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*FACULTY OF MAGISTRACY,
DOCTORAL AND POST-DOCTORAL STUDIES*



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FACULTY OF THEOLOGY



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АСПІРАНТУРИ І ДОКТОРАНТУРИ***



**УНІВЕРСИТЕТ ВАРМІНСЬКО-МАЗУРСЬКИЙ
В ОЛЬШТИНІ (ПОЛЬЩА)**

ФАКУЛЬТЕТ ТЕОЛОГІЇ



**РАМНЕРАНЯН ДЖУНЖУНОЛА КОЛЛЕДЖ
МИСТЕЦТВ, НАУК ТА ТОРГІВЛІ
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«ВИКЛИКИ ПОСТКОЛОНІАЛІЗМУ:
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For contemporary domestic and foreign discourse in the field of philosophy, history, religion, education, and others, there is an urgent appeal to the problem of dismantling specific post-colonial (post-totalitarian) ideological ideas and types of thinking, in particular the specificities of homo soveticus anthropological phenomena, the study of the role of religion and education in overcoming the challenges of post-colonialism and post-totalitarianism, etc.

The organizers of the conference are intended to carry out a professional discussion of the problem of post-colonialism among representatives of socio-humanitarian disciplines. It is planned to consider Ukrainian and international experience in overcoming postcolonial syndrome.

For researchers, lecturers, doctoral students, graduate students and students.

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Для сучасного вітчизняного та закордонного дискурсу у галузі філософії, історії, релігієзнавства, освіти та інших є актуальним звернення до проблеми демонтажу специфічних постколоніальних (посттоталітарних) світоглядних настанов та типів мислення, зокрема специфіки антропологічних феноменів homo soveticus, дослідження ролі релігії та освіти у подоланні викликів постколоніалізму та посттоталітаризму тощо.

Організатори конференції мають на меті здійснити фахове обговорення проблеми постколоніалізму у колі представників соціогуманітарних дисциплін. Планується розглянути український та міжнародний досвід у подоланні постколоніального синдрому.

Для дослідників, викладачів, докторантів, аспірантів та студентів.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S EDUCATION POLICY IN PRE AND POST COLONIAL INDIA

Education must aim at the integral development of personality and that we need to have complete education for the complete human being. The concept of the integral development of personality demands for the harmonization of the rational, ethical, aesthetic and spiritual. The personality develops best when the educational atmosphere provides to every children a good deal of freedom; freedom in pursuing inner inclinations, freedom in regulating pace of progress, and freedom in determining directions of education. Therefore the education should be child centre which will put the child in the centre of the classroom but also in the centre of the society itself. This paper tries to focus on the challenges present in front of India in the area of education system in pre and post Colonial period because right from the beginning of their relationship with India, the British, who had come as traders and had become rulers and administrators, had influenced the economic, political and educational systems of the country. Their impact on the cultural and social life of India was gradual. It is essential to review the educational policies under the British rule to understand the present and visualize the future. In the light of the very backdrop of the history of the development of free and compulsory education in India need to analyse pre-independence and post-independence policy of the education for the harmonization of education for making a complete human being.

We find that the colonial interests of the British always shaped the then educational policies of India. As it is rightly said by Swami Vivekananda education system in India is "a clerk-making machine" because it is drafted as per the requirement of Britishers under the guidance of Lord Macaulay. This system of education was established in India at the cost of the traditional indigenous education system which was imposed on Indians forcefully. Before, this unfamiliar pedagogy of education in India both the Hindus and the Muslims had their own systems of education. Both the systems went into oblivion gradually and suffered a setback because of political turmoil and lack of a strong centralised political authority and want of suitable patronage (Purkait, 1992, p.1). Indian education had always been of a classical and spiritual rather of a practical nature.

It is possible through English education to bring about “a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect”, and English education would result in a filter down effect by separating the classes from the masses but this system of education pave the wave for divide and rule policy (Gosh 2007). So, this problem needs thorough investigation with proper solution. Macaulayan system of education of pre Colonial period grew, and

it has become so hardened that in spite of great efforts at the recovery of Indian pedagogy, we find it extremely difficult to develop and establish in India the real soul of the Indian pedagogy and its new and progressive forms in post colonial era.

The greatest educationalist, who have played important roles in fashioning education systems have, in their quest to develop ideal processes and structure of education. The pioneering educational philosophers like Rousseau, Montessori, Pestalozzi, Bertrand Russell, Paulo Freire, and Piaget, it is now being increasingly recognised that education must be based on the psychology of the child-nature. There is also a glimmering of the realization that each human being is a self-developing soul and that the business of both parent and teacher is to enable and to help the child to educate himself, to develop his own intellectual, moral, aesthetic and practical capacities. A new pedagogy that is to be centered on learning to learn, learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be. the nationalist leaders who inspired and led the movement of national education in India, such as those of Dayananda Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo gave a clear expression of the deeper self and the real psychic entity within. In this paper I have tried to revisit the philosophy of education of M.K. Gandhi and Swami Vivekananda who tried to provide solution to the problem generated by Macaulayan education system in India.

Mahatma Gandhi promoted an educational curriculum based on ‘Nai talim’ pedagogical principle. Nai talim is a philosophy of learning and living. It is a call for decolonizing our minds as it holds open our notions of progress, success, freedom, happiness and well-being for critical interrogation. It is also a compass for creating a new politics, new economics, new spiritualities and new non-violent societies. Gandhi’s view on education of heart brings the idea of sympathy, fellowship and deep feelings of love. The aim of education is not only to produce good individual but also one must understand one’s own responsibilities in which one lives.

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THE FALL OF THE IDOL OF THE METROPOLIS CULTURE AS A RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF POST-COLONIALISM

In terms of "challenge" and "response" some researchers often mistakenly attempt to criticize imperialism in a response to the challenge of post-colonialism. In fact, the idol of the empire and its culture, generated by a colony, is significantly different from the real cultural sources of imperialism. Colonial critics see the facade of the empire, the consequences of empire functioning, but not interested in the authentic values that the empire appeals to. Each empire begins with positive values that determine the good goals of the culture that will become the metropolis culture. These goals and values must justify the inappropriate treatment of the metropolis with its colonies: bad means must be justified by good goals. Subsequently, such a misleading practice leads to the rebirth of the creative values of the title nation of metropolis in the repressive values of the empire. Proper values of the title culture of the metropolis turn into the ghostly values of the empire, the culture turn into its own *simulacre*. It was classically demonstrated by Oswald Spengler, and for our days by Jean Baudrillard. So, the task is to criticize the cultural simulations of the empire. This task is best done not by post-colonial critics from the point of view of the culture of the colonies, but by the internal critique of the metropolis – from the standpoint of the original national culture of metropolis. This is a critique of *simulacre* from the standpoint of its original. This is the destruction of the very root of colonialism and imperialism. If the *Kulturtraeger* does not bear any proper culture, then he loses acquiescence to his unworthy deeds, which are allegedly carried out for the sake of this culture.

Any discourse of the empire only strengthens the empire itself. This discourse is supported by the ideologists of the empire: they directly proclaim their *messianism*, and indirectly encourage any statement of imperialism – even in the form of its criticism. Criticism of imperialism from the standpoint of the post-colonialism also enhances the discourse of the empire, and hence the very empire itself. Therefore, to overcome post-colonialism as a challenge is possible only outside the discourse of the empire.

The key element of the discourse of the empire is universalism. Each empire gives the values of the culture of the metropolis an exceptional significance. Metropolitan values are interpreted as the best in the world, and therefore worthy of distribution around the world. The empire does not recognize borders of its borders, therefore it is inconceivable for ideologues of the empire to recognize not only the best culture, but even culture, equal to the culture of the metropolis. Therefore, it should be shown that the culture of the empire is decadence, the loss of the nucleus of the culture of the metropolis. The culture of the empire is not

identical to the culture of the metropolis: the metropolis has a culture for its own people, the empire offers its culture to the whole world, the culture of the metropolis is local, the culture of the empire is universal. Consequently, the culture of the empire loses the authenticity of the culture of the metropolis, the culture of the empire claims to be authentic for the whole world, but becomes only a visibility, a simulator of the culture of the whole world. Consequently, overcoming of the post-colonialism requires overcoming of the discourse of the universalism.

The manifestation of imperial attitude to colonies is also the discourse of the pathos of the metropolis as a bearer of civilization and *elitist* culture. Thus, only the fall of the idol of the metropolis culture can eliminate the constant threat of undermining the status of the former colony to a level of non-culture or under-culture, lack of civilization or even failure to achieve the status of the part of any civilization. The metropolis culture is an unjustified extrapolation of the national culture of the metropolis as an elite culture for other nations. The ideologists of the empire believe that other nations can not have their own elite culture.

False and ridiculous would be for any little cultural formation to claim the status of civilization. However, each culture is self-sufficient as a symbolic system. Nevertheless its reproduction and development can be based on different social and functional principles. Thus, individual national cultures retained their identity despite the fact that the nations themselves for a long time remained without their own statehood.

Thus, various parts of Ukraine were during its history under the control of the Russian Empire, Rzeczpospolita Polska, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Romania. According to the classical theory of civilizations, various parts of Ukraine were influenced by Slavic, Western European, Ottoman civilizations. Does this mean that Ukraine must necessarily gravitate towards one of them? No. The task is to build own Ukrainian elite culture on the basis of traditional culture of Ukraine. At the same time, it should be constantly revealed that the culture of Russia as a metropolis is not an elitist culture for Ukraine, but is an imperial culture of Russia. The best way to do this is to show that Russia's culture as a metropolis culture is not an elitist culture for itself, but is a simulator and a distortion of proper Russian culture.

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TECHNOLOGY AND THE POSTCOLONIAL NARRATIVE (ON THE EXAMPLE OF HINDUISM)

In the modern world, the World Wide Web and high technologies appear as one of the factors for overcoming the postcolonial syndrome and the mode of internal liberation of the individual. Thus, some representatives of Vaishnavism believe that subsistence, sleep, defence and the instinct of procreation are the standard motivation of a human being and at the same time his basic needs, and if human life is given for understanding God, science and technology simply cultivate and improve it. To realize the true renunciation of material objects, using everything in the service of the Lord (yukta-vairagya) does not at all mean the automatic renunciation of all earthly things, rather, the opposite goal is to use earthly achievements, including technique, for comprehending knowledge about God, understanding oneself as a servant of Krishna, serving his movement.

The leaders of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) were also not alien to technology: one can recall how, in the 1920s, the spiritual teacher of the founder of ISKCON of Srila Prabhupada, Bhaktisidhantha Sarasvati Thakura, the initiator of the spread of Krishna Consciousness in Western countries, came to his rural followers by car, and one can also note the fact that today in the 21st century one should have come with an UFO for a similar effect. Bhaktisidhantha Sarasvati Thakura claimed that it is necessary to make Hindu temples very attractive – it should be noted that the travelling exhibitions in India in the 1920s and 30s, depicting scenes from the life of Krishna based on sacred texts, have now been replaced by cinematography, animation and digital media. The temples of ISKCON are quite traditional and conservative, but they are also modernistic and innovative – the ISKCON temple in Delhi, in which there are interactive exhibitions with robot figures, can rightly be included in the number of the latter. Such unusual means are used to attract people to God (for example, with the help of unusual for Indian culture domes of ISKCON churches, like the cupolas of the Capitol in Washington, St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome and St. Isaac's Cathedral in St. Petersburg).

The high-tech ideas have been embodied and displayed in Vaishnava eco-villages, the outstanding and best-known example of which is New Vraja Dhama – an eco-settlement in Hungary, an outstanding ecological community in Europe, demonstrating an alternative way of management and lifestyle, supported by the state, rewarded with medals and awards. Since the time of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Leo Tolstoy, the activities of youth subcultures, in particular, hippies, one can state the intentions of searching for a spiritual alternative to material civilization, leaving the city to the village.

