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**НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ ПЕДАГОГІЧНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ
ІМЕНІ М. П. ДРАГОМАНОВА**

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**РАМНЕРАНЯН ДЖУНЖУНОЛА КОЛЛЕДЖ
МИСТЕЦТВ, НАУК ТА ТОРГІВЛІ
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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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**“CHALLENGES OF POSTCOLONIALISM: PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, EDUCATION”
«ВИКЛИКИ ПОСТКОЛОНІАЛІЗМУ: ФІЛОСОФІЯ, РЕЛІГІЯ, ОСВІТА»**

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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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**FROM THE MORAL LIMITS OF PERSONAL INTEREST TO THE
DEROGATION OF INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY: COLONIALISM AND
OPPRESSION**

In postcolonialist analyses, there is a shift often from issues of oppression, which initially are presented as political, to problems of limit in specific moral perimeters. Even more importantly, while the oppressor is accused of exceeding the limits of potential action as moral action, at the same time there is a subsequent problem of derogation for individual identity, not only for the suppressed but also for the one who exerts suppression. In our paper we are going to approach how this latent moral pressure may be a more critical factor than initially considered for action that will eventually be conducted in respect of the parameters that construct identity, especially in the individual. To do that, we will use theories from moral philosophy that will hopefully explain the nexus between personal interest and identity, as well as shed some light on the relationship between oppression and the reasons that lead to the absence of any morality.

Since colonialism is an issue of certain sovereignty over others, it will be primarily imperative for this analysis to recall the views of Benjamin Constant who discusses a mild form of losing access to sovereignty and to the capability for a full emergence of identity, as he poses the argument that a citizen would probably have to cherish his enjoyment of private pleasures and independence while power would deprive him of political freedom. Giving power away, in the form of sovereignty, guarantees the political freedom of the individual that will be necessary and tolerated within a state; that is the conclusion of Constant. Thus a level of subordination will demand the citizen's dispossession from power, practically no other than an open exigency for oppression from someone who makes the decisions over him. The same, in some analogy, could bear validity for situations of colonialism; while there would be a surrender of personal interest for those oppressed, there would emerge the liberation of the personal interest of those who

are the oppressors. That asymmetry would signify a requisite transfer of power which would be a transfer of limits, thus allowing morality to recede. In this scheme, morality would have previously been no other than the equilibrium between two formerly unequal conditions. The French thinker establishes a contrastive relation between arbitrariness and political freedom but also another contrastive one between arbitrariness and morality. While he is convinced that social responsibility will safeguard the context of a political and individual liberty, he claims that the only effective policy is loyalty and legality; obedience to the laws [1]. Thus, Constant theoretically insists on the irreducibility of political participation while he accepts, even indirectly, that the individual's subordination should avert some of the political arbitrariness. The only risk he sees is that individual liberty is in danger only due to the arbitrariness of power even though he allows the establishment of a power that has all the means to become arbitrary. Constant tends to entrust particular moral preconditions and he misses the opportunity to discern how the surrender of power does not only mean the surrender of liberty but also that of personal interest and of emergence of identity.

Yet, it becomes evident, especially in Hobbes' work, that “persons naturally seek the society of others” although it remains important that this does not occur out of a natural tendency of likeness but for security and individual survival. While for Aristotle there is the ideal of a friend as a second self, for Hobbes the other person, or more correctly, the other “citizen”, is valuable for being a necessary source that contributes to surrendering rights of sovereignty, therefore of power [2]. Hobbes, in this manner, sees that the moral prerequisites are not truly altered but challenged and he predicts the functions of colonialism as a scenario of deterioration from his original descriptions of the State. Same with issues of identity: human connection for Hobbes stresses out the temporal character of all human affairs in any other case than that of those developed as connections for reasons of mutual utility under the aegis of a sovereign authority. Hence his system is deprived of the possibility for an identity that can be formed through and along

that of others. For that reason, and in order to preserve any morality in one's identity, for John Stuart Mill, freedom is so perplex that it even requires that one cannot be free not to be free; one cannot be allowed to alienate his freedom [3]. The general thesis that the British thinker holds is that a person is generally held accountable to society only for actions that concern the interests of others and may be prejudicial to them [3]. In times of colonialism and oppression that would mean that there is a moral burden on those who exert coercion as a necessary condition but also, quite more interestingly, a shift from collective interest to personal interest. Mill though rejects that necessity is the same thing as coercion [4]. Even in the recognized necessities of his logical system Mill admits that actions and their causes should be considered as casually determined events although he confesses that this could destroy the concept of personal identity; it would be as if the agent disappears, leaving his place to a spectator of things that happen. For Mill it is significant to maintain that the individual is not dragged behind events or the will of others. Hence, it is morally, more than politically, important that personal interest should not be limited unless one aims at restricting the emergence of other subjects' identities and at exploiting their access to power.

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WHY IS GOVERNANCE RESEARCH IMPORTANT FOR UNIVERSITY REFORMS IN UKRAINE?

One of the obvious drawbacks to academic reforms in Ukraine has been the lack of systematic research on governance practices and challenges in higher education. The deficiency of empirical data on governance processes is unsurprising in the context of the Soviet legacy. Indeed, many Soviet-style universities lack the tradition and experience of doing research on themselves for either internal use or for public reporting. Studies in higher education are absent as a subject of post-graduate education and scholarship, and institutional research is not seen as crucial for improvement of university management and policy making. Very few researchers have courage and knowledge to attempt in-depth critical analysis of their own universities, authorities or practices. Meanwhile, the tokenism of grassroots consultations and the tradition of authoritarianism prolong a sense of data uselessness and disempowerment among faculty members and students. Instead, external and internal analysts tend to over-emphasize the role of top-down steering in institutional transformations. In the absence of clear ideas about the status of existing governance challenges at universities, governmental regulators and institutional managers cannot but end up with opting for “one size fits all” solutions.

What can be done to change the culture of governance that would be supportive of research on governance in the context of institutions that used to depend on the Soviet tradition of army uniformity and one-man-management? What kind of research may be needed to change the authoritarian structure of university governance which used to advocate for selectivity of personnel on the basis of loyalty, to the university system that promotes and celebrates academic

merit? Would institutional research be an important step toward developing a quality governance research in the post-Soviet (post-colonial) universities? What should be researched, and how can that be done? Can university managers develop a reporting system that discourages the post-Soviet tradition of power consolidation for the purposes of spreading blind compliance and fear of feedback? What can stimulate critical inquiry and continuous quality improvement of administrative procedures in universities? What types of management/governance performance criteria are necessary for monitoring progress in the transitional contexts where competitive skills and enhanced productivity are needed, but where mistrust to management and concerns about entitlements proliferate? What should we know more and deeper about various agencies that are responsible for enhancing quality of university teaching and research for greater integration with the EU and for the disposal of the Soviet legacy? This presentation addresses these questions by shedding light on governance research developments and dilemmas in Ukraine and other transforming university systems in the post-communist world and beyond.

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POSTCOLONIAL ASPECT OF CULTURAL TOURISM AS EXEMPLIFIED BY JEWISH HERITAGE IN CRACOW

Tourism, particularly cultural one, provides numerous opportunities to get to know new places, environments of various communities and their cultural heritage by travelling. What is more, it gives the opportunity to return to one's roots, however, tangible and intangible assets constituting the basis of interest for potential tourists are the main source. Cracow is a city with a significant cultural heritage that is confirmed by the fact that the Old Town of Cracow, including the districts of Kazimierz and Stradom, is entered in the *UNESCO World Heritage* list. Kazimierz is a unique place where numerous monuments of the Jewish culture attracting many tourists have been preserved. The Jewish quarter is visited by both Jews who want to return to their roots as well as tourists from all around the world who desire to get to know the place better, and thus understand the specificity of the Jewish culture.

The postcolonial aspect in this context manifests itself through feeling the need to know their past. The proclamation of the State of Israel in 1948 was one of the elements of the state-forming and national-forming process, which was intensified in the second half of the 20th century as part of a wider process of decolonization. Jews are a nation that for many centuries has been strongly associated with Polish history and tradition. Nowadays, in the face of growing complications in Israeli-Polish relations on the background of historical and cultural policy, it is reasonable to analyze intercultural relations shaped as a result of cultural tourism. According to the data of many Polish research centers, currently Auschwitz-Birkenau as a tourist destination, it is not the main object of interest for Israelis coming to Poland. It is Cracow, next to Auschwitz and

Warsaw, is one of the places that is an integral part of practically every Jewish trip to Poland. Cracow is a city that carries a long-lasting Jewish tradition and still has many objects of Jewish cultural memory.

Cultural tourism can be understood in many ways and numerous researchers have handled its definition. One of them is Armin Mikos von Rohrscheidt [2008], who draws attention to two fundamental problems concerning the definition of cultural tourism. The first one concerns the evolution of the concept of culture over the years, changing the understanding of this definition makes it difficult to define cultural tourism. However, this change can be considered positive since the folk value including ethnic values, such as traditional construction, customs, folk songs, etc. has been appreciated. The second aspect that hinders the definition of the above issue is the determinant of the distinction of cultural tourism in tourism as a whole. The core of a particular problem is to determine the intensity of cultural objectives, namely to construct the plans of the tourist events. On the basis of both problems, Armin defines cultural tourism in a functional way. These are trips of a tourist nature and a participant or participants have the opportunity to see the objects, events or other elements of high or popular culture as they are the main part of the program of the trip or motivation to decide about a specific trip.

According to Miki, cultural tourism (cultural heritage tourism) is one of the forms of cognitive tourism and it includes trips aimed at learning about places and objects that have a historical, cultural and artistic value. Furthermore, participation in the cultural events is also included. Various defining of the concept results from an ambiguous way of reasoning. The multi-faceted nature of this form of tourism possesses significant possibilities in terms of research and interpretation, causing various definitions of the concept [3].

According to Dreyer, ‘The notion of cultural tourism may cover all journeys whose main motive of undertaking includes cultural activities’. The definition is very important and different from the others since it excludes the problems of

understanding the importance of cultural tourism. In this sense, tourism is not defined by experts, yet, this is the tourist who decides about leaving [5].

According to Hughes, cultural tourism has four aspects: universal, broad, narrow, sectoral. The universal approach to this form of tourism treats ‘tourism as a meeting of cultures’, namely tourism trips, during which participants come into contact with the culture of the place they visit. The broad approach covers the broadly understood scope of culture. These are trips, during which tourists are interested in the regional culture including: the history of the region or places, customs, religions, cuisines, architecture and many others. The narrow scope concerns artistic interests, such as music, poetry, and theatre. Furthermore, it includes visiting places of historical importance. The sectoral scope includes art or material cultural heritage [2].

The history of the Cracow Jews is an inseparable part of the Polish culture. Both nations lived together for many centuries penetrating each other. The history of Jews in the present city of Cracow is connected with the Jewish community, one of the oldest ones on the Polish territories whose origins date back to the half of the 13th century. The first references where descriptions of the Jewish street were presented date from the year 1304 [1].

The beginnings of the Jewish migration to the city of Kazimierz which is near Cracow started in the 80s of the fifteenth century due to the favourable conditions for conducting business activity by them. There are references from the end of the 15th century that describe the market square of Jews from the city of Kazimierz near Cracow, the Jewish bathhouse as well as the functioning Jewish community. During the Second World War, within the borders of the Cracow ghetto, there were 320 houses, in which about 15,000 people lived, for comparison before the war about 3 thousand people lived there. The liquidation of the ghetto took place on 13 March 1943.

