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CONCEPTUAL INTERVIEW: PECULIARITIES OF THE GENRE AND THE JOURNALIST'S WORK METHODS

*Tetiana Matskevich*¹

Abstract

Peculiarities of conceptual interview as a genre of universal publicism, the journalist's work methods and conditions that enable a complete realization of the genre are analyzed in the article.

Key words: conceptual interview, universal publicism, informational journalism, penetrative thought, designing of the outlook.

"Objectivism is a question of a writer's conscience", – as a Polish reporter Ryszard Kapuściński [2001] once said. In fact, this concept is a very ephemeral one; moreover, it is unreal in the context of actual reality. In any case, an author is a co-creator of reality: he interprets it, coloring it with his own attitude, and sends a brand new code into the information matrix. Impartial information is not able to influence the recipients' minds productively, as well as to saturate them with new ideas or provide impetus for positive changes realization. Opinion-making, religious and philosophical thought cutting, crystallization of deeper meanings, the ideals consolidation and the search for truth are the realm of **universal publicism**, but not of a faceless informational journalism. It is universal publicism that looks for a "thoughtful, competent reader, with an ambitious thesaurus and broad intellectual horizons, who is ready for a dialogue on an equal footing" [Tytarenko, 2011, p. 86].

The balance is substantially upset today: the event facts amount is considerably larger than the area of a high-quality journalism realization. That is why it is important to transform the entire field of journalism, refusing to focus on a readable micro text and passive recipients. **Conceptual interview** is a universal genre of universal publicism: with its penetration into the collocutor's soul, new ideas production and expansion of the audience outlook horizons, conceptual interview considerably surpasses capabilities of informational (often primitive) interview, based on banal questions.

Interview is rightly considered as one of the most popular genres of journalism. Providing of accurate comments makes it impossible to manipulate with words and protects authors from claims on misinterpretation of others' opinions. In addition, interview enables a multifaceted disclosure of the collocutor's personality by stimulating him or her to reflection and meditation.

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Cognition, imagery, the penetrative thought's depth into reality, ideological content, essential designing of recipients' outlook are main **features** of conceptual interview. This genre is quite beyond the elementary reportorial activity.

Before a detailed analysis of conceptual interview specifics, we shall explain a key term, which distinguishes this kind in the system the genre typology. Thus, the **concept** is: 1. A system of views on a certain phenomenon; a way of understanding and interpretation of certain phenomena, the basic idea of any theory. 2. In art it is an ideological and creative vision of a work. Accordingly, **conceptual** is 1. One concerning the concept or containing it. 2. *figur.* Sage which gives rise to the idea.

Universal publicism makes a considerable contribution to the realm of journalism: it is able to fill every genre, favorable for opinion-making, with unique features. When talking on conceptual interview, any categoricity loses its meaning. A journalist is not focused any more on getting answers to questions: "What? Where? When? (informational genre) or Why? How? What does it mean? (analytical one, focused on the analysis of the fact)" [Tertychnyi, 2000]. Multidimensionality of the concept (in the sense of a meaning of a mark (name)) expands horizons automatically, transforming the whole system of coordinates. A conversation is transformed from a usual mean of information gathering into constructive dialogue between two equal individuals, one of which directs the conversation back on track as necessary, coordinates the process and, most importantly, is able to understand his collocutor; the second one, by contrast, not only involves into the essence of the phenomenon or process, but interprets its causes and consequences not banally, provides a productive vision of the future in the light of an adequate explanation of the past, even more, goes beyond the causal view on reality, appealing to the eternal truths.

A researcher Christine Davydchak, when analyzing one of the most famous examples of conceptual interview, the **interview between Vittorio Messori and Pope John Paul II**, published as the book entitled "**Crossing The Threshold Of Hope**", indicates:

Interview is one of the most interesting genres of journalism, while «conceptual interview is a brilliant example of command of such genre's means as originality, depth and significance of judgments, competency, an inexhaustible intelligence, whereby the function of journalism as an expression of public opinion and the community intellect representative is fully realized. A dialogue interview (a dialogue as a method of searching for truth) has its own role. It is a conversation "on equal footing", initiated by the interviewer, for which a journalist should not just be ready, but also should have an appropriate authority [Davydchak, 2009, p. 74].

Let's consider this example more in detail on the background of the **interviewer's work methodology**. When it comes to conceptual interview, specifically to the precedent of the conversation between V. Messori and John Paul II, we mean not just a conversation between two interested persons. Moreover, standard methods of training turn out to be not enough. First, a so-called equality of the subjects, on which theorists like to focus (although in practice this equality is far from the ideal one and is rarely based

on a common "weight class" of the interlocutors) was caused not by a parity status in the society, but only by mutual respect and the ability to understand each other. If the person who responds, and therefore knows much more about the subject-matter of the conversation than the interviewer that asks, treats his interlocutor with respect (not with ironic condescension with a shadow sarcasm!) and tries to explain the problem issue comprehensively, in a way as hundreds of interested persons are sitting in front of him; the interviewer, respectively, is skillful enough to steer the conversation in a constructive direction and to formulate really smart, relevant questions, and is educated so that he is able to understand the interviewee answers, in this case we can rightly speak of equality. It was achieved between V. Messori the Pope, as John Paul II in his responses "showed gratitude and filial sincerity" [John Paul II, 2005, p. 9], moreover, "the fact of such a serious attitude to the humble journalist appears to be another argument, if demanded, of the Pope's obedience, of his generous willingness to listen to the voices of average "Christians from the street" [Ibid., p. 12].

Taking into account the importance of the Pope's person, who is rightly considered the Vicar of Christ on the Earth, it is clear that the interview was not the initiative of the journalist. V. Messori has been chosen among others on the grounds that he writes books and articles on religious subjects, "writing with a secular human liberty, and from a solidary position of the Christian, who is conscious that the Church has been entrusted not only to the clergy, but also all the baptized" [Ibid., p. 8]. First, a television interview had been preparing. Interestingly, that V. Messori had no experience on TV, so, despite his deep religious believes, this condition became a problem for the journalists. In addition, the interviewer thought about whether it was appropriate that the Pope would come to the studio, sit across the table and begin to answer the questions from the normal "in my opinion", in contrast to the solemn "We" in which "the voice of a thousand-year mystery of the Church sounded" [Ibid., p. 11]. Would so the Pontiff undertake a certain risk, because "his voice would be drowned out by the noise of the chaotic world, which was being converted to a banal spectacle, full of conflicting opinions and relentless chatter on each topic?" [Ibid., p. 10-11]. Finally, it was nowhere to retreat, and V. Messori began to think over the questions carefully. He met with John Paul II at Castel Gandolfo before the conversation.

Despite the seriousness of the Pope's intentions, the television interview did not take place because of plenty cases assigned to the Pontiff. However, the head of the Catholic Church did not leave aside the question of the journalist by sending a letter to V. Messori with a promise to answer them, "Because you have put a lot of work to formulate the question, you probably have a right to the answers...I am preparing them and will transfer them to you. Then I ask you use them at your discretion" [Ibid., p. 12]. It A freedom of action, which the Pope gave to the interviewer, is amazing. Even more, the understanding with which that he treated the journalistic work, namely the burdensome routine such as formulating of questions, is amazing as well! Obviously, in this case, the person's position does not play a sufficient role. Respect for the labor of others is caused only by the person's own humanity that is one of the most important features of the individual, but is peculiar to not all humans.

When a person has something to say and wants to share his or her views, he or she will be able to make it even in front of a person, who is smart not enough. It is important that the interviewee feels that the journalist is worth trusting; he shall see hundreds of other eyes that need explanation in him. When answering the journalist's questions, the Pope spoke as if millions of people in the world were listening to him; some doubts of the interlocutor, his vulnerability as a human, and, most importantly, a sincere desire to find the truth (without which a real journalism is not possible) facilitated a constructive dialogue. During the interview V. Messori "was plunging into the depths of the issue, familiarizing with the ideological context thoroughly, discovering new names, figures, events, concepts and deciphering controversies" [Davydchak, 2009, p. 74]. This does not mean that the journalist formulated the questions not professionally, and the Pope had to edit them thoroughly and to direct them in the most optimal channel for understanding. On the contrary, the Pontiff treated the interviewer's scheme carefully and answered all 20 (!) questions. He involved in the conversation issues (this fact was facilitated by the written form) so thoroughly and extensively, that V. Messori, having read the Pope's answers, had introduce further questions into the dialogue, in order to make the conversation more logical and elegant. In passing, we note a way of the journalist's work. He immediately rejected "all sorts of "clerical" themes associated with "ecclesiastical bureaucracy" and constitute almost one hundred percent of the information (or misinformation) wrongly named as "religious"" [John Paul II, 2005, p. 14]. V. Messori tried not to waste time, obtained for an exceptional opportunity to talk with the Pope. Faith is more important than decisions of the church and controversial issues of morality and even more important than the Vatican. "Its undeniable facts and uncertainties; crisis, which allegedly threatened it; the very possibility of faith today in cultures, which treats as provocation and intolerance the statements that there are not only thoughts, but there is the capitalized Truth" [Ibid.]. Since this moment we begin analysis of **methods of preparation** for the interview.

A scholar Volodymyr Zdroveha advises to follow approximately the following scheme:

- to select the object and the subject-matter for the conversation;
- to study necessary documents;
- to make contact with the interlocutor;
- to develop the questions. A poor wording results from incompetence, laziness, and ignorance of interlocutor's psychology;
- to try to inspire confidence of the collocutor, to be able to amaze, to engage in the conversation reasonably and to finish it in time [Zdroveha, 2004, p. 180].

It is a good concept, partially acceptable for designing of conceptual interview as well. However, in the context of universal publicism it is not enough. Let us ass more details using a comparative table by Mariya Tytarenko, in which the researcher compares universal publicism (UP) and informational journalism (IJ):

- a creator of UP (and therefore of conceptual interview as its genre) is

not just a media employee or a reporter, but "a journalist, columnist, commentator, writer, thinker, torch" [Tytarenko, 2006, p. 123];

- the issue is not a readable micro text, focused on mass audience, but a writable macro text, completed with the recipient's views (according to McLuhan)
- purpose of UP is to explain processes, complicated for understanding, to implement constructive ideas, to search for truth, and to try to solve outlook problems of qualitatively;
- an author's mindset is "stereoscopic, specifically-shaped, holistic, cosmic, universal" [Ibid., p. 125];
- personal form of journalism; information is "ecologically clear".