The ambivalence and dichotomy of the influence of high-tech on the Hindu society in the postmodern context are obvious. Technological and multimedia tools are needed to direct all five senses to God; in this sense, the progress of technology may seem doubtful

for spiritual development, but progress can also serve as a help for self-improvement of the individual. Books, machines, the Internet can potentially be a medium that spreads bad habits and material concepts, but they can also carry the function of a knife and a machine gun in the situation of the need for attack and defence – the question of the goals and values of the one who uses these technological adaptations and improvements, because the development of science and technology can potentially be diverse: from the simplest to the most sophisticated, advanced and high-tech.

Considering the problems of postcolonial narrative discourses and historical politics, it should be noted that India is an amazing kaleidoscope of social reality, it has made a significant contribution to science and technologies that have become so current and common that the world perceives them as a reality. It was India who came up with the concepts that led to the high-tech revolution, and in India are the roots of modern medicine, as well as the key to many scientific and technical innovations of our time.

In this context, it is advisable to give an expert opinion. Once, when Srila Prabhupada came to London, the journalists asked him about the purpose of his visit. He replied: India was once part of the British Empire, and you, the English, took a lot of riches and various treasures from our country – but the main treasure remained unknown, not noticed by you. This treasure, is the greatest value of our culture – bhakti, pure, unselfish love of service to God, and I came to give it to you – something that you forgot to take from us.

Also, the founder of ISKCON compared Western civilization and culture with a blind person, and the Indian one with a lame man: a blind man has legs, but he does not know where to go, and a lame man has a vision, and if a lame man joins a blind man, he will sit on his shoulders and show him the way, then together they will be much more effective than each separately. Western scientific and technological culture allows to interact effectively with material nature, but unfortunately, it has largely lost the answer to the question of why this is done. The spiritual culture of India, especially the tradition of Gaudiya Vaisnavas, gives such a meaning, the highest goal, for which other aspects of life and development receive their harmonious place.

The spiritual treasures of the religious and philosophical schools of India can give value to the multicultural life practices of modern man by building up their natural and harmonious hierarchy, turning routine and mechanical actions into a creative process, or, on the contrary, to show the senselessness and uselessness of the values of a mass totalitarian or commercial consumption culture, when a human being becomes only a cog in social, political or business corporations.

Given the specific congruence of the doctrinal provisions of Hinduism to modern scientific achievements, the environmental friendliness and scientificity, the trending and referential nature of the Hindu picture of the world, the engagement of modern science and culture by Hinduism, as well as the scale of the world's change through automation and robotics and the place of India in these processes, the technological factor in the context of postcolonial narrative and overcoming the postcolonial syndrome in modern India is quite substantial, effective and tangible.

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MARKETING OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES AS A WAY TO CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS

One of the conditions for modern Ukraine to become successful is to develop and to strengthen international educational ties. Marketing of educational services could be based on “transformation” approach to business and improvement of “value innovation”. As instruments of these, we consider intelligent and cognitive technologies for creating, developing and improving market structure. We are assuming the flexibility in search of advanced demands to competencies of students as one of the bases for their subsequent successful work in the sphere of international educational cooperation.

Successful development of Modern Ukrainian State depended to a great extent on the moving away from reliance on Russia. We consider developing and strengthen international educational ties as one of the ways to decrease the impact of “Russian World” as a cultural weapon.

We suppose that international educational activity should be based, inter alia, on advanced scientific insights in marketing. Researches of B.J. Pine and J.H. Gilmore described the shift of business model from commodities to goods, to services, and then to experiences, culminating in transformations business [1]. Advanced experience businesses can begin charging for the value of the "transformation" that an experience offers, e.g., as education offerings might do if they were able to participate in the value that is created by the educated individual. Education in the modern age faces some challenges such as high competitiveness, growing risks, lack of predictability. As a bases for a practical approach to the development of international educational activity we propose “value innovation” [2] as the simultaneous pursuit of differentiation and low cost, creating a leap in value for both buyers and the companies.

Decreasing of the overall degree of uncertainty as transaction costs through information management in order to minimise risk and broader mobilization of creativity can be achieved through an intelligent infrastructure of marketing. Due to A. Agrawal, artificial intelligence serves a single, but potentially transformative, economic purpose: it significantly lowers the cost of prediction [3]. To implement this we can use intelligent and cognitive technologies for creating, developing and improving of market structure.

We consider marketing of educational services as a process aiming to improve the structure of providers of educational services and educational structure of society. For the construction of this structures, we need to consider some actions relating to some systems. Setting such actions leads to a type of marketing through setting the strategy and coordinating the efforts. In order to achieve the objectives, we need to consider a kind of predictability of the system. But due to the unpredictability of intelligence

behaviour we will face uncertainty in the future. Thus, these actions, even in frames of cultural and economic institutions, make it impossible to build a closed system that intends to give an opportunity to obtain pre-defined results of intelligence activity (including the artificial one) which becomes a source of instability and potential danger. Practically, we try to foresee any future changes in the workplace to deliver the knowledge to students. To be competitive in modern job market students with master's degree should have language proficiency, communicative competencies, emotional liability, critical thinking skills.

Development of competencies of master's students in information and cognitive technologies provides by course “Intelligence and cognitive technologies” (Bayesian paradigm, system theory, search and analysis of information, artificial intelligence technologies, cognitive systems in management, communication in distributed and global networks, knowledge management, intelligent systems in management, blockchain technologies). Higher education institutions developing communication competencies in students by enriching their study programmes with course “Business communication” (business English, modern effective rhetoric, written and electronic communications, professional communication, self-propagation through social networks, business etiquette). We consider flexibility in search of advanced demands to competencies of graduate students as the bases for successful education for future work in the sphere of international educational cooperation.

We suppose that basis of next stage of marketing is communication. According to G. Vattimo, modern society – is, in fact, communication society and society of social sciences, where the technology reaches its climax in the form of information, which is perceived by the humanities and simultaneously constructed as their adequate, the true object [4]. The means, including broadband wireless Internet, augmented or virtual reality glasses, cloud technology to work with programs and data, communication in virtual worlds, development of the "Internet of Things", connect not only computer networks but home appliances to make the basis for this new marketing paradigm. The next step in the development of the theory of marketing (from the 2010s) may be the concept of a trust relationship between customers, clients, and partners. Developing a worldview on this basis will contribute to the formation of Ukrainian national identity in conjunction with global and local (European) trends.

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POSTCOLONIALISM AND THE PROSPECT OF POLITICAL DEONTOLOGY: PLATO, KANT AND SCHOPENHAUER IN A PRE-CRITIQUE

Postcolonialism is a context of theories which, among other things, allows us to critically revisit basic philosophical concepts, such as the concept of the political, of participation, justice, morality, deontology, universal values, identities and so on. Postcolonialism, in this light, should not be seen only as the study of the consequences of control and exploitation on certain peoples but rather more dynamically as a unique chance to relate (by not crossing the Rubicon of characterizing a priori their actions as right or wrong) the fact that historically peoples have tended to exploit and control by exerting hegemony, with the transgression of basic political demands. However, in our approach, morality will not be detracted from the political element; on the contrary, with the aid of the philosophies of Plato, Kant and Schopenhauer, it will be incorporated to the political but in a as least as possible idealistic scheme. Postcolonialism, thus, will have to be contemplated critically in the perspective of a historical evolution.

For Kant man is bound to labor and conflict in this connection to society. Throughout history man has developed the art of sociality as well as political security. But in this historical evolution, Kant remarks, there began inequality among people [1]. The German philosopher remains optimistic about the advancement of human societies. In his thought, human reason always has a propensity towards freedom [2], and that is a secure indication of better future societies, provided that people also strive for it with their free will. Kant is aware of the fact that development does not comprise a potential if principles and action are not combined together. Therefore, in every state three are the basic principles which need to be implemented: a) the liberty of each individual as a human being, b) his equality with other members of his society, c) his autonomy as a citizen [3]. The fundamental value in this discussion is the proposition that man remains *sui juris*, a lord of himself [4]; that means serving the community but not be subservient to it. That would, thereby, mean that man cannot become an item of exploitation within a colonial system. Having said that, Kant clarifies that man's happiness depends on individual variables; therefore only justice can be predicted and administered through laws that are common for everyone within the community [5].

In the critique of Schopenhauer to Kant, Kant seems to separate between duties of law and duties of virtue, or in other words, between justice and philanthropy, in a forced and unnatural manner. For Schopenhauer justice is one of the virtues [6]. As Schopenhauer makes evident in his exegetical argumentation, all human beings are inclined to injustice and violence, because their needs and desires enter consciousness immediately and thus they have the right of first occupancy (*jus primi occupantis*). While the sufferings of others, that may be caused by our injustice and violence, enter consciousness on the secondary path of the representation, thus indirectly through

experience. It seems quite clear that Schopenhauer places emphasis on the phenomena of the consciousness in his attempt to explain the practices of malice within human societies. But if that is true as a hypothesis, and if that is indeed a consequence of a procedure of representations in the human mind, then any effort to alter a politically unfair situation would rather sound meaningless or vague. The philosopher from Danzig maintains that if one's disposition is susceptible to compassion, it will restrain him from using another person's sufferings as a means for the attainment of own ends. Schopenhauer further believes that principles and abstract knowledge are by no means the original source of morality. However, he affirms their indispensability for a moral course of life. Without principles man would be at the mercy of antimoral tendencies [7]. He finds it mostly important that justice as voluntary has its origin in compassion. That is how injustice or wrong always consist in injuring another [8]. The concepts of justice and right are negative, in the sense that they practically mean “do not take from one his own”. On the other hand, he stresses that the concepts of right and wrong are antecedent to any positive legislation. Justice is, after all, all about not doing injury according to Schopenhauer [9]. To support this view, he gives the following working definition: “the amount of injustice in my conduct is equal to that of the evil I thereby inflict on another divided by the amount of advantage I thereby obtain; and the amount of justice in my action equals that of advantage which the injury to another would bring me divided by the amount of harm which he would thereby suffer” [10].

But let us now turn to ancient philosophy and see the potential pre-critique to postcolonialism by the Athenian Plato. The argument that Socrates offers in the first book of Plato's *Republic* is the claim that people are often fooled about who is a good person and who is evil. But this is essential as people are inclined to making their friends those who are considered good and also inclined to rejecting those who are considered bad. Not only that but they also tend to do good to people they consider good, as they wish to make them their friends, while they may cause harm to others who they consider as evil [11]. Thrasymachus offers the counter argument that a ruler considers his own benefit solely and his subjects are supposed to serve and obey him. Only the vested interest of the stronger person, the ruler, is to be considered as just, as the ruler has the power to inflict his decision on the people [12]. According to this criterion, what is conventionally just is formed through an analogy between political power and obedience to it.

For Kant the conclusion is that political freedom is favourable to the freedom of spirit of a certain nation but still poses insurmountable obstacles. A lesser degree of freedom will allow the spirit of the people to expand and fulfil all its potential. That means that while the rational agents will be using their intellect and reason, at the same time they will be willing to discipline themselves under the common law [13]. But he also remarks that between theory and practice there is an intermediate stage where connection is lost. That stage should be covered by man's critical power, in order for him to discern whether conditions are suitable from the passage to theory to practice [14]. He wishes to make evident that the moral capability for an action should be precedent because only then the law of the human will becomes the determining factor

[15]. For Kant, political philosophy ought to be practical and consider people’s real historical powers. Schopenhauer, in his own critique, distinguishes the significance of the awareness that practical Ethics do not allow any optimism for deontology based on rational principles. Therefore, it is incomprehensible that one would seek from certain values to persist in human societies as they are. Plato remains the most idealistic of all: he insists that the polis is created with power and episteme, with philosophy and might. But it has a rational and moral course that allows certain deontology to be implemented within people’s lives as long as they realise that some are of higher potential. For the three philosophers, all in all, personal responsibility becomes the starting point of their pre-critique to postcolonialist theories: man has a historical route. He, solely, can be held responsible for the establishment of his political course.