Many remains of the Jewish culture in the form of the unique urban complex on a global scale can be seen today in the Cracow district of Kazimierz where Jews

began to emigrate from Cracow in the 80s of the fifteenth century. The great monuments include the synagogues: New, Old (Remu) with the cemetery, Isaac, High, Popper, Kupa and the progressive synagogue Tempel, dating from the 19th century [6].

Currently, Jewish culture is booming within the territory of Cracow. This results from the growing interest in history and culture, not only among Polish people.

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IS DECOLONIZATION OR REVITALIZATION OF EDUCATION NECESSARY IN POST-COLONIAL INDIA? A PHILOSOPHICAL INTROSPECTION

“The European elite undertook to manufacture a native elite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of western culture; they stuffed their mouths with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth. After a short stay in the mother country they were sent home, whitewashed. These walking lies had nothing left to say to their brothers; they only echoed” [1].

The above quote from the great existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) reflects the mood of the present educational system of post-colonial India. Indeed one need to think of decolonizing the educational system otherwise it will jeopardize the purpose of academics in India; where knowledge is possible but wisdom of implementing this knowledge will be in lurch. Why this situation aroused in the first place? As Sartre says it is to produce the “native elite”; and this gives the imperialist countries a tremendous boost of power-consciousness.

On the other hand, to look at Indian culture and civilization, science and philosophy, art and aesthetics, ethics and spirituality, politics, economics and other social sciences from Western perspective has distorted the holistic understanding of Indian civilization. The Indian wisdom has been distorted, termed as worthless and primitive and a paradigm of Western evaluation can do justice to the complete education system is the overall take of not only the imperial countries but their colonies also. The urgency demands to decolonize the Indian minds and restore to its authentic understanding. Viewing everything from Western “categories” has astrayed the youth of India. The glorious culture and civilization seems to be of bygone era that has no relevance in contemporary times is the basic understanding of the modern youth in India. India gained its independence in 1947, till date after almost seventy years Indian minds are still colonized and in true sense self-rule (*swaraj*) is not achieved. Therefore there is a need to revitalize Indian Education System and decolonize the Indian minds.

The need is seriously felt to set the target of setting the authentic set of paradigm to re-evaluate Indian Education System. It is always important to note that the colonial rule of the British left the indented mark on Indian mind where the new rational outlook of the Western civilization indeed provided them with new jobs and sophisticated mannerism of the “white” which was obviously very catchy; at the same time their Indian life-style did not permit them to completely get compromised with the ‘new teachings’. So the indigenous populace was now in dilemma; and this amalgamation brought about complete ambiguity in their minds.

From British rule till date unfortunately this dilemma persists and the ambiguity deepens. This creates a peculiar situation for Indians (so also anywhere the colonies were established). Well described in the following quote, “The history of Western civilization articulated in what I have called the “modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal Western-centric/Christian-centric world-system” has privileged the culture, knowledge, and epistemology produced by the West inferiorizing the rest. No culture in the world remained untouched by the European modernity. There is no absolute outside to this system. The monologism and monotopic global design of the West relates to other cultures and peoples from a position of superiority and is deaf toward the cosmologies and epistemologies of the non-Western world” [2].

Therefore to decolonize the Indian minds will help the indigenous cultures to value themselves; here “language” plays a pivotal role. But one thing is to be kept in mind – this is not restricted to the country like India, but is a global phenomenon faced by the countries; those were colonies or still a strong hold of their imperialist counterpart even after their departure. Educational sphere needs it the most as it will pull out the masses from inferiority complex suffered by their ancestors up to their own present times. The feeling of being a ‘loser’ by these natives giving rise to the psychological issues of guilty consciousness, inferiority complex and enslavement is too vast to eradicate. And wanting to remain at the level of ‘enslavement’ will deteriorate human existence. For this, the epistemic upliftment of the minds of Indians and the existential issues of being in the state of ambiguity; which is the ontological issue – has to be erased by revitalizing, restoring and reanalyzing from the grass-root level. The question that follows is – are we to discard completely the Western structures? First of all it is NOT possible and it also shouldn’t be like that. ‘Knowledge’ is never a waste of time and energy. (The following part of the article will try to prove this.) Human beings move forward and in this globalized world it is therefore very important to know what happened, is happening and future ‘happenings’ that will bear the positive fruits. It is just to

set the goal to have the ‘best’. So knowledge of indigenous socio-cultural elements along with later Western impact and moving towards the ‘best’ has to be the target. One can never ignore the fact that education is always in a state of flux and best should be chosen. Therefore, decolonization is very crucial. As Michel DeGraff says, “(In Haiti), like in most nations still struggling against neo-colonial powers from both within and without, social justice and equal opportunity for all will remain figments of our imagination as long as we have not decolonized our research and teaching practices, our views of ourselves and our languages, cultures, etc., and our relationships with foreign powers” [3]. If this is true of Haiti, it is true for all the former colonies, including India. So the whole of Indian Education System need to be reconsidered and re-evaluated. India is a land of diversity where different religions, languages, dialects, races and cultures live under one of the largest democracy in the world. The umbrella is vast enough to accommodate the variety and the division of Indian states after independence from British was based on languages. These languages play a pivotal role in Indian life as it demonstrates Indian culture. The geography is so very variegated that it needs a very subtle way of handling this diversity. So the target setting is to install a new way of looking and analyzing the Indian Education System from its diversified states having different language and culture. And introduce new policies to enrich the education system.

As we have seen earlier in this paper - is decolonizing in this globalized world possible? Somewhere one has to begin and it has to start with academicians and educationists; those who were there and are working at present on the issue.

In British Rule, India had a reshuffling of its education system; this was in the late eighteenth century. English education and knowledge of Western science helped produce the requirement of clerks and ‘*babus*’ in the newly developing administrative system. Industrial revolution that affected the Western world percolated its wings in Indian Education System. So the need to create a cluster of ‘so-called’ modern educated class was the need of the British Empire to run their

newly developed administrative system, their industries and factories – in India and in England and to have third level job seekers demanding less salary but putting in their best to enrich ‘their’ (British) companies. The authentic Indian wisdom had a tremendous set back. The British really did not invest much of its finances to enrich the education system; as their needs were fulfilled with meager expenditure.

Subjects like Philosophy, Literature, History, Sociology and many more especially of Humanities’ discipline have to be protected from colonial kaleidoscope. The imperialist interpreted all major Arts faculty subjects in such a way that let them maintain their dominance on the respective colonies. But according to eminent poet and Professor Dr. Makarand Paranjape (1960) (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi) we must stop accusing the West for all that has happened and was made to happen and start researching and working on the line of revitalizing Indian Education System. According to him, the concept of ‘*swaraj*’ (Self-Rule) is more appropriate than the word ‘decolonization’ as it has a negative connotation. He suggests that *swaraj* is associated to the concept of ‘Indian nationalism’ and Indian nationalism is completely differing in its meaning and context than other forms of nationalism. Because for Indian Nationalism, ‘In my *Swaraj* lies your *Swaraj*’ [4]. Dr. Paranjape also asks us to take precaution of not ‘misunderstanding’ or ‘misinterpreting’ the concept of ‘decolonization’ [5]. What caution? According to him, if Indian interpretation of decolonization turns out to be ‘chauvinistic’, then it is a big set-back to the whole process of improving our education system because Indian Education System is not working in aloofness from other spheres of Indian life or from other parts of the world. It is in connection to other spheres as well; and they too need decolonization. Other important thing that he mentions is India is a land of unity in diversity in relation to its spiritualism and culture, but there have never been political unity in India as other minorities based on caste, religion and races have always been marginalized and have never been incorporated in the main stream Indian life. Therefore along

with Western rationalism in synthesis to Indigenous perspective we need to have research and analysis to revitalize Indian Education System. In his book, Dr. Paranjape writes, “It embarrasses us to say that we have not read Marx, Gramsci, Derrida, Foucault, Levinas..., whereas it is almost a matter of pride to confess that we have not even heard of or read Buddhadev Bose, Shantinath Desai, G. H. Devy, Dharampal... to name a few. To admit that we have not read major Euro-American critics is to concede to one’s incompetence; to say that we have not read our Indian peers is merely to indicate our low opinion of them. In fact, it is only slightly fashionable to divulge in India that we have not read or are not interested in Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi. Sri Aurobindo, B. R. Ambedkar... and so on. On the other hand, to declare that one has not read the Bhagavad Gita, the Upanishads, the Dhammapada or Kabir, Nanak, Tulsī and so on is often considered a positive advantage” [6].

But one thing is clear there needs to decolonize Indian minds and that can take place with revitalizing Indian Education System.

The research objective remains very clear – that is decolonize the Indian minds. Somewhere, it is becoming very difficult task that at this level in contemporary times as English medium education institutes are flourishing day and night. In 1835, Thomas Macaulay (1800-1859), a British historian and politician who impacted Indian education to such an extent that it’s echo has retained and deepened to the grass-root of Indian education system. He introduced English medium school with English speaking teachers all over India; wiping out regional languages and popular Hindustani from all schools. Though it meant in a way good as caste system was so very dominating and speaking Sanskrit and Hindustani was only to a privileged community. But Macaulay brought about another divide by creating the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’; those who speak English were labeled superior to those who did not. He also thought to influence the world that being “English” is superior to any other community; and this can be done by introducing English in the British colony and erasing the native languages. Even today the

disparity continues; those speaking English are considered superior and those who do not are illiterate barbaric. Macaulay noted, “It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England” [7]. This gives us a brief idea as to what he thought of the great Sanskrit language and how petty was Indian education system. This made the whole issue of colonization a sensitive one where the motive was to belittle the importance of the native lands and pose superiority of the imperialist regime. The enslavement is so deep rooted that this pattern of English medium in educational institutions seems to be a magnanimous task to erase. So the same point has to be reiterated that to establish *swaraj* (Self-Rule) in the true sense of the term (instead of the term ‘decolonization’) and revitalize Indian Education System.

According to Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) English education could not serve the purpose of educating the masses in true sense of the term. Krishna Kumar elaborates the idea of Tagore in his book *Politics of Education in Colonial India*, “English education had denied the Indian child the opportunity to learn through the ‘natural’ medium of his own mother tongue. Knowledge acquired through a foreign language, Tagore argued, could never become an organic part of the learner’s personality. Indian students, he said, ‘never see in the right perspective the environment and the process of growth of those thoughts which they are compelled to learn.’ (Tagore, 1961a: 2018). This was one of the reasons, Tagore thought, European ideas failed to trigger the spirit of inquiry in the Indian mind” [8]. Therefore Tagore established Vishva Bharati at Santiniketan in West Bengal, India. This gave the students to learn in Bangla language, the regional language of the Bengalis which opened up the avenue of creative thought process in every student. It is old style of educating students in natural environment surrounded by nature’s elements. This is similar to ancient Vedic education that was imparted by teacher to students under a tree; the language was Sanskrit.