To illustrate the implementation of the requirements listed above, let's mention conceptual *interview of Philip Roth with Milan Kundera* that was published in 1994 in the Ukrainian language under the title "**Comprehend the world as a question**" translated by Constantine Vronsky. The subjects of the conversation were not only a journalist and a man who had something to say the audience. The two internationally renowned writers got together, one of which served as the interviewer and yet was so respected person that respect from his equally esteemed collocutor was not even needed to achieve equality. In fact, the conversation took place between the two "heavyweights". Thus, it is not surprising that it became so unexpectedly constructive. The interview was published in the early 80's as a preface to the English translation of M. Kundera's novel "The Book of Laughter and Forgetting". So many political events, which are mentioned, are no longer up-to-date. But the author's accurate considerations on "totalitarianism, Russian expansion and, of course, an artist's role in the modern world still remain appropriate, even necessary for a modern reader" [Kundera, 1994, p. 134]. However, we do not focus attention on the details of the communication, paying our attention only to the mazes of the conversation and skilled questions of Ph. Roth.

"Do you expect our world to die soon?" [Ibid.] Even he first question of the interviewer puzzles and intrigue a reader who undoubtedly expected something like questioning about a new book by M. Kundera, its deeper meaning, and perhaps references to a certain fact directly related to the writer and would definitely interest the audience. The tone of the conversation is the set and, by the way, sustained to the end without any "wrong" flaws or turns. The interviewee "takes a punch" with dignity and says: "It depends on what do you mean by the term "soon"" [Ibid.]. Later recipient finds out why Ph. Roth has formulated the question in such way. The feeling that "the world is racing to the death" has arose in M. Kundera's mind long ago, and the anxiety caused by this, has become the theme of all the stories from "The Book of Laughter and Forgetting", even those of a humorous content. We see that the interviewer does not simply formulate appropriate questions and makes the interlocutor "open the card", but also is brilliantly familiar with the subject-matter of the conversation and is able to involve into its essential characteristics, since he is s writer as well.

Further conversation goes beyond giving commentaries to the writer's new book, its subjects branch out covering problems of disappearance of nations ("A man knows that he is mortal, but believes his nation is eternal" [Ibid., p.135]), Eastern and Western Europe ("Post-war takeover of Central Europe (actually, of its main part) by Russian civilization deprived Western Culture of its vital center" [Ibid.]), forced emigration

(although “the world can be understood only after being seen from several sides” [Ibid.]), laughter as the expression of radically different metaphysical reactions: totalitarianism (which is hell and a dream of heaven at the same time): clash of personal and public, sex and sexuality, the existence of the novel as a genre in modern literature. Ph. Roth is familiar with the facts from his collocutor's work, user plot examples and characters created by M. Kundera, while skillfully guiding the interviewee towards deeper involving into reality, self-reflection, and outlining a vision of the future. “Human stupidity lies in the following: they have answers to all questions” [Ibid., p. 137] as M. Kundera said. He destroys an unsteady myth that large, truly profound and erudite personalities can solve global problems by one quirk, one good expression or one honorable act. No, they are actually just “a salt of the earth” and are rarely children of their own time, because they unconsciously answer the questions of the future. Atlases, on whose shoulders the vault of search for eternal truths and desperate overcoming of hopelessness (sometimes fatally rhetorical in its basics) fell. The geniuses in which nation looks for itself. And above all, just people who are, however, able to see more than others.

“Conceptual interview means primarily conceptual questions, a primary author's monologue, which develops into a dialogue with a collocutor” [Davydchak, 2009, p. 75]. It differs from other variations of the genre due to its high intellectual level, constructive dialogue, deep answers, claim to exhaustive conclusions, appealing to fundamentals, thirsty search for the truths lost just like beads by the humanity during its clumsy flight forward; an interviewee's self-reflection, that becomes a precedent and impetus for the recipients' self-analyzes.

Interview can be considered as a truly conceptual, constructive, and deep-forming one, only when relationship between a journalist and an interviewee is established. This contact is based on the questionnaire's talent and honesty and on the speakers' tolerance and openness at the same time. Ch. Davydchak summed up in such a way:

A qualitative conceptual interview is possible only in the case of joint efforts of both sides and depends not only on their intellectual or professional level but on tact, respect and understanding of the status and position of each other as well [Ibid.].

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NEOCOLONIAL SUBTEXT IN WESTERN MEDIA COVERAGE OF UKRAINIAN CRISIS

Iryna Lazurkevych¹

Abstract

The article examines one of the key factors of modern European philosophy and outlook - neocolonialistic and orientalist mentality of nowadays Europe and its impact on the informational sphere and the character of international relations.

Neocolonialism and orientalism are, thus, studied in the context of the analysis of western media coverage of Ukrainian crisis which occasionally appears to be stereotyped and deeply engaged.

Keywords: neocolonialism, new orientalism, spheres of influence, Ukrainian crisis, media coverage.

Introduction

Ukrainian "Dignity Revolution" and the subsequent war, more commonly known as Ukrainian crisis, currently is being widely discussed among the international community. What counts here is that the starting point of the ray of these events was Ukrainian public movement in defence of "European values". Intrinsically Europe in its turn was expected to be unanimous and consensual on this issue. But western media coverage of Ukrainian crisis, however, isn't homogeneous.

On the one hand, we are witnesses of Europe's declaring support and solidarity, though often along with their formal "deep anxiety and concern", whereas on the others, such newspapers as The Guardian, for instance, where "comments are free", contain abundant prejudices and stereotypes concerning Ukraine and portray it based on some neo-colonial and pro-Russian thinking, operating with categories, which could be interpreted as a display of so called "latent neocolonialism and orientalism".

Thus, the goal of the article is the analysis of colonial and imperialistic roots of the phenomenon of Russian-engaged publications in European press, as well as the examination of the role of colonial Europe's history in the formation of nowadays neocolonial approach in European media concerning various sociopolitical processes in the postcolonial modern world.

While speaking about this problem it is vital to note few points concerning the subject of our research.

First of all, it is indisputable that the emergence of pro-Russian comments and publications in European press couldn't be treated as a prevailing tendency. They are

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more likely to be single exceptions or, better say, implicit meanings of the articles, which nevertheless regularly appear in western press, taking their part in the creation of Ukraine's international image and therefore deserving scrutiny as well.

Secondly, such a stereotyped coverage emerges in the aggregate of different conditions and therefore neocolonialism is not the single one, nor the most crucial factor. Many other philosophical and sociopolitical explanations could be supplied. Thus, this article doesn't set the aim to depict neo-colonial thinking as the root cause of such coverage but to figure it out as, definitely, one of the most significant factors which defines the character of media issues, and to emphasize on its role in the formation of European world-outlook.

Fundamental principles of neocolonial worldview

Current political and economical circumstances, as well as history of particular nation, create a specific ideological sphere which defines the character of media coverage, as well as certain "riddle" of persuasions and stereotypes through which the world is "sifted".

This principle also concerns geopolitics. Giambattista Vico - the founder of modern philosophy of history - claimed that "people create their history, they are able

to comprehend solely the things they have created themselves and they have extended that knowledge to geography as well" [Caїд, 2001, p. 16].

In other words, the history of imperialism became such ideological "riddle" for contemporary Europeans who sometimes unconsciously perceive the world through the categories of postcolonialism. In due time John Stuart Mill, Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Babington Macaulay, George Eliot, Charles Dickens – all they also had "well-defined visions of race and imperialism, which could have been easily noticed in their writings" [Caїд, 2001, p. 27]. Therefore, small wonder that current neocolonial inclinations of Europe are to be found in nowadays journalists' articles.

Concerning imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism it is important to note that, nowadays, they could be seen in two ways: as the explicit historical phenomena and as the implicit mental patterns which could be noticed in modern European culture, journalism etc.

Encyclopedia Britannica provides a definition: "The term neocolonialism was originally applied to European policies that were seen as schemes to maintain control of African and other dependencies.... [It] came to be seen more generally as involving a coordinated effort by former colonial powers and other developed countries to block growth in developing countries and retain them as sources of cheap raw materials and cheap labour" [Halperin].

Neocolonialism has been studied so far by Naom Chomsky, Jean-Paul Sartre, David Harvey. But the term was firstly coined after the Second World War by Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana. According to Nkrumah, neocolonial exploitation "operates not

only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres" [Nkrumah, 1965]. That's why it matters in the context of Ukrainian question.

Modern neocolonialism while looking at the geopolitics, takes into account several basic statements:

1. Spheres of influence.

Postcolonial world is modeled after the scheme of monopolies and colonies with the only difference that colonies are substituted now with spheres of influence and monopolies – with high-developed and prosperous countries which became now investors to the first. «After World War I imperialism was expiring but the spheres of influence came instead» [Фішер, 2013, p. 138].

The researcher of American economical neocolonialism David Harvey in his study "New Imperialism" noticed: "...each developing centre of capital accumulation sought out systematic spatio-temporal fixes for its own surplus capital by defining territorial spheres of influence" [Harvey, 2003, p.185]. Thus, Ukraine today is occasionally elucidated as the sphere or Russian's influence.

2. Centre-periphery system.

The postcolonial world is conditionally divided into centres and peripheries. This division appeals to so called "dependency theory", which is the theoretic basis of economic neocolonialism and provides that the global economic system comprises wealthy countries at the center, and poor countries of developing economic - at the periphery.

3. Military intervention – as a modern form of new colonialism.

Colonial system of the past implied that not only the political power but also cultural values and state system were extended to colonies. It was a kind of "soft-intervention" or "soft-interference". Nowadays, the analogue of such colonial interference, according to David Harvey [2003], is a straightforward military intervention of US, for instance, disguised as the humanitarian aid.

These basic neocolonial mental patterns may prove helpful in understanding the pro-russian engagement of some western journalists' materials.

Ukrainian crisis through the categories of neocolonial mentality: media aspect.

Since November 2013 Ukraine has been fallen victim to the wave of Russian media distortion and propaganda, what appears to be unsurprisingly. But what strikes the most, is that the certain part of western media coverage, even though implicitly, is akin to the russian one.

Thus, let's examine the most frequent distortions in western media coverage in the light of previously indicated parameters of neocolonial ideology.

Profoundly respected in Europe The Guardian has published an article under the heading "Finland Warns of New Cold War over Failure to Grasp Situation in Russia", in

which Finnish president Sauli Niinistö was quoted: "Western countries are at the gates of a new cold war with Russia sparked by the Ukraine crisis and a continuing failure to grasp the depth and seriousness of Vladimir Putin's grievances with the US and EU" [Tisdall, 2014]. This statement resonates, for example, with the similar approach of Peter Hitchens, expressed in his blog on Daily Mail's Online [Hitchens, 2014].

The point is, that Ukrainian revolution and Ukrainian-Russian war are depicted in these articles in terms of political pretext or so called "spark" which can inflame the "real conflict", which supposed to be Cold War II, whereas Ukrainian events themselves, therefore, obtain no ponderable value. This misconception could be simply explained in terms of neocolonial biased outlook which admits exclusively the bipolar world and the exceptional right of former empires, but not the nation states, to play a vital role in the XXI century. It is the colonial perception of the subject of international relations. Ukraine has never been considered to be a subject so far.

