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Section 1. Gender sciences

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AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF CONFUCIANISM IN THE CHINESE INHERITANCE LAW ON WOMEN IN CHINA

Abstract. This research examines the economic impact of inheritance inequality on women in China by analyzing the connection between Confucianism, the Chinese inheritance law, and access to economic and education opportunities for women in rural vs. urban communities. First, I investigate how Confucian patriarchal values manifest in specific articles of the Chinese inheritance law through a close reading of those articles. Next, I demonstrate how unequal inheritance rights for women results in an economic disadvantage, supporting this claim by surveying the data on workforce representation and the income gap in both rural and urban communities. Lastly, I argue that the subtle sexism embedded in the inheritance law also contributes to educational disparity in China, ultimately forming a cycle of gender inequality that negatively impacts women. It is argued that the embeddedness of Confucianism in the Chinese inheritance law promotes gender disparity and results in the marginalization of women from various economic and educational opportunities. The conclusions from this study propose actionable steps that individuals in local and national government can take to address issues of gender inequality in China.

Keywords: Gender inequality, Confucianism, Chinese inheritance law, female economic rights, education opportunity.

Patriarchal Religion from a Global Perspective

Countries around the globe rely on patriarchal religious ideology to normalize and legitimize the sexism embedded in inheritance laws, creating a system that negatively impacts women's economic value and social mobility within their respective communities. Previous scholars have demonstrated

the connection between patriarchal religion, the economic disenfranchisement of women, and a lack of equal access to educational opportunities for men vs. women. These studies have focused predominantly on Jewish and Christian countries in Europe [5, p. 64–85; 21, P. 28; 10, p. 229–42] and the United States [36, p. 252–60] as well as in Islamic countries

such as Pakistan and most countries in the Middle East [6, P. 265; 1, P. 197; 3, p. 573–86] demonstrating a correlation between the religious underpinnings of certain inheritance laws and a lack of women's rights to property [29] (In the Middle East, for example, the Quran serves as the ideological foundation of the inheritance law in Muslim countries. Although the text states that men and women should inherit equally, certain religious tenants in the book reflect the underlying patriarchal structure of this text. Thus, Surah 228 in the Quran states “Men, your wives are your tillage. Go into your tillage any way you want.” The implication of this verse is the subordination of women in the household. Moreover, “tillage” implies that women are the property of the husband that has neither right nor opportunity in the household. See the website for more information). It is important to note that women's inheritance rights are not only a domestic issue, but also an economic one. If women are positioned as subordinates to men in the household, it becomes nearly impossible for half of the population to enjoy the same advantages as men do in the workforce. Such gender inequality stemming from inheritance laws therefore results in unforeseen consequences for both the economy and society at large. Patriarchal religion is arguably one of the primary obstacles preventing many countries from achieving gender equality [43]. This study examines inheritance inequality in China, analyzing the connection between Confucianism and the Chinese inheritance law, and its relationship to systemic economic and education inequality for women in China. I argue that Confucianism as a patriarchal ideology has played a large but hidden role in the Chinese inheritance law, perpetuating gender disparity and leading women to become disenfranchised from economic and educational opportunities.

Previous Studies on Gender Inequality and Confucianism

Given the prevalence of gender inequality in China, numerous scholars have demonstrated the role of Confucianism – the core principles of which

are rooted in patriarchy – in contributing to macro-level gender inequality [32, P. 5; 30, P. 105; 13, p. 399–436]. Some scholars have investigated the specific connection between this patriarchal ideology and women's lack of inheritance rights [22; 7], while others focused on the broader disenfranchisement of women from obtaining an education [25; 36; 4, P. 333; 41, p. 474–491]. While these previous scholars have examined the connection between gender inequality and Confucianism more broadly, they have not explored the connection between – and implications of – gender inequality, Confucianism, and inheritance as it affects the larger economic and educational opportunities for women in society.

Connection Between Confucianism and the Chinese Inheritance Law

In order to support the proposal that the embeddedness of Confucianism in the inheritance law contributes to the economic disparities between men and women, we must first review the connection between Confucianism, patriarchal attitudes towards women, and the way they manifest in different facets of Chinese society. The core values of Confucianism emphasize family relationships, piety, and the superiority of men in order to keep stability and social structure. Relevant here is that males are therefore seen as more socially valuable than females because they alone carry on the family name – an extremely important tradition in any Chinese household. This emphasis on the male as the vehicle for ensuring the continuity of this tradition is important as surnames carry on the ancestor's name and symbolize a continuation of the family line [14, p. 554–69]. This cultural tradition combines with Confucius's patriarchal values to discourage women from challenging any unfair treatment they may experience, establishing an environment wherein they are socially pressured not to question nor seek to alter their status in relationships [26]. Therefore, in some families, if a woman is treated unfairly during the inheritance process given her perceived subordinate role, any attempt she makes to challenge such injustice tends to

be viewed as disgraceful. Such an ideology results in the perception that women perform a less important role in the family than men.

Consequently, during the creation of the inheritance law, the pervasiveness of this ideology led Chinese lawmakers to embed these values within certain articles of the text, ultimately disenfranchising women from their share of inheritance. Although the law states that men and women have equal inheritance rights [28], son-preference customs and the perceived superiority of men in the household can contribute to a woman receiving less inheritance than her male counterparts [37, p. 1–12]. In what follows, it will be demonstrated how Articles 5 and 17 of the inheritance law reflect such Confucian principles. Specifically, the discussion will focus on how the inheritance law prioritizes the superiority of the father and the importance of family piety, reinforcing a social emphasis on the men in a household. By providing loose instruction on important matters – such as the process of composing the will and its impartiality with regard to women – the inheritance law ultimately allows fathers and sons to exploit their power to emphasize the son on inheritance matters. A loophole is thereby established wherein no protections are provided to ensure that the will is indeed equitable in its distribution of property to male and female heirs.

First, Article 5 reflects Confucian values of son-preference by giving certain leeway for parents to not obey the inheritance rule on gender equality, minimizing the rights of daughters to equal inheritance. The purpose of the article is to provide instructions on the inheritance process relating to the will by stating:

Succession shall, after its opening, be handled in accordance with the provisions of statutory succession; where a will exists, it shall be handled in accordance with testamentary succession or as legacy; where there is an agreement for legacy in return for support, the former shall be handled in accordance with the terms of the agreement [28].

Key phrases included in the above text thus allow for social situations to arise wherein son preference

will affect the distribution of property. Specifically, a “testamentary succession” simply means the succession proceeded in accordance with the provisions of a lawful will. The problem is that the law puts no further detailed regulations or criteria on the will itself. For example, a parent cannot discriminate one sex from inheriting equal inheritance regarding the contribution and etc. The omission prevents parties from filing a court case on inheritance disputes regarding gender inequality because the article does not explicitly state a will has to be equal to both genders. Although the inclusion of the phrase “lawful will” appears to be a regulation, it still fails to truly protect women’s rights as it only requires the signature of the parents and does not require approval from legislative agencies. Parents therefore have the opportunity and full authority to create a legacy that distributes more inheritance to their sons than daughters. Without having a third-party present to review the will – either another law enforcement or witness – Article 5 thus allows the parents to practice traditional son-preference by arbitrarily distributing their inheritance in an unsupervised legacy.

After establishing the tacit problems encoded in the text of Article 5, Article 17 reflects the Confucian principle of the undisputed rights of the father in a household and thus subtly promotes the male-manipulation of female interests. This section elaborates on the process of creating a will by stating:

A testator-written will is one made in the testator’s own handwriting and signed by him, specifying the date of its making [28].

The key phrase in Article 17 is “signed by him,” which is problematic because of the biased use of pronouns. The previous sentence starts with “testator,” which implies a singular person and does not specify whether this individual is female or male. The subsequent pronouns listed should therefore be “him or her” in order to show gender equality. However, the use of “him” at the signatory clearly demonstrates the testator, who writes the legacy, is assumed from a legal standpoint to be male, reflecting the patriarchal

ideal of father as the undisputed head of the household. This point is important as the signing of the will marks its official validity. Article 17 therefore indirectly assumes the father to be the generator of the will. If a father gets the final say on the distribution of inheritance to their respective children, given son-preference is a cultural norm in China it is therefore more likely that the father would favor the sons to become the future head of the house by bestowing on them more inheritance. As discussed below, men are economically favored in society and thus come to receive a double advantage over women when favored during inheritance. The phrasing employed in Article 17 therefore illustrates how the Confucian belief that the father forms the unquestionable authority of a family is embedded in the law, which can result in inheritance inequality.

Lastly, Article 15 discourages a woman from actively fighting for her own interests when placed at a disadvantage by emphasizing the importance of family piety and interests. The section of the law mainly deals with the importance of family communication and negotiation for the sake of unity during the inheritance process and reads:

Questions pertaining to succession should be dealt with through consultation by and among the successors in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, as well as of amity and unity. The time and mode for partitioning the estate and the shares shall be decided by the successors through consultation. If no agreement is reached through consultation, they may apply to a People's Mediation Committee for mediation or institute legal proceedings in a people's court [28].

While Article 15 emphasizes the family, it also subtly discourages women from challenging unjust inheritance distribution by tacitly drawing on similar language in Confucian texts about the expected character of the ideal woman. This claim is supported when we look at the phrase "mutual understanding and accommodation" as well as "amity and unity." According to Confucian values on gender roles, women

are supposed to depend on men and to be led. In *Analects* 17.25, Confucius classifies women as "small men" [24]. Although the text does not explicitly say women are to be led, it implies that men are the bigger men, who make more important decisions. We can infer that women's servitude forbade them from assuming any dominating role. Often, servants need to give up their personal desires for the benefit of the master. Article 15 therefore stresses the need to "accommodate," ultimately implying that women are supposed to sacrifice their personal interests – and thus portion of their inheritance – for the sake of family unity. In other words, if the inheritance will place any of the females in the family at a disadvantage, it is better for those women to understand and accept the injustice. A woman who stands in opposition might socially be considered disrespectful to the elderly because she places her individual rights above the family's interests rather than fulfilling her duty as a subordinate to men.

When combined, Articles 5, 15 and 17 tacitly promote son-preference while limiting women's ability to fight injustice. The law's loose instruction on the process of creating a will provides parents with legal protections when they provide their son(s) with more inheritance without the presence of witnesses, resulting in a failure to achieve the principle of gender equality as stated at the beginning of the law. It is this very problem that results in many family disputes. According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China, among the number of 1000 civil cases accepted by the city's local government, 48.8 percent of these cases are inheritance disputes with women forming 90 percent of the victims [10]. Such a high number of women contesting unjust treatment reflects the gender inequality that is often hidden in the household. We know this from earlier discussion on Confucian values that confine women to domestic affairs – taking care of the children, husband, and the elderly. In contrast, men tend to participate more in society and obtain financial and property control. Men therefore enjoy a greater opportunity to inherit

more land and property regardless of whether or not they actually take care of their parents in their old age, which traditionally is in the realm of a woman's duties. When women are discriminated against socially in the household, such inequality not only affects their ability to inherit property or financial gain, but also renders them at a disadvantage economically. The devaluing of a woman in the house therefore contributes to a system wherein men receive more economic capital from their parents, providing them with better economic support in society and thus more opportunities in the workforce.

Influence of the Inheritance Law on Economic Inequality in China

It is this lack of inheritance protections combined with the pervasiveness of the Confucian belief that a woman's role is in the home that has resulted in discouraging women from economic participation in society. Women in both urban and rural regions thus tend to be denied status in the household and thereby enjoy fewer property rights. A study published by the National Bureau of Statistics indicates that 37.9 percent of women vs. 67.1 percent of men own real estate, including joint ownership [2]. If the right to property represents the right to wealth, it becomes foundational for women's economic opportunities. The data therefore indicates that men own most of the property and wealth in a household, suppressing women's economic status and contribution to the family. When such disparities in wealth occur, the person who has less property is placed in the subordinate position. Such economic discrimination against women in the home thus limits their potential to compete economically and professionally with men in the workforce. The lack of female representation in this is supported by data published by the World Economic Forum (WEF), which reports that only "17 percent of senior managers, officials, and legislators in China are women [23]." The result is that the economic prioritization of men has resulted in this population enjoying a greater say in the structure of society.

In terms of income, women are also still paid less than their male colleagues. The WEF compared the earnings between women and men in the secondary industry and demonstrated that men earned on average 22 percent more than their female counterparts [23]. Such economic discrimination against women may thus be traced back to the normalization in both school and the household that men are more socially and economically valuable than women given they carry the family name and can participate in government and the community [38]. When we look at the statistics as a whole, we cannot help but better understand why parents emphasize their sons, who are socially positioned to make greater contributions in both society and to the household as a result of these patriarchal attitudes that structure Chinese society. To be the head of the family is thus to elevate the family reputation and status. Conversely, the economic underrepresentation of women in the workforce – paired with the income gender gap – results in less economic contribution to the household. Women are thus far from achieving a co-dominant role in Chinese households.

While women suffer from economic inequality across the board, the economic development of a region will greatly affect the amount of social power a woman is able to maintain in her community. When we turn to examine income disparity in urban vs. rural communities, the Per Capita Disposable Income (PCDI) gap reveals women are impacted differently in each region. In 2019, the PCDI of urban households was 42,359 yuan. However, in rural households the PCDI was 16,021 yuan [31]. Women thus make significantly more income in urban settings than in rural communities. Given that the status of a woman is dependent on the economic contribution she makes to her household and society, the PCDI gap suggests that women in urban communities have a greater economic advantage than their female counterparts in rural villages. The different economic structure of rural vs. urban communities can therefore result in more or less discrimination toward a woman depending on where she resides.

