

**PROBLEMS OF THE FORMATION OF POST-SOVIET STATES IN  
THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION PROCESSES (USING THE  
EXAMPLE OF UKRAINE)**

**PROBLEMELE FORMĂRII STATELOR POST-SOVIETICE ÎN  
CONTEXTUL PROCESELOR GLOBALIZĂRII (CAZUL UCRAINEI)**

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**Abstract.** *The article provides a socio-philosophical overview of the phenomenon of globalization as a process of modern world history and considers the place and role of Ukraine in the context of European integration, which is regarded as one of the main aspects of globalization. The author describes researchers' different views on the phenomenon of globalization and also shows the complexity and ambiguity of this process in the economic, political and sociocultural aspects. The article considers factors that negatively affect the effectiveness of European integration and the development of a strong, independent, competitive state. The author describes the difficulties faced by Ukraine in the process of European integration. It is concluded that Ukraine is situated in the zone of peculiar geopolitical and temporal fronts, where the Euro-Asian and Euro-Atlantic paradigms are confronted.*

**Keywords:** *globalization, European integration, anti-globalism, geopolitics, archaic consciousness, geopolitical frontier.*

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**Abstract.** *Articolul oferă o prezentare socio-filosofică a fenomenului globalizării ca proces al istoriei lumii moderne și ia în considerare locul și rolul Ucrainei în contextul integrării europene, care este considerat unul dintre principalele aspecte ale globalizării. Autorul descrie diferite opinii ale cercetătorilor cu privire la fenomenul globalizării și demonstrează, de asemenea, complexitatea și ambiguitatea acestui proces în aspectele economice, politice și socio-culturale. Articolul ia în considerare factorii care afectează negativ eficiența integrării europene și dezvoltarea unui stat puternic, independent și competitiv. Autorul descrie dificultățile cu care se confruntă Ucraina în procesul de integrare europeană. S-a ajuns la concluzia că Ucraina se află în zona specifică a frontierelor temporale și geopolitice, unde se confruntă paradigmele euro-asiatice și euro-atlantice.*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *globalizare, integrare europeană, anti-globalism, geopolitică, conștiință arhaică, frontieră geopolitică.*

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Ever since the days of the first Maidan, which took place in Kiev in 2004

and was organized by supporters of the pro-European candidate for the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, a fairly large part of Ukrainian society, among which young, active, progressive-minded people prevailed, declared their commitment to the European way of developing the country. After the election victory, the third President of Ukraine, Viktor Yushchenko, headed for European integration but for a number of reasons, including disunity of the political elite, instability of the country's socio-economic and political life and lack of constructive reforms etc., his leadership led society to disappointment in the ideals of Maidan and "the Oranges" in general, that is, pro-European political forces as such. As a result, in 2010, Viktor Yanukovich became the President of Ukraine promising to ensure the country's long-awaited "order and stability". However, instead of the promised order and stability, the country slowly surrendered its positions in the socio-economic sphere due to total corruption at all levels; in domestic policy, which for example, manifested in the usurpation of power; in foreign policy, it occurred in the inability of the government to pursue a policy of European integration on one hand and in distinct dependence on the Russian Federation on the other. All of this led to the crisis of V. Yanukovich's legitimacy and the massive increase in social discontent, which in its turn, led to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Maidan – the demand of which was once again European integration.

Why is European integration such an attractive social and political idea? The fact is that the process of European integration is only one aspect of a more general, objective historical process of globalization. Generally speaking, Ukraine cannot fall out of this process, but it is necessary to realize its actual, unique place and role in this geopolitical, geo-cultural and geo-economic process because the future of Ukraine, as a successful sovereign European state, will depend on this.