But M. K. Gandhi's (1869-1948) ideas were not so radical. He believed in self-supportive education system. According to him if education remains the realm of the elite class, then it would not serve its purpose. So let the lower caste and lower strata of society get education; and this can happen only when the vocational training is given to students, the handicraft is encouraged and schools remain self-sufficient, not depending on the state (on British government in those days) to sponsor them.

Gandhi insisted that education must be imparted in mother-tongue to the students of that region. He emphasized on character building rather than technical and scientific know-how in education. Gandhi said, “We hold that real education does not consist merely in acquainting oneself with ancient or modern books. It consists in the habits which one knowingly imbibes from the atmosphere, one's surroundings and the company one keeps and above all in work. It is all very well to acquire a stock of knowledge from good books or from other sources. But the more important thing is to learn humanity. The primary function of teachers is, therefore, not to teach the alphabet, but to inculcate humanity” [9] [From Gujarati] [Indian Opinion. 18-5-1907]. So Gandhi was quite avert to English medium education.

Jyotiba Phule (1827-1890) and his wife Savitribai Phule (1831-1897) were the first Indian couple to open school for girls. They were more into revitalizing Indian Education System. They were social reformers to eradicate caste system and untouchability. So Jyotiba Phule found the *Society for Seekers of Truth (Satyashodhak Samaj)*. According to him, education is must to females and lower caste people. For him, the upper caste *Brahmins* were privileged to have education; the lower castes and the Dalits (called untouchables in former times) were never given the opportunity. No doubt English education brought about the concept of equality but unfortunately it produced other ‘English qualified elite group’; which again did not incorporate the lower strata of Indian society. So Phule revitalized Indian education system by pioneering the girls’ and all castes school that provided

education to all irrespective of religion, caste, race or gender [10]. So also in the writings of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891-1956) one finds the same ideas reflected. ‘On 9th October 1920 Dr. Ambedkar stated in his Marathi (regional language of Maharashtra, India) Weekly, *Mooknayak (Mute Hero)* as follows: “When the six and a half crores of the Excluded classes society were to fill the knowledge-tank and when the tree of national unity were to grow healthy only then would the Indian nations fate come to rise.....Just as there is the norm treating men with one another in this nature even so is there a need of the education to improve that norm, to grow one’s knowledge and to earn one’s reputation” [11].

So there were masters who had their individual take on Indian education system. They were either radical with regard to decolonizing Indian education system; or were moderate with regard to the issue. But in both cases revitalization of Indian Education System was their contention. So we need to take the best of the past and should be vibrant enough to accept the best of contemporary times. This being the Indian ‘post-modern deconstruction’ of rigid and orthodox being replaced by progressive and invigorating policies; not giving up the old but ‘revitalizing’ the old in new scenario.

In conclusion, various academicians worked hard on setting the Indian Education System; though a bit variegated in their opinion; in certain aspects they were all same and that is: we do need to revitalize Indian Education System. Though the Western impact was undeniable; and knowledge seems to have no boundaries, still decolonizing was a requirement in a different sense. According to Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950), the great Indian spiritual Guru, philosopher, poet and nationalist, knowledge has no compartmentalization. One needs to incorporate knowledge of ancient Indian civilization and Indian culture in synthesis to modern epistemology and ontology; knowledge that is contemporary and ever growing; all brought together under the vistas of ‘academics’. This will make a complete package, not of the corporate world but of the realm of wisdom. According to Sri Aurobindo, “(Education brings out) to full advantage, makes ready for the full

purpose and scope of human life all that is in the individual man, and which at the same time helps him to enter his right relations with the life, mind and soul of the people to which he himself is a unit and his people or nation a living, a separate and yet inseparable member” [12].

Coming to Western interpretation of Indian art, religion and philosophy has often too nasty; as already what Macaulay said about Indian education, scripture and Sanskrit language writings. So also one finds in the writing of Hegel’s interpretation of Indian aesthetics and philosophy as being too crude, superstitious, unnatural and certain aversion to ancient Indian wisdom. But in the book *Hegel’s India*, the authors mention that though Hegel criticizes Indian aesthetics and religious philosophy, he did it with the rationalistic scale of Western epistemology. The quote goes, “With specific reference to Hegel’s “rather disrespectful language”, Herring’s (who criticized Hegel for his disrespectful remarks about Indian philosophy) remarks are quite true. But to suggest, therefore, that his (Hegel’s) reflections are “not very enlightening” is a touch hasty. For Hegel’s comments on India are extremely enlightening at least in respect to the nature, requirement, and self-understood standing of his own system” [13].

Today, therefore we require reanalyzing and reevaluating the whole of Indian Education System in its entirety; the ‘holistic’ view. If it is called ‘decolonization’, *swaraj* (Self Rule), nationalism or revitalizing Indian Education System, one has to take into consideration the ancient i.e. the Vedic era, the great universities at Nalanda and Taxila, the medieval era that saw revolutionary and rebelling movements and pre-British, during British and post-British era till date the master-minds to tried to built a system of education that is best for India. This paper was an attempt to think on the line of ‘revitalizing Indian Education System’ as India was, is and living in unity in diversity.

India is no doubt producing thousands of graduates every year, the industrial life-style in post-colonial India has imparted certain skilled based graduates; and the impact of colonial education had a lot to do with this. But contemporary

educationists doubt – are we imparting ‘education proper’ in the true sense of the term? Value based education has always been given priority in ancient Indian education system, but can we avoid the fast speeding globalized and corporate/industrialized skill based education system? Indeed we have to keep pace with the contemporary world; but we have to revive the old traditional education institutions that imparted knowledge of values, morality and ethical life style which will bring about peace and harmony in the society; where ‘small is beautiful’ can make an individual satisfied with one’s life; and that is the need of the hour. As Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) says, “Education is not the amount of information that is put into your brain and run riots there, undigested all your life. We must have life building, man making, character making assimilation of ideas” [14].

Dharampal (1922-2006), an Indian thinker, historian and political philosopher, who was highly inspired by M. K. Gandhi; his quote can sum up this paper, “What India had in the sphere of education two centuries ago and the factors which led to its decay and replacement are indeed a part of history. Even if the form could be brought back to life, in the context of today, or of the immediate future, many aspects of it may no longer be apposite. Yet what exists today has little relevance either. An understanding of that which existed and of the process which created the irrelevance India has today, in time, could however help devise what best suits India’s requirements and the ethos of its people” [15].

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“CHALLENGES OF POSTCOLONIALISM: PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, EDUCATION”
«ВИКЛИКИ ПОСТКОЛОНІАЛІЗМУ: ФІЛОСОФІЯ, РЕЛІГІЯ, ОСВІТА»

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THE CONDITION OF CONTEMPORARY POSTCOLONIAL UKRAINIAN CULTURE

An outstanding Ukrainian linguist and literary critic Yuri Shevelov in his essay “Moscow. Marosiejka” (published in 1954) indicated that the biggest problems of Ukraine are Moscow, “kochubeystvo” and “hutorianstvo”. There is an inseparable connection between these three phenomena. Generally, Moscow is a constructive element in this system that groups together the other two. Syndrome of “kochubeystvo”, in turn, relies on the complexity of the Ukrainian political, military and culture elite in solving intra-state problems. In this context, Moscow becomes an entity that is “invited” to the decision-making process. This is a direct reference to the Perejaslavskia’ Settlement between the Ukrainian Cossacks and Tsarist Russia in 1654. The particular interests of the Cossacks’ leadership, which

could not cope with the problem of the division of influence in the Ukrainian lands, contributed to the ongoing – obviously somewhat altered – involvement of Russia into Ukrainian affairs. The third of the aforementioned problems of Ukraine is “hutorianstvo”. It depends on the sense of inferiority and mediocrity of the Ukrainian nation in relation to others, especially considering the postcolonial context or defining it differently – post-Soviet – to the Russian people [5].

Despite the passage of several decades, the factors indicated by Yuri Shevelov are still valid and constitute a point of reference for the discussion on the condition of the modern Ukrainian state. They also constitute the platform of the postcolonial imperative to which modern Ukraine is subject. While discussing the postcolonial character of the Ukrainian state, its fundamental two aspects are worth pointing out. First of all, the prefix *post*, meaning a chronological sequence in the context of Ukraine, does not mean a definitively completed transition from one form of state to another. Secondly, in the case of Ukraine, we should be talking generally about the ongoing and still unfinished process of transition. The discourse on the existence of a sovereign Ukrainian state/nation is a platform for discussions of contemporary Ukrainian political and intellectual elites. It boils down to one of the constitutive elements of the existence of the state, namely – national culture.

In 1988, Ivan Dziuba – one of the leading Ukrainian intellectuals – published the article “Do we see Ukrainian culture as a comprehensive one?”, pointing to the lack of fullness of Ukrainian culture. He also referred to the fact that its structural incompleteness and dysfunctionality are a reflection of colonial status and the result of a repressive imperial policy whose main goal was assimilation and subordination of Ukrainian culture through the use of institutional and discursive means [3]. The implication of the theorems presented by Ivan Dziuba is a reference to the theoretical foundations centred around Antoni Gramsci’s reflections on cultural hegemony. Russia’s policy towards the Ukrainian state was an exemplification of the claims of this Italian Marxist. It came down to

the conclusion that gaining power and maintaining it is based on domination in the sphere of culture [6]. That is why the discussion about the condition of Ukrainian national culture is so important in the context of contemporary Ukraine.

Recalling the work of Yuri Szewelowa or Ivan Dziuba, taking into account the considerations of contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals, Oksana Zabuzhko whether Mykola Ryabchuk, it should be said that the Ukrainian culture in terms of social status has not become the culture of a sovereign nation for years of state independence. A culture that covers the whole of society and is based on cultural codes that are understandable for the majority, which is not only communicative but, above all, constructive, basis is the Ukrainian language. It results from the fact that the full functioning of culture depends on the full functioning of the language at all levels of social interaction, formal and informal [4]. In a situation when we talk about culture, language is the element that is present in both popular culture and “high” culture, therefore it should be a binder that unites the Ukrainian society. Despite the outlined perspective, in the popular culture as well as the “high” culture, different language codes are utilized. The discourse, which is presented to the majority of the society in the Ukrainian state, is based on a postcolonial narrative, which is absorbed by the nation without any reflections. On the other hand, Ukrainian “high” culture functions as a separate discourse that reaches a very small group of recipients because of heuristic and axiological limitations. In this context, the problem lies in the lack of communication and the lack of the factor connecting these two discourses. An imaginary buffer line has been formed that divides the intra-state process of shaping a common culture.

Wissarion Belinsky, in his works broadly discussing the question of Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation, indicated that the postcolonial character of the Ukrainian state, together with all its socio-political and cultural connotations, is the result of a specific Russification policy led by the tsarist and then Soviet administration in the occupied territories [1]. A completely different policy was carried out in Galicia by the Austrian governments, which posed obstacles to the process of shaping

Ukrainian culture. That is why today, while walking the streets of Lviv or Ivano-Frankivsk, we will mostly not hear the Russian language, as it is, for example, in Kiev or Odessa. Nevertheless, this situation is not straightforward, because in most Ukrainian cities, where Lviv and other cities in Western Ukraine are not an exception, you can hear Russian language and meet Russian culture. This phenomenon has shaped a euphemistic image that has been defined as “the paradox of Bilozir”. It involves an intra-social confrontation referring to language and cultural issues.