While the disparity gap between women in urban vs. rural communities is wide, in rural villages women experience a greater economic disadvantage than men. I argue this can be linked to the role of Confucianism in rural communities, as the ideology perpetuates traditional gender roles in an agrarian economy that prioritizes masculine strength. One of the principles in Confucianism suggests that farming is designed for men and reflects a man's "moral worth," while weaving and maintaining the household are feminine activities that allow women to prove their social value [8, P. 79]. As such, men tend to be considered the main contributors in an agrarian economy. While we tend to associate women with household work, it is interesting that the contribution of women to rural farm work only began to drop below 51 percent after 2000 [15; 44]. This is significant because the decrease reveals that women are increasingly underrepresented in the workforce, resulting in fewer economic rights given the perceived lack of contribution to the household. What this means with regard to inheritance and property relations is that men are inheriting land at a much higher rate than women. Indeed, only 17.1 percent of existing land contracts and 38.2 percent of existing land certificates include women's names [27]. Since men form the majority of the workforce in rural villages, the family thus relies on them for support. The result is that women tend to inherit less than their male counterparts and can be arguably attributed to the economic foundations of the community.

In contrast, women in urban areas tend to participate more in the economy due to a different economic structure that requires effort from both men and women – namely, commercialization and globalization. As such, the increasing number of private companies and exchanges with foreign nations in urban environments results in a more open-minded individual with regard to accepting global recognition of women's rights. Because a more complex economic structure does not solely depend on the body's strength as in farming, urban cities require

more cooperation from both men and women. Nevertheless, women in urban environments still suffer from a lack of representation in the workforce and in leadership positions. In terms of the employment in primary industry – that is, for example, agricultural companies that provide raw materials for conversion to customer goods – female representation is 45.3 percent. In secondary industries – like manufacturing companies that transport these raw materials to goods – only 14.5 percent of the workforce is women. Tertiary industries – e.g., companies that provide services to the customers – have 40.2 percent of female workers [2]. The data reveals that men remain dominant across all the major industries, resulting in more opportunities to foster connections and influence in society. Similarly, women in the political arena are also woefully underrepresented, with only 2.2 percent of employed women holding positions in the state department – almost half the total number of men [2]. Such a discrepancy in representation ultimately suggests that a woman's future still depends on the men who make important government decisions regarding women's rights.

It is argued that the income gap and lack of economic representation ultimately weakens women's power in urban society, reducing their economic contribution in the household. The higher the income, the greater the impact and influence in society and home. When we turn to the Gross National Income for men and women in China, it varies significantly. By the year of 2015 and beyond, women earned \$5000 less than men annually, revealing that women make less income than men in urban settings. Given that the status of a woman in a household is dependent on the economic contribution she makes to her family and community, the gender income gap suggests that women are at an economic disadvantage given they tend not to be able to match – let alone exceed – the economic contribution of a man. Statistically, men therefore enjoy a higher economic status and more authority in the workforce than women. When we return to the issue of inheritance rights, the

parents' reliance on sons for economic support and to elevate their family reputation and status is thus the product of a traditional patriarchal attitude borne out of Confucianism. Interestingly, only a quarter of the country subscribes to this ideology [39]. How does such a view become normalized?

One of the primary ways in which such patriarchal values are systemically perpetuated in Chinese society is in the school system, where young children are taught the *Analects* – a book created by the disciples of Confucius. These texts are specifically taught in a course called *Guoxue*, meaning Sinology. The creation of this course ultimately legitimizes and supports the values Confucius established by systemically requiring young children to learn the core tenets. Each year, the Chinese education ministry expands the amount of Sinology content in the national exam, which is a test taken for the enrollment of colleges [42]. Indeed, a department of Sinology was created in state-run high schools where Sinology content comprised up to 40 percent of the compulsory literature curriculum and students were required to memorize 240 classical poems by graduation [42]. Through an examination of state-sponsored school curricula it thus becomes clear that the teaching of Confucianism is highly valued and legitimized by the Chinese government and thus might provide an explanation as to why Confucian values are embedded in the inheritance law.

Given that the information students learn every day slowly shapes the way they perceive cultural norms, the teaching of the *Analects* is argued here to result in normalizing the cultural belief that men are more socially valuable than women. As such, the *Analects* convey a sexist ideology that advocates against women participating in political and economic opportunities outside of the household. Other scholars have demonstrated the role of women according to Confucianism is primarily confined to handling the household affairs, such as nurturing the children, cooking, weaving and other household work [11]. In contrast, men are usually engaged in

political and public affairs, such as farming, commerce and, for some men, holding government office [11]. By relegating women to the household and subtly discouraging them from pursuing government positions [34], this belief delegitimizes a woman's desire to participate in legal matters that contribute to the structure of society. The result is that women are less apt to obtain power in the community as they do not have the right to fight unjust treatment. The subordination of women's roles has a damaging impact on social status of women in the household and led to a heavier emphasis on men.

It is thus the teaching of the *Analects* in school institutionalized a sexist attitude toward females in the family, resulting in many families abandoning their daughters to have another son as a result of the one child policy. Under that state-mandated legislation, families were permitted to have only one child. In some regions, however, families were permitted to have another child if the first one was a girl whereas in other regions it was illegal to have a second child even if the first child was born female. Many families would thus abandon their daughters if they had a covert boy in order to satisfy the one-child policy. Indeed, the China Center for Children's Welfare and Adoption (CCCWA), ranked number one for international adoption, reported that more girls were adopted than boys—86 percent to 14 percent [36]. The high adaptation rate implies the son-preference ideology was potentially instilled in many parents and teenagers through the teaching of the *Analects* in school. We may then hypothesize that the government's increasing advocacy of Sinology content is potentially linked to state-sponsored promotion of the son-preference ideology, resulting in the prioritization of men in the household and economic opportunities. Women's social-economic rights are limited across the country.

Inheritance Impact on Education Inequality in Rural and Urban Regions

While Confucian ideology perpetuates traditional gender roles and inequality in both rural and urban areas – affecting both inheritance and economic

rights – it can also be linked to the education gap. For example, one of the Confucian principles in the *Analects* suggests a woman who lacks talent is the one who has merit [19, p. 133–61]. It is thus important that people believe that one's talent derives from the education one received and their engagement with others. In other words, the uneducated woman is the one who is traditionally viewed as worthy by her community. However, such a belief implies that the ideal woman does not need to seek knowledge but relies on her husband to identify what knowledge she does – and does not – require, ultimately reinforcing her own subordination. Indeed, many students and parents are influenced by this notion, as many educational institutions advocate the teaching in *Analects*. Thus, many parents tend to view the economic investment of educating their daughters as a waste, given that women do not inherit property and cannot carry on the family name [25]. This discrimination against women has become a culture norm and part of many family values. The prevalence of this belief is argued to connect back to the teaching of *Analects*, encouraging younger generations to perpetuate this attitude.

Women therefore suffer from education inequality across the board when compared to men. The education attainment index from the World Gender Gap Report in 2018—that is, the ratios of women to men in primary-, secondary- and tertiary-level education (Primary education is defined as the first stage of education that happens in primary school or the elementary school whereas Secondary education is the: the schooling one receives after elementary school education at middle and high school level. Tertiary education refers to universities and colleges after secondary education) –is thus useful for quantifying such inequality in China. The report examined 149 countries in terms of gender equality on a scale from 0 to 1 on different aspects, such as economy, education, health, and political participation [18, P. 10]. A score of zero represents a higher gender disparity in one of the categories, while a score of

1 means the country achieved gender parity in all aspects. A score that is closer to 1 is thus the ideal because it shows a greater gender equality. Among these countries, China ranked 111—at the bottom – with an index for education attainment 0.958 out of 1 [18, P. 12]. The current 0.42 index difference displays that women still suffer from a lack of education access. The result is that uneducated women tend to be more likely to be marginalized both economically and socially given the importance of education as the basis of economic participation in society.

While a lack of access to education remains a major problem for women in China, the extent to which women are disenfranchised in rural vs. urban regions reflects variation. The Department of Education published an educational disparity report on the Number of Anticipated Graduates for Next Year in Institutions of Higher Education, which reveals a significant discrepancy. In 2018, the Number of Anticipated Graduates for Next Year in Institutions of Higher Education in Peking – the nation's capital – was 15.59 million people. However, the number of graduates in a rural community in Qinghai Province was 1.97 million students [16]. It is clear that education is more accessible and valued in urban areas than in less developed areas. One of the reasons is the urban economic structure that focuses on commercialization and globalization discussed in the previous section. Many of the global business partners that Chinese enterprises work with are from developed countries, which promote female participation in the workforce and education by showing a higher index according to the World Economic Forum (Gender Report, World Economic Forum. P. 20). In order to facilitate foreign economic exchange, people in urban areas tend to be more accepting towards a global cultural norm on the status of women, thus reducing the heavy impact of traditional patriarchal values and creating more economic and education opportunities for women. An economic structure that emphasizes global cooperation and communication thereby broadens people's horizons and encourages them to

give more economic opportunities to women, while the basis for that is getting a qualified education. The result is a higher education rate for women.

In contrast, a lack of education access for women in rural villages is due to an agrarian economy, which focuses on land and farming within a specific region. This structure does not require globalization and exposure to new cultural values. Therefore, the traditional Confucian view that women are not to receive an education because they depend and learn from their husbands are more influential in rural villages. Moreover, less family income also perpetuates this belief when we look at the per capita expenditure of private households in China on education. It becomes apparent that one of the reasons for this disparity is that many parents in rural areas have a hard time affording college for their children. Conversely, for parents in urban areas such as Peking and Shanghai, the investment is about 5000 yuan. However, the expenditure is 2300 yuan in rural regions such as Qinghai [12; 45]. As demonstrated previously, according to the PCDI for rural households and urban households, the educational investment for a single child accounts for one-seventh of its total expenditures in rural regions, which is harder for many parents to provide. Even if some parents send the children to receive an education, they could mostly support only one child in their family given their expenditures. Parents tend to give educational opportunities to their son(s) given they have a more promising economic future. Fewer employment opportunities can thus be correlated to fewer educated females, which in turn contributes to less property inheritance given the dependence on an individual's economic contribution and level of education, creating a cyclical nature of gender inequality.

Discussion

Whereas researchers have specifically focused on the cause and effect relationship between Confucianism and gender inequality in general, the study presented here focused on the influence of Confucianism on the Chinese inheritance law and its un-

seen economic and social repercussions for Chinese women. The study first demonstrated a correlation between Confucianism and the inheritance law after a close reading of the core values of Confucian and Articles 5, 15 and 17 in the inheritance law. It was argued that the three articles indirectly infringe on women's inheritance rights in both urban and rural regions by including language that assumes women are dependent on men.

With regard to the connection between Confucianism and inheritance inequality, the perpetuation of traditional gender roles renders women at an economic disadvantage to their male counterparts by favoring men in the workforce. It was argued that the gap is further widened depending on the urban vs. rural economic structure of a region, resulting in a difference in the extent to which women participate in the economy. In rural villages where agriculture forms the economic foundation of the community, men thus tend to inherit more land as supported by the small portion of women who hold land certificates. In urban communities, although women participate more economically because of the increasing commercialization and foreign exchange, they are still marginalized economically and inherit less than their male counterparts as suggested by a lack of representation in the workforce and the gender income gap.

Given that Confucian ideology perpetuates traditional gender roles, it also promotes the educational inequality of women in rural and urban areas, feeding a cyclic gender inequality. Previous data demonstrates fewer females are continuing on to secondary or higher education due to fewer employment opportunities. As such, the educational opportunity for a woman is tied to her economic prospects, which are hindered given men form the majority of the workforce in rural and urban communities. Men are therefore educated at higher rates than women given they have more economic advantage in society, reinforcing a higher position in the household and thus positioning them as the prime recipients of the family's inheritance. Education inequality thus contributes to the disenfranchisement

of women from economic power in society and the household, enhancing the parent's son-preference when it comes to inheritance.

Conclusion

In order to move a step toward achieving gender equality in China, everyone should be united. Students and adults should take positive actions locally while government officials work nationally to advance gender equality. People have to come together to eradicate the son-preference ideology as it is limiting the potential economic growth of the country by marginalizing half of its population. The first step now is for government officials in the department of education and teacher unions to change the way Analects are taught in school. It's important to understand Confucian ideology in order to learn Chinese culture; however, the teachers should create a course

on gender studies that explores how such a traditional ideology has contributed to gender inequality in the country. Local schools should then create a course that focuses on gender inequality in China in order to educate students on the disfranchisement of women's rights. Lastly, on a national level, women should unite together to create a female leadership coalition to raise awareness and call for unity on solving this crisis, advising lawmakers on creating government's policies that promote women's rights. Although changing gender inequality is a long-term issue with many obstacles, it is worthwhile to pursue for the common good. It is necessary that everyone should be informed and educated on this global issue, so that Chinese women are not discriminated against and marginalized from equal opportunity both in the households and society because of their gender.

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Section 2. Study of art

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THE WORLD OF ANTIQUE PHILOSOPHY IN THE WORKS OF E. SATI (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE SYMPHONY DRAMA "SOCRATES")

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the genre-semantic specifics of E. Satie's symphonic drama "Socrates", which outlined not only the peculiarities of the correlation of the theme "music and philosophy" in the history of world culture, but also the specifics of the spiritual and stylistic searches of the French musical-historical tradition of the early 20th century.

Keywords: creativity E. Sati, Socrates, Plato, ancient philosophy, French music.

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МИР АНТИЧНОЙ ФИЛОСОФИИ В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ Э. САТИ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ СИМФОНИЧЕСКОЙ ДРАМЫ «СОКРАТ»)

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию жанрово-смысловой специфики симфонической драмы Э. Сати «Сократ», обозначившей не только особенности соотношения темы «музыка и философия» в истории мировой культуры, но и специфику духовно-стилевых исканий французской музыкально-исторической традиции начала XX столетия.

Ключевые слова: творчество Э. Сати, Сократ, Платон, античная философия, французская музыка.

Ж. Кокто, характеризуя уникальность творческой личности Э. Сати, отмечал: «У Сати никогда неизвестно, куда он нас заведет, – что свойственно гениям, – но он, по крайней мере, постоянно трудился над тем, чтобы усовершенствовать и разноо-

бразить виды нашего передвижения» [10, С. 261]. Творческую фигуру Э. Сати можно считать одной из знаковых не только для культуры Франции начала XX века, но и для всей европейской культурно-исторической традиции минувшего столетия

в целом. Одновременно, его личность, равно как и творческая деятельность на протяжении достаточно долгого периода оставалась как бы в «тени» его великих соратников по искусству, в том числе гениев «Шестерки». Сказанное во многом обусловлено рядом причин, среди которых обычно выделяют неоднозначное отношение современников композитора к его наследию, эстетике и образу жизни, которые нередко воспринимались на уровне «пощечины общественному вкусу» [4, С. 55].