Providing that, Ukraine in such interpretation can't bid for the status of fully-fledged player. This is the essence of the second category of articles, that with a grudge against West affirm that Ukrainian revolution has been inspired and "bribed" by West (read – US), since Ukraine itself is not capable of being a driving force of such a large-scaled events.

For instance, journalist John Pilger in his article written for The Guardian "In Ukraine, the US is dragging us towards war with Russia" blames US for the incitement of Ukrainian revolution. "For the first time since the Reagan years, the US is threatening to take the world to war, - he claims. - Why do we tolerate the threat of another world war in our name? Why do we allow lies that justify this risk?" [Pilger, 2014].

What's paradoxical, though alleged and imaginary, any western interference is strongly condemned, since it is considered to be an echo of Europe's colonial history. But Europe, castigating itself for its colonial past, now denies any single fact of interference (even though while sometimes carrying on interfering indirectly) and declare tolerance and impartiality. And the fact that Ukrainians defended "European values" induces Europe to renounce being involved in it. It resembles a phenomenon of postcolonial "contrition" – feeling remorse for so called "imperialistic sin" as an attempt to impose European values.

These approach appeals to the neocolonial perception of the world as the place, where power, ideas, capital and cultural values could circulate exceptionally in one direction: from the developed countries or former monopolies and to the developing ones. But at the same time, it implies two aspects: on the one hand, it is hardly believed that "former Russian colony" could be an initiator of significant processes, and on the others – any hint on direct western interference is objectionable.

Fabio Belafatti, Italian journalist, once has neatly commented on this question: "Unsurprisingly, pro-Russian commentators almost never speak in terms of "access of Eastern Europe into NATO," but of "NATO/EU expansion in Eastern Europe." The "East" is seen as a land of conquest – by nature subordinated to Russia – in which "the West" engages in dangerous games against its "legitimate" owner" [Belafatti, 2014].

And the third category of publications considers Ukraine to have been historically determined as Russia's sphere of influence. Even though there was a great gap between, for instance, Russian and British empires ("Russian Empire only exploited its citizens, while Britain supplied them with some goods" [Конквест, 2003, p. 295]), former European empires have the similar postimperialistic outlook, that implies they could sometimes understand Russia's territorial encroachment. "When a commentator claims that Russia feels threatened by the advance of NATO in Eastern Europe or Ukraine's approach to the EU, he's basically implying that Russia does indeed have an inalienable right to claim rights in the region, as if Eastern Europe was nothing but a tool to compensate Russia's unresolved inferiority complexes" [Belafatti, 2014].

New Orientalism: falling victim to stereotyped thinking

To crown it all, it is necessary to appeal to one more ideological approach in the system of which all these media misconceptions can be built. The attitude toward Ukraine occasionally resembles the principles of new orientalism.

In 1978, Edward W. Said published his world-known "Orientalism," a book that provided a basis for modern postcolonial studies. He coined the term "new orientalism" to denote a very special approach to the Orient, which implies that the western conception of East and "Another" has very little in common with the real face of that part of the World.

The bottom line is, that new orientalism is not about what the real face of the Orient is, but it is about how it is seen "from the height" of West. "Being European or American means that you belongs to that part of mankind, which has absolutely definite history of the relations with the Orient", - Said claims [2001, p. 24].

And the essence of this relations is the idea of perpetual ontological difference between East and West. Intricate sociopolitical processes in the East are embedded in a simplified scheme. "Western commentators consistently looked (and look) at the Orient as an entity incapable of evolving, stuck in an endless past of decadence and backwardness" [Belafatti, 2014]. Therefore, goes on Said, "the possibility of development, transformation and progress ... are not consistent with the notion of Orient and oriental" [Сайд, 2001, p. 271]. Nowadays, latent orientalism is exceedingly close to racism.

Thus, the Orient is normally associated with rebels, terrorists, debilitated power, sociopolitical restlessness, volatility and instability. European mental suzerainty admits the backwardness and the remoteness of the Orient. It is something which is successfully explored at a distance, but nobody wants to go deep.

Likewise, western journalists are also perfunctory about the Ukrainian crisis. The new orientalism has set a template, and XXI century journalism followed. Ukrainian international image is stereotyped. The Russian impact on Ukraine is being overestimated. And any national movements are seen by pro-Russian commentators as "fascist".

It was Kwame Nkrumah to assert, while speaking about the neo-colonial subtext

in media: "Prejudice is rife. For example, wherever there is armed struggle against the forces of reaction, the nationalists are referred to as rebels, terrorists, or frequently 'communist terrorists'!" [Nkrumah, 1965].

Thus, already mentioned John Pilger in his article says: "Washington's role in Ukraine, and its backing for the regime's neo-Nazis, has huge implications for the rest of the world" [Pilger, 2014]. And the Global Research portal submits the article "Ukraine and the Rebirth of Fascism in Europe", where the Revolution of Dignity is contemplated by the words: "The violence on the streets of Ukraine is far more than an expression of popular anger against a government. ... It is merely the latest example of the rise of the most insidious form of fascism" [Draitser, 2014]. These examples show how the simplified ideological templates of new orientalist approach work in media coverage.

But there is a back side of such coverage. George Soros, a Hungarian-born American business magnate, investor, and a chairman of Soros Fund Management, at the first glance, takes an unambiguous position concerning Ukraine in his article "Wake Up, Europe" [Soros, 2014]. Ukraine is depicted in a slightly pathetic way as a "cradle" of democratic values. "New Ukraine", hidden strength of the nation - could there ever be more pro-ukrainian approach? "People have proven their willingness to sacrifice their lives for their country. These are the hidden strength of the new Ukraine" – Soros writes.

But under the guise of this eloquent rhetoric a latent orientalism is revealed. The explicit fact that Ukraine is also a large-scaled financial market for Europe couldn't be underestimated. Thus, it is also an attempt to take care of the "weak" East, which itself could be interpreted as paternalistic European approach of new orientalism.

"The collapse of Ukraine would be a tremendous loss for NATO, the European Union, and the United States", - claims Soros appealing to the spiritual value of Ukraine, whereas making unambiguous calculations of the most beneficial financial loans given by Europe to Ukraine. "The European Union would save itself by saving Ukraine" – he concluded. Thus, beside "genuine" pro-ukrainian rhetoric, the pragmatic approach considering Ukraine to be an object, a sphere of influence and a sales market is easily seen.

Conclusion

Summing it up, it is essential to realize that colonial past of Europe is today like a historical "cargo" it has to bear. And it ultimately defines Europeans' outlook.

We can denote the most frequent misconceptions in western media coverage concerning Ukrainian crisis, that could be interpreted as a latent forms of neocolonialism and new orientalism:

1. Ukraine is hardly believed to be a subject of the international relations or an independent "player", taking into consideration that it has never been an empire or monopoly before.
2. It is rather believed to be an "unannounced" sphere of influence of the former

empire – Russian Federation – or at least a “periphery”, but not the “centre”.

3. According to new orientalist stereotyped approach, all Ukrainian revolutionary movements are possessed as those striving for creation of the artificial national identity or for reanimation of extremist regime, and Ukraine itself – as a disabled country requiring Europe's care.

But the main point is that these misconceptions prevail no more today and are doomed to dethronement and debunking by current events.

On the whole, these events appear to be the chance for Ukraine to rid itself of the disparaging and humiliating status of “former Russian colony” or current Russian sphere of influence, to establish itself as a subject and to break the neo-colonial and oriental stereotypes regarding the world order and nation states, in particular.

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THE PHILOSOPHER IN THE NEWSPAPER: SERHIY KRYMSKY AS A PUBLIC INTELLECTUAL

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Abstract

Interactions of philosophical and journalistic spheres, mediatization of philosophy are main problems of this article. Author considers public philosophy of contemporary Ukrainian philosopher Serhiy Krymsky and determines a role of philosophical journalism in modern media discourse.

Key words: Serhiy Krymsky, philosophy, journalism, newspaper, mediatization, society, spiritualness, public intellectual, public thinker

Introduction

Serhiy Krymsky (1930-2010) was a famous Ukrainian philosopher, who in the late 90's – early 2000's actively cooperated with the media, mainly popular newspaper "The Day"² – one of the few that are printed in English (as weekly digest). This cooperation was not only commenting on current events, but also a complete way of presenting his philosophy to a wider audience. There are some atypical features of Serhiy Krymsky as a public intellectual. Despite mediatization, he managed to keep his themes and style. As Pierre Bourdieu once said, academic scholar must weigh the risks to avoid becoming a hostage of media format [See: Bourdieu, 1998]. Krymsky's combination of philosophical depth with focusing on contemporary issues allowed him to create a special approach that can be called "philosophical journalism".

"Philosophical journalism" and "Public philosophy": definition of concepts

The philosophy at least since the time of Socrates claims to play a significant public role. Nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth confirmed this trend. It is hard to overestimate the impact that had Marx's, Nietzsche's and Freud's works on various aspects of life of the Western societies. In the past century philosophers had become rulers of the minds largely due to active cooperation with the media. But for this they had to sacrifice academic style and take on the role of public intellectuals. One of the most influential French philosophers of the first half of the twentieth century, Jean-

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2 "The Day" is one of the few Ukrainian "quality papers" that are not afraid to take explicit ideological position, defined once as "Ukraine-centrism". The newspaper is known for its attention to the history of Ukraine and for the publication of numerous books on this subject. It is safe to say and it is no exaggeration that "The Day" has made Serhiy Krymsky's name well-known to the general reading public.

Paul Sartre, founded together with his associates newspaper "Liberation", which was to convey to the wider social circles the idea of "leftish" existentialism. Sartre was the incarnation of the phenomenon, which led Raymond Aron speak against it, published in 1955 his famous book "Opium of the Intellectuals". This "opium" was Marxism – or, in the broadest sense – any uncritically accepted ideology.

Regardless to Aron's fair warnings French philosophy is not getting rid of ideological bias. Moreover, ideological ties cause its active cooperation with media. In the 70's "new philosophers" appear on the French intellectual scene. Their texts resembled literary or journalistic works and were devoted to mainly important political events. Some critics of this approach expressed about the new direction rather dramatically: for example, Gilles Deleuze said that the "new philosophy" is trifling in its nature" [Энговатова 2007, p. 47]. Instead, Bernard-Henri Levy, one of the most famous representatives of this movement, calling journalism "an important arena of abstract thought" declares that "journalism – is a thought, a philosophy." In addition, he is the author of the thought which can be regarded as a slogan of "new philosophers": "I personally believe that it's time to leave the monastery to talk openly and clearly, strongly and actively throw into hell of the present, in a diabolical comedy of century" [Матиенко, 2004].

