

The Fateful Nature of State-Building Projects

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Abstract

The article delves into an examination of pivotal state-building initiatives that have significantly shaped societal trajectories. The clash between the February project (Provisional Government) and the October project (Soviets) emerged as a decisive determinant in steering the socio-political course within the former Russian Empire in 1917. The confrontation between the anti-Soviet endeavor and the Soviet undertaking ultimately contributed to the demise of the USSR and the Soviet system. In the contemporary context of swift social dynamics and emerging threats, safeguarding the stability and coherence of societies and nations necessitates the formulation of a novel realm of social understanding. This is proposed to be encompassed under the scholarly discipline of “Theory of Fate Analytics of Societies, Peoples, and States.”

Keywords

projects of state building, projects of February and October, Soviet project, anti-Soviet project, constitutional project, civil nation project, civilization project

Introduction

In examining the legitimacy of the state between February and October 1917, S. Kara-Murza (2008) contends that, on the whole, the bourgeois state was unable to secure legitimacy among any significant social group within the given historical timeframe.

According to the scholar, the primary factors behind this phenomenon were inherent to the project itself and the nascent nature of the entities that composed the Provisional Government. These underpinnings were also reflected in external political considerations. The architects of the February movement, the Westerners, envisioned a bourgeois republic underpinned by civil society and a market economy – ideals that had yet to truly take root in Russia (Kara-Murza, 2008).

The researcher underscores that even in the early months of 1917, Lenin recognized that the Soviets of Workers’, Peasants’, Soldiers’, and other deputies embodied a novel form

of statehood. While at the state level this marked a new type, at the local governance level, it echoed the traditional type characteristic of agrarian civilization – akin to the military, artisan, and peasant democracy of pre-industrial societies. In Russia, the Soviets were an outgrowth of the peasantry's notions of ideal governance. A.V. Chayanov (1966), a scholar specializing in the Russian peasantry, observed that the evolution of state structures follows a historical, rather than a strictly logical, trajectory. The Soviet regime mirrored the regime inherent to peasant Soviets. Among the peasantry, this form of governance was already in place well before October 1917, evident in the administrative framework of cooperative organizations (Kara-Murza, 2008).

Methodology

The research methodology employed to address the issue of the inherent challenges in nation-building projects should adhere to a systematic and rigorously scientific approach to guarantee the production of dependable and valuable results. S.G. Kara-Murza (2008), a Ukrainian philosopher and publicist, has formulated a comprehensive philosophical concept and methodology with broad applicability for analyzing social and political processes.

Kara-Murza adopts a comprehensive method for scrutinizing social phenomena, incorporating cultural, historical, economic, and political dimensions. He contends that only a holistic comprehension enables thorough analysis and effective solutions to social issues.

Highlighting the significance of value pluralism and societal diversity, Kara-Murza advocates for the respect of diverse perspectives and encourages dialogue among various groups and cultures.

He places significant emphasis on the credibility of his arguments and supporting evidence. In his approach, clarity and accessibility of arguments for public discourse are paramount in his methodology.



Figure 1. Sergey Kara-Murza, Soviet and Russian chemist, historian, political philosopher and sociologist

Kara-Murza underscores the significance of democratic principles, encompassing human rights, the rule of law, and civil society. He views democracy as the optimal means for conflict resolution and the attainment of social justice.

His approach involves examining socio-cultural processes and enduring historical patterns, exploring the impact of cultural elements and ideas on politics and society.

Kara-Murza has introduced the “systemic crisis” methodology, facilitating the analysis of pivotal junctures in societal development where traditional structures and attitudes prove inadequate in addressing prevailing issues effectively.

Additionally, he advocates for the “informed choice” methodology, aiding individuals and society in making decisions grounded in available information and value orientations.

Results

S. Kara-Murza (2008) in his books has extensively elaborated on the civilizational approach as a contemporary methodology, delving into the realm of social transformations at a civilizational scale through the lens of project technologies. He scrutinizes the emergence of Soviet society as an outcome of the realization of the Soviet project by the Bolsheviks. This trajectory was chosen by the peasant masses during a pivotal juncture characterized by the clash of major political factions. In 1917, grappling with the aftermath of a devastated nation, two divergent alternatives emerged - the February and October revolutions.

