial civilization. In the authors’ opinion, there are no doubts about the definition of the key events of the contemporaneity as manifestations of the co-evolutionary (transient) period of the human development, which will be followed by the strengthening of tendencies of the post-industrial civilization. It is rightful to connect the latter with the notions such as “social growth”, “quantitative accumulation” and with the specific qualities concerned with the notion of “informational society” which are intrinsic to the evolutionary period of development of the society. The above-mentioned tendencies are distinguished by us as perspective ones for the majority of world countries. At the same time, the countries in the advance-guard of the world

history are completing the stage of the post-industrial (informational) development. By realizing their historical achievements and by using the mechanisms of the newest technologies, they initiate, in fact, the creation of a global economic system. This system is, saying figuratively, in the “prenatal” period now. Its birth will be a nonlinear and explosive process and, therefore, it will probably strengthen the global disparity between the countries of the core and those of the periphery of a new system 1.

The radical geopolitical changes of the 1990s transform the system of international relations. After the break-up of the USSR, the USA stays the single universal superstate which has now the dominating position in the world and will keep it till the beginning (by some optimistic forecasts, till the middle) of the XXIst century. We can entirely agree with Z. Brzezinski’s definition that the new centers of the force are being formed in the world. Thus, it is most probably that a new international system based of the competition of many centers of the force will stimulate potentially numerous conflicts by creating the global instability.

Finally, we can agree with those who sees the probability of the open “conflict between the forces of globalization and the agents of localization” under these conditions. The latter represent the chauvinistic nationalism in Europe and the Islamic fundamentalism in the developing countries. This opposition can turn the civilization to the state of “new barbarism”.

Thus, the contemporaneity allegedly proves a growth of the tendencies mentioned above which fill in the historical content of the co-evolutionary period. These tendencies will gather strength by preparing the humanity for the next evolutionary period which is identified with the sense of the post-industrial civilization.

Futurological destinies of regions.

Eurasia demonstrates, on the one hand, more clearly the tendency to the implementation of the project of “Great Europe” from French Brest to Brest in Byelorussia. On the other hand, it seems that failures in the process of integration of Europe are quite possible. This aspect becomes apparent in the problems of the formation of the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union, problems of the common monetary unit “euro”, redistribution of the economic power in the framework of the transatlantic community, etc. The fate of the “heart of Eurasia”, Russia, is very important for the future of Europe. The consolidation of the federal unity of Russia can stabilize the situation in the region.

Asia is overcoming the consequences of the financial crisis in 1997. At the same time, the competition between China, the new nuclear countries (India and Pakistan), and Japan, which strengthens its geostrategic potentialities

by the military-political union with the USA, will become aggravate. The absence of the stable Asian defense system stimulates the instability in this region of the continent and generates the long intergovernmental conflicts. The political contradictions in the region can slow down the process of economic integration of Asia and hamper the plans of creation of the Asian-Pacific free trade zone by 2025.

Africa still stays in the twilight of poverty and local regional conflicts, “wars of the poors”. This situation limits objectively its chances in the global economy system. Dangerous becomes the tendency of the expansion of ethno-political conflicts which destroyed Somalia and Zaire and destabilized the situation in the region of the Great Lakes. Moreover, a further increase in the number of the population can stimulate a continental demographic disaster.

North America develops the integration processes which will lead to the creation of the North-American free trade zone. The democratization of the political regimes in the South American countries makes now the common political field for the American megacontinent. But the processes of revolutionary changes which are possible for the North America at the beginning of the XXIst century can destroy the current plans of a further rapprochement of North and South America.

National-state level of socio-historical progress. First of all, we emphasize that the global and regional tendencies of the socio-historical development are composed from the tendencies of the development of the national-state formations and serves to them as general conditions which influence the history of countries together with natural factors. Moreover, the lower the hierarchic level of the world system, the stronger the manifestation of desynchronization of the development which is determined by its own peculiarities.

For example, *Ukraine*, which will try more and more to overcome the crisis which accompanies the co-evolutionary phase of development, will gradually pass into the evolutionary period of development. Its main tendencies will gather force for 2000–2012.

Russia is also situated in the co-evolutionary phase of the epochal cycle since the break-up of the USSR. It tries to overcome very dangerous processes of federalization with the methods of preservation of the state’s unity at the expense of the expansion to the zones of vital interests on the post-soviet area. In the near future, the uncertainty will keep with the possible reformation of the federal structures (the fate of the Russian-Byelorussian union and the determination of Chechnya’s status are significant), which can generate a tension which will become the test for strength of the Orthodoxy-Moslem consensus, being the base of the Russian Eurasianity.

Byelorussia, in contrast to Ukraine and Russia, is now in the revolutionary phase of the cycle, which explains, in fact, its current political excesses which remind mostly the revolutionary period of the Russian history.

France approaches the end of the evolutionary period of its cycle whose origin was at the time of the student's disturbances in 1968. We note that the identification of the national interests with the imperatives of the European Union stays still problematic. The main tendencies of the further socio-historical development in France are correlated with the results of the elections of President and Parliament in 2002.

Germany, after its joining (which stimulated the process of the European integration) and especially after the accession of the red-green coalition to the power (1998), approached closely the revolutionary phase of a new epochal cycle. The first indication of this is a possible restructuring of the political system in the country because of the scandal around the financing of political parties. Generally speaking, we observe the clear tendency to a gradual disappearance of the traditional political parties of the industrial and post-industrial epochs and to the formation of the principles of "new-type parties" as a result of the appearance of new "post-industrial values" of the democracy in the time of the Internet.

Great Britain, after the victory of "new Labourites" on the elections in 1997, enters the final phase of the evolutionary stage of the epochal cycle. The tendency to transfer the power from the center to provinces became stronger (e.g., the renewal of the assemblies in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland). At the same time, Great Britain became closer to the European Union (the tunnel below English Channel), and the intention to carry out the referendum on the joining up to the Monetary union has become pronounced.

Italia also is on the eve of the revolutionary stage of development. At present, the contradictions between the rich North and the poor South which finds itself at the intersection of the ways of illegal immigration to Europe can become acute. Dangerous is the geographical closeness to the conflict zones on the Balkans, Near East, and Northern Africa, which can transform Italia into the "front" in a hypothetical conflict of civilizations.

China, at the beginning of the XXIst century, is on the eve of the evolutionary stage of the epochal cycle, whose specific features will be the termination of the reforms started in 1978 and the transformation of the Celestial Empire into one of the world centers of power. It will give chance to solve the problem of Taiwan in the framework of the process of convergence.

One more Asian giant, *India*, only enters the co-evolutionary (transient) phase of development of the epochal cycle. The content of this point will become the search for a harmony between Hunduists and Moslems with the aim

to preserve the unity of the country, which allows India to become the regional leader and to influence the situation not only in South Asia, but also in the whole world.

Japan is also approaching the co-evolutionary phase of the epochal cycle. Its content will be the transformation of the high-developed industrial society through the synthesis of the own traditional values and post-modernist values of the West.

The United States of America are tightly close to the revolutionary phase of a new epochal cycle. At present, nothing threatens the single universal superstate, its global political and economic power, and its technological leadership. But as time goes on, it becomes aware more and more that the nation isn't ready to pay the lives of its soldiers in local wars. It can be one of the considerable signs of a decline. Other internal factors can also become decisive in the weakening of the USA's hegemony. In the first half of the XXIst century, the ethnical structure of the population will be changed toward the increase in the number of the Afro-Americans, Latin-Americans, and Asian-Americans. The conflict inside the elite and a breach of the operation of the two-party political mechanism are possible, which can strengthen the possible split of the financial oligarchy. The separate fractions of the oligarchy will be in opposition, probably, through the different viewpoints on the problems of preservation of workplaces in the USA or capital export. This tendency can be formalized into the isolationistic or expansionistic foreign strategies. First indications of these phenomena have already become apparent at the time of the President elections in 2000. The appropriate mechanism can be completely launched prior to 2012.

Chapter 17. Scenarios of global prospects

Calendars have counted the first steps of the third millennium A. D. At the same time, the eschatological expectations of “doomsday” are adjourned, at least from the rational viewpoint, so far for some time. Of course, at the present time which is more and more often named as “post-modern”, the growing number of new symptoms appears which testify to the inevitability of the “finale” of the historical process as the final diagnosis for the most part of social diseases of the humanity.

Nevertheless, if we advert to sacral sources, we see that, by the words of John the Divine, neither heaven angels nor people know this time but only the God (Revelation — 22:10). In the Indian philosophic tradition represented by the cyclic paradigm of development, the Kali Juga’s epoch, in which we live during the last thousands of years, will last still the long time. Indeed, in the description of the infinity of time, the Indian philosophers tell about “the day of Brahma the Creator” which equals 432 millions of human years. Since the cycles of creation and decay have no beginning, they changed like to the wheel of time⁴⁶. Thereby, the linear and cyclic approaches to the analysis, comprehension, and interpretation of the socio-historical time which influence fundamentally the epistemology of the models of social reality, leave the problem of the time “X” to be open. At the time, the present-day Earth and Heaven will change into something fundamentally different. For the present, the rationally inclined social thinkers call masses not only to “revolt”, but also to live by this day and to prepare themselves to the worst by hoping for the best.

So, some quieting of the subconscious fears of the “end of the history” in the mass consciousness compels to elucidate some futurological scenarios for more or less close global prospects. In particular, we consider the hypothetic tendencies of development of the social globalization and the new role of a person as the subject and object of the global socio-historical processes.

Futuroshock of globalization. In 1965, A. Toffler put the new term “futuroshock” into the scientific turnover, by which he explains the stress and disorientation which appear in persons who undergo the too large number

of changes during a very short time. At the beginning of the 1980s, the term “globalization” becomes very popular as the characteristic of a drastic acceleration of planetary-scale changes which occur in all the spheres of the human being. Of course, the scientists told about the common world space which was created by the civilization of market exchange still from the time of the appearance of sociology as a science, i.e. from the XIXth century. In this case, the historians paid attention to objective socio-economic and cultural-political processes. For example, the appearance of looms in England led to the bankruptcy of millions of weavers in India, and the Great French revolution opened, in essence, the modern historical epoch. At the same time, the Western civilization became a megasocial agent of those changes and destroyed the attempts to develop the capitalism in traditional local civilizations through the mechanisms of colonial domination. Moreover, in the opinion of critics of the western model of globalization, the tendency to demodernization, i.e. to the destruction of the shoots of modern and enlightenment in the countries which don't belong to the narrow range of the “selected” representing the so-called “golden billion”, is dominant on the modern stage⁴⁷. In particular, this concerns innovation technologies, the possession of which is, in fact, a pass to the post-industrial civilization.

Therefore, by saying about the modern stage of development of the global tendencies, the most part of scientists agree with the thought that the need in new knowledge appears with every new change⁴⁸. Thereby, the scientific-technical progress becomes the driving force of many processes of social globalization. But in this case, for example, the World Trade Organization compels actually the countries which don't belong to the “golden billion” to abandon own scientific achievements. For this reason, these countries remain forever behind the leading world ones. First of all, this concerns the limited possibilities for communication through the traditional forms of high-speed transport as well as through the Internet.

Such a situation leads eventually to the artificial limitation of the global social space, which yields the significant obstacles for the formation of a global community. First of all, they are connected with the fact that the global market has actually appeared at the beginning of the XXIst century, but the megasociety has not been formed yet.

At the same time, the tendency to gradually transform the transatlantic civilizational area into the cosmopolitan civilization of “new nomads” has manifested itself. The social being of that new world will be regulated through a global computer net. From the birthday, every citizen will become a number in the memory of a computer. The electronic file of such a “cosmopolitan” will become a means of social control. First of all, it will fix the availability of money.

Cash in hand will be practically cancelled. The distribution of material goods will be realized through the so-called biochip. It will be implanted into man, and then his whereabouts will be controlled by using a satellite⁴⁹. The Orwell's utopia will obtain the actual realization.

However, not only the natural-geographical factors whose role was accentuated by L. Gumilev, in particular, hamper a gradual expansion of the tendency to forming a cosmopolitan universal civilization, but also the socio-cultural ones. First of all, it concerns the archetypical role of the world religions in the world history. For example, the Chinese cultural tradition evidences clearly for the fact of assimilation of any foreign conquerors. The more than billion strong population of China is the pledge of invariability of such a situation. At the same time, the destabilization of the integrity of the Chinese People's Republic due to the support of separative tendencies in the perspectively conflict areas of Sinkiang and Tibet and due to social contradictions between the rich seaside and poor inside regions can provoke the instability in the whole Eurasia. From the Z. Brzezinski's viewpoint, this is a decisive point for the support of geostrategic imperatives of the global American leadership.

Let us focus our attention on the another side of the Himalayas. In India, on the contrary, the permanent opposition between the Moslems conquerors and the conquered Hindus during already six centuries prevents the assimilation of the religion communities. At last, at the beginning of the XXIst century after mastering the nuclear weapons both by India and Pakistan, this intercivilizational conflict comes actually on the level of a potential interchange with nuclear blows.

The Moslem civilization negates most radically the Western system of values which knows a value for everything, but appreciates nothing. It "competes" with Christianity at the same time in the realization of the project of a global expansion of faith rather than a local one⁵⁰. The modern Islam also is a result of the globalization and the epoch of modern. As the events of September 11, 2001 showed, the Islam uses successfully results of the Western technological progress.

In fact, both the Christianity and Islam are disseminated into different confessions. In such circumstances, the movement to oecumenism which is the leading tendency of the spiritual sphere under conditions of the globalization decelerates not only due to the great ambitions of spiritual leaders, but also due to the historical tradition of differential existence and service.

The comprehension of the history of the XXth century positions gradually this time in the coordinate system of the world historical process. First of all, the quite general, pessimistic characteristic of the modern social reality attracts attention.

For example, the P. Sorokin's forecast looks dusk enough. In particular, he foresaw the appearance of the moral and esthetic anarchy, attitude toward a man as a mechanism, loss of moral and intellectual consensus, chaos of thoughts and beliefs, support of the social order only due to the compulsion and power legitimization of political right, degeneration of freedom into empty slogans for the manipulating of masses, disintegration of a family, domination of mass culture, decrease of life quality and common life standards, increase of social pathology, domination of apathy, and escape into the private life⁵¹.

In turn, A. Giddens paid attention to the additional factors which reinforce the subjective feeling of a risk of current being. In particular, amongst such factors, he picks out the intensification of the feeling of a menace due to weakening the magic and religious protection, the clear knowing of a danger due to a higher level of education, and understanding of the inevitability of crises in the functioning of complicated systems⁵².

The menace of ecological disaster becomes universal. Such a disaster can take place, as predicted by "Green peace", till 2030, even before the realization of dreams about a stable development which has to conciliate the economy and ecology.

It seems to us that the noble idea of a stable global social development which is propagandized by the United Nations Organization is unrealizable under conditions of the global transformational period. Indeed, the period of changes with different qualities and directions takes place not only in the post-communist countries, but in the Western countries as well. In the social consciousness in the former, the perception of the bright democratic future reminds more and more the same mythological idea, which was characteristic of the dark totalitarian past, of the communist ideal. At the same time, the social institutions and values of the Western countries are in the situation of the crisis development. In this case, the competitive democracy degenerates to the right radical populism and the "invisible hand of free market" picks the pocket of the poorest more and more impudently. As a result, the state on the West is yet surviving due to the reinforcement of the nonequivalence of economic bonds with nations which don't belong to the "golden billion". At the same time, the increase of the global social disparity between the center and the periphery of the world-system, one of the manifestations of which is the appearance of clusters of new poverty, first of all on the territory of the former USSR, makes any realization of the model of "overtaking modernization" impossible. The struggle for life strengthens the social-Darwinist ideas of the process of social globalization.

As a result, the system of democratic political order, first of all, in its Western variant suffers the acute crisis. The symptoms of this phenomenon

become especially noticeable after the terroristic act of September 11, 2001, when the civil freedom in the USA began to reduce as a shagreen leather⁵³.

The terrorism is a child of freedom and, at the same time, its murderer. In this context, in the discussions about the creation of the Ministry of inner security in the USA, we see the tendency to centralize the almost total control not only over suspected immigrants from Asia as potential terrorists, but also over dissents inside the USA. Indeed, along with the spread of the sphere of authority of secret services, the political sovereignty of the majority becomes more imaginary. Moreover, the majority loses the democratic mechanisms of controlling the secret structures of the power. We recall that one of the founder-fathers B. Franklin accentuated that those who are afraid of freedom deserve neither freedom nor safety.

Thus, the thesis about the correspondence of the course and methods of execution of the inner and foreign policies of the state is confirmed. In other words, the power international policy of the United States is added with the corresponding inner socio-political mechanisms of manipulation by masses.

In the case of the USA which are really the single “democratic empire” of the period of globalization, the theory of “butterfly”’s wing flap effect” which can induce a storm is most symptomatically confirmed.

In the field of international relations, this tendency becomes apparent most adequately by starting from the beginning of the antiterrorist campaign. In this context, we remember N. Machiavelli’s words who warned that one begins a war when he want but finishes it when he can. Therefore, the global safety of the United States, first of all, and of the new world order created by them should be protected by various weapons during all this indefinite time, including the National system of antimissile defense of the USA. In this case, taking into account the complication of the named project, just the computers have to make decisions in its limits. Thereby, the basic problems of the humanity’s survival will depend on the hypothetic logical mistakes of programmers. For this reason, all the process of survival will look like the game “Russian roulette” in the case of a real threat.

The life cycles of the economic system of the USA become still more noticeable for the world economic system⁵⁴. The prosperity of the American business was based in the 1990s on the sector of information technologies. But in this case, as it proved, there were many bookkeeping manipulations which even destabilized the dollar rate in summer of 2002 and influenced the global market of shares. It seems to us that the immorality of the market mechanisms which was acknowledged by G. Soros more and more becomes the absolute one. As yet the attempts to find the global rescue look like the rearrangement of a furniture on the sinking “Titanic”, which cannot to save “Noah’s Ark” from the wreck.

At the same time, the historical tasks of the modern's world to create a homogeneous social construction in the form of a global civil society contradict the desire to ensure, first of all, a high level of life and consumption for own citizens partially at the expense of the population of other countries⁵⁵. In this case, the process of formation of mass needs in post-material values is very slow. Already at present, we observe the tendency of a rise of new needs of the mass consumer society which have to change, first of all, the motivation of its existence. We say about the appearance of a system of satisfaction of, first of all, psychological needs. New problems will go beyond the political or economic boundaries. They will be connected with the ability of a person to distinguish an illusion from a reality⁵⁶.

The desire to impart a "human face" to the process of globalization induces the appearance of a mass social antiglobalist movement. Its characteristic depends on answering the basic questions whether the opposition to the globalization is a united social movement or whether it can be considered as a symptom of the first global revolution.

First of all, the development of the antiglobalistic movement depends on the search for a reply on challenges of the neoliberal model of globalization which propagandizes the belief into the survival of peoples most adapted to the rigid conditions of competition in the global market economy. On the opposite political pole, the traditional lefts support the slowing down of the process of globalization which destroys the social sphere. But the lefts cannot give a single answer to the question about the methods of facilitation of the position of the majority. For example, the social democrats propose the reformist way of preservation of social guarantees under the new circumstances, whereas the trotskists support the revolutionary methods of the struggle for social justice. The ultra rights, by defending the traditional bases of national statehood, are gradually inclining to the racist and xenophobic positions. Taking into account the modern demographic crisis in Europe, where the number of the population in the age of social activity decreases, the present situation threatens by a crash of the whole economic system.

The adherents of the so-called "new paradigm" of antiglobalism support the "globalization from the bottom", because the most adapted people will be able to make collective actions. They propagandize the concept of creation of the new forms of local and transnational institutions which are to resist the neoliberal forces of the globalization⁵⁷. Moreover, there will be the enough number of reasons for this. The report "Global tendencies — 2015" developed in the USA ascertains the conflict ability of the process of globalization and the deepening of the economic disparity⁵⁸. At the same time, the antiglobalist movement was identified by some mass media

after September 11, 2001 with the “fifth column” inside the Western civilization which helps the global terrorism.

Professor of Sociology at Sorbonne J. Baudrillard recognizes that, in the process of globalization, the deviation from democracy and the disparity will increase as the demographic problems worsen. Up to now, the traditional contradictions were solved by means of the world crises. In the future, the present-day situation can create the ideal conditions for the world revolution if another mechanism of redistribution of the resources between the global ghetto and the privileged absolute minority of the population will not be created⁵⁹. The forecast of such radical social changes sets the question about a new historical anthropology.

Post-modern anthropology. The further development of global prospects opens the possibilities for a new anthropological sight at a man and the humanity⁶⁰.