Предельная мобильность творческой реакции Э. Сати на духовно-эстетические искания культуры Франции начала XX столетия, ассоциировавшейся в этот период с «художественной Меккой Европы» [5, С. 10] снискала ему славу «самого изменчивого человека на свете» [23, С. 51], «индикатора обновления» [15, С. 26]. «Тапер, аккомпаниатор шансонье, сочинитель песен для кабаре и мистических опер, розенкрейцер, основатель Метрополитанской Церкви Искусства, нищий социалист, богемный композитор, – Эрик Сати эпатировал публику курьезными музыкальными пьесами с бурлескными названиями («Пьесы в форме груши», «В лошадиной шкуре», «Дряблые прелюдии», «Засушенные эмбрионы» ...) и был излюбленной мишенью для критиков. Провокационность произведений и эксцентричность самого автора часто затмевали пронзительную нежность ранних «Гимнопедий» или аскетическую мудрость позднего «Сократа» [9, С. 5]. И ныне парадоксальная личность Э. Сати, равно как и его творчество, является предметом размышлений, споров и научных изысканий как в сфере музыковедения, так и в искусствоведении в целом, поскольку многогранность его творческих «выходов» оказывается соотносимой также и с феноменом симультанности как показательным качеством культуры XX столетия.

Отечественная библиография, посвященная творчеству Э. Сати, невелика. Его сочинения (прежде всего, фортепианные) лишь недавно стали предметом серьезного исследовательского интереса в работах украинских и русских авто-

ров. Сведения о творческом пути композитора и судьбах его наследия находим в монографии Г. Филенко «Французская музыка первой половины XX века» (1983), где доминирует критический подход в оценках его стиля и метода. По мнению автора, «быть может, вся парадоксальность его жизни и творчества были лишь следствием основного парадокса его натуры – вопиющего несоответствия между дерзкими измышлениями и ограниченностью творческого дарования, – что приводило к неполноценности, однобокости, беспомощности, мизерности, а то и к карикатурности реализации этих замыслов, по сути своей подчас интересных, перспективных и всегда удивительно злободневных» [23, С. 52].

Подобного рода оценка изживает себя уже в исследованиях рубежа XX – XXI столетий, раскрывающих не только новые факты творческой биографии Э. Сати и его окружения, но и выявляющих переосмысление его наследия в условиях современных оценок искусства модерна и авангарда и их духовно-философских оснований. Подобного рода метаморфозы в восприятии творчества данного автора во многом обусловлены прежде всего изданием его публицистических работ, в том числе «Заметок млекопитающего» [18], в полной мере выявляющих парадоксальность мышления Э. Сати.

Они дополняются монографическим исследованием Ю. Ханона [25], М. Э. Дэвис [7], ориентированными на документальное воссоздание многоликого образа данного автора и весьма несхожими с традиционными биографическими эссе. В Предисловии к своей книге М. Э. Дэвис указывает, что «эта биография <...> рассматривает намеренное слияние публичного образа и художественного дара (то есть того, чем занимался на протяжении всей своей жизни Эрик Сати) как декорацию его творческой деятельности <...> Когда культура звезд и селебрити, столь естественная для нас сегодня, только зарождалась, Эрик Сати уже ясно понимал, как ценно и важно

быть уникальным, а значит, легко узнаваемым – «быть не как все» [7, С. 13].

Данные монографии можно дополнить материалами публикаций современников Э. Сати – Ж. Кокто [10], А. Сеге [20], Г. Фурнье [24], а также статьями Е. Купровской [13], Ю. Пакконен [15], А. Кром [12], О. Алексеевой-Егински [2], Е. Вахтиной [5; 6], К. Костив [11], М. Мартыновой [14], Г. Шикиной [26] и др. Современный исследовательский ракурс работ названных авторов позволяет высоко оценить вклад Э. Сати, который «в разные периоды творчества и с разной степенью интенсивности явился первым урбанистом, дадаистом, кубистом, импрессионистом, экспрессионистом, наконец, одним из первых французских композиторов, использовавших двенадцатитоновые ряды» [15, С. 26]. Одновременно, большинство исследователей творчества Э. Сати констатируют, что он стоял также и у истоков минимализма, декларируя ясность и простоту как доминантное качество своего авторского стиля и предвосхищая тем самым духовно-стилевые искания искусства постмодерна.

Большинство названных работ сконцентрированы чаще всего на поэтике фортепианного наследия композитора, а также эпатажного балета «Парад», в то время как камерно-вокальные композиции Э. Сати, в том числе «Сократ», достаточно редко становятся объектом музыковедско-культурологических обобщений. Исключением в этом плане можно считать публикации А. Селивановой [19] и Н. Ташлыковой [22], сконцентрированные на вопросах истории создания данного опуса и его исполнительских версиях. Тем не менее, данное сочинение можно считать знаковым не только для зрелого периода творчества Э. Сати, но и в раскрытии столь актуальной для современной культуры темы «музыка и философия».

Цель представленной статьи – выявление жанрово-стилевой специфики «Сократа» Э. Сати в русле особенностей претворения в его поэтике идей античной философии и культуры, репрезен-

тированных с позиций французского модерна начала XX столетия.

Античная проблематика давно стала базовой для всей европейской культуры, философии и духовно-эстетической мысли. Просуществовав в Древнем Риме, как повтор греческих образцов в различных формах неоплатонизма, эпикурейства, стоицизма и аристотелизма, она легла в основу христианского мировоззрения и она же составила главную проблему рационализма и классической философии. «Античная философия сформировалась на основе древнегреческой традиции мудрствования и мистерий, под влиянием воззрений мудрецов и жречества Египта, Месопотамии, других древневосточных стран. Пребывая изначально в круге мифологических представлений, древнегреческая мысль впервые сформулировала само понятие о философии как об особой деятельности, имеющей свой собственный предмет и метод, оказала большое влияние на становление и развитие христианства, а также стала источником рационального дискурса, развитие которого считается характерным для Западной цивилизации в широком смысле и легло в основу науки как особой формы общественного сознания» [3].

Среди наиболее одиозных представителей античной философии Сократа называют первым философом в собственном смысле этого слова. В его лице тип мышления, который теперь принято именовать философствующим, впервые обращается к себе самому, исследуя собственные принципы и приёмы. Отметим также, что многие представители греческой (восточнохристианской) ветви патристики проводили позднее параллели между Сократом и Христом. Биографы философа отмечают, что, помимо умения читать и писать, он был неплохим скульптором, но среди всех его талантов в конечном итоге победило ораторское искусство, которому он всегда отдавал предпочтение.

В вопросах этики Сократ развивал принципы рационализма, утверждая, что «добродетель проистекает из знания, и человек, знающий, что такое

добро, не станет поступать дурно. Ведь добро есть тоже знание, поэтому культура интеллекта может сделать людей добрыми» [21].

С именем Сократа также связывают философские парадоксы, которые с логической точки зрения, вроде бы противоречат здравому смыслу. В этом плане обозначенное качество личности и мировосприятия великого философа оказывается отчасти соотносимым и с творческой натурой Эрика Сати, для которого парадокс становится одним из определяющих качеств его поэтики (см. ниже), а также многочисленных авангардных направлений культуры XX века в целом [см. об этом более подробно: 8]. Возвращаясь к философской проблематике, отметим также, что «этимологія слова парадокс може бути віднесена до одного з діалогів Платона «Парменид», в якому Зенон використовує слово «paradoxon» для опису своїх плідних філософських ідей» [16]. На протяжении всей последующей истории философии вплоть до антиномий И. Канта, парадокс всегда выступал в роли одной из важных проблем, своеобразным ядром мудрости.

Отметим также, что философский аналитический метод Сократа известен и как майевтика. Он характеризуется доминированием диалогической формы общения как способа выявления истины. Именно диалог станет формой претворения его идей, запечатленных позднее Платоном (учеником Сократа). Обозначенный диалогизм опять-таки найдет оригинальное претворение и позднее в опере Э. Сати «Сократ», предназначенным для нескольких солистов и инструментального ансамбля.

Этические установки философии Платона как ученика Сократа и его последователя заключаются в следующем: «Задача человека в том, чтобы возвыситься над беспорядком (несовершенным чувственным миром) и всеми силами души стремиться к уподоблению Богу, который не соприкасается ни с чем злым («Теэтет»); в том, чтобы освободить душу от всего телесного, сосредоточить её на себе, на внутреннем мире умопознания и иметь дело толь-

ко с истинным и вечным («Федон»). Для Платона характерна и примиряющая эвдемоническая позиция, которая излагается в диалогах «Филеб» и «Законы» [17]. В письменном своем наследии Платон нередко говорил от лица Сократа. Он писал пьесы, философские диалоги, в которых участвовал Сократ и его ученики, бывшие сотоварищи, а порой и друзья самого Платона.

Таким образом, существенная роль Сократа и Платона в истории философской мысли более чем очевидна. При этом их наследие составляет предмет интереса именно в духовно-философском плане. Однако представление философов как главных персонажей музыкальных произведений в истории европейской музыкально-исторической традиции – достаточно редкое явление. По мнению Н. Ташлыковой, «Композиторами написано много произведений на исторические сюжеты, есть оперы, посвященные отдельным историческим личностям, но не было произведения о философе и его учении. Правда, в «Богеме» Пуччини есть персонаж по имени Коллен, который занимается философией, но это не историческое лицо. Есть симфоническая поэма Рихарда Штрауса «Так говорил Заратустра», в которой некоторые части называют так же, как и параграфы из работы Ницше, но это инструментальное сочинение. Текст там отсутствует» [22, С. 65].

В этом плане едва ли ни уникальным в своем роде выступает «симфоническая драма» «Сократ» Эрика Сати, определенная большинством биографов композитора как «вершина его творчества» [19, С. 153]. Данное сочинение было создано в 1918 году по заказу княгини Полиньяк – известной меценатки и покровительницы многих музыкантов начала XX столетия, в том числе И. Стравинского, М. де Фальи и др.

По замыслу Полиньяк, активно изучавшей в названный период древнегреческий язык и увлекавшейся античной философией, тексты диалогов Платона должны были читаться лишь женскими голосами, т.е. ею самой и ее подругами. Тем не ме-

нее, Э. Сати настоял на своей версии «Сократа», отдавая предпочтение не мелодекламации, а пению. «Вряд ли княгиня хотела заказать оперу, в основу которой легла бы платоновская аргументации знаменитого учения об Идеях. Скорее всего, ее привлек сюжет о судьбе Сократа. Но уже по выбранным для оперы фрагментам видно, что Сати интересовало философское учение Сократа, и он отбирал тексты, в которых без философских понятий, но звучали бы сократовские вопросы» [22, С. 65].

Текстовой основой сочинения послужили три фрагмента «Диалогов» («Пир», «Федр», «Федон») Платона во французском переводе Виктора Кузэна, символически обрисовывающие портрет Сократа. Композиция произведения является своеобразным триптихом, в рамках которого в 1 ч. («Портрет Сократа» – фрагменты Plato «Symposium» 215 a-e) философ представлен через хвалебный монолог Алкивиада. Во 2-й ч. («Берега Иллиса» – фрагменты из Plato «Phaedrus» 229 a-d; 230 b, c) повествование сосредоточено на диалоге Сократа и его ученика Феда, в то время как 3-я ч. («Смерть Сократа» – фрагменты Plato «Phaedo» 59 d, e; 60 a-b частично; 84 e, 85 a-c; 89 b; 116 b, c, d; 117 a, b, d; 118 a) репрезентирует финал его духовного и жизненного пути. В конечном итоге в выстраивании Э. Сати всей композиции сочинения намечается также некоторая сюжетность – мысль автора движется от разговора с Алкивиадом к беседе с Федром и заканчивается речью с учениками в тюрьме перед казнью.

Обращение Э. Сати к текстам Платона как к философскому наследию античной культуры, с одной стороны, как уже отмечалось выше, парадоксально (философ Сократ как герой музыкального произведения), с другой стороны, достаточно закономерно, поскольку античные идеи и образы на протяжении многих веков являлись своеобразным «эталонным единством индивида и космического универсума. Неотъемлемая основа античного мира – соотносительность общего и частного, личного и всечеловеческого, идея связи с целым – позво-

ляла художникам различных национальных школ и направлений представить широкий диапазон “прочтений” античной темы» [1, С. 3].

Сказанное в полной мере соотносимо и с различными этапами истории французской культуры и музыкального искусства. Особую актуальность дух и идеи античной культуры и философии приобретают в начале XX столетия, в том числе и после первой мировой войны, когда обращение к богатым в своих проявлениях формам античности обретают статус «источника смысла существования» [1, С. 45].

Одновременно, «Сократ» Э. Сати становится одним из ярких воплощений парадоксального стиля композитора. Данное сочинение вошло в историю музыки как «произведение единичное “несвоевременное” даже на фоне всплеска “первой волны” европейского авангарда» [19, С. 152]. Сказанное соотносимо, прежде всего, с жанровой спецификой опуса Э. Сати. Сам автор определяет его как «симфоническую драму». При этом феномен «драмы» в том варианте, в каком он сложился в инструментальной и вокальной музыке XVIII – XIX столетий, здесь как таковой отсутствует, поскольку автор категорически (по его словам) не приемлет какого-либо пафоса, сопряженного с драматическим симфонизмом.

Ричард Скиннер в своем романе «Вельветовый джентельмен» так говорит устами Э. Сати о смыслово-семантической стороне «Сократа»: «Из моего “Сократа” выйдет простое произведение, без конфликта, без fortissimo. Причем из рода такой музыки, в которой голос никогда не превозносился над текстом. Музыка ровная, текучая и совершенно белая, с поверхностью, гладкой как мрамор. Музыка, задуманная как нечто, напоминающее греческую вазу или Эгейское море в сияющий и недвижный день» [19, С. 157]. Обозначенная смысловая специфика дополняется не менее парадоксальным темброво-исполнительским решением данного сочинения: при очевидном доминировании персонажей мужчин

(Сократ и его ученики-собеседники), вокальные партии озвучены женскими голосами.