French scientist Regis Debray in his book "Intellectual Power in France" gives eloquent fact: "In the fifties, a university professor, who published in "France-Soir ", or writer, who was a guest in TV shows presented themselves as a taunt. In the eighties, those who do not do this will look a little suspicious" [Дебре, 2008, p. 110]. Sociologist Louis Pinto, who investigated the mutual influence of philosophical and media areas in France speaks about "philosophical journalism" and "media philosophers" as a result of the imposition of the principles of successful operation of mass media (such as "novelty") in academic field which lives on its own, often diametrically opposite to informational journalism practices. The scientist describes a dubious position of philosophy, which falls depending on the "fashion" and "thoughts" and believes that "expanding the role of the philosopher causes its impairment". Conditions when "mass media intervened even in such esoteric areas as philosophical production" still forced to reconsider the current concept of "philosophy" and the status of the philosopher. The author gives the example of the French intellectual Alain Finkielkraut, who received a literary education, but made no contribution to the so-called "philosophical questions" (knowledge, objectivity, truth, language, etc.). However, in public discourse, he was seriously promoted as philosopher.

According to L. Pinto, "endless multicultural debate about "zeitgeist" provides media philosophers not only to the status of a special participant who can interpret, ask questions, act as judges..." That's why the "new philosophy" feels in the French media discourse so confident. Thus, the "philosophical journalism is par excellence the a cultural formula whereby intermediaries, people who cross the borders and carry out conversions, whether journalists, writers or university professors, contribute to making the free circulation in the intellectual field collectively acceptable" [Пэнто, 1996, p. 37].

The active cooperation of the French media and academics begin in 1960-70's, when a number of influential newspapers ("Liberation", "Le Monde", "Le Nouvel Observateur" and others) started to cooperate with specialists of different areas of knowledge, philosophers and writers. Ultimately, media support contributed to the emergence of the "new philosophers", and it marked the blurring of boundaries between closed academic and public spheres.

Detailed analysis of philosophical journalism made by L. Pinto shows an ambiguous situation in relations of philosophy and journalism. On the one hand, philosophy becomes more accessible, it opens for a wider range of readers, its intervention not limited to some specific defined area, and philosopher often delivers a political slogans (an examples of B.-A. Levi and A. Gluksmann are quite eloquent). On the other, there is a risk of simplification, blurring of boundaries between real science and pseudo philosophy. Of course, opponents of the "new philosophers" refer to this trend rather critically, because academic scientists are sometimes reluctant to leave the boundaries of their cabinets. However, mediatization of public sphere and expanding of boundaries of the publicity today are too obvious to not respond to them. Today we can say with certainty that the mass media "occupied" public sphere or replaced it by themselves. Scientists are saying that the scope of the media is the "first nature" or "the first reality", which largely shapes our view of the world. According to the German neoconservative thinker Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner, the media are not only the technical, social, psychological and political problem, but above all the ontological problem. They are therefore only able to display, veil and distort reality, because they have the ability to define it. What we perceive as reality is not simply given, but the result of media [as cited in Ермоленко, 2008, p. 29].

The example of French intellectuals is perhaps the best illustration of mediatization of philosophy and the academic sphere in general. But this is not an exceptional example of such situation. Modern American philosopher, a professor at Harvard, Michael Sandel uses the term "public philosophy". He describes a public philosophy in two dimensions: the first is to "find in the political and legal controversies of our day an occasion for philosophy", the second is to "bring moral and political philosophy to bear on contemporary public discourse" [Sandel, 2005, p. 5]. At about the same sense, the term "public philosophy" used by other American scientists – James Tully and Richard Posner [See Tully, 2008; Posner, 2003]. So we can say that both terms, "philosophical journalism" and "public philosophy", are describing the same phenomenon from different perspectives. Its essence lies in the fact that intelligent life is affected by mediatization, though only where the media and academic institutions enjoy relatively free development.

The agenda of Serhiy Krymsky's public philosophy

Serhiy Krymsky's understanding of the philosophy is quite unusual given to his status of academic scientist. "Philosophy – is not an abstract thing. This is the solution

of the problems encountered in real life ", he said in an interview. When answering the follow-up question whether philosophy can be reduced in this case exclusively to applied problems and instructions à la Dale Carnegie, he replied: "It is not just about practical problems, but the fundamental problems that we involuntarily, subconsciously decide" [Верлока, 2006, p. 141]. Describing his philosophy (at any rate in the later period), S. Krymsky sometimes resorted to rather ambiguous comparisons:

I often tell my colleagues from the Institute of Philosophy: here we are at Volodymyrska Hirka (Prince Volodymyr's Hill, a public park in Kyiv) where many people are walking. Come out to them and start to lecture on philosophical categories, the processes of cognition. And people will consider you as an idiot. And if I get to lecture, I'll start talking about the meaning of life, about human's fate, about love, about the dramatic struggle between good and evil. Do you think people will listen to me? There will gather a lot of people, I know for sure! It's not so much a question of language, as a matter of topics, and topics prompt language and style" [Верлока, 2006, p. 140].

These words describe the very peculiar nature of S. Krymsky's public philosophy. Andre Glucksmann, a representative of the "nouvelle philosophie", begins his book "Dostoevsky in Manhattan" with an epigraph by Stendhal: "My philosophy depends on the time in which I write." The same words can characterize the philosophy of Serhiy Krymsky. But it is necessary to clarify that his newspaper articles are not pure journalism, as it often happens with the "nouveaux philosophes". Cooperating with "The Day", he defined landmarks for newspapers as well. In his opinion,

the newspaper as an intellectual body of communication and social activity should not be limited only to simple informing. We begin to feel that its mission is to be the herald of truth. This means that the newspaper transmits not only the facts but also opinions, not only information but also the position of its evaluation, serves as an analyst of imputation and disclosure of problematic situations. If newspaper serving to heralding, it is involved in broadcasting information from the world as it is, to the world as it should be [Крымський, 2002].

Defining goals of newspapers as well, he also describes his role as a public thinker. This somewhat resembles the step that did Immanuel Kant in the XVIII century, when published treatise "Answering the Question: What Is Enlightenment?" In his work, he, in addition to the characteristics of the Enlightenment, implicitly defined the proper place of the public intellectual and pointed out what qualities he should have.

Hence, go beyond the routine – this is the task of public philosopher who addresses to the public on the pages of daily newspapers. S. Krymsky did it mostly through interviews or "updated monologues" (as it defined the editorial office of "The Day"). In our view, it is advantageous genres for academic intellectual, because he is not forced to adapt his philosophy to the format of newspaper articles. Although he had to go to certain concessions, refusing excessive terminology and scientific style. Among other

tasks set by S. Krymsky for newspapers, there is one that explains why he did not become "pure" journalist: "Like the theater, the newspaper should "create" audience, readership and shape them" [Махун, 2001]. This means that the public thinker on the pages of this kind of newspaper should not turn into a showman or a commentator on small current events, while he himself is able to determine the time and occasion of his public appeal. And most importantly, the content of his message is not dependent on conditions and conjuncture. The philosopher himself determines what is relevant.

Unlike many experts, who assess or comment on topics that are offered by the newspaper, S. Krymsky in his "updated monologues" appears with his own agenda. It can be viewed as a privilege, because now not every public intellectual can afford to apply to the public with the message that is deemed irrelevant or alternative. In this particular case, we see the destruction of the monopoly of mass media on the definition of relevant topics and "media-genic" behavior. However, this case is rather exceptional. The name of one of the interviews of S. Krymsky supposedly alludes to this: "If a wise man is in a minority?" Referring to the example of Plato's Socrates in this interview, he recalls that the will of the majority is not always good, especially when it suppresses objection of sage. Thus S. Krymsky recognized and at the same time warned that public philosopher can be lonely and unpopular. But it's voluntary and informed choices of those who do not want to adapt to the requirements of the media format.

S. Krymsky's view on this issue reminds us of the famous Ukrainian philosopher of the 18th century Hryhorii Skovoroda, who also faced a dilemma of popularity and opportunism. He opted for the escape from the world, and on his tombstone carved an epitaph: "The world tried to catch me, but hadn't succeeded." Obviously, this type of philosopher is unlikely to be able to work with modern media. But he was an important thinker for S. Krymsky, who wrote a book about him, which was for a long time banned in the Soviet times. In a newspaper article on Skovoroda, "Philosopher Whom the World Failed to Catch", Krymsky described the role of the philosopher in the Ukrainian tradition in such way:

Skovoroda's work is of tremendous importance difficult to overestimate in the history of Ukrainian spirituality and European mentality as such. He was one of the first in modern European civilization to assert the phenomenon of wisdom, which after Ancient Greece and Rome had been effaced by the all-embracing idea of a rational and mechanistic interpretation of all things extant and of regarding truth as something separate from good and evil. In his lecture, the philosopher put forward the idea that existence itself is filled with sense, that is, life is originally full of wisdom, enlightenment, hope, and harmony, which the Ukrainian mentality used as an ideational basis to counter chaos, "the external darkness" of the hostile forces of evil, foreign oppression, and invasions [Krymsky, 2001].

Ideas of wisdom and spirituality, which are mentioned in the passage above, are a crucial component of S. Krymsky's public philosophy. One of his most famous articles devoted to the idea of spirituality. In his public lecture which was published as a newspaper article, "The Principles of Spirituality in the 21st Century", he attempts to

consider the concept of spirituality unconventionally, rejecting clichés and stereotypes. It is necessary to take into account that the term "spirituality" has a very mixed reputation nowadays. This is primarily due to the abuses by this concept, giving it an abstract meaning. The word "spirituality" was very popular in the 80's and 90's of the last century, but today it is often used in post-soviet media discourse ironically and even disparagingly. Serhiy Krymsky tries to give it a new meaning and a "new breath".

Philosopher relates spirituality primarily to the efforts of personality who is engaged in self-creation. He provides a list of individuals who can be called a kind of example for those who want to become an integral personality (or monad-person, as he calls them). Among them – Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Mother Maria Skobtsova, Andrei Sakharov, Volodymyr Korolenko, Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Their examples are an illustration of the thesis that sometimes a person may play not lesser role than mass political movement. In order to become a person, it's not necessarily to go into politics or become a public figure. But it means to work hard to learn more about ourselves, because, as the philosopher argues,

according to psychological studies, only 5% of people know something about ourselves. So spirituality characterizes the way to oneself. The path that person passes all his entire life. (...) Spirituality – it is always valuable housebuilding of personality. This is a never-ending way to shape one's inner world, which allows a person does not depend entirely on the context of external life, in other words, to remain identical to oneself [Махун & Сюдюков, 2002].

Considering spirituality in ethical perspective, S. Krymsky establishes a distinction between spirituality and ideology, calling the latter entirely in the spirit of Marxism a class-dependent consciousness. The philosopher argues that spirituality – is not only ideas, but above all a way of life. Referring to the experience of literature, he cites a replica of the character from the novel "Life and Fate" by Vasily Grossman. Being in a German concentration camp, he said to his friend:

I am against the idea of good, because Hitler could use the idea of good to justify this camp, for "improving the race". But I am in favor of goodness. Because goodness is a human quality, it is impossible to distort it in this way [as cited in Махун & Сюдюков, 2002].