We note that the self-consciousness of the epoch of modern leaned always on the achievements of the economics and classical sociology which propagandized the values of the united universal progress for the entire humanity. On the contrary, the self-consciousness of the post-modern is identified on the principles of cultural anthropology and ethnology, that is, of sciences which accentuated the heterogeneity of the humanity's socio-cultural field. Such methodological principles allow one to deny the idea of social progress as a product of the activity of all the humanity. In such a manner, the bases of the socio-cultural project of the Enlightenment which were connected with the creation of the united Great space and united vector of the Great historical time are destroyed. On the contrary, the variety of socio-cultural spaces is accentuated whose development is of no common use. Now the progressive historical process is declared as the monopoly prerogative of the Western civilization, whose way is called by an ideologist of the atlantism S. Huntington as unique rather than universal. In fact, he states that the global civilization cannot appear by means of the pluralistic development which is directed toward the common future of various local civilizations. He concludes that this way can be passed only by using the values of the Western civilization.

In 2002, the author of the well-known essay “The end of the history”, F. Fukuyama, published a new work with the enough sad title “The end of a man”. In particular, he accentuates that the fate of the humanity which finds itself in the power of technique is sad. At the beginning of the XXIst century, after the decoding of one of the greatest Lord's mysteries such as human's genome, the tendency to domination of the technocratic approach to a man becomes most dangerous. Eventually, the situation is quite possible when

computers decide who should be cloned⁶¹. However, the question stays open in this case whether such clones will have immortal Souls as the sparkles of the Supreme Intellect. Otherwise, the forecast about a hypothetical revolt of clones-biorobots against the rest of biological men can be realized by itself.

The mutual dependence of the social globalization and a change of the anthropological paradigm becomes apparent in the formation of principles of the post-industrial civilization. In this case, we say not about quite new technologies and knowledge, but about the transformation of a man oneself and about the acquisition of a qualitative new post-material motivation by him/her⁶².

Another aspect of a transformation of the anthropological pattern of the modern humanity is connected with a gradual valuable convergence of various local civilizations. This process is immanently generated by the dominating state of the modern Western civilization and by the mass culture created by it. This phenomenon can be considered as a virus matrix as to the information component of the socio-cultural archetypes of non-Western local civilizations.

Due to the expansion of mass culture, the social mechanism of mutual understanding between different generations in certain countries which belong to individual socio-cultural types is gradually destroyed. For example, the youth, as testified by the Iranian experience, is westernized most actively. In such circumstances, the conflict between generations as a motive power of socio-historical processes has a chance to become the inner conflict between different civilizational values. Such a variant of the development of events can exclude the hypothetical possibility of a collision of civilizations.

But nevertheless, the alternative is represented by the intense development of the liberal model of globalization which stimulates the process of erosion of the collective principles of former traditional agrarian civilizations. In this case, the image of a total enemy is formed. This enemy is the Western Atlantic civilization which “wins” gradually other civilizations through overriding their informational and socio-cultural spaces.

Limits of the future and sources of the past. From the viewpoint of the structural-functional analysis, the world-system approaches a transformation of its structure after the events of September 11, 2001. This is evidenced by the symptoms of many problems of the world-system which found itself in the situation of fight with the own immanent crisis.

One of the demonstrations of this internal disaster, its so-called “deviant operator” which forms the variants of bifurcations, is the religion-motivated terrorism. Its evil gives the motive for the activity of various social agents. At the same time, it is irrelevant to place the terrorism on the eschatological level, on which the socio-historical problems of higher order are solved. For example, we bear in mind the determinants of the humanity’s development.

The being and time, as M. Heidegger wrote, determine mutually each other, but both the former and the latter cannot be considered, respectively, as something temporary and existent⁶³. The vision of the present depends in the same manner on a perception of the past as on a forecast of the future.

For social systems different by their scales and types (Humanity, Society, and Civilization), social time which reflects the directivity and content of social process “is running” differently. As seen in Fig. 3, the cycles of development of social processes for a Person and the Humanity and, respectively, their social time is running from the past through the present to the future. At the same time, for a Society (a national-state formation), it is running, on the contrary, from the future through the present to the past.

We consider that, from the viewpoint of the approach developed by us, it is rightful to say about the social relativism eroding the customary sacral sense — the social history moves from the past to the present and then to the future. In the light of the above-written, the methodological remark of the Russian mathematician and philosopher A. Davydov about the necessity to apply the method of interpolation to the analysis and forecast of socio-public processes, when we forecast the nearest future by starting from the past, the present, and the distant future⁶⁴. In this case, the method of extrapolation (from the past and the present to the future) preserves its relevancy for the description of socio-psychological processes and the processes of world-wide globalistics. On the whole, we note that the development of the corresponding tools becomes one of the key tasks of the newest historical sociology.

In this context, the idea of “the end of the history” can be considered not only in the paradigm of a purely linear social time, but also on the principles of the cyclic concept as the generation of a new social cycle. In this case, the post-modern is not only a new historical epoch, but the time of the intense display of social and natural problems of a new order.

The potential of the modern historical epoch which solved the tasks posed by the period of the Great French revolution of 1789–1794 is gradually exhausted. In this case, the post-transformational period which will probably begin in the nearest two-three decades will be mainly directed to the socio-psychological production of the new senses of various types of activity. We expect that the sense of differentiation of the humanity into various local civilizations every of them makes its contribution into the transition of a global civilization to a new stage of development which will open the revolutionary period of development of a new social cycle.

References

1. *Cheshkov M. A.* Look at the globalization through a prism of globalistics [in Russian] // Mirov. Ekon. Mezhd. Otnosh. — 2001. — No. 2. — P. 52–56.
2. *Shishkov Yu.* On the heterogeneity of globalistics and stages of its development [in Russian] // *ibid.* — 2001. — No. 2. — P. 59.
3. *Yakovets Yu. V.* Globalization and Interaction of Civilizations [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 17.
4. Works by *Bell D., Toffler A., Soros G., Habermas J.*
5. *Von Krockow C.* Der Deutsche Niedergang. Ein Ausblick ins 21 Jahrhundert. — Stuttgart, 1998. — S. 77.
6. *Sintserov L.* Long waves of global integration [in Russian] // Mirov. Ekon. Mezhd. Otnosh. — 2000. — No. 5. — P. 56–64.
7. *Yakovets Yu. V.* Globalization and Interaction of Civilizations [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 6.
8. *Sztompka P.* Sociology of Social Changes [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1996. — P. 120.
9. *Spath L.* Die New Economy Revolution. — Munchen. 2001. — S. 380.
10. *Batista P. N.* Five myths about “globalization” [in Russian] // *Latin. Amerika.* — 1999. — No. 7–8. — P. 5–8.
11. *Soros G.* The Crisis of Global Capitalism. Open Society Endangered. — 1998.
12. *Kochetov E. G.* Geoeconomy [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999.
13. Handelsblatt. — 2001. — 7 Jun.
14. *Ibid.* — 2001. — 11 Jun.
15. *Ibid.* — 2001. — 7 Apr.
16. *Usov V.* Indian ocean. Integration processes are growing [in Russian] // *Aziya i Afr. Segod.* — 1998. — No. 7. — P. 27.
17. Handelsblatt. — 2000. — 13 Nov.
18. *Vasil'ev A.* Africa is a “stepdaughter” of globalization [in Russian] // *Aziya i Afr. Segod.* — 2000. — No. 1. — P. 3.
19. *Blanque P.* The cycle strikes back [in Russian] // Mirov. Ekon. Mezhd. Otnosh. — 2000. — No. 4. — P. 14.
20. Handelsblatt. — 1998. — 2 Dez.
21. *Ibid.* — 2000. — 3 Jun.
22. *Ibid.* — 2001. — 11 Jan.
23. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. — 1999. — 11 Nov.
24. *Telbott S.* Globalization and diplomacy. A practitioner's perspective // *Foreign Policy.* — 1997. — No. 108. — P. 81.
25. *Trofimenko G. A.* A new reallocation of the world? [in Russian] // *SShA: Ekon., Polit., Ideol.* — 1998. — No. 3. — P. 29.
26. *Huntington S.* The lonely superpower // *Foreign Affairs.* — 1999. — March-April. — P. 35–49.
27. *Pleshov O.* Islamization as a development factor [in Russian] // *Aziya i Afr. Segod.* — 1999. — No. 9. — P. 15.
28. Die Zeit. — 1999. — 11 Nov.
29. *Vasilenko I. A.* Political Globalistics [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 75.
30. *Vasilenko I. A.* Political Globalistics [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 23.
31. See, e. g.: *Beck U.* Was Ist Globalisierung? — Frankfurt-am-Main, 1997; *Martin H.-P., Schumann H.* The Trap of Globalization: Attack against Prosperity and Democracy [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001.

32. In more details, see: *Wallerstein I.* Analysis of World Systems and Situation in Modern World [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001.
33. *Nazaretyan A.P.* Civilizational crises in the context of the universal history [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 121.
34. Globalization and Russia (round table) [in Russian] // *Mirov. Ekonom. Mezhd. Otnosh.* — 2002. — No. 9.
35. *Munnch R.* Die “Zweite Moderne”: Realitat oder Fiktion? Kritische Fragen an die Theorie der “reflexiven Modernisierung” // *Kolner Zeit. fur Soziologie und Sozialpsych.* — 2002. — Heft 3. — S. 417–441.
36. *Diligensky G.* Globalization in the human dimensionality [in Russian] // *Mirov. Ekonom. Mezhd. Otnosh.* — 2002. — No. 7. — P. 4.
37. *Sivertsev M.* Interreligious dialogue in the epoch of globalization [in Russian] // *Chelovek.* — 2002. — No. 5. — P. 76.
38. *Fukuyama F.* Is the End of History? [in Russian]. — In: *Philosophy of History. Anthology.* — Moscow, 1995. — P. 256.
39. *Jung C.-G., Kerenyi C.* Essays on a Science of Mythology. — New York, 1949; *Jung C.-G., Kerenyi C.* Four Archetypes. — Princeton, 1959.
40. *Jaspers K.* The Sense of History [in Russian]. — In: *Philosophy of History. Anthology.* — Moscow, 1995. — P. 192.
41. *Spengler O.* Der Untergang des Abendlandes. — 1918–1922.
42. *Yakovets Yu. V.* Globalization and Interaction of Civilizations [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2001. — P. 17.
43. *Huntington S.* Is the collision of civilizations? [in Russian] // *Polis.* — 1994. — No. 1. — P. 35.
44. *Von Glasenapp H.* Die Funf Weltreligionen. — Munchen, 1992. — S. 12.
45. *Panarin A. S.* Politology [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999. — P. 399.
46. *Chatterjee S., Datta D.* Indian Philosophy [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1994. — P. 36–37.
47. *Panarin A. S.* Temptation by Globalism [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 10.
48. *Toffler A.* Future Shock. — London, 1970.
49. *Platonov O.* Why does America Perish? [in Russian]. — Kyiv, 2000. — P. 108–109.
50. *Nolte E.* Historische Existenz zwischen Anfang und Ende der Geschichte. — Munchen, 1998. — S. 305.
51. *Sztompka P.* Sociology of Social Changes [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1996. — P. 200–201.
52. *Sztompka P.* Sociology of Social Changes [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1996. — P. 117–118.
53. *Dahrendorf R.* Die Krisen der Demokratie. Ein Gespräch mit Antonio Polito. — Munchen, 2002. — S. 98.
54. *Mander J., Goldsmith E.* Schwarzbuch Globalisierung. — Munchen, 2002. — S. 516.
55. *Neklessa A.* The requiem to the XXth century [in Russian] // *Mirov. Ekon. Mezhd. Otnosh.* — 2000. — No. 2. — P. 5.
56. *Kheveshi M. A.* The mass society in the XXth century [in Russian] // *Sotsiol. Issl.* — 2001. — No. 7. — P. 10.
57. *Weber A.* What stands behind the so-called antiglobalism? [in Russian] // *Mirov. Ekon. Mezhd. Otnosh.* — 2001. — No. 12. — P. 50–56.
58. *Sokhan' L. V., Sokhan' I. P.* The Time of New World and Person: Global Risks of the Civilization and Searches for a Way [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2001. — P. 82.
59. *Fakty.* — 2002. — 12 June.
60. *Krom M. M.* Historical Anthropology [in Russian]. — St.-Petersburg, 2000. — P. 7.
61. *Fukuyama F.* Das Ende des Menschen. — Munchen, 2002. — S. 352.

Section IV

*Europe:
test by integration*

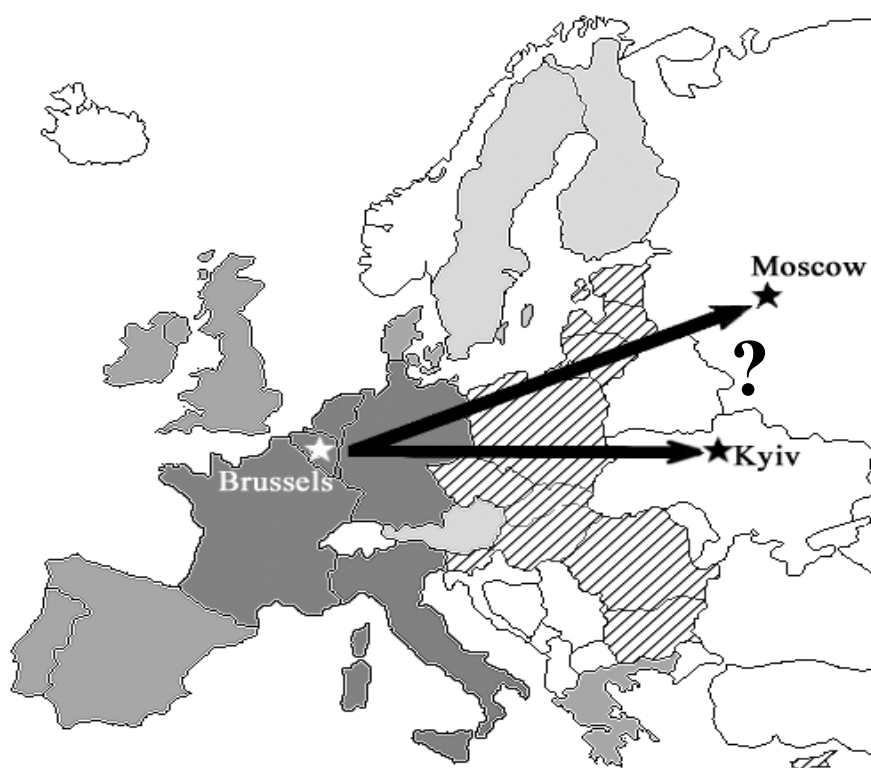


Fig. 4. Formation of the united Europe

- 1952–57 *Creation of the European association of coal and steel (Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Germany, France)*
- 1973–86 *Northern and Iberian enlargement of the European Economic Community: Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland (1973), Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986)*
- 1993–95 *Creation of the European Union (1993) and the new wave of enlargement: Austria, Finland, Sweden*
- 2004–07 *Plans of new united Europe: joining of Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Czech Republic (2004), Bulgaria, Romania (2007)*

Chapter 18. United Europe: socio-cultural borders

One of the fathers of the European integration J. Monnet stated in his declining years that if he could begin this process anew, then he would begin it from the socio-cultural component of the joining of European peoples. This would clear the “field” for the construction of a common house, the united Europe, on the base of the mental unity of its people.

From the second half of the XXth century, just the dialogue of the European cultures forms the socio-economic and political preconditions for the formation of the modern European Union. In this case, the culture is considered as a quintessence of all kinds of the human activities, customs, beliefs, i.e., of everything material and spiritual which was created by the humanity. The historical definition of culture accentuates the important role of the socio-historical heritage and the corresponding tradition. The normative approach to culture chooses the specific mode of life of a person which is determined by its socio-cultural environment. The cultural values of certain social groups preserve and reproduce the social institutions forming the genetic code of culture.

In general, culture is also understood as the behaviour learnt by a man during all the stages of his/her socialization. Culture is also the organization of various phenomena with the usage of certain symbols¹. So, culture is inseparable from a person as a social creature.

The change of the socio-cultural borders is connected, first of all, with a transformation of the corresponding archetypes, in other words, of the peculiar “coded” spatio-temporal model of a certain social organism. Of course, the history must spend enough time for this extremely complicated process.

Vectors of the European integration process. In general, the project of the European integration was formed and developed in the relatively indivisible socio-cultural environment of Western Europe under conditions of the clear division into the liberal West and communist East.

In January 1, 1995, after the entrance of Austria, Sweden, and Finland into the European Union, the contemporary “Europe-15” was born. The new EU extends

from the Polar circle to the Peloponnesus, from French Brest to Byelorussian Brest. Its territory is equal to 3.2 million square kilometers (approximately two thirds of the USA's area), the population is 366.9 mln, and the gross domestic product was 6 trillion two hundred and ten billion 100 million USA dollars at the beginning of 1996. None of the new integration unions in the world can be compared with the EU by the level of development and maturity of the joining. The model of the European Union becomes the attractive example for the entire world.

Before the middle of the XXth century, the intellectual projects of the joining of Europe passed ahead of the integration possibilities of the Old continent's states. Only two world wars and the "cold war" which was, in essence, the third world war stimulated the process of unification of the European states with the aim of self-preservation and even a certain negation of the pessimistic O. Spengler's forecast about the further "Decline of Europe" which, in our opinion, had the objective base. If one considers the project of formation of the united Europe as a project of "construction" of the Babylonian tower, in other words, the joining of basically different socio-cultural traditions which is accelerated in time and expanded in space, then its failure can give just such a result. But we understand the European integration as a real creative process of civilizational self-perfection of the continent with regard for the quite closely mutually connected political, socio-economic, legal, and spiritual-cultural factors.

Going deep into the past, one can find at least two spiritual origins of the modern European culture such as the classical antique and spiritual Judaic-Christian traditions. The Western world lives by the intense dialectic unity of these two poles. Its dynamism, from the Russian political scientist I. Vasilenko's viewpoint, is explained by this constructive conflict.

The political values of the Roman Empire influenced decisively the formation of the political culture in the West. The Roman Empire ensured the communications for the expansion of the Christianity. The Roman Catholic tradition favoured the formation of the joined legal and political Western European space. The Protestant culture transformed the active earthly work into the religious duty of a believer. The development of the democratic political culture was sanctioned by the culture of religious participation. At the same time, the situation, when the faith is a private affair, opens the way to the revolutionary Marxism². In this way, the spiritual and religious crisis being experienced by a modern European man is intensified to a certain extent. The construction of a developed consumer society transforms the spiritual problems to the "material" ones; moreover, the distinctive period of "hedonistic atheism" begins. The development of this tendency was accelerated because of the global advance

of the Western civilization's values. As a result, the socio-cultural gap between different civilizations is increasing utterly.

The political aspects of the European integration in contrast to the economic ones, where always a specific material interest stimulating the quick search for compromise decisions is present, are connected to a great extent with the problems of functioning the national state mechanisms, with the concepts of sovereignty and national self-identification, and with the coordination of the positions of different political elites. Now two hypothetical models of development of the European Union have taken shape. First of them is connected with the formation of a confederative union of national states, and the second one — with the formation of the federative United States of Europe. The “third way” which would consist in a certain joining of these two directions hasn't yet formed as a clear political project.

National currency was always the important factor of the socio-cultural identification. The common monetary unit, the euro, is a symbol of formation of a new uniform space. The quite difficult process of development of the design for this currency evidences for the preservation of stable socio-cultural barriers. At the beginning, it was suggested to place the images of the “fathers” of the united Europe on banknotes and to determine the place for national symbols. But all these ideas were not accepted eventually, because such an approach would be able to fix the dominating position of the leading member-countries of the European Union and to affect negatively the feelings of small peoples. After the acute debates, the variant of a distinctive “socio-cultural compromise” was chosen. They decided to depict the logotypes of architectural styles of the Western Europe on euro banknotes, but to represent individual details which are typical of the European architectural styles of various epochs such as classicism, romanticism, baroque, rococo, and modernism rather than specific buildings.

So, the socio-cultural vector of the European integration remains to be the least “advanced” by essentially objective reasons related to the peculiarities of national historical development. In the modern European Union, the socio-cultural North-South “polar” axis is preserved. The Scandinavian countries which had not experienced the direct influence of the antique culture unlike, for example, the Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, to some extent the Frenchmans and Germans, are different quite distinctly by their mentality from the Mediterranean countries which differ, in turn, by this criterion from the Britons quite essentially. It is no mere chance that the important direction of the European integration process is the formation of the so-called “European regions” which, properly speaking, are the emanation of deep socio-cultural borders of the level of local territorial associations.

On the South-East of Europe, the Balkans are separated as the traditional intersection of the socio-cultural influences of different civilizations such as Europe and Near East. As a result, under conditions of the transient historical periods, the centers of tension are formed there, the bursts in which redistribute the zones of influence between peoples, countries, and civilizations for the long time.

Influence of globalization on socio-cultural boundaries and political borders in Europe. The socio-cultural borders establish the “demarcation line” between certain civilizational organisms, countries, and regions and between different individuals as well.

As a rule, the socio-cultural boundaries formed historically don’t always coincide with the political borders which are a reflection of the tendencies of a level distinct from spirituality and culture. The socio-cultural “demarcation lines” are more agreed with the geopolitical borders. The political borders are changed more often than the geopolitic and socio-cultural boundaries.