As Kara-Murza notes, Russia underwent a unique experience from February revolution to October revolution, one unparalleled in history. Simultaneously and without violent conflict, two forms of governance emerged in the country - the bourgeois Provisional Government and the Soviets. These represented distinct paths and ways of life. For a considerable period, people were able to compare and contrast the two models. Ultimately, after seven months, the October path and the Soviet system prevailed. The October event wasn't so much a revolution as it was a fixed outcome: the authority of the Provisional Government waned, transferring power to the Soviets (Kara-Murza, 2008).

S. Kara-Murza (2008) demonstrated that the strength of the Soviet project stemmed not only from its profound significance, representing the aspirations of numerous masses of peasants, but also from its emphasis on reestablishing the nation's unity and integrity. The scholar raises the query of what happened to the cultural forces that aligned with the “Whites” or remained unaffiliated with the Bolsheviks after the Civil War. Those individuals, who leaned towards parties like the Cadets, Mensheviks, and SRs, took up roles in the Soviet construction that suited their expertise and skills. V.I. Vernadsky, a member of the Central Committee of the Kadet Party and Deputy Minister of the Provisional Government, returned and emerged as a prominent figure in Soviet science. M.S. Hrushevsky, Chairman of the Ukrainian Central Rada, also returned and became an academician within the Ukrainian SSR's Academy of Sciences. While these individuals did not adopt Bolshevik ideology, such a conversion was not mandatory. Instead, by embracing the core essence of the Soviet project, they harnessed the cultural resources they had accumulated through their engagement with groups like the Cadets and Mensheviks, integrating them into their work (Kara-Murza, 2008).

The above depiction of the conflict between the primary state-building projects is presented at a broad level. It's important to acknowledge that the realization of the Soviet system project couldn't have transpired without incorporating a range of other initiatives, including countrywide electrification (GOELRO plan), industrialization, and the establishment of a robust educational and scientific framework. Notably, the achievements of scientists G.S. Popov and A.S. Yakovlev played a pivotal role in advancing Soviet science.

Despite the challenges posed by war and revolution, these scientists, along with other Heidelberg University graduates, managed to build an advanced scientific landscape and an efficient training system for the military, intelligence, and other specialized services within the span of two decades. The journey of developing this personnel training project is detailed in the book "Knightly Order of Russian Thieves," a work of science fiction created through the amalgam method during the Heidelberg scientific expedition (June, 2019), under the auspices of the Expeditionary Corps of the Memory Institute, led by academician Oleg Maltsev (2019). This literary piece sheds light on the remarkable scientist, Dr. Grigory Semenovich Popov, a scholar in military sciences and a statesman. His invaluable contributions to the formation and advancement of science in the USSR are immeasurable (Maltsev, 2019). The impactful creative contributions of such extraordinary figures serve as a prerequisite for the success of state-building endeavors.

When delving into the advancement of socio-philosophical knowledge, it's worth highlighting that while numerous theories regarding the origin of states have been developed, very few efforts have been directed towards formulating a comprehensive theory concerning the decline and dissolution of states (Breuilly, 2015; Guo et al., 2020; Onar et al., 2014; Sakwa, 2013). Notably, during the Cold War, think tanks in the Western world engaged in the creation of systemic theories that pertained to the decline of states, which ultimately furnished the West with socio-humanitarian technologies enabling the prevail of the USSR. Several sources elucidate the contemporary techniques employed to disrupt the social fabric of a nation, often possessing a project-like nature. These methodologies of societal degradation are discussed in various works, including: I. Froyanov's "Dive into the Abyss," A. Zinoviev's collection "Failed Project," S.G. Kara-Murza's "Anti-Soviet Project," A.P. Shevyakin's "How the USSR was Killed," among others (Froyanov, 2001; Zinoviev, 2009; Kara-Murza, 2002; Shevyakin, 2011). The comprehension of these societal destabilization technologies is indispensable for averting decay and the eventual downfall of a society. This topic is still the subject of interdisciplinary research by scholars and experts from various fields (Hamilton, 2019; see also Becke, 2019; Silve & Verdier, 2018; Taylor & Zuberi, 2015).

Kara-Murza (2002) undertook the task of describing the principal characteristics of the anti-Soviet project—a system of perspectives, concepts, logic, and style inherent in the cultural and political movement that played a pivotal role in perestroika and reform. Originating as a negation of the Soviet project, this endeavor manifested as a rejection of the foundational principles of the nascent life structure within the USSR. The proponents of the anti-Soviet mindset, upon attaining power, executed their project by dismantling critical pillars of societal existence. Regrettably, the potential for creation and construction was marginal. In order to delineate pathways for averting this catastrophe, it's imperative to grasp the philosophy and practices that underlie the anti-Soviet project (Kara-Murza, 2002).