The postcolonial character of Ukrainian culture is in fact connected with deep, structural deformations of society, which are the result of prolonged staying under the dominance of Russian culture. Contemporary culture in the Ukrainian state has lost to symbolic capital, which was possessed by Russian culture. It was both quantitative and qualitative, manifesting itself at the functional and institutional level [2].

The full functioning of Ukrainian culture will be impossible without radical political and social changes with a comprehensive character. Nowadays, the Ukrainian intellectual elite should try to create a common ground for interaction with Ukrainian society, moving their considerations into the public domain. On this ground, a whole galaxy of prominent young artists of Ukrainian culture – writers, directors and actors – has been formed. It is important that this communication on the line society-culture-power should not be destroyed under the influence of external stimuli. Therefore, the achievements of culture should be appreciated and cultivated by allowing the whole society access to them and by introducing a common language code which will be accepted by all recipients.

The postcolonial character of the Ukrainian state, as it was mentioned at the beginning of this work, is a process that is heading in a certain direction. The basic task of the Ukrainian political and cultural elite is to jointly designate vectors that will lead the Ukrainian state out of the remains of the colonial syndrome. The aim is to get rid of the sense of inferiority and to break the “internal” colonialism of

thinking in terms of belonging to the Russian culture (along with the Russian language). The primary task of the whole Ukrainian society is the formation of their own cultural sphere along with its linguistic aspects.

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SRI AUROBINDO'S EDUCATIONAL 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 development of an individual. An educational system which did not help to inculcate nationalism is useless. A real educational system should be able to inject a sense of pride in the nation's history, culture and its ancestors. It is from this sense of pride that true nationalism begins to flourish. Even though we had a glorious past, still we could not impart this true sense of history to our new generation. The reason for this is that till date, we could not be able to Indianise the educational system. Nationalism is not just the love for a geographical entity rather it is the love for the millions residing in that nation. It is the love for the traditions of that nation.

Indian elite actually wants an ‘English India’. It feels natural to them; the so called Ultra modern feels more at home in English than in their mother tongue because of their education is in English medium. They feel superior to the masses, who don’t speak this so called ‘world language’. Without being spelt out, the fact is that those fluent in English with the right accent form the topmost class in Indian society. This fact does not prevent many of them from castigating the upper class as those who unfairly ‘oppress’ others who does not speak English language. However, at present a churning takes place that shakes this privileged position. There is certain revival of an Indian identity, and tradition and language are major aspects of it.

The colonialism had an internal psychological construct and paid less attention to the externally superimposed domination of the foreign power. This domination will collapse once the people aroused from the chains of the slavery of colonials. 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. It is essential to review the educational policies under the British rule to understand the present and visualize the future. Development of education system during the British period was determined by the needs of the colonial powers. If we analyze the development during British period, we will find that the colonial interests has always shaped the then educational policies of India.

To strengthen their political dominance Britishers implemented a parallel imperialism in the intellectual and cultural domains of India. To overrule imperialistic design of every aspect of Indian culture, national education became the aim of the nationalists to acquire an intellectual and cultural autonomy along with political freedom. Thus, this problem needs thorough investigation with proper solution.

Sri Aurobindo says, patriotism is the pure love and devotion for the motherland. He dreamed of a nationalism which moved towards universal humanism. He believed that the educational system should be capable of infusing nationalism among the new generation. It is for this that he put forward the concept of national education. For him national education is indigenous (*swadesi*) education. He knew that for the growth of patriotism a *swadesi* concept is inevitable. The aim of education should not be confined to a means of livelihood. Instead it should lead to the total development of one’s personality and make one a complete person. The educational system evolved by the nationalist leadership as part of the freedom struggle was the blueprint for the future.

Education was the pursuit of knowledge rather than the pursuit of jobs. Contemporary education system serves to popularize the culture of consumerism. This leads the society unavoidably to a situation of cut-throat competition. The reason for the present societal restlessness can be traced to this philosophy of ‘the survival of the fittest’. Sri Aurobindo agrees to this observation and states that, our goal is not mechanical – it is spiritual and based on the concept of ‘dharma’ (righteousness); our target is not the establishment of new system of government but the reconstruction of the entire nation.

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UNHAPPINESS IN UKRAINE AS COLONIAL LEGACY

1. One of the postcolonial syndrome’s manifestations in Ukraine is lack of psychological happiness among the majority of Ukrainians. Despite all the evident achievements of the post-Maidan period, which have expanded the zone of the individual freedom, Ukrainians’ world perception remains quite dim, negative and pessimistic. The establishment of a visa-free zone between

Ukraine and the EU, autocephaly of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, a stronger army, an improved business environment have not managed to solve the task of convincing Ukrainians that not everything is lost yet, that the country is going along the path of development as a sovereign national state. Thus, according to the Doing Business 2019¹ ranking, which is annually conducted by the World Bank, Ukraine now ranks 71st among 190 countries, having moved 5 positions up. It is worth mentioning that back in 2012 Ukraine ranked 152nd. If truth be told, Ukraine’s performance is way lower than that of Russia and Belarus. However, it reveals the tendency of the emergence of simplified requirements for doing business in Ukraine, not the other way around. Out of 10 indices standing for Ukraine’s ranking, 8 show signs of improvement, with the average wage of Ukrainians being estimated as lower middle income. It is hence irresponsible to speak of “impoverishment”, “genocide” and “experiments conducted on the people”². Nevertheless, it is the political rhetoric that creates the atmosphere of despair and disappointment, ruling the Ukrainian civil discourse.

2. The outcome of the recent presidential election displays the signs of the Ukrainian society’s anomie (Émile Durkheim), when the vast majority of voters chose a dream (fantasy) over an idea. Anomie is defined as a state of society lacking in constant norms and rules that would regulate the behaviour of individuals, it is though filled with vacuum of values and norms, with old norms no longer working and new ones not being born yet. Normally, the concept of anomie is used in the context of transitive countries. However, a lingering and unstable character of Ukraine’s transitive period points to its postcolonial nature. The latter means that the Ukrainian society has not come

¹See <http://www.doingbusiness.org/en/data/exploreeconomies/ukraine>

² See Y. Tymoshenko’s statements from her electoral campaign “New course for Ukraine” See <https://vezha.vn.ua/zubozhinnya-obtyazhene-eksperymentamy-nad-narodom-tezy-tymoshenko-u-vinnytsi/>

up with its own idea³ yet. The process of finding one is hampered by: 1) cultivation of the inferiority complex (preservation of the “khokhol”⁴ identity, not of that of the Ukrainian; by imposing an image of Ukraine as of a rural and underdeveloped country); 2) dominance of the “black-and-white” view of the world in its radical form “friend-or-foe” (standing up for traditional values⁵, conservatism, radicalism); 3) «Afro-pessimism» (Frantz Fanon), implying that along with the process of renunciation, refusal, distancing and abjection of traumatic outcome of historical wounds inflicted by colonialism/totalitarianism, a destruction of modern social and political institutions is taking place; 4) a deep distrust of authorities and their institutions⁶; 5) the state’s inability to maintain its existence, thus acknowledgement of the country being governed by external forces (Ukraine as failed state or a “pornographic actress”⁷); 6) the absence of an own church as of a social, idea-driven, standard and institutional experience (Ukrainian autocephaly as an illicit and non-canonical institution, Tomos as “thermos”⁸ (the Ukrainian for a vacuum flask); 7) supremacy of paternalism (with the state or the ruler acting as a “father”, its citizens being

³ “The most important ideological value is Ukraine” (Lukyanenko L. From the khokhol to the Ukrainian: reflections / Levko Lukyanenko – K., 2018, p. 6).

⁴ “Khokhol – the assimilated part of an ethnos that has lost its mother tongue, customs, culture and spiritual dimension” (Dictionary of the Moscow patois of the Russian language, V. Dal).
V. Zelensky: "We live a superb life, we are khokhols. Khokhols were so lucky to have the prince Volodymyr the Great bring Christianity to Kievan Rus'. What would have become of them had he brought Islam instead? Can you imagine a khokhol refusing voluntarily to eat cured pork fat?" See <https://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/zyavilosya-video-yak-zelenskijhohol-prinizhuyetsya-pered-rosiyanami/887445>

⁵ The failure of Ukraine’s parliament to ratify the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence based on warnings voiced by the Council of Churches and religious organizations regarding popularization “in Ukrainian schools and universities of new “gender roles” and same-sex relationships”.

⁶ The results of social researches conducted in 2018 in regard to the level of trust of ordinary Ukrainians in state and social institutions attest to their inclinations toward “a dark vision”. The findings of the research revealed a remarkably low level of trust in the very institutions that play a crucial role in Ukrainian statehood – presidency, government, parliament, courts: 13.8% of respondents trust Ukraine’s President, 80,6% of them don’t; the respective figures for the government are – 13.7% and 80.7% , for the parliament – 10,3% and 85.6%, for the National Bank of Ukraine – 14.1% and 76.2%, for the Supreme Court – 10.6% and 75.%. 8.6% of respondents put trust in state employees, whereas 85.3% of them don’t.

⁷ Zelensky’s mocking authorities in Ukraine <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6peyoMKanxc>

⁸ Zelensky’s ridiculing the independence of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6peyoMKanxc>

“children”⁹) and 8) populism (political rhetoric is aimed not at the development of state, but rather at catering to materialistic values of the masses of people as well as counterposing the interests of those very people to the elites known as “oligarchs”).

3. Little wonder, Ukraine ranks 133rd among other 156 countries in the international rating of “happy” countries, which is traditionally drawn up by a group of scientists commissioned by the UNO¹⁰. According to their report, “Among the 20 largest losers, all of which show ladder reductions exceeding about 0.5 points, seven are in the Middle East and North Africa, six in Sub-Saharan Africa, three in Western Europe, with the remaining significant losers being Venezuela, India, Malaysia and Ukraine». Among the European countries Ukraine has turned out to be the most unhappy one.
4. The prevailing in the Ukrainian society climate of pessimism and distrust creates fertile soil for various political shenanigans that threaten Ukrainian statehood and revival of its neocolonial status.

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CLIENT-STATES AS A DIGRESSION OF POST-COLONIAL TRAJECTORY OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION: CASE-STUDY OF UKRAINE HALF-INDEPENDENCE

All client-states have similar situation, similar problems and similar history of their lost of independence and own geopolitical subjectivity. But the way out of this weakness could be very different. Modern Ukraine could be a classic case of such situation.

⁹ N. Gogol on Ukrainians’ paternalism: «Zaporozhian Cossacks bowed down to his knees. “Is everyone here?” – he asked in a long drawn-out manner, pronouncing the words a bit through his nose. “Everyone’s here, father!” – the Cossacks replied, bowing once again. “Will you not forget to speak the way I taught you?” “No, father, we won’t”. (N. Gogol – The Night Before Christmas).