For example, the fall of the Berlin wall which was the symbol of the cold war during 1949–1989 and, at the same time, the political and socio-cultural boundary between the communist East and liberal West will inevitably accelerate the process of joining of the German people, at least. But now, 13 years after the joining of Germany, the essential mental differentiation between the Western and Eastern Germans preserves³, in spite of the titanic efforts of the whole German society to create at last the homogeneous mental space which was broken off by the political boundaries during only 40 years. Perhaps, the change of at least three generations will be necessary to realize this aim and to form eventually more or less stable corresponding valuable reference points.

From the purely political viewpoint, the contemporary European Union becomes an increasingly homogeneous formation. However, the significant socio-cultural boundaries between the Anglo-Saxon and Roman Europe, between the North Protestant-Catholic and South Europe, being predominantly Catholic, remain.

The basis of the Western culture is the modern technological civilization which reveals the tendencies to the globalization. This phenomenon adopted, in general, the tradition of organizational-technical transformations of the world for the benefit of a man which is typical of the European civilization. This becomes apparent in the modern genetic engineering which can become a component of the dehumanized social engineering.

Modern information technologies change radically the traditional ideas of the socio-cultural boundaries between civilizations. However, on the socio-cultural “breaks”, the zones of tension are formed such as Ulster, Basques’ land, and Corsica.

Great Britain applies maximum efforts during 30 years to reconcile Ulster, but the formation of a new culture of tolerance between the Catholic majority and Protestant minority has not yet taken place in this province, which is evidenced by the difficulties with the disarmament of the Irish Republican Army. After the fall of the Franco's autocratic regime, the problem of democratic support of the national self-identification of one of the most ancient peoples of the modern Europe, the Basques, is the permanent headache of the Spanish state. The native land of Napoleon Bonaparte, Corsica, continues to set up the essential political problems for Paris by insisting on a very broad autonomy unlike all other French territories.

Indeed, we see that, in spite of some noticeable progress in the process of European political integration, the phenomenon of local regional self-identity remains to be quite stable and is injected by the existent socio-cultural stereotypes.

Thus, the process of globalization influences quite essentially, first of all, the political borders in Europe, but this tendency will need a longer time for the appreciable influence on socio-cultural boundaries. The socio-cultural globalization will become finally a real historical fact only when it will "liquidate" the external and internal socio-cultural boundaries in Europe.

"Disjoined" Europe: the ethnical-religious factor. First of all, let's consider the socio-cultural boundaries of the Europe which tries to become joined.

Since 1970s, the European Union admitted the new members four times:

1973 — Great Britain (with the leading Anglican Church), Denmark (the most part of the Danes practices the Lutheranism), and Ireland (the predominantly Catholic country),

1981 — Orthodox Greece,

1986 — predominantly Catholic Spain and Portugal,

1995 — Catholic Austria and Protestant Sweden and Finland.

Thus, from the religious viewpoint, the contemporary EC is the union of the Catholic and Protestant peoples, excluding Orthodox Greece only. The violation of the religious homogeneity of the European Union is possible because of the next enlargement.

At the beginning of the XXIst century, the process of expansion is stimulated, on the one hand, by the great wish of candidate-countries to return to the mother's lap of the European civilization, and, on the other hand, by the objective interest of "old" members of the EC to expand the influence, to obtain new markets, and to finish the process of the political integration of Europe.

The discussion about the question concerning the determination of the geopolitical borders of new united Europe still continues. After the recognizing

the Moslem Turkey as a candidate for the entry, the EU hypothetically will stop on the socio-cultural boundary of Syria, Iran, and Iraq. Indeed, the enlarging toward Near East can provoke, by the terms of S. Huntington, the “collision of civilizations” in the EU structure itself.

Many of the analysts are alarmed because of the prospects that Europe will have new neighbours which are politically instable, polarized ethnically, and retarded economically. In this way, instead of the “iron curtain” of the “cold war” time, it can appear objectively the “velvet curtain” which will fix the new socio-cultural boundaries in Europe. The political declaration about the “open doors” for new members of the European Union and the North-Atlantic Alliance will be able to stay rhetorical only.

During 1990s, two groups of candidate-countries for the entry to the EU are determined. First of them, the so-called “Luxembourg group” was determined in March, 1998 and included Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovenia (in the last, the socio-cultural influence of the German world was always noticeable), former Soviet republic Estonia (predominantly Lutheran), and Mediterranean Cyprus (which was parted between Greeks and Turks by a socio-cultural boundary). The second group, the so-called “Helsinki group” of entrants, was mentioned in December 1999 and consisted of the ex-Soviet republics Latvia and Lithuania (predominantly Catholic), Slovakia, Malta (Catholic countries), and Orthodox Romania and Bulgaria.

Thus, out of the limits of the plans of expansion of the EU remain such countries as Catholic Croatia (at least for the time being), Orthodox Serbia (up to a change of its socio-cultural code and its adaptation for the Western European values), the “cocktail” of the Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbians, and Moslem Bosnians in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and predominantly Orthodox Macedonia. Until the final reconciliation on the Balkans, it is early to tell about their European integration prospects.

At the beginning of the XXIst century, the key problem of the united Europe’s future is the question of development of the oecumenical religious movement and formation of the religious tolerance. The overcoming of old and new sociocultural boundaries depends on the European mental integration of the peoples which will join in the nearest future to the common European family.

National minorities and immigrants in the dialogue of European cultures. The national minorities form, first of all, internal socio-cultural barriers for every civilizational system in general and separate countries in particular. The immigrants are, in essence, the “graft” of the mentality of another civilization upon a new civilizational organism.

In the near future, all European politicians will have to consider the objective demographic reality, when the ethnical European population will grow

old, the general number of the population will decrease, and the needs of keeping the achieved level of the development and the global influence will demand the adaptation to the rapidly increasing Asian, African, and Latin American civilizational organisms.

At the beginning of the XXIth century, the European Union can find itself in the position of the Western Roman Empire at the beginning of the Christian era, when the Barbarian tribes stayed in front of the gate of the highly developed civilization and were ready to be integrated into this structure and to add new features to it.

In general, under conditions of the globalization, the attitude toward the national minorities becomes the indicator of the capability of a certain state to adapt to the imperatives of the progressing immigration activity of non-European peoples. The ability to adapt immigrants to the European values in the socio-cultural sense becomes the question of the competitiveness of the European Union in the nascent global civilizational system. Indeed, although one must do in Rome as the Romans do, it isn't yet obvious whether non-European immigrants will want to loose finally their socio-cultural identity.

The rights of the minorities are protected quite surely in general, with the some exceptions (Roma, Basques, Corsicans, etc.), by the European legal system. But the attitude to immigrants is quite confrontational, as the everyday information in the press witnesses. The reasons for this fact are above all in the conflict of socio-cultural values.

In general, immigrants can be divided into some categories: the representatives of the former socialist camp of Eastern Europe, emigrants from the former colonies of the European countries, and socio-cultural "strangers" who feel the most powerful demonstrations of xenophobia. The Moslems who are considered mostly as "terrorists" and "Islamic fanatics" feel the strongest abhorrence from the side of the natives.

Under the conditions, when the Moslem world tries to adapt to the modern tendencies of the economic and political globalization, including the unadequate reaction to the humiliation of the belief of the faithfuls by the modern mass culture (in the form of drugs, rock music, fashion, or the new invention of "humanitarian intervention"), a further strengthening of the tension between the traditional Christian and Moslem civilizations will be observed.

In view of these facts, the urgent necessity is the establishing of the dialogue between the cultures, because the today's immigrants will inevitably become the national minorities tomorrow. So, the socio-cultural integration of two these categories of persons to the "title" nation, but with the preservation of the self-identification of all the ethnical groups, becomes the real challenge. The prospects of peaceful co-existence or collision of the civilizations

with all the negative consequences for the formation of a new global system will depend on the efficiency of the answer to this challenge⁴.

In the first half of the new millennium, the problem of cultural self-identification of the European Union has to be solved in general. The specific forms of this process are still in the phase of “design”.

Ukraine can become the full-fledged European state only under the condition of the adequate perception of all European realities in their multidimensionality and impetuous movement. We have all reasons to think that Ukraine can be transformed to the socio-cultural center of the East Slavic peoples, because the native “philosophy of heart” helped more than once to choose the worthy way of spiritual self-keeping for the nation under very difficult historical conditions.

In exactly the same way, Europe can rely on the realization of its ambitious plans to achieve a new level of homogeneity of the European economic, social, and socio-cultural space only if the interests of all its member-countries will be taken into account and their cultural requirements will be adequately realized. Of great importance is also the task of the overcoming of both internal and external socio-cultural boundaries or, at least, the creation of the reliable systems of communication between different peoples.

Chapter 19. The European parliament in the context of political integrational process

The home mass media when they tell about the Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) used quite often the concept of “European parliament” as a synonym. In essence, this fact is the evidence for the absence of a sense differentiation in the understanding of the place, role, functions, and tasks of the oldest all-European, first of all, right-protective organization such as the Council of Europe (Ukraine is one of its members since November 1995) and its important structure such as the Parliament Assembly, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the basically distinct institution of the European political integration process, the European parliament (EP), the first direct elections to which had place in the member-countries of the European Community in 1979.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the European Parliament became the important representative and legislative structure of the European Union. Below, we analyze the main stages of development of the European Parliament.

Formation and work of the EP during four election cadencies.

In accordance with the conditions of the Rome treaty (March 23, 1957), the European Economic Community was established in January 1, 1958. With the purpose of the coordination of work of the national parliaments of its founders such as FRG, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, and Italy, the “European assembly” numbering 142 deputies began its work in March 1958. In 1962, this body obtained the unofficial name of “parliament”. Just at that time, it was decided to activate the political co-operation of the member-countries of the European Economic Community.

It was decided to hold the direct elections of deputies of the European parliament on the base of the main principles of parliamentary democracy at the meeting of the leaders of the states and governments of member-countries of the EC in April 8, 1978. Due to this decision, the European integration has to become deeper, because the lawful power act will become more legitimate, and the activity of the renovated European parliament will have to promote

the general democratization of the European structures and the strengthening of the European solidarity and identity⁵.

The first direct elections to the European parliament took place in June 7–10, 1979. The right-centrist parties became the winners, and the European Social Democrats found themselves in opposition. At the meeting hall, the deputies were structured not by the national indication, but by the principle of party-political membership. The deputies were elected for a term of 5 years.

At the beginning of 1980s, the basic decision to form the European Monetary system which will determine the common monetary identity of the EC was reached, which made the decisive step to a deepening of the process of political integration in Europe.

The second direct elections to the European parliament occurred in June 14–17, 1984. There were no radical changes in the political landscape of the EP. The official name “European parliament” was fixed in the Common European Act of 1986 which established the agenda of the intensification of the process of political and economic integration in Europe. Due to this fact, the path to the creation of the European Union became open.

The third direct elections to the European parliament took place in June 15–18, 1989. From that time, the EP extended its authorities and functions in many spheres, in particular in the fields of the employment policy, education, social protection, transport, new technologies, and ecology. The cooperation with other bodies of the EC such as the European commission and the European Court Chamber became more constructive.

The European Parliament made efforts to attain the greater openness of civil control, in particular through mass media. Therefore, the EP became a distinctive “political academy” rather than “the powerless club for discussions”⁶. During this cadency, the Common Market was formed, the first stage of the creation of the Economic and Currency Union was initiated (the last stage was connected with the putting of the common monetary unit, euro, into the money turnover during the first half of 2002), the implementation of regulations of the Maastricht treaty was ensured, and the European Union was created. In addition, the new mechanism of interaction between the EP and the European Commission was realized.

In July 9–12, 1994, the fourth direct elections to the European parliament took place. For the first time, the citizens of member-countries of the EC, who lived and worked on the territory of any other member-country of the EC at the time of the elections, can vote at a sojourn place.

At that time, there were some changes in the structure of the European parliament. The Secretary of the EP was accomodated in Luxemburg, the institution of advisers — in Brussels, 626 deputies (their number increased due to the entrance of Austria,

Sweden, and Finland to the EC in January 1, 1995) carried out the plenary meetings mainly in Strasbourg and the meetings with the participation of the European commissioners in Brussels. The deputies of the EP are forbidden to have the so-called double mandate, in other words, to be also the deputy of a national parliament.

During this cadency, the EP controlled partially, for the first time, the process of appointment of the staff of the European Commission headed by J. Santer. Intense became the work of European parliamentarians in the fields of the creation of the legislative base for co-operation in the framework of the common market, agricultural policy, structural funds, and common foreign and defense policy. At the same time, it was accentuated the scantiness of the democratic forms of the civil control over the work of EC institutions in general and the European parliament in particular.

Table 1 (P. 202) presents the short history of the European parliament⁷.

During the whole period of activity of the EP, the legal basis of development of all the components of the European integration process was sequentially and systematically improved. At the center of attention of the European parliament are the questions about the strengthening of freedom, democracy, development of the economically prosperous solidary society with firm social guarantees, leadership of laws, and protection of human rights.

Legislative bases of operation of the European parliament. The Rome treaty of 1957 fixed the necessity to create a parliamentary institution (Assembly) which has to coordinate, together with the European Court Chamber, the legal provision of the European integration process. In accordance with article 137 of this treaty, the composition of this body must include the representatives of the peoples united into the Community. It was fixed that the deputies of the EP are independent of the own countries' authorities. Strasbourg was defined as the residence of the European parliament. Nevertheless, the Rome treaty acknowledged the role of the EP as consultative in essence. Formally, the European Commission should not obey the opinion of parliamentarians, but has to "take it into account"⁸.

At the same time, the European parliament obtained the right to establish various standing committees, listen to the opinion of experts, and carry out the parliamentary hearings on topical issues. Article 140 of the Rome treaty obliged the European commissars to answer the inquiries of the EP deputies. The corresponding reports were submitted, as a rule, at the end of the period of the chairmanship of some country in the EC structures. Article 144 of the Rome treaty foresaw the responsibility of the European commissioners to the EP. They could be dismissed only by two thirds of the votes of the complete quorum of the parliamentarians. The vote of censure could be expressed only to all the membership of the European commission, not to its separate members.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of Countries</i>	<i>Number of Deputies</i>	<i>Number of Languages</i>	<i>President</i>	<i>Political Group and Nationality</i>
1952–1954	6	78	4	P.-H. Spaak A. De Gasperi	Socialist / B Chr. Dem. / I
1954–1956				G. Pella	Chr. Dem. / I
1956–1958				H. Furler	Chr. Dem. / D
1958–1960		142		R. Schuman	Chr. Dem. / F
1960–1962				H. Furler	Chr. Dem. / D
1962–1964				G. Martino	Liberal / I
1964–1965				J. Duvieusart	Chr. Dem. / B
1965–1966				V. Leemans	Chr. Dem. / B
1966–1969				A. Poher	Chr. Dem. / F
1969–1971				M. Scelba	Chr. Dem. / I
1971–1973				W. Behrendt	Socialist / D
1973–1975	9	198	6	C. Berkhouwer	Liberal / NL
1975–1977				G. Spenale	Socialist / F
1977–1979				E. Colombo	Chr. Dem. / I
1979–1982	10	434	7	S. Veil	Liberal / F
1982–1984				P. Dankert	Socialist / NL
1984–1987	12	518	9	P. Pflimlin	Chr. Dem. / F
1987–1989				Lord Plumb	Conserv. / GB
1989–1992		567		E. Baron	Socialist / E
1992–1994				E. Klepsch	Chr. Dem. / D
1994–1997	15	626	11	K. Hansch	Socialist / D
1997–1999				J. M. Gil-Robles	Chr. Dem. / E
1999–				N. Fontaine	Chr. Dem. / F

Table 1. Short history of the European Parliament

1952–1958 — *Common Assembly of the ECSC (nominated)*
 1958–1979 — *European Assembly / Parliament (nominated)*
 till 1979 — *European Parliament (elected):*
 1979–1984 — *First cadency*
 1984–1989 — *Second cadency*
 1989–1994 — *Third cadency*
 1994–1999 — *Fourth cadency*
 1999–2004 — *Fifth cadency*

The Common European Act of February 28, 1986 enlarged partly the authorities of the EP. The so-called “the procedure of cooperation” was established. That is, if the European commission isn’t satisfied with the amendments of the European parliamentarians, it has to return the according draft to the repeated reading. If the EP would persist in its opinion, the European commission could to approve the own version of the document, but only by the unanimously decision for three months.

The Common European Act legitimates the flag of the EC, the blue cloth with 12 yellow stars situated as a circle and the European anthem whose music became Beethoven’s “Ode to gladness”. The frame of problems, the consultations about which with the EP were obligatory, became essentially enlarged. First of all, that were the questions about the creation of the Common Market. In particular, the EP forms its political dimension. With this purpose, 279 legal documents were approved.

The important role in the legal adjustment of not only the European parliament, but the European Union as a whole, is played by the procedure of ratification of the budget. In accordance with article 203 of the Rome treaty, the European parliament has the right to reject the budget project, to change the structure of budget articles, for example, the sizes of three basic funds, regional, social, and agrarian ones, which include two thirds of the budget. But the EP cannot increase the expenses of the budget. In 1986, the European Court Chamber made a resolve about the budget contradictions between the European Commission and the European parliament⁹.

The important stage of enlargement of the authorities of the EP began with signing the Maastricht treaty (February 1992), in accordance with which the European Unity was created in November 1, 1993. The mentioned treaty determined the necessity of activation of the interaction between the European parliament and national parliaments of the member-countries of the EC with the purpose of strengthening the democratic basis of the EC, the enlargement of the possibilities for the participation of citizens in the decision-making process. On this base during the 1990s, the cooperation between the fractions in national parliaments and Pan-European fractions in the EP was intensively developed.

At that time, the European parliament ensured the realization of the second stage of creation of the Economic and Currency Union of the EC, promoted the formation of the base of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC, and formed the legal conditions for the realization of the principle of subsidiarity (in other words, solving the political problems on the levels of the regional and all-European competence) and the common citizenship of member-countries of the EC in accordance with the Schengen Convention in 1985. In addition, the European Parliament appointed, at first, the person who had to

look after the observance of human rights, the ombudsman. Since that time, the problems of observance of human rights on the global scale are constantly at the center of attention of the Euro-parliament.

The Amsterdam treaty of 1997 strengthened the right of the European parliament to take part in the all decision-makings in the European Union and in the control over work of all its institutions, in particular, through the budget mechanism and the direct interaction with citizens of the member-countries of the EC.

In December 2000, the Charter of the rights of citizens of the member-countries of the EC was approved in Nice. In particular, the right to petition to the Euro-parliament was enlarged. This institution had also to concentrate its activity on the guaranteeing of the social and ecological rights of citizens.

The treaty signed that time fixes the principles of work of the agencies of the EC after the entrance of new countries. We note that one of the most basic questions of the modern reforming of the European Union's structures is the adaptation to the future reality concerning the entrance of new member-countries. It is clear that the entrance of at least 12 candidates requires to implement the essential changes in the work of all the EC institutions including the European parliament.

Role of the European parliament on the modern stage of development of the EC. The place, functions, and tasks of the European parliament in the integration political process were generally determined by the Maastricht treaty of 1992, the Amsterdam treaty of 1997, and the Treaty signed in Nice in 2000. In essence, the Euro-parliament became the head body called to execute the democratic control over the activity of the executive power such as the European commission (which includes 24 general boards, 20 European commissioners, and 21 thousand office workers from all the member-countries of the EC and has the annual budget equal to 87 billion euros) and to protect efficiently the rights of citizens of the member-countries of the European Union¹⁰.

The modern stage of development of the European integration is connected, first of all, with the reformation of the institutions of the EU with the aim to intensify the integration process, from the one side, and to ensure the entrance of new member-countries, from the other side. The realization of this difficult and contradictory process depends, to a great extent, on the European parliament which is to ratify the Treaties about the entrance of countries-candidates into the European Union.

While the difficult negotiations about the entrance of new countries last, the scandal around the European commission headed by J. Santer became the true test for the acting structures of the European Union. In December 1998, the Counting Chamber of the EC discovered the cases of corruption during the consideration of the budget for the next year¹¹. As a result, the question

about the vote of censure for the European Commission was raised in the meeting of the Euro-parliament in January 14, 1999. The ballot (293 placets, 232 non placets, 27 abstained from voting) gave occasion to the political correspondents to tell that the fraction of European Social Democrats “hushed up” its staff in the European commission¹². However, under the pressure of the report of the independent expert commission, all European commissioners with J. Santer at head resigned in March 16, 1999.

After the short but quite intensive political consultations, the consensus was achieved in May 6, 1999, and the Euro-parliament voted for the appointment of the Italian R. Prodi as the head of the European Commission with the term of powers till 2004.

Thus, from the one side, this substantial political crisis proved the efficiency of the democratic control over the activity of the European commission by the Euro-parliament. But, from the other side, it struck a noticeable political blow to European social democrats who lost the elections to the European parliament in June 1999 to a great extent due to this fact.