Воспринимаемый далеко не всеми современниками, парадоксальный стиль «Сократа» с его ярко выраженной антивагнерианской (антиромантической) направленностью, вместе с тем во многом предвосхитил не только поэтику музыкального неоклассицизма, но и репетитивную технику минимализма, расцвет которого будет сопряжен уже с творческими поисками западно-европейской музыки второй половины XX ст.

Своеобразие и парадоксальность рассматриваемого опуса Э. Сати, как указывалось выше, сопряжена и с его жанровой спецификой. Авторское определение «симфоническая драма», явно не вызывающее аналогии с опусами подобного рода в европейской музыкальной классике предшествующих эпох, оригинальным образом сочетает в себе также признаки вокального цикла, кантаты с явно выраженной «антисимфонической» [19, С. 159] направленностью. Н. Ташлыкова [22] в своем исследовании именует данное сочинение композитора «оперой», выявляя в нем признаки обобщенной сюжетности, выводимой в том числе и из его первоначального названия – «Жизнь Сократа».

Подобный жанровый плюрализм во многом обуславливает также разнообразие интерпретаций этого сочинения, среди которых встречаем как камерно-вокальные версии (фортепиано – солисты либо инструментальный ансамбль из 25 исполнителей – солисты), так и их сценические аналоги. Последние получили известность уже после смерти композитора.

Параллели рассматриваемого сочинения Э. Сати с жанровыми типологиями музыкальной классики тем не менее лишь усиливают оригинальность авторского подхода в раскрытии обозначенной сюжетно-смысловой идеи произведения, сконцентрированной на личности великого философа, ассоциировавшегося для многих последующих поколений именно с античным «образом мира».

А. Селиванова в цитированной выше публикации выделяет любопытные аналогии между функциональными качествами исполнительского состава «Сократа» Э. Сати и основных участников древнегреческой трагедии: «Говоря о прямых аллюзиях на античность, можно сопоставить оркестр с хором в греческой трагедии, вокальную же партию можно уподобить драматическому рассказчику. Оркестр, как и хор у греков, реагирует на происходящее, но остается как бы в стороне, при этом иногда предвосхищая события: многие лейтмотивы или лейттемы предваряют вступление голоса, либо вторят ему». Размышляя далее об особенностях поэтики данного сочинения, исследователь отмечает, что его концепция «настолько хрупка и насыщена нюансами, что атмосфера оперного театра, с его сменами декораций, бархатом, пышностью публики и сценического оформления, оказывается ненужной – она может полностью убить столь деликатный замысел» [19, С. 160].

Его сущность также оказывается сконцентрированной и в интонационном языке сочинения Э. Сати, обобщенном А. Селивановой термином «белая музыка». Специфика последней определена доминантной ролью в партитуре «Сократа» диатоники, «чистых» интервалов (кварты, квинты, октавы), пронизывающих как мелодические «горизонталы» вокальных и инструментальных партий, так и «вертикали» созвучий. Их выразительный эффект значительно усилен широким использованием репетитивных приемов и техники остинато. «Автор добивался создания белой музыки, то есть такой, которая бы не затемняла собой текст, но через которую ясно просвечивали бы избранные им диалоги. Более того, звучание этой чистой и белой прозы должно было, по мысли композитора, главенствовать в произведении, подчиняя себе всё. Сати словно дает нам понять, что процессом сочинения здесь руководит больше словесная логика, чем музыкальная» [19, С. 167], выявляя тем самым новизну и оригинальность в соотношении словесного и музыкального пла-

нов в интерпретации как философского первоисточника и образа его репрезентанта, так и обобщенного восприятия античной культуры в целом.

Таким образом, стиль «Сократа» Э. Сати, созданного на основе фрагментов текстов «Диалогов» Платона, фиксирующих, одновременно сущностные положения философии Сократа, формировался на пересечении показательного для французской культуры начала XX ст. увлечения античной культурой и философией, а также антиромантической поэтики Э. Сати, тяготеющей к парадоксальности как показательной черте ее жанрово-стилевой выразительности. Последнее качество нашло запечатление и в философской специфике

текста, не имеющей аналогов в музыкальной классике предшествующих эпох; и в жанровом определении сочинения как «симфонической драмы», принципиально не соотносимой с толкованием данного термина в творческой композиторской практике классико-романтической традиции; и в жанрово-исполнительском плюрализме «Сократа», соотносимого с поэтикой вокального цикла, кантаты и их аналогов; и в непосредственной соотнесенности стиля данного сочинения («белая музыка») с неоклассицистскими установками культуры начала XX столетия, ориентированными одновременно на предвосхищение композиторской техники и эстетики минимализма.

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THE POETICS OF THE CHAMBER-VOCAL CYCLE OF CREATIVITY KAROL SZYMANOWSKY

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the genre and style specifics of the chamber vocal creativity of K. Szymanowski in line with the artistic and aesthetic specifics of the Polish culture of the late XIX – early XX centuries.

Keywords: chamber-vocal creativity of K. Szymanowski, vocal cycle, “Young Poland”, modernism, futurism, “Zakopane style”, neo-folklorism.

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ПОЭТИКА КАМЕРНО-ВОКАЛЬНОГО ЦИКЛА В ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ КАРОЛЯ ШИМАНОВСКОГО

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию жанрово-стилевой специфики камерного вокального творчества К. Шимановского в русле художественно-эстетической специфики польской культуры конца XIX – начала XX столетий.

Ключевые слова: камерно-вокальное творчество К. Шимановского, вокальный цикл, «Молодая Польша», модерн, футуризм, «закопанский стиль», неофольклоризм.

Актуальность темы представленной статьи определена востребованностью камерного творчества К. Шимановского в современной вокально-исполнительской и педагогической практике, а также возрастающим интересом к наследию данного автора в отечественном искусствознании и музыкознании. В творчестве К. Шимановского органически соединились различные художественно-стилевые тенденции, показательные как для польского музыкального искусства первой половины XX столетия, так и для европейской культуры данного периода в целом, что нашло запечатление в том числе и в стилистическом многообразии его

камерно-вокального наследия, вобравшего в себя типологические качества романтизма, символизма, бидермайера, футуризма, неофольклоризма.

По словам И. Никольской, «Шимановский вошел в польскую музыку в период ее некоторого застоя и инертного отношения к развитию музыкального искусства в других странах. Даже творчество крупных польских композиторов конца XIX – начала XX века В. Желеньского, З. Носковского, И. Падеревского стояло в стороне от магистральных путей европейской музыки <...> Печать академизма лежала на произведениях польских композиторов. Творчество боготворимого

всеми Шопена понималось только в плане обработки песенных и танцевальных народных жанров, а новаторские достижения национального гения в области формы, драматургии, гармонии, принципов развития оставались в тени» [8, С. 111]. Обозначенная ситуация в истории развития национальной музыкальной культуры была очевидной и для самого К. Шимановского, отмечавшего в одной из своих публицистических заметок следующее: «Обычно замалчивается – словно на основе тайного сговора – весьма печальное явление, что эволюция эта [польской музыки] совершалась некоторым образом *a rebours* [наоборот, наоборот], начавшись на недоступных вершинах гения Шопена и медленно спускаясь шаг за шагом в серые печальные низины» [19, с. 27–28].

Библиография, посвященная польской культуре и музыке рубежа XIX – XX столетий и ее репрезентантам, достаточно обширна. Она представлена фундаментальными работами Л. Тананаевой [14; 15], проблематика которых сосредоточена вокруг специфики польского модерна. Выделяем также материалы сборника «Польское искусство и литература: от символизма к авангарду» [10], непосредственно обращенные к рассмотрению поэтики творчества репрезентантов данной эпохи, среди которых авторы особое внимание уделяют творческим личностям М. Карловича и К. Шимановского. Их дополняют публикации искусствоведов Н. Мироновой [6], О. Турбаевской [17], а также Д. Лебедровой [4], сопряженные с данной проблематикой, определившей в том числе и пути развития польской музыки в XX столетии.

Творческая деятельность К. Шимановского в украинско-русском музыкознании представлена разнообразными источниками, среди которых выделяем публикации статей и воспоминаний о композиторе, его эпистолярного наследия [19; 18]. Отсутствие в украинском музыкознании фундаментальной монографии о творчестве польского композитора отчасти компенсируется публикациями И. Никольской [7; 8], А. Калениченко [2].

Последний автор в своем исследовании поднимает вопрос о связях личности и творчества К. Шимановского с Украиной, что обусловлено фактами его биографии.

Предметом аналитических обобщений в последние десятилетия выступают чаще фортепианные и симфонические опусы композитора, рассматриваемые в публикациях О. Собакиной [12; 13] и упоминавшейся ранее И. Никольской [7]. Менее освещенным пока остается вопрос о специфике камерно-вокального творчества К. Шимановского, который стал предметом исследования в статьях Г. Тараевой [16], а также Д. Полячка [11]. Контактность творчества К. Шимановского с польской архаической фольклорной традицией стала предметом диссертации Е. Мачеевской [5]. Более детальную информацию о жанрово-стилевой специфике творчества композитора находим в исследованиях ряда польских авторов [20; 21; 22], и, прежде всего, в работах Т. Хылиньской [23; 24; 25].

Цель работы – выявление поэтико-интонационной уникальности камерно-вокального творчества К. Шимановского в русле духовно-стилевых исканий польской культуры первой половины XX века.

Обширная жанровая сфера вокальной музыки, в том числе и камерной, имеет древнейшие истоки, теснейшим образом связанные с фольклором, лирикой, эпосом и драмой, в чем также запечатлена ее синтетическая природа, проявляющаяся на уровне контактности со словом, ритуалом (культовая музыка), позднее со сценическим действием (опера). При этом все составные элементы подобного синтеза образуют сложную систему, взаимодействуя и обогащая друг друга.

Различные национально-исторические традиции в камерно-вокальной сфере демонстрируют, с одной стороны, соответствующую жанровую дифференциацию в соотношении музыкального и поэтического начал, следствием чего становится типологическое разграничение «песенности» и «романсовости». С другой стороны, в некото-

рых культурах очевидно предельное сближение и отождествление этих понятий, что проявляется в немецком термине *Lied* и английском *song*, польском *pieśn*.

Камерный вокальный цикл, исходя из этимологии слова-термина «цикл – круг» и его риторико-семантических и символических смыслов-значений, запечатлевает идею жизненного «Пути» человека, осмысления его важнейших этапов, отраженных в последовательности фиксированных моментов субъективно-лирического переживания. Сказанное обусловлено как многовековой духовной традицией немецкой культуры, так и генеральной темой романтизма в целом, фиксирующей сопряжение жизненно-реального и божественно-мистического, поскольку жизнь, в соответствии с романтическим пониманием, «...ценна не сама по себе, но только как феномен, выводящий романтика к “бесконечному”» [3, С. 141], что вполне согласуется с архетипом цикличности во всех его проявлениях, в том числе и вокальном – как единства конечного и бесконечного.

Польская камерно-вокальная традиция, генетически восходящая к духовно-певческой практике Средневековья (культовая и паралитургическая практика, рыцарская лирика) занимает весьма существенное место в музыкальной культуре страны. Существенным стимулом, способствовавшим расцвету названной жанровой сферы в XVII – начале XIX столетий стали также традиции шляхетской культуры, позднее салона, в рамках которых вокальное музицирование, обобщавшее «интонационный словарь» своей эпохи и жанровое разнообразие его запечатления (песня, думка, романс, идиллия, духовная песня и др.), занимало весьма существенное место.

В драматический период польской истории, отмеченный потерей государственности и иных национальных свобод, польская песня, создававшаяся исключительно на родном языке, запечатлевала также и национально-патриотическое качество. Показательными в этом плане выступают камерно-

вокальные сочинения Ф. Шопена и С. Монюшко (12 сборников «Домашних песенников»). Данные циклы, при отсутствии сюжетной фабулы-канвы повествования, традиционной, например, для романтических вокальных циклов Ф. Шуберта, Р. Шумана, более апеллируют к совокупному «сверхсюжету», выявляющему в конечном итоге польский национальный «образ мира», принципы запечатления которого (фактурная простота, ориентация на типическое, общезначимое как в художественном выражении, так и в исполнении, акцентирование тем дома, рода, семьи, патриархальных ценностей и т.д.) в конечном итоге выявляют опять-таки стилевые качества культуры бидермайера, представленные в данном случае через традиции его польской («варшавской») «модели» и ориентированные в тематике и средствах выразительности на бидермайеровский принцип запечатления «великого в малом».

Исторические пути развития польской музыки рубежа XIX–XX столетий, равно как и жанрово-стилевая специфика творчества К. Шимановского оказались непосредственно сопряженными не только с метаморфозами польской государственности, но и со всей ее культурно-художественной жизнью, представленной феноменом «Молодой Польши», неотделимым в свою очередь от гения классика польской музыки, ставшего фактическим главой «Молодой Польши в музыке».

Наличие общей тематики (антитезы жизни и смерти, меланхолия, тоска, чувство одиночества, «мировой скорби», апокалиптические предчувствия и т.д.), пересеченность мировоззренческих позиций, выявляющая реальность творческого объединения под знаком «Молодой Польши», все же не исключает стиливой «пестроты» творческой деятельности ее репрезентантов, исповадовавших идеи символизма (С. Пшибышевский), неоромантизма (С. Жеромский), импрессионизма (К. Тетмайер, Я. Каспрович), эстетику модерна (С. Выспяньский). Объединяло названных авторов неприятие культурной и общественной

ситуации в Польше того времени, отказ от позитивизма, характерного для предыдущего этапа польской культуры, интерес к философии Ницше, Шопенгауэра, Бергсона и стремление к поиску новых путей в искусстве. Недаром эти годы польского искусства иногда называют «модернистским бунтом» [5, С. 62].