Thus, if spirituality is not implemented in practice, it is not genuine; it's rather "rhetorical spirituality", which is used as a speculative argument in political discourse. Spirituality should be implemented in deeds, and philosopher calls the main problem of our time the ability to practice spirituality. In his view, the ideas are not a major deficiency of our time, but the human qualities.

As a public philosopher Serhiy Krymsky can hardly be called a theorist of spirituality, he is more likely its interpreter for the general public. No wonder that his articles are filled with numerous illustrative examples, including from the literature, rather than abstract reasoning. He's not afraid to give life stories as illustrations for general conclusions to be understandable to the common reader. As an example, we present an excerpt from the already mentioned article, "The Principles of Spirituality in the 21st Century":

A Polish priest - it was not that long ago – came to Paris and found himself near the bridge, which is called "Suicide Bridge". He saw a young man who obviously planned to jump out of it. The priest came closer to him and said: "I will not have to persuade you not to do this step. It's your business, if you have decided, then rush. But you have money in your pocket, and there is a beggar on the street corner. You don't need the money, so go and give them to him." The young man went away and never returned... [Махун & Сюдюков, 2002].

This passage is intended to illustrate how spirituality "operates", namely as a service to others.

Explaining the essence of wisdom in a practical perspective, S. Krymsky speaks at the newspaper as a "sage". The role of "sage" in contrast to the role of "expert" provides no sectoral expertise in terms of specialization, but consideration of the fundamental issues in a broad cultural context involving practical daily experience. S. Krymsky's position as a "sage" can be easily traced at the level of titles of his articles. For example, one of it called "Serhiy Krymsky on the art of living" [Сюдюков, 2007]. Of course, "art of living" can not be a matter of highly specialized expertise, because it rather belongs to the "competence" of sage. Another illustration of the role of the "sage" is the article "Serhiy Krymsky's monologues about wisdom and life" [Makhun, 2001], in which the philosopher discusses the concepts mentioned in the title at the Saint Sophia's Cathedral. Decoding the complex symbolism of the cathedral, he at the same time talks about the peculiarities of Ukrainian culture and mentality. Thus, in his interpretation the Cathedral becomes not only a religious building of its history, but the embodiment of wisdom that helped Ukrainian nation withstands, and which should be guided today.

Spirituality and wisdom was not the only subjects that S. Krymsky as a public philosopher covered. But they were a kind of universal prism through which he saw other problems. The philosopher has spoken repeatedly with comments on current events. In March 2003, he published an anxiety-filled article on the war in Iraq. Article's title "Third Millennium: Shattered Illusions" showed that the author was interested in the broader historical context, not only short-term effects of the newly launched war. Even more, he was interested in biblical context of the military operation, pointing that

the essence of current developments in Iraq prompts one to infer that the historical drama of the US military action unfolds in a space marked by the Scriptures using the semantics of the Fall and the world dividing into good and evil. To use biblical metaphors, what happened between the Tigris and Euphrates was a temptation by the Devil of humans, attracting them to the forbidden fruit on the Tree of Knowledge, for which transgression man was punished and made mortal [Krymsky, 2003].

This passage is a vivid illustration of the author's style and way of thinking, the essence of which is to teach the reader to evaluate current events involving a wide range of arguments. It should be noted that the main focus of this article was not so much a condemnation of US actions as rejection of war as such, as a way of resolving

contradictions. Therefore, this article may be attributed to the great tradition of anti-war pamphlets, which includes Erasmus, Immanuel Kant, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and others. S. Krymsky entirely in keeping with this tradition considers current historical events as part of the History (exactly with a capital). Thus, his comment does not apply to the events of March 2003, which is rather an occasion. Generally, sage comments regarding much longer chronological periods, such as "twenty-first century", "new millennium" or general intervals of indeterminate duration – "modernity" or "future". The issue of verification of these "diagnoses" is rather ambiguous because of omnitude, which "sage" allows to himself. But it's a necessary part of his role, because the audience expects from him long-term predictions or even prophecies, rather than short-term forecasts.

Few years ago after reading the list of the most influential thinkers in the world according to "Foreign Policy" magazine, Gideon Rachman, "Financial Times" columnist, asked: "Where have all the thinkers gone?" His question was caused by the fact that the list of the magazine contains of more doers than thinkers:

In joint first place come Bill Gates and Warren Buffett for their philanthropic efforts. Then come the likes of Barack Obama (at number three), Celso Amorim, the Brazilian foreign minister (sixth), and David Petraeus, the American general and also, apparently, the world's eighth most significant thinker. It is not until you get down to number 12 on the list that you find somebody who is more famous for thinking than doing – Nouriel Roubini, the economist [Rachman, 2011].

In last year's ranking trend continued, and doers and activists again took first places (<http://globalthinkers.foreignpolicy.com/>). Answering his own question and comparing today's participants of the rate with great thinkers of the past, such as Darwin, Marx, Dickens, Tolstoy, Einstein, Keynes, TS Eliot and others, Rachman finds few explanations. First is that we might need a certain temporal distance in order to judge greatness. Second is that familiarity breeds contempt and we can't recognize the greatness of some thinkers because they are still in our midst. And finally thirdly, Racman states the fact that the nature of intellectual life has changed and become more democratic. Therefore, the author concludes:

In the modern world more people have access to knowledge and the ability to publish. The internet also makes collaboration much easier and modern universities promote specialization. So it could be that the way that knowledge advances these days is through networks of specialists working together, across the globe – rather than through a single, towering intellect pulling together a great theory in the reading room of the British Museum. It is a less romantic idea – but, perhaps, it is more efficient [Rachman, 2011].

In light of these considerations, it is worth to recall S. Krymsky's opinion that today human qualities no less urgent than ideas. This statement may be a good answer to the Gideon Rachman's question why there are more activists than thinkers in annual Foreign Policy's ranking of public intellectuals. It sounds rather paradoxically, but as a public thinker S. Krymsky prefers actions over ideas. Thus, it might be a statement of his own secondariness. But we should remember that for academic intellectual

involvement in media sphere and becoming a public thinker is already an action.

Conclusions

S. Krymsky was one of the few professional philosophers who received the most prestigious Ukrainian award, Shevchenko National Prize, which is awarded mainly writers and other artists. He was honored by this award in 2003 for the books "Request of Philosophical Meanings" [Крымський, 2003] and "Philosophy as a Way of Humanity and Hope" [Крымский, 2000]. It was certainly a recognition of his outstanding role as a public thinker, and also the fact that philosophy should play a more prominent role in life of society. Thereafter he even was invited several times on TV, but this does not become a good tradition.

On the one hand, Serhiy Krymsky's cooperation with "The Day" newspaper was some loss to him as a philosopher, and achievement as for public intellectual, on the other. Many thinkers made concessions to the publicness, at least from the time of Erasmus, who, according to Johan Huizinga, was one of the first European intellectuals who faced the challenge of books printing. Serhiy Krymsky's philosophical journalism (or public philosophy) can be a good model of how the philosopher, who works with the media, is able to combine the depth of his profession with the challenges of time and service to the society.

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THE WORD THAT ENSLAVES OR THE WORD THAT LIBERATES?

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Abstract

On the basis of summarizing the experience of global journalism the author raises the problem of using of the Word to determine meanings of life, improvement of human, ensuring productive relations between nations and civilizations.

Key words: truth, morality, responsibility, dignity of creative person, information, paradigm

Truth is the highest moral ideal. Since oldest times it has undergone different, sometimes contradictory interpretations. Sophists, for example, juggled paradoxes and ambiguous words without finding the truth or worrying about good, and caught "in their nets fools, alluring them by expected great pleasures". On the contrary, Socrates insisted on needed in order truth, was fair while using words and warned against destroying the soul.

In new times American philosopher William James tried to prove, that truth must be instrumental or functional: school of pragmatism taught, that truth was measured by its pragmatism, usefulness and feasibility.

Behind scientific-philosophical and current view on this problem, let's find out the essence of the religious truth, as firstly, it is necessary to save the person as an individual, because he became indifferent, degenerate, simple, scarecrow. Secondly, progress is inseparable from the theological dimension of life. When we ask the question, concerning the progress, the first question is not "How many?", but "For whom?"

We should try to feel more fully moral responsibility, developing understanding what is good and what is bad, what is eternal and what is temporal. The Ukrainian scientist Pamphil Yurkevych, a spokesman of "philosophy of heart" wrote:

Truth is absorbed by a person, becomes her inner acquisition, her treasure only when it doesn't touch person's heart. ...Peoples' thoughts do not interest us themselves, but depending on the fact whether they are real, heartfelt conviction of a person. We are interested not only in the person's thought, but the attitude of the person to this thought – whether truth worries the person's heart [Samchyshyn, 1985, p. 292].

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Truth has religious, philosophical, scientific, life dimensions, it is not only cognitive phenomenon, but first of all moral. A spokesman and founder of the opinion journalism MykolaShlemkevychclaims:

There is different truth in the spirit. There is dogma truth, that heaven or earth force says to recognize it...We are talking about logical and mathematic axioms-truth that are determined by complete mental clarity and expression. There is truth – conclusion...And there is intuition – truth, and we believe it without proof, believe from some internal demand... [Шлемкевич, 1949, p. 5].

If you don't search for truth daily, you can lose it daily, it becomes abstract; at the same time it schematizes, if it isn't filled with love and charity. Western positivism and Marxist "utopia" have common roots in the subject consciousness. Meanwhile, the world which lacks truth of faith or altruism is an inhuman world.

Let's refer to the thought of a famous Polish producer, essayist, and scientist Krzysztof Zanussi:

If being Christians we'll agree on the basis as neighbour to neighbour , but not as a producer and a consumer and not as a leader of the herd, there is hope that going this way we'll build the basis of a better world than we inherited from our relatives. We need to get rid of fear before coming things and feel hope in our heart that the world can be better, because it was worse once [Zanussi, 1996, p. 257].

The world opinion making press more and more often publishes problematic materials, which fully discuss this problem. The word today, being cut off from spiritual culture, becomes frightening weapon of man against man, nation against nation, becomes password for the evil. Let's give attention to the opinion of Václav Havel:

Words that electrify society with their freedom and truthfulness are matched by words that mesmerize, deceive, inflame, madden, beguile, words that are harmful—lethal, even. The word as arrow...The words of Lenin—what were they? Liberating or, on the contrary, deceptive, dangerous, and ultimately enslaving?My own impression of these words is that they were invariably frenzied. And what about Marx's words? Did they serve to illuminate an entire hidden plane of social mechanisms, or were they just the inconspicuous germ of all the subsequent appalling gulags. And what about Freud's words? Did they disclose the secret cosmos of the human soul, or were they no more than the fountainhead of the illusion now benumbing half of America that it is possible to shed one's torments and guilt by having them interpreted away by some well-paid specialist? [Havel, 1990]

Practically nearly all Russian journalism during current times is affected by imperial motives, rejection of values which became the orientation of the Ukrainian society in the context of European community. That's why "the army of the word" (the most resonant representative Dmitrii Kyseliov) causes conflicts, deprivation of own people and neglect of other nations. This is the continuation of the role of journalists, who "made "barbed wire for Lenin-Stalin Hulah, who prepared concrete for Hitler's crematorium, then for Berlin's wall.