¹⁰ See <https://s3.amazonaws.com/happiness-report/2019/WHR19.pdf>

Samuel Huntington proposed the conception of “democratic transition” from totalitarianism to democracy through the authoritarianism – the slow and complicated process of institutional changes without open violence [4]. Now post-totalitarian Ukraine is still not perfect democracy, but it is not the authoritarian country too. It seems Ukraine occurs in the vicious circle of client addiction from strong and expansive neighbor – Russia. In his famous work “The Clash of Civilizations” Huntington also classified Ukraine as “a classic case of a date divided by civilizational conflict” [3]. He meant the conflict between Orthodox Russia and Catholic Western Europe. Ukrainian historian from Kyiv’s branch of Ukrainian Catholic University Yaroslav Hrytsak criticized this suggestion, although many experts both inside Ukraine and outside of it have accepted it [2]. But now Western Europe is not so Catholic and Russia seems to be more pragmatic and military than spiritual and religious. Ukraine citizens look more consumers of western goods than passionate supporters of western democracy. It makes new and different situation of geopolitical choice for Ukraine and unclear perspectives for democracy in Ukraine.

On a way to the democracy from soviet totalitarianism Ukrainian society faces the threat of new addiction from its former metropolis – Russia. This addiction is similar to the colonial dependence, but without direct responsibility of Russia for the economic, political, cultural oppression of Ukrainian society. Now it looks like Ukraine as country takes all forms of Russian cargo on its own accord. But this cargo of already prepared decisions in all important spheres – political, military, economic, cultural – is not occasional: all of this decisions are precisely calculated in Russian analytical centers and in strategic Russian interests. It looks like loan proposition from a bank to its naïve client – proposition with big evident benefit, but with huge hidden final financial losses for a client, up to the collapse of all client projects.

So, now it becomes obvious that Russia had worked out such a plan for Ukraine in the early 1990 and for a more than 20 years this plan was been

subsequently implementing. It included low gas prices for Ukraine in exchange for a favorable climate for Russian business, Russian mass-culture products, Russian media products, especially information products (TV, cinema, printed mass media etc). In military issues this plan provided the idea of transparent state border between Ukraine and Russia, patronage of the Russian Army to fulfill the combat tasks of the Ukrainian Army – as it possible, so Ukrainian Army appears to be redundant and unnecessary. This plan is successful but it is not still entirely fulfilled.

For the counteraction to this plan Ukraine should seek and find its own plan of democratic transition and this Ukrainian plan should consist of new, proper Ukrainian, not Soviet or post-Soviet strategy of political, economic and cultural modernization. Only such modernization could be adequate answer for a challenge of post-colonialism [1]. It is challenge for the Ukrainian intellectuals, not for their foreign advisers – because it will be advisers of new Metropolis – does not matter Russian, American or European.

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UKRAINIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AS A TOOL OF DECOLONISATION

The rhizome of hybrid war spread into all the spheres of social life including the humanitarian one. According to the statements of UNESCO Constitution, “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed”. The current postcolonial situation of Ukraine demonstrates the unexposed potential of higher education at the processes of society development on the principles of peace. Taking into account, that Conference is aimed the discussion of theoretical and practical issues of overcoming of postcolonial challenges, author wants to share the specific features of project-based research in this field (currently delivered at National Pedagogical Dragomanov University).

National Pedagogical Dragomanov delivers the project “Ukrainian Higher Education as an Instrument of Peace-building Strategy” (2019-2021, financed by Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, project manager – Denys Svyrydenko). This project continues the series of researches published by the current project team [1-2; 4-6; 8-11]. The project aims to formulate the theoretical statements as well as step-by-step plane (roadmap) for implementation of new peace-building model through the education policy. The problem of educational peace-building is a matter of international academic discussion, but all the offered effective strategies are culturally defined, so none of them can be successfully used for current Ukrainian contexts without ‘localization’ procedure [3; 7].

As a project result, the changes of Ukrainian legal enactments must be developed as well as the training program for higher education institutions. Mentioned approach in not only a practically oriented attempt to overcome the contradictions of Ukrainian higher education modernization at globalization era.

The project also fits the principle “Science with a mission” declared as a value horizon of European researches in the scopes of Horizon Europe Strategy which appears to replace Horizon-2020. From author’s perspective, one of the most actual aims of contemporary Ukrainian higher education is a strengthening of one’s potential at peace-building activity taking into account contemporary and future postcolonial challenges for territorial unity of Ukraine (smoldering conflicts at Transcarpathia, Odessa regions and so on).

Using postcolonial theory and hybridity one, project should propose new research instruments for understanding of historical and political analysis of Ukrainian and international experience of peace-building through higher education. The project participants aim to develop the ways of adaptation of effective foreign models of educational peace-building at contemporary Ukrainian cultural situation formulating the practical steps for ones’ implementation. Project participants understand that peace-building through higher education could be actualized now only by realization of tolerance and pacification principles at social practice, but also by development of students’ critical thinking level as a propaganda prevention tool. Ukrainian higher education should help student to interpret cultural and political situation at contemporary global world at the context of learning of the basic courses (Political Studies, History, etc.).

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POST-COLONIALISM AND RELIGION: UKRAINIAN CASE

If colonialism is understood as the state (and its apology) of the total dependence of a certain part of society, community, territory, sphere of activity from the metropolis – from the rest of society, community, territory, etc., then the current situation in religious life of Ukraine can be read as post-colonial. It manifests itself in different denominations and at different levels.

Thus, the Orthodox world of Ukraine still has not freed itself from dependence on a foreign center – Moscow. And this applies not only to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Moscow Patriarchate (UOC), which has 12.5 thousand parishes among nearly 37 thousand religious organizations registered in Ukraine on January 1, 2019. This church retains its jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church as their Statutes their policies testify. Russian Patriarch Kirill and Russian President Putin directly call the UOC “Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine”. And there are all objective reasons for this: the UOC clergy learned and

received all their church statuses mainly in Moscow. They still keep ties with their co-believers in Russia as former students of theological educational institutions, as monks who have received tonsure in monasteries, as former and current employees of dioceses, consistories, magazines, sites, and other structures of the Russian Orthodox Church. But the main problem of the UOC's dependence from Moscow lies in the brains of its believers who over 300 years since 1686 have been persuaded of their second-rate status, inadequacy, irregularity, and inferiority. They consider Moscow as the center of their homeland, heard the only Patriarch Kirill, remember him, and only him, in their prayers, waiting for the return of the Soviet Union and nostalgic for Soviet rule.

Standing on the idea of separating the Ukrainian church from Moscow and the Russian Orthodox Church the UOC-Kyiv Patriarchate, did not complete the process of self-determination, because all the time it was dreaming to become like the UOC-MP. UOC-Kyiv Patriarchate directs to reproduce, but in the new cover (“obgortka”) and under another name the old models of the church, which are rigidly hierarchical, vertically subordinated, totally controlled by the first hierarch, at best, the lifelong chosen synod. The Tomos about an independent, autocephalous status does not mean that the church can become not like MP. Deeply rooted stereotypes in the minds of the Kyiv Patriarchate believers from the Communist time but somewhat corrected by the idea of political and state independence of Ukraine, did not touch on the essence of religious and church activities. Parish life, as a rule, flows through centuries on a rolled road, relies on the implementation of ceremonies and the celebration of Christmas and Easter. The sphere of conscientiousness remains an unpopular field: the vast majority of parishioners did and do not know the prayers, and did and do not know the essence of Christianity, did and do not live according to the commandments of love. The process of abandoning the usual model of Orthodox life, in fact, its reorganization began with the desire for reform in Orthodoxy, from the bottom of the initiative by ordinary believers, parish priests who deliberately went to protest against the

autocratic power of the high priests, to autonomize their subordination with existing church structures, on the formation of primitive Christian relations in the community, not formal but interpersonal, on the return of the spirit of Christ to the church as a community of co-believers. There are many creative initiatives that show a conscious attitude to the quality of their faith and their lives (summer camps, festivals, internet sites, poetry, musical projects, social programs, etc.).

The Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church (UAOC) for a long time sought for itself a crust, not freeing from the post-totalitarian desire to belong to someone, to subjugate someone, to go to someone. That is why certain structures of the UAOC declared their Eucharistic unity with the American, Canadian, or Constantinople church. Now, having agreed to the combined union in the Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU) under the Omophor of the Constantinople Patriarch, they did not get rid of (at the regional level) anarchism, tyranny as a reaction to colonialism and totalitarianism. A decent answer to these negative phenomena can be only the complete identification, getting the true Orthodox identity, which we understand as a self-awaring belonging to a certain tradition, as self-identity.

The Orthodox Church, which is formed as a result of the association of the pre-existing three branches of Orthodoxy and on the basis of Tomos, potentially has the status of an institution independent of the political past. OCU consists predominantly of young people born in an independent Ukraine and who know about totalitarianism from history textbooks and memories of their relatives. But genetically, this structure carries the danger of reproducing the totalitarian principles of the church manage, building relationships within it on the ideas of totalitarianism. But the desire for change and the creation of a new church type, the church of the 21st century, which corresponds to the modern challenges and needs of a modern believer, is quite high, intellectual and volitional aspirations in the church are extremely powerful, the creativity of consciously joined (from the UOC-MP, UOC KP, UAOC) is overwhelming, since they are almost the most

interested in a new, built on the evangelical values of the church, which they failed to implement in their churches.

The least exposed to the influences of external totalitarianism were Greek Catholics who only suffered from the power of various empires (Polish, Austro-Hungarian, Soviet). Therefore, they are treasured and everywhere cultivate democratic (council) the chapters of the church, the non-totalitarian methods of life. Although there is a certain fate of a conscious historical dependence on Rome, it fights the aspirations of the Greek Catholics to the patriarchate of the UGCC, leveling the status of the current head of the church Svyatoslav Shevchuk with other Cardinals of the Rome Catholic Church and the rights of the leaders of the Catholic churches of the Eastern rite (22 such, including 5 patriarchates).

A special story the Protestants have in their identification process and the departure from totalitarianism. In the time of the totalitarian regime of the USSR, they were traced to Greek Catholics, but unlike the latter, they were not banned through the re-subordination of the Russian Church (1946). But they also were controlled and repressed by the powers. Protestants survived due to internal consolidation in opposition to communist terror. They mass suffered terribly, many of them sat in Soviet camps, in settlements outside Ukraine, went abroad. But this anti-regime and anti-atheistic consolidation took place within the USSR, in the form of unified all-Union structures. Therefore, the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, within which the Ukrainian Protestant churches were to self-identify, was perceived by many as a tragedy. The Baptists, the Adventists still maintain unity with their Russian centers, creating various Eurasian institutions. It is difficult for the Protestants to break the link between believers of the former Soviet Union for decades, established and fortified by a tragic joint history. Many older people still consider themselves a Soviet citizen as a citizen of the Soviet Union.

Other believers – Buddhists, Jews, Muslims are also experiencing complex and ambiguous processes of self-determination, fighting the consequences of their

dependence on the Russian Empire and its successor to the USSR and the Russian Federation. Post-colonialism manifests itself in a disloyal attitude toward the Ukrainian state, an orientation towards Moscow and Russian religious structures, a pilgrimage to Russian religious centers, and agreement and decision-making after consultations with Russian religious offices. But gradually there is their reorientation towards non-Russian religious centers, in particular Jews have direct connection to Israel or the United States, Muslims communicate directly with Turkey or Saudi Arabia, even with Iran and Iraq. Buddhists are “friends” not only with Buryatia, but also Japan, China, Korea. Gradually, the Moscow offices as centers of the Eastern European representation of many organizations are transferred to Kyiv, as the leaders of these organizations see the danger of their stay in a totalitarian and autocratic Russia, which has intensified persecution of its citizens on a religious basis. And this applies not only to the newest religious organizations, but also to some historical churches (Old Believers, Autonomous Orthodox Church, Greek Catholics, Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc.).