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POST-SOCIALIST/COMMUNISM OR POST-TOTALITARIANISM AS POSTCOLONIAL: THE CASE OF UKRAINE

1. Researchers within post-colonial studies are increasingly encompassing regions that have traditionally never been considered realms of colonial influence. In this vein, the possibility of applying post-colonial discourse within the analysis of post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the now-defunct Soviet Union arises as a subject of academic discussion. The reason for involving post-socialist countries into post-colonial studies might lie in the signs of their marginalization. The classic post-colonial dichotomy West-East in the post-colonial domain is transformed into the juxtaposition of the civilized world with the backward one. The experience of post-socialism updates the colonial discourse of slavery and racism in the context of consequences following Soviet totalitarianism or, in other words, post-totalitarianism.

2. Post-socialism emerges as a transitive form of sociality, which comes to life after communist socialism in order to develop democracies and economy of the free market. Whereas post-totalitarianism, according to Vaclav Havel, is a social system of governance, which does not resort to open violence. Instead, it deploys fear, which is nurtured by more subtle forms of control and coercion. Unlike the open totalitarianism, the post-totalitarian fear expresses despondency and despair with regard to positive social prospects, not the individual physical survival. Apathy, conformism and indifference determine attitude to the social. Whereas the material welfare of private life acquires hypertrophied and high-priority meanings.

3. Hence, post-totalitarianism is a transition period from the totalitarian regime to the democratic system. Its main features imply the absence of drastic reforms in the main realms of social life. Freed from the totalitarian state control, these realms automatically acquire market and democratic features. Unfortunately, they evolve into a favourable environment for hatching criminal schemes of embezzlement, corruption and various abuses. The backwardness of democratic institutes and civil society enable entrenchment of post-totalitarian reality, where the totalitarian becomes entwined with the post-colonial, market, liberal-democratic and even criminal. Lack of efficiency and corruption in the judicial system of a state paves way for legalization of totalitarian hybrids, entrenching them into the Ukrainian soil of national identity. Therefore, corruption, lack of professionalism, provincialism and legal nihilism determine the features of post-totalitarianism as a condition for the existence of post-colonialism in post-socialist regions, particularly, in Ukraine.

4. The establishment of dichotomy “Westernness” – “Easternness”, or Europe – Ukraine is becoming similar to the understanding of a race, of blackness and whiteness in the post-colonial discourse. Here it is mainly referred to the analogy of the concept of

Orientalism, offered by Edward Saïd. The main idea of this concept lies in the assertion that social division into “us” and “others” occurs due to the western version of world’s division into “the Occident” and “the Orient”. These concepts imply social constructs, which are mutually conditioned and referential with regard to the interpretation of juxtaposition of “us” with “others”. According to Saïd, the invention by “the West” of the concept of “the East” enables the former to suppress the colonial countries by imposing the identity of inferiority and backwardness, which ensues due to discreteness of their history and culture. Thus orientalism, being juxtaposed with the West, unifies Eastern world as the one being opposed to the civilization.

5. According to Saïd, Orientalism — “it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what “we” do and what “they” cannot do or understand as “we” do). Indeed, my real argument is that Orientalism is – and does not simply represent – a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with “our” world” (Edward Saïd. *Orientalism*. New York, Pantheon, 1978, p. 12).

6. Orientalism becomes a central topic of research on post-colonialism in the post-socialist world. The concept of *Nesting Orientalisms* is introduced by Milica Bakić-Hayden, it is based on the gradation of “Orients”, i.e. otherness and primitiveness. The development of this concept has been conducted on the case of the Balkan countries (Milica Bakić-Hayden. *Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia*. *Slavic Review*. Vol. 54, No. 4, Winter, 1995, pp. 917-931). In the mould of Saïd’s classic Orientalism, *Nesting Orientalisms* by Milica Bakić-Hayden reveals dichotomy of the West and the East. However, this is accomplished from the post-socialist perspective, from the perspective of the “genuine” Europe and the “backward” and “dark” (uncivilized) Europe. The topic of post-colonialism in the post-socialist region is further addressed in the book of Catherine Baker, Gurminder Bhambra “*Race and the Yugoslav Region Postsocialist, Post-Conflict, Postcolonial?*” (Manchester University Press, 2018). The main task of this research lies in detecting the influence of multitudes of imperial projects in the culture of the Balkan countries despite its “whiteness” and the absence of their own empires. In the authors’ opinion, consequences of the impact of such projects are of random and ambiguous nature, taking forms of global structure elements in the peripheral region of Europe.

7. With regard to Ukraine, the question of its post-colonial nature is complicated due to its colonial dependence within the Russian Empire. The post-colonial dichotomy does not solely concern the axis the West – the East, but also Ukraine – Russia or the East – the West. In this case, self-identity of the Ukrainians in regard to the West is conditioned by Russia’s stance on it, which is established in an alternative concept “Eurasian identity”.

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POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES IN THE CONTEXT OF HYBRID WAR IN UKRAINE

Postcolonial studies cover a broad spectrum of issues related mainly to the relationship between culture and power. Therefore, researches are focused in this field on the study of imperial cultures and cultures against them, as well as considerations about the relationship between the empire /center and periphery and the condition of decolonized cultures [4]. Postcolonial researchers stress the affinity of postcolonial studies with tendencies existing within new humanities. Among them could be emphasized cultural studies, ethnic and area studies, gender studies [gay / lesbian studies, queer studies], visual studies, which have been recently joined by research on people with disabilities [disability studies], urban studies, environmental studies, animal studies and thing studies [6]. Particular attention is therefore paid to the analysis of the existing sense of Europe’s supremacy towards cultures and territories colonized by it; the effects of colonization on both colonizers and colonized, the issues of presenting and perpetuating the stereotypical images of the “other”, as well as the role of this trends in shaping the postcolonial phenomenon¹. In postcolonial studies, the special attention was paid to colonial aftermath, to the durability of the colonial system and the stigma of the colonial past that occurs in the contemporary culture of independent states and constitutes a serious problem for their identity and manifestations of new, neocolonial forms of subordination [4].

Considering the Ukrainian case, postcolonial studies are required and valid to a great extent, because they stimulate discussion on issues related to identity, values, russification, regional divisions, and ambivalent attitude to Russia and to the West [2]. Meanwhile, the Ukraine consideration through the prism of the postcolonial state needs a complex approach, as it is not a typical post-colonial state, but it fulfills its features. Above all, Ukraine is a European country that makes difficult to refer it to post-colonial concepts. Former colonies are associated with exoticism, overseas countries, but not with the direct European Union neighbors. Dependencies on the former metropolis occur primarily in the social, cultural and economic spheres, although they can also be observed in domestic and foreign policy. Ukraine and Russia have cultural, linguistic, religious and civilization connections, which originate long before the annexation of Ukrainian lands by the Russian Empire. Therefore, even if we talk about the asymmetric relationships between the two countries, we consider them certainly not only through the prism of the “colonial” Tsarist Russia and the USSR or the postcolonial aspirations of the modern Russian Federation.

Nevertheless, the special attention should be paid to the economic concepts on which the postcolonial school is based (concepts of economic imperialism, the model of the world system, etc.), which are focused on the assumption that the metropolis (center) is a highly developed country with a capitalist economy. Meanwhile, neither Tsarist Russia nor the USSR fulfilled this assumption. The Soviet Union made the attempts to catch up with the capitalist states by rapid industrialization, while did not make a difference between the metropolis and the periphery. As a result, Ukraine is an industrialized country, although it remains significantly dependent on the Russian economy.

The difficulties of Ukrainian development also originated from the geopolitical location between the European Union and Russia. For many Western politicians, the Samuel Huntington civilization scheme of state's belonging is still alive [9]. According to him, part of the Ukrainian territory is the European in origin – the lands that once belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Meanwhile, south and eastern regions until the 19th century were known as “Wild Fields” with a clearly Soviet character.

The attitude of Russians to Ukrainians is also presented in the discourse of domination. From a post-colonial point of view, this relationship can be compared to the relationship between Robinson Crusoe and his companion “Friday”: every Robinson “loves” his Friday, until the latter respects the rules imposed on him. This means that Friday must observe the colonial discipline and recognize its supremacy and the superiority of its culture. If, however, he decides to rebel and announce himself equal to Robinson, and considers his culture to be fully-fledged and self-sufficient – then he will become the most hated enemy of Robinson. The Russians do not love the real Ukraine, but just such – “virtual, imaginary, part of their imperial identity, devoid of intellectual and political potential” [12].

Mykola Riabczuk, in his essays from the collection “Ukraine. The postcolonial syndrome”, proves that the key to overcoming these traumas is the overriding by Ukrainian culture the postcolonial practices and tricks. According to the Australian literature specialist and the Ukrainian descent Marko Pawłyszyn, postcolonialism acknowledges the historical realism: on the one hand, the authenticity and severity of the harms, and on the other – the unthinkable state's reality without all elements of its anti-colonial and colonial history. Instead of a colonial, dominated by a colonizer, post-colonialism does not aim to establish a new hierarchy of power, but a state of freedom and development that equally favors everyone [3]. Meanwhile, the contemporary armed conflict of a hybridism character in Ukraine is an obstacle in the way of transformation [13]. The ongoing hybrid war clearly testifies to the ever-present discourse of the metropolis' domination and the imperial complexes still presented from the Russian side.

Ukrainians would have to take matters into their own hands again and for the third time to close the Soviet era, freeing the Ukrainian mentality from the remains of totalitarianism in its entire territorial area, because without the elimination of the

colonial stigma by the people of Ukraine, it will not be possible to carry out a full modernization – creation the developed civil society and a democratic state of law.

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SPECIFICS OF THE PROCESSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE POSTCOLLATIONAL STATE: UKRAINIAN CONTEXT

Currently the word "democracy" (from the Greek “demos” – the people and “kratos” – the power) is one of the most popular words among politicians, scholars and the general public in the world. There are several definitions of the term "democracy": from people power – to the ideal of a social system with an appropriate system of values. Ideology, equality, freedom, socio-political technology, social values, etc. are often understood as democracy. In any case, the basic principle of democracy is "the principle of the will of the majority", which in turn is divided into constitutional, absolute and relative.

It is known that not everything is as perfect in democratic processes as their fervent supporters would like to see.

- First of all, the circumstances that gave reason to Plato and Aristotle to consider democracy a "wrong" form of state power in ancient Greece has not been overcome yet.
- Secondly, again, historical practice provides many examples when the "will of the majority" reincarnated in the "dictatorship of the majority".
- Thirdly, the process of democracy establishment, as a rule, was accompanied by coup d'etat, revolutions and civil wars. And here it would be appropriate to cite the quote by Thomas Carlyle: "Any revolution is conceived by romantics, realized by fanatics, and its fruits are used by rascals".
- Fourthly, standardization and formalization of democratic processes without taking into account the civilizational affiliation of the country, historical specificity of state formation, cultural and religious values of the population, the level of economy and civil and legal society development, etc. - are quite dubious in theory and dangerous politically.

The processes of democratization in Ukraine can be compared with the work of the computer. If a virus appears in the computer or if incorrect actions are performed to the software, then the operating system starts operating in "fault mode". This means that the system will still work, but this process will go incorrectly and it is not known when the computer will "jam" with the loss of a certain amount of data and time. To make the computer work in the normal mode it is necessary to run an antivirus program, reboot the operating system and teach the user some necessary competencies to work with the computer. All these actions can be transferred to the state-building processes in Ukraine. Namely it is necessary to fill in the gaps in the legislation of Ukraine, create an appropriate legal framework, overcome systemic corruption, separate politics from business, establish a process of formation of the current legislative and executive power on

the basis of truly democratic elections and constantly monitor the absence of "viruses" and "incorrectly executed actions".

Consequently, in the context of the proposed analogy, Ukraine has been running in this “fault mode” for the entire period of its independence, and it has been for 27 years so far. Ukraine is a country that all the time "incorrectly reboots the operating system with the loss of previous data" in the hope of successful implementation of the set tasks.

T. Kuzio in the survey "Ukraine. Perestroika to Independence (Second Edition)" highlights four basic components of Ukrainian state transformation, taking into account the post-Soviet past of Ukraine, namely state institutions, the nation, market economy and democracy. Moreover, he argues that it has to be in this hierarchical sequence, and not simultaneously.

Indeed, state institutions in Ukraine, to put it mildly are far from European standards: lack of professionalism and coordinated responsibility entail failure of reforms, corruption, power, it is a kind of business.