Today, a significant part of journalists is imposed by the kitsch, extreme selfishness to the attitude towards the reality, being covered by the attractive ideologies of liberal democracy.

Truth makes people authentic; they are taught dignity, purity and transcendence. The crisis stops being critical, if her source turns out and phenomena are seen in their integrity. Therefore, people learn how to exist in time, be truthful. Rich, spiritual energy is created through thinking people. Being the most perfect self representation of the journalist the word must be of high quality. Then the thought will be not only accurate and deep but passionate, inspired by the developed imagination. Operating the words of high quality advisedly and nobly we raise worth of our heart, beauty and power of thought.

Let's mention R. W. Emerson:

A man's power to connect his thought with its proper symbol, and so to utter it, depends on the simplicity of his character, that is, upon his love of truth, and his desire to communicate it without loss. The corruption of man is followed by the corruption of language. When simplicity of character and the sovereignty of ideas is broken up by the prevalence of secondary desires, the desire of riches, of pleasure, of power, and of praise,—and duplicity and falsehood take place of simplicity and truth, the power over nature as an interpreter of the will, is in a degree lost; new imagery ceases to be created, and old words are perverted to stand for things which are not; a paper currency is employed, when there is no bullion in the vaults. In due time, the fraud is manifest, and words lose all power to stimulate the understanding or the affections. Hundreds of writers may be found in every long-civilized nation, who for a short time believe, and make others believe, that they see and utter truths, who do not of themselves clothe one thought in its natural garment, but who feed unconsciously on the language created by the primary writers of the country, those, namely, who hold primarily on nature [Emerson, 1892, p. 32].

Where do modern changes in the international arena lie? The world moves from sudden crisis of globalization and enters the phase of rough geopolitics.

Deceit of a new, better world fell first of all under the hits of global terrorism, then under the attacks of global financial fraud. It's interesting that both these attacks on mother globalization became the case of its own children. There wouldn't be Al-Qaeda's web, if there were the Internet, freedom of communication, travels, lulling responsiveness, which acted in the atmosphere of "eternal peace". There wouldn't be any crisis of the world system of financial institutes if first they didn't appear and got the status of the universal banks, there weren't any possibility of speculative circulation of new tools, that are impossible to really control by the state institutions and finally, if globalization didn't make the culture of temporality, hence – avarice, cynicism, arrogance, bragging, tax paradise and business unbridled. Thereby, globalization made in itself gene for self destruction, as it is built on utopia [Szczerki, 2012].

Neal Gabler, a senior fellow at the Annenberg Norman Lear Center at the University

of Southern California, touches one more very important problem:

The ideas themselves could even be made famous: for instance, for "the end of ideology," "the medium is the message," "the feminine mystique," "the Big Bang theory," "the end of history." A big idea could capture the cover of Time – "Is God Dead?"... There is the eclipse of the public intellectual in the general media by the pundit who substitutes outrageousness for thoughtfulness, and the concomitant decline of the essay in general-interest magazines. And there is the rise of an increasingly visual culture, especially among the young – a form in which ideas are more difficult to express... And that's just the point. In the past, we collected information not simply to know things. That was only the beginning. We also collected information to convert it into something larger than facts and ultimately more useful – into ideas that made sense of the information. We sought not just to apprehend the world but to truly comprehend it, which is the primary function of ideas. Great ideas explain the world and one another to us... We have become information narcissists, so uninterested in anything outside ourselves and our friendship circles or in any tidbit we cannot share with those friends that if a Marx or a Nietzsche were suddenly to appear, blasting his ideas, no one would pay the slightest attention, certainly not the general media, which have learned to service our narcissism... What the future portends is more and more information – Everests of it. There won't be anything we won't know. But there will be no one thinking about it. Think about that [Gabler, 2011].

Finally let's cite British historian Neal Ferguson:

There was a time when we believed in Western civilization... Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, French and American Revolutions, Industrial Revolution, Electoral Reform – the big "Rs" of the West's ascent – were noted, memorised and then "discussed" in innumerable essays. And then something changed. After around 1960, the word "civilisation" slumped in popularity. Universities – beginning with Stanford in 1963 – ceased to offer the classic "Western Civ" history course. To the generation that came of age protesting against the Vietnam War, Mahatma Gandhi had been right when he implied that "Western civilisation" was a contradiction in terms. It was nothing more than a euphemism for a blood-steeped, bomb-dropping imperialism.

In British schools, too, the grand narrative of Western ascent fell out of fashion. Thanks to an educationalists' fad that elevated "historical skills" above knowledge in the name of "New History" – combined with the unintended consequences of the curriculum-reform process – most British teenagers now leave secondary school knowing only unconnected fragments of Western history.

A survey of first-year history undergraduates at one leading British university revealed that only 34 per cent knew who was the English monarch at the time of the Armada, 31 per cent knew the location of the Boer War and 16 per cent knew who commanded the British forces at Waterloo. In a similar poll of English children aged between 11 and 18, 17 per cent thought Oliver Cromwell fought at the Battle

of Hastings.

Throughout the English-speaking world, moreover, the argument has gained ground that it is other cultures we should study, not our own. The musical sampler sent into outer space with the Voyager spacecraft in 1977 featured 27 tracks, only 10 of them from Western composers, including not only Bach, Mozart and Beethoven but also Louis Armstrong, Chuck Berry and Blind Willie Johnson. A history of the world "in 100 objects", published last year by the Director of the British Museum, included no more than 30 products of Western civilization [Ferguson, 2011].

In our opinion, the paradigm of development of the world should have the following model:

1. Religion (theological dimension of life)
2. Culture (symbols, heroes, tradition, values)
3. Nature (harmony with the universe)
4. Family (basis of the social organism)
5. Nation (as indestructible and eternal spirit)
6. Justice ("moral minimum")
7. Social and political factors
8. Economy (as the culture of economic and political relations)

In the context of this paradigm the scope is to achieve a fair order, the social charity, and the civilization of love. This is the organic principle of life, notably of God. While the existent paradigm and the scope of the materialist project consists in conquest of others, in enjoyment of life. Today we see it as followed:

1. Politics (sphere of egoism or violence)
2. Economy (property, success, efficiency)
3. Civil society
4. Democracy (or totalitarianism)
5. Constitutional state
6. Militarization of society
7. Mediatization of politics and of public life (permanent intensification of passions)

It's necessary substantially change the system of journalists training in High school, which has to become smithy noble thoughts. As Ukrainian essayist and writer Vasyl Barkasaid: "Education doesn't lie in university diploma but in ability to see great truths." For example: in our eyes commercial-manipulation civilization disappears from the historical arena; dominance of the West, which lasted 500 years is over. Putinism, on the other hand, clings the criminal past. So, more and more people nowadays make sure that communism and capitalism are twins, which from different sides accelerate the process of complete spiritless of modern societies. The journalist-

thinker has to see these processes... Modern journalists, as a rule, do not wish for taking as a guide the best samples of worldview journalism, which was and is still represented by the spokesmen of the word which liberates but not enslaves. Let's mention at least Italian D. Mazzini, Irish E. Burke, American R. Emerson, Columbian G. G. Marquez, Czech V. Gavel, Bialorussian S. Alexievitch, Ukrainian Ye. Sverstiuk, Polish R. Kapuscinski, French A. Frossard, Argentinian E. Sabato, German M. Dönhoff, who interpret their journalist (as well as literary, cultural, philosophical) activity as a mission. "Modern person is striving awaken thought" (Octavio Paz), "Connection of faith and science could give the orientation for a modern disorganized person" (Ye. Sverstiuk). People serve the ideal by doing good, discovering the truth and making beautiful. Rejection from conscientious, productive thinking is equivalent to spiritual bankruptcy.

The spirit of the time is changing. We are beginning to realize more profoundly that the purpose of history is moral progress. Technology is just a means of making life better. The 21st century must become a century of rehabilitation of goodness, because only moral values can save the world. The integral truth of things is the truth of the spirit. The ultimatum purpose of life is a spiritual one:

- The truth will liberate us, indeed;
- Labor gives birth to wisdom and purity;
- There is nothing more valuable in the life of the person than justice;
- We must derive traditions from the pure source.

The world accumulated big storehouses of wisdom, people should only open them, take them as an orientation. As it is known, the Golden age of journalism is the XIX century. It should be say that the materials of an English newspaper "The Times" influenced the whole world policy. Journalists must synthesize for themselves the best samples, and opinion creative press must stop with primitive criticizing, which is essentially repressive.

Journalism today lacks first of all morality, there is an absence of a suitable type of mentality. Good journalistic practice can be provided by the person who uses the highest ideals, feels justice, and knows the problem very well and who is always ready to assume moral responsibility. When we repeat that the main aim of the mass media is to serve truth and justice it means that we must awaken a wish to believe in a better world and this wish will grow into the possibility so that we can cherish such a belief. Francis of Assisi discussed in the 13th century the responsibility of bringing Truth to the places where Lies rule, of bringing Faith to the places where there is Doubt, of bringing Accord to the places where there is Discord, and of bringing Hope to the places where Despair dominates. It can become a creed for the role and responsibilities of all journalists today.

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EVENTS AT MAIDAN NEZALEZHNOSTI OF UKRAINE IN AUTUMN 2013 – WINTER 2014 (IN VIEW OF DIFFERENT UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN PRINTED MEDIA)

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Abstract

The article deals with some peculiarities of highlighting sociopolitical events in Ukraine in autumn 2013 and in winter 2014 by some leading Ukrainian and Russian printed mass media and their personal attitude concerning the course of these events.

Sociopolitical situation that was created in Ukraine at the end of 2013 proved that sizable gap between the public and power holders' conscience, progress and regression. The discrepancies in the future vision of geopolitical location of Ukraine led to the mass protests that started in November 2013. The events that took place in the night from 29th to 30th of November and during January - February 2014 made the front page of all mass media, both Ukrainian and foreign, and those of the Russian Federation in particular.

Great attention to highlighting the Ukrainian events during autumn 2013 and winter 2014 was paid by the journalists of the leading media, such as P. Beba, K. Matsehora, Y. Medunitsia, V. Protsyshyn – reporters of the central Executive body newspaper "Uriadovyi Kurier" (translated as "the governmental messenger"); O. Kucheriava, S. Lavreniuk – the newspaper of Verkhovna Rada "Holos Ukrainy" (translated as "the voice of Ukraine"); E. tor of Haladzhyi, D. Deriy, O. Dubovyk – the Ukrainian Russian-language newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukraini" (translated as "the komsomol truth in Ukraine"); P. Dulman, E. Hrushyn – the Russian language newspaper "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" (translated as "the Russian gazette"); A. Zakharova – the Ukrainian Russian-language newspaper "Segodnia" (translated as "today"). At the same time the events related to the sociopolitical protests that were covered in all mass media had some tonal marking: positive to the authority, negative to the authority, negative to the opposition, reserved to the opposition, negative to MIA (Ministry of Internal Affairs), positive to MIA, negative and positive to the participants of the mass protests, neutral, etc.

