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PHILOSOPHY OF POLICY: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN HISTORY OF UKRAINE

A human is a centre and a purpose of their own life, therefore, the development of their individuality, their liberty, is their realization as a personality. This is a higher purpose which cannot be subordinate to the others that seem allegedly to be more worthy. The present needs changes, "new faces", "innovative ideas" and the other manifestation which are already known earlier.

Nowadays, in our opinion, "the revival" of "the social democratic ideas" due to orientation towards "humanist values" and "social solidarity" is seemed as the most attractive for the "young" political organization of independent Ukraine. Its dynamism and readiness to changes and development give vitality of social democracy. It is known "elections" is a kind of "an angle of attack" of liberty on a voter as a personality. It is a "universal" choice of humanity, manifestation of dignity, their individuality.

The election process should serve the nationwide democratic interest for the state, for the nation, for the society, and for every man as a personality. The last five years were special for the country because the "crucial" transformation of "values" of the Ukrainians has happened. Ukraine needs changes, changes for a better life. It is a well-known fact "faith" gives birth to "nation's leaders" and people's living standards reflect them.

We stress once again that "socialism" as the present social democrats understand it, is the process which has no end. There is not and cannot be a socialistic society built on once and for all. Socialism is "an endless road" which could constantly be "improved" but could not be brought to the top. That is the "profound" content of the social democratic principle.

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Introduction

People make history and it is important. "Philosophy of policy", rather a choice of this or that policy, is made by particular people. A human is a choice; the famous formulation elucidates profoundly a sense of a choice in comprehension of personality's essential feature, their attitudes, system of values in their vital activities. In fact, a thesis about signification of a choice in man's social orientation needs no specific arguments at the stage of "radical transformation" of society, which Ukraine undergoes.

The situation of existence vacuum, in which our country is, puts the acute problems about urgency of self-determination of not only politicians but also every "Ukrainian"... Liberty of a choice of this or that "politician" is exclusively important in the state creation of Ukraine. A problem of a choice of a particular "politician" of this or that "political force" has a great "importance" today to the country as well as to society. The task of a present stage of transformation of society is outlined as follows: Ukraine should not in a declarative way but in "underlying" matter of the state "existence" become a modern "European country" which will keep pace with European and world "processes" and, synthesized better "national traditions", will meet the challenges of time.

For today the most important "priorities" are finishing of "war", "radical reforms" in all spheres of the state creation, an underlying reform of "electoral system", foundation of such a "party system" that will facilitate further structuring of society and formation of political will of citizens, effective protection of their interests, provision more active part in their "government" of the state *through political parties* and other mechanisms of "direct democracy".

Results of Theoretical Analysis

It is known, "liberty of a choice" is national "dignity" of the Ukrainian. Choosing liberty a human is thus orienting themselves towards making such living conditions which will be able in time to transfer human existence from regulations of "survival" into the plain of real life, which is "dignified" by a man as "personality". However, it is not enough to "love and recognize" "liberty", it is necessary "to create and

render”, “to grow and develop” it..! In the view of political “situation” which has developed in Ukraine, in our research, it is worth to turn to “philosophy of policy” because nowadays it has acquired a new tone, a new connotation, the other manifestation. By “its nature”, as known, it should transform all the time in “policy for people” but not in that one, we used to observe “yesterday” and are continuing to observe “today”...

Policy was, it is, and it will be always an important aspect of human life, and the very man’s life changes endlessly. Every epoch, every period of existence of a human demonstrates peculiarities of entity of its “consciousness” and its “logic of life”. The present demands re-orientation of “people’s worldview”, first of all, from the standpoint of “those” turning points that had been happening in our country last five years. Certain “hardline” edges, “the elements” of sociality manifested truly that earlier they got out of sight of the traditional analysis.

Cultural and political reality of the present time are an epoch of “deficit of spirituality”, “frustration by government” that has ultimately led to “spiritual crash”, loss of “value dimension” both “spiritual” and “political culture”. Faith of a human in “power” of intelligence was “lost” more than ever, because people of “policy” act on egoism and disease “Moloch” of government. There are those people who are overtaken by “greed” of government and “profit” and only for it they “came” in policy and, consequently, they shun by “nothing”, even by “human life” for “their benefit”... Their “spirit” obeys “greed of government” as an instrument of “self-enrichment”.

We therefore need to carry out “reforms” in the country which is called Ukraine. We need “profound, systematic, radical, and productive” reforms “without exception” in all the spheres of the state existence. The key question for today is “Who could?” and “How could realize it?” “Where” is that “political force” and “who” is that “personality” which is ready to perceive “the state policy” as their own “share of reformist?”

It is well-known fact that we live in very anxious time. During the time of general trouble, when our “consciousness” is so much “clouded” that we cannot see even a “tip” of our nose. We “live” in time “total degradation” of morality. We live among “travesty” and, particularly among “people of government” of all its branches.

A transformation of values happened. A voter has changed, has woke up from liberty. Instead of spectacle, populism, phantom, visibility of work the Ukrainians want to see, hear and experience the real changes for a better life, because they can live today but not “tomorrow”.

“Reformists” should emerge by a force for changes. Ukraine needs “a leader of a nation” as a targeted “personality”, as a faithful to their “true ideals” human who “could” because “wants” to lead people as “a nation” developing and flourishing our country. This man “must” emerge as “a national leader”, “a personality” who gives the top priority “not self-interest” but “people’s and the state interests”. A useful example for the officials can be “philosophy of policy” by Niccolò Machiavelli in his book ‘The Prince’. In other words, “the leader of a nation” is “a strong-willed” pragmatic personality, a “man” of high moral standards and fortitude.

It should be emphasized that in the interim periods of society the necessity of “a role” of “co-responsibility” of all “the citizens” of the country, but not only “leaders”, grows as “binding” conditions of “liberty” of every person. At this time “liberty” is not a final goal of a human, rather it is an initial characteristics of a man as “a personality”. It is the cornerstone of spiritual existence of a human because their “spirit” is “liberty”.

Belonging to “eternal” problems of “human existence”, creating one of “axes” of invariants of “philosophical culture”: spiritual, social, political, legal, and others at all, “liberty” as an ideal, as value and standard, as social realities and characteristics of “practical vital functions” of society, and a single individual, acquires “an innovative” perspective these days.

Ukraine as the state crossed its own “Rubicon” on the way to the independent, democratic, legal state. However, “the present” demands the further and total “changes”, changes of patterns of paradigmatic “intellection”. For our perspective it is necessary “extremely” to undertake a study of a role and place of the parties and the leaders in “political history of Ukraine”. This “study” will be as a “practical” example for “young” politicians because it concerns, first of all, those who had concrete and historical “evidence” of staying in power or participated in the “process” of *the state creation*.

It is worth mentioning that the present-day “political systems” of most of West European countries had formed policy based on “centrism” such as “liberalism”, “social democracy”, and “Christian democracy”. In our study, for instance, we focus more specific on “social democracy” which takes leading

positions in some world countries, and its “representatives” play a prominent and important role in “public political activity” and governance. From our point of view, therefore, it should be, above all, “creative” attitude both modern social democratic thought and “history” of ideological and organizational heritage of a native social democratic tradition. The study of “social democracy” is certainly an “essential” need of “present time” for our country which is passing through a transitional stage of its development in this difficult “tragic” for Ukraine time.

The next presidential, parliamentary, and local elections are the main representative of a modern Ukrainian social democratic direction and, first of all, for the parties of social democratic area dispatches which remain on the “map” of the present day. It is known that this direction was and stays the most powerful for political active “actors” in the political arena of modern Europe and Ukraine.

“Social democracy”, for example, takes leading positions among the social oriented parties in the Ukrainian society because they have more well-structured organizational and ideological system, an extensive net of the regional and local party centers, its own social base and levels of influence over the part of “its” electorate. Hence, the next “special” presidential, parliamentary elections to which, above all, the Ukrainian people and “political beaumonts” are ready to, should “become” a benchmark for native parties, public movements of “social democratic” direction in building of full “democratic Ukraine.

Its [Ukraine] “European vector of development”, no doubt, and “humanist values” among which the main principles like: “priority of human rights”, “living standard” are a strong and powerful “civil society”. The institutes of democracy which build on the law and political systems and market economy, are the legal “social state” that it meets native “ideology” of the state creation.

The purpose of this study is a need to “analyse” the emergence and development of the Ukrainian social democratic movement in its history. To do this it is important to undertake comprehensive research on activities of the Ukrainian parties of social democratic direction and to determine its prospects, their organizational structures and ideological and theoretical basis. It is worth to mention that the present needs “creation” and “transformation” of social and legal democratic Ukraine on the framework of the market economy and “civil society”. It is time, “the time” which demands active engagement for the process of “the state creation” totally “new” politicians and “innovative” political forces. The last one must offer new “ideas” of the real and “social policy”. These ideas should be “competitive” for the national “famous” political “parties” having their history and public support.

Consequently, we focus on feasibility of the further analysis of “philosophy of policy” as an actual problem because “the present policy” has acquired completely different manifestation and resonance and appeared by a significant aspect of “human life”. It is a well-known fact that a man’s life is constantly changing, is changing historically, creatively and politically. The real difference of our “present” from recent “past” is the willingness of the majority to “liberty”. It should be noted that “political freedom” is always actualized by a measure of “non-freedom” in “the society”, that is, be the factors of “alienation” of human “values”. In this a man is not only as an external “sociality” but also as internal. We therefore limit eventually “a problem of liberty” to a shift from “internal” to “external”. For instance, when “people” seek to understanding of “liberty” as “dignity” they become “a nation” because only “dignity” helps “a nation” to perceive “liberty” as “a struggle”, as manifestation of its own “human dignity”, as an “internal freedom of spirit”.

The present, above all, needs a profound, pragmatic, systematic analysis and a role and a place of “philosophy of policy” of social democracy in Ukraine. The last one was never distant from main directions of supersubstantial advance of humankind. And today it requires reorientation of “philosophical worldview”. For the start we address to political history and provide some examples.

It is known that “from ancient times, especially from foundation of Kyivan brethren school (1615), of work of Pylyp Orlyk, Hryhoryi Skovoroda, to contemporary times a creative search for truth had never extinguished”. Meanwhile “broad philosophical problems” connected to the concrete tasks, for example, abstract ideals of a social order (‘Horniei of Republic’ by H.Skovoroda) with painful search of ways of “national” and “social” liberation. The first Ukrainian social democrats are considered to be the public figures of the 1870s and 1880s: S. Podolynskyi and O. Terletskyi. For instance, S.Podolynskyi allocates in his concept of future order such state functions: cultural, and educational, a function of handling household and labour, judicial, planning and accounting, and a function of defense of the state and protection of internal order. The list of main functions of a future country testifies to the fact that “the scholar had figured out”, above all, the root “change of essence of the state” from “class violence”, it should have “turned” into a mechanism of “harmonizing the view of all the members of society”. Its direction was changing

“fundamentally” instead of providing its own existence under cover of a necessity of securing of external and internal order; it should have focused on “providing” of concrete “interests” of its citizens. S. Podolynskiy had a significant impact on development of liberation movement and revolutionary democratic thought in Ukraine and also in Russia. Not without of involvement of his ideas the creative biographies as O. Terletskiy, M. Pavlyk, I. Franko, Lesia Ukrainka had emerged. S. Podolynskiy’s ideas influenced on M. Drahomanov.

Numerous Drahomanov’s advanced democratic “views” on “the state and law” about “society” bear the mark of revolutionary and democratic ideas of S. Podolynskiy. It should be mentioned that Drahomanov’s views were forming influenced by not only be the ideologists of “Russian” revolutionary movement as Chernyshevskiy, Hertsen, Mykhailovskiy, Lavrov but also by “west European” as Proudhon, Marks, Engels, Lassalle. His “philosophical” position was defining. In one of Drahomanov’s early writings (‘Roman History and Tacitus’) he presented himself in 1860s as “positivist” when “philosophy of positivism” by Au. Comte and J.S. Mill were hardly known in “scientific circles”. Namely “the ideas” by Comte, Spencer, Mill were true to Drahomanov’s findings. Proudhon’s ideal was a socialistic ideal of Drahomanov: a federation of free unions of free people. The ideal was put in foundation of ideological organization of future society. One of the classicists of modern western sociology, who considered himself a student of Drahomanov in “national issues”, was M. Weber who pointed out that the scholar managed to combine the ideas of “social” and “national liberation” in his “social and political” concept.

It should be emphasized that M. Drahomanov was continuing Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius traditions in his creative work and, thus, yielded the theoretical presentation of the ideas about “social justice” in the Ukrainian “philosophical and political thought”, and this is the “main” issue for the Ukrainians at the present time..!

We therefore turn firstly to *“the concept of property and labour in socialistic theories”*. Generally socialists employ a term ‘property’ as a meaning of private property, especially of private property on capital goods. Nevertheless there are profound differences towards the definition of the efficient ways of effective shareholding no matter who is an owner – the state, people, or local authorities or association of manufacturers, a union of manufacturers and consumers, integrated by special forms of capital goods.

The next problem to be tackled – property is the only component of the process of capital goods, the other is labour. “The problem of property” is its inequitable distribution; the problem of labour is its unapproved evaluation. A dream of “fair order of society” not only “remains” and in fact, has appeared the main dream and “For our present”. The idea that “labour” should bring every human “worthy” of their status, occupation, and real contribution “reward”, is long-standing.

In Plato’s ‘Republic’ it [labour] obtained its classical expression. However, only development of citizens’ bourgeois relationship in the Later Middle Ages, the consequence of which were the Renaissance and Reformation, led to emergence of a new insight on labour based on “liberal ideology” – mainly on the basis of “the ideas of will and equality”. “The magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labour, Sir Thomas More wrote, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labor by the necessities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists...”