The researcher reached a conclusive observation regarding the fundamental distinction between the Soviet project and the anti-Soviet project. The foundation of the Soviet way of life was shaped by specific natural and historical circumstances, upon which the generations instrumental in creating the Soviet system established their primary criterion for choice: the reducing of human suffering. Pursuing this trajectory, the Soviet system achieved globally acknowledged successes: it eradicated the primary sources of mass suffering and apprehensions—poverty, unemployment, homelessness, hunger, criminality, political turmoil, and interethnic strife—within the USSR. These accomplishments came at the cost of substantial sacrifices, yet from the 1960s onwards, a consistent and escalating prosperity emerged. Alternatively, the anti-Soviet project championed the criterion of heightened pleasures as the cornerstone for selecting a way of life. During perestroika, its

proponents persuaded the socially engaged segment of society to shift the central criterion of life structure choice—to favor the pursuit of increased pleasures while downplaying the peril of mass suffering. This marked a profound societal transformation, extending beyond modifications in political, state, and social frameworks (though these were inevitably affected as well). As a model of triumphant advancement along the path of heightened pleasures, perestroika's proponents presented the Western world as an illustrious myth. This example served as a template for the active populace, prompting them to evaluate their existing life structure as inadequate. Thoughts of "This is an unacceptable way of life!" started to emerge within the Soviet populace (Kara-Murza, 2002).

The aforementioned works delineate the process of Soviet society's deterioration, spurred by internal socio-political forces and assisted by external influences. The advancement of this realm of social knowledge is pivotal for comprehending the theory of state and society decline. Clearly, a methodically organized understanding of these processes is imperative for the ruling class and all echelons of elites. It equips them to discern the threats and forces that possess the potential to disintegrate societal and state unity, enabling them to devise solutions that not only surmount crises but also safeguard and regenerate society.

The concern surrounding the preservation of societies, states, and civilizations is far from novel within the realm of academia (Crank & Jacoby, 2015; Mukerjee, 2014; Som, 2019; Zhong, 2020). Spengler's seminal work "The Decline of the West" broached the subject of European culture's deterioration and the perils underpinning it (Spengler, 1922). Similarly, Buchanan's volume "The Death of the West" pulsates with apprehension for the destiny of Western civilization (Buchanan, 2010). He contends that between 1970 and 2000, America underwent a social and cultural upheaval that propelled it toward a trajectory of social and cultural decline. According to Buchanan, the traditional fabric of Western civilization is eroding. "A civilization, a culture, a faith, and a moral order rooted in that faith are passing away and are being replaced by a new civilization, culture, faith, and moral order" (Buchanan, 2010, p. 9). The scientific discourse today also continues these ideas and proposes new ones (Taylor, 2020; see also Gross, 2013; Katzenstein, 2013; Nyborg, 2012; Popescu, 2014; Talukdar & Dutta, 2020; Torres, 2018;). These texts serve as significant resources for dissecting the perils capable of ushering in the downfall of societies and nations. This specialized knowledge becomes particularly vital during times of unique socio-political crises within a given country, when its destiny hangs in the balance.

The nomenclature of this emerging realm of knowledge, colloquially labeled as "Theories of the Death of Societies and States," may exude a sense of pessimism and uninviting demeanor. However, in reality, this knowledge holds immense significance, as decisions informed by it, or made in its absence (sans reliance upon it), can carry profound consequences. The way forward from this juncture appears to lie in christening a novel domain of socio-humanitarian knowledge, one that scrutinizes both the forces bolstering and elevating states, as well as those engendering threats that herald the demise of peoples and states. This new discipline could aptly be denominated as the "Theory of Fate Analytics of Societies, Peoples, and States."

This scientific endeavor will adopt a complex interdisciplinary approach, drawing upon the methodological tools and conceptual frameworks from various fields of knowledge, including history, sociology, political science, social psychology, cultural studies, economics, social philosophy, synergetics, cognitive linguistics, and others. The object of study for this scientific research, termed "Theories of Fate Analytics of Societies, Peoples, and States," is the dynamic transformation of societies and states over time and within different spatial contexts throughout their historical existence. The subject of investigation within this realm is twofold: first, the factors that underpin the emergence, growth, and sustenance of societies and states, ensuring their cohesion and integrity; second, the

elements that contribute to their eventual downfall.