Is there a danger of the retaliation of totalitarianism in Ukraine, and hence the return of Ukraine to the colonial state of its religious sphere, as well as all others? Yes, but this is the subject of another report.

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THE STATUS OF CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-COLONIAL DISCOURSE IN UKRAINE

1. In 2018-2019, under the administration of President Petro Poroshenko, the post-colonial discourse in Ukraine has been an important (if not the key) component of the official authorities’ political philosophy and theoretical argumentation for their policies within the cultural sphere. It contained two major

elements: (a) radical anti-communism and (b) a hard stance against Russian imperial heritage and Russian language.

These political positions were not part of the initial programme proposed by Petro Poroshenko in 2014 when he was elected to the presidency, and later were gradually formulated and sharpening during his stay in power, due to the post-revolutionary peculiarities of internal political life, the volatile constellations of political alliances and the geo-political situation that has ensnared Ukraine.

The stress on the post-colonial and anti-colonial discourse and the corresponding legislative and administrative practices have created a clear gap between (a) the revolutionary State (the State of a transitional type) policies and (b) the European legislation protecting cultural and religious rights, as well as standard democratic pluralistic norms contained in Ukraine’s current legislative framework.

2. An attempt to marginalise the allegedly “colonial” Russian language (and thus limiting cultural rights of Russian-speaking and bilingual Russian-Ukrainian communities) in Ukraine was embodied in two major relevant laws (and in a number of by-laws and other regulations): “The Law of Ukraine on Education” (especially its Article 7) [1], and the “Law of Ukraine on the protection of functioning of Ukrainian language as the State language” [2].

Although the content of these legislative acts is in sharp contradiction to Articles 10 and 22 of the 1996 Constitution of Ukraine [3], they have a clear revolutionary legitimation for quite large strata of Ukrainian citizens, due to the anti-colonial logic, well known from the history of a number of contemporary African and Eurasian countries.

From “purely” theoretical positions, such legislation and such policies in general are aimed at changing the cultural identity and the type of the State (see: [4]): replacing (a) the State supporting a multilingual society by (b) the State promoting monolingualism (or in other terminology: unilingualism or monoglottism).

3. In 2018-2019, the unofficial presidential slogan “Finally, good-bye for ever” (for the Russian Empire, the Russian Federation and the Russian Orthodox Church) was combined with Petro Poroshenko’s pre-election and election campaign’s official Triade: “Army, Language, Faith”. In fact, the term “faith” in this context meant only “religious communities’ institutional design”, not the religion. President Petro Poroshenko (2014-2019) finalised policies initiated by President Viktor Yushchenko (2005-2010) and managed to provide strong elements of canonical legitimation to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Kyiv Patriarchate by allying it (and some smaller Ukrainian Orthodox churches) to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (in Istanbul, Turkey) through “*Tomos*” from Constantinople. (A “*tomos*” in Eastern Orthodox Church is a decree of the head of a particular Orthodox church on certain matters, such as the level of dependence of an autonomous church from its “mother church” [5, p. 173]). It was a very strong supportive step for the national-patriotic (anti-Russian) segments of Ukrainian society.

Meanwhile, there was another aspect and component in these “post-colonial” policies in the sphere of religious organisations’ activities in Ukraine – pressure on that part of Ukrainian Orthodox community which stays in a close spiritual and institutional communion with the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate). Various kinds of political pressure were taken towards this religious community in Ukraine, including passing (and start implementing) the laws which names are quite self-evident: “The Law of Ukraine On Amendments to Article 12 of the Law of Ukraine "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations" regarding the names of religious organizations (associations) that are part of a religious organization (association), the governing centre of which is located outside Ukraine in a state that is recognized by law as having carried out military aggression against Ukraine and / or temporarily occupied part of the territory of Ukraine” [6], and “The Law of Ukraine on Amendments to some Laws of Ukraine

on the Subordination of religious organizations and the procedure for State registration of religious organizations with the status of a legal entity” [7].

4. Ambiguous and controversial results and the further complex repercussions of all these political actions undertaken within the post-colonial and anti-colonial logic are not yet entirely clear. In particular, there are some signs of serious discrepancies within the newly created Ukrainian Orthodox Church structure allied to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (see: [8; 9]).

Still topical are the sage thoughts expressed by Henry Kissinger as to the Ukraine’s preferable “balancing” role as a “bridge” between the West and the East, but not as a peripheral part of each of them [10]. Prudence as to choosing particular arguments from a post-colonial discourse is especially important in the present time when geo-political conflicts around Ukraine are combined with a strong and unpredictable logic of a fierce internal political fight among the US elites with some story lines directly related to Ukraine (accusations of involvement of the part of Ukrainian administrative and political elites in the 2016 US elections on the side of “Hillary Clinton – George Soros” forces) [11].

After the 21st of April 2019, when comedian Volodymyr Zelensky won the presidency by landslide [12] with the final result of 73.22% of the votes to Petro Poroshenko’s 24.45% [13], there are hopes that any ideologically biased experiments would be limited and there would be more room for political and cultural pluralism. Ukraine needs peace and national reconciliation, not exacerbation of inter-cultural and inter-regional confrontation. Ukrainian citizens are looking forward for the realistic policy of country’s reintegration and efficient decentralisation, as well as for the re-establishment of fair and solid relations with all of the neighbouring nations.

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TRANSCULTURAL IDENTITY: UKRAINIAN HIGHER EDUCATION STRATEGY AS A TOOL FOR PEACEBUILDING

In the scientific dictionaries of the XXI century, the notion of globalization, which universally explains the totality of integration transformations in various spheres of social life, has become quite commonplace [1]. The word came to its forefront 35 years ago, in the early 80s of the twentieth century in England, and has long been used throughout the world and has many analogues in many languages. More and more countries are getting involved in the world globalization structure. It is the one that stimulates and shapes the social and cultural reflection of the world scale, reviving and updating the idea of unity and interdependence of mankind [2; 3]. At first glance, the world has always been integrated, but the awareness of this unity was not so broad. In the whole stream of these metamorphoses there is Ukrainian identity too [5]. Our country occupies an intermediate geopolitical position between the West and the East, therefore, such processes can not go unnoticed for it [3; 4].

An additional circumstance that forces us to address the problem of intercultural identity is the hybrid war between Russia and Ukraine [6]. 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.

It is not a secret, that nowadays there are a lot of conflict societies which suffer because of violence. According to the information of United States Institute of Peace, two years ago 36 military conflicts had been existed in 28 countries of the world. Unfortunately, in this case Ukraine is not an exception [7; 8; 9]. Ukrainian society also has such problem with conflict solution and affirmation of “positive peace” (J. Galtung). Ukraine faces a difficult challenge which involved preserving the integrity of its own nation and territory, as well as fighting an external aggressor with support of European states [10]. The role of higher education is significantly underestimated in this process. This idea is discovered in investigation of different European scientist like C. McGlynn, M. Zembylas, I.F. Pacheco and few others.

The strategy of Ukrainian higher education should combine two aspects: comprehensive bringing up on the basis of ideas of patriotism and formation a progressive model of European citizen for new generations of Ukrainians. The first point will help to save our national identity and fight with external aggression of Russian Federation. The second one will contribute development of Ukraine

according to European democratic values. The main obstacle in this process is the lack of a common vision of the country's development. Naturally, teachers of higher educational institutions will not be able to solve this problem in one day. Nevertheless, their role is key in the perspective of the development of social harmony in Ukrainian society through the reform and implementation of higher education in the spirit of peace. So, teachers should be primarily an agent of the peace in Ukrainian conflict society.

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**RESEARCH ON UKRAINIAN SOVIET PHILOSOPHY
AS ONE OF THE FACTORS TO OVERCOMING OF
POSTCOLONIALISM**

Soviet philosophy in Ukraine is a rather ambiguous phenomenon for research in the history of Russian thought. On the one hand, virtually all the works were ideologically biased, but, on the other hand, to say that philosophical thought, its development as such was not at least unreasonable.

This is due to the fact that during this period in the history of Ukrainian philosophy there were mainly two vectors of scientific research. One of them is works that were published solely for the purpose of propaganda of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, as well as criticizing Western philosophical schools, and in other works Ukrainian Soviet thinkers tried to make a clearly innovative character and such that it has a clear theoretical goal not to fulfill the authorities assignments, but for the development of philosophical thought in Ukraine.

As an example of the first, we can recall the fact that in the 1950s and 1960s, research publications in which well-known Ukrainian cultural figures were presented as forerunners of Marxist-Leninist philosophy were especially popular. Among them are such as T. Shevchenko, L. Ukrainka, I. Franko, P. Grabovsky, I. Kotlyarevsky and others. In studies of this kind, the Soviet government clearly tried to show supremacy over the Ukrainian territories. Ukrainian poets, writers were presented as “revolutionary democrats”, their beliefs were considered from the point of view of the dominant ideology.

This kind of philosophical studies was one of the aspects of the cultural colonization of Soviet power on the territory of Ukraine. With the help of research about prominent compatriots, the Soviet government sought to present them in

such a way that it was clear to both fellow scientists-philosophers and the average man that Marxist-Leninist philosophy was truly the only true one.

At the same time, talking of another vector of philosophical studies of this period, we should emphasize that there were thinkers who tried to fight against the imposition of what is the only correct philosophical system. Some of them were shot, repressed, while others tried using the principles of the dominant ideology to the minimum extent possible to write and publish original works

So, based on this, in the context of the Ukrainian Soviet philosophy, one can speak of two phenomena – the “school of logic of scientific knowledge” and the “anthropological turn”. Consequently, such thinkers as P. Kopnin, V. Shynkaruk, M. Popovych, S. Krymskyi, V. Tabachkovskyi, P. Jolon and others, although adhered to the de jure of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, but de-facto they did not focus so much on the main philosophical questions of Soviet power (philosophical problems of natural history, philosophical personology), how many new, little studied areas of philosophical knowledge in the Soviet period - logic and philosophical anthropology.

Although we can note that even such phenomena as the “anthropological turn” in Ukrainian philosophy, were caused not only by the “Khrushchev thaw” and the publication of the book by P. Kopnin “Dialectics as Logic”. One of the key factors was the holding of the 10th World Philosophical Congress in Mexico in 1963, which resulted in a direct indication of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences about an increase in publications on philosophical anthropology.

However, it must be said that even such attempts to create a kind of original works also testified to the struggle of philosophers – Ukrainian intellectuals – against the ideology of Soviet power, the policy of colonialism.

Consequently, a serious, complex and maximum possible objective study of Ukrainian Soviet philosophy with all its difficulties and achievements will help to understand how the transformation of philosophical studios in Ukraine took place not only during the Soviet period, but also at the moment of transition to the postcolonial period, when our country gained independence.

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THE TRANSGRESSION OF CONTEMPORARY STRATEGIES OF COLONIALISM

The phenomenon of colonialism is interpreted in negative evaluative coordinates as archaic and illegitimate in contemporary humanitarian discourse. However, how correct would be the conclusion about the end of the era of colonization and the existence of only its consequences in modern socioculture?