The election campaign was mainly concentrated on the facts of corruption in the European commission and on the questions of financing the work of the EP deputies. By the information of mass media, 18500 DM were expended for the support of everyone from 626 deputies of the Euro-parliament every month. This question became the important argument for the criticism of activity of the Euro-bureaucrats from the side of the Euro-skeptics. At the same time, it was accentuated that there were no inexpensive mechanisms of the support of functioning a democratic political system.

According to the results of the elections in June 10–13, 1999, the party structure of the Euro-parliament took the new form (*Table 2, P. 206*).

In such a way, the right-center parties have insignificant majority in the European parliament now, which makes some balance of the political forces, because the European commission now consists almost completely of commissioners from the left-center parties. Thus, the electorate made some balance of party forces in the executive and legislative bodies of the EC. However, with regard for the closeness of the positions of Christian Democrats and Social Democrats as for the problems and prospects of the European integration process, the activity of the present party-political composition of the European parliament ensures legislatively the urgent requirements of development of the EC on the whole.

Prospects of development of the European parliament. The horizon of development of the European Union in the political field depends on the interaction between the structure-forming elements of the political system, namely on the activity of governments, parliaments, and citizens.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
Austria	21	7	7	—	2	—	—	—	—	5
Belgium	25	6	5	5	7	—	—	—	2	—
Great Britain	87	37	30	10	6	—	—	3	—	1
Greece	25	9	9	—	—	7	—	—	—	—
Denmark	16	1	3	6	—	1	1	4	—	—
Ireland	15	5	1	1	2	—	6	—	—	—
Spain	64	28	24	3	4	4	—	—	—	1
Italy	87	34	17	7	2	6	9	—	12	—
Luxemburg	6	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Netherlands	31	9	6	8	4	1	—	3	—	—
Germany	99	53	33	—	7	6	—	—	—	—
Portugal	25	9	12	—	—	2	2	—	—	—
Sweden	22	7	6	4	2	3	—	—	—	—
Finland	16	5	3	5	2	1	—	—	—	—
France	87	21	22	—	9	11	12	6	5	1

Table 2. Distribution of mandates in the Europarlament and political structure in the period of 1999-2004

626 deputies of the European Parliament are structurized into 9 fractions:

- 1 — European People's Party (233 deputies);*
- 2 — Social-democratic parties of Europe (180 deputies);*
- 3 — Liberal-democratic parties of Europe (50 deputies);*
- 4 — Greens/European Free Alliance (48 deputies);*
- 5 — European United Lefts (42 deputies);*
- 6 — Union for a Europe of Nations (30 deputies);*
- 7 — European democrats (16 deputies);*
- 8 — "Technical" fraction of independent deputies (19 deputies);*
- 9 — Non-attached deputies (8 deputies).*

<i>Political groups</i>	
EPP- ED	Group of the European People's Party and European Democrats
PES	Group of the Party of European Socialists
ELDR	Group of the European Liberal, Democratic and Reformist Party
Greens/EFA	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance
EUL/NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left
UEN	Group of the Union for a Europe of Nations
EDD	Europe of Democracies and Diversities Group

With the getting out of a significant part of the political process on the supernational level, the problem of ensuring of the democratic norms of social life became critical, because just a national state and a civil society formed in its format were the guarantors of the observance of human rights since the time of the Great French revolution at the end of the XVIIIth century. At the present time, the strategic decisions are formed and inculcated on the superstate level, which demands some reformation of the political institutions and mechanisms of their interaction. Thus, urgent becomes the necessity to develop further the democratic procedures and to increase the transparency of the decision-making process through the control from the side of the public in the member-countries of EC. Just these problems form the core of the present agenda of the reformation of the European Union.

Till now, the main decisions are made by the European Commission which is controlled mediately by the national parliaments approving the own representatives in this structure. At the same time, the members of national parliaments are elected by the same electorate which forms the composition of the European parliament. Therefore, no objections can be raised against the increase of the corresponding power of the EP. It seems that the development of this tendency became irreversible.

The intensification of the European political integration stimulates the creation of all-European party structures. Due to this fact, perhaps, the citizens of member-countries of the EC will elect the deputies of the European parliament according to the common party list on the elections in 2004. It is planned that the citizens of new member-countries which are to enter the European Union until that time will already take part in those elections.

According to the Copenhagen's (1993) criteria, countries-candidates to the entrance to EC must have a stable inner democratic structure, legal order, protect human rights, and execute a number of the requirements about the legislative adaptation. This determines the necessity of a permanent dialogue between European parliamentarians.

The inevitable procedure of enlargement of the EC demands objectively the revision of both the number of deputy's mandates in the EP and the procedure of decision-making by the so-called qualified majority of votes.

In December 7–11, 2000 in Nice (it was the longest summit for all the history of the EC), the strategic questions about the problems and prospects of the European Union were discussed. Of course, the most fundamental question which is open till this day was about the final aim of the European integration. The question about the creation of the United States of Europe by the hypothetical confederative model is rhetorical, because the most part of the European politicians wish, nevertheless, to transform the EC into the world superforce, rather than the superstate.

We should like to mention the intricate group of contradictions between the “large” and “small” (by the number of the population) member-countries of the EC. The latter were in opposition to the proportional representation in the European Commission and the European Parliament and, respectively, in the opposition to a decision-making by the new qualified majority. At the same time, if the number of mandates, for example in the European parliament, will not be increased, then decisions in the enlarged EC will be made by the representatives only of a half of the population, which is impossible from the viewpoint of democratic procedures.

There were disputes about the question concerning the limits of control functions of the European parliament. Germany insisted on the overall control over the activity of the European Commission by the European parliament, but Great Britain was definitely against this. The search for a compromise concerning this basic problem is just lasting.

As a result of sharp discussions between all the member-countries of the EC and the representatives of 12 candidate-countries invited to the summit in Nice, the new distribution of the votes in the European Council was adjusted (*Table 3*)¹³.

Thus, a decision can be made by the qualified majority of votes under the condition that not more than seven countries will vote against this decision. However, the new order will start not in the near future. Indeed, even after the hypothetical enlargement in 2004, only the candidates from the so-called “Luxemburg group” (determined in 1998) such as Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia, and Cyprus will become the members of the EC depending on their individual readiness. The entrance into the EC of the countries from the “Helsinki group” can be postponed.

The summit of the EC in Nice approved also the increase in the number of deputies from 626 to 732. The new distribution of deputy’s mandates is shown in *Table 4*¹⁴.

Thus, all present members of the EC, excluding Germany which is the largest country by the number of the population and the smallest Luxemburg, have to “share” the deputy’s places in the European parliament with future new member-countries of the EC.

During these discussions, the idea of creation of the second Chamber of the European parliament became mature. For the first time, President of Czech Republic V. Havel puts forward this idea in 1998. He proposed to create the Upper chamber from the representatives of national parliaments. The similar idea is popularized by the Chancellor of Germany G. Schroder who proposed to create a new model of the European parliament by the German sample: the Lower chamber as the chamber of the representatives of the Euro-parliament and the Upper chamber as the chamber of the deputies of national parliaments

Country	Population (mln)	Number of Votes	
		earlier	after
Germany	82.0	10	29
Great Britain	59.2	10	29
France	59.0	10	29
Italy	57.6	10	29
Spain	39.4	8	27
Poland	38.7	—	27
Romania	22.5	—	15
Netherlands	15.8	5	13
Greece	10.5	5	12
Czech Republic	10.3	—	12
Belgium	10.2	5	12
Hungary	10.1	—	12
Portugal	10.0	5	12
Sweden	8.0	4	10
Bulgaria	8.2	—	10
Austria	8.1	4	10
Slovakia	5.4	—	7
Denmark	5.3	3	7
Finland	5.2	3	7
Ireland	3.7	3	7
Lithuania	3.7	—	7
Latvia	2.4	—	4
Slovenia	2.0	—	4
Estonia	1.4	—	4
Cyprus	0.4	—	4
Luxemburg	0.4	2	4
Malta	0.4	—	3

*Table 3. Number of votes in the Council of Europe
after the enlargement of the EC*

which can have more rights, in particular in the budget field. In that way, the decisive step to the creation of the European confederation or federation can be carried out. Prime-Minister of Great Britain T. Blair, on the contrary, is the opponent of creation of the Upper chamber of the Euro-parliament and the supporter of the preservation of the higher prerogatives of national parliaments.

The coordination of the projects of reformation of the EU structures is connected with the activity of the European constitutional convention which started its work in February 28, 2002. Its main task is the development of a project of the Constitution of the EC, which has to form the balance between the federalist idea (or the idea of confederation) and the functional efficiency¹⁵.

At the same time, the acceleration of realization of the political aspects of the European integration stimulates the increase of the popularity of parties which are to the right from the so-called right centrists. This differentiation is observed, first of all, in the question about the attitude toward the European Union. Namely on the antiintegration ideas such parties obtain the popularity as National alliance in Italy, Party of Freedom in Austria, "People party" in Portugal, National Front in France, "List of Fortein" in the Netherlands, and "Vlaam block" in Belgium. Such a development of events gives the foundation to say about the threat of the "ultra-right march" through the countries of the European Union. Just together, the right centrist and left centrist parties can repulse this tendency.

It is clear now that the leading theme in the elections to the European parliament in the summer of 2004 will be the future of Europe as the Union of European nations. At the same time, the process of gradual transformation of the European parliament into the highest representative, legislative, and controlling body of the European Union will continue.

This defines the great importance of the adjusting of ties and the intensification of the cooperation of Ukraine with the European parliament, because just the EP has to ratify all the Agreements about the creation of free trade areas and the associated membership, which is the strategic aim of our European choice.

So far, in the face of the interparliament cooperation of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, it gives preference to the Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe, Interparliament Assembly of the CIS, the relevant structures of the Organization of defense and cooperation in Europe, the Organization of economic cooperation of the Black Sea region, and the North Atlantic alliance, whereas the Euro-parliament stays on the periphery of its interests. It is obvious that the various forms of inter-parliament cooperation should be formed on the parity basis in view of, first of all, the strategic conceptions of realization of the national interests in Europe.

Country	Deputy's Mandates	\pm Change
Germany	99	0
Great Britain	72	-15
France	72	-15
Italy	72	-15
Spain	50	-14
Poland	50	
Romania	33	
Netherlands	25	-6
Greece	22	-3
Belgium	22	-3
Czech Republic	22	
Hungary	20	
Portugal	20	-5
Sweden	18	-4
Austria	17	-4
Bulgaria	17	
Denmark	13	-3
Finland	13	-3
Slovakia	13	
Ireland	12	-3
Lithuania	12	
Latvia	8	
Slovenia	7	
Luxemburg	6	0
Estonia	6	
Cyprus	6	
Malta	5	

Table 4. Distribution of deputy's mandates in the European Parliament after the enlargement of the EC

Chapter 20. EU Currency Union and challenge of globalization

The common monetary unit, the euro, was introduced into the money turnover in 12 member-countries of the EC starting from January 1, 2002. This event became not only the regular consequence of the going out of the economic component of the European integration process on a qualitatively new level, but also the answer of the European Union to the challenges of the modern process of globalization.

During the second half of the XXth century, these tendencies, being mutually dependent, correlated intensively, strengthened, and accelerated one another. The analogous connection between them will remain undoubtedly in the XXIst century which can become the time of formation of new regional currency unions or their prototypes. Therefore, it is important to analyze the historical experience of the formation of the Monetary Currency Union of the EC, the tendencies of development of the common currency, the euro, and the perspectives of global changes in the world finance system under influence of those phenomena.

Currency Union of the EC in the historical retrospective review.

After the Second World War, the USA became the driving force of the world economy. The transformation of the American dollar into the main world reserve currency testifies to this fact. Such a status was ensured by the usage of the dollar in the large number of financial operations, which gave the wonderful possibility to the Federal reserve system of the USA to compensate a part of the deficit of its balance of payments without any additional expenses, except the expenses for emission. These interventions allowed the United States to use widely the global dollar policy in the own national interests. The beginning of the end of the monopoly position of the dollar in the world financial system became, in essence, the stirring up of the European integration process.

In 1957 in Rome, the Treaty about the creation of the European Economic Community, whose first members were 6 countries, was signed. Article 107 of

this historically important document included the statement that “every member-country considers the own policy according the rates of currency exchange as the sphere of common interests”¹⁶. With this purpose, the Monetary Committee was created in the next year. It was called upon to look after the currency-financial and monetary-credit state of the member-countries and the overall Community and to supervise the common balance of payment of the member-countries.

The following stage of development of the European integration is connected with the creation of the Committee of the presidents of central banks of the member-countries in 1964 which had to coordinate its work with the Monetary Committee.

At the same time, as it often happens, the war problems meddled in financial affairs. In May 2, 1964, the incident in the Tonkin gulf led to the unleashing of the war between the USA and Vietnam. The sizeable financial reserves of the USA were wasted to this dirty war. The high costs of the military operations destabilized the dollar rate, which became noticeable at the end of the 1960s.

The European financial system was also faced with the serious shocks. In May 1968, the French workers and trade unions joined the student's disturbance and went on the general strike. The de Gaulle's government agreed forcedly to a significant increase of the wages and a considerable improvement of the provision of pensions. This social-economic decision stimulated such an increase of the rate of inflation that the government was forced to devalue the French franc in September 10, 1969, because the policy of its retention on the level of the German mark harmed highly the French economy. All those facts caused the European currency instability which demanded objectively the greater coordination of the financial policy.

At that time, the government of the United States refused to increase taxes for financing the military actions in Vietnam and, as a result, realized the forced additional emission of dollars. Under the influence of this decision made in August 1971, the dollar lost temporarily the ability of converting into the gold. The world financial crisis increased.

Under these conditions, the “currency snake” of the European Economic Community (EEC) started its functioning in April 24, 1972. The sense of this currency policy consisted in the centralized establishment of the exchange rates of all the currencies of all member-countries of the EEC between one another and relatively to the dollar¹⁷. It was established that the variations in the exchange rates of the currencies of member-countries should not exceed $\pm 2.25\%$ relatively to one another. Moreover, till March 18, 1973 the “snake” must be in the “tunnel” which was determined by the limits of variation $\pm 4.5\%$ relatively to the American dollar. If this “snake” reached the established limits,

the central banks had to make the intervention (purchase and sale of American dollars) to avoid the essential destabilization of the rate.

At the same time, the system of credits for the stabilization of the financial state of member-countries was established. Credits were given by the European fund for Monetary Cooperation created in 1973. But even such a step could not make both the economic development and the balance-of-payment state of the countries which used the “snake” to be homogeneous. Nevertheless, the historical significance of the “European currency snake” of 1972–1979 is in the attainment of the important practical experience of carrying out the common currency policy.

The financial-economic situation was complicated due to the war of Egypt and Syria against Israel in 1973. At the same time, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) embargoed the sale of petroleum to the countries supporting Israel. Since two thirds of the world’s petroleum was delivered from the Near East, this fact allowed the OPEC countries from 1973 till 1979 to rise the price of petroleum by 475 %. The energetic crisis demanded imperatively a new quality of coordination of the European currency policy.

The principle of operation of the “snake” was put in the basis of organization of the European currency system created in March 1979. This system was based on three foundations: the European monetary unit, the ecu; the mechanism of exchange rates and interventions; the mechanism of crediting. In fact, the European (monetary) currency system was the initial stage of creation of the economic and monetary union.

The historical experience of regulation of the financial processes on the European space was taken as a basis of the report of the Chairman of the European commission J. Delors about the economic and monetary union (1989). He picked out three stages in the process of creation of the common currency: improvement of the existing mechanisms of the co-operation concerning the exchange rates, creation of the union of European banks, and establishment of fixed exchange rates. But, on a certain stage of the European integration, the defects of the European currency system began to overbalance its advantages, and it met the problem of political guaranteeing of the transition to a qualitatively new stage of the financial cooperation, namely the introduction of a new monetary unit.

In accordance with the Maastricht treaty, the European Currency Union was created in 1993. It was called for the strengthening of the economic and monetary cooperation and for the coordination of preparing the final stage of the formation of the economic and monetary union¹⁸. In 1998, the European Central Bank was formed on its basis. Its main task was to support

the realization of the process of putting into circulation and functioning the common monetary unit, the euro.

Officially, the leading elite of the European Union adduces such main arguments in favour of this decision. First, by the different expert estimations, the countries of the EC lost from 15 to 30 billion USA dollars annually because of the usage of the large number of national currencies on the rather narrow trade space. In this case, the companies which were insured against the possible variations in exchange rates lost profits as well. Secondly, it was hard enough to compare the prices of similar goods under the different scales of prices of different countries-producers. The introduction of the euro into circulation allowed one to compare such prices, which will lead to the intensification of the competition between the suppliers of goods and services, especially under conditions of the current system of electronic payments which makes the access to any goods easier by means of computer nets. Thirdly, the existence of the common European currency assists its going out to international financial markets and to the establishment of its status as, at least, the second reserve monetary unit after the USA dollar. Fourthly, the euro changes radically the life of ordinary citizens of the member-countries of the EC. From this time, the trip abroad for every citizen of the EC (in fact, the common market of labour force is created) became more convenient, because he/she finds oneself on the price scale similar to that of his/her country and with the same currency in his/her pocket¹⁹.

After making the strategic decision, the practical work for its realization began. In 1995, the criteria of membership in the future European Currency Union were confirmed. In particular, the level of the inflation would not exceed the average level of three countries of the EC with the lowest level of inflation more than by 1.5 %. The indebtedness of a country would be less than 60 % of the GDP, and the state deficit would be at most 3 % of the GDP. During two years, the country must hold the limits of variation in the exchange rate without devaluation relatively to the currency of other member-countries of the EC. The long-term interest rate must not exceed the average index for three countries with the lowest level of inflation more than by 2 %²⁰.

We emphasize that it will be very difficult for every of 12 countries-candidates for the entrance into the EC after 2005 to hold these rigid macroeconomic indices. But, without the fulfillment of these macroeconomic imperatives, it is generally unexpedient to put the common monetary unit into circulation, because there exists the real risk to pump the riches from more developed countries to less provided ones, which will lead to the crash of the whole economic system. Therefore, the discipline of implementation of the criteria of the membership in the European Currency Union is properly

the litmus paper for the readiness of a country-candidate to take part in the European integration process according to its level of economic development.

At the same time, the population of the high-developed Germany didn't want to lose its mark which became a symbol of the economic miracle and led the country to the nation unity in 1990. But it became difficult to stop the development of doings by means of traditional protest actions organized by the ultra lefts and ultra rights. In January, 1998, a number of German economists brought a suit to the Constitutional court of Germany about the possible damage to citizens of Germany from the common monetary unit, the euro. After the quite acute debates, the highest constitutional instance of the country confirmed the legitimacy of joining the Federative Republic of Germany with the European Currency Union²¹.

Thus, the government of Chancellor H. Kohl got the additional legal foundation for the intensification of the transition to the euro. The essential obstacle on this thorny way was the conflict question about the election of the Chairman of the European central bank. Germany supported the candidacy of the Netherlander W. Duisenberg, and France insisted on the candidacy of the Chairman of its central bank J.-C. Trichet. Beyond the fight of the personalities, one could see not only the different strategies of activity of the main body of the European Currency Union (its independence on the political pressure or the dependence on a political situation), but also the conflict of interests between France and Germany concerning the influence on the decision-making at this structure.

At last, it was decided that the European system of central banks would include the national central banks and the European Central Bank (ECB) since June 30, 1998. Its main tasks consist in the determination of the currency policy of the European Union and the coordination of activity of the system of central banks whose tasks are, in turn, the management of money in the circulation, maneuvering and preserving the currency reserves, and ensuring the proper functioning of payment systems.

W. Duisenberg was approved as the Director of the board of directors of the European Central Bank²² for a term of 8 years (till 2006). He reveals all features of a banker such as calm, sober providence, and firmness as for the political pressure which stayed the main menace for the real independence of decisions of the ECB. In 2003, the Governing Council of the ECB included W. Duisenberg (President), L. Papademos (Vice-President), E. Solans, S. Hamalainen, O. Issing, T. Padoa-Schioppa (Members of the Executive Board of the ECB), G. Quaden (Belgium), E. Welteke (Germany), N. Garganas (Greece), J. Caruana (Spain), J.-C. Trichet (France), J. Hurley (Ireland), A. Fazio (Italy), Y. Mersch (Luxemburg), N. Wellink (Netherlands), K. Liebscher (Austria), V. Constancio (Portugal), and M. Vanhala (Finland).

The beginning of activity of the ECB was synchronized with the peak of the Asian economic crisis. The leading players of the global financial market support the improvement of the rules of play on stock exchanges and the strengthening of the regulation of financial flows under crisis conditions. In such circumstances, the euro was considered as a factor of stability.

Since January 1, 1999, the European Central Bank undertook the power to support the functioning of the European Currency Union. This day, the euro was put into the cashless circulation in Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain. In January 2, 2001, after the fulfillment of macro-economic criteria, Greece became the 12th member-country of the euro-zone. Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden stayed out of the Euroland.