The war in the East of Ukraine has exacerbated the problem of the nation consolidation. This process, of course, is complex, controversial and prolonged in time. Three revolutions for the last 15 years of Ukraine's independence demonstrate the paradox of the correlation of the civil society birth and weak power.

Formation of market economy in the format of donor, subsidy financing in the absence of effective government institutions, state lobbying of business, monopolization, involvement of business in power and other factors is a dead-end road, which leads to the loss of time and resources.

So, in agreement with T. Kuzio, we state that democratic development in Ukraine is possible only through formation of a consolidated civil society in the state and legal field, overcoming mistrust in power, totalitarian stereotypes of consciousness and social and cultural influences of the Soviet past, corruption, development of the national economy and restoration of territorial integrity of Ukraine.

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EDUCATION IN THE PROCESS OF POSTCOLONIAL TRANSITION

Considering transitional societies, the main accent is on the processuality and contextuality of the postcolonial transition. Obviously, this "transit" cannot be considered as a linear process, but only as a multi-directional, multi-speed and ambivalent one, accompanied by eclecticism of values as obligatory attribute. Rapid development of social phenomena and structural changes of recent decades (information revolution, humanization, democratization of society, intensification of cross-cultural communication, globalization, etc.), have made a colossal impact on the fundamentals of social systems and given rise to profound changes in the essence of social institutions and practices. These developments and changes contribute to the formation of a new infrastructure of social relationships; provoke new challenges that lead to need of reconsideration of some features of the current educational system.

K. Watson (2000, 2001) distinguishes three main areas of reforms occurred in transitional societies worldwide (and Ukraine is a vivid example of them):

1. Administration and finance reforms.

One of the main areas of reform is educational decentralization. It has become a key feature of many governments` stated educational policy; also it is a central plank of major international efforts at restructuring education in transitional societies.

2. Reform in the content of what is taught.

K. Watson (2000, p.55) wrote “In all dictatorships, whether of the Left or the Right, especially in those states bent on creating a new society through “The new Soviet Man” or Chinese citizens who were both “Red and Expert” or based on racial supremacy, there is a certainty about what should be taught, the ideas that can be discussed and the questions that are not allowed to be discussed. Control is exercised through officially approved textbooks, an official curriculum, examinations and inspections. Those involved in education in all the countries under review would have been familiar with the scenario. Dismantling such a system can be easily done; replacing it with something of value is more problematic, especially given the confused process of administrative and financial decentralization that has been taking place in most of the transitional and transformational states.”

3. Reforms in language of instruction.

Mainly this is implemented by the rejection of languages of oppression and the adoption of English as a major global language.

One of the main questions that arises is how the values should be represented in the educational system of unstable Ukrainian society in which a number of shifts occurs at the same time: from a command economy to the market one, from a closed society to open one, from one-party state to plural one, from the ethno-national state development to the civil-national state development, etc.? From my point of view, the following recommendations will be useful (Matuskevych, 2016):

1. To explore the principle of flexibility. To inform, not to proclaim. In the Soviet system in the best traditions of repressive pedagogy the values were proclaimed, perceived as not discussed and very often even implanted. The Ukrainian education system is still not free of these rudiments. In the transitional societies, where values are always in motion, the presentation of taken-for-granted assumptions in educational process may lead to strengthening the contradictions.

2. To exclude the inconsistency and deformed understanding of social phenomena and processes. Rights are always accompanied by responsibilities; certain behavior has certain consequences and so on.

3. To include the concept of citizenship education into educational theory and practice.

This issue is crucial as empirical results show that young Ukrainians have high passive and semiactive citizenship levels but low active citizenship (Bondarevskaya, Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz, Bondar, 2017). UNESCO (UNESCO, 2017) defined citizenship education “as educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society.” “Society” is here understood in the special sense of a nation with a circumscribed territory which is recognized as a state. The knowledge of the nation’s institutions, and also the awareness that the rule of law applies to social and human relationships obviously form a part of any citizenship education course. Taken in this sense, citizenship education is based on the distinction between: the individual as a subject of ethics and law, entitled to all the rights inherent in the human condition (human rights); and the citizen entitled to the civil and political rights recognized by the national constitution of the concerned country. All human beings are both individuals and citizens of the society to which they belong. Therefore, human rights and citizen rights are interdependent. A separate and very important part of the citizenship education should focus on responsibility issues. The postcolonial heritage of thriftlessness, caused by the principle “all is collective—all is no one’s” has resulted in that the modern Ukrainian society is suffering from a lack of responsibility at both the political and the narrow-minded level (UNESCO, 2017).

4. To include the values of peacebuilding education and education for social cohesion into the curricula.

Ukraine now is a conflict-affected country and it is high time to embed the issues of peacebuilding and social cohesion into the educational policy and

practice. For a long time Ukraine's development was basing on the conflict accumulation and the contrast between the Western and Eastern identification models. Therefore for Ukraine education for social cohesion is vital. The future of the country depends directly on adopting by students and citizens, in general, such values as tolerance, the understanding of otherness, empathy and dialogue.

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**THE POST-COLONIAL DVNZ:
ON SOME ISSUES OF INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY IN
THE UKRAINIAN SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

Arguments in favor of granting institutional autonomy to state higher education institutions (SHEI) have been on the rise in Ukraine. The autonomy would strengthen institutional control over financial and human resources, as well as make their administrators and teachers more accountable before their students. Counter-arguments to this have also amplified, along with concerns about the Ukrainian SHEIs being highly problematic institutions governed by feudal relationships and colonial thinking. Among the leading counter-arguments is that empowering SHEIs, especially under conditions of hybrid war waged by Russia, can create significant problems for Ukraine.

The SHEI or “DVNZ” (abbreviation of “derzhavnyi vyshschiy navchalnyi zaklad”) remains the core of the post-colonial system of higher education at this time. The DVNZ is a hybrid of a post-Soviet army-style barrack and a neoliberal diploma mill (Oleksiyenko, 2016 and 2018). Constricted by post-Soviet oligarchs, who have interest neither in nation-building, nor in public education, the DVNZ strives to survive on extremely low government subsidies. Survival entails selling private services to solvent segments of the population, including people who are eager to pay bribes and manipulate the ins and outs of the corridors of power connecting the diploma mills with government-controlled workplaces. Giving autonomy to the post-Soviet DVNZ implies the spread of diploma mills and further depreciation of academic freedom, critical inquiry, and liberal arts education.

Some certainly Interpret the autonomy as marketization, and the substitution of terms seems to be justified. In the society which used to have fear of market economy, it may be more appropriate to call the process of marketization as enhancing institutional autonomy. In accordance with the old Soviet rules, the state fully controls the higher education system, which primarily serves the interests of the post-Soviet bureaucracy. By creating an illusion of control over the labor market, the state manages the DVNZ with the objective of supplying staff for governmentally-managed offices and enterprises ostensibly serving the state sector. However, this hybrid institution offers little value to the liberalizing society after the 2014 Revolution of Dignity, given that those who enroll seek a tuition-free Soviet-style education, but upon graduation abandon their commitments to the low-paying, corrupt and inefficient public sector. To stop deceit and abuse of public resources, the DVNZ is viewed as to be better adopting the road of privatization. However, if privatization is intended, then the whole conversation

and analysis should be moving into that direction, given that privatization of public assets is extremely complicated and requires tons of intellectual work and ethical considerations.

As the DVNZ have been trying to avoid these questions as well as the privatization-related responsibilities, it is unsurprising that ambiguity, indecisiveness and hybridity persist (Gomilko, Svyrydenko, & Terepyschj, 2016). Likewise, the graduate brain drain is understandable. The DVNZ largely fails to provide opportunities for social mobility. Those who have opportunities for successful post-graduate employment and promotion are often people who rely more on nepotistic ties and ability to form influential connections, rather than on higher learning. Ultimately, what Ukrainian taxpayers end up subsidizing is a declining post-Soviet “knowledge factory” that urges young people to shamelessly plagiarize in coursework and exams and pay bribes to institutional authorities, while simultaneously shifting blame for unsuccessful society, poor governance and failing welfare onto mischievous “others”. To make the DVNZ further empowered in the corrupt clientele environment implies furthering and deepening the ubiquitous criminality in the society.

Neither the DVNZ is capable to inspire a new design of the society. As a degree mill, it also cultivates in its graduates an admiration for utilitarian values . In the post-Soviet space, success is largely measured by one’s ability to become rich and to conspicuously display one’s wealth. Once suppressed by the planned and closed economy, post-Soviet consumers seek opportunities to liberate themselves from the “crowd” by constantly upgrading car brands, cottage locations and sizes, overseas travel packages, etc. These acquisitions are generally not seen as the results of higher learning. The goods and status come from an individual’s ability to cheat, to extract public assets through a powerful position in the government, or to engage in criminal activities. The unethical entrepreneurialism is often justified as an expression of “wild capitalism,” which is argued to be part of a normal historical process. It is a widely held truism in Ukraine that a similar evolution once took place in the United States (or maybe elsewhere, but the west was initially cherished, till the days when Russia took it over, as a greed-generating legitimizer), and so the post-Soviet nouveau-riches represent an inevitable step in society’s progress. The “wild capitalism” also penetrated university campuses, where the sale of access and university diplomas was viewed as a logical and in many ways convenient extension of the post-Soviet marketplace.

What exactly would autonomy give these DNVZ in the post-Soviet marketplace is not clear. Many post-colonial politicians and powerbrokers in Ukraine quickly realized that “wild capitalism” allowed them to create conditions in which they could maintain high status, and transfer benefits from generation to generation. Provided that they could keep the state weak and corrupt, as well as maintain tight control over potential challengers, they could secure lucrative lifestyles for themselves and their children. Given this way of thinking, the

destruction of genuine democracy, critical inquiry and an educated citizenry looked like it was essential to maintaining the existing power structures before the Revolution of Dignity. Illiberalism seemed to be a choice serving well the Eurasian authoritarians, and it was supposed to continue in the decades ahead, with the grasp of its designers in the Kremlin getting firmer across Eurasia. Wittingly or unwittingly, the Ukrainian DVNZ continued to be suppressing academic freedom, marginalizing Ukrainian identity and culture, and reinstating the old imperial design.

Today's post-colonial DVNZ is still associated with the legacy of barracks, soldierism, and leaderism (Oleksiyenko, 2018). It is still the place where the Soviet-style tyrants control vulnerable faculty members and force them to re-nominate and re-elect their “beloved and irreplaceable rectors”. The colonial-style administrators still hold the keys to curricula, examinations, faculty recruitment and promotion. In these dominant roles, they cultivate opposition to pro-European reforms and any other changes that could undermine the power of the already powerful. Unsurprisingly, the post-colonial bureaucracy continues to breed public hopelessness and encourage emigration of the most critically-minded and competent teachers and students.

Further empowering such administrators under the seemingly attractive, but in reality deceptive slogan of "more autonomy and freedom for all" is a step towards the absolute usurpation of power by the barrack- and factory-style post-Soviet apparatchiks. Giving those people “freedom” means reinforcing the irreversibility of colonial thinking and the entrenchment of mediocre governance. For Ukraine, the ultimate result will be more of the same it has experienced for decades: namely, a lack of a strategic vision in nation-building, the hollowing out of civil society institutions, mediocrity in education, and the appalling loss of scientific capacities (Oleksiyenko, 2014).

Given its current state, is hard to disagree with the position that the colonial DVNZ has become not simply a nuisance, but a dangerous Achilles' heel in Ukraine's defense against Russian hybrid warfare. As the force that nurtures unfreedom and uncriticality, and serves as a tool for the self-entitled elites to uphold control by the oligarchy over civil society, the DVNZ has to be decolonized or terminated as a Soviet-like institution. What needs to take its place is a genuine university, i.e., a world class global university, where academic freedom prevails and critical inquiry thrives (Tierney and Lanford, 2014). Inevitably, the creation of this new institution will happen at the expense of the entrenched “rights” of the privileged class of post-colonial top brass. This presentation, as re-interpreted from the Ukrainian version, is only covering some competing arguments about the opportunities and challenges of institutional autonomy in higher education – meanwhile, the Ukrainian version will also provide some ideas on how to approach the process of institutional differentiation, discontinuation, and decolonization.