В ситуации политического и государственного разделения страны, трагических судеб ее патриотов предельно обостряется также интерес в данный период к своему национальному прошлому. При этом идеализируется старая Польша, возрождаются культурно-исторические ценности Кракова как давней столицы Польши и символа ее былого процветания. Одновременно, в творческой деятельности «Молодой Польши» также был достаточно силен и национальный элемент, выявившийся в стремлении к созданию современного (по меркам начала XX столетия) национального польского («прапольского») стиля в изобразительном искусстве, литературе, архитектуре, обобщенного в концепции «закопанского стиля» как «модели» неофольклоризма.

Гордость историческим прошлым в эпоху польского модерна парадоксальным образом соседствовала с осмыслением его преходящего качества, что порождало осмысление событий реальности как «расчета с прошлым» (в том числе и с романтическими мифами польского мессианизма) и порождало соответственно культивирование образов меланхолии, неприкаянности, одиночества, одержимости апокалиптическими образами и т.д.

Очевидная пересеченность творческих исканий «Молодой Польши» и наследия К. Шимановского, наличие композиторской школы («Молодая Польша в музыке»), тем не менее, не исключает дифференциацию их жанрово-стилевых установок, обусловленных в том числе спецификой развития польской музыкально-исторической традиции в XIX столетия, тяготевшей к «традиционализму», «стилистическому консерватизму»,

стимулируемым практикой салонного музицирования, сопряженного в том числе и с эстетикой «варшавского бидермайера» [см. об этом более подробно в исследованиях И. Подобас: 9].

О музыкальных впечатлениях детства и юности, сформировавших пиетет К. Шимановского в отношении национальной музыкальной традиции, свидетельствуют его письма, в которых в частности отмечается следующее: «Хотя жил я вдали от музыкальных столиц, однако же, благодаря музыкальной среде, окружавшей меня с детства, я быстро познакомился с самой лучшей музыкой. Мои ранние музыкальные впечатления – это Шопен, Бах и особенно Бетховен <...> С Вагнером я впервые познакомился в возрасте 13 лет в Вене – тогда я увидел на сцене “Лоэнгрина” <...> Он-то и решил мою будущую судьбу. С тех пор Вагнер превратился в единственный объект моих грез...» [19]. Сказанное во многом определило изначальное тяготение К. Шимановского к романтической (позднеромантической) традиции.

Эволюция творчества К. Шимановского, соотносимая в том числе и с его камерно-вокальной сферой, отразила жанрово-стилевые предпочтения автора. При этом в первый период его творчества, который можно определить как «романтический», сосредоточен на претворении традиций Ф. Шопена и А. Скрябина, соседствующих с увлечением искусством М. Рegera и Р. Штрауса, поэзией «Молодой Польши» и немецких авторов. Второй период («импрессионистско-символистский») сопряжен с интересом к культуре античности, итальянского Ренессанса, Древнего Востока, к поэтике творчества М. Равеля и К. Дебюсси. Третий период («неофольклористский») связан с открытием культуры Подгалья и его фольклорной традиции, обозначившей формирование в творчестве композитора концепции «национального», апеллирующей к своим «прапольским» архаическим истокам. Таким образом, стилиевая эволюция творчества К. Шимановского оказывается причастной к поэтике базовых

стилей рубежа XIX–XX столетий, определивших неповторимый облик европейской культуры модерна в целом.

Своеобразной «визитной карточкой» всех вышеназванных периодов стилевых метаморфоз наследия К. Шимановского стало его камерно-вокальное творчество. В числе субъективных причин подобного внимания к названной жанровой сфере обычно выделяют, прежде всего, духовно-художественную атмосферу семьи Шимановских, в которой культ музыки, музыкальная одаренность ее членов занимали далеко не последнее место, выявляя тем самым качества «семейного творческого содружества». Сущность последнего более всего проявлялась в творческих контактах К. Шимановского и его сестры – Станиславы Корвин-Шимановской – известной певицы, вокальное мастерство которой формировалось не без влияния брата, создававшего многие свои вокальные композиции в расчете на ее голос и исполнительские возможности.

Не менее существенной причиной апеллирования к камерно-вокальному творчеству выступает и универсализм творческой натуры самого композитора, который также был известен и как писатель, поэт, музыкальный критик и публицист. «Жажда воплотить слово музыкой была органичным проявлением “двуединой” сущности художественного мышления Шимановского – музыканта и литератора, автора романа [«Эфеб»], стихотворений, публицистических статей» [16, С. 257].

Сквозной темой большинства ранних вокальных циклов К. Шимановского (опусы на тексты Я. Каспровича, Т. Мициньского, К. Тетмайера, немецких поэтов XIX века) является лирика во всех романтических ее аспектах – одухотворенные картины природы, настроения одиночества, тоски, томления, «мировой скорби», типичные для многих авторов рубежа XIX–XX столетий. Большинство вокальных циклов К. Шимановского вплоть до оп. 20 не имеют ярко выраженной сюжетной циклизации, но скорее тяготеют к за-

печатлению «духа времени» в их художественно-поэтическом обобщении. Обозначенный круг тем и образов, генетически восходящий к традициям музыкального романтизма, во многом определяет и средства музыкальной выразительности ранних циклов К. Шимановского. Не без влияния музыки Р. Вагнера и его последователей здесь складывается утонченный гармонический язык, тяготеющий к изысканной альтерационной аккордике. Следствием последней становятся очевидные процессы децентрализации мажора и минора, непосредственно предвосхищающие двенадцатитоновость.

Одновременно в рамках поэтики ранних вокальных циклов композитора формируются характерные черты его мелодики – широта и певучесть, гибкая пластика линии, тончайшая декламационная выразительность, сближающая отдельные опусы К. Шимановского со столь показательным для его эпохи жанром «стихотворения с музыкой».

Одним из наиболее ярких опусов данного периода в творчестве композитора можно считать «Три фрагмента из поэм Яна Каспровича» (оп. 5), созданные в 1902 г. на основе третьей и четвертой частей поэтического цикла «Погибающему миру», известного также и как «Гимны». Ян Каспрович – один из талантливейших представителей «Молодой Польши», чье творчество вызывало живой интерес не только на родине, но и в иных странах Европы. Его поэзия была чрезвычайно высоко оценена К. Бальмонтом, который не только переводил на русский язык его стихотворения, но и написал книгу-эссе памяти великого польского поэта – «Ян Каспрович: поэт польской души».

Цикл «Погибающему миру» включает в себя четыре масштабных, написанных свободным стихом текста, соотносимых с лирико-философскими поэмами, выявляющими одновременно существенную роль в мировоззрении поэта и его современников христианских идей, поскольку своеобразной «моделью» авторских духовно-поэтических рефлексий становятся христианские гимны «Dies irae», «Salve Regina», «Святый

Боже», выявляющие одновременно надконфессиональный характер данного опуса.

Художественно-литературные и поэтические впечатления К. Шимановского, сопряженные с духовно-художественным опытом иных культур, в том числе и восточных («Любовные песни Хафиза», «Песни влюбленного муэдзина» на тексты Я. Ивашкевича), во многом обусловлены многочисленными путешествиями композитора, существенно обогатившими универсализм его творческой натуры. Стилизация восточного колорита, в том числе с включением «уфарного ритма», здесь причудливым образом сочетается с ладо-гармоническими поисками европейского музыкального модерна. Автор широко апеллирует к хроматике в вокальной партии, обилию остигнутых формул баса, импровизационности, к частому использованию ув. 2, рафинированной орнаментике, звукоизобразительности, что в совокупности, с одной стороны, ориентировано на воспроизведение-имитацию интонационных формул восточной музыкальной традиции в ее европейском интонационном «прочтении», с другой – на выявление ее духовно-чувственных качеств.

Обобщая роль ориентальной тематики в становлении творческой личности композитора, И. Г. Галущенко отмечает следующее: «Восток был для него кладом старейших философских истин и источником поэтической красоты. Возможность выйти за пределы европейской цивилизации и экзотическим миром, обращение к которому давало художнику свободный полёт фантазии. Устремляя свой взор на Восток, польский композитор видел в восточной культуре такие ценные качества, которых было лишено современное ему европейское искусство. Это стремление опереться на традиции мистического мышления, пристально изучая философию и ху-

дожественную мысль, желание осознать национальное в контексте общечеловеческого. “Мы не должны утрачивать органической связи с общечеловеческой культурой, – утверждал К. Шимановский, – ибо только на этом пути может возникнуть великое искусство, а значит и национальная музыка”» [1, С. 85].

Зрелый период творчества К. Шимановского отмечен поисками принципов воплощения национального стиля. В обозначенный период композитор, солидаризируясь с иными представителями польской культуры начала XX ст., открывает новые пласты польского фольклора, становящиеся одновременно предметом его новых творческих свершений, развивающихся в двух направлениях. Первое из них связано с «закопанским стилем» и выявлением ладово-интонационной специфики песенно-танцевальной культуры Подгалья, запечатленной в цикле «Слопевне» на тексты Юлиана Тувима. Одновременно, данный опус был сопряжен с поисками К. Шимановским генезиса польской (прапольской) национальной культуры, смыкавшимися также с духовно-лингвистическими исканиями европейского футуризма начала XX столетия. Второе направление творческой деятельности К. Шимановского в 30-е годы выявляет его интерес к фольклору Курпёвской пуши, реализованный в виде авторских обработок народных песен (12 курпёвских песен), учитывающих архаику и регионализм данного фольклорного материала.

Таким образом, камерно-вокальное творчество К. Шимановского, с одной стороны, являет собой своеобразный итог развития польской музыкально-исторической традиции в ее романтической и бидермайеровской ипостаси, с другой – выявляет эволюционный потенциал названной жанровой сферы в условиях культуры польского модерна, а также его неофольклорной составляющей.

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GENRE AND STYLE ASPECTS OF POLISH PIANO MUSIC OF THE XIX – BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURIES IN THE WAY OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE TRADITIONS OF “SARMATISM”

Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of the specifics of the Polish piano dance music of the 19th – early 20th centuries in the context of the implementation of the “Sarmatian” national “image of the world” in it and its genre and style depiction from the standpoint of the “gentry Biedermeier”.

Keywords: Polish musical culture, polonaise, mazurka, krakowiak, dumka, gentry, Sarmatism, “gentry Biedermeier”.

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ЖАНРОВО-СТИЛЕВЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ ПОЛЬСКОЙ ФОРТЕПИАННОЙ МУЗЫКИ XIX – НАЧАЛА XX СТОЛЕТИЙ В РУСЛЕ ПРЕТВОРЕНИЯ ТРАДИЦИЙ «САРМАТИЗМА»

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию специфики польской фортепианной танцевальной музыки XIX – начала XX столетий в контексте претворения в ней «сарматского» национального «образа мира» и его жанрово-стилевого запечатления с позиций «шляхетского бидермайера».

Ключевые слова: польская музыкальная культура, полонез, мазурка, краковяк, думка, шляхта, сарматизм, «шляхетский бидермайер».

По мнению Г. Гачева, «описать национальное – это выявить уникальное» [цит. по: 20, С. 3]. Изучение национального качества в европейских культурах в разные периоды истории всегда было предметом огромного исследовательского интереса. Кульминация осмысления специфики национального феномена во всем разнообразии его проявлений приходится на минувшие два столетия, отмеченные интенсивным становлением и развитием национальных школ во всех сферах художественно-творческой

деятельности. Сказанное соотносимо и с польской культурно-исторической и музыкальной традицией, репрезентирующей славянский вклад в мировое культурное наследие. Его оригинальность во многом определена спецификой польского национального «образа мира», генезис которого восходит к историческому прошлому Польши (Речи Посполитой) и сформировавшейся на его основе идеологии «сарматизма». Влияние последней сказалось как на исторических судьбах страны, «сти-

ле жизни» ее аристократической элиты (шляхты как «сарматского народа»), так и на ее культуре, о чем свидетельствует и история «сарматского портрета» [18], и традиции польской танцевальной культуры, и жанрово-стилевые предпочтения польских композиторов XIX – начала XX ст. в сфере фортепианной музыки, ориентированные на традиции «шляхетского бидермайера» [13, С. 141] в его салонной ипостаси. Одновременно, феномен «сарматизма», формировавшийся в условиях полиэтнической и поликонфессиональной государственности, существенен и для осмысления культурных славянских народов, в том числе и Украины, исторически связанной с данным государственным образованием и сложившейся в его рамках духовно-культурной традиции. Обозначенный ракурс исследования польской культуры и музыки, а также причастных к ней в процессах интеграции европейского культурного пространства и ныне составляет предмет научных обобщений в сфере культурологической и музыковедческой мысли, что и определяет актуальность темы представленной статьи.

Вопросы специфики и своеобразия польского «образа мира» и его художественного запечатления неоднократно были предметом исследования в трудах Г. Гачева [6], Д. Безьева [2], а также в работах, сопряженных с обобщением показательных черт феномена сарматизма, представленных в монографии и сопутствующих публикациях М. Лескинен [11; 12], В. Киселева [9], Н. Ракирянского [17], Л. Тананаевой [18], М. Демской-Трембач [8]. Исследования названных авторов дополняются материалами диссертаций О. Гисы [7], И. Подобас [15; 16], Н. Чуприной [21], выявляющих роль музыкально-творческого фактора в культуре Польши и ее жанрово-стилевой специфики, в том числе и поэтики бидермайера [см. об этом более подробно: 22; 23; 24; 13], запечатлевшего в одной из своих национальных моделей («варшавский бидермайер», «шляхетский бидермайер») духовно-патриархальную составляющую ее «образа мира».

Цель работы – выявление жанрово-стилевой специфики польской фортепианной танцевальной музыки XIX – начала XX ст. в контексте запечатления в ней идеологии «сарматизма» и традиций бидермайера.

Размышляя об исторических судьбах Польши, польской культуры и музыки, Л. Роговский в свое время отмечал: «Мы являемся первым народом Восточной Европы, но не последним Западной» [цит. по: 8, С. 210]. В приведенных словах ощутима не только гордость за свое отечество и его культурное достояние, но и констатация оригинального географического положения страны. Г. Гачев в своем известном исследовании «Национальные образы мира» аттестует Польшу как государственное образование «между Востоком и Западом, Севером и Югом», а также как «посредницу в Евразии: между Западом Европы – и Азией, между германством и романством – и славянством, и татаро-монголами и тюрками» [6, С. 42].