However, according to the results of Razumkov Center's sociological survey question, "Do you think events in Ukraine are moving in the right or wrong direction?", 73.6% of Ukrainians believe that events in Ukraine are moving in the wrong direction, and only 11,2 % are satisfied with the status quo [1]. We observe a steady increase in public dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of reforms, the decline in living standards, domestic and foreign policy and power in general. All of this indicates that Ukraine has not yet been able to choose an effective path of European integration. Therefore, it hasn't been able to fully "fit" into the globalization processes of the world and continues to face traditional problems such as corruption, oligarchy, and the immaturity of civil society institutions and archaic consciousness, etc.

The fundamental works of Western scholars who thoroughly consider the various socio-historical and cultural aspects of globalization include K. Popper's "Open Society", F. Fukuyama's "The End of History", E. Toffler's "Futuroshok" and "Third Wave". The globalization process is also considered in detail by D.

Bell, R. Robertson, M. Castells, E. Giddens, M. Waters, W. Beck, Z. Brzezinski, and others. In general, a great deal of research is devoted to the study and understanding of the phenomenon of globalization, yet it still remains insufficiently studied in all its aspects, and the given assessments, as will be shown in this article, are rather contradictory and ambiguous. This is initially explained by the fact that globalization is in itself a very dynamic, multidimensional process that covers almost all spheres of public life - social, economic, political and spiritual. That is why, in our opinion, it is appropriate to study globalization processes through interdisciplinary approaches which, for example, is successfully carried out within the framework of social philosophy and philosophy of history. Second, the diversity of approaches to the study of globalization is connected with the fact that scientific research reflects the different perspectives of the phenomenon characteristic of specialists from various fields of knowledge. For example, economists and cultural scientists describe the process in different terms, approaching it within the realm of their paradigms. Thus, their conceptual understanding of globalization differs significantly in both form and content. Third, this diversity is due to differences in research objectives and ideological guidelines, etc. Lastly, there is no common, clear scientific understanding of the globalization process. Researcher M. Kozlovets rightly states that a vast and rather “blurred” range of opinions on the problem of globalization is explained both by the complexity and inconsistency of the globalization processes themselves, and by the disregard of the categorical apparatus of the phenomenon under study, inaccurate and, sometimes, wrong use of scientific concepts. The problem also lies in the fact that the term "globalization" implies qualitatively different phenomena: the facts of ancient times and modernity [2, 113].

In this article, a general description is provided regarding the phenomenon of globalization as a geopolitical process in modern world history. In addition, different points of view on this process and the place of Ukraine in it will be outlined as we attempt to explain our position on the problem of Ukrainian-European integration in a philosophical discourse to reveal our own conception of the problem.

Over the past few decades, the majority of post-Soviet countries have been undergoing a fundamental transformation. It affects the entire way of life of society and the course of modern world history. It is primarily about the processes of globalization, which are the most general and important trend of modern world development, along with the profound transformation of the world, when for several decades the society has been profoundly changing. It concerns the changes of world views, basic life values, social and political structure, culture and social institutions etc.

In general terms, globalization is the process of forming a new world

community, which has common economic, political, environmental, socio-cultural and civilizational characteristics. The most important determinant of globalization processes is technical progress, i.e., information technology, telecommunications, reliable and high-speed transportation routes and other technical achievements of civilization, which significantly weaken the importance of the geographical factor. A new economy, in which transnational corporations (TNCs) are beginning to play a decisive role, has begun to take shape. Consequently, the polarization of the world economy with methanational attractors of economic, political, scientific and technological development is intensifying. The example of such economic attractors is the largest world companies and financial empires, such as Bank of China, Wells Fargo, Apple, ExxonMobil, Toyota Motor (according to the Forbes magazine) [3].

International organizations such as NATO, the UN, OSCE and EU, G - 7 and G-20 can be considered as political attractors. Scientific attractors include "Silicone Valley" (California, USA), "Silicon Valley" (Zhongguancun, the basic innovation center of China), NASA (US Space Research Center), a network of powerful universities that are the flagships of world science, equipped with modern technology and employing the top qualified specialists from around the world (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard, Princeton University Press, Oxford, Cambridge etc.).