Key words: Euromaidan, protesters, participants of mass protests, authority, opposition, MIA, mass media, "Uriadovyy Kuryer", "Holos Ukrayiny", "Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukraine", "Fakty", "Segodnya", "Moskovskiy komsomolets", "Rossiyskaya gazeta", "Kommersant".

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The main function of the press in a democratic state implies that all participants espouse ethical and responsible views, while not dismissing both the independence and critical approach. The press should serve the cause of freedom of expression of opinions that includes the right to receive and disseminate the information upon condition of the respect for other fundamental rights and freedoms protected by the European Convention on Human Rights.

Today the mass media share a number of characteristic features that make them a significant force in politics and culture which is an important constituent part of the environment within which the other social forces and institutions operate and seek to understand goals set, including state governmental bodies. Novikov [2013] points out that "the press is the traditional enemy of the state because it can dominate feelings and thoughts of people. A person is nobody to the state and nothing to the press".

From the most general point of view, the opinion of the majority of the researchers in this field of activity can be referred to as two opposing concepts that are conventionally divided into liberal pluralism and critical approach as for the activity of the mass media. For instance, the concept of liberal pluralism in the area of mass information determined by D. Gallin and P. Manchiny represents the dominant views on the way the mass media functions in Western liberal democracies where the power in this or that way is distributed between the rival political groups ("elites") and none of them has advantages in the political arena. And on the contrary, another thesis about the audience representation and its sovereignty assumes that the main content of the information products distributed by the mass media is formed exclusively taking into account the society's priority tastes. It is acknowledged by this that the mass media constitute a potential paradox for liberal science because, as it was mentioned before, the media are both business entities and public institutions.

The sociopolitical situation in Ukraine as it has developed at the end of 2013 showed a significant disparity in the mindset of society and high-ranking officials, progress and regression. The clearly defined position of the Ukrainian nation failed to convince the authoritatively-oriented officials to choose the right path of the country's development. The disparities about the future geopolitical position of Ukraine led to the massive protests that started in November 2013. A dispersal of the peaceful protest rally in the night from 29th to 30th November, 2013 provoked by a non-signing of the Association Agreement of the membership of Ukraine in EU by the state security forces served as the main pretext of the mass public protests in Ukraine.

The events that took place at Maidan Nezalezhnosti in Kiev in the night from 29th to 30th November, 2013 and the events of January-February 2014 were sensational for all mass media, both Ukrainian and foreign, including the Russian Federation. The reporters of the major editions, in particular, of such newspapers as "Uryadovyy Kuryer" – journalists P. Beba, K. Matsehora, Y. Medunytsia, V. Protsyshyn; "Holos Ukrainy" – O. Kucheriava, S. Lavreniuk; "Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukraini"- E. Galadzhyi, D. Deriy, O. Dubovyk; "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" – P. Dulman, E. Hrushyn; "Segodnya" newspaper – A. Zakharova, gave exclusive attention in their articles to the events in autumn 2013 and

winter 2014. At the same time the events related to the sociopolitical protests that were covered in all mass media shared some tonal marking: positive to the authority, negative to the authority, negative to the opposition, reserved to the opposition, negative to MIA, positive to MIA, negative and positive to the participants of the mass protests, neutral, etc.

The content analysis of the Ukrainian and Russian print media that were covering events during November 2013 - February 2014, including newspapers "Uryadovyy Kuryer", «Holos Ukrainy», «Komsomolskaya Pravda v Ukraini», «Fakty», «Segodnya», «Moskovskiy komsomolets», «Rossiyskaya gazeta», «Kommersant» (Russia) is of particular interest. The vast majority of these editions took pro-government position or tried to cover events from the neutral side, without providing any benefits to the opposition. The attitude of each edition is clearly evident in the publications that came out in newspapers columns during the sharpest conflicts, including November 30, 2013 at the time of the attempt to disperse Euromaidan; on December 1, 2013 during the clashes between the protesters and law-enforcement forces on Bankova street (where the Presidential Secretariat is located); on January 19-22, 2014 during a confrontation on Hrushevskoho street and on February 18-20 – on Instytutska street. Thus, the official newspaper of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine named "Uryadovyy Kuryer", from the very beginning of the conflict on Bankova Street on December 1, 2013 took a very negative attitude towards radically-oriented protesters, a negatively reserved attitude to the MIA and an absolutely restrained to the power [Musyt peremohty ...].

At the same time, the public address of Mykola Azarov (the then Prime-Minister) on December 4, 2013 in the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament) regarding the government personnel changes and sociopolitical situation in the country allowed the editors of the "Uryadovyy Kurier" to cover this speech in favour of the government and to give a sharply negative assessment of the actions of the opposition, shifting the blame for igniting the conflict to the latter [M.Azarov: "V Uryadi bude provedeno.."]. In general, during December 2013 the position of the newspaper "Uryadovyy Kuryer" remained positive towards the government's actions and mostly negative towards the actions of the opposition and protesters [Viktor Yanukovych: "Bud Yakyy, Navit Pohanyy Myr Krashche.."; Medunytsya, 2013]. The position of this edition clearly shows that in December 2013 the Yanukovych team held the power tightly and had an absolute influence on this newspaper.

However, the January events on the Hrushevskoho Street in 2014, the government's policy of uncertainty and wait-and-see attitude of Maidan changed somewhat the position of "Uryadovyy Kuryer". In particular, in the article titled "Beat Constitution with Molotov cocktail?" and "Address of the President to the Ukrainian people", the newspaper sharply took a neutral position to the government and the Interior Ministry, but at the same time did not change its reserved negative attitude towards the opposition and protesters [Protsyshyn, 2013; Zvernennya Prezydenta...]. The "Uryadovyy Kurier" newspaper followed the same policy until February 20, 2014. The following articles of these media are the proof: "Aggression on the Unity Day is twice destructive" from

January 23, 2014 [Ahresiya u Den Sobornosti]", "The capital has never known such a large-scale confrontation before" from February 19, 2014. Despite the fact that at the beginning of February 19, 2014 there were half of a hundred of the killed citizens and hundreds of the wounded by the authorities at Maidan, the authors of the article continued to accuse protesters of the armed attacks on the buildings of the state power bodies, organizations and arson of houses, causing serious body injuries to the law enforcement bodies, using firearms, etc. [Matshehora, 2014]. Only after the downfall of Yanukovich's regime on February 21, 2014, the "Uryadovyy Kuryer" newspaper took a negative attitude to the power and neutral to the opposition, in particular, in the article "The language of the diplomats can be sharp" from 21.02.2014 where the issue of the sanctions against the perpetrators of violence against protesters was raised [Beba, 2014].

Another periodical edition, the official newspaper of the Verkhovna Rada "Holos Ukrainy" took a rather different attitude in the coverage of the revolutionary events in Ukraine, in November 2013 - January-February 2014. In particular, during the clashes of the protesters with security forces on Bankova street on December 1, 2013, the newspaper "Holos Ukrainy" in its articles "The Cabinet of Ministers is in blockade" [Kokhanets, 2013] and "President's address to the Ukrainian people" [Zvernennya Prezydenta] expressed its full support to the government's actions and mostly negative attitude towards opposition actions. Synchronically, the force method of solving social and political problems in Ukraine caused a negative reaction in the edition. Thus, A. Shevchenko, the author of the article "Violence cannot be a method of solving a problem" expressed a negative attitude to the actions of the authorities [Shevchenko, 2013]. The most negative attitude to the actions of the authorities in the "Holos Ukrainy" newspaper was described by S. Lavreniuk in the article "Baptism by water, fire and tear gas" where the author entirely condemned the brutal violence of the power holders over the people. Thus, the neutral attitude to the opposition is evident in the article [Lavrenyuk, 2013].

It should be noted that the events on January 19th created a certain imbalance in the country, there was no logic and explanation to the actions of the high-ranking officials, as well as the prognosis of the events as for the near future was not clear enough. This situation had led to the fact that the "Holos Ukrainy" newspaper after the January events began to cover events in the city center of Kyiv through the prism of neutrality and sharply negative attitude to the opposition. This trend was observed especially in the further issues of the newspaper until the end of the confrontation [Verkhovna Rada Stala Tsentrom Kerivnytstva.; Zhodnykh Peredumov.; Chto s Nami budet zavtra; Shevchenko, 2013]. Given the fact that the official office of the "Holos Ukrainy" newspaper which was the edition of the main representative body in Ukraine was supposed to defend the interests of the people, but such trend in its activity was almost invisible. However, the neutrality of this edition indicates a much lower impact of the Yanukovich's regime on the level of objectivity of the information and wide experience of the editorial board in coverage of such social and political events.

An interesting position concerning the events in the center of Kyiv in November-December 2013 - January and February 2014 took the newspaper "Komsomolskaya Pravda in Ukraine", founded by B. Lozhkyn - Chairman of the "Ukrainian Media Holding" [Komsomolskaya Pravda..] with chief editor - Oksana Bogdanova who worked as a staff reporter of the "NTN" TV-channel in Russia in 2004-2005, and from January 2006 – a staff reporter in Russia for "1 + 1" Ukrainian TV channel [Leonova, 2014]. In particular, during the autumn and winter coverage of the events in Kyiv, in the actions of the "Komsomolskaya Pravda in Ukraine" newspaper several trends could be traced: 1) neutral [Dubovik, 2013; Myatezhnaya Stolitsa..]; 2) neutral to the power holders [Ryabokon & Galadazhiy, 2013]; 3) negative to the opposition [Galadazhiy, 2013], 4) positive to security forces and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [Bili szadi v golovu], 5) negative to the protesters and radicals [Ryabokon et al., 2013; Supricheva, 2014]. The analysis of the articles of "Komsomolskaya Pravda in Ukraine" newspaper has shown that this edition gave the biggest advantage even not for government's actions but to the actions of the security forces. However, despite the constant criticism of the protesters, the newspaper gave approval to their mood several times. In particular, in the article "Priests blessed to put up a fight with "berkut" (the "Berkut" is the special riot police force within the Ministry of Internal) published on December 3, 2013, an astonishing unity of the Ukrainian people and their decisive firm mood was described [Deriy, 2013]. Only on February 22, 2014 after the shift of considerable part of the law enforcement bodies on the side of the protesters, "Komsomolskaya Pravda in Ukraine" published an article "Participants of mass protests are not happy with ceasefire" where a significant support to the actions of the protesters was traced [Deriy, 2014].