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COLONIAL SITUATION AND ITS TRANSMUTATIONS

At the beginning of the 20th century, almost 75% of the earth's surface was either directly colonized or found to be someone's protectorate. Entire continents were divided into private possessions of colonial powers with millions of people in a situation of serfdom and oppression. The robbery of natural resources and exploitation of people had no limitations.

This colonial situation lasted until the 1960s, when successive states gained independence. It could be defined as the dominance of minorities over the majority. The dominant group is a foreign one representing technological civilization with a fast development pace and mainly Christian origins. The dominated group is an indigenous one, lacking behind in economic development and completely unchristian. The relationship between these civilizations is antagonistic. The dominant civilization, to maintain power, not only resorts to violence, but also to pseudo-justifications of an ideological nature [1].

The existing configurations of power relations in the colonial situation put the politics and the history first. They also assume conflict, which marks the relationship between colonial and colonized societies, and may be expressed in the form of new religious movements as was the case, for example, in the Congo.

The colonial situation can take different forms. The most-known is operational colonialism, in which a small number of colonialists, in comparison with indigenous peoples, exploits natural resources and colonized labor. This situation somewhat ends with the independence of the colony and the departure of colonial power and its representatives.

Another form of the colonial situation is a settler colonialism, when the colonists come to settle in the territories from which the original inhabitants were relegated, and whose proportions are constantly decreasing (for example Australia, Canada). These countries also gained independence by separating themselves from the metropolis, but the settler colonialism assumed permanent form in them. Even if the indigenous population and its rights are becoming louder and louder today, this is just a substitute for what they have lost. The policy of "recognizing" the right of indigenous peoples is not a policy of decolonization, but a strategy of neutralizing the self-dependence of indigenous people [2].

If in the settler colonialism the indigenous people are put in a lost position, freeing themselves from the operational colonialism would seem to be a chance for sustainable development for the colony. When the Europeans left Africa, they handed over power to the elites educated in the schools of the West. In many places survived the power and authority of kings, chiefs, priests, imams and fortune tellers. The old and the new elite mingled in a cunning way. High army officer became a traditional leader, educated officer gave up the work to be respected in his region as king. Politician seeking power looked for support from traditional chiefs, while at the same time visiting witchcraft experts, healers

and diviners to know the future and destiny to gain magical powers, allowing him to achieve and maintain the desired position. Traditional chiefs demanded more money from the government for the needs related to their function.

This article intends to present the transition from the colonial situation, through the postcolonial state, to the global situation in which the importance of national state disappears, while international organizations become the main decision makers in the economic and political sphere, imposing the world as if the “empire” regime characterized by the absence of border and time constraints. Governance of the „empire” extends to all domains of society. “Empire not only manages the territory and population, but also creates a real world in which it lives. It regulates not only human interactions, but it also tries to directly manage human nature – social life in its entirety. “Empire” preaches universal peace outside the course of history.

The example of African countries makes it clear that globalization has a strong impact not only on the economic sphere, but it also transforms the political, social and cultural sphere. An outline of the history of changes in the area of statehood from the colonial period to the present day has shown that even if the independent African countries, in the management of governance, implemented essentially the same strategy as the colonial states, the contemporary changes constitute a certain split, because they reveal a new model for the state functioning.

The novelty of this model consists in the fact that it intends to weaken or even to make "fall" the current statehood and brings about acquisition of basic functions of the state by international organizations. On the one hand, governments are controlled by the Bretton Woods organizations that not only grant loans, but also control spending. On the other hand, NGOs and religious bodies play an important role in areas where the government is not able to fulfil its task, namely, education, health care and the organization of social life.

The situation is a dynamic process that requires further investigation by both the case studies and analysis at the macro level. Example of Africa can also be an indication for other continents, particularly for countries struggling with poverty. Because poverty situation generates creativity, which is used to fight for survival, often through the paths of development of the informal sector, and informal networks of communication and support.

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POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE IN MODERN KAZAKHSTAN

Taking into account the fact that colonialism is the policy of economically developed countries aimed at the conquest and exploitation of natural resources and the population of countries less developed in socioeconomic terms [1], modern Kazakhstan can be considered a post-colonial state. The ubiquitous use of the words "independent", "free", "sovereign" next to the country's name already refers to the "dependent", "colonial" past of Kazakhstan.

At a solemn meeting dedicated to the 15th anniversary of independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan (December 16, 2006), president Nazarbayev noted: "Only against tsarist colonialism and Soviet methods of national policy did the Kazakhs rise more than two hundred times for national liberation uprisings. The last of them – the December feat of Kazakh youth – turned 20 years old. ... the colonialism of tsarist Russia, the totalitarianism of the Soviet system – all these are tragic milestones of our history, written in the blood of our ancestors and permeated with a spirit that never for a moment lost the battle for national liberation, which the generation of those who live today has no right to forget" [2]. More than 300 anti-colonial movements took place on the territory of Kazakhstan. Against the tsarist empire in the nineteenth century there were raised: the rebellion of S. Datov, the people's movement of I. Taimanov and M. Utemissov, the people's liberation uprising under the leadership of Khan Kenesary. Against the colonial policy of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the 20th century, the Kazakh people rose under the wing of the national liberation movement "Alash" in 1916 [3]. One of the tragedies of the national policy of the Soviet Union is the events of Zheltoksan in 1986, when only the number of detainees was more than 8,500 people [4].

Since gaining independence, the authorities of Kazakhstan have treated such positioning with utmost caution. This is explained by many factors, including economic, political, information dependence on Russia; a significant proportion of representatives of Slavic and other European ethnic groups (in 1991, about 49% of the total population of the country); emotional connection with the communist regime of numerous representatives of various ethnic groups, including Russian-speaking Kazakhs.

In this connection, the Kazakh authorities chose the way of a gradual departure from the colonial past, the essence of which was the moderate Kazakh socialization based on the principle of O. Suleimenov, the Kazakh writer and public figure: "To exalt the steppe without degrading the mountains" – affirming the role of the Kazakh people in the formation of the country and consolidation of other ethnic groups, the development of the state language, the gradual revival of

national traditions while preserving the cultural values of all ethnic groups, primarily the Russian population of the country.

At the same time, Kazakhstan has recently begun to more clearly identify positions with regard to its colonial and totalitarian past. One of the key political decisions aimed at closer involvement in the global information community was the decision to introduce the Latin alphabet. In his programme article of April 12, 2017, "Looking to the Future: Modernizing Public Consciousness", N. Nazarbayev outlined the need for a phased transition to the Latin alphabet [5]. Full transition is expected to be completed by 2025. This article is mandatory for implementation, and the change of the alphabet is presented as part of the modernization of national identity.

The transition of Kazakhstan to the Latin alphabet was ambiguously perceived both inside the country and outside it. Slavic and other European ethnic groups of Kazakhstan, which together account for about 23% of the country's population, saw in it a potential threat to their further stay in the country. In Russia, despite the neutral official position, they generally reacted negatively, seeing in this aspiration the betrayal of a strategic partner, an attempt to change Kazakhstan's political orbit. So, the expert of the Rosbalt news agency A. Nikolayev wrote: "... one can never know for sure what Nursultan Nazarbayev is doing or is about to do under the mask of impressive equanimity", and he severely criticized his policy of switching to the Latin alphabet, calling it "an insult of the entire Russian world" [6].

In postcolonial discourse, attention is also focused on other aspects. Thus, N. Nazarbayev during the awarding ceremony of the laureates of the presidential prize "Altyn Sapa" (Golden Quality, 2016) said: "In the time of tsarist Russia, all the riches from the land were exported, and we were just left dug up and forced to swallow dust. We did not even have roads inside the country. And now did you see what a railroad had been launched? And before there was nothing, because we were a colony" [7].

Kazakhstan pursues an independent foreign policy and, referring to the principle of territorial integrity, did not recognize South Ossetia and Abkhazia [8]; and Kazakhstan did not support the UN resolution on ending the strikes on Syria, initiated by Russia [9].

The change in the approach to the colonial past is connected with the growing role of the so-called "national patriots" in the country's political space. Famous writers and poets, public figures, leaders and members of national-patriotic movements and unregistered political parties are members of their ranks: M. Shakhanov, A. Sarym, B. Taizhanov, R. Zhumaly, D. Nurahmet, B. Rakhimzhanov. Political analyst A. Sarym in his interview entitled "Kazakh society conducts spontaneous decolonization" noted: "... it is necessary to continue the process of "indigenization", if you want, the Kazakhization of the parties' political field. That is, it is necessary to stop the ugly policy of artificial opposition of the Kazakh national democrats and other participants in the parties' field. The

whole field should become Kazakh, Kazakh-speaking. It should speak Kazakh and operate with Kazakh concepts and categories. ... It is clear that this will raise the issue of self-determination of Slavic ethnic groups with even greater clarity and evidence. But there can not be any other way. Our Russian-speaking fellow citizens should make a cultural and civilizational choice, decide on their moral and human choice. The state and its Constitution are not only the rights and opportunities that are common to all, but also general duties, including the mastery of the state language. ... It is the mastery of the Kazakh language, integration into the Kazakh nation, which will allow all citizens of the country to preserve their ethno-cultural characteristics, realize their rights and needs" [10]. Actively criticizing the national, linguistic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan, the national patriots demand the immediate Kazakhization of society.

In general, the new view of history should not be perceived as anti-Russian, and therefore, when discussing the issues of colonialism, authorities try to emphasize the terms "tsarist colonialism", "anti-communism" and "Soviet methods of national policy." Also, in order to reduce the dominance of the Russian language and culture, the "colonial" past of the "Soviet" and "Russian" identities is gradually changing to the "Eurasian" and "Kazakh" identity.

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LEAVING POSTCOLONIAL PRACTICES IN UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHY

In the report, I will consider two postcolonial practices, which are typical for Ukrainian academic milieu, and ways of leaving them behind. Vilen Horsky headlines the first one as “provincialism”. He highlighted “provincialism” as a “weakness of Ukrainian studies in the History of Philosophy” [Horsky, 2006: 49]. The second one postcolonial practice is well-known as “messianism”, which is being considered in the works, for instance, by Tomasz Mróz [Mróz, 2016], Stepan Ivanyk [Ivanyk, 2015].

“Provincialism” could be defined as searching the “special traits”, “peculiarities”, of Ukrainian National Culture and Philosophy as well. According to Vilen Horsky, overcoming “provincialism” remains using the “equivalence presumption” It means that contribution of each philosopher is equivalent to others. Furthermore, Vilen Horsky asserts that philosophical activity of Plato and the professor of the ordinary University are equally valuable [Horsky, 2006: 27].

“Messianism” could be defined as searching the “separate way” for Ukrainian Culture and Philosophy. The “messianism” in the History of Ukrainian Philosophy could be overcome via the idea of “Reception studies in the History of Philosophy”, which is developed by Tomasz Mróz. He believes that “...in the studies on the history of any “local” philosophy, attention should also be drawn to the history of international reception of the various philosophical currents. The specific and unique character of philosophy in Poland, France, or Germany, is also reflected in the character of the reception of new philosophical ideas. The reception may be selective or incomplete, and sometimes even grotesque, but still, reception often reflects the true colours of the recipient” [Mróz, 2016: 17-18].

In conclusion of the report I will introduce and justify the following statement: Ukrainian philosophy has begun since philosophers stopped searching its peculiarities and its “own separate way”.

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INTERPRETING THE IDEAS OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHERS BY SOVIET SCIENTISTS: THE POSTCOLONIAL VIEW

The researcher of American romanticism Maria Nesterova Bobrova in her book “Romanticism in the American literature of the XIX century”, 1972, noted that American transcendentalism, in the spirit of Romanticism, was determined by a special type of understanding of reality, bandages associated with a specific socio-historical background.