At the same time, three main European financial centers such as London, Paris, and Frankfurt-am-Main had yet to determine the new rules of the interaction. In general, the long historical way to the creation of the European Currency Union came to the last lap. But, by the highest standards, the solution of a single problem, even the key one, of the transition to a common monetary unit put a number of other problems on the agenda connected with the adaptation of citizens of the Euroland to the new currency and with the determination of its place in the global economic system.

Globalization and world financial system: problems and prospects of the euro. The European Union consists of 15 leading European countries which wish to ensure the prosperity and security of their citizens by means of the tighter joining on the base of the common economic, political, and social purposes and values.

The existence of the EC promotes the social and economic progress which is achieved by the creation of a space without inner borders and the deepening of the economic and social integration by means of the efficient functioning of the economic and monetary Union. However, the problems with the euro appeared when it was in a cradle. The war against Yugoslavia in 1999 lowered essentially the exchange rate of the common European monetary unit relatively to the USA dollar. W. Duisenberg stated frequently that the relative weakness of the euro is not so stimulated by the monetary policy as it is a consequence of slow structural reforms of the economy of leading countries of the Euro-zone.

From the other side, the weakness of the euro increased the competitiveness of the European export, which supported, during some time, the export abilities of the EC on the global market on a high level and, at the same time, stimulated the inflationary tendencies in the Euroland.

The failure of the referendum in Denmark about the entrance to the European Currency Union in September 28, 2000 struck the next blow at the euro.

In addition, the high prices of oil at that time threw down once more challenge to the rate of the euro.

Moreover, taking into account the unwillingness to introduce the national economy which underwent the cycle of a rise to the instable European Currency Union, the Labour government set aside, all the time, the decision about putting the euro into the circulation in Great Britain. In 1999, T. Blair and Chancellor of Germany G. Schroder accentuated that the Euro-Union have to further be an engine of liberalization of the world trade, and the European markets of capitals have to be open. Therefore, it will be very difficult to carry out the British national policy under conditions of the global economy for a long time.

However, the globalization of the financial system creates the additional risks for the euro. For example, the permanent threat of the default of the external debts of Argentina can adversely affect the economies of not only Latin and North America, but also of Spain which is the active player on the Argentine's financial market.

At the same time, namely the global economic system transforms the European Union with its more than 370-million population into the largest trade block in the world. This fact was taken into consideration by China which converted 200 billion USA dollars of its currency reserves to the euro prior to the entrance to the World Trade Organization²³. The stable euro is also considered as a positive factor for the world economy in Japan which is permanently in the state of economic recession since 1990s and expects an increase in the volume of investment flows from Europe.

In 1998, the USA had the direct investments abroad in amounts of 794 billion dollars, Japan — 330 billion dollars, Germany — 288 billion dollars²⁴. Therefore, the prospects of the global economic situation depend on the state of affairs in the economies of these three leaders. Since 2000, for the first time after 1970s, the processes of economic recession were synchronized simultaneously in the USA and Japan. But, before the acts of terrorism in September 11, 2001, the threat of the global economic recession approached with a not very high rate due to some sluggishness of the world economy. As far as in spring of 2001, the economists estimated the profits and determined the prospects of the euro in the framework of the world trade system.

So, the European Union will bring the number of the population to 440 million after the entrance of the new member-countries and will have the gross domestic product equal to 8.3 trillion dollars. The volume of imports of the EC from the USA will be 265 billion dollars and the export will reach 232 billion dollars (the calculations were made by the German economists at the end of 2000)²⁵.

However, the more utilitarian figures troubled the ordinary citizens of the EC countries that time. The technical details of the money exchange provoked

the deepest anxiety, because this process threatened with the chaos namely in the period of Christmas and New Year's purchases. Moreover, they were frightened a little by the quantity of banknotes which were to be substituted. According to the information of the Bundesbank, 100 days before the introduction of the euro, the money circulation contained 278 billion DM, and 40 % of this mass was outside of Germany²⁶.

The introduction of the euro into the money circulation increased automatically the general range of retail prices of the majority of goods. This fact adversely affected the political chances of the ruling elites on the nearest elections, for example, the elections of President of France in spring of 2002 and the German Bundestag in September that year.

Putting the euro into the money circulation became the turning point in the process of European integration. As G. Soros stated, we cannot have common market without common currency, as well as we cannot have common currency without common fiscal policy, including some kind of the centralized taxation or redistribution of taxes²⁷. The solution of the common taxation questions is put aside for the undetermined time, because it can undermine finally the belief of citizens of the EC in the common currency and cancel the traditional ideas of national sovereignty and representative democracy.

In general, the euro is, in essence, a pilot project of the model of financial integration for other economic regional groups such as Association of South-East Asia Nations (ASEAN) which can consider the hypothetical own common currency as an alternative to the Japan yen, the Council of cooperation of Persian Gulf states, Commonwealth of Independent States, and African union. The Common Market of the countries of Latin America (MERCOSUR) already plans to coordinate its financial policy until 2005.

The negative experience of the introduction of the euro into the money circulation by the worse scenario, which is to be always taken into account or to be avoided, would bury any efforts directed to integration in many regional economic groups for a long time. Quite the contrary, its success will be a real spurt to the new tops of the global economy. The award of the international Charles' the Great prize in the Europe Day of May 9, 2002 to the common European currency for the important contribution to the European integration became the evidence for the persistent attempts of the elite of member-countries of the European Currency Union to fix the idea of success of the euro in the public opinion²⁸.

Thus, the prospects of the euro are close to the problems of operation of the European Currency Union under conditions of the global financial instability and, by the highest standards, depend on the ability of all subjects using the euro to find the adequate answers to the yet unknown challenges.

Euro and dollar: the first test for strength. One of those challenges is the forecast about the prospects of coexistence of two most important world currencies (such a status, perhaps, British pound sterling, Swiss franc, and Japanese yen will keep for some time) such as the euro and the American dollar.

The start positions for the euro were not enough favourable yet in 1999. The American economy spent the last months of the boom of prosperity, and the member-countries of the EC reaped the fruits of the instability of the cashless exchange rate of the euro which was under the pressure of a high level of unemployment and the results of the campaign of the North-Atlantic Alliance in Kosovo.

The present President of the USA G. Bush came to the power in January 2001 on the wave of promises to reduce taxes by using the profit (the excess of receipts over expenses) in the American budget. They planned to liquidate the USA budget deficit till 2002 at all. But it happened nothing of the expected. At first, the speculative rate of shares of the so-called Internet-economy bursts like a soap-bubble. Then the fever in the overall stock market began.

Under such conditions, it seemed that the slowing of the growth rate of the American economy will give the capitals back to Europe, where they were necessary for the stabilization and setting up of the mechanism of operation of the European Currency Union. Those capitals would help because the European Central bank had a lot of problems.

The euro undergoes the powerful pressure of a high level of unemployment in the member-countries of the EC. But the risk of the purely monetary effects on the artificial creation of new workplaces without large-scale structural reforms of the economy is too high. At the same time, the financing of social programs which are large by the American criteria leads to a budget deficit destabilizing the euro.

The additional factor of nonstability is the global economic situation. During all the period of 1990s, various trade wars took place between the United States and the European Union in the system of the World Trade Organization. The paradox of this situation was in such a fact that, besides the global competition, we can observe a quite wide cooperation between the European and American producers. For example, the cooperation between the car concerns such as "FIAT" and "General Motors", "Opel" and "Ford" reaches a high level, moreover, the German-American concern "Daimler-Chrysler" works actively since 1998. The ties between concerns of the military-industrial complexes of the EC and the USA become stronger, first of all, in the field of possible contracts on the execution of projects in the framework of the National system of antimissile defense of the USA.

Therefore, we cannot generally deny the possibility of creation of the transatlantic free trade area in the perspective. The favourable basis for this can

be the establishment of a closer cooperation between the Federal reserve system of the USA and the European Central bank as between the main operators of the dollar and the euro, respectively.

But, of course, this cannot take away the question about the competition between two leading world currencies. In such a context, the position of the euro is weakened by peculiarities of the inner socio-economic development of the EU. The economic and monetary union emphasizes the existence of the essential economic and social heterogeneity between the member-countries of the European Union. This concerns the richer Northern members of the EC and the poorer Southern ones. Therefore, without the accelerated convergence of those poles, the role of the euro as a catalyst of the political union can become doubtful.

The next expansion of the European union presents one more postponed threat for the stability of the euro. On the period till 2005, the entrance to the EC of at least 10 from 13 present candidates (except, perhaps, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Romania) is forecasted. Although the entrance of new member-countries into the European Currency Union is set in the strong dependence on the execution of all criteria, which are necessary for the introduction of the euro, by those countries, the cost of their adaptation will be a heavy burden for the budget of the EC, and, consequently, will obligatorily affect the rate of the common monetary unit.

Finally, the global shock caused by a very threat of the world economic recession can be a real test for the fate of the cash euro. In the third quarter of 2001, right away the terroristic acts, the statistical services fixed a decline of the economy of the United States. In general, the criterion of the beginning of recession is a negative growth during two quarters one after another. A decline of the USA economy will immediately adversely affect the EC and the whole world economy, which will affect also the new markets, in particular the Ukrainian one.

Among the risks, we have to consider the uncertainty of both the time of termination and the cost of the antiterrorist campaign against the threat of international terrorism. The global financial market is a very sensitive body as for the reaction to any threats of instability. Under such circumstances, the American dollar needs one more world currency to keep the global economy against shocks.

Chapter 21. Common foreign and defense policy of EU: problems of its formation and prospects of its implementation

The foreign policy is considered traditionally as a conceptually defined course of a certain state in the international affairs which is directed toward the systemic development, maintenance, and regulation of the relations with other states on the base of a certain aim and the generally recognized principles. As a rule, the main purpose of the foreign policy is the formation of favourable conditions for the realization of the internal policy. The latter influences essentially, in turn, the former. From this viewpoint, the development of the common foreign and defense policy (CFDP) of the European Union as the integration structure of member-countries looks as a certain paradox. Indeed, it seems that these countries as sovereign states must have the own national interests whose reduction to a common denominator can meet significant difficulties.

Therefore, the experience of the formation and the first attempts to realize the CFDP is unique in the newest history of international relations, is of interest for other integration unions, and deserves undoubtedly the careful scientific analysis.

First of all, it is necessary to analyze the reasons of this phenomenon. During all the XXth century, the process of internationalization strengthened sequentially (as the important factor of the development of the humanity and separate nations), which washed away the borders between the “classical” foreign and internal policies. The evidence for the logical embodiment of this process is, in our opinion, the formation of the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union. We may say that the CFDP are, in essence, the adequate answer of member-countries of the EC to the challenge of a new system of international relations.

The notion of international relations is the important element of the scientific analysis of the history of world diplomacy. Each of the known systems

of international relations is formed as a result of the essential epochal historical events which create a certain paradigm of intergovernmental relations, change radically the diplomatic landscape, and generate the new “rules of play” depending to a great extent on the correlation of forces on the international arena.

The break of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and the unification of Germany became such a Rubicon. At the same time, the “transient period” from the modern system of international relations [associated with the Versailles–Washington (1919–1939) and Yalta–Potsdam (1945–1989) systems of international relations] to the post-modern system of international relations started from the “Desert storm” operation against Iraq which occupied Kuwait (August 1990 — February 1991) and, in fact, finished with the operation of NATO’s forces against Yugoslavia as the attempt to solve the Kosovo problem (March–June 1999).

We note that the idea of “modern” was based beginning from the time of the Great French revolution on the formational sight at the world history as a process called to create the preconditions for the realization of the common fate of the humanity. The communists-idealists saw it in the creation of the world federation of Soviet republics, the capitalists-pragmatists did in the development of liberally oriented free market spaces. Thereby, in essence, the new paradigm of “post-modern” was formed in the depths of the “modern”. From the philosophical viewpoint, this term means a certain scepticism relative to the universal theories. The microprocesses, centrifugal tendencies, and fragmentation appear at the forefront. At the same time, the experts of the Rome club recalled permanently during the 1970s about the sharpening of global economic, ecological, scientific-technical, and socio-cultural problems²⁹.

The European integration project is, in essence, the post-modern one, because it tries to overcome the modern which was connected with the nationalism and to get out on the level of the tolerant concordance of different national interests.

The process of globalization became the realization of the tendencies to actualization of the interdependence common to all the humanity . The notion of globalization means quite often the objective tendencies of the development of the world economy which are connected with the creation of common markets joined by the ideals of free competition and by the modern information technologies, the reinforcement of the tendencies to the global division of labour, and stirring up the role of transnational corporations. From the other side, more intense became the processes of political globalization³⁰.

At the end of the XXth century, the integration structures began to perform the important political functions (Euro-parliament, Western European Union, Europol, Interpol, etc.) which limit essentially a national sovereign and stimulate the imperative need in a new quality of co-ordination of the common

foreign and defense policy. At the same time, the new quality of coordination of the common position of the member-countries of the European Union is also objectively conditioned by the challenge of the strengthening of the position of the USA and by the definition of the tendencies of development of several new poles of force which will pretend to the main roles in the XXIth century and defend the own “rules of play”.

Formation of legal bases and principles of the CFDP of the European Union. The necessity of formation of the common mechanisms of coordination of the positions of Western European countries in the framework of an integration structure appeared, in fact, simultaneously with the creation of the European Economic Community. According to the positions of the Rome treaty of 1957, the corresponding functional procedure for the determination of compromise solutions was proposed, primarily by means of the meetings of the foreign ministers and expert groups.

Since the time of the “cold war”, when the total opposition of democratic Western countries and the socialist camp headed by the USSR required a high level of consolidation as for the foreign and defense questions, the EC demonstrated a sufficiently coordinated position concerning the urgent questions of that time such as the arms race and security blankets for the Old Continent.

The fundamental changes took place at the beginning of 1990s, when the democratic transformation in the Central and South-Eastern Europe stimulated, first of all, the objective necessity of enlargement of the EC. At the same time, the immanent logic of the process required to search for new forms of the interaction. From the other side, the disintegrations of the USSR, CSFR, and AFRY posed the difficult questions about the geopolitical reorganization of regions adjacent to Western Europe. The qualitatively new challenge needed an adequate answer.

In February 1992, the Maastricht treaty was signed, and it initiated the process of creation of a functional mechanism for the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union. The problem of gradual transformation of the Western European Union into a structural unit of the European Union in the field of security and defense was put on the agenda. However, the misfit between the declared aim of reinforcement of the influence of the EC on the international arena and the inefficient mechanism of implementation of political decisions was still preserved. The former State secretary of the USA H. Kissinger asked ironically about the phone number of the person who is responsible for the declared foreign and defense policy of the European Union. For a certain time, there was no logical answer to this question.

The Amsterdam treaty of 1997 improved the legal base of the formation of the CFDP of the European Union. The post of Commissioner in the questions

of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC was established, and the former General Secretary of NATO H. Solana was elected to this post (in such a way, the succession in strengthening the transatlantic solidarity was accentuated). Moreover, the corresponding administrative department was created, and the financing was allotted. Thus, besides the political and economic bases, the European Union obtained the third structural support, the military one. The Amsterdam treaty also established the instrument of creation of the “common strategies” with the purpose of coordination of the common policy of the EC concerning other countries and regions.

At the same time, the basic question about the procedure of decision-making in the actual questions of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC stayed to be unsolved, because the right of veto was able, in essence, to block the process of efficient pursuing of the corresponding policy (it was expressively demonstrated by the experience of the Balkan regularization). The solution of this problem stays on the agenda of further coordinations. It is a key problem for the development of common coordinated principles of the foreign and defense policy. Of course, the certain fundamental principles such as the existence of common civilizational values, expansion of democracy, and protection of human rights and vital interests of the member-countries of the EC existed *a priori* and will exist as the reliable reference points of a corresponding course of the foreign policy. But the following fundamental problem appears as an immanent contradiction: from the one side, the EC has reached objectively the functional level of integration of a federal state (the common laws of the whole territory, common monetary unit, the euro, common system of structures realizing the state power such as European Commission, European Parliament, Europol, the realization of tendencies to the execution of the common foreign and defense policy, etc.), from the other side, the EC consists of independent sovereign states which have its own interests. Therefore, the European Commission can work out the text of an international treaty till the stage of its initialing, but its signing remains in the competence of national governments and parliaments, because the financial provision of international obligations is ensured by member-countries³¹.

The key point in the “neutralization” of the above-mentioned contradiction is the setting up of the interaction between member-countries of the EC by the model of German–French partnership. Since 1963 till June 2001, 77 summits of the highest political leaders of two states were held. Paris supports the intention of Berlin to become a permanent member of the reformed Security Council of the UNO (although Spain and Italy support the rotation of new member-countries from the European Union in the future enlarged and reformed Security Council of the UNO). The common defense satellite program “Helios–2” is in the stage of the realization.

From the time of Labourites' coming to power in Great Britain (1977), the Paris — Berlin — London axis is strengthening. At the same time, the comprehension of the necessity of realization of the common foreign and defense policy extends, because it is impossible to have strong Europe with weak institutions.

On the summit of the Euro-Union in Nice in December of 2000, the new edition of the Amsterdam treaty was accepted. Its text regulates the question about a mechanism of decision-making, which is the imperative precondition for the entrance of new member-countries to the EC. The above-mentioned treaty (during 2001, it passed the difficult procedure of ratification by the national parliaments of the present member-states of the EC) establishes the standard of making the important decisions by the majority of votes equal to two thirds of the common number of the mandates in the European Commission. In particular, such an order of a voting is established for the important questions of the common foreign and defense policy, for example at the time of the elections of the special Commissar on the questions of CFDP and during the making of the common decisions about the policy of the EC concerning certain countries³². Hence, of great importance is the future distribution of the votes (by the criterion of the population number) in the European Commission of the new European Union intended for 27 member-countries (*Table 3*)³³.

Thus, the most large and powerful member-countries of the EC are able to keep the control over making all the strategic decisions. At the same time, the legal basis of formation and realization of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC will stay for a long time in the stage of permanent changes accordingly to the imperatives of development of the European integration process.

Priorities of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC.

The common European values and the imperatives of preservation of peace and protection of human rights are the foundation of the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union.

The general tendencies of development of, in fact, the post-modern system of international relations influenced essentially the determination of the main directions of foreign-policy activity of the member-countries of the European Union during 1990s. The large-scale regional conflicts on the Balkans, Near East, the Caucasus, Northern Africa demand imperatively to activate the common foreign and defense policy of the EC. Among the indisputable priorities of the CFDP, we can emphasize the following:

- protection of the global interests and common values of the member-countries of the European Union;
- provision of favourable conditions for the enlargement of the EC;

- reinforcement of the European security, defense identity with the simultaneous keeping of the transatlantic solidarity;
- efficient participation in the solution of the critical interethnic and interconfessional conflicts on the Balkans, the Mediterranean Sea's region, Near East, the Caucasus, and Korean peninsula;
- establishment of the stable relations with the former Soviet countries, in the first place with Russia and Ukraine;
- realization of the common course concerning the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America;
- providing the efficient humanitarian international operations;
- nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, disarmament, and control over the weapons of mass destruction;
- guarantees for the “home-policy aspects” (illegal migration, fight against the organized crime, and illegal drug trade) of the CFDP;
- support of the international cooperation with the purpose of preservation of peace, democracy, and protection of human rights;
- preservation of the environment.

At the same time, for every of the mentioned key directions of realization of the CFDP, the analysts observe the quite essential contradictions in the positions of, first of all, the largest member-countries of the EC, namely those of Germany, France, Great Britain, and Italy. The most influential states aren't in a hurry to subordinate their foreign policies to the common approach.

For example, France and Great Britain have different positions concerning the special role of the USA in Europe. For a long time, Italy came out with essential cautions about the war operation in Kosovo. The most differences between the leading member-countries of the EC are observed in the policy on the Near East, although the Euro-Union is the main sponsor of the Palestinian autonomy from the time of the Oslo treat in 1993. France supports quite actively the Palestinians in the Arab–Israel conflict, accentuating the independent role of the EC mediators, whereas Germany understands the Israel position better.

Only with the acceptance of the Stability Pact for the South-Eastern Europe at the end of 1990s, the European Union showed the coordinated common policy, for the first time in essence, on the Balkans for the whole region, opening the European integration prospects for its countries. In April 1999, the Charter of peace and stability for the region of Mediterranean Sea was signed under the participation of the EC and Mediterranean countries.

At the same time, the common documents avoid, as a rule, the conflicting contradictory questions, which testifies generally to the compromise character of the common foreign policy of the EC, but it prejudices the efficiency of

the corresponding policy. The striking example of this fact is the problem of the entrance of new member-states into the EC.

Test of the CFDP by the imperatives of enlargement of the EC.

At the same time, the European Union carries out officially the double policy of enlargement at the expense of the entrance of new countries and deepening the economic and political aspects of the integration process between the “old” member-countries.