Сказанное во многом определяет полиэтническую специфику данной страны, особенно очевидную в период ее государственно-политического расцвета, отмеченного появлением во второй половине XVI века Речи Посполитой, под эгидой которой были объединены не только польские, но и литовские, белорусские и украинские земли.

Подобного рода конгломерат обусловил также поликонфессиональную природу названного государства, в рамках которого фактически соседствовали католическая и православная традиции. Генезис подобного сосуществования во многом был определен еще предшествующей эпохой Ягеллонов, тяготевших к унии в решении духовных вопросов польской государственности. Последнее сказалось также, например, и в оформлении католических храмов эпохи Владислава Ягайло и его последователей, где символика римской церкви соседствовала с византийскими росписями. По свидетельству М.П. Крука, «православные росписи в интерьерах польских костелов, выполненные в политическом и культурном пространстве,

отмеченном общежитием поляков, литвы и руси, демонстрировали могущество Ягеллонов на востоке Европы как покровителей и гарантов равноправия общих – Западной и Восточной христианских церквей, мирно сосуществующих под их скипетром в союзном династическом пространстве». Обобщение духовной сущности обозначенных процессов приводит исследователя к выводу о том, что «через православные росписи-вклады в католических храмах король подчеркивал единство христиан, ориентируя их на идеалы ранней, неразделенной Церкви» [10, С. 89, 90].

Подобного рода ориентация во многом определила духовную специфику не только польского «образа мира», но и его культуры, оказавшейся причастной к общеевропейской традиции, сформированной на базе «древлезападного православия» и обобщенного О. Муравской в феномене «патриархально-ортодоксальной культуры» [14, С. 278]. Христианские установки последней во многом определили и поэтику искусства бидермайера, в том числе и в его польской «ипостаси», сформированной на основе идеологии «сарматизма» (см. ниже).

Показательно, что при всех историко-социальных метаморфозах подобного рода тяготение к конфессиональному сосуществованию различных христианских традиций сохранилось и на последующих этапах развития польской культуры, ее научно-образовательной системы, сконцентрированной в том числе и в вековых традициях Краковского университета. О. Гиса убеждена, что ягеллонство «запліднило культурно-мистецьке буття Польщі та України у другій половині XIX – на початку XX століття. Поширення панславистських ідей, щирими сповідниками яких були великий польський письменник Б. Прусс, знаменитий історик К. Валішевський, видатний український вчений-гуманітарій, професор Харківського університету О. Потебня та ін., орієнтувало польський “прокраківський” нахил» [7, С. 38], а также жанрово-стилевую направленность инструмен-

тального творчества многих композиторов рубежа XIX – XX столетий на традиции «старопольской» «ягеллонской» культуры (К. Шимановский, Л. Роговский, К. Пендерецкий, А. Пануфник и др.). Л. Тананаева, рассматривая исторические условия формирования «сарматского портрета» и эволюционные пути его развития, констатирует, что «Польша <...> хранила традиции благородной [религиозной] терпимости, за что и заслужила наименование “государства без костров”. «Кто бы ни пришел сюда – всякого крыльями своими Орел заслонил», – писал польский поэт [18, С. 16].

Обозначенное явление польского «образа мира» и духовного мировосприятия во многом обусловлено спецификой государственности, окончательно сложившейся во второй половине XVI – начале XVII ст. В данный период Речь Посполитая представляла собой «сословную монархию», которая «управлялась Сеймом, король был избираем, и фактически господствовала “шляхетская демократия”. Идеологическим обоснованием столь специфического положения дворянского сословия в Польском государстве было представление об избранности шляхты; она была провозглашена единственной в Речи Посполитой носительницей идеи “золотой вольности”, в основе которой лежала неоспоримая ценность гражданской свободы», в условиях которой король мыслился как «брат, не господин своим подданным» [11, С. 54, 56].

Подобного рода идеология в геополитическом и генеалогическом аспектах во многом была порождена поисками польским социумом своего места в европейской истории и культуре. При этом формирование национальной идеологии, с одной стороны, оказывалось соотносимым историей древних сарматов – воинственного народа, состоявшего из кочевых ираноязычных племен и населявшего степную полосу Евразии от Дуная до Аральского моря.

С другой стороны, в рамках польской сарматской идеологии национальная история мыслилась в христианских библейских категориях. «Сармат-

ский католицизм» являл собой модель «полонизированного католицизма» (М. Лескинен). В соответствии с подобными мифологизированными представлениями, «вся мировая история происходила в Польше, Голгофа существовала в Кракове, Богородица и святые облакались в польские одежды, потому что жили на польских землях. Более того, культ польского героя, богатыря-сармата столь активно использовался церковью, особенно в периоды кровопролитных войн, что зачастую превосходил по значимости древних ветхозаветных пророков и святых» [17, С. 84].

В подобных представлениях сарматской теологии о национальной истории «виделось особое отношение Бога к Польскому государству», заключавшееся «не только в Высшем покровительстве и поддержке в периоды испытаний; самоослабление Речи Посполитой воспринималось ее выразителями как наказание за грехи», в то время как начало каждого нового исторического цикла в ее бытии нередко трактовалось на уровне возвращения «золотого века» [11, С. 87]. Показательной в этом плане выступает и параллель драматических судеб Польши и трагических событий Нового Завета, точнее, соотнесенность Польши с распятым Христом, с «жертвой, Агнцем, понесшим грехи всей Европы (не свои)» [6, С. 55].

Итак, носителем обозначенной идеологии и движущей силой польской государственности на протяжении нескольких столетий выступала шляхта, этимологическое определение которой (*slacht*, *geschlecht*) изначально было соотносимым с «родом», «породой», «родовитостью» [6, С. 116] как высочайшими ценностями в польской духовной «картине мира» и «стиле жизни». В период особого государственно-политического могущества Польши именно шляхта соотносилась с «сарматским народом», под которым подразумевалось, прежде всего, рыцарство и близкие ему сословия. «Исполнение политических обязанностей сарматским народом воспринимается как служба Господу» [12, С. 258]. Соответствен-

но, идеи одухотворенного Служения, наследования кодекса чести и высоких вековых этических идеалов сармата-шляхтича на протяжении многих столетий определяли духовные характеристики польского «образа мира» и его культуры, в том числе и музыкальной.

В период расцвета Речи Посполитой (XVI – XVII вв.) обозначенная идеология была сопряжена, по мнению М. Лескинен, с двумя сословными ипостасями – рыцарем-воином и помещиком (землянином). Главными функциями первого считались защита отечества, которые были неотделимы от таких его личностных качеств, как доблесть, благородство, честь, гордость в их духовно-христианском толковании. Убежденность в своей исключительности выдвигала также на первый план идею «защиты не только своей веры, веры своих предков, но и всего христианского мира от неверных» [12, С. 261, 265], поскольку Польша долгое время была реальным заслоном для Западной Европы от угрозы турецкого нападения, «*Antemurale christianitatis*» – «первой линией оборонных укреплений в христианстве» [18, С. 18]. Обозначенные качества нашли интонационно-ритмическое запечатление в поэтике полонеза – «пешего танца» как запечатления «польскости в хореографии» [6, С. 69], а также в этимологическо-семантических аспектах феномена «думы» и производных от него жанров, соотносимых в польском языке («*duma*») с представлением о «гордости» [15, С. 39] (см. ниже).

Иную ипостась польского «сарматизма» демонстрирует образ «сармата-помещика», жизнь которого тесно связана с пребыванием в родовом имении, с окружающей природой, с близостью к крестьянскому миру и его патриархальным ценностям. «Главные добродетели шляхтича-землянина определены его жизнью: основными занятиями являются выполнение общественного долга (заседание в сеймах и сеймиках) и хозяйственная деятельность. В случае войны он собирает свое ополчение и готов к бою». Обобщая его сущ-

ность, М. Лескинен отмечает: «Перед нами – идеал, далекий от рыцарского. Образ землянина – это, по сути, образ мирного, доброго, незлобливового человека, ценящего уют, природу, семейные радости, не чуждого и интеллектуальным удовольствиям <...> Он далек от страстей политической и общественной жизни <...> Его государство – это его поместье, где он – сам король над своими подданными, где он отвечает за их жизнь, благополучие, моральный облик <...> Землянский образ жизни <...> есть богоугодное и благородное занятие» [12, с. 271–273]. Обозначенные качества оказываются соотносимыми и с бидермайеровским духовно-этическими идеалами, выявляя тем самым свою причастность к общеевропейским духовно-этическим исканиям и формам их художественного запечатления.

Как видим, сословные характеристики польского «сарматского мира», при всех их различиях, тем не менее, дополняют друг друга, что очевидно, например, в характеристике Г. Гачева. По его словам, «бытом шляхтич – хлоп, беден, а душою – магнат, артистичен, свободен, рыцарь, аристократ» [6, С. 56], что, добавим, выявляет богатство его духовного мира и этических установок.

Характеристики сарматско-шляхетской идеологии также выявляют иные парадоксальные качества. С одной стороны, очевидной выступает склонность к особому рода индивидуализму, который цитированный выше автор увязывает в том числе и с польской лингвистической практикой. Согласно его выводам, польское «Пан» оказывается также соотносимым и с «Богом», а также и с «государем», в то время как «Паньство» выявляет признаки «Государства». «Тут каждый человек = Государство особое, микрополис» [6, С. 47]. Высокая значимость Одного, Личности породила принцип «либерум вето» польского Сейма, в рамках которого воля одного человека могла преградить путь реализации мнения большинства. В этом плане обозначенное качество польскости противостояло российской соборности. «В Поль-

ском Логосе Единица равна Всем, любому количеству, большинству». В подобном «своеволии» Г. Гачеву видится особого рода «принцип доверия Личности и ее свободной воле» и в конечном итоге «Доверия Бога человеку» [6, С. 90, 52].

С другой стороны, для шляхетского «стиля жизни» весьма существенна роль семейного фактора и «соседства». По словам В. Лозиньского, «Принято считать, что Польша держится на отдельной личности; правильнее было бы сказать, что она держится на семье» и ее патриархальных началах. «Роль судьбы в разного рода этических, моральных конфликтах, роль хранителя традиций, высшего авторитета отдавалась семье» [цит. по: 18, С. 24].

Консервативность, традиционализм, охранительность шляхетско-сарматской культуры, ее обращенность в «золотое прошлое» стимулируют особого рода значимость в ней духовного и культурно-исторического наследия предыдущих поколений, в рамках которого прикладное, «бытовое» сближается с бытийственным. Сказанное соотносимо и с польской песенно-танцевальной культурой, и с литературно-поэтическим творчеством. Показательной в этом плане выступает и поэма А. Мицкевича «Дзяды», идея которой была определена славянской (в том числе и польской) ритуальной традицией поминания предков. Обозначенные духовные установки так или иначе способствовали формированию такой специфической шляхетской общности, как «соседство», которое «усиливало значение родственных и родовых связей в сословной консолидации шляхты, а также делало семью важным элементом “структуры соседств”» [18, С. 15], содействуя тем самым процессам консолидации социума, осуществляемым на основе национальной духовно-патриархальной традиции.

Обобщение специфики польского шляхетского «сарматизма», таким образом, выявляет не только национальное качество его культуры, но и соотносительность с традициями бидермайера как показательного явления европейской культуры и музыки первой половины XIX века, ставшего

в последние десятилетия предметом искусствоведческих дискуссий в различных художественных сферах. По мнению О. Муравской, «картина европейської культури цього часу в цілому і, зокрема, музичної з її акцентом на “глибинах і висотах” людського “я” і визначенням ХІХ ст. також як “століття приватного життя” (Х. Зедльмайр) невіддільна від бідермаєра <...> Проте критичні закиди на адресу “міщанства” і “вузькості обивательського маленького світу”, що пов’язують з бідермаєром, поволі поступаються місцем глибокому інтересу і вивченню даного феномену, його епохи та репрезентантів» [14, С. 313].

«Духовний модус» даного стиля, орієнтований на воспевание патриархальних ценностей семьи, детства, жизненного пространства человека и его устремленности к внутреннему духовному самосовершенствованию, гармонии внешнего и внутреннего, Божественного и человеческого, определяет также поэтику его языка, ориентированного на запечатление «великого в малом» в русле традиций домашнего музицирования и салонного искусства обозначенной эпохи.

Польское искусство и музыка первой половины ХІХ века также оказалось причастным к феномену бидермайера [см.: 22; 23; 24; 15; 16] в разнообразных сферах художественного выражения – живописи, литературе, музыке. Е. Малиновский соотносит польскую ипостась данного стиля с 30–60 годами ХІХ ст., выявляя две его базовые версии: «“городскую” [у И. Подобас – «варшавский бидермайер»], которая не была только мелкобуржуазной, представляя также и интеллигенцию, чиновничество, и “шляхетскую”. Различия между ними определялись выбором перспективы, с которой оценивался мир. Если “городской” бидермейер [транскрипция автора] был ориентирован на современность, то “шляхетский” – на историческую традицию <...> Шляхетское течение бидермейера утверждало консервативную модель жизни. Она оберегала бытовые и религиозные

нормы прошлого, противопоставленные современной городской жизни» [13, С. 141, 149].

Обозначенные «модели» польского бидермайера, при всех их различиях, фактически взаимодополняли друг друга в интерпретации национального качества, определенного духовно-исторической активностью шляхетского сословия, его культуры и музыки. Отметим также доминирование в данной традиции салонной практики, что со всей очевидностью обозначилось уже в творчестве Ф. Шопена, который руководствовался установкой исполнительской деятельности исключительно в рамках салона, «минуя общественно-собрательные акции филармонического типа, которые были естественной средой Ф. Листа и которые были рождены волей “неистового романтизма”» [15, с. 13–14]. Отметим также, что в фортепианном творчестве последующих поколений польских композиторов доминирующая роль принадлежит не столько образцам крупных музыкальных форм (соната, концерт), сколько циклам программных либо жанровых миниатюр, запечатлевающих в соответствии с принципом «великое в малом» польский национальный «образ мира». Существенное место здесь принадлежит песенно-танцевальной культуре Польши, представленной полонезом, мазуркой, краковяком, куявяком и др., а также жанровой сферой, репрезентирующей полиэтнический ареал музыкально-культурного наследия Речи Посполитой (коломыйка, тропак, думка) в творчестве композиторов польско-украинского происхождения (В. Малишевский, М. Завадский, К. Шимановский и др.). Генезис большинства из них сопряжен, по мнению многих исследователей, именно со шляхетской (сарматской) традицией.