All romantic views extolled the “individualistic ideal of human development”, which is not connected with the development of society. The difference between romanticism and realism is that a special method is being created:

“This is a method of seeing the world, when a person, as if from the top of a mountain, contemplates the world and sees far, but not clearly. The historical narrow-mindedness of the worldview prevents her from understanding the main thing: that human individuality – for all its exclusivity and uniqueness – is engendered by the same “low” reality that underlies the “top”” [1].

Unlike many representatives of American Romanticism, the only ideological trend that formed in the branch of philosophy was transcendentalism. Like romanticism, transcendentalism sought to answer the age-old questions about the meaning of life, about freedom, about the place of man in history, about faith in one's own strengths. These questions are traditionally raised by idealistic philosophies.

1. The famous professor Norman Foster calls this philosophy “romantic idealism”. He emphasizes the unity between the “external world and the human spirit” [2]. In his opinion, the result of the Romantic Movement is individualism, which denies the total dominance of reason, as the American enlighteners believed. The human heart, human feelings and imaginative powers come to the forefront. American historians of philosophy consider American transcendentalism idealism, this opinion is popular.

2. The well-known rejection of the idealism of Soviet materialistic philosophy required specific interpretations. So, according to the Soviet researcher Maria Bobrova, American transcendentalism was nothing more than materialism.

“Most of the Romantics were not idealists; but rather, they stood firmly on the basis of materialistic philosophy” [3].

3. In this regard, the founder of American transcendentalism, Ralph Emerson, in the manifesto “Transcendentalist”, 1841, defined transcendentalism as idealism:

“What is popularly called Transcendentalism among us, is Idealism; Idealism as it appears in 1841. As thinkers, mankind have ever divided into two sects,

Materialists and Idealists; the first class founding on experience, the second on consciousness; the first class beginning to think from the data of the senses, the second class perceive that the senses are not final, and say, the senses give us representations of things, but what are the things themselves, they cannot tell” [4].

It is obvious that the founder of American transcendentalism, Ralph Emerson, defined this philosophical trend as idealism. The main concepts and categories were “soul”, “personality”, “God” as “Universal being”. The concept of “nature”, which Ralph Emerson viewed as a collection of ideas was not exclusively material. Soviet historians of philosophy, guided by official doctrine, under censorship, had to write about the fact that the American transcendentalists were materialists. This fact proves falsification, distortion of reality. The totalitarian regime, together with colonial policies, influenced not only the material sphere of human life but also perception and minds. Even this one example of distortion of the philosophical idea proves that there was a control of the mind. The existence of a correct and incorrect philosophy, like history, proves the totalitarian character of the Soviet era. The task facing modern researchers is to study the dogmatic Soviet interpretations of the intellectual heritage and leave space for free interpretations of modern scientists.

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**THE CONCEPT OF DIVIDED UNIVERSITY:
IN SEARCH OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCH
OF UKRAINIAN DISPLACED
HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS**

Since 2014 Ukraine is an arena of active geopolitical conflict which is actualized by hybrid war. At the result of hybrid war and annexation activity of Russia, Ukraine lost 7 percents of the territory (46 millions of square kilometers) where 13 percents (6 millions of people) of Ukrainian population lived. This dramatic situation became reality due to the social and cultural landscape which can be defined as postcolonial [Gomilko et al., 2016]. For many years Ukraine was a part of Russian, Austro-Hungarian Empires, but the deepest postcolonial trauma is rooted in the historical period of USSR.

This period usually described in terms of post-totalitarian studies, but postcolonial methodological approaches still heuristic too. It has the sense to use postcolonial scientific apparatus discussing Ukrainian identity, dominating values in society and so on. We have good ground to say that Soviet period of Ukrainian history was a period of realization of Homo Sovieticus anthropological project. Millions of Ukrainian post-soviet people joined around the ideas such nostalgia for the Soviet Union with corresponding paternalistic values become an active ‘agents’ for the realization of Russian strategy of hybrid war. These people do not share the Ukrainian national idea and European values, their nostalgia for USSR transformed to respect of Russia using contemporary effective instruments of propaganda.

At the result of Crimea annexation and military conflict at the East of Ukraine, a lot of higher education institutions partially ‘migrated’ from mentioned territories (about 30 universities): “However, this migration had a special nature: the institutions migrated without facilities and resources; the stuff of migrated institutions was not full too (sometimes, the majority of the institution stuff stayed at the territory of “new republics” sharing ones’ ideology or at the result of life occasions) and so on. The Ukrainian national state strived to grant the facilities for these migrated (evacuated) institutions trying to save their potential as well as help Ukrainian citizen to avoid possible violence. The institutions at uncontrolled territories saved ones’ institutional status becoming a part of the new social order of quasi-republics” [Svyrydenko, 2017, p. 129]. At the official documents, these institutions usually called ‘displaced universities’ or ‘evacuated universities’. The author hopes to find the correct terminology, which would help to understand the logic of classification of these ‘twinned’ universities and substantiate the possibility to interpret one of them as an authentic university.

The author tries to substantiate, that ‘divided university’ can be a heuristic concept of philosophy of education for the understanding of the essence of institutional migration as a response to hybrid war challenges. We have situation, when universities at temporary uncontrolled territories have proper names correspondingly to ones’ location, have campus (buildings, equipment, laboratories, etc.), have human resources: thus, displaced universities seem like ‘clones’ of ‘original’ ones at the uncontrolled republics or annexed territories [Svyrydenko, 2017, p. 133]. Staying at uncontrolled territories, universities accepted new educational values which contradict with ‘idea of the university’ in general. It is hard to say, that these universities actualize academic freedom, autonomy from political institutes, autonomy of thinking and so on.

At the same time, migrated ones have a new location, have minimal facilities for educational process, and are represented by the minority of academic staff and students. Students and academic staff of these universities risked to become victims of violence or even death, but they refused the possibilities to stay at the censored manipulative educational landscape. Thus, evacuated universities seem like bearers and active translators of fundamental values of the modern universities [Svyrydenko, 2017, p. 128]. The historical retrospective offers analogical situation caused origination of Cambridge University.

The author underlines, that one higher education institution was divided facing Russian aggression and one of the institutions stayed the bearer of institutional features, but the second one demonstrated the dedication to Magna Charta Universitatum. It is too easy to evaluate ‘paired’ universities according to international law refusing the universities stayed at uncontrolled territories. Author underlined the need to evaluate both through analysis of ethical aspects. Finally, staying on positions that uncontrolled territories will come back, there is a need to actualize new philosophical researches aimed at the searching of the strategies of reintegration of whole Ukrainian educational landscape and mentioned reintegration looks contradictive even on the level of ‘divided’ universities.

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POSTCOLONIAL EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE: THE PROBLEM OF DISPLACED UNIVERSITIES

Educational landscape is a philosophical concept for denoting the totality of spatial, social and economic, political, cultural and anthropological characteristics of education that vary within a certain region in the process of preservation, transfer and production of knowledge.

Among other approaches, educational landscape can be understood as a type of education. According to this approach, educational landscape is not a specific model, but a characteristic cultural and historical type of education. For example, there is "eastern" and "western" educational landscape, "postcolonial educational landscape" and others. In this sense, it has no clear boundaries and is found on different continents and in different countries.

The theoretical framework "educational landscape" requires careful empirical verification. The phenomenon of displaced universities from Donbas and Crimea became this kind of verification for us.

The return of Crimea and certain regions of Luhansk and Donetsk regions under the control of the Ukrainian government is the main task of modern Ukraine. The return of control over the territories will require the need in reintegration of all sectors of the economy and public life. It is especially important to reintegrate the system of education, including higher education, by reuniting the universities separated through involuntary displacement. However, currently there are no science-based strategies or certain steps taken in this direction.

The phenomenon of displaced universities in Ukraine is not something fundamentally new in the world practice. Similar (but not identical) problems exist, for example, in the regions of Georgia – Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The research of the current state of the displaced Ukrainian universities and their comparison with similar problems in other countries will allow:

- Firstly, to analyze the traumatic experience of the displaced universities;
- Secondly, to see the prospect of the Ukrainian universities which were displaced from the zone of the ATO and Crimea;
- Thirdly, to develop a step by step plan for reintegration, reconciliation and consensus of the academic communities.

After the involuntary displacement of a number of higher educational institutions, the state and the public sector have been actively involved in the process of adaptation of these institutions to new conditions. At the legislative level, the draft Law "On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine on the Activities of Higher Educational Institutions (Scientific Institutions) that were

displaced from the temporarily occupied territory and from the localities on the territory of which the state authorities temporarily fail to exercise their powers" should be noted. (r.n. 4718 dated May 24, 2016). It is worth mentioning the work of the Council of Rectors of the Higher Educational Institutions that were displaced from the area of the anti-terrorist operation. The Council of Rectors of Displaced Higher Educational Institutions was created by order No. 50 of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine dated January 26, 2016. There are public initiatives in Ukraine aimed at drawing attention to the lives of the displaced Higher Educational Institutions. One of them is, in particular, the project "Displaced Universities", implemented by Public organization CISID and the Coordination Center for Displaced Higher Educational Institutions, supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) within the framework of the program Ukrainian Confidence-Building Initiative (UCBI). There is one more interesting project "Displaced Universities Road Map", which is implemented by the Ukrainian Association of Educational Researchers.

However, today the analysis of the sources shows almost complete absence of a scientific discussion as to the impact of the war on the universities and the fate of the displaced universities in Ukraine. However, in foreign publications the problem of the role of higher education in overcoming conflicts and post-war reconstruction is considered by many authors. After the Second World War, the United States relied on higher education and this ensured an unprecedented development of all spheres. With issuing "G.I. Bill", which gave veterans preferences in higher education, the United States took a focused course for intensive university support, which led them to the world leadership (Mettler S., 2005).

In recent years, the relationship between education and conflicts has been widely studied both in academic and in practical literature. In this context, researchers discuss the following key issues related to education, social changes and conflicts: firstly, interaction between education and conflict, that is, education as a victim and offender; and secondly, education as liberation, resistance and revolution; and thirdly, education as a guarantee of building a stable peace and pedagogy for peace. (Pheral T., 2016).

One of the interesting works is the work by Z. Bekerman and M. Zembylas "Mediation of collective memories and official stories in conflict societies: pedagogical responses to "individual" narratives and competing collective memories" (2017). It provides research on approaches to reviewing "competitive stories" in the process of learning. In the center of the discussion there is an epistemological problem: what to do in the situation, if there is more than one story about one event? (Bekerman Z. & Zembylas M., 2017).

The researchers assign a special role to higher education in the societies that suffered from conflicts. In particular, S. Milton and S. Barakat define four main approaches: stabilization and securitization, reconstruction, state building and peace building. Through these four approaches, they found that there are several ways in which higher education can either contribute or undermine the basic

processes of post-war recovery. Their main conclusion is that higher education is not a peripheral institution, which should wait until the completion of post-war reconstruction. If no attention is paid to higher education, it can undermine the post-war reconstruction efforts and be the main lost opportunity. (Milton S. & Barakat S., 2016).

Unfortunately, there is a gap between the practical need and the lack of scientific works in this area. Therefore, with the support of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine we have started the project "Development of a Conceptual Model for Reintegration of Ukrainian Displaced Universities". The purpose of the project is to develop a model for reintegration of Ukrainian internally displaced universities and to provide recommendations to the state authorities on practical steps to rebuild the system of higher education.

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TOTALITARIAN ELEMENTS IN SOVIET HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY

1) Most of the philosophical inquiries that were made in frames of soviet tradition contain numerous ideological prejudices. Such situation was caused by the general totalitarian strategy of the Soviet government. Philosophy was considered as a significant instrument of common opinion's establishment. For this reason the elements ideological strategy in all the fields of philosophy were carefully considered and selected. Such situation can be perfectly shown by the example of teaching of “Fundamentals of Marksist philosophy” in any specialty.

2) The soviet ideology expansion over Ukrainian intellectual culture caused fundamental changes in the topics and the way of providing of philosophical inquires and research within all subfields of philosophy. The variety of topics and methods of philosophical research was reduced to Marxist-linked topics and Marxist-Leninist dialectics. Aim and scope of any philosophical research were strictly determined by a general communist party strategy of social development. Moreover, one of the fundamental intentions of the soviet totalitarian science and philosophy was to destroy a national authenticity and cultural distinction of a USSR members and its research in Humanities.

