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*Геополітичний устрій в регіоні Центрально-Східної Європи після II світової війни потребував трансформації. Нова система державної безпеки мала включати отримання незалежності країнами регіону і регіональну інтеграцію. Основою для реалізації цих проєктів було українсько-польське примирення. Український політолог і публіцист Богдан Осадчук (1920 — 2011) активно долучався до розробки і пропагування таких проєктів як Міжмор'я та інших.*

**Ключові слова:** Міжмор'я, українсько-польське примирення, Центрально-Східна Європа, Україна, Польща.

*Геополитический устрой в Центрально-Восточной Европе после II мировой войны требовал трансформации. Новая система безопасности должна была включать получение независимости странами региона и региональную интеграцию. Основой для реализации этих проектов было украинско-польское примирение. Украинский политолог и публицист Богдан Осадчук (1920 — 2011) активно приобщался к разработке и пропагандированию таких проектов как Междуморье и других.*

**Ключевые слова:** Междуморье, украинско-польское примирение, Центрально-Восточная Европа, Украина, Польша.

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## POLITICAL FREEDOMS THE CONDITIONS OF UKRAINIAN NATION-BUILDING

*The theoretical principles of anthropological and institutional dimension of political freedoms in the paradigm of Ukrainian national genesis have been investigated. The genesis of political freedoms from princely age to the newest Ukrainian state has been revealed. Ukrainian national political experience with its most ponderable values as freedoms, respect of dignities of a man, his rights and participation in the institutes of self-government has been interpreted. Through dichotomy “nation-individual” the peculiarity of correlation of anthropological and institutional forms of freedom, historical tendency of their formation, very often contradictory forms of display, difficult processes of transformation, institutional formations of political essence, as the state, political relations, institutions of ideological and administrative character, social and civil institutes has been displayed.*

**Keywords:** political freedoms, Ukrainian national genesis, political institutes, political values, national consciousness.

**Stating of scientific problem and its significance.** The historical past of the Ukrainian people must be grounded on the basis of historical facts, events where it is clearly stated and well-proven that from the Ants-Slavs to the present time the Ukrainian national genesis acquired certain forms and political determination in geopolitical space. Having the own social and political mode in which freedoms were provided by the local bodies of self-government, elements of cultural, spiritual, social and legal forms of existence.

Realities of the modern social and political life in Ukraine are accompanied by the relapses of the past political history. Among the most meaningful negative relapses is a myth formed by pro-Moscow historiography about the unity of state culture of Russia and Ukraine

that reaches Kyivan Rus. And today actual and timely is the research of differences in political history of the Ukrainian and Russian people. Besides, the study of genesis of political freedoms in Ukrainian history from the standpoint of their anthropological dimension in the process of institutionalization of power is timely enough and actual taking into account the processes of the modern Ukrainian nation-building. The actuality of the research also lies in the fact that during the process of development of humanity political freedom became one of the generally recognized, absolute, and highest social values. Its recognition and practical realization are the basic criterion and fundamental principle of the open civil society, the democratic, social, and legal state; the indispensable condition of functioning of all other types of freedoms as they form the basis of the system of democracy and act as a guarantee of civic, individual, social and economic rights; the guaranty of freedom from interference of the state into personal life of man.

Many researchers both of the past age and the present time assign freedom the role of the basic, base value of public life, with which such values as democracy, equality, justice, public welfare, etc. must be coordinated and to which the other though no less ponderable for humanity values must subordinate.

In every epoch, especially during the periods of public changes, freedom needs not only practical solution through the institutes of power but also, which is not less important, valued filling. Having in mind the stated above, **the aim** of this research is to clear up the peculiarities of mutual determinancy of anthropological and institutional forms of political freedoms, to define their historically dominant roles and criteria.

**The analysis of the last researches.** Historiography comprehension of the anthropological and institutional dimension of political freedoms in the Ukrainian national genesis is based on historically reliable initial array with taking into account rich scientific work which is accumulated by generations.