Thus, globalization can be defined as the process of unification of the economic, political and cultural life of national states, the purpose of which is the rapid and effective economic integration on a global scale making maximum use of scientific and technical achievements, a liberal market economy and democratic political institutions.

There are various, sometimes diametrically opposed assessments of the globalization process itself. For example, supporters of globalization (D. Bell, E. Toffler, Z. Brzezinski, J. Masuda, etc.) see this phenomenon as the process of formation of a new open international community, built on the idea of liberal democracy, which defends human rights and freedoms, provides an effective, transparent and free (from ideology, for example) market economy, a socially-oriented state and a developed civil society. Thus, theorists of the information (post-industrial) society point out that globalization has no alternative, since it is a necessary condition for the formation of the future information society, which opens up new horizons for human development. And it is quite possible to agree with this. After all, the Ukrainians have chosen the European path of development because developed Europe is associated with developed science, new technologies, efficient production and consequently, an efficient economy, true democracy, lack of corruption and social justice etc.

Well-known Ukrainian scientist Sergey Datsyuk, in his work, "The Idea for Ukraine's Perspective" (2017) explores in detail those "innovative attitudes"

of a new type of civilization, which are being formed in the postmodern world as a result of globalization processes. First, it is cultural interpenetration – the interpenetration of languages, religions and cultural norms; second, a transparent economy and free economic competition; third, “the destruction of the state as such”, “nations’ reduction of a territorial monopoly”, “the diminishing of meaning of the national narrative”, etc. [4].

Indeed, the entire history of the European Union shows that globalization is gradually leading to a decrease in the role of state borders, an increase in the mobility of labor and capital, the development of uniform standards and norms and consequently, the unification of the sociocultural space. A profound transformation of national institutions of state power is taking place and as a result, national states integrate into the web of transnational entities and confederations and begin to obey their direction and identity.

In the context of modern globalization, the role of the state is significantly transformed. The countries are included in regional integration associations. For example, the European Union is a confederation, i.e., a long-term union of states, which maintains its independence and sovereign existence but is united to coordinate their activities. The national state is replaced by the notion of a common European space with its own international institutions of power (EU, EU Council of Ministers, EU super-state executive body - EU Commission, European Parliament, EU Court, OSCE, Economic and Social Committee - advisory body of businessmen, trade unions, etc.). These structures not only unite the interests of the EU member states, but they also perform supranational integration functions. Under these conditions, instead of national-state interests, the interests of the European Union tend to dominate, and sovereignty becomes something conditional and formal. Globalization acts as a shift towards the dominance of supranational institutions in policy (UN, NATO, G8), and the dominance of transnational corporations and world organizations in economy (World Bank, IMF, WTO, etc.).

Other researchers of globalization understand it as a process of spreading the Western models of economy and culture to the whole world, i.e. the process of expansion of the culture of "consumer society", which is based on the values of Western European rationalism and secular humanism and reflects the problems of civilizational development and its leader - western technological civilization. Globalization, which arose initially in the economic field, gradually encompassed all levels of human activity, including culture.

Some world-famous and quite reputable classics of Western science believe that due to contradictory globalization processes, the “global risk society” is formed. In this society, the responsibility of state institutions is minimized since they turn out to be dependent upon globalization processes, and they are helpless when confronted with reality, technological advances, in turn, leading to

global problems and threats. According to the founder and first president of the Club of Rome, Aurelio Peccei, who studied the global models of human development, the problems facing humanity "like the tentacles of a giant octopus, entangled the entire planet. The number of unsolved problems is growing, they are becoming more complicated, and their tentacles with growing force squeeze the planet in their grip" [5, p. 7].

Arnold Toynbee, a classic researcher of globalization processes and a critic of the concept of Eurocentrism wrote that today's humanity worldwide faces many acute problems. The universality of these problems is a historical consequence of the creation of a global network of technological and economic relations, which was created by the expansion of activities in the Western Europe [6, p. 5-6].