3) Consequently, History of philosophy was not an exception. Recently mentioned soviet ideological pressure was based on the idea of an absolute scientific value of Marxist-Leninist methodology and worldview. Only Marxist-Leninist-based history of philosophy hailed as a true scientific. All other, non-Marxist versions of historical inquires in the field of philosophy were denied and sometimes forbidden because of an “ideological hazard”, they were able to deliver.

4) Due to the mentioned above, one of the main goals of Marxism-Leninism intentions in field of history of German classical philosophy were: a) to discover it deeper; b) find out and highlight its “weak” elements, which were later rejected or corrected by Karl Marx in his philosophical system. Firstly and mostly, research attention of soviet historians of philosophy was focused on Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's philosophy, but later on, they also began systematic research of Kant's philosophical heritage to compare it with Hegel's and Marx's and to criticize it.

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RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AND DEBATE IN POST-COLONIAL INDIA

In India philosophy is religion and religion is philosophy. Starting from pre-Upanishadic i.e. Vedic philosophy (c. 1500-800 BCE) to Upanishadic or Vedanta philosophy (900-300 BCE), science, religion and philosophy has not been fundamentally opposed to each other and remained faithful to their predecessors; while in West philosophy had a revolutionary approach, analytical and often rejecting their predecessors. Therefore Indian philosophy has a synthetic outlook; every problem is discussed from all possible approaches.

In fact much before Britishers came to India, almost from 4th century BC, India saw two distinct traditions in religion and philosophy:

1. The Vedic or Brahmanical tradition, and
2. The Non-Vedic or the Shramana tradition.

But medieval India saw a paradigm shift. This shift was drastic. This period saw revolution not only in the Hindu mainstream, but also Buddhism had many open branches and sub-branches. Jainism too did not remain unaffected. The rebellious movement in religion in India during this period was rise of Bhakti marga (the path of devotion). Though the period is marked by superstitious, dogmatic and orthodox approaches in philosophy/religion that ruled India; it was also an open era for new religious movements, occidental in nature. Indian society during this era saw the advent of foreign religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam, also a curtain raiser to a complete new religion ‘Sikhism’ (end of the 15th century AD).

In post-colonial India Brahmanism (popularly known as Hinduism) has till date remained the popular religion of the people. It has undergone slow changes in modern times, as it has all through its long history. Just as the meeting of Aryan and indigenous cultures, and of Hinduism and Islam – were earlier problems, so the basic problem of ‘thinking Hindus’ in the 19th and 20th centuries has been the meeting of Hindu and Western values. Social reformers, influenced by Western thought and developmental sciences, and philosophical movements and various revolutions that took place in Western countries – had its impact on the minds of Indians.

If post independent India saw revolutionary transformation, it also saw immense divide among people of India. Religion has tremendous power to change the lives of people; so making religion a source of divide, partition of India took place. The chasm became so wide between Hindus and Muslims that till date the gap is not filled. Therefore in former times if ‘God’ was the subject matter of discussion in religious philosophy, in post-colonial India ‘religion’ became the subject of discussion, controversy and conflict. Though India was divided, in post

independent era, the divide in mind was and is still brewing up and getting deepened. In the name of religion can there be so much of bloodshed!!

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was victim among others of his community of caste system; the most inhuman set-up in Hindu society. He adopted Buddhism to give a big blow to Hindu society. In fact the ‘dalits’ (or very crudely described as ‘untouchables’) is product of miscreant pseudo Hindu, the followers of Hinduism. Therefore, Ambedkar wanted to bring about a revolution in religious frame work of India; instead of displacing the traditional with the new was not his intention but to take resort to already co-existing religion, i.e. Buddhism and to place it at par with existing Hinduism in a popular framework. This Buddhism took up the new garb of ‘neo-Buddhism’ that was indeed a religio-socio-political in nature. This neo-Buddhism was also called ‘Navayana’ that is a complete ‘engaged Buddhism’.

Among the minority communities in India those who are marginalized, the largest minority community is Muslims in India. The tension and conflict between the Hindus and Muslims in pre- and post- independent era has continued till date. The demolition of Babri Masjid in Uttar Pradesh (North India) in 1992 and the Gujarat riots of 2002, followed by riots, arson and bomb blasts and communal right wing parties i.e. the Hindus strongly feeling the rift that cannot be bridged. And the cause for this seemingly is blamed on religions of the two communities, Hinduism and Islam. Unfortunately in the name of religion, India in pre- and post- colonization and till date is living in world of hatred.

Though Sikhism is devoid of class, caste and race distinctions, known to be religion of saints - too had problems. The whole of Granth Sahib (Sikhs’ religious scripture) is the composition of many saints’ inputs. How can such a religion give rise to militancy and demanding for a separate country Khalistan?

Hindu fanaticism is on rise; and the minority religions have tremendous feeling of insecurity.

The paper discusses the causes of these rifts among marginalized communities in India and concluded with the possible solution to it. Mahatma Gandhi’s concept of religion can be a possible solution to this crisis in post-colonial India. His philosophy comes at the pre and post threshold of independent India and therefore relevant in pre- and post- colonial India. Gandhi believed ‘that a human being without religion is life without principle and a life without principle is like a ship without a rudder.’ His voyage covered politics, economics and the social sphere where the underlying principle was ‘religion’. For him truth is God and God is truth. The two core principles in his life were ‘truth’ and ‘non-violence’. He emphasized on ‘interreligious dialogue’.

So to say, Gandhi and Ambedkar aspired to have a complete egalitarian society based on ethical religion, and that form of religion is not segregated from human life but completely connected to social, political and economic life of Indians in post-colonial India.

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"STEM-EDUCATION" AS ONE OF THE MAIN TRENDS OF INFORMATIONAL AND INNOVATIVE EDUCATION OF THE POST- COLONIAL WORLD

Stem-education is an innovation that combines the traditions of natural and mathematical education and is based on the principles of fundamentalism and research intensity, combining technological, organizational, material and technical resources and human capital. As a result of stem-education development and thanks to ICT, business processes and governance are changing and management is being reformed, taking economic, social and managerial processes at a higher level of the society quality.

Two more terms have appeared on the basis of stem, which include:

- 1) steam – science, technology, engineering, art, mathematics;
- 2) snrem – science, technology, robotics, engineering, mathematics.

Stem-education is one of the main trends of the information and innovation society (S-science; T-technology; E-engineering; M-mathematics) and it includes training of creative personalities necessary for cultivation of the information and innovation society, which is a smart society by its nature.

Stem-education is the basis for training of highly-qualified specialists who can become the creative basis for formation of the innovation and information society, which is high-tech and highly intelligent, which needs upbringing of a creative personality, creative education, creative creativity. These processes are the main trends of the world development and the main trends of the innovation and information society, which evolves into the noosphere society (the society of mind, intelligence, science, morality, justice, creativity).

Cultural cultivation is related to the work with large volumes of analytics data (Big Data) needed for creativity, and to the use of an array of unstructured knowledge (Data Mining) for decision-making in various fields of activity and for creativity. To make the processes of cultural cultivation fundamental at school (higher, secondary), the person must acquire the foresight to build such activity that would allow a person to get a guaranteed (necessary) result.

Cultural cultivation of stem-education is based on the reflection of the structure of project and constructivist activity, which is based on the management of creative activity projects of (robotics, nanotechnology). The purpose of stem-education is to receive innovations for the needs of the man and it is suitable for

design and creative activity, since it is based on the design or construction of an object. The instrumental model we are working on is a cognitive artifact, which is based on:

- 1) the conceptual (explanatory) ideal model, removed by the notion of "design";
- 2) the design model (praxeological), which complements the conceptual one and merges into a constructive and creative methodology that combines theory and practice.

Stem-education is not only a scientific and cognitive theory, but also practice that helps to regulate cognitive activity, in the basis of which there are the processes of cultural cultivation.

The constructive methodology of cultural cultivation is a methodology of creative activity, which should be cultivated by school and to be based on design and construction of the process of cognition and its objects. The basis of the constructive methodology is the model and process of construction, which is considered as a cognitive artifact and includes a conceptual (explanatory) and instrumental (prescriptive) components of the creative and cognitive process.

A model as a project of an object includes not only a reflection or a copy of a certain state of affairs, but also a representation of future practice. Therefore, the author of the object must move from the ideal model of design to the solution of problems in a particular historical and cultural or industrial sphere. The instrumental model of the constructed object acts as an additional value (intellectual value) to the conceptual one and represents a system of specific procedures for the transition from "the existing to the right one". From the point of view of philosophy, the conceptual model of the object is a theoretical justification of an instrumental model that allows reconstructing various fields in the direction of the information and innovation society formation, that is, introduction of innovations.

Stem-education is the basis of the smart society formation, that is dictated by the system of competitiveness of both education and the state, and serves as the basis for transforming society from information to the "knowledge society", and from it to the "smart society", to serve as the basis for high-tech development of the society and it needs training of highly competent and creative personalities. And this is the key task of higher and secondary schools, which require the formation of an effective educational environment and highly qualified specialists in all spheres of activity.

Activation of stem-education development is the key to solving many problems of school reform under the conditions of globalization, information society and "knowledge society". In the United States, the activity of stem is coordinated by the so-called stem-education coalition, which includes more than one thousand highly professional specialists that combine such areas as biomedicine, computer and information technology, nanotechnology, mathematical biology, bioinformatics, computer security, mathematics, economics, finance,

international affairs, social behavioral sciences and others that general improve the effectiveness of Stem-education. In the United States, the following areas require stem-education specialists: automotive, construction, financial services, national security, transport, aerospace, biotechnology, advanced industrial technology, energy, healthcare, information technology, and others. On July 6, 2009, the US Congress adopted the STEM Education Coordination Act of 2009. There are suggestions for such centers to be created in Ukraine at leading educational institutions of Ukraine and at the Ministry of Education, which is interested in forming stem-education. Therefore, we want to suggest some advice that would help shape the concept of stem-education.

It is necessary to form stem-competency, because stem-professions will have to have sufficient stem-skills: creativity, non-standard thinking, critical and system thinking, critical attitude to information, innovative thinking, ability to form own judgments, ability to work analytically, social and civic competences, intelligence.

In addition, stem-competency requires the use of design and programming, design research information and communication technologies, life-long learning skills, ability to work in the information space and work in the team, predict own activities from stem-education to stem-career, manifest maker's ability (maker is a person who creates something), promoting self-realization of personality.

The main thing is to form stem-competences and then to head to the stem-profession, using foreign languages, mathematical competence, research competence, ability to work in a team, information and digital competence, relevant information culture and the corresponding level of research work.

Stem is an orientated approach to learning, which means the technology of forming and development of intellectual, cognitive and creative qualities of the youth, the level of which determines their competitiveness on the modern labor market. Stem-education is carried out through an interdisciplinary approach to building curricula, and learning is based on creativity, living imagination, ability to make decisions quickly when circumstances change and have a well-developed intuition. Foreign scholars point out that the future belongs to three key areas: IT, biology and agriculture. It is expected that in 2025 employment in stem-professions, that are based on knowledge and require high qualification, will increase significantly throughout the world. In addition, the requirements for qualification of specialists in the majority of branches will increase too. Attracting 1% of the population to stem-professions increases GDP by 50 billion dollars.

Practical recommendations

1. To develop and implement a Strategic Plan of Stem-Education every 5 years, which should include short-term and long-term priority scientific directions and programs, to determine common dimensions of the country's progress and its International development indices in achieving its goals.

2. Encourage investment in the development of Stem-education, attracting advanced scientific forces and the youth in this field, contributing to financing of scientific projects on the identified issues.

3. To introduce the specialty of smart-manager and Stem-education with junior specialist diplomas and to extend the training to the master's educational level with Stem-education, expanding new disciplines from the specified profile and providing their teaching by highly skilled personnel.

4. To prepare qualified pedagogical staff able to work in the field of Stem-education, aimed new economy formation.

5. To establish a close relationship between schools, universities, institutes and academies that would work and carry out joint scientific programs and projects and would perform training in these areas, by implementing the "effect of spreading knowledge in Stem-education in breadth".