The real beginning of the enlargement of the European Union toward the East is the export of stability overall in the Europe. The entrance into the strong alliance of developed countries is the main aim of the countries of “young democracy” which look for the guarantees of peace and stability. At the same time, the entrance of new member-countries which are on the different stages of, first of all, economic development, will weaken the homogeneity of the Euro-Union and create the new obstacles on the way to the realization of the ideal dream of euro-optimists as for the creation of the United States of Europe.

The entrance of about 13 countries to the European Union will create enormous institutional and constitutional problems and will demand a radical revision of the legal basis of EC.

After the enlargement of the EU, the common cultural identity will fail, which can complicate essentially the implementation of the common foreign and defense policy. Already on the stage of the negotiations about the entrance of new member-countries, the process of enlargement is quite slow for objective reasons. Twelve official candidates [from the so-called “Luxembourg group” (1998) — Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Estonia, and Cyprus and, from the so-called “Helsinki group” — Slovakia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, and Malta] and the potential candidate, Turkey (permanent contradictions with Greece can complicate the way of Ankara to the EC), are on the different stages of the difficult process of preparing for the entrance to the EC. Now one can only ascertain that the realization of CFDP can be complicated even more after a real enlargement of the European Union.

Common defense policy of EC and transatlantic solidarity. Starting from the second half of the XXth century, the European security system has complicated integrated transatlantic character.

The question about strengthening the European defense identity isn’t absolutely new for the North-Atlantic alliance. The European group in NATO was created as early as at the end of 1968 (among the European member-countries of NATO, only Iceland is out of its borders), France returned to its membership in 1995. This problem obtained a new quality under conditions of the formation of the current system of European security. It is doubtful to build a really efficient system of security for every country-member of the EC separately.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the activity of the German–French European corps began. In September 1998, the German–Danish–Polish corps was created, and, in May 2001, they began to speak about the foundation of the Polish–Czech–Slovakia common corps. These tendencies are, in essence, the first step toward the creation of the common European professional army in the nearest future. However, the financial expenses of the member-countries of the EC for the defense are by several orders less than the declared ambitions.

Since 1996, the West EC makes the own command and staff exercises, but it hasn't yet the armed forces at its disposal which can be used without the NATO sanction. Therefore, they develop the project of creation of the own armed forces for rapid response until 2003 whose number is assumed to be 60 thousand soldiers and which are to be led by Finnish general G. Hegglund. But, during 1999–2001, Turkey which is worried with its isolation from the formation of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC blocked the possibility for the West EC forces to use the military potential and resources of NATO.

It is worth noting that it isn't in the interests of the EC to oppose its defense structures to the North-Atlantic Alliance. It is impossible while the stable transatlantic ties exist. The strengthening of the European defense identity is the pledge of a further efficient functioning of NATO. Indeed, the operations under the flag of common Europe will have the standard of the Alliance. The West European Union is considered as a “hinge” between the EC and NATO. Starting from 2000, the West EC carries out this function, in fact, on the territory of Kosovo, although the military-political role of the USA stays to be defining on the Balkans.

The transformation of the position of member-countries following traditionally the policy of neutrality is of great importance in the process of formation and realization of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC. For example, Austria which proclaimed the policy of permanent neutrality in 1955 became the member of the European Union in 1995 and admitted the necessity to coordinate its security policy with the EC. In fact, the entrance to NATO becomes for Vienna only the question of time, and it will be more simple after the entrance of Slovenia and Slovakia into this military-political block. Sweden which is nominally out of blocks, accentuated its readiness to change its status in the case of necessity. The same concerns Ireland, although Dublin will have certain problems with the participation in the future forces of the Euro-Union for rapid response, taking into account its actual status of military neutrality.

At the same time, the common defense policy will require the greater financial expenditures, which will stimulate the negative attitude to the CFDP in certain political circles.

The euro-sceptics, by affirming that the European defense initiative is the unsuccessful project, state that now the peoples will not wish to die for the common Europe.

Perhaps, they will not wish to die for anything, but the objective reality will compel them to do.

An important direction of the defense integration development is the strengthening of the military-industrial cooperation. The practice of the cooperation has proved that, under conditions of the intensification of competition on the world market of high-tech armaments, the most efficient is the cooperation between two or three participants. For example, the project of the fighter “Eurofighter” is realized, the German firm “Krauss-Maffey”, British “GKN”, and French “GIAT” take part in the project of the production of the “European tank”, the German concern “Daimler-Chrysler Aerospace” (DASA) and the French “Aerospace Matra” firm take part in the creation of the European aerospace concern, etc.³⁴. Among the practical steps to the formation of the common defense policy, we can mention the attempts to gradually establish the control of the EC over the weapon export of European producers.

Perhaps, in view of the hypothetical prospects of realization of the efficient common defense policy, the Euro-Union would not need to hide under the American shield, because this will deepen its technological and informational dependence on the United States. But the enhanced autonomy of the European military-industrial complex doesn't yet prejudice the American technical leadership. Moreover, the transatlantic interaction between the American and European military-industrial complexes acquires new forms, and the illustration of this fact is the establishment of relations between DASA and “Northrop Grumann”³⁵. The situation will not change radically while the USA stay the country whose annual military budget is equal to the sum of defense expenditures of six world countries next by this index. Therefore, it is utopian to build the security in the Europe without the participation of the USA.

The future of the transatlantic solidarity depends mainly on the relation between the European Union and the United States.

New tendencies of the development of relations between the EC and the USA. The American strategist Z. Brzezinski states fairly that the geostrategic interest of the USA in Europe is great. The military presence of the Old Continent makes it possible for the USA to solve the principal geostrategic task such as the control over the Eurasia³⁶. At the same time, the Europeans, by complaining of the American hegemony, were at ease under the American military-political “umbrella” during the decades of the “cold war”. At the beginning of the XXIst century, when the USA reinforces its role of the single superstate, the strong Europe which can take the lion's share of the financial and military-political responsibility for the strengthening of transatlantic security is of great importance for Washington.

But the united Europe cannot eternally agree with the American patronage. At the same time, it cannot compete with the USA in the field of military-political

power. In addition, the United States have the reliable allies in Europe (Great Britain and, to a certain extent, Germany) which support the keeping of the American presence in the nearest future. The Administration of President G. Bush intends to keep the 100 thousand strong military forces in Europe, although South-Eastern Asia becomes the main priority of Pentagon according to the new military doctrine.

However, the objective tendencies of the development of transatlantic relations put the rhetorical question on the agenda: will Europe now appear as an independent political power which will be able to act counter to the interests of the USA? It is early to say about this positively.

Even France which is one of the most active advocates of reinforcement of the European identity of NATO doesn't resist against the new quality of transatlantic relations which endured the ordeal of the Kosovo campaign of the Alliance, when the Administration of B. Clinton was interested in the opinion of its Western European allies in the last turn. This operation renewed, in fact, the key role of the USA in the modern European system of security, made the certain difficulties for the member-countries of the EC both in the economic (a fall in the exchange rate of the common monetary unit, the euro) and political spheres, and made evident the declarativeness of the common foreign and defense policy which proved almost inefficient at the decisive moment.

With the arrival of the G. Bush's administration at the White house in January 2001, new questions in the agenda of the European-American relations appeared. The Republican Party in the USA insists on the priority of the American interests. This viewpoint found its realization in the scandal around the American system of global electronic monitoring "Echelon" which is considered by the Europeans as a tool of industrial espionage. Indeed, even the ancient Chinese accentuated the importance of the knowledge of the real aims of allies, not only of those of enemies.

However, the question about the deployment of the American National system of antimissile defense (NSAD) became the most debatable one. Washington motivates its decision to get out the Treaty about the systems of antimissile defense of 1972 by the wish to adapt the own defense system to fundamentally new challenges in the period of wide expansion of the nuclear and missile technologies. It is obvious that the USA wish to solve several problems in the single way: first, to approach to a solution of the strategic task of guaranteeing the leadership of the single superstate in the XXIst century, reinforce the position of the USA in the force dialogue with potentially new centers of force such as Russia, China, India, and, to a certain extent, Pakistan, which is the owner of the first "Islamic" A-bomb, and to keep the leadership in the transatlantic community; secondly, to solve the problem of recession of the American economy through the large-scale financing of the military-industrial complex.

We recall that the initiator of the “Strategic defense initiative” program (SDI) R. Reagan proposed in 1983 to spend 70 billion dollars during 18 years for this project. The initiative of G. Bush has not yet calculated in the dollars, but, according to the forecasts of the analysts of leading contractors from the concerns “Boeing”, “General Dynamics”, “Lockheed Martin”, “Northrop Grumman”, and “Raytheon”, this amount will be hypothetically from 200 up to 300 billion USA dollars until 2006³⁷. The most part of members of the Democratic party of the USA think quite sceptically about the project NSAD because of merely financial reasons and the absence of guarantees of the efficiency of the above-mentioned system (the transfer of the weapons to the space under the control of computers can deprive the humanity of the possibility to make decisions about war and peace). “The New York Times” newspaper named neatly the future NSAD system as the potential “Maginot’s line” which didn’t defend France from the aggression of Nazi Germany. In June 2001 during his first European tour, G. Bush announced the possibility of creation of the European–American system of antimissile defense [possibly, with the technical participation of Russia and Ukraine (systems “S–300” and “Kolchuga”), although the negative experience with the project of transport aircraft “AN–70” gives the reasons for doubts]. At the same time, it is clear that, in the nearest future, this question along with the traditional problems of competition on the global market will be the key test for the readiness of the USA for the leadership common with the Europeans in the world.

Main principles of the common policy of the EC concerning Russia and Ukraine. Taking into account the nearest historical prospects of enlargement of the European Union, when its borders of thousands of kilometers in length became common with Ukraine and Russia, the relations between Brussels, Kyiv, and Moscow acquire the strategic importance.

Therefore, Ukraine and Russia are yet the unique countries, for which the corresponding common strategies of the European Union are declared. The mentioned documents propose to join the certain actions and positions approved in the framework of the common foreign and defense policy³⁸.

The agreements about partnership and cooperation (1994) created the legal space for the relations of the EC with Ukraine and Russia. At the same time, there is some essential difference in the relations of the European Union with Moscow and Kyiv. The integration of even democratic and prosperous Russia is impossible because of its continental dimension and own self-consciousness. Ukraine officially declares the strategic aim to enter the European Union.

The refusal to accept Ukraine and Russia to the EC (they have more European civilization features than, for example, Turkey) will not look logical if Turkey which has the common borders with Syria, Iran, and Iraq will become the member of the Euro-Union. At the same time, the EC does not wish to come

into collision with the significant economic and political problems in the case of acceleration of the integration of Ukraine. On the other side, the close cooperation between Kyiv and Moscow is a part of the approach to the EC, because it helps Ukraine to develop economically.

At the same time, Ukraine and Russia cannot be “excluded” from Europe. Both countries are a part of the “great Europe” from Brest to Vladivostok. The stable Europe is possible only under the condition when the “velvet” line of division into the members of the Euro-Union and the poor periphery will not pass through the geopolitical center of its territory.

The challenge of the European integration process arises before Russia, when the Baltic Sea can become the inner “lake” of the EC, and the Kaliningrad region can become the enclave circled by the territories of member-countries of the European Union.

After the entrance of Finland to the Euro-Union, Russia has already a common border with the EC. In general, the Scandinavian countries insist on the wide attraction of Russia to the cooperation with the European integration structures, although Sweden, for example, flays Moscow for its military operation in Chechnya.

Russia understands the strengthening of the European influence in NATO, although it objects the arrangement of the common German–Danish–Polish Baltic corps near Kaliningrad. Starting from 2000, the time of President V. Putin’s coming to power, the foreign policy of Russia became more oriented to the pragmatic defense of the own national interests³⁹. Therefore, the Russian political elite is objectively interested in the success of the economic reforms. Otherwise, the abyss between Russia and the EC can become insuperable, and this will prevent the cooperation with equal rights. The problems of the political regulation of the Chechnya problem, protection of the freedom of speech, and transition of payments from the dollar to the euro stay on the agenda of relations between Russia and the EC⁴⁰.

The European Union, this small Western peninsula of the Eurasian continent, needs the continental scope of the Russian Federation to obtain the possibility to participate in the global play⁴¹. But, for the sake of the prospects of the rebirth of Russia, the European Union will never admit a dangerous conflict with the USA.

In February 2001 during the visit of the General secretary of NATO Lord G. Robertson to Moscow, Russia proposed for the Alliance to consider the project of creation of a common system of nonstrategic antimissile defense in Europe. The Ukrainian side thinks that the USA have to ratify the Memorandum about the assignment of rights as for the Treaty about AMD (antimissile defense) (1972) and the documents about the delimitation of the strategic and tactical AMD systems signed in New York in September 26, 1997. Then Ukraine will be able

to cooperate with the USA, Russia, NATO, and the EC with the aim to create a system of antimissile defense for Europe⁴².

In May 1996, the Western European Union recognized Ukraine as its important partner. Ukraine expressed the readiness to render its contingent to the future European forces of rapid response. At the same time, Ukraine cannot expect to be an associated member of the West EC until it will sign the Treaty about the associated membership in the European Union. The wish of Ukraine to obtain a “clear signal” about the prospects of its entrance into the Euro-Union, which is considered by Kyiv as a motivation for reforms, is considered by the EC as untimely, taking into account the necessity for Ukraine to solve the number of problems on the long way to the European integration. At the same time, the Common strategy declares that the door stays open for Ukraine and its width depends to the great extent only on Ukraine itself.

In 2004, the period of validity of the treat about the partnership and cooperation with the EC will terminate, and the time of development of a new lawful basis of the interaction will begin. This can present the opportunity for the beginning of negotiations about the associated membership of Ukraine in the Euro-Union under conditions of the progressive systemic reforms in Ukraine.

Tasks of the CFDP for the XXIst century. Saying about the middle-term future of the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union, we refer to the analytic work of “Forward Studies Unit” made in 1999 by request of the European Commission. Five possible alternative scenarios of the development of the European Union are forecasted till 2010.

Briefly they look as follows. The first scenario forecasts the presence of 28 member-countries of the EC and about 12 candidates for entrance. The second one forebodes the membership in the EC of 30 countries but without close political union. The third one foresees the problem neighborhood of the EC with the surrounding international environment, the slowing of the process of enlargement of the EC, and difficulties with the CFDP. The fourth one dwells on the prospects of the intensification of the institutional crisis of the European Union as a result of the “overload” by the problems of entrance of new members and the instability of the European Currency Union. At last, the fifth “Cassandra’s scenario” about the “Decline of Europe” is the most pessimistic one and foresees the possibility of blocking the process of enlargement of the EC and increasing the difficulties in the process of realization of the European integration course. It remains only to hope that the most pessimistic forecasts will not be realized if the “old” and “new” member-countries of the European Union will show enough the political will and wisdom to answer the challenge of formation and realization of the common foreign and defense policy which is the core of a future political union.

Chapter 22. Test of the EU's common foreign and defense policy by international antiterrorism

The common foreign and defense policy of the European Union is a natural consequence of the modern stage of intense development of the European integration process. At the same time, it is the answer of member-countries of the EC to the challenge of new tendencies of the political globalization which are connected, in particular, with the redistribution of the influence between the leading subjects of the new, in fact, post-modern system of international relations. After the large-scale terroristic acts in the USA in September 11, 2001, we observe the essential changes in the geopolitical and geoeconomic realities of this period. One of the most interesting subjects for the analysis in this context is the role of the United States and the European Union in the modern international relations on a whole and in the solution of actual problems of the fight against the international terrorism in particular.

Let us consider the most important aspects of the formation of a mechanism of common fight against manifestations of the international terrorism from the viewpoint of the determination of new roles of the key players on the international scene, the development of the situation in the crisis "hot points" around Europe, and the most important problems of the home political provision of requirements of the antiterrorist campaign.

Geopolitical and geostrategic limits of the antiterrorism campaign.

The institutionalization of the CFDP of the European Union is connected with the beginning of the practical realization of the corresponding positions of the Maastricht treaty (1992), Amsterdam treaty (1998), and Nice treaty (2000) which determined the legal limits of the coordination of efforts of the united Europe under conditions of the formation of new rules of the play on the international scene. Simultaneously, this difficult process is tested through solving the contradictory regional problems, first of all, those arisen on the Balkans and Near East.

Namely at the beginning of the 1990s during the process of destruction of AFRY, the European Community found itself in front of the challenge of new strategic threats to the integration process and the security, from the one side,

and, from the other side, in front of its own inability to react to these tendencies from the clear common position. It was, in particular, during the Bosnian war (1992–1995) and the following Dayton settlement of the Balkan problems.

The dangerous situation was repeated, in fact, in 1999, when the European member-countries of NATO showed their military-political and, to some extent, diplomatic unreadiness to solve the Kosovo problem by the own forces. Then the United States interfere with this tragic Balkan conflict at the critical moment. At that time, the results of the long-term international crisis at the heart of Europe were the fall in the exchange rate of the common European monetary unit (cashless at that time), the euro, and a partial loss of the European political elite's belief in their ability to solve efficiently at least the continental problems by consolidated efforts, saying nothing about the global ones. This challenge required an adequate answer. First of all, there appeared the task to find a compromise between the foreign-policy interests of the leading member-countries of the European Union such as Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Spain. At the same time, whereas London stays the closest ally of Washington in Europe, Paris, following the de Gaulle's tradition, is often in opposition to the American hegemony. Under such circumstances, Berlin as a strategic ally of London, Washington, and Paris tries to find a compromise line, by laying the more or less clear track of the diplomacy of the European Union on the international scene. In particular, this was during the making of the strategic decision about the determination of a person of influence who will be responsible for the specific foreign-policy course of the EC.

The appointment of the former General secretary of NATO H. Solana as the Supreme Coordinator of the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union (June 1999) set the important process of coordination of the actions and diplomatic activity of the EC gradually in motion. The first indicator of the test of the CFDP became the Kosovo peacemaking operation. For its making, for example, the government of the "red-green" coalition in Germany had to endure the serious debates about the participation of the armed forces in the peacemaking operation out of the geographic limits of the responsibility of NATO. But the principles of the real policy connected with the imperatives of reinforcement of the stability on the Balkans prevailed during the acute home-policy debates in Germany. After the beginning of the Kosovo peacemaking operation, the situation in the South-Eastern Europe began to normalize itself little by little.

At last, by the common efforts of the USA and the EC, it became possible to overthrow the regime of S. Milosevic in Yugoslavia and to lead a democratic government to power in Belgrade which declared the European orientation. In November 17, 2001, the elections to the Assembly of Kosovo were held. This body of the local self-government has no right to proclaim unilaterally the independence of the territory next three years. But this is, in essence, a palliative

solution. The external guarantees of the integrity of the Allied Republic of Yugoslavia are still working, but they aren't enough. From the other side, Montenegro plans constantly to carry out the referendum about the independence. The Euro-Union gives the signals about the undesirability of a next change of the state borders of the Balkan countries, but it cannot withstand it practically.

The Macedonian problem became one more serious obstacle on the thorny path to the peaceful and stable Balkans as a geostrategically important region of the united Europe on the border between the Mediterranean region and Near East. After the making of the common decision about the individual command of the European Union over the following peacemaking operation "Amber fox", the situation in Macedonia became partially stabilized. In November 19, 2001 after the long-term diplomatic efforts and hard pressing (the matter concerned the introduction of sanctions, in fact), the parliament of Macedonia voted, at last, the essential changes in the Constitution of the country. In particular, it legalized the expansion of the usage of the Albanian language, the creation of the ethnical Albanian subdivisions in police. In that way, the EC objectively helped the Albanians, who are considered yet as terrorists by the Macedonians, to achieve their objects by the methods of war and power pressure upon the state structures.

As a mediate recognition of this, we consider the announcement that the Hague international tribunal begins the investigation of the military crimes made starting from February 2001 on the territory of Macedonia. Although the period of validity of the mandate of the NATO forces in this country was finished in December 26, 2001, the home political instability stimulated by the approaching parliament elections and the decay of the coalitional government of national integrity compelled the President B. Traikovski to insist on the prolongation of the duration of the presence of NATO peacemakers in Macedonia at least for three months. At last, at the beginning of December 2001, the meeting of the foreign ministers of the member-countries of the North-Atlantic Alliance made a decision to prolong the period of validity of the mandate in Macedonia at least till March 26, 2001.

In general, the instability on the Balkans which is kept actually under conditions of the difficult stage of enlargement of the European Union and the introduction of the common monetary unit, the euro, into the money turnover can again become a serious challenge to the security of the united Europe, because none of the dangerously explosive Balkan problems is finally solved.

Thus, if we consider this situation without bias, then the common policy of the EC in the context of the fight against the real threat of terrorism on the Balkans looks at least strange. From the one side, the governments of the member-countries of the EC don't wish another revision of the borders of Balkan countries by force methods. From the other side, they can't see the mechanisms for prevention of the creation of at least two independent Balkan states such as Kosovo and Montenegro.