In addition, the most economically and technologically developed countries (USA, China, Japan, Great Britain, Germany and France etc.) require maximum space for the functioning of transnational corporations (TNCs), and they establish "rules of the game" that are sufficiently beneficial for them but may be ineffective or even harmful to developing countries. This is accompanied by a growing socio-economic imbalance both between countries (for example, between the countries of the "old" and "new" Europe) and within countries, the intensification of economic wars, the aggravation of environmental problems and other contradictions. It is appropriate here to mention Ukrainian experience. The campaign against corruption seemed to be launched, the European integration vector was clearly chosen, and after two years it became obvious that Ukrainians once again became victims of their own illusions. In our opinion, the most dangerous illusion is that European countries and the United States are expected to help us. But, in fact, they protect their interests. It depends only on ourselves if our country successfully integrates into the global historical process as a truly sovereign, competitive, promising democratic country or remains on a tectonic geopolitical rift and will serve as a buffer or a kind of "sanitary zone" between Western Europe and Russia.

According to anti-globalists, the unilateral nature of cultural influence and the loss of national and cultural identity by many nations outside of Western civilization are a serious danger. Obviously, the domination of one civilization, one culture will take away the necessary condition for improvement i.e., an element of diversity, and this, in perspective, can lead to the establishment of spiritual totalitarianism, a one-dimensional unified world, (according to a representative of the Frankfurt school G. Markuze's terminology) devoid of values of a national cultural and religious identity.

This idea is now observed in particular in Russian scientific journals. For example, well-known scientists A. Kasyuk, I. Manokhin and I. Kharichkin in their scientific article, "Globalization and the New World Order", which has been

published in a scientific publication of a leading Russian university, Moscow State Linguistic University, strongly declare: “The meaning of globalization is simple - to create one global market with a single control center and a standardized consumer (of course, with different opportunities and income level) from Nicaragua to Mongolia. To control the obedience of nations through the "feeding" of elites and the brainwashing of people through cultural and ideological manipulations. Thus, globalization is replaced by Americanization. It is not by chance that the modern anti-globalization movement acts under the flag of anti-Americanism” [7].

In the work, “What Russia Fights for,” S. Datsyuk criticizes the anti-globalization views of Russian scientists, considering them as manifestations of the archaic consciousness that has always been inherent in the Russian empire. In his opinion, it is the archaism that made Russian people rise against the entire civilized world, and they will be ready even for a nuclear war if they cannot sacrifice their archaic consciousness [8].

The same Russian scientists admit that globalization processes open up new opportunities for countries and societies, but at the same time they bring about new challenges. Taking advantage of these opportunities and confronting these challenges requires the development of a systemic security strategy by each national community. But this presupposes the existence of a strong state capable of resisting the ideology of “globalism” and methods of forming a global market, which are imposed on the world by rich countries [9, p. 223].

However, as we have shown above, the very existence of “strong” national states in the context of globalization is in question. There is also a point of view that globalization does not weaken the state but challenges it, forcing national governments to adapt their policies to the requirements of global markets. Thus, the German political analyst S. Shirm believes that globalization gives nation states a chance for renewal and economic growth. It facilitates the inflow and outflow of resources, forcing national governments to adapt their policies to the requirements of global markets in order to participate in the dynamic development of the global economy. All that changes are the conditions of the regional economic policy and liberal market reforms are being encouraged (thanks to the increased competition for resources, production and investments placing) [10].