Танцевальная культура Польши как воплощение ее «души» [4, С. 113] и наиболее значимых качеств прежде всего представлена поэтикой полонеза, который развился на основе танца-шествия («chodzony» – «хождение»). По мнению А. Кузнецова, анализирующего метро-ритмиче-

скую специфику танца и его семантическое «наполнение», «акцент на 3-й доле [в полонезе] не приседание, а гордый поворот головы из стороны в сторону, либо приподнимание локтя согнутой руки, покоящейся на рукояти сабли <...> движения, которые подчеркивали бы воинственность и гордую осанку идущего в танце». Полонез, согласно характеристике цитированного автора, является собой «“породистое” проявление польского национального духа» [4, С. 123], наиболее полно обобщенное в фортепианных произведениях Ф. Шопена, а также его последователей, в том числе З. Носковского (цикл оп. 26, № 3; оп. 22, № 3).

Еще одним существенным знаком-символом польского качества выступает мазурка – «образ Польши, в танце явленный». Именно она становится «своеобразным духовным сгустком польской национальной личности актуализируя такое специфическое качество польского этногенетического кода, как парадоксальность релятивного мироощущения, порожденного сложным историческим и геополитическим положением Польши – буферной зоны между Востоком и Западом». Именно эти качества оказались существенными для Ф. Шопена, поскольку мазурка стала для него «способом восстановления разорванной временем и пространством связи с родиной, которая, по словам Г. Гачева, не измеряется территориально: Родина для поляка – духовный универсум» [3, С. 78].

Любопытными в этом плане являются также обобщения И. Подобас, исследующей мазурки Ф. Шопена в контексте традиций «варшавского бидермайера». Опираясь на научные разработки польских авторов, она приходит к выводу о том, что интонационной основой большинства из них стали польские религиозные песни. Подобно «блесткам-намекам в духе бидермайеровской эстетики», они «пронизывают лирическую танцевальную миниатюру Мазурки показателями сопричастности идее Веры» [15, с. 15–16]. Неслучайно поэтому польский национальный гимн связан именно с типологией мазурки («Мазурка Домбровского»), реали-

зуя тем самым и творческий принцип данной эпохи запечатления «великого в малом».

Одновременно, разнообразие интонационно-ритмического «наполнения» данного танца в творчестве классика польской музыки выявляет его богатую историко-социальную природу, в которой выделяется и «дворянская (шляхетская) мазурка XVII века», и ее «бальная» версия, сложившаяся в XIX ст., и «городской народный танец центральной Польши», и, наконец, многочисленные региональные разновидности этого танца, репрезентирующие различные области Польши [см. об этом более подробно: 5, с. 127–128]. Сказанное очевидно и в фортепианном наследии З. Носковского, в рамках которого типологические качества данного танца занимают одно из ведущих мест в жанровых сюитах, объединенных на уровне циклических собраний «Польских песен и танцев» (оп. 37, № 3; оп. 2; оп. 7).

Интерес вызывают и историко-эволюционные трансформации краковяка, который уже по одному своему определению ориентирован на связь с культурно-историческими традициями Кракова – древней столицы Польши. По свидетельству А. Васильевой, «архаический краковяк танцевали только мужчины, позднее – мужчина в паре с женщиной. Так же, как и полонез, краковяк назывался “большим танцем” и имел характер воинского шествия» [4, С. 125]. Позднее на уровне энергичного стремительного бального танца XIX ст. он обрел общеевропейскую известность и популярность, сохранив свои национально-выразительные качества в фортепианных сочинениях В. Малишевского, З. Носковского, М. Карловича. Показательно, что обобщенная характеристика польского лагеря в опере М. И. Глинки «Иван Сусанин» представлена именно обозначенными выше тремя танцами, выявляющими, по мнению автора, квинтэссенцию собственно польского качества.

Последнее показательно также и для оригинального жанра «думки», интерес к которому на протяжении последних двух столетий объединяет и поль-

ских и украинских композиторов. Считается, что он возник на рубеже XVIII – XIX столетий в польско-украинской культурной среде, будучи соотносимым с лирико-эпической песней. Как отмечает А. Азарова, «особливого поширення думка набула в маетках польської аристократії та серед польського міщанства з 1820-х років. Популярність цього жанру в Польщі засвідчує той факт, що у Кракові в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст. принаймні тричі у двох зошитах було видано 86 народних і авторських думок у фортепіанному викладі зі словами <...> Серед авторів музики цих збірок – С. Монюшко, К. Любомирський, Ф. Шопен, М. Завадський та ін.» [1, С. 9], чье творчество исторически и жанрово-стилистически оказывалось соотносимым в том числе и с традициями бидермайера.

Значимость данного жанра именно для польской культуры и музыки также сопряжена и с этимологией его определения, непосредственно ориентированной на обозначенные выше качества польского «сарматизма», поскольку «именно в польском языке сохранен первоначальный и “порождающий” данную жанровую типологию смысла: *duma* по-польски – “гордость”; соответственно, *dumny człowiek* – “гордый человек”; *duma narodowa* – “национальная гордость»» [15, С. 39]. Интонационно-смысловые характеристики польской «думы – думки», сопряженные с национальным качеством, оказали существенное влияние и на иные жанры, в том числе и на

мазурку в творчестве Ф. Шопена. «Скромный танец, жанр, совершенно по бидермайеровской схеме – “великое в малом” – в сознании современников Шопена уверенно занял “думную позицию”, т.е. сосредоточил представление о малой гордой нации, желающей отстаивать свою историческую предназначенность в самых сложных условиях исторических испытаний» [15, С. 39].

Таким образом, польский национальный «образ мира», исторически сформированный на основе шляхетской («сарматской») духовно-этической традиции и апеллирующий к доминантной роли таких ее качеств, как гордость, честь, рыцарское Служение, почитание заслуг рода, семейных традиций в их высоком духовном понимании и т.д., во многом определил специфику польской культуры и жанрово-стилевые предпочтения ее музыкального искусства, ориентированного на выявление особой значимости в нем песенно-танцевальной традиции в ее салонной репрезентации. Поэтика полонеза, мазурки, краковяка, думки и иных родственных им жанров, соотносимых с духовно-патриархальными традициями «шляхетского бидермайера», определила также исторические пути развития польской фортепианной музыки XIX – начала XX столетий (Ф. Шопен, З. Носковский, К. Шимановский, В. Малишевский, М. Карлович, М. Завадский и др.) и запечатления в ней национального «шляхетско-сарматского» качества.

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CHUMAKS IN UKRAINE IN THE CONTEXT OF BEHAVIORAL STEREOTYPES OF THE UKRAINIAN COSSACKS

Abstract

Objective: to study the behavioral stereotype of the Chumaks and the Cossack-knightly virtues that they undoubtedly possessed.

The research methodology assumes the hermeneutic approaches to historical descriptions, which are reflected in the works of B. Rybakov [8], E. Markova [4] B. Syuta [6], G. de Beauplan [1], Kostomarov M. I. [11], as well as the recognition method, which is based on the discursive attributes of the subject under study. In turn, the identification of criteria for the historical inheritance of an event allows you to adjust the value criteria in relation to specific actions of being.

The results: The origins of the Chumak craft are revealed. The behavioral stereotype of the Chumaks was determined. Various types of Chumaks' songs are considered – from lyric and love songs to complaints-songs. The analogies of the noble-knightly traditions of the Cossacks with the traditions of the Chumaks and the knightly cult in Europe are drawn.

It was concluded that the squandering of the Cossacks and Chumaks demonstrated the level of freedom necessary to accomplish the Feat in the name of Faith and the Fatherland.

Scientific novelty lies on the definition of the behavioral principle of the Ukrainian Chumaks in the context of the continuity of the traditions of the Ukrainian Cossacks, as well as in understanding the origins of this phenomenon.

Practical significance: the main results and conclusions of the paper can be in lecture materials, at seminars and practical exercises in higher humanitarian educational institutions.

Keywords: Chumaks in Ukraine, behavioral stereotype, Cossacks, chivalry, wastefulness, songs of Chumaks, “walking for glory and prey”.

Introduction

The relevance of this study is determined by the modern understanding of the national Ukrainian idea, which is state-forming in the conditions of the construction of a national state, as well as the search for ways to gain national unity and national identity. An important part of the national idea of Ukraine is the attitude towards Kievan Rus and the era of “Cossacks” as the foundation of Ukrainian statehood. The forma-

tion of a special attitude towards important historical milestones provides for the continuity of certain traditions that cannot be ignored. For Orthodox Cossacks, the laws of honor and military glory meant more than any economic preferences, which is undoubtedly an example to follow in modern Ukrainian society.

The French military engineer and cartographer Guillaume Levasseur de Beauplan was especially sensitive to the characteristic features of Ukrai-

nian national thinking. In his work "Description of Ukraine" he analyzed in detail the way of life, customs, preferences and traditions of the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility and Cossacks.

A specific national feature for Ukraine was the type of activity of the Chumaks, which was generously sung by Ukrainian folklore. Chumak songs ensured the perception of the social stratum of the Chumaks in society and competed with versatile Cossack, lyrical and romantic songs.

Researchers of Ukrainian folklore Lydia Kornei, Bohdan Syuta, Anatoly Ivanitsky, Elena Markova, Lydia Oryol, Daria Androsova, Kostomarov M.I. and others in their works on the history of culture and art of Ukraine declare the existence of a significant amount of musical and song embodiment of the Chumak theme, which was an important component of Ukrainian folklore. To this day, there is a certain "understatement" regarding the origins and true goals of the Chumaks. In the Orthodox Christian dimension of the Cossack Ukraine, the activity of the Chumaks cannot be measured solely by economic expediency.

Research results

The origins of the word "chumak" are not clear to this day. Some historians suggest that the word "chumak" has Tatar roots and is translated as "horseman." Other historians assumed that the word "chumak" was originally from Persia, where the club was called chumak. The word chumak could also come from the word "plague", and chumaks, who traveled a lot due to the nature of their activities and could be the spread of this disease. The last assumption sounds exotic, but has the right to life.

The ancient chronicles mention some prasols who were engaged in the export of salt from the Carpathian region. Ultimately, the salt trade becomes a source of income for a certain layer of Ukrainians. The transport used by the Chumaks to transport salt or any other product was called "mazha".

Interstate diplomatic relations between Kievan Rus and other states were due to the establishment of trade and exchange relations and beneficial econom-

ic ties with geographically distant states. According to B. Rybakov, the state-forming functional features of the life of Kievan Rus were: "polyudye" (method of collecting tribute), which regulated the rights to land and obtaining citizenship [8, P. 207], and "the export of a very large amount of goods received in six months of tax collection" [8, P. 226].

"Collectors of tribute turned into seafarers, caravan-bashi, into warriors who made their way through nomadic barriers, and merchants sold what they brought and bought everything that the rich East did, blinding with its luxury" [8, P. 226].

The Chumak profession, which arose in the early Middle Ages, reached its peak by the XVth century and became a revered craft in Ukrainian society. Firstly, the craft brought good money to the "merchants", and secondly, this type of activity was distinguished by a stable income.

Brave traders risked their lives to find salt and other goods thousands of miles away. Caravans, loaded to the top with wine, fish, salt, expensive fabrics, set off on a long and dangerous journey. "The Chumaks were famous for their friendship, which was legendary," wrote Lydia Orel in her book "Ukrainian Family", – "Chumak friendship was simply necessary in difficult road conditions and difficult clashes with robbers and strangers. The comrades never left the Chumak alone in misfortune. Betrayal was the most shameful crime among the Chumaks" [12, 270–279].

The Chumaks chose the chieftain, who kept order and carefully worked out the plan of the operation. "Before the road, as well as upon returning home, the Chumaks prepared dinner, to which they invited not only fellow villagers, but also guests from neighboring villages," noted Lydia Orel, "old Chumak, father or grandfather, carried out the consecrated water from the house, sprinkled it on carts and oxen, then he took an ax and threw it in front of the oxen – the carts had to pass without hitting him by the wheels. Sending the Chumak on a journey, his wife and children crying accompanied him outside the village ..." [12, 270–279]. Upon the return of the

Chumakovs, they sang songs in the houses, danced and told stories until late at night.

The image of Chumak, which has been forming over several centuries, was attractive due to the prevailing aura of courage, courage and adventurism. Many young people would consider it an honor to become a Cossack knight or a Chumak. However, not everyone succeeded, not everyone could withstand the tests that required remarkable physical and psychological preparation.

The reflection of the existence of Ukraine in an original national song, as an integral part of Ukrainian culture, is manifested in the synthesis of Cossack traditions and the needs of society in a specific historical period of time. A frequent theme of Chumak songs is the refusal of the Chumak to work as a reaper or mower in his free time from commerce. Work of this kind was perceived by the Chumak as an unworthy, shameful occupation. Examples of such topics are the following fragments: "Oh, you, my girl, / Oh, you won't wait for this / So that my pen is precious, / Hey, and a wheat sting", ("Yes, my hands hurt, and my legs hurt" [9, P. 51], "... They will beat and scold, / And they will also force to mow, / I am not a healthy Cossack ..." [9, P. 61]).

Success among the fair sex is a traditional reward for chivalrous devotion and courage. In Ukrainian song samples, the love theme takes pride of place and is presented in numerous lyrical songs, in which the "sweet black-browed" makes the hero-"servant of love" concentrate efforts to assert sublime poetic feelings (songs "What a moonlit night" etc.), sometimes the Cossacks had to make a difficult choice ("Oh, there are three wells in the field").