To answer this question, it is necessary to analyze the content of European identity, its ideological and methodological foundations. The well-known historian F. Chabod [1] analyzes the content of the idea of Europe as a political association based on common values and ideological principles. Such an ideological basis was formed in the works of N. Machiavelli, Sh. L. Montesquieu, F. Voltaire, and others. Its meaning is to abandon the geographical understanding of the term of Europe in favor of the political, cultural and moral. It means that European identity is formed with unites people of different ethnic groups and cultural and religious traditions.

Note that this political strategy is a product of intellectual activity, namely, the Greek-Roman philosophy and law, the Judeo-Christian religion and the Enlightenment-humanistic philosophy. These cultural traditions contain legitimization of the axiological foundations of European identity. However, contemporary philosophical discourse subjects to crushing criticism the traditional narrative of the justification of identity. In contrast to the classical metaphysics of Aristotle, based on identity as a fundamental characteristic of Being, modern humanities produce the principles of pluralism and tolerance, the rejection of essentialism and centralization. In addition, according to the ideas of postmodernism, the definition of identity is not constant, but is based on the

principles of hybridity, fluidity and plasticity. Therefore, the ideas of cosmopolitanism as a conceptual scheme for the formation of European identity are replacing national identity determination strategies. The concept of cosmopolitanism is logically unambiguous. The range of its interpretation varies from the radical project of U. Beck [2], who sees in him the principle of the modern global empire, to a more consistent explanation of G. Delante [3], who understands cosmopolitanism as a fundamental multiplicity of initial practices of identity. Consequently, identity formation techniques retain signs of totalitarianism even in cosmopolitan concepts.

The totality of influence on self-determination lies in the fact that at the present stage of the development of society, identity does not take shape spontaneously, in line with the historical and cultural tradition, but institutionally by implementing a balanced and systematic strategy of the intellectual and political elite.

The problem of European identity causes a significant resonance among researchers and inhabitants of this process. This is due to legitimize the chosen strategy of political identity. The question is: how liberal (really, not nominally) is this strategy? The French philosopher M. Crepon substantiates the idea of the heterogeneity of European identity as a compilation of European and non-European ideas and values. In his opinion, the process of the formation of Europe is fundamentally diversified, that is, the values on which the European identity is based arose not autonomously, but under the influence of other cultures and civilizations. This process of interaction cannot be conserved, the clash of meanings, symbolic and semiotic systems continues. Therefore, M. Crepon considers it necessary to replace the strategy of appropriation (conversion of quality into property) to de-privatization (recognition of one's quality with the quality of another) and re-appropriation (recognition of his otherness with his quality and property).

Therefore, we can conclude that modern strategies of colonialism were transformed on the basis of a transgressive principle. The political will of introducing European identity blurs historical and national criteria for identification, and the methods of political influence acquire the features not of physical influence, but of a manipulative and informational character.

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THE PROBLEM OF SELF-ACTUALIZATION IN POSTCOLONIAL REALITY: CALLING AS A MOTIVATING FACTOR OF PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Self-actualization and identity is a problem not only for every person, but also for social groups and nation especially in the situation of Postcolonial reality. For Ukraine, as for the other former Soviet Republics, it is a matter of transformation from totalitarian organization to democratic civil state. At the days of collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 sociologists V. Bakshtanovskiy and U. Sogomonov foresaw that it would be a long time and that the mixed authoritarian and democratic system would appear [1]. That is exactly what we could have seen for the last 27 years.

Ukraine also has that heritage of passive, irresponsible mentality very well fit to the populist manipulations. One of the important things we need is a building of ability of self-fulfillment and of civil responsibility in people. This task corresponds with global concept of sustainable development. The Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on 25 September 2015 “Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” declares the aims of building “dynamic, sustainable, innovative and people-centered economies... to ensure that all human beings can fulfill their potential” [2]. This includes motivation for education and productive work, correspondence of personal aims with ethical and social values.

The significance of calling as a motivating factor in education, career development and social life proved by the latest researches. Our own research of the phenomenon of calling focused on teaching profession conducted in Ukraine in 2016 [3] showed that no less than 50% of student youth choose the professions according to their understanding of calling. For the other 20% it is desirable but not necessarily for calling to coincide with the profession. Either professional or beyond the profession calling comprises the idea of active and purposeful life. We define calling as a complex phenomenon of a purposeful life when personality is motivated to fulfill own desires and abilities in a dedicated work for self-actualization and for the benefit of other people, for the betterment of society or even for spiritual goals. In other words, calling is a unity of elements: passions – abilities – their practical implementation – the aim of good (personal, social or transcendent benefit). Social life and civil society are hardly possible without such a motivation in people.

Our approach is based on Aristotle’s concept of good. The founder of practical philosophy gave the understanding of human life as intended for realization of the individual purpose and common goodness in the society. In the modern philosophy the topic of calling presents the problems of identity and responsibility whereas the actual contemporary world is in the state of uncertainty

of individual identity, global perspectives, increasing of migration and unemployment, suicides and terrorism.

From the practical point we should reconsider the topic of professional calling. It was developed by Max Weber within his analyses of social and religious ethics, evolution of capitalism, political leadership and the role of a science in the society. Weber analyzed the process of secularization of calling from the initial religious tradition and its transition into the ethics of profession spread in the Western Europe and the USA. Now, a hundred years after Weber's researches, we can see that the idea of professional calling became widely understandable, at least in a Christian part of the world. Contemporary researches Miller and Evest insist that the idea of responsible leadership, practical abilities, pro-social orientation of a personality became a trend of Christian, in particular Protestant, understanding of calling [4].

In the domains of school and university calling of a student has to be the aim of the process of education and we have to discuss the expected virtues of the educators as well. Calling falls under the “virtue ethics”. The list of personal virtues corresponding to the experience of calling in education is following: open-mindedness, love to children, respect, sympathy, tolerance, objectiveness, honesty, fairness, insistency, responsibility. In our research we discuss the use of a calling factor in the professional evaluation of teachers along with ethical and practical conditions and limitations of that use.

To conclude, we posit that in the contemporary world more and more people need to find the ways of “full realization of their rights and capabilities” (UN Agenda 2030). The research of calling as a motivation for work, fulfillment and self-determination of a personality in the society responds to the global UN goals and follows the target of “to channel the people's infinite capacities for activism into the creation of a better world.” [2]. Along with social therapeutic effect, the study of the professional calling presents a significant interest to the contemporary social science, ethics, philosophy and pedagogy. Education is one of the most

relevant sphere of forming identity and realization of calling in a personality. As our research showed, the teacher’s mission is to bring youth to their callings. This is extremely important for the people and nations in the period of social transformation and instability.

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THE ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-COLONIAL FRAMEWORK OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

The problem of institutional support in the state policy of regulating inter-ethnic relations is an integral part of the activities of any nation-state that seeks to attain certain inter-ethnic equilibrium in the territory under its control. As R. Breton [1] duly notes in this context, depending on the level of institutional integration of the relevant ethno-cultural communities, one can speak of various manifestations of the institutional completeness of the respective communities, which is reflected in the nature of the relations of the latter with the respective state’s national authorities. That is why developing and implementing institutional mechanisms for nation-wide integration of various ethno-cultural communities may be considered as an important task of state policy in the field of interethnic relations.

In the context of the post-Soviet (in certain political and theoretical constructions – post-colonial) development of the Republic of Kazakhstan (from 1991 on), it may be justified to draw attention to the emergence of the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (which from 1995 till 2007 was called the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan) as a key institutional element for pursuing a purposeful policy of inter-ethnic integration around the idea of a unified Kazakhstan identity in the post-Soviet / post-colonial context. Established in 1995 on the basis of the relevant initiative of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. A. Nazarbayev, the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan (hereinafter referred to as the APK) from the very beginning has become the main advisory body in the field of inter-ethnic relations, and retains that status nowadays.

In this regard, it would be prudent to consider the issues of the institutional contribution of the APK to the development of a post-colonial consensus on the inter-ethnic relations in the modern Kazakhstan society. First of all, one has to emphasize that the creation of the APK took place because of the direct initiative of N. A. Nazarbayev, in whose opinion the activities of this body were to become one of the key elements of the post-1995 project for the establishment of a Kazakhstan political nation [2]. As stated by N. A. Nazarbayev, the rationale behind the APK's existence should be to develop a blueprint for the development of Kazakhstan's post-Soviet national identity, so that it would be possible both to preserve the cultural traditions of each ethnic group residing in Kazakhstan and to unite their efforts around a unitary model of political, economic and social development [3]. Thus, N. A. Nazarbayev have sketched out the main features of the political discourse the APK's activities which have been developing within since then.

As far as institutional and organizational issues may be concerned, the activities of the APK rest on a rather complex and extensive organizational structure. Ethno-cultural associations (ECO), presenting themselves as speakers of the interests of the relevant ethno-cultural communities, may be viewed as a

‘bedrock’ for the former structure. As of 2015, circa 8.9 million people would participate in some 30,000 events and initiatives that, according to the APK’s spokespeople, would have been launched and conducted by appropriate ECOs [4, p. 2]. In particular, such ECOs as the Coordination Council of the Association of Russian, Cossack, and Slavic Organizations of Kazakhstan, the Republican Ethnic Cultural Centre of Uighurs in Kazakhstan and the “Renaissance” Association of Germans in Kazakhstan [4, p. 2] may be mentioned here. The first of these structures would stake claim to representing the interests of citizens of Kazakhstan of East Slavic origin identifying themselves with the ‘Cossack’ cultural identity, as can be seen from perusing the official Web site of the Coordination Council [5]. At the same time, along with the organizations of the ‘Cossack’ affiliation, the Council also includes purely ethnicity-based bodies (for example, the RADZIMA North Kazakhstan Regional Belarusian Centre [5]). Organizations represented on the Council refrain from purely political measures and comments, generally declaring their commitment to national projects overseen by the APK.

In turn, regional APKs form important structural part of the APK at a higher organizational level. Their activities are more formalized than those of ECOs, being generally focused on the issues of inter-ethnic relations within the respective regions of Kazakhstan. As an example, one may refer to activities of the regional APK of Nur-Sultan / Astana, the capital’s status of that city having a corresponding effect on the specifics of its APK’s activities. For example, in 2014-2016, the regional APK of Astana held a series of scientific and practical conferences and round tables devoted to the issues of cultural development of various ethno-cultural communities of the Republic of Kazakhstan (including the Ukrainian one [6]). Relevant measures would be mainly focused on subjects related to memorable dates, for example, the celebration of national holidays of the respective states. At the same time, the regional APK of Astana has also repeatedly become an organizational forum for national events at the nation-wide APK’s level. For example, in September 2016, representatives of the city’s APK

participated in the expanded meeting of the Mediation Centre on Conflict Prevention and Resolution of the APK, a structural body responsible for mediation (mediatory) mechanisms development and inter-ethnic conflict prevention [7]. The APK’s attention to the local and the regional dimensions of this type of mediation can thus be regarded as a manifestation of awareness of the importance of involving the APK’s grassroots cadres in carrying out the organization’s generic tasks.