In 2015, Maltsev established the Research Institute "International Schicksalsanalyse Community Research Institute," an alliance of scholars in the field of applied psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and human psychology, adhering to the legacy of the scientific school of Leopold Szondi. Fate analysis, a branch of depth psychology, seeks to illuminate the latent ancestral influences on an individual's psyche. At the core of fate analysis lies the exploration of ancestral programs that operate unconsciously, aiming to liberate individuals from their grip. Grounded in Szondi's works, the "Solo (Solaris) Methodology" was formulated, enabling the diagnosis of individuals and even forecasting their future trajectories.

The concept of "fate" may not be a familiar term within the confines of traditional scientific discourse, yet it holds significant heuristic potential. "Fate" represents one of the most ancient and universal notions in the realm of social philosophy, carrying within it cultural and regional disparities in worldviews, cultural practices, and traditions. Conceptually, fate encapsulates a sequence of life events, subject to evaluation in either a positive or negative light, but more broadly, it encapsulates the overarching trajectory and outcome of an individual's life. While rationalists and scientists might label fate as a mythological construct, discerning thinkers do not dismiss this concept (Petrushenko, 2020). Viewing fate as an amalgamation of life events that collectively delineate a person's life journey leads to the realization that these events signify the realization of certain projects and programs.

Discussion

Within this framework, fate analytics emerges as a distinct branch of analysis, utilizing specific methods and techniques to study individuals. Notably, Y.V. Kurnosov (2015), a notable theoretician of analytics, highlights a crucial aspect of this practice. He claimed that in the 21st century, the prominent issues of modernity have become more pronounced, spanning from the growing disparity in financial and material circumstances to the competition for various resources. Historically, societal development progressed more organically, with subsequent trends naturally stemming from preceding ones. However, the current context of an escalating global financial and economic crisis introduces a new global trend characterized by acceleration and discontinuity in many processes. Rapidly shifting scenarios across various facets of societal life necessitate swift and appropriate managerial decisions (Kurnosov, 2015). Thus, in the 21st century, the evolving global context of social processes underscores the increased significance of analytics and the pivotal role played by individuals and institutions engaged in analytical exploration.

In previous historical epochs, the existence, growth, and evolution of societies, nations, and states were largely shaped by variables such as population, territorial expanse, natural resources, geographical location, technological advancements, social structure, and political and military organization. However, the landscape has undergone a profound shift in the 21st century. Since the latter half of the 20th century, the availability of intellectual resources capable of conceiving ideas, formulating concepts, and assigning meaning has emerged as a pivotal determinant in the execution of state-building endeavors.

Kurnosov (2015) points out, the contemporary world has evolved into an arena where competition extends beyond economic, political, or social systems—it has transcended into the realm of ideas, meanings, and concepts. These elements often exist tangentially to conventional scientific frameworks. Scientific knowledge has become increasingly fragmented, with people now more inclined to embrace generalizations and concepts, often disregarding the intricacies of cause-and-effect relationships (so-called snapshot consciousness). As per several analysts, the present era witnesses a global reconfiguration

of intellectual prowess, marked by intense rivalry among nations for the dominant possession of intellectual resources, primarily represented by exceptionally gifted individuals who harbor the potential to bear forth new knowledge (Kurnosov, 2015).

Given the advancements in social psychology's understanding of collective consciousness and the unconscious, it becomes apparent that supra-personal entities such as nations, societies, and civilizations embody significance and fate. Moreover, contemporary research narratives are increasingly gravitating towards psychology, recognizing its important role in various spheres of human activity (Bögel & Upham, 2018; Bruce, 2014; Emich et al., 2020; Lisciandra, 2018; Simková, 2014). Hence, drawing from the framework of fate-analysis, the evolution of the theory of fate-analytics for societies, nations, and states stands to empower analysts in concentrating their knowledge on managing processes that secure the continuity of societal and state integrity through strategic social design. This avenue of social knowledge bears immense significance in tackling the challenges of steering modern society out of crisis.

The fate-analytical approach can also be employed to scrutinize the social dynamics that impacted the integration or fragmentation of post-Soviet Ukrainian society. It is equally valuable for dissecting the state-building initiatives that manifested through the actions of distinct socio-political forces. By dissecting the primary state-building projects, one gains insight into their intrinsic fateful nature and identifies avenues to optimize the future trajectory of society.