In Chumak songs, much attention is paid to the "feast". Chumaks tend to "feast" after risky, and sometimes deadly, trips to the Crimea or the Don for salt. Here one can trace the imitation of Cossack customs, which were perceived by many as a disadvantage. The repentance of the Chumaks for letting the good necessary for the family and the young wife and the baby, for example, "Hey, my oxen" [9, P. 57]).

It is difficult to ignore the result of the "Chumak festivities". Usually, help did not come from relatives, but from "his own wife", "Oh, he drinks Chumak, drinks" [9, P. 59]), or from "cute-black-browed", "Oh, sea-sea" [9, P. 62].

It is known that the ability to arrange a grand feast of a nationwide scale was the prerogative of princes and nobles. At the famous feasts of Prince Vladimir, various strata of the principality were present on equal terms, among them princes-boyars, heroes and merchants stood out [8, P. 286]. The hierarchical division of the privileged strata of society is especially indicative under the conditions of feudal republicanism (Novgorod, and Pskov in Russia, Venice in the Adriatic), which is comparable to the English tradition of granting the title of Lord not only to the conquerors of the lands, but also to pirates who generously shared the "confiscated" property with the monarchs ...

In Chumak songs, the theme of "Chumak festivities", which G. de Beauplan called "the style of being of a Chumak", also becomes in demand. Chumak festivities are a challenge, the hidden subtext of which can be viewed in the eternal striving of the Chumak to imitate the Cossacks, engage in military affairs, and hold weapons in their hands [1, P. 19]. The Chumaks considered the trips to get salt to the Crimea or the Don as a military trade operation, which required courage and skills, which were capable of Cossacks with military training. It was the presence of valor and good physical fitness that helped to defend a valuable product or money earned.

Despite the actual absence of the line of military valor and honor in the texts of the Chumak songs, the military security specificity of the Chumak's work is obvious. The danger that lies in wait for the Chumaks during trade travels, death on the road, taken from "dashing people", can be traced in the tests of a number of songs: "It was summer", "Oh, chumak, chumak", "Oh, there is a well in the field" [9, from. 47, 48, 49].

The nature of the Chumak was characterized by generosity and Slavic extravagance. Chumak often let all the money he earned in taverns in one night.

The famous historian and writer Nikolai Kostomarov wrote: "The chumak in Malorosiya is a reflection of the extinct chivalry. The Cossack was called to action by the need of the people, and the Chumak was generated by the public needs and the spirit of the people. Chumak is a peasant by work, but a Cossack by spirit ... Is it only interest that drives the Chumak? No, there is something else: a kind of semi-conscious craving for wandering, adventure, comradely life and self-liberation from family ties. The same thing that distinguished the character of the Cossack. Chumaks are still similar to the militant campaign of their ancestors" [11, 270–279].

G. De Beauplan in his "Description of Ukraine" "... told about the brave Cossacks" who are "smart and perceptive, witty and very generous, and do not kill themselves for wealth, but value freedom, without which they cannot imagine life." But among them there is "... not a single one, regardless of age, gender or position, who would not want to surpass his friend in the ability to drink" [1, p. 17–18]. It's all about "... about the noble people who are called the Zaporozhye Cossacks" [1, P. 15], "during the campaign, the Cossacks are very restrained in the use of strong drinks ... They are forbidden to take vodka on a sea voyage or on military operations ..." [1, P. 89]. "... They allow themselves to do this only in peacetime, because when they arrive on a military campaign or think about some important matter, they adhere to sobriety" [1, P. 19] – testified G. de Beauplan, revealing awareness of the behavior of the Cossacks.

The military operations of the Cossacks in Turkey and Crimea during the Hetmanate are similar to the Crusades: a passionate desire for revenge against the offenders of Ukraine and the Orthodox faith, the release of prisoners, sometimes against the will of those who have already got used to life in Turkey. The Cossacks, going on a campaign against Muslims, confirmed their ability to defend the independence and sovereignty of the state and the Faith of their people with "fire and sword". In such campaigns it rarely happened "that at least half of the Cossacks returned

home. The survivors returned home with rich booty ..., and after returning from the campaign, they only drink and walk with their comrades" [1, 94–95].

Polish Magnateria and Orthodox foremen forcibly took away expensive jewelry and gold from the Muslim conquerors. Cossack chivalry was interested in making "profit" in their campaigns, but later they dissociated themselves from trade. Subsequently, the descendants of Orthodox Cossacks had an unspoken ban on trade, but the ban did not apply to the sale of agricultural products, to the skills of farming, which were a necessary skill for many Cossacks.

So, one of the components of the Cossack knightly service was making a profit in campaigns, which was an indicator of the ability of the Cossacks to maintain the prestige of their class in society. This is evidenced by the description of G. de Beauplan: "They are tall, lively, energetic, love to dress beautifully, they are especially proud of this, but they usually dress very modestly ..." [1, P. 20].

The booty obtained during the campaigns helped the Cossack to assert himself, which explained the "carnival" readiness of the Cossack to feast and drink. This combination of the severity and clarity of understanding that the Cossacks brought into military affairs and the indomitable desire to "take a walk" make up the "two faces of Janus": in the ability to extract material benefits during deadly military operations, and cheerfully, recklessly "skip" or "cheat", what have amassed. For the sake of fairness, we note that in peacetime the Cossacks in every possible way demonstrated a knightly disinterest in material values.

Participants of the Chumak campaigns also adhered to such Cossack behavioral ambivalence, willingly or unwillingly imitating the knightly-Cossack style. The trade component of the Chumaks' activity was not the main one, but only an accompanying one. On the one hand, commercial trips of the Chumaks often ended tragically: loss of health or death. On the other hand, "festivities" and "drinking", up to the loss of all the good the Chumak had acquired, gave "adventures a special meaning":

“... if I live, I’ll get everything ... I’ll go to the Crimea again, / Carts full of salt, / Full fish margins, / I’ll bring home again!” [10]. Consequently, the ability to be a Chumak, and then “to go out” – are invisibly connected with each other and represent two sides of the Cossack tradition.

So, the Chumaks, who carried out trade and military operations (the way to Constantinople from Kiev lay through the lands occupied by the Polovtsians and other hostile tribes), were not so much “merchants” as “warriors-merchants and diplomats”, bearers of the dignity of the state. soldiers, they always carried weapons, folding them solely for diplomatic reasons when they arrived at their destinations, for example, in Constantinople, in Baghdad or in the Balkh Khanate – the “gateway of India.” The status of the “merchants” – chumaks was quite high, merchants were divided into knights and slaves. Knights, armed with swords, spears and shields, rode horses, “Among the knights ... and princely greedy ... and merchants, according to the custom of that time ... also girded with swords ...” [8, P. 302].

The knightly status of merchants helped to solve the problem of national importance: the delivery of goods to the countries of Europe and to the East, which were the centers of interests (the figure of a “merchant guest” like Sadko from the epics of the Novgorod cycle was more significant and valuable than the figure of a boyar from the princely entourage).

The Zaporozhye knighthood was formed in the continuation of the “heroic games” of Kievan Rus. The founder of the Zaporizhzhya Sich was Prince Dimitry Vishnevetsky, nicknamed Baida, a descendant of the Kiev princely family, who had a brilliant European education, and his martyrdom became the basis for one of the most famous thoughts of Ukraine.

Turning our gaze to Western Europe, we note that in France, in the 17th century, there was a cult of military glory. During the reign of Louis XIV, France demonstrates military power and becomes the most powerful state in Europe militarily. It was during this period that the Ukrainian Cossack Ivan Sirko, invited

to help in hostilities against Spain, became a national hero of France. Ivan Sirko was considered a wizard Cossack. There were legends about his supernatural abilities and there was no one equal to Ivan in the whole world. Ivan Sirko was credited with different skills: to induce sleep on enemies, to turn into a white horta, to remain invulnerable in bloody battles.

In the context of the significant events of those years, G. de Beauplan also mentions the activities of Peter Mogila, whose Orthodox reform was closely connected with his 8-year stay in France [7].

Behavioral stereotypes of military life in France in the XVIIth century, projected ideas and traditions of national life for subsequent times.

The French writer A. Dumas romanticized the pastime of chivalry in *The Three Musketeers*. The heroes of his novel, participated in duels in military operations, as well as in delicate missions that were carried out at the request of distinguished persons. In their free time, they gladly “passed a glass of wine,” flaunting their disinterested behavior, which ultimately turned out to be for them outright poverty in old age. Enemies of the “knightly estate”, excommunicated from the true values of deeds, called this way of life “wasted idleness.”

In France and abroad, the so-called “petimeter” is becoming a fashionable phenomenon. Young people took pride in their ability to spend money quickly. This behavioral stereotype constituted a degenerate assessment of national life. On the other hand, the phenomenon of “hoarding” (passion for accumulation and excessive thrift) flourishes, which, on the eve of the 1789 revolution, was perceived as a sign of the complete degradation of the aristocrats.

It is appropriate to draw a parallel between the behavioral stereotypes of the Ukrainian Cossacks, the French and the English Puritans, led by O. Cromwell, who exterminated the bards, carriers of the poetical and musical glory of England-Ireland. A weighty argument for the extermination of wandering singers-poets and intellectual bards was their idle lifestyle and the “lack of property” of many of them. Bards, prominent representatives of the “ideal ser-

vice” of the aristocracy, were the custodians of cultural treasures of the time of King Arthur. In Ukraine, the only wandering bard of high scholarship and poetic skill was Grigory Skovoroda (by analogy with the hero of Goethe’s tragedy – Faust). Traveling, G. Skovoroda received “both a table and a house”, representatives of the upper strata of the population of Ukraine opened their doors to him.

Thus, the behavioral stereotypes of the knightly class show common features regardless of the nationality of the knight.

Conclusions. The study reveals the noble-knightly traditions and behavioral stereotypes of the Zaporozhye Christian chivalry (as the researcher G. de Beauplan called the Cossacks). Subsequently, such traditions had a huge impact on the psychology and behavioral form of the descendants of the Cossacks, as well as on the formation of national charac-

ter. In this context, the Chumak phenomenon was an act of imitation and reproduction of the traditions of merchant knights of Kievan Rus. During the Cossack era, the Chumaks have a high motivation to imitate the “knightly status” of the Cossacks.

The theme of “reward with love”, the theme of “free life” runs like a red thread through many Chumak songs and is a reflection of chivalrous behavioral stereotypes. Here you can draw a parallel with the European cult of knights. However, the assessment of the “idleness” of the Cossacks through the prism of their imperfection is incorrect.

For the Cossacks, a behavioral form of this kind was psychological training. The “squandering of the Cossacks” demonstrated “freedom from material values”, without which it was impossible to realize the highest task in life: to accomplish the Feat in the name of Faith and the Fatherland.

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FOLK SONG IN THE JAZZ REWORK OF MODERN UKRAINIAN COMPOSERS IN THE ASPECT OF CANON AND IMPROVISATION

Abstract. Rework of folk songs occupy one of the leading places in the Ukrainian professional music culture from the eighteenth century. Contemporary Ukrainian composers of the beginning of the XXI century V. Tormakhova and O. Saratskyi deeply feels and analyzes the genre canon of folk song (fricative and scale features, metrorhythmic and formative, etc.). These composers also adheres to the stylistic canons of jazz and creatively embodies them in special improvisation techniques on the theme of Ukrainian folk songs.

Keywords: folklore, jazz, Ukrainian composers, melody, rhythm, mood structure of music.

Rework of folk songs occupy one of the leading places in the Ukrainian professional music culture. In term *rework* we mean the reproduction of a folklore source in a new cultural space: from the editorial (notation of samples of oral tradition) – to creative and artistic. The compositional range of expressive techniques and means of rework folk songs is quite wide. From the harmonizations of Ukrainian “Little Russian” melodies of the late eighteenth century (for example, V. Trutovsky, published in the collection of I. Prach and M. Lviv) and to the luxurious author’s adaptations created by exquisite means of higher professional skill in the creative work of the modern academic elite (L. Dychko, M. Skoryk, E. Stankovych and others).

Ukrainian composers in the late nineteenth century initiated a special interpretation of this genre with certain genre varieties (“choral arrangement”, “instrumental arrangement”, “song melody with instrumental accompaniment”, etc.), using many individual compositional resources. The choral arrangements of O. Koshyts, M. Lysenko, and M. Leontovych are widely known, and they even received a new genre definition “author’s folk song”.

In the music of the XXIst century, it is the jazz rework of the Ukrainian folk song that occupies a prominent place. Today, many musicians of the world turn to jazz and jazz-rock rework of folk songs, and Ukrainian ones create an original artistic tradition of embodying national melody in this genre. The author’s arrangements of songs performed by such instrumentalists as Oleksandr Saratsky, Veronica Tormakhova, Ihor Zakus, Roman Hrynkyv, solo vocalists and mixed bands are widely known. Outstanding cultural heritage of modern Ukrainian music consists of performances by the singer *Mlada*, bands *Z-Band*, *ShockolaD*, the content of conceptual jazz albums *Kolomyika live*, *Jazz Kolo. Voices JazzBez + Jazz Kolo. Live*; Generous evening with good jazz. The phenomenon of Ukrainian jazz-folk has received a worldwide resonance. The uniqueness of compositional techniques, sophistication of techniques of combining jazz idioms, vocabulary of rock music and musical folklore distinguish the significance of the Ukrainian branch of the world currents of ethno-jazz, ethno-rock. The peculiarity of the intonation language of such compositions in the aspect of improvisational embodiment of folklore genre and style norms is an interesting perspective for the sci-

entist and performer-practitioner. The urgency of the topic is related to the need for theoretical understanding of the compositional and performing traditions of Ukrainian musicians in the stylistic parameters of these areas, which embodied the genre of folk song.

Jazz rework of folk songs in the Ukrainian musical culture of the modern stage are of great importance. The concert activity presents a panorama of outstanding soloists and jazz groups who synthesized folk and jazz, folk and rock, which contributed to the formation and development of new stylistic principles and trends in the development of the folk song rework genre. The author identifies three types of *folk song rework* in the corresponding style. The first is keeps, holds the original source and is associated with the principles of accurate citation of a folk melody, harmonization and instrumental arrangement. The second type is removed from the folk song original and reproduces the national image by means of