In this case, the independent Albanian state Kosovo will hypothetically pretend to the Macedonian territories inhabited by the Albanians. In turn, the territorial disintegration of Macedonia can essentially destabilize the situation in South-Eastern Europe in theory, because this country is not indifferent for Greece which is a member of the EC and NATO and also for Bulgaria which pretends to be a member of both these structures. Moreover, the Albanians hope soundly for the Turkish support. This can block the entrance of new member-countries to the EC for a long time in view of the existence of the unsettled Cyprian problem and the rigid position of Athens which set their support of the process of enlargement of the European Union in dependence on the entrance of Cyprus to this structure.

As seen, the stability on the Balkans is the key problem for the geostrategic prospects of development of the united Europe. Therefore, the military-political control over this region, whose efficiency became evident after the operation on the destruction of infrastructures of the global terroristic net “al-Qaida” on the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Kosovo, gives a chance to move the direct terroristic threat away from the heart of the European Union. But the question of the cost of military presence of the countries of the EC and NATO on the Balkans stays open.

One of the possible variants of the reinforcement of regional geopolitical stability is the enlargement of NATO. In Prague in November, 2002, the summit of the North-Atlantic Alliance will be held, where the decision about the determination of the next group of candidates for this most powerful military-political block was made. In particular, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia (by 2004) and Macedonia, Albania, and Croatia (after 2007) can rate at the positive decision as for their entrance to NATO under the condition of the confirmation of their intentions by the national referenda. Therefore, the guarantees of security and stability which are given by NATO and the EC to South-Eastern Europe become stronger.

One more epicentre of stress in the immediate proximity to Europe and the origin of permanent challenges of the terroristic threat is Near East. During 2000–2001, the Supreme Commissar of the EC in questions of the CFDP H. Solana took part quite actively in the attempts of the leading world forces to renew the Near-Eastern peaceful process. It was especially remarkable in the situation when the administration of G. Bush kept some distance, at first, away from the making the systematic diplomatic efforts for the achievement of the final variant of settlement of the Palestine–Israel conflict. However, Israel often accuses the Euro-Union as the greatest financial sponsor of the Palestinian autonomy in the bias and therefore doesn’t accept these intermediary efforts.

Now, Near East presents the same threat for the EC security as the Balkans. This was confirmed by the next burst of violence in the region which occurred in

December 2001 and during 2002, when Israel answered the terrorist acts of Palestinians suicides by all the power of its military machine with the active support of the USA. The next phase of the permanent cycle of violence began.

At the same time, the balancing on the edge of a full-scale war between Israel and the radical forces in the Moslem world supporting the Palestinians can destroy the delicate global antiterrorist coalition created by the United States after September 11, 2001 on just the decisive stage of the destruction of the terroristic infrastructure not only on the territory of Afghanistan, but also in other unstable regions.

Certain serious diplomatic difficulties are caused by the question about the determination of the further aims of the antiterroristic campaign. In fact, the administration in Washington plans to end the active phase of the antiterroristic operation in Afghanistan until summer 2002 by shifting the responsibility on the international stabilization armed forces (ISAF). In this case, the American military presence will be kept in the Central-Asian region taking into account its key role for the geopolitical control over Eurasia (by virtue of the significance of its oil-gas potential and the intersection of interests of at once four nuclear forces such as Russia, China, India, and Pakistan).

On the other side, the declaration of the President G. Bush of December 2001 about the unilateral withdrawal of the USA from the Treaty about the systems of antimissile defense of 1972 became the geostrategic challenge for the antiterroristic coalition. Russia considers this problem sufficiently prudently, because its nuclear-missile potential is yet able to overcome any possible system of NAMD (National antimissile defense) on the present level of technology. At the same time, China which is less constrained by the conditions of diplomatic imperatives after the entrance to the WTO reacted more critically, because even the limited system of NAMD can reduce its nuclear potential to zero. India (which tested the missile "Agni-2" able to strike a target along all the perimeter of the Indian ocean including the USA base on the Diego Garcia island in January 2002) along with Iran and KPDR which work actively by realizing the nuclear programs are alarmed.

Under such tangled geostrategic conditions, the United States made the decision which changes the strategic configuration of the system of global defense, in fact, without consultations with the majority of European allies, perhaps excluding Great Britain. The development of NAMD in the near future will incline inevitably the global balance of forces in favour of the USA. At the same time, NATO will stay the key tool of the decisive American influence on the transatlantic dialogue. If the process of consolidation of the foreign policy and defense of the member-countries of the EC will continue, then they have more chances to become a "deputy sheriff" as de facto the United States are, than Russia.

At the same time, the situation in Southern Asia stayed tense until June 2002 when the conditioned term of the withdrawal from the Treaty about the limitation

of the systems of antimissile defense would finish. The destabilization threatened to become beyond control after the attack of the Kashmir fighters quartered in Pakistan on the Indian Parliament. In response, India recalled the ambassador from Islamabad and accused the Pakistan authorities of the accordance of a refuge for terrorists. The President P. Musharraf met with support from China. Shortly after, India and Pakistan created, in fact, a new "Great Chinese Wall" on the common boundary by concentrating the considerable military units there.

In turn, Peking is going to increase its nuclear-missile potential, by taking into account the prospects of formation of the system of NAMD of the USA which can defend Taiwan as well. At the same time, the Chinese strategists don't dare to aggravate plainly the relations with Washington, which was confirmed by the visit of the President of the USA G. Bush to China in February, 2002. The strengthening of the geostrategic power of China worried seriously India. The last takes appropriate measures which are answered by Pakistan in the limits of its possibilities. In this case, the terroristic groups of various orientations from Kashmir fighters to the Uigurs, who try to conquer the independence of the Eastern Turkestan in the struggle against China, became the more essential regional destabilizing factor.

Thereby the arc of instability from the Balkans through Near East and Central Asia extends to South Asia. By some calculations, in the case of the development of the system of National antimissile defense of the USA, the missiles launched from the territories of countries-derelicts which are mostly adjacent to the boundaries of Europe can be knocked down and fall onto the member-countries of the EC, which can complicate the transatlantic solidarity noticeably.

This fact makes the general strategic situation concerning the global security worse and influences negatively the formation of the geostrategic interests of the EC.

Immanent contradictions of the formation of the CFDP under conditions of an antiterroristic operation. In addition to the above-mentioned problems concerning the determination of the course of the EC, the common foreign and defense policy of the European Union on the international scene has a number of essential inner contradictions. The formation of a consolidated foreign policy course is complicated not only by the objective circumstances defined by the different national interests of 15 present member-countries of the EC, but also by the latent contradictions which become quite often evident between the large countries influential on the international scene such as Germany, France, Great Britain, and Italy and the states of the united Europe which are smaller by the territory and population number.

There are the problems of self-identification of the member-countries of the EC on the international scene which are more serious and formed historically.

For example, the neutral Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Ireland are not the members of NATO, therefore they can *a priori* interact with the North-Atlantic Alliance mainly in the limits of the program “Partnership for peace”, which isn’t quite enough for the efficient permanent functioning of the mechanisms of the CFDP in the context of the reinforcement of transatlantic solidarity.

At the same time, the Finnish general G. Heggblund must be at the head of the future forces of rapid response of the EC in 2003. But now there proceeds the complicated process of coordination of the distribution of the spheres of competence, finances, and resources between NATO and future new military units of the European Union. In particular, Turkey, which is the member of NATO, but not the member-country of the EC, is alarmed by the prospects of its isolation from the influence on the decision-making in the framework of the common defense policy of the Euro-Union. Therefore, Ankara still blocks the process of solution of the question about the access of the future European forces of rapid response to the strategic resources of the North-Atlantic Alliance. Moreover, there are kept the serious contradictions between Turkey and Greece regarding the entrance of Cyprus to the EC. Whereas Athens insists on the quick variant of the involving of Nicosia, Ankara threatens, in such a case, with the annexation of the Turkish part of the Aphrodite’s island. In response, the Greeks promise to block, in general, the process of enlargement of the European Union. At the beginning of December, 2001 for the first time from the crisis connected with the delivery of the Russian systems S–300 to Cyprus (finally, they were deployed on the Greek island of Crete), the direct negotiations between the leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus were renewed. But they didn’t yet find an exit from a God-forsaken corner. The Greeks agree at most to the federalization of Cyprus, but the Turks insist on the creation of a soft confederation. The diplomats of the EC hope, that the richer Greek part of the island will simply absorb economically the Turkish state formation which is recognized by Ankara only. But such a scenario of the development of events seems too much optimistic at the present moment. The Turkish and Greek diplomats also plan to solve the complicated questions about the demarcation of the borders on the islands in the Aegean Sea till 2004. The Euro-Union reveals the intense intermediary activity in this process.

In general, the parameters of the formation of the CFDP after the terroristic acts in September 11, 2001 appeared in the new reality, whose characteristic features became the radical change of the rules of a play, when the USA do everything in their power to protect their status of the global leader even from hypothetical threats. Of course, the countries of the EC expressed at once their readiness to assist the United States in the fight against the threat of international terrorism. Great Britain, Germany, and France became, in fact, the initiators and coordinators of the development of the common position of the EC concerning this timely international problem.

The Prime-Minister of Great Britain T. Blair showed the especial activity directed toward the formation and strengthening of the antiterroristic coalition. During October and November 2001, two meetings on the highest level (in Gent and London) were held. They were devoted to the problem of the struggle against terrorism. In particular, the list of the structures and organizations recognized officially as terroristic by the Euro-Union was coordinated.

The crystallization of the common position of the EC became accelerated since October 7, 2001, when the USA began to bombard the territory of Afghanistan. As a result of the negotiations in Petersberg, the post-talib government of Afghanistan headed by pro-American Pushtu leader H. Karzai was created. In December 2001, his inauguration took place. The new transient government has to provide the convocation (until summer 2002) of the traditional Afghan intertribal meeting. The last will elect the power which will act another two years until the general elections. Namely during this time, Afghanistan has to obtain theoretically the lion's share of the international financial help for the rebirth of the normal economy, on which the success of the whole project will eventually depend. As a result of the Tokyo meeting of the donor-countries, the Euro-Union allotted 500 million euros to Afghanistan. The international stabilization forces are called to be the guarantors of the safe development of this process.

At the Belgian town of Leuven in December 14–15, 2001, the summit of the EC was held, on which all member-countries support the idea to send the mission to Afghanistan for the peace maintenance. To say the truth, there was a short discussion between Germany and Great Britain about the command of the German contingent in Afghanistan. At last, Germany abdicates from the command. By the decision of the Security Council of UNO, in Kabul and other strategically important places of the country during the end of December 2001 — January 2002, the international stabilization forces were quartered with the British commander at the head, who intended to command during the first three months of the operation.

By the way, the German peacemakers were transported to the Afghan capital by the Ukrainian transport aircrafts “Ruslan” under the contract since January 9, 2002. They will take part also in the delivery of humanitarian goods. This is the important direction of the establishment of a further dialogue between Ukraine and the Euro-Union about the actual questions of the international policy and global security.

Thus, in the context of the development of the antiterroristic campaign, the member-countries of the EC concentrated their attention on the following key problems:

- determination of the volume of the military-political help to the USA and the scope of the humanitarian help to Afghanistan;
- improvement of the legislation for the struggle against terrorism in the member-countries of the Euro-Union (in particular, through the

unification of the legal interpretation of the notion of “terrorism”, the development of the common rules for arrest and justice of the accused in the corresponding cases);

- creation of the mechanism of control over international bank operations (the radical proposals reach even the cancellation of the bank secrecy); with the purpose of blocking the sources of financing of the terrorists’ activity;

- strengthening the coordination of the activity of the intelligence services of member-countries of the EC and the partner states;

- coordination of the efforts in the struggle against the international terrorism not only on the level of the EC, but on that of separate regions; among these initiatives, we mention the Warsaw meeting (in November 6, 2001) of 16 Central European countries and the development of the dialogue of the European Union with the Mediterranean countries.

However, from the very beginning of the war against the global terrorism declared by G. Bush, the leading role in this process is played by the USA. From the very beginning of the operation in Afghanistan, NATO was, as it were, in the deep reserve. Of course, the undoubted military-political support to the efforts of the United States was expressed, but the reports open for the society’s eyes about the military participation of the Alliance’s forces were concerned with the change of the American aircrafts AVAX above the Balkans which were relocated to the Central Asia by European aircrafts .

At the same time, the most influential European member-countries of the EC and NATO determined gradually the volumes of their military help to the USA. In particular, Great Britain offered 4800 soldiers, Germany — 3900, Italy — 2700, France — 2000, the Netherlands — 1400, Czech Republic — 300, Denmark — 100, Poland — 300 and Spain — 300 soldiers⁴³. In addition, Bulgaria which became a non-permanent member of the Security Council of UNO since the beginning of 2002 also decided to send 20 military experts in the questions of antigas protection to Afghanistan. At last, the final quotes were determined on the base of the maximal general number of the contingent equal to 4800 soldiers which was coordinated with the Afghan government⁴⁴.

Thus, the European Union was able to activate the process of formation of the common foreign policy and the defense one inalienable of it under conditions of carrying out the global antiterroristic campaign, in particular, by the way of the creation of the efficient mechanisms of coordination of all the directions of international activity. Thereby, the CFDP finds the clear shape gradually, but steadily, and the diplomats of the member-countries carry out a consolidated foreign policy course more and more often.

Home security of member-countries of the EC in the context of the fight against terrorism. In addition to the foreign-policy aspects of the fight

against terrorism, the most part of the member-countries of the EC is faced with the problems of the guarantee of home security.

The process of globalization erodes the demarcation line between the questions concerning the merely foreign policy and the “classical” home policy. At the beginning of the XXIst century, the foreign policy becomes, in essence, a continuation of the home policy by diplomatic or force methods. In this case, the efficiency of the foreign-policy efforts of the EC depends to a great extent on the success of the realization of common actions directed toward solving the problems of home security.

In such a context, acute stays the problem of organic integration of the numerous Moslem community which is constantly increasing into the European civil society. Especially, this problem concerns Germany, France, and Great Britain, i.e., the countries which have actively supported the USA in the antiterroristic struggle.

For example, in the middle of December 2001, the German justice on the base of the new antiterroristic legislation forbade a number of extremist Moslem organizations acting on the territory of Germany. In particular, the matter concerned the structure “Caliphate” in the town of Koln which propagandized the dismantling of the earthly state in Turkey. To the point, various Kurdish extremist groups were forbidden yet in the time of the extradition of the leader of Kurdish work party A. Odjolan to Ankara in 2000. A number of Moslem structures was forbidden in Great Britain. At the same time, pure force actions can’t solve the problem of such an immanent “collision of civilizations” inside the democratic Western societies.

Thus, it arose the problem of adaptation of, first of all, the new generation of Moslem immigrants to the Western civilizational values in such a way that the Moslem youth living in the state of a permanent cultural shock does not identify itself with the Islamic fundamentalists, but feels itself by European Moslems in the socio-cultural context. But this problem remains yet unsolved. The Islamic enclaves in the largest cities of the leading countries of the EC stay, in essence, the centers cut off from the daily life of a civil society which gave them the refuge, but didn’t integrate them to its structures by virtue of the civilizational and religious differences.

It is impossible to put off the solution of this problem, because the majority of member-countries of the European Union will meet the acute demographic crisis in the nearest decades, which will require from these countries to wider attract immigrants from the countries with the basically different civilizational identity as compared to the western one.

As the first such test, we mention the problem of entrance of Islamic Turkey into the EC, which is connected with a whole complex of complicated and

contradictory problems nobody has not even begun to solve. Thus, the problems of the common foreign policy of the EC will actively influence further the purely home-policy questions connected both with the development of the economy and the guarantee of home security.

Local conflicts threaten not only the post-communist Europe, but the Western part of the continent as well. Under conditions of the fight against international terrorism and under the strong home-policy pressure, the Ireland Republic Army agreed, at last, to execute the treaty about termination of the struggle in October 2001. At the same time, the Basque terrorists activated their activity, on the contrary. The situation on Corsica stays uncertain, although the government of L. Jospin proposed a wide autonomy in the framework of the French state to this island.

Therefore, the most part of representatives of the political elite of the member-countries of the EC believes that they cannot rest on the laurels of achievements of the European integration and have to smooth the conflicts. In particular, the solution of these problems will be assisted by the more efficient common foreign and defense policy of the European Union which is to be realized with the help of other geopolitically important regional leading countries such as Russia, Ukraine, and Turkey. The latter aren't yet members of the EC, but are included, in fact, into the zone of interests of the EC. In particular, T. Blair has already advanced a proposal that the cooperation between NATO and Russia will come out of the limits of the program "Partnership for peace" and will be, in fact, on the level of associated membership. At least, they are going to consult more often with Russia in the questions of the fight against terrorism, realization of peacemaking operations, and nonproliferation of the weapons of mass destruction.

On the other side, neutral Sweden and Finland proposed, on the contrary, to extend the cooperation in the questions of the fight against terrorism in the limits of the program "Partnership for peace", in particular by means of the establishment of the efficient cooperation between the national departments responsible for civil defense.

In addition to the questions of strategic stability which are generated by the fight against terrorism, the complicated complex of legal and political problems promotes the process of establishment of the more strict legislation of the EC whose norms have to be oriented to the struggle against terrorism.

In this context, for example, "Amnesty international" accentuated that the legal examination of the series of drafts arouses anxiety about the possible infringements of the European Charter of the human rights. These proposals provoke the analogous criticism in the Council of Europe. In particular, President of PACE W. Schvimmer announced that the extradition of persons suspected in terrorism from the member-countries of the EC, where the death penalty is cancelled, to the USA creates the legal collisions.

Moreover, he criticized the USA for the strict measures of the military justice concerning the captive talibs on the American base Guantanamo placed on Cuba.

At the same time, the mutual extradition of a number of the well-known terrorists became the evidence for strengthening the coordination of actions of the law-protecting agencies of the member-countries of the EC. For example, Great Britain satisfied, at last, the claim of France about the extradition of the Algerian extremist concerned in the organization of the series of explosions in the Paris underground yet in 1995. Madrid and Paris reinforced the cooperation in the struggle against the Basque extremists and Corsican separatists.

The problem of efficiency of the antiterroristic legislation is connected with the protection of human rights. But still open stay the questions how long the extraordinary legislation will be used and what criteria should determine the level of the existing threat⁴⁵.

The clearness of the antiterroristic legislation of the EC is very important not only from the viewpoint of the defense of home security, but also in the international context. In fact, some countries which aren't the members of the EC, in particular Ukraine, undertook to bring their legislations to conformity with these legal norms.

The process of formation of the common foreign and defense policy of the EC stood the test by two international crises such as Kosovo and the present antiterroristic operation. They showed the weaknesses of the coordination of foreign-policy and defense efforts and thus created the field for a successive application of the diplomatic methods with the purpose of solving the urgent questions of the agenda of the crisis management and formation of a new system of international relations with the single pole of force and subordinate regional centers.

References

1. *Krober A., Klakhon K.* Culture. Review of Conceptions and Definitions [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1964.
2. *Vasilenko I. A.* Political Globalistics [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 149–154.
3. *Gabriel O., Rattinger H.* Wirklich ein Volk? Die Politische Orientierungen von Ost und Westdeutschen im Vergleich. — Opladen, 2000. — S. 711.
4. *Vasilenko I. A.* Dialogue of Civilizations: Socio-Cultural Problems of Political Partnership [in Russian]. — Moscow, 1999.
5. *Laufer T.* Die Europäische Union und ihr Parlament. — Bonn, 1994. — S. 142.
6. *Schoendube C.* Blick hinter die Kulissen des Europäischen Parlaments. — Bonn, 1993. — S. 118.
7. *Laufer T.* Die Europäische Union und ihr Parlament. — Bonn, 1994. — S. 137.
8. *Il'in Yu. D.* History and Right of the European Union [in Russian]. — Kharkiv, 1998. — P. 31.
9. *Il'in Yu. D.* History and Right of the European Union [in Russian]. — Kharkiv, 1998. — P. 33.
10. *Der Spiegel.* — 1999. — No. 12. — S. 180.
11. *Süddeutsche Zeitung.* — 1998. — 18 Dez.