Among the leading aforesaid print media that treated the events at Maidan Nezalezhosti in autumn 2013 - winter 2014 ambiguously, an important place is given to the "Fakty" newspaper owned by Victor Pinchuk, with Alexander Shvets being the chief editor [Fakty i komentarii]. In particular, after the crackdown of the students in the night of 29th to 30th November 2014 and after the events on Bankova street on December 1, 2013, the "Fakty" newspaper expressed a very negative attitude regarding government actions in the article "What will be with us tomorrow" where it emphasized the fact that the bloody events were a point of no return in the mind of the Ukrainian society and brought millions of people to the streets [Chto s nami budet zavtra]. In general, during the autumn and winter (2013-2014) protests in Kiev, the color tone of the "Fakty" newspaper embraced two trends: 1) strongly negative attitude to the authorities, the Interior Ministry and "berkut"; 2) positive to the actions of the protesters. In particular, in the publication "Brain is refusing to believe that is happening in reality" from December 4, 2013 (interview with the victim) [Mozg otkazivaetsa verit..], "We can't leave wounded people" on December 5, 2013 (interview with a medical volunteer) [39], "The berkuts drove us as if we were dogs. We were running along the street and bullets flew to our backs"[Berkutovtsy gnali nas kak sobak ...] and in other publications the actions of the security forces and power holders were harshly condemned. However, in such articles as "Lots of mercenaries were brought to Kiev" on January 22, 2014 [V Kiev

svezli ogromnoe kolichestvo..], "Sergey Nyhoian "Keep fighting – we will overcome, for God helps us" on January 23, 2014 [47], "Interview with the victims of the security services actions" [Intervyu s postradavshimi..] an active support of the mass protesters is seen. It is important to remark that clear support for the opposition and its activities during the confrontation was not recorded on the pages of "Fakty".

It should be noted that not many printed media were loyal to the protesters. Thus, the content analysis of the articles of the "Segodnya" newspaper owned by Rinat Akhmetov [Kollektiv gazety "Segodnya" o resehnii Akhmetova...] during the period of November-December 2013 and January - 2014 shows that from the beginning of the collision between the protesters and force blocks on December 1, 2013, the newspaper tried to adopt a neutral position towards all parties [Stolitsa na barikadakh]. However, during the bloody clashes in the center of Kyiv on January 19, 2014, the "Segodnya" newspaper issue from January 20, expressed a negative attitude towards activists and at the same time maintained a neutral attitude to the actions of MIA in the article "Once again Maidan made an assault" [Maydan snova poshol na shturm]. January events in which two protesters were killed somewhat changed the tonal coloring of the "Segodnya" newspaper. In particular, the article titled "The protester on Hrushevskoho street: "Get away from here! Here is a hell" from January 23, 2014, a sharply negative emphasis was placed on the actions of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs and neutral position concerning the protesters [Zakharova, 2014]. The analysis of such articles "Five reasons to impose a state of emergency" (from 24.01.2014) [Pyat prichin vvesti..], "Exploded ceasefire" (from 19.02.2014) [Vzorvanoe peremirje], "Only an emblem was not allowed to put on barricades" [Na barikady ne pustili tolko gerb] shows that the position of the "Segodnya" newspaper remained relatively unchanged, adhering to neutral and negative approach to the Interior Ministry. On February 21, 2014 on the "Segodnya" newspaper columns an article "The fear and hatred of two fronts" was published where the authors tried to justify the rightfulness of the actions of MIA [Strakh i nenavist...]. The variability in the tone of the "Segodnya" newspaper confirmed the unaccountability of the social and political movement. In addition, the subsequent events forced the newspaper editorial office to take a generally neutral position.

Great influence on the minds of the Ukrainian society had the printed media of the Russian Federation in Ukraine where a considerable attention was given to such newspapers as "Moskovskiy Komsomolets", "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" and "Kommersant"(Russia). In late autumn 2013 - beginning 2014 the revolutionary events that took place in Kiev were actively highlighted on the pages of these editions. However, the tone in covering those events by these media was different.

In particular, the newspaper "Moskovskiy Komsomolets" after the dissolution of students in the night November 30, 2013 in the article "The Christmas Tree on the spot of slaughter" highlighted negatively the position of the "Berkut" special division and Yanukovych in this situation, supporting the position of the Maidan [Bazak, 2013]. However, the events that took place on December 1, 2013 near the Presidential Administration in Bankova Street allowed the newspaper "Moskovskiy Komsomolets

Komsomolets" to change slightly its position. In the article "In the name of Revolution" on December 3, 2013 a full responsibility for the conflict was laid on the organization of "Brotherhood" of Dmytro Korchyynskyi that involved allegedly professional mercenaries. Thus, the protesters on the newspaper pages were arbitrarily divided into two categories - radicals and peace protesters whose actions were highlighted in the negative and positive line respectively [Bazak, 2013]. The newspaper's editorial office held the similar position till January 2014. However, the conventional distinction between peaceful protesters and radicals was obliterated more and more, most of them becoming radical-minded protestors [Bazak, 2013]. In addition, the more radical action took the authorities, the more favourably the newspaper treated Yanukovych and more negatively the opposition [Rostovskiy, 2014]. Even the mass murder of the people at Maidan in February did not change the policy of the "Moskovskiy Komsomolets" newspaper.

Other edition such as "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" - contained two clear positions in terms of covering the events in the city of Kyiv in autumn 2013 - winter 2014: 1) negative towards protesters and opposition leaders; 2) positive to the authorities. The content of the key articles acknowledges this position in the sharpest moments of confrontation. In particular, in the article "Play by play: Kievskaya, next street of barricades" on December 3, events in Ukraine were characterized as 'pogroms' that aimed to stagger the power in Ukraine [Novikov, 2013]; in the publication "Baptism of fire" from January 20 the opposition leaders and AutoMaidan were accused in clashes on Hrushevskoho street, where the heroism of the law enforcement officers was highlighted [Dulman, 2014]; in the article "Play-by-play. Ukrainian night: the end of the silence" from February 20, the protesters were charged sharply with capturing warehouses with arms and the opposition was made responsible for the deaths of the people [Aleshina, 2014]. Only on February 24, 2014, "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" in the article "Yanukovych was twisted to Europe - around his little finger" negatively characterized the actions of all parties of the conflict - the government, opposition and radical-minded protesters [Shestakov, 2014].

A more neutral position towards autumn and winter events in Ukraine held Russian newspaper "Kommersant". In particular, at the initial stage of the revolution in the article "Maidan was dispersed until the lack of control", the newspaper neutrally reacted to the events [Yusin, 2013], but with further development of the events in Bankova street on December 1, 2013 in the article "Ukraine does not fairly trust the government", the newspaper took the side of Yanukovych and bright shade of negativity towards the opposition [Yusin, 2103]. January events made the newspaper more neutral towards the authority's actions, while maintaining a negative vision towards the actions of the opposition and radicals [Barabanov, 2014]. In turn, the February mass murder of the people forced the newspaper "Kommersant" to cover events on the neutral background [Barabanov, 2104].

The analysis conducted indicates some differences and factors affecting the tonal coloring of the Ukrainian and Russian publications. Firstly, coverage of the events on

the pages of the Ukrainian newspapers owned by the state such as "Uryadovyy Kuryer" and "Holos Ukrainy" depends largely on which political party is in power and the figure of the chief editor. During the "Euromaidan", the "Uryadovyy Kuryer" newspaper was almost entirely pro-governmental. This position is also explained by the fact that the chief editor of this edition (S. Braga) having been appointed by Yanukovych in 2010 was of the Russian nationality and completely under control of the Party of Regions (the Presidential party). Meanwhile, the newspaper "Holos Ukrainy", an official edition of the Verkhovna Rada, although had a pro-governmental inclination, took a neutral position in coverage of the above-mentioned events. The important role was played by A.F Gorlov, the chief editor of this edition, who has been working in the media since 1972 and had a great experience in covering events during the revolution.

Secondly, the coverage of the events on the pages of such private editions as "Komsomolskaya Pravda in Ukraine", "Segodnia" and "Fakty" was somewhat different. In particular, "Komsomolskaya pravda" owned by B. Lozhkin tried to report neutrally about the actions of the power and opposition (political maneuvering), but strongly negatively covered the actions of the protesters, whose support could negatively affect the relationship between Yanukovych and B. Lozhkin. At the same time, the "Segodnya" newspaper controlled by Rinat Akhmetov, overall tried to maintain a neutral attitude to the government and activists, but sometimes approved of the actions of the Interior Ministry. The "Fakty" newspaper owned by V. Pinchuk, led policy in support of Maidan.

Thirdly, almost all Russian editions analyzed in this study supported the position of the government and the Interior Ministry and had negative attitude towards protesters. Besides that they often focused their attention on Putin's public addresses on the situation that occurred in Ukraine. However, a common feature of these editions is that they took a negative or neutral attitude against the opposition and did not speak in favor of it.

Taking into account the aforesaid, it is worth paying attention to the fundamental change in the relationship between media and public authorities. If in the early 90's of the XX century the relationship had subject-object nature, i.e. public authority had a dominant influence on the domestic audiovisual mass media both at the national and local levels, at present a change of the vector of influence is observed – national TV and radio channels practically ran out of control of public authorities and significantly affect the implementation of the state policy in all spheres of the public life. Obviously, the character of the mutual relations at this stage has gained a subject-subject feature.

Summarizing, it should be noted that a change in the paradigm of the relationship between the government and media are inextricably linked with reconciliation of the present-day vital issues, especially those related to the public sovereignty in the information area in which a paradoxical situation has formed: on the one hand, the Ukrainian society has declared its commitment to the European community, and the national legislation in terms of the freedom of speech is quite liberal and, though slowly, but gradually approaching the standards of the Council of Europe, on the other hand - almost every state agency continues to maintain for its budget (i.e. at the expense of

the society) its own print edition.

As we have mentioned before, the position of this or that mass media during active social and political processes in the country depends directly on the position of the official power. In addition, the tonal coloring of the printed media news has a considerable influence on the formation of public opinion. According to the results of the study, the ambiguous coverage of the autumn and winter events in Ukraine of the above-mentioned media, had a positive impact, on the one hand, because one could contemplate the objective reality while analyzing different sources, on the other hand - the bulk of the population that consumes only information without analyzing it found itself in a state of confusion, that partly spawned panic sentiments in the society.

Therefore, one of the main conclusions, in our opinion, is the belief in the need of denationalization of the press in Ukraine. All calls and arguments about the "right of community" on establishing its newspaper bear the prefix "pseudo" and are originating from "evil" as such press will work mostly for its own interests and for those persons who have direct access to the budget allocations at the cost of which the edition is funded. While the right of community consists in the possibility of the free access to the objective and impartial information, the right to the diversity in the mass media, that is to say the right to its creation, receipt and distribution without impediment.

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