6. Involve young people in research work for the needs of the new economy, which would be actively involved in research projects and the latest innovative technologies.

7. Each of the academic centers of educational institutions should develop clear standards for nano-science and nano-technologies in order to add them to the following options for changing the curriculum of the school system.

8. Educational institutions should develop new national standards responsible for developing new national standards for Stem-education, develop nano-disciplines and implement them in the school system, cultivating creative thinking and creative personalities.

9. Develop new information and communication technologies that can promote the transition of the information society to the "knowledge society" and the "smart society", which cultivates Stem-education, broadband networking opportunities, distance education, e-learning (education) as a tool for training highly specialized and highly qualified educators.

10. To form a creative personality capable of working in the innovation-information-noosphere society.

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COMPETING DISCOURSES OF ‘POST-COLONIALISM’ IN PRESENT-DAY UKRAINE

Contemporary Ukrainian political discourse presents divergent and sharply contested analytical and conceptual frameworks and modes of analysis, with advocates of each attempting to provide substantive positions a) on different periods and ‘layers’ of Ukrainian history, and b) to align certain Ukrainian territories, social communities and groups with specific civilizational forms, thereby seeking to identify Ukraine as possessing innate or ‘natural’ civilizational affinities.

These political discourses present both competing and kin national, regional and local messages. Thus, for example, posters prominent during the flaming and burning Maidan in 2013-2014 asserted both that ‘Ukraine is Europe(an)’ and ‘Kolomyia is Europe(an)’.

Some of the previously popular, legitimate (and legal) modes of discourse, usually confrontational with the pro-European family of discourses, are now officially stigmatised and even demonized within the territory currently under the control of the central government of the country. As a result they have moved underground or emigrated, or, alternatively, were transferred ‘into the subconscious’, replacing the formulations of their most important theses with euphemisms, adopting a form of Aesopian language and resorting to allegorical narrative techniques. These now officially delegitimised narratives primarily concern the discourses of the ‘Russian World’ and communism, but also some forms of anarchism.

Following the discussion instituted at the 3rd International Conference “Challenges of Post-Colonialism: Philosophy, Religion and Education” (2017) [1] it should be noted that the ‘post-colonial’ and ‘anti-colonial’ discourse in contemporary Ukraine is represented by a number of significant currents of thought:

1. **The discourse of pro-European’ and ‘Transatlantic’ neo-liberals and neo-conservatives**, whether real or mummies (i.e. posing as something which they are not) aims to demonstrate the ‘European nature’ of Ukraine, asserting the natural attractiveness and superiority of modern democratic, pluralistic socio-economic and political systems of the Global West, asserting these as non-neocolonial; this is offered in sharp contrast with the near total criticism of the colonial practices of Russian tsarism and Soviet communism. The socio-political ideal underlying such narratives argues for full incorporation of Ukraine into the structures and processes of the Global West as can feasibly be achieved given current situational realities and the correlation of cultural, political and economic

forces globally. In Ukraine this mode of post-colonial discourse seeks to collapse distinctions between the two most important varieties of such world currents, namely the ‘Soros-Clinton’ mainstream and the Trump variety, presenting these as nuances of no particular importance in their content, indicative only of the orientation towards a particular group of influences in the Global West. Representatives of these modes of political thought characterise the possible revival of the Soviet Union (or the ‘Soviet Empire’) as the main danger facing Ukraine [2].

2. **The discourse of radical nationalism, whether national socialist, or national traditionalist, or national conservative**, present a socio-political ideal of Ukrainian society in opposition to all outsiders, whether Russian, Communist, Western, or Eastern, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the colonialism of transnational corporations.

3. In contemporary Ukraine **the discourses of both social democracy and the New Left** are in a depressed state and, in many respects, in their infancy. The degree of anti-capitalist, anti-Western, anti-communist, anti-Asiatic, etc orientation can vary significantly, depending on the specific civilizational, cultural and historical roots of the bearers of such postcolonial (and anticolonial) discourses and the existing organizational forms through which these are manifested.

4. **The discourse of civilizational conservatives** emphasizes their antithesis and direct political opposition to all supporters of any break with the multiculturalist and traditional Christian Orthodox foundations of the key components of Ukrainian society, and the denigration and diminution of all remaining cultural and historical ties with other East Slavic societies (see for example [3]). As such they are opposed to various forms of a) ethnic nationalism, b) cosmopolitanism, c) attempts at expansion by other civilisations onto the territory of Ukraine. One area (and/or aspect) of the sharp confrontation between advocates of a) pro-Western post-colonial discourse and b) civilizational conservatives’ latent or explicit emphasis of anti-colonialism, is related to appeals to religious and ecclesiastic issues, contained in various controversial projects, supported by the official authorities, of catholicity and the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church [4]. The main sphere of confrontation between civilizational conservatives and their major opponents lies in conservatives’ opposition to the official policy of the incorporation of Ukraine into Europe, along with the distancing of Ukraine from Russia [5].

Among the professional community of Ukrainian social scientists, problems relating to the change of civilizational affiliation of Ukrainian society present one of the primary focuses of discussion [6]. In such discussions there is a notable prevalence of the voices supporting the official mainstream.

5. **The discourse of contemporary anarchists** and, in particular, of the movement ‘People Outside the State’. The main emphasis there is placed on the problem of ‘internal colonialism’, the unjust distribution of resources and

administrative powers between the bureaucratic centre, which is currently controlled by oligarchic groups, and local communities [7].

6. **The discourse of pragmatists** focuses principally on the ‘recognition of practical inevitability’ of significant changes in cultural and political hegemony in the modern world in the near future. Under the influence of ‘orientologists’ this discourse distinguishes a) traditional colonialism and imperialism and b) policies and politics of ‘postcolonial empires’ and their proxies and clients. This discourse comprises the following major ideas:

- “building a community with a shared future for mankind”, i.e. “to connect the prospects and destinies of every nation and country closely together, share weal and woe, and turn planet Earth into a harmonious family”;

- building “a safe world free of fear”, where “a country cannot gain its security at the cost of others” and where “all countries should pursue a new security concept featuring common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable development”;

- creating “fair, just and shared security to jointly eliminate the root cause of war” and to “strive to eliminate poverty and promote common prosperity”;

- pushing forward “open, inclusive, beneficial, balanced, and win-win economic globalization, to deliver benefits to all countries”;

- “an open and inclusive world” where “cultural barriers” are being broken and “all kinds of civilizations exist and grow in harmony”;

- “building of a clean and beautiful world with picturesque scenery” what presupposes comprehensive “efforts to ensure coexistence between man and nature, cherish the environment as we cherish our own lives, respect and protect nature, and safeguard the irreplaceable planet Earth” [8].

In this regard, the relevant pragmatists support ‘the Belt and Road’ initiative and the ‘New Silk Road’ infrastructural mega-project.

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POST-COLONIALISM IN CONTRADICTION BETWEEN REAL AND NOMINAL POWER

The post-colonial epoch is marked by stunning ideological shifts. The basic principles of postcolonialism postulate the rejection of the basic principles of the classical metaphysical paradigm, ideas about the linear development of history and the practice of diversification, or alteration in analytical activity. Such a change in the focus of perception and assessment of processes and phenomena of socio-cultural dynamics implies the extrapolation of the "systematic, politically colored concept of decolonization into the level of discursive practice" [1]. Accordingly, post-colonialist analysis is carried out in two interrelated domains: in the field of political relations and influence, that is, in the interpretation of the phenomenon of power, as well as in the discursive-critical analysis of the practices of definition and sensation. There are new analytical concepts that are reflected in the course of modern life. The policy area is very indicative in this respect, namely the phenomenon of the gap between nominal and real power in societies of varying degrees of organization [2].

Let's consider in more detail the foundations of the explication of post-colonialism in modern politics.

1. The "re-writing" concept involves the rejection of monolingual speech, from the established canon and sample, the plasticity of the disadvantage of a semantic design. The theoretical substantiation of "re-writing" legitimizes the field of manipulative practices, which, unlike physical coercion and economic dependencies, form the basis of modern relations of power in most modern societies.

2. "Integrity" as a self-sufficient form of existence. Eclecticism and cultural identity, intensive processes of globalization, integration in the field of education and science equate the notion of "pure" form. Accordingly, those forms of systemic and structural organization, which demonstrate their efficiency and viability, receive the necessary justification and updating.

3. The distinction or "différance" (in the terminology of J. Derrida) in post-colonial thinking focuses on the very course of semantic and analytical work, as well as the refusal to conclude any evaluation and conclusions.

4. The term "third space" or the boundary space of definition articulates such a setting of postcolonial thinking, according to which the logic of formation prevails the content of classical theoretical constructs.

5. "Identity" as the goal of self-actualization of the individual. A society based on the principles of democracy and liberalism forms a significant spectrum for self-determination of the individual, that is, the role and importance of social

stereotypes and social roles is no longer so important in public opinion. But as a result of the actualization of the concept of identity, it also becomes a field for political manipulation. Thus, various political forces use the gap between retrospective national self-identity and promising identification of comopoliticalism or self-identification as a citizen of the European Union.

So, let's analyze the extrapolation of the principles of post-colonialism into the problem of real and nominal political power.

The modern Ukrainian politician is going through terrifying transformations. Post-colonial development tendencies pose serious challenges to civil society and its management system.

Nominal and real power is differ from the point of view of representation and institutionality. Nominating power acts as representing the interests of the community. That is why the charisma of the leader and the success, efficiency in the work of the nominal power is so important. But real power is often not concentrated in the hands of official bodies of power, but belongs to certain institutions of statehood, such as the education system, or law enforcement agencies. Is it possible to carry out an illegal referendum on the territory's membership of a particular state, with the absence of support from the educational institutions where this event was held, or under the condition of a good work of the law-enforcement system in this area? It's hardly possible. Except this, there are numerous examples of illegal possession of someone's property during the political instability in Luhansk and Donetsk region during 2014-2018. The conclusion is obvious that institutions of statehood have a significant influence of real power in society. A nominal, representative political power is the governing, but derivative of the basic, fundamental level of the real power of state institutions.

Thus, democracy is the most widespread form of social organization in the modern world. But given the specific conditions for the formation of statehood, the declarative principles of democracy are undergoing significant transformations, resulting in different forms of quasi-democracy. Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and the United States of America – all these countries are democratic in the state system. However, do we have any reason to assert the identity or, at least, the similarity of these democracies? It is obvious that the practical mechanisms of the exercise of state power in these countries are significantly different. Declaratively proclaimed democracy in the Russian Federation in the last two decades demonstrates signs of a monarchical system. Therefore, in the Russian Federation, we observe a quasi-form of democracy-monarchy. Such tendencies can be traced, in particular, in the management technologies of other states of the former Soviet Union: Belarus, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and others. Or the militarized monarchist republic of North Korea clearly manifests the viability of such a quasi-form of government. An interesting nominative tendency of representing power in a totalitarian system is a demonstration of its perfection.

If we analyze the specifics of state power in Ukraine, then the existence of a democracy-oligarchy in our country is quite obvious. Nominee political power is

delegated not by the people, by the general public, but by separate oligarchic structures. The basis of motivation in such a policy is the protection of business interests, not social justice and the stabilization of public life. Of course, Ukraine is not unique in its oligarchic democracy. The vast majority of South American countries have been fruitfully implementing similar principles of public administration.

And the developed forms of democracy of the advanced countries of the world, such as the USA, France, Germany, can hardly be called democracies in its pure form. Rather, it is certain forms of democracy-aristocracy, when real power is concentrated in the hands of political groups that have tradition, authority and weight of influence on public opinion and the course of social life. Thus, the gap between nominal and real power takes place in countries with different levels of development of democracy.

Consequently, the thinking of post-colonialism is realized in the way of exercising both daily practices and at the level of political organization of the life of society. Thus, the differentiation of power into nominal and real in the information society is a natural and inevitable phenomenon. Minimizing the risks of such differentiation is possible by increasing publicity and accountability of government actions.

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