12. Der Spiegel. — 1999. — No. 3. — S. 23.
13. Frankfurter Allg. Zeit. — 2000. — 12 Dez.
14. Der Spiegel. — 2001. — No. 23. — S. 18.
15. *Schmitz T.* Integration in der Supranationalen Union. Das Europäische Organisations Model. — Baden-Baden, 2001. — S. 518.
16. Euro-guidebook [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2001. — P. 10.
17. *Kopiika V. V., Shynkarenko T. I.* European Union: Origin and Stages of Formation [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2001. — P. 145.
18. Die Vertragstexte von Maastricht. — Bonn, 1992. — S. 88.
19. Euro-guidebook [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2001. — P. 21.
20. *Titmeyer H.* Europäische Währungsunion und Politische Union — das Model mehrerer Geschwindigkeiten // Europe-Archiv. — 1995. — No. 16. — S. 457.
21. Frankfurter Allg. Zeit. — 1998. — 3 Apr.
22. Suddeutsche Zeitung. — 1998. — 4 Mai.
23. Handelsblatt. — 2001. — 2 Nov.
24. Suddeutsche Zeitung. — 1998. — 2 Jul.
25. Wirtschaftswoche. — 2001. — No. 18. — S. 34.
26. Izvestiya. — 2001. — 12 Sep.
27. *Soros G.* The Crisis of Global Capitalism. Open Society Endangered. — 1998.
28. Golos Ukrainy. — 2002. — 11 May.
29. *Gvishiani D. M.* Rome Club. History of Establishment. Selected Reports and Speeches. — Moscow, 1998.
30. *Vasilenko I. A.* Political Globalistics [in Russian]. — Moscow, 2000. — P. 360.
31. *Il'in Yu. D.* History and Right of the European Union [in Russian]. — Kharkiv, 1998. — P. 134.
32. Handelsblatt. — 2000. — 12 Dez.
33. Frankfurter Allg. Zeit. — 2000. — 12 Dez.
34. Handelsblatt. — 2000. — 12 Apr.
35. Handelsblatt. — 2000. — 26 Apr.
36. *Brzezinski Z.* The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives. — 1997.
37. Der Spiegel. — 2001. — No. 19. — S. 172.
38. Common strategy of the EC relative to Ukraine [in Ukrainian]. — In: Development and Expansion of the EC during the Chairmanship of France. Prospects for Ukraine. — Kyiv, 2000. — P. 88.
39. Conception of National Safety of the Russian Federation [in Russian] // Ross. Gazeta. — 2000. — 17 Jan.
40. Frankfurter Allg. Zeit. — 2001. — 18 Mai.
41. Ukraine between Russia and West. Strategy at the Beginning of the XXIst Century [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2000. — P. 15.
42. *Gorbulin V.* The destiny of the Treaty on AMD and strategic partnership of Ukraine [in Ukrainian] // Dzerkalo Tyzhnya. — 2001. — 7–13 Apr.
43. Focus. — 2001. — No. 46. — S. 282.
44. Der Spiegel. — 2002. — No. 2. — S. 114.
45. *Wilfried L.* Das Europäische Projekt zu Beginn des 21 Jahrhunderts. — Leverkusen, 2001. — S. 240.

Concluding remarks

At the turn of the third millenium, the humanity enters a new stage of its history related to the formation of a global civilizational organism. Various local civilizations, numerous and small nations, social institutions, groups, and autonomous social players which are the cells of an originating global socium and, by participating in the process, contribute to the Great co-evolution of the completely internationalized world.

The new arising socio-historical life is getting more complex, dynamic, contradictory, unstable, and risky. The cost of fallacious decisions is too high. The powerful dynamics of transformational processes generates the so-called “butterfly”s wing flap effect”, when it may excite a hurricane in a determined space-time continuum. There is a growing demand for exact tactic and strategic prognoses.

The traditional methodological tools of social sciences oriented to the analysis of a social statics becomes practically invalid for the description and interpretation of an impetuous social dynamics. It is no mere chance that the we observe now the intensive search for new theoretical and conceptual approaches to the comprehension of such a complicated phenomenon as globalization.

Globalistics is taking a shape before our eyes. In the English-speaking world which has always been a conductor of globalistic trends, dozens of papers appear almost daily within this area of inquiry. However, the real revolutionary shift in the paradigms of scientific thought has not yet occurred. Scholars still aspire to think globally, but act locally.

The crisis of the Marxist theory on the post-transformational space, which urged not only to interpret the world, but to change it for the better, was a symptom of the onset of the post-modern era. Meanwhile, the great narrative with its enlightenment-positivistic pathos of large-scale socio-engineering projects also gravitates to the periphery of scientific discourse, which is evidenced by the Western European experience. The mainstream trends use increasingly often the artful manipulation by consciousness rather than the expansion of the boundaries of scientific thought.

Under these conditions, of rising popularity in the West are the social theories with prefixes “neo-” and “post-”. Neomarxism, post-structuralism, neofunctionalism, neopositivism, and other trends of social thought give rise to scholastic discussions on a wide range of issues which are comprehensible only to a limited circle of experts. Thus, this discourse is still actually confined within the boundaries of traditional scientific paradigms.

On the other hand, a change of intellectual climate in the countries of the post-transformational space stimulates the appearance of interdisciplinary researches there

which are of novelty for them. In fact, worldwide social sciences start outgrowing the “Newton physics” of the turn of the XXth century, which was in the crisis state since the discovery of the divisibility of atoms. Then the generation of new paradigms in mathematically exact sciences occurred due to the formation of a wider subject field of interdisciplinary researches. Today the sciences of a man as the top of God’s creations start transcending their puerile age. Latest discoveries in genetics, deciphering the human genetic code, and attempts of cloning pose a number of complex ethical, philosophic, and religious problems.

Symptoms of a certain degree of maturity are also observed in the expansion of interdisciplinary methodological models. For example, synergetics turns, in fact, into a new philosophy of history, paving the way for contemporary interpretations and conceptual generalizations. Perhaps, they are destined to interpret a new individual, new world, and new heaven. The theory of social probability will definitely be among them.

The idea of cyclicity in social sciences has a long history. It affects heavily various conceptual approaches to social studies. Only as a modern Promethean European man was born, the linearity of cognition of the socio-historical time and social development regarded as a one-directional process gained popularity in scientific circles. On the contemporary stage of development of the civilization when the new trend, globalization, gathers force by replacing the former dominant trend, internationalization, the realization of the above-mentioned “linear paradigm” is a rather simplified approach to forming the “golden billion” allegedly destined to pragmatically use the natural and social potential of other two thirds of the humanity.

On the contrary, the cyclic approach to the socio-historical process presents, in our opinion, a more adequate scientific pattern of the past, present, and even future social development. Moreover, the cyclic model is open to interdisciplinary synthesis.

We believe that new syntheses of knowledge can be productive, given strengthened interdisciplinary links between theoretical sociology, social philosophy, psychology, and history. In this case, the model of social cycle of the public history may be one of the possible approaches.

In our view, this model is very appropriate for the formation of methodological approaches, scientific hypotheses, and theoretical generalizations adequate to the contemporary epoch. At present, we observe the process of “writing” the components of this model and their filling with a categorial apparatus and the elaborated criteria for the identification of certain phases of the cycle. At the same time, introducing readers to the contents of the present book ushers them in the circle of authors’ interests and invites the readers to their scientific lab.

Verification of the scientific hypothesis briefly set out in the first section of the present book was exemplified by the analysis of issues which are in the spotlight of public attention. The matter concerns three directions of analysis: fate of a nation-state under conditions of the development of current global trends; testing a local civilization against the background of intensification of integration processes; formation of a global civilizational organism.

In particular, Ukraine gained political independence at a dramatic historical moment, at the turn of the XXth and XXIst centuries. Two centuries of intense industrial development entailed the exhaustion of many natural resources. This grim tendency was comprehended

as early as the beginning of 1970s, when the reports by the members of the Rome Club proved convincingly the “limits of growth” really exist. In this light, the world demanded what the last Secretary General of the USSR M. Gorbachev referred to as “new thinking”. But this term turned out to be a rhetoric tool rather than an incentive to adequate actions.

Theoretically, there were two scenarios of getting out the crisis. The first one is still topical, in our opinion. It is related to the recomprehension of the paradigm of extensive industrial development when the economic growth is mainly provided by the allocation of necessary resources predominantly to developed countries at the expense of the poorest nations. This vector of development dates back to the days of colonialism and was supported by both the ideological myth about “civilizational mission of the white man” and the Eurocentric vision of the world history. It’s high time we abandoned the Judaic-Protestant religious thinking based upon the ideological monopoly of certain nations to be “God-chosen” and turned to the revival of the humanist potential of world religions of the period of “axial time” (by K. Jaspers).

The new approach to solving many cultural and social problems lies in the recognition of equivalence of all monotheist religions. Many famous theologians, Alexander Men’ among them, emphasized that the God recurred to different languages to turn to peoples. Based upon these sacred texts (Bible, Koran, and Tora), Christianity, Islam, and Judaism arose, respectively. Moreover, Buddha and Vishnu do represent the monotheist concept which has the own valuable tradition. Just the revival of universalism of the existing world religions which recognize the equal responsibility of peoples before the Supreme Intellect (even referred to as collective unconsciousness by agnostics) and the preserving of unity in diversity and mutual tolerance will pave the spiritual way to the globalization “with human face”.

In this case, local civilizations will maintain a dialogue between themselves and not try to defend themselves by force from the expansion of the Western civilization aspiring to draw all to the Procrustean bed, as many think. The need in preserving the cultural-civilizational diversity is no less crucial for the survival of the humanity than the protection of the diversity of biological species.

However, this humanist scenario of shaping the global civilization requires the great self-discipline of thought and action from its proponents, as well as abandoning the hedonistic lifestyle and even a certain asceticism. On the contrary, the second “pragmatic” scenario which is run now is easier and handier.

While there is not enough room for two superstates, as for two bears in a lair, the weaker has to disappear. Therefore, the USSR which tried unsuccessfully to return on the “highway of the civilization” during the period of reconstruction eventually disintegrated. This engendered the unique opportunity of geostrategical division of the world, and the USA seized it. At the same time, the USA managed to establish control over the main “hot spots”, whose state define the further development, for a certain (historically short) period. But it seems to us that the further prospects of the advantages derived should not be overestimated, because the current status of the USA, though the most a state can dream of, is a border landmark for this cycle of development.

After the breakdown of the USSR, when Ukraine gained the long-dreamt-of independence and dwelt upon the problems of its own, it also was devoid (but temporarily!) of the global vision of the situation.

At the “great chess-board” of the present, any player who cannot foretell several moves ahead is doomed to remain an outsider. This status quo will be preserved if the force struggle for “commanding heights” will proceed in the process of globalization. So far, the principle of net communication of various subjects, equal among equal, has not been embodied in contemporary international relations.

However, the total power is bound to have its Achilles’ heel. Many political, economic, and socio-cultural processes in the US evidence for the presence of certain “pre-revolutionary features”. To name just a few, it’s the poll epic as the 43th USA President was elected in November 2000; the terrorist attacks in September 11, 2001, which made the American society assume clear authoritarian features (tough social control, sacrificing civil freedoms to the security, racist principles of control over incomers, etc); corporate scandals of summer 2002 which undermined the trust in the former honesty of “protestant spirit of capitalism”.

Historical analogies between the current “imperial globalism” of the USA and that of the Roman empire remind that this first classical empire collapsed not only under the pressure of “Barbarians”, but because of the inner erosion. In this context, the next decade (until 2012) can become a real turning point of the world history.

The new great American revolution of the XXIst century is likely to become such an epochal event as the Great French revolution of the XIXth century. Its sense may be in changing the model of USA’s inner development and thus in their stance on the international arena. The Americans as the overwhelming majority of other peoples of various local civilizations are challenged by a symbolic valuable choice which will become a turning point in the fate of the global civilization. The Great co-evolution can lead the humanity on a new level of spiritual and social development.

Recommended literature

(authors' publications whose ideas and contents are used in the present book)

1. *Afonin E., Martynov A.* Archetypes of the world religions under the conditions of Globalization // Globalization / Haldia Government College. Kolkata [India]. — 2002.
2. *Afonin E., Martynov A.* Prospects of the “World-system” interpretation of World History // Globalization / Haldia Government College. — Kolkata [India]. — 2002.
3. *Afonin E., Martynov A.* National minorities of Balkan countries in the focus of Globalization // Proceedings of the 3-rd International Symposium “National minorities. Political action in Europe (the period after “cold war”)”. Csanty (Greece), August 16–19, 2001. — Csanty, 2001.
4. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* Archetypes of the world religions under the conditions of globalization [in Russian] // Proceedings of the International Conference “A person and a culture under the conditions of globalization”. Kyiv, October 26–27, 2001.
5. *Afonin E. A.* Innovative activity: between the “anvil” of traditions and the “hammer” of innovations [in Russian] // Posredhik. — 1996. — September 11.
6. *Afonin E. A.* Ukraine’s armed forces: social and socio-psychological problems [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 1994.
7. *Afonin E. A., Bandurka O. M., Martynov A. Yu.* Social Development AD. — Kyiv, 2000. — (Open Research Conception; Issue 1).
8. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* The Belgian variant for Ukraine’s perspective [in Ukrainian] // Viche. — 2001. — No. 4.
9. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* The global aspect of socio-historical development [in Russian] // Praktychna Filosofiya. — 2001. — No. 2 (3).
10. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* The prospects of the “World-System” interpretation of the world history [in Ukrainian] // Visnyk Karazin Kharkiv Nats. Univers. — 2000. — No. 487.
11. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* The problem of simulation in interdisciplinary studies [in Ukrainian] // Horizons of Communication. Proceedings of the VIIIth Internat. Skovoroda Kharkiv Readings, Kharkiv, September 28–29, 2001. — Kharkiv, 2001.
12. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* A socio-historical subject in the period of globalization [in Ukrainian] // Praktychna Filosofiya. — 2001. — No. 3 (4).
13. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* Fates of East-Slavic peoples in the global context: methodological problems of sociological forecast [in Russian] // Proceedings of Intern. Conference “Geopolitical and Geoeconomic Problems of Russian–Ukrainian Relations (estimates, forecasts, scenarios)”, St.-Petersburg, January 22–24, 2001. — St.-Petersburg, 2001.
14. *Afonin E. A., Martynov A. Yu.* The problem of freedom and order in the context of the world history [in Ukrainian] // Practical philosophy and legal order. Collection of sci. works. — Kharkiv, 2000.
15. *Afonin E. A., Senchenkova T. V.* The processes of indentification of a person in society’s crisis situation [in Ukrainian] // Ukraine: Problems of the Society in the Transient Period / Proceedings of the 2nd School of Young Sociologists of Ukraine. Berdyansk, September 12–18, 1994. — Berdyansk, 1995.
16. *Afonin E. A., Senchenkova T. V.* The socio-gender indentification and the problems of social stratification [in Ukrainian] // Problems of Development of Sociology on the Modern Stage (Theoretical and methodological questions) / Proceedings of the Internat. Sci.-Practical Conference. Kyiv, May 31 — June 4, 1993. — Kyiv, 1994.

17. *Afonin E.* From personal changes through a social transformation to a change of the social policy [in Ukrainian] // Sots. Polit. Sots. Robota. — 1997. — No. 1 (2).
18. *Afonin E.* From the subordination and conquest of the world to the harmony of co-existence with it [in Ukrainian] // Viche. — 2002. — No. 6. — Review of the book: *Sokhan L. V., Sokhan I. P.* Time of a New World and a Person: Global Risks of the Civilization and a Search. Sociological Essays [in Russian]. — Kyiv, 2001.
19. *Afonin E.* Some aspects of a social transformation and the state social policy in Ukraine [in Ukrainian] // Sots. Polit. Sots. Robota. — 1996. — No. 1.
20. *Afonin E.* Ukraine's development: macrosocial approach [in Ukrainian] // Viche. — 1996. — No. 1.
21. *Afonin E.* The tendencies of development of Ukraine's society in the transient period (socio-psychological dimension) [in Ukrainian] // Ukrainian Society: Monitoring of Social Changes (1994–1999). Inform.-Analyt. Materials. — Kyiv, 1999.
22. *Afonin E.* Ukraine — Europe — World: on the way of co-evolution [in Ukrainian] // Visnyk Karazin Kharkiv Nats. Univers. — 1999. — No. 433.
23. *Afonin E., Dush I., Yakovleva T.* Ukraine and World: Problems of International Collaboration and Collective Safety. Bibliography of Papers of the Ukrainian Periodicals (1991–1999). — Kyiv, 1999.
24. *Afonin E., Martynov Yu.* Archetypes of the world religions under the conditions of globalization [in Ukrainian] // Viche. — 2002. — No. 3.
25. *Afonin E., Martynov Yu.* The Socio-Psychological Factor of Transformational Changes of the Social Structure of Ukraine's Society // Proceedings of the II All-Ukrainian Sociological Conference "Problems of Development of Sociological Theory. Theoretical Problems of Changes in the Social Structure of Ukraine's Society". — Kyiv, 2002.
26. *Afonin E., Martynov Yu.* United Europe: Socio-cultural borders [in Ukrainian] // Methodology, Theory, and Practice of Sociological Analysis of the Modern Society. Collection of scientific works of the participants of the Kharkiv Sociol. Readings. — Kharkiv, 2001.
27. *Bandurka O. M., Dreval Yu. D.* Parliamentarism in Ukraine: Formation and Development [in Ukrainian]. — Kharkiv, 1999.
28. *Bandurka O. M., Petrova K. Ya., Udodova V. I.* State Regulation of Economy [in Ukrainian]. — Kharkiv, 2000.
29. *Bandurka O. M., Tyaglo O. V.* A Course of Logic [in Ukrainian]. — Kyiv, 2002.
30. *Bandurka A. M., Druz V. A.* Psychology of Power [in Russian]. — Kharkiv, 1998.
31. *Bandurka A. M., Druz V. A.* Ethnopsychology [in Russian]. — Kharkiv, 2000.
32. *Martynov A.* The notion of "social" in the historical context [in Ukrainian] // New Paradigm: Collection of Sci. Works. — Issue 28. — Zaporizhzhya, 2002.
33. *Martynov A.* Futurological scenarios of a global perspective [in Ukrainian] // New Paradigm: Collection of Sci. Works. — Issue 27. — Zaporizhzhya, 2002.
34. *Martynov A. Yu.* European Union in the modern system of international relations [in Ukrainian] // Ukraine and Europe (1990–2000). — Kyiv, 2001.
35. *Martynov A. Yu.* The monetary Union of the EC and challenges of globalization [in Ukrainian] // Ludyna i Politika. — 2002. — No. 2.
36. *Martynov A. Yu.* Joint foreign and defence policy of the EC under conditions of the fight against international terrorism [in Ukrainian] // Visnyk Kyiv. Mizhnarod. Univers. — 2002. — Iss. 1.
37. *Martynov A. Yu.* Joint foreign and defence policy of the EC: problems of formation and prospects of realization [in Ukrainian] // Ludyna i Politika. — 2001. — No. 5.
38. *Martynov A. Yu.* Ukraine's energy dependence under conditions of globalization [in Russian] // Energy Problems of Russian–Ukrainian Relations. — St.-Petersburg, 2001.

Content

Viewpoints of reviewers	3
Words to Russian readers	7
Foreword.	10

Section I. Social cycles 13

Chapter 1. Problem of modelling in interdisciplinary researches	15
Chapter 2. Historical motion of the semantics of the notion of “social”	27
Chapter 3. Introduction to the social theory of probability	35
Chapter 4. Social subject: the problem of typology and development	54
Chapter 5. Co-evolution and structure of social reforms.	70
<i>References</i>	84

Section II. Ukraine at the crossing of co-evolution 87

Chapter 6. Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Russia: the peculiarities of historical development in the post-transformational period.	89
Chapter 7. Development of contemporary Ukraine: macrosocial approach	99
Chapter 8. Socio-psychological factor of co-evolutionary changes of the social structure of the Ukrainian society	107
Chapter 9. Energy dependence of Ukraine	113
Chapter 10. Ukraine in the system of European and world safety	118
Chapter 11. Destiny of East-Slavic peoples in the post-transformational world	123
<i>References</i>	126

Section III. World in the net of globalization 127

Chapter 12. Global aspect of socio-historical development	129
Chapter 13. Internationalization and real globalization	144
Chapter 14. Archetypes of world religions and globalization	151

Chapter 15. National minorities of the Balkan countries in the focus of globalization	161
Chapter 16. Prospects of comprehension and interpretation of the world history	171
Chapter 17. Scenarios of global prospects	178
<i>References</i>	187
 <i>Section IV. Europe: test by integration</i>	189
Chapter 18. United Europe: socio-cultural borders	191
Chapter 19. The European parliament in the context of political integrational process	199
Chapter 20. EU Currency Union and challenge of globalization.	212
Chapter 21. Common foreign and defense policy of EU: problems of its formation and prospects of its implementation	222
Chapter 22. Test of the EU's common foreign and defense policy by international antiterrorism.	235
<i>References</i>	246
 Concluding remarks	248
Recommended literature.	252

Scientific edition

Afonin Eduard Andreevich,

Doctor of Sociology, Professor, Academician of UTA

Bandurka Alexander Markovich,

Doctor of Law, Professor, Academician of ALSU

Martynov Andrei Yur'evich,

Candidate of History, Senior Science Researcher

GREAT CO-EVOLUTION

**Global problems of contemporaneity:
historico-sociological analysis**

Send your notes and proposals to the adress:

Ukraine, 01008, Kiyv-8, POB 16,

Tel/Fax: +38 044 226 2145

E-mail: *afonin@rada.gov.ua*

Published in the authors' version

Translation from Russian by *V. V. Kukhtin* and *O. O. Tokareva*

Computer make up by *V. E. Markus*