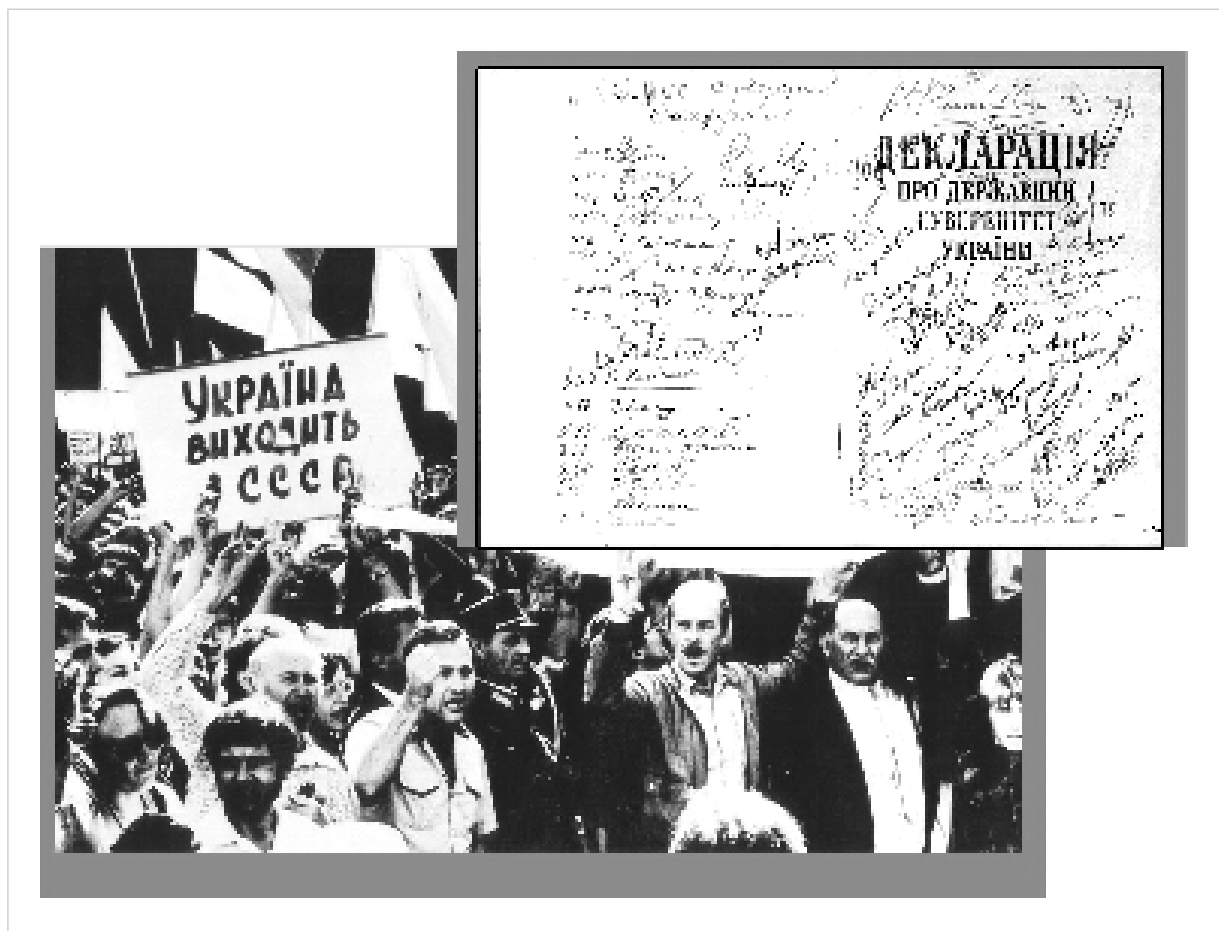


Figure 2. Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine

The inaugural state-building project in Ukraine materialized amid the disintegration of the USSR, as key social and political forces – communists and national-democrats – forged an agreement. This consensus led to the adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine on July 16, 1990, by the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR. This declaration embodied the blueprint for constructing an independent Ukrainian state. The declaration pronounced the self-determination of the Ukrainian nation, charting a path toward a sovereign national state within existing borders, rooted in the inherent right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination. A pivotal provision asserted that the people of Ukraine, irrespective of nationality, constituted the nation's foundation, being the exclusive source of power within the republic. State authority, with its basis in the Constitution and laws, was accorded supremacy throughout the territory (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 1990).