The highest level of the institutional hierarchy is formed by national bodies of the APK. The latter include, above all, the Parliamentary Group, the Scientific Expert Council, the APK Mediation Council, and the APK Journalists and Experts’ Club, as well as the Social Harmony Council, and the Mothers’ Council for the APK. Each of these structures has connections to the relevant state authorities of Kazakhstan, disposing of its own sphere of competence. In particular, the functions of the Deputy Group include advocating for the main priorities of the APK at the Majilis of the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan by promoting “the formation of the Kazakhstani patriotism and the Kazakhstani identity through the consolidation of ethnic groups in Kazakhstan on the basis of civic, spiritual and cultural affinity for the leading role of the Kazakh language and the culture of the Kazakh people” [8]. Accordingly, the priorities of the Deputy Group also includes “active participation in the development, implementation, and improvement of the state demographic and migration policy”, “preventing the politicization of the ethnic factor, as well as manifestations of extremism and radicalism in the society”, while ensuring and implementing the cooperation between the APK and key national bodies of the Republic of Kazakhstan [8]. Thus, this example shows an importance accorded to close communications between the APK and the highest state authorities of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

To conclude, one may see that the APK represents an attempt at institutionalizing a multi-cultural yet unified approach toward consolidating the citizen body of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the aftermath of the post-Soviet

process of decolonisation. In that sense, it may be assumed that the institutional dimension of Kazakhstan’s post-colonial ethnopolitics would reflect a deep concern for balancing ethnic diversity with national unity.

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MAHATMA GANDHI’S “SATYAGRAHA” THEORY AND PRACTICE OF NON-VIOLENT OVERCOMING OF COLONIALISM

The article describes the basic principles of overcoming colonialism in the doctrine of “Satyagraha” by Mahatma Gandhi. The main stages of formation of this unique non-violent approach to the problems of overcoming colonialism in the

conditions of Indian society in the first half of the 20th century are noted. It also discusses the practical implementation of programming adjustment “Satyagraha” in the complex socio-political context of India during the struggle for independence. A general assessment of the relevance of the non-violent approach of Mahatma Gandhi to the problems of overcoming external dependence in the modern Ukrainian socio-cultural context is given.

In modern conditions, the doctrine and practice of the outstanding leader, Indian philosopher, public and political figure Mahatma Gandhi seem to be quite relevant for interpretation and reflection in the academic community and expert community, in order to gain real economic, political and cultural independence in front of Ukrainian society. For the beginning, we should contemplate the actual content of the doctrine of the “Satyagraha” by M. Gandhi as a theoretical system and consistent socio-cultural and political practice that allowed India to become independent in 1947.

The whole doctrine of M. Gandhi is often identified with his central concept of “Satyagraha”. The meaning of this term is translated from Sanskrit as “standing in the truth”, “holding for the truth”, “persistence in the truth”. “Satyagraha” involves the rejection of violence and the willingness to endure suffering and pain, with the aim of moral and ethical impact on the enemy, appealing to his prudence and conscience [1; 2].

In addition, there are three basic principles of M. Gandhi’s doctrine: *swadeshi* (the closest translation is “domestic”, the movement for a boycott of foreign goods and self-sufficiency), *swaradj* (India’s gradual transition to self-government from Great Britain) and *ahimsa* (non-violence) [1; 2]. Thus, initially the theoretical system of M. Gandhi had a close connection with the moral, ethical and value categories of the spiritual tradition of ancient India (often generalized to the concept of “Hinduism”) [3; 4].

Conceptually the doctrine of M. Gandhi was formed in the early twentieth century. It is important to mention that the Russian writer and public figure

L. Tolstoy had a significant influence on M. Gandhi, who also put forward the concept of “not resisting evil by violence” as one of the main principles of his own teaching [5]. Thus, the doctrine and practices of M. Gandhi (who received basic legal education in the Great Britain) can be considered as a result of a unique dialogue of cultures both in India and abroad, and not just by the continuation of the Indian philosophical tradition itself.

Regarding the practical application of the concept of “Satyagraha”, the following should be noted. It is quite obvious that M. Gandhi’s application of his doctrine as a political programme, despite all the challenges and difficulties, proved to be an enormously efficient means in the struggle for the independence of India. It is a unique combination of “high” moral and ethical attitudes and practical, effective techniques (and unique political decisions that were adequate to the local socio-cultural conditions) that allowed M. Gandhi and his supporters to substantially weaken the colonial influence of the British Empire in India [6; 7].

In this vein, the traditional Indian spinning wheel “Charkha” became a symbol of the “Satyagraha” movement. It was this simple subject of local handicraft production that began to symbolize the mass refusal of followers of M. Gandhi to economically support the British colonial system and cooperate with the authorities. Instead, M. Gandhi called on all sectors of Indian society to return to self-reliance and traditional crafts in order to weaken the colonial system of British dominance. In addition, M. Gandhi practically managed to demonstrate the art of non-cooperation with the British authorities and ignoring the system of “colonial propaganda” [3; 6; 9].

As a result, all this also led to the formation of an independent state of India in 1947. However, these events took place in a very complex, dramatic and controversial socio-political context, both at the Indian subcontinent and at the global level. Despite M. Gandhi’s attempts to avoid large-scale bloodshed and casualties during the struggle for independence, the birth of a new India and the actual secession of Pakistan were accompanied by mass clashes and violence. It is

natural that, against this background, M. Gandhi’s teaching and political practice also provoked criticism from opponents both in India itself and, of course, in conservative circles in Great Britain and Europa [8; 9]. In addition, modern researchers of postcolonialism indicated that the “coloniality” itself in consciousness did not disappear immediately with a victory over colonialism, but continued for a long time to exist in one form or another in the public consciousness of a formally independent people [10]. In this vein, postcolonial studies have become a very characteristic phenomenon in the humanitarian sphere in India.

Summing up, we can assume that the political experience, cultural and philosophical heritage of M. Gandhi can become a very important source of answers to the modern challenges facing Ukrainian society in the process of its inevitable transformation.

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NATIONAL IDENTITY, ANTI-COLONIALISM, AND RACE: THE CASE OF EARLY IRISH NATIONALISM

The questions of identity still underpin the whole spectrum of social relations, quite independent of specific forms such social identity might assume. Nevertheless, throughout the modern era (from 1789 on), social identities proceeding from the interrelated but distinct notions / constructs of race and nation would often take the forefront. This may in turn be tied to the emergence of modernist political ideologies and movements striving to form their political strategy as well as the perspective on the world surrounding them in accordance with the aforementioned constructs of social identity. With this in mind, this conference paper seeks to consider the salience of the constructs of nation and race in the context of anti-colonial / national liberation struggle, with the 19th-century Ireland being chosen as a case study of the latter phenomenon [2, p. 101). Having selected Ireland as a subject of the present discussion has been motivated by the specificity of Irish nationalism as an exemplary movement from the vantage point of many other anti-colonial movements since then, as well as by the controversies inherent in constructing the notions of ‘Irish nation’ and even ‘Irish race’ on the part of the British [4, p. 17] – controversies that would be bound to repeat themselves in subsequent decades throughout the colonial worlds of all major European colonial powers.

The predilection for categorizing specific ethnic and/or cultural groups in accordance with the pre-conceived notions of racial and/or national identity would appear to have closely followed the politics of modernity since the era of the Enlightenment. When one considers the relevant observation by Immanuel Wallerstein, the constructs of race and nation may be conceived of as embodying

supposedly unchangeable and inborn traits of any human population in question, usually being complemented by behavioral and cultural features correlated with the ‘ethnic group’ construct [5, p. 77]. A key implication here is that race is generally presented as associated with certain heritable traits with their basis in the population’s genetic makeup, as opposed to the nation being conceived of as coterminous with unified political community the consciousness whereof is said to be shared by all individuals belonging to it. In practice, though, it would be difficult to find the respective constructs being separated by some impenetrable wall. According to E. J. Hobsbawm (see his magisterial discussion of the peculiarities of European nationalist movements in the late 19th century), the notion of ‘national’ (or ‘racial’) character as endemic to representatives of a given ‘nation’ or ‘race’ would have made these concepts and the related political claims largely interchangeable [2, p. 108]. Therefore, the constructs of nation race might have been partially interrelated while still competing with each other in the political imagination of modernity – a fact vividly demonstrated by Immanuel Wallerstein in the course of a controversial discussion regarding the so-called Coloured population of the South African Republic and the former’s national / racial identity in the late years of South Africa’s apartheid regime [5, p. 72-76].

Turning back to the issue of the origin of the idea of the Irish as representing a specific ‘nation’ and/or ‘race’, one might find it fruitful to refer to the contribution by Bruce Nelson with regard to the subject under consideration. Nelson would opine that it would have been the Cromwellian expedition against the Catholic Irish rebels in the context of the English Revolution and the Civil War of the 1640s that had paved the way to the rise of the idea of the Irish nationality as distinct from, and inimical to the English one [4, p. 23]. In that period and until the end of the 18th century the key sphere for contestation would be the religious one, with the Irish represented as despicable ‘Papists’ and the English celebrating themselves as defenders of a ‘true’ Protestantism. In contrast, in the 19th century, the perceived distinctions of the Irish as a cultural group would come to be viewed as

reflecting allegedly innate features of the Irish ‘racial’ character [4, p. 31]. More specifically, the Irish would be presented as laden with such ‘lowly’ and ‘base’ traits as sloth (in contrast to the Englishmen’s perceived industriousness), effeminacy, and generally passive and sentimental outlook. Such moral repudiation of those inborn vices of the Irish would then be used as a staple of political writing by various English authors seeking to undermine any argument in favour of the autonomy of Ireland, or even of any Gaelic cultural renewal [4, p. 31].

However, the rhetoric of the ‘Irish race’ would later be appropriated by the nascent Irish nationalism in its attempts to subvert the colonialist ideology imposed by the British Empire on its Irish subjects. In particular, Daniel O’Connell, one of the ‘founding fathers’ of Irish nationalism as a political movement would frequently refer to the notion of ‘Irish race’ in his political writings, actually viewing this term as being part and parcel of his political discourse [3, p. 58-81]. The idea of supposedly freedom-loving sons and daughters of Ireland rising against the British hegemony would thus be justified by the reference to a ‘scientific’ concept of race, while a wider idea of Gaelic identity as expressed via the construct of the ‘Celtic race’ was championed as well [3, p. 65]. It should be noted that for all their anti-English vigour, the majority of proponents of the idea of the Celtic / Irish race’, as distinct from the ‘English / Saxon stock’ were overwhelmingly of the Anglo-Irish backgrounds, largely being descendants of the Norman invaders of Ireland in the 12th century having intermarried with local Gaelic aristocracy [1, p. 216]. This curious fact might further confirm an artificiality of those romantic nationalists’ claims, while not leading one to question their sincerity.

Proceeding from the aforementioned, one could say that the notion of the ‘Irish race’ would be destined to become a core element of subsequent anti-colonial struggles of advocates of the independent Ireland in the early 20th century. While the proponents of Ireland’s continuing affiliation with the British Empire may have stressed the aforementioned negative stereotypes regarding the Irish’s

‘racial’ character, the independentist movement tended to emphasize the perceived common descent of the Irish as a ‘race’ as a key element behind their anti-English cause [6, p. 182]. Hence, even though the notion of the ‘Irish race’ was brought forward by British colonial masters to stigmatise the Irish population as supposedly ‘inferior’, the case of early Irish nationalism might show how a seemingly discriminatory and essentialist ideological stance may be appropriated by a national liberation movement in the context of anti-colonial struggle.

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