The separate group of primary source in the offered classification requires prospecting devoted to Ukrainian national genesis through strengthening of national types of culture, policy, commanding relations, institutional formations in their state completion, namely M. Hrushevskyi, M. Drahomanov, D. Dontsov, P. Kulish. For the analysis of peculiarities of institutionalization of political freedoms in the history of formation of the Ukrainian nationhood the scientific works of H. Vernadskyi, D. Doroshenko, O. Yefimov, I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyy, N. Yakovenko were used. The great importance for comprehension of the investigated problem have the works of V. Andrushchenko, I. Varzar, V. Horbatenko, V. Denysenko, M. Myhalchenko, S. Naumkina, I. Kresina, F. Kyrylyuk A. Romanyuk, S. Rymarenko, O. Rudakevych, O. Tokovenko.

**The presentation of the basic material and grounding of research results.** The research of anthropological and institutional forms of political freedoms convinces that between them there exists close dialectical connection: the system of anthropological freedoms generates the system of institutional freedoms, and during the further movement they start to determine each other, and the initial activity of anthropological freedoms can be leveled (actually it takes place in this way) due to the institutional forms of existence of a man and freedoms which are declared by them as the subjects of policy.

We can observe interconnection between anthropological and institutional political freedoms from political institutes and processes. The peculiarity of it, in our opinion, lies in the fact that it loses the naturally-anthropological coloring arising in its formalized hypostasis. The law, norm, right, administrative regulation, ideological influence are the original mechanisms and methods of transit of institutional forms of freedom to the individual, personalized forms and ways of life. In this way the principle of coherence, that is, synchronization of interests, aims, values of an individual and a society with actions of power institutes and structures becomes important in this relay of institutional forms of freedom. It is

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especially interesting in the research sense of analysis of correlation of anthropological and institutional principles of freedom on the “man – nation”, “nation – man” levels in their initiation and historical development.

Investigating the problem of political freedoms in the Ukrainian national genesis we would like to stress that “the Ukrainian civilization originated as ethnic, it absorbed the part of population of Kievan Rus’ in itself. In the form of ethnic civilization it existed during the periods when it did not have nationhood” [1, p.277]. The origin of the Ukrainian nation – higher form of political self-organization of people and self-determining social and cultural system – is the completed moment of the ethno genesis and social genesis. The ties and relations which unite the association into the nation are not erected to their formal functioning, but help the creation of national consciousness, self-consciousness, national mentality and spirit, national patriotism after all.

During the research of political freedom through the category “Ukrainian national genesis” the methodological principle is the conclusion made by M. Drahomanov: “It is necessary to examine our history collectively in its all ages: princely-town, feudal - Lithuanian, landlord's-Polish, Cossack, Tsar-Russian (with the separation of tsar and Constitutionally-Austrian) – and in every of these ages to pay attention to the rise or decline of population, economy, orders and public and state ideas, education, direct or indirect participation of the Ukrainians of every class or culture in history, European culture, comparing it with the history of other nations of Europe» [2, c.617].

It is necessary to accent that the Russian historiography deformed substantially the political history of the Ukrainian people. “Thus, the newest Ukraine is deprived historical foundations, – I. Lysak-Rudnyts'kyi argued, – and it, so to say, hangs up in the air” [3, т.2, c.44].

M. Hrushevskyi produced a new look at the political history of the Ukrainian people, independent from Moscow state ideology, having given the history of Ukraine more grounded and systematic look. The most important idea which the scholar aims to confirm examining the history of Ukraine is that the people themselves depending on political self-awareness acquire full and perfect life in state self-organization. He recreated the history of the Ukrainian people as free in their self-adequacy and the history of fight for their own political freedom.

Nothing in the historical works of M. Hrushevskyi caused so many protests and imperceptions by Moscow historians as by pro-Ukrainian national opinion. We can not track it off when comparing the Ukrainian political culture with its principles of the rule of people and the Russian one with its monarchist tradition.

Sharp contrast to pro-Moscow historiography concerning political system of Kievan Rus’, Halychina-Volyn and Lithuanian-Russian states are the works of I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyi, which have substantial importance for the research of political freedoms in the Ukrainian national genes.

On the basis of historical facts and events I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyi grounds: the Ukrainian national genesis, beginning from Ants-Slavs and till the Cossacks, acquired political determination in geopolitical space, having its own social and political order in which freedoms were provided by local organizations of self-government. Consequently – he sees the history of the Ukrainian nation with interruptions as a result of occupation of its territory by other states. Quite fair is his criticism of the conceptions of “non historic nations” to which Ukraine belonged also. The correlation of national history in time I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyi understands not as discontinuity of this or that connection with the past but as temporal deprivation of the Ukrainian people of its state system: The “Concept “unhistorical nation” ... does not mean that it does not have its historical past at all, it just underwent deep and long interruptions in the development” [3, v.1, p.21]. The researcher distinguished the historical dates of breaking of the

Ukrainian national genesis – “after Lublin Unia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the second time after liquidation of Cossack Ukraine in the 18<sup>th</sup> century”. [3, v.1, p.21]. He rejects conclusions as if unhistorical nations fully differ from historical and considers: “It would be a mistake to think that between three phases of existence of the Ukrainian nation there was no genetic connection at all. Those were the processes of one subject: the Ukrainian nation in its uprising” [3, v.1, p.21].

I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyi considers the nation as free in the future connecting its wish with the desire to reach independence. The nation according to his concept must at first substantially generate scientific and independent way to revolution for itself. So that was in the National and liberation war by B. Khmelnytskyi in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite yet long before the revolution thanks to the study of the own national history raised the consciousness of the Ukrainian people to the level of national political subjectness, that is, to realization of national idea of freedom. Long before the time when the movement for national and cultural autonomy of Ukraine started in Russia, in Halychyna national and patriotic intelligentsia made public the principles of national idea that were called to unite all Ukrainians in the fight for political freedom. This conception of national genesis again was clearly grounded by I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyi.

“The first of them consisted in rewarding gentry for the service during the 15<sup>th</sup> century got the line of privileges that provided it the rights for property and personal too, release from taxes and other privileges, participation in the bodies of territorial administration. Those rights were envisaged in territorial statutes, institutional and legal and also political aspects: it included equality of rights of all Polish noblemen (id est abolition of feudal hierarchy)” [3, v.1, p.50]. This is one of the institutionally fixed political freedoms for the historically formed political layer. At the same time feudalism within the limits of Lithuanian-Russian state had peculiarities in economic sphere. “Large land owners and middle gentry in the pursuit for incomes generated for export. This transition from the living economy to the agricultural one which oriented on the market resulted in strengthening of serfdom and organizing of plantation type of farmhouse economy” [3, v.1, p.50]. That is why strengthening of serfdom on the Russian land entailed furious resistance among peasants who had the traditionally ratified freedoms.

As in historical memory of the Russian peasants the past was realized, that is, by living remembrance, then the political change of one method of administration within the limits of which peasants were free courtyard owners for the other method, which envisaged their enslavement in the form of serfdom, provoked peasants to revolts. The principal reason of revolt in 1648 is considerable peasant dissatisfaction in Rzeczpospolita. Practically the peasant revolt was caused by the increased serfdom, that is, by economic exploitation. Protest motive of peasants was appropriate though it does not object merely political. Remembering and realizing the identity before Kievan Rus' and understanding political and economic freedoms in the past the peasants very quickly reorientated in the aims of the revolt and transformed the motives into national and liberation fight. Thus, the political act of the revolt and remembrance of historical idea caused modification of anger to landowners-exploiters to anger to Rzeczpospolita for national liberation. “However Khmelnytsk area, as I. Lysyak-Rudnyts'kyi states, is not only the “anti feudal” peasant riot but rather a war for national liberation, in which all layers of population participated except for magnates and their employees” [3, v.1, p.51].

Let us state that Kievan Rus' stage of the Ukrainian national genesis together with Lithuanian-Russian age was characterized by preservation of political status of freedoms because of contractual relationships with the representatives of Lithuanian political elite. It gave the opportunity not only to save but also rise the “weight of the Ukrainian nation to such a measure that all office work in the Lithuanian state was conducted in Ukrainian” [4, c.29].

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On this segment of political history of the Ukrainian nation the genetic connection of protection and traditionalization of the obtained political freedoms during the process of formation and developing of political institutions, providing of political freedoms of territorial communities, different social layers and separate citizens is traced. At the same time this stage of national genesis certifies that the Moscow state system developed in separation and did not become the heir of political culture of Kievan Rus'.

The Ukrainian national consciousness always took care of the memory about the Cossack age. The Cossack spirit serves for the Ukrainian nation as a valuable contribution to national genesis and understanding of political freedoms. National senses of involvement in the Cossack age have spiritual foundation of freedom.

The most determinant in the opinion of O. Ogloblin in the Cossack social and political order that contrasted with the middle-age idea about absolutist state organization was the following: firstly, unperception of feudal dependence of peasants; secondly, objection of the forms of class social inequality; thirdly, the Cossack political self-organization consolidated equality in the rights on possessing land and agricultural estates, the right for all people to freely choose the type of employments, unlimited entering into the Cossack rows regardless of social status. He also confirmed the idea in social consciousness that the Cossacks were social and political power that perceive itself as the heiress of Kievan Rus' and fought for the revival of the Ukrainian state system. This new opinion on the history of Cossack state makes possible the vision of not only political freedoms of the Zaporizhian Sich but also its connection with liberties of Kievan Rus', Halych-Volyn and Great Lithuanian-Russian principalities [5].

In this connection let us recall the work of M. Chubatyy "The review of history of the Ukrainian right" [6].

In our persuasion the political freedoms of the Ukrainian nation during the process of its formation and development is expedient to consider as changeable historical experience and not to interpret national genesis in its disrupted dimension torn into periods. As social and political experience of a nation does not disappear, does not move away into the past, it remains in mentality, culture, activity. Awareness of itself as a nation in the today's dimension always presents "the present" and "the then".

Political freedoms are indispensable pre-condition of vision of the national future. However, these freedoms arise in different abstract hypostasis with certain present content which is specified by practice, adequate to public requirements. Every nation in its essence exactly as a subject of social and political action is a creator of its own freedoms. Cognition of itself, its real potentiality and freedom are necessary, mutually stipulated pre-conditions of national life. "the Ukrainian political civilization, – as M. Mykhalchenko stresses, – existed only during the periods of full value state system of Ukraine. During some period of time (1919-1991) it existed as a surrogate of political nation. In such quality it entered the UNO in 1944-1991, when, as though, was a "Union republic" in the composition of the USSR, and actually it was the province of the Bolshevik's empire camouflaged under the beautiful name – the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics. The Ukrainian political civilization renovated as a full value state". [7, p.277].

The objective world of vital functions of a nation is firstly its own social and cultural, productive and social and political space; secondly, geopolitical environment is closely connected with a life of a nation. By that measure with which a nation consciously develops all spheres of its life, ruling understanding of national interests, desirable and necessary, it concludes the prospect of a national idea. The latter determines not only the horizon of vision of the future of a national life but also influences the forming of political aims, strategies, and tactics of vital activity with future vector of progress. The national idea opens the primary objective of the present vital activity to the nation and its citizens.

**Conclusions and perspectives of further researches.** Having considered the historical forms of political freedoms through the prism of the Ukrainian nation-building it is possible to assert that people whom the imperial states deprived their own state do not become indifferent to their own past and opportunely resort to measures of their liberation to renew political freedoms in the form of national and state sovereignty. The historical past for a nationally conscious community which was deprived from its sovereignty, would surely revolt in the nearest future. Basing oneself on historical events and facts, on a source base, the feudal order of Kievan Rus' is convincingly disproved and the paradigm of a democratic public meeting order is formed. Through the dichotomy "nation – individual" the peculiarity of correlation of anthropological and institutional forms of freedom, historical tendency of their formation, often contradictory forms of display, complex processes of transformation, institutional formations of political essence, as the state, political relations, institutes of ideological and administrative character, social and civil institutes have been cleared up. It is well-proven that the peculiarities of institutionalization of political freedoms in the history of the Ukrainian state system formation consist in continuity of filling of reorganizing and active practices of cultural and national essence of the real or hypothetical political institutes and institutions.

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*Досліджено теоретичні засади антропологічного та інституційного виміру політичних свобод у парадигмі українського національного генезису. Виявлено генезис політичних свобод від княжого періоду до новітньої Української держави. Інтерпретований український національно-політичний досвід з його найважливішими цінностями, такими як свобода, повага гідності людини, її права та участь в інститутах самоврядування. Через дихотомію "нація-індивідуум" особливості співвідношення антропологічних та інституційних форм свободи, історичну тенденцію їх формування, досліджено суперечливі форми прояву, складні процеси трансформації, інституційні утворення політичної сутності такі, як держава, політичні відносини, інститути ідеологічного та адміністративного характеру, соціальні та громадські інститути.*

**Ключові слова:** політичні свободи, український національний генезис, політичні інститути, політичні цінності, національна свідомість.

*Исследованы теоретические принципы антропологического и институционального измерения политических свобод в парадигме украинского национального генезиса. Исследовано генезис политических свобод от княжеского периода до новейшего Украинского государства. Интерпретирован украинский национально-политический опыт с его важнейшими ценностями, такими как свобода, уважение достоинства человека, его права и участие в институтах самоуправления. Через дихотомию "нация - индивидуум" особенность соотношения антропологических и институциональных форм свободы, историческую*

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тенденцию их формирования, исследованы противоречивые формы проявления, сложные процессы трансформации, институциональные образования политической сущности такие, как государство, политические отношения, институты идеологического и административного характера, социальные и общественные институты..

**Ключевые слова:** политические свободы, украинский национальный генезис, политические институты, политические ценности, национальное сознание.

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## **NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE ETHICAL AND MORAL PRINCIPLES OF NATION-BUILDING IN THE VIEWS OF BISHOPS OF THE UGCC**

*The article investigates public dimension of national identity in the views of bishops of the UGCC. The essence of national identity, the main features and signs that are the foundation of the national identity and originality. Analyzed the advice and guidance of the bishops on the future of Ukraine and ethical and moral principles based on the doctrine of Christianity.*

**Key words:** identity, national identity, political life, the components of national identity, religion, church, sovereignty, nezalezhnist, Christian patriotism, political and religious ideology, ethical principles of politics, the Christian moral tradition.

The weighty factor in social-political life in the process of formation Ukrainian independence was the problem of need to creation of the state's ideology, which would be based on the moral and ethical principles of Christianity. The problems of moral functioning of different societies, including Ukrainian, now occupy a prominent place in the whole complex of economic, social-political, spiritual transformation. In conditions of modern social-political reforms the real power, which is based upon unconditional trust of the population of Ukrainiane is a Church.

Ukrainian researchers O. Antonjuk, M. Vivcharuk, O. Kartunov, I. Kresina, I. Kuras, O. Majboroda, L. Nagorna, M. Obushnyj, I. Onishchenko, A. Ponomarev, B. Popov, V. Rebkalo, S. Rymarenko, Y. Rymarenko, V. Stepanenko, M. Stepyko, Y. Shemshuchenko, G. Paliy and others laid the theoretical and methodological foundations to studies of ethno-political phenomenon and processes naciocreation They formulated the following main features of national identity:

- 1) historic territory, or homeland region;
  - 2) joint myths and historical memory;
  - 3) joint civic culture;
  - 4) joint legal rights and duties for all members;
  - 5) joint economy with the ability to move within the national territory.
- National identity is defined as the process of identification himself with a nation.

The subjective feeling of belonging to a national community, acceptance of group norms and values appear's among individuals. National identity is a complex structure consisting of many interrelated components — ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and political.