Economic independence was also enshrined, granting the Ukrainian SSR the autonomous right to establish and solidify its economic status through legislation. The exclusive prerogative of owning, utilizing, and disposing of Ukraine's national wealth was vested in the Ukrainian people. The section addressing "External and Internal Security" affirmed the Ukrainian SSR's right to establish its own Armed Forces, internal troops, and security organs. Additionally, the declaration laid the groundwork for Ukraine's future aspiration to be a perpetually neutral state, abstaining from military alliances and adhering to the non-nuclear principles of not pursuing, producing, or acquiring nuclear weapons.

The stipulations set forth in the Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine formed the bedrock of the nation's state-building endeavor. These provisions garnered public endorsement through the All-Ukrainian referendum on support for the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine on December 1, 1991 (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 1991). This monumental step laid the groundwork for the subsequent development of the Ukrainian Constitution. Every clause of the Declaration found its place within the Constitution of Ukraine, which was officially ratified on June 28, 1996. Therefore, post-Soviet Ukraine not only crystallized its state-building project through a consensus among various factions of the ruling class but also surmounted the challenge of maintaining societal unity and coherence during the demise of the old state and the birth of a new one. Moving forward, subsequent events within post-Soviet Ukrainian society bear witness to the emergence of competing projects for state-building.

In the afterword of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's "Illustrated History of Ukraine," historian V. Verstyuk (1996) delves into the dynamics between the state and society during the era of Soviet rule. Drawing an analogy to a gardener and a tree, Verstyuk emphasizes the importance of adhering to the natural laws of development that govern this relationship. He underscores that a state nurturing the conditions for societal advancement will engender a robust society, thus fostering the power and prosperity of the state itself. Conversely, if the state maltreats society and seeks to impose alien developmental forms, short-term gains may ensue, but history will ultimately witness the downfall of such despotic states. Such states will inevitably face a catastrophic collapse, leading to the affliction of a deformed and handicapped society with severe trials, underscores the gravity of the situation. The sole recourse in such circumstances is to revert to a mode of existence aligned with the inherent natural laws of development. These insightful words by V. Verstyuk (1996), found in his writings, were drawn upon to assess the era of Soviet rule in the life of Ukraine.

The essence of state-building projects is intricately linked with their stance on the international stage, particularly regarding the role a state assumes within the global framework. The scholars of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine have meticulously composed the National Report titled "Civilizational Choice of Ukraine: Paradigm of Comprehension and Strategy of Action" (Pirozhkov et al., 2016). In this comprehensive

document, the intricate matter of Ukraine’s ongoing civilizational trajectory is explored. Central to this exploration is the pivotal decision that numerous nations currently face, which centers around opting for either the Western world or the Eurasian sphere. Ukraine, nestled on the cusp of two civilizations—the Euro-Atlantic and the Eurasian—is a country where the facets of both these cultural streams intertwine, each displaying distinct manifestations across various regions. This geopolitical positioning situates Ukraine as either a bridge uniting civilizations or a juncture where they clash. However, for both the nation’s internal welfare and its national interests, a different perspective is warranted—one that regards Ukraine’s status as a complex unity harmoniously embedded within an indivisible state entity (Pirozhkov et al., 2016).

The National Report delves into the core tenets of the civilizational decision-making process. It elucidates that a “civilizational project” serves as a blueprint for the country’s future, setting the groundwork for a strategy of untrammelled, dignified, and efficacious global integration. This integration is rooted in the honorable self-actualization of its citizenry, effectively blending their cultural identity with universal civilizational principles. A prosperous civilizational project propels a nation into the role of a historical actor, with its populace secure and liberated (Pirozhkov et al., 2016).

Conclusions

Analyzing the weighty impact of state-building endeavors on societies yields several noteworthy conclusions:

1. The lens of the civilizational approach enables us to interpret societal transformations as a contest among socio-political factions vying to realize their visions of state construction.
2. Within the context of the 1917 events in the fragmented Russian Empire, a clash between the February and October revolutions ensued, culminating in the establishment of the Soviet system, a preference embraced by a significant portion of the population.
3. The downfall of the Soviet system was linked to the execution of the anti-Soviet project by the ruling hierarchy of the USSR.
4. In today’s world, we observe the weakening of societies and states, accompanied by emergent threats that endanger their cohesion; countering these threats requires systematic social understanding encompassing fundamental theories on the dissolution of states and societies (Skvoretz, 2019).
5. To bolster the ability to confront these destabilizing threats, there’s a proposal to forge a novel realm of socio-humanitarian comprehension termed “Theory of Fate Analytics of Societies, Peoples, and States.”

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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