In our opinion, when reflecting upon the role and place of post-Soviet countries in the context of the historical process of globalization, both positive and negative aspects of this process should be considered. It is obvious that consistent implementation of necessary reforms in the economic sphere should contribute to the formation of a transparent market economy with a favorable investment climate. For example, management reforms should significantly optimize the administration system; reforms in the judicial system should cleanse

it of corruption, dependence on any political forces or branches of government; pension reform should be aimed at reducing pension fund deficit and making pension distribution more equitable, etc. Generally speaking, reforms and integration in the EU should provide guarantees for the rule of law, pluralistic democracy, respect for human rights, development of civil society, building socially oriented market economy, and creating a national identity. The dominant of globalization economic transformation of society should be a large-scale comprehensive modernization of all spheres of social and economic life in which the national state's citizens' and the world community's interests are harmoniously combined. The place and role of any state in the processes of globalization depends on many factors such as natural resources and human potential, the level of economic and scientific and technological development, the direction of specialization (on both a regional and global scale), the state of the institutional system and the foreign economic infrastructure are all critical.

So far, Ukraine plays the role of a minor power. Through various reforms, it strives to implement all of the standards, models and canons of the European economy, culture and politics, but it isn't working out as quickly as we and our European partners would like. It is important to note that many European economic, political and social models are very effective in developed European countries (England, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Belgium etc.), because they have evolved there as a result of a long historical process of modern Western Europe formation. They have experienced a very difficult way to a democratic, transparent, liberal, socially-oriented market economy, and they have a wealth of experience in dealing with the mafia, corruption and oligarchic clans. We should not forget the traditions of the European rationalist ideological paradigm (pragmatism, individualism and rational egoism), which are common to the mentality of more than one generation of people from "Old Europe".

Ukraine faces an entirely different position. It continues to undergo the process of establishing its statehood. We must not forget that a huge part of the adult population, including many government officials and managers, are the bearers of the worldview that has been formed in Soviet times as part of the command-administrative system of management, the socialist ideology of the Soviet type and the centralized planned economy. The reforms will not be effective enough because the society's value system and social traditions are characterized by amorphous, immaturity and contradictory values. Social ills including conformism, indifference, legal nihilism, political alienation, "sovkovost" (archaic consciousness) and a number of negative social phenomena are simply unacceptable in the context of the European Union's traditions. For example, total corruption in which not only government bodies, but the whole society is involved is also an obstacle.

The resident of the Luhansk region, Ph.D. Alexander Eremenko in his

work “Reflections on the Luhansk Vendee» shows ideological immaturity, a tendency to paternalism, naivety, patterned consciousness of many of his compatriots (which, according to the author, was one of the most important factors in the war in Donbass). He concludes: “Europe has changed a long time ago, whereas we remain in the middle of the last century” [11, p.10].

A well-known Ukrainian researcher of the phenomenon of globalization, M. Kozlovets formulates such a point of view in his monograph: “One of the challenges of globalization is the contradiction between new realities and established forms and ways of people’s existence, the confrontation between universal civilizational standards and values of national and cultural identity” [2, p. 554].

We are of the opinion that Ukraine is situated in a specific geopolitical and temporal frontier. The geopolitical frontier suggests that our country’s location is in a zone where Eurasian and Euro-Atlantic "tectonic plates" collide. The temporal frontier means that it is in the minds of Ukrainians where the rudiments of the Soviet archaic, conservative consciousness and awareness of the need for innovation, which time dictates, collide. The mainstream of our time is constant innovation, development, IT-technologies, transparency of the economy, politics, etc. However, the realities of Ukraine are such that we cannot yet face the civilizational challenges, since the problem of corruption, weak economic development, oligarchic power, archaism and monetary fetishism of citizens' consciousness remains. Changing the mindset is much more difficult than destroying monuments and renaming cities and streets.

It is pertinent to cite biblical words here: “And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish” (Matthew 9:17).

No doubt, the movement of Ukraine in the direction towards integration into the European Union is a difficult but promising path, requiring intent effort on the part the authorities and the Ukrainian people. Both will need to embrace a change in mindset and lifestyle, which will be the catalysts for establishing favorable conditions for developing personal responsibilities and freedoms and for instilling a democratic and modernized political system for the benefit of a healthy society and sound economy.

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