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CIVIC SOCIETY**

Ukraine passed through three revolutionary waves on the border of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It was: the collapse of the Soviet Union and proclamation of state independence, the «Orange» revolution and the «revolution of dignity». Each of them was forewent by the crisis of political system, corruption, outright falsification of the will, ignoring interests of the population, attempts to manipulate of mass consciousness. All these events were not mere meetings and protest actions. They were not spontaneous. This is the regularity, the components of one process. This is the process of the transformation of Ukrainian society.

Key words: *civil society; process; development; liberalism; democracy; the «Orange» revolution; the «Revolution of dignity».*

The statement of a problem. Ukraine is undergoing to the process of transformation nowadays, beneath our very eyes. This process goes on slowly. Sometimes dramatic events take place. At other times changes come insensibly. From the «Communism National Park» Ukraine is turning to a democratic state.

The purpose of the article. The tendencies of the development of Ukrainian society is a question now. We know a little about ourselves. Author tried to expose her own vision on this topic.

The statement of the main material. In the second half of the 1980s an unexpected thing for the Soviet Union occurred: citizens have created the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika (Narodny Rukh Ukrayiny za perebudovu). It was the precedent case of civic activity for the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The Rukh's role in the process of pronouncement of the Independence of Ukraine in 24th August, 1991 was considerable.

The «Orange» revolution started in November, 2004 and the «Revolution of Dignity» started nine years later, in November, 2013. Students, entrepreneurs, highly skilled workers, intellectuals have become its driving forces. In other words, Ukrainian middle class made these revolutions.

What the phenomena? Are they real revolutions or something else? What kind of connection do they have? And do they really have a connection?

G. Kasianov notices that the citizens had taken into account economic considerations as well as the other indicators before they have voted for the independence. The supporters of the idea of exit from the USSR promised rapid economic growth. Moreover, the economists of the Deutsche Bank predicted one of the leading positions in the reliable level of prosperity among ex-Soviet republics for Ukraine [1, p.72].

But there were no economic growth, quite the reverse. Ukraine have plunged into a severe economic crisis in the 1990th and social tensions as well as lack of faith in the future were its consequences. Ukrainians felt total distrust to the state and all that close to it. What caused this? Does it mean that German economists were wrong?

Actually German economists were right. They have calculated the economic potential of Ukraine, so there was

no error in figures. We should take into accommodation that a potential means only a promising start. It needs some certain conditions to be realized. There were no such conditions in Ukraine in 1991.

We can see that the democratic countries are the most prosperous countries in the modern world. These countries have legal culture, civic society, private ownership, entrepreneurial initiative and freedom. All these things that might be seemed as a truism for Western people were under restriction in the Soviet Union. For this reason a peculiar type of society has been formed in the USSR. Moreover, the Soviet authorities ruthlessly suppressed any manifestation of civil activity.

Possibility can be realized only subject to condition mentioned above. Without democracy and civic society economic growth such as wellbeing for Ukrainian nation will remain only a good wish. The victory of liberalism and Ukraine integration into globalization are also required.

Therefore, if a scholar fits out the ideology of liberalism he'll be able to unveil all the enigmas of the development of the modern Ukraine.

It thinks that the dissidents have launched the process of the development of civic society. The number of the dissidents was low, something about 1,000 persons in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Their resources were small. The Soviet society didn't even pay much respect for their social activities. Moreover, the dissidents were under the strict control. They were pursued by the authorities and the public opinion as well. Nonetheless, the dissidents have accomplished their mission. The foundation had been laid. The argumentations which have been declared by the public figures in the 1980-ies had been written in the papers by L. Kostenko, I. Drach, V. Symonenko, M. Vingranovskyj, I. Dzyuba, I. Svitlychnyj, Ye. Sverstyuk, V. Stus, V. Goloborodko, V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, B. Goryn [2, p.64] in the 1960-ies.

The crisis of the Soviet socialistic system became evident in the second half of the 1980-ies. The USSR came up close to the collapse. M. Gorbachov tried to avoid the catastrophe. The reforms of the system (so called perestroika) have been seen as the perfect solution. The signing a new Union Treaty and the nascence of the renewed Soviet Union have been seen as

the perestroika's ultimate goal. State's authorities have concluded that the providing the population with the employment initiative rights and providing wide economic rights to the Regions were the measures quite appropriate [3, p.14].

The momentous events for the USSR and Ukraine took place in August 1991 [4, p.10]. M. Gorbachov was taking his vacation in Crimea, having the date of signing of the new Union Treaty with leaders of Union republics agreed before. So called Putsch started in 19th August with the announcement of the creation of the Emergency Committee and the invasion to Moscow. It was in vain. In 22th August an extraordinary session of the Verkhovna Rada (the Parliament) of Ukraine was convened. Then the Act of declaring independence of Ukraine and the Decree on referendum on its approval in 1st December were adopted.

People's Movement of Ukraine has carried through a great propaganda and agitation work to convince the population that the proclamation of independence was the best option for the country and its people. First of all there were methods known as the «History education», the most known events such as: «The human chain» dedicated to the Day of Unity in 22th January, 1990, and the mass celebration the 500 anniversary of Zaporizhzhyan Cossacks. The political program of the People's Movement of Ukraine was worked out openly and everyone had an opportunity to discuss its points. 125 members of People's Movement of Ukraine were elected to Parliament in 1990. There the deputies made a faction called People's Council (Narodna Rada). Later they've made successful attempts in compromising with the Communists.

A modern young man can find it all too simple, even naive. People of our generation are accustomed to democracy. We are coddled with democracy. Soviet people lived in another reality. G. Goncharuk writes that in 1990

«... initially the omnipresent party network expanded a crazy ideological and political struggle for its liquidation, but having been ensured that the process of national rebirth came too far, it made attempts to neutralize or even minimize the influence the ideas of the Movement, and subordinate People's Movement of Ukraine to the Party structure at all» [2, p.20].

So, the activity of People's Movement of Ukraine was not licit by the Communist Party. Moreover, the authorities did all sorts of obstacles because the People's Movement of Ukraine was a threat to their monopoly of power.

The «Orange» revolution began in November, 2004. It was a series of protests, rallies and the other acts of civil disobedience caused by rude election fraud. The majority wanted V. Yushhenko to be the President of Ukraine while the authorities and V. Putin supported V. Yanukovich. All the most important events took place in the main public square of the country (Majdan). French journalist A. Gijmol witnesses:

«They've set a clear and concrete goal: the determination of the result of the second round of the presidential election as falsified. All the speeches concerned this topic par excellence» [6, p.19].

A. Galchynskiy characterizes the «Orange» revolution as *«the revival of the nation, which undoubtedly is important factor of the approval of civic society in Ukraine,*

implementation of democracy and, the most important, the self-dignifying of a Ukrainian citizen, the own «me» of each of us» [7, p.172].

The «revolution of Dignity» started in November, 2013. The V. Yanukovich's refusal from signing the Association Agreement with the European Union was its pretext. But what was its cause? The «revolution of Dignity» was lasting till February, 2013, when armed confrontation and escape of V. Yanukovich took place.

V. Yanukovich was elected President of Ukraine in 2010. The abolition of the Constitutional Reform-2004 was his first step. The Constitutional Court of Ukraine has decided to return the Constitution-1996 in action. So called «Tax Majdan» lasted in November and December, 2010. It was the entrepreneurs' protest against the adoption of the Tax Code by Parliament. The provisions of the Tax Code supported big business but affected small and medium business. In summer 2012 the «Language Majdan» took place. It was the protest against enactment «The Principles of State Language Policy» law. This law provided the opportunity of equivalent to use of Ukrainian and Russian languages de jure, but the strengthening of Russian influence de facto.

Actually, V. Yanukovich attempted to establish an authoritarian regime. Ya. Gryczak revealed the Zeitgeist. In the preface to the book «Passion for Nationalism», 2011, he noticed:

«The constation of fact that Ukraine has relative political stability doesn't mean that the situation over Ukrainian nation is hassle-free now. There are problems, very serious problems. But their roots doesn't go to the national identities and the creation of a nation – this situation is a dramatical one, not critical, – this is the question of values: the values of closed society which is not ready for changes are dominating now» [7, p.11].

That's why the «revolution of Dignity» was the rebellion of civic society against conservative regime of V. Yanukovich. The authorities' attempts to stop the processes of liberalization of modernization of Ukraine as well as the willing to restrain the civic society were its causes.

Conclusions. Ukraine is going the path of liberalization now. We have a lot of problems, this is the fact. One can read and understand all the postulates of liberalism starting from A. Smith and ending L. von Mises easily. Much more difficult is to implement new way of life. You can't teach old dog new tricks. It is easy to get a ticket to New York and get there in several hours. Physical distances can be passed easily. Ideological distances don't. That's why there was no instantaneous switch into democracy. It was impossible. Democratic values have to mature and civic society has to pass through certain «stair steps» in the process of this evolution. These are the processes in modern Ukraine.

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УКРАЇНА, 1991 – 2014: КОНСЕРВАТИВНІ ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ VS. ГРОМАДЯНСЬКЕ СУСПІЛЬСТВО

В двадцятому і двадцять першому століттях Україна пережила три революційні хвилі. Це були: розпад Радянського Союзу і проголошення незалежності, «помаранчева» революція і «Революція гідності». Їм передували криза політичної системи, корупція, фальсифікація волевиявлення, нехтування правами та інтересами громадян з боку влади, намагання маніпулювати свідомістю людей. Але це не просто мітинги і масові демонстрації. І вони не були спонтанними. Всі ці зазначені революції – це ланки одного процесу. А саме – процесу трансформації українського суспільства.

Ключові слова: громадянське суспільство; процес; розвиток; лібералізм; демократія; «помаранчева» революція; «Революція гідності».