As outlined above the first precursor of the social democratic ideas is considered M. Drahomanov among the Ukrainian society. He is the one who suggested for the first time practical measures in the development of socialist movement in the country. “Due to the fact, Drahomanov wrote, that Ukraine, my motherland, is divided into two parts, the Austrian and the Russian, and because there is definite political freedom in the Austrian empire that is not in the second one, therefore, as to my point of view, activities of socialists should be different in every part: in Austria the organization within the socialist party can be started with workers and the Ruthenian farmers in the union with Poles and Jews; in Russia, above all, it is a need to obtain the political freedom, the socialist ideas can be still disseminated in Russia only through science and literature. The Ukrainian nation can gain the political freedom there, I believe, not by separatist path but only together with other nations and provinces of Russia by the road of federalism.”

We emphasize that after a half century pause in the territory of Ukraine “the new birth for social democracy” started to happen only after the decline and the collapse of the communist system within the overall democratic processes of recovery of a multiparty political system. Without examining in detail of formation of the party system of modern Ukraine, some starting points should be allocated.

In the process of formation of new parties in the majority of the post-Soviet countries the west European party scale by sample was taken resulting of emergence of numerous parties which names did not

comply absolutely and does not comply “today” with their program and ideology guidance. Due to orientation towards “humanist values” and “social solidarity” the social democratic platform looked and looks, from our perspective, like the most attractive to the “young” political organizations, however, it did not stop and does not stop them now to chant “slogans” of liberal and even conservative direction.

One of the reasons of such a phenomenon is always fluidity of “social” basis of established parties. For example, at the beginning of moving from the authoritarian to the democratic regimes in most east European countries by efforts of communist parties a homogeneous society was established which was fragmented almost instantaneously after implementation of the “radical” economic “reforms” and related social and property stratification that it leaved not changes to create the “strong” parties with the broadest representation of the public interests. The only policy which was capable of yielding the practical results at that time was the policy of formation of the coalition selective blocks with the largest possible number of involved members, and they could stand on different ideological position.

Therefore, in western “studies” for new democracy countries the term ‘dual democracies’ is employed. It should be emphasized that in circumstances of “dual democracies” the traditional separation of political forces on “political left” and “political right” loses its “substantive content” because in selection of a strategy of social development, rather there is a choice of priority of a neo-liberal or conservative direction but with separate concession of social democracy. Therefore, it is not the majority of so-called “social democratic” governments implemented and implements even more liberal policy today than their precursors did. It should be noted that strengthening of position of “old social democratic” parties of Western Europe gave significant support to “new social democrats”. For instance, innovative ideology of “seeking of third way” was attractive for The European society as apposed dogmatics of the classic socialistic and liberal conception.

The modern social democrats support “the market economy” but they criticize “a market society”. They think that there should be “a civil domain” protected from intrusion of market forces. This “social space” is not limited to the family hearth or a little circle of the nearest and dearest and extends into environment of “livelihood of society” coverings spheres of culture, education, health care, system of social welfare, and economical infrastructure. In the given space collective forms of engagement realise including trade unions and other organizations of “civil society”.

The main value in “a civil domain” is “social” and “human” but not money capital. Socialism as the present social democrats understand it is the process which has no end. There is not and cannot be a socialistic society built on once and for all. Socialism is “an endless road” which could constantly be “improved” but could not be brought to the top. That is the “profound” content of the social democratic principle – “the movement is everything, the aim is nothing”!

Summary

In an unbiased approach it seems that “history” of the “modern” Ukrainian parties is almost a solid “order” of internal conflicts and political shims. Unfortunately the Ukrainian social democracy is not an exception. From ancient to contemporary times a creative search for “philosophical truth” had never extinguished. Meanwhile “broad philosophical” problems connected to the concrete tasks, for instance, abstract ideas of a social order. Ideological and theoretical sources of the Ukrainian social democracy are found among the intellectual and ideological tendencies concerned decisions of the most important problems of a social order, among which were the notions as ‘property and labour’, the correlation of socialism and democracy, a problem of the state in social democracy.

The “main” tendency of the European social democracy reflected and developed with its ideological distinction and competitiveness in the issues of principle. Uniqueness of the “Ukrainian” situation lies in distribution of socialistic belief in its territory which is related to searching for ways to “national freedom”. The determination of correlation of “social” and “national” requirements and the priority related to these directions of issues in “practical” and “political” activity represented and represents a cornerstone of existence and development of all the Ukrainian parties.

Time has proven the country needs the “radical” changes, that is why, it should be “a new political force” ideology of which will be based on the ideas of “liberalism and pragmatism”. It should be an innovative “political energy of creation”: the civil society, the state, the nation, political elite of pragmatists. The political “palette” needs changes, rather it necessary a force which must “storm” with the ideology of “a new generation”. It is “the ideology of new politicians” which will unite the nation that wants to have the decent living standard, liberty, and confidence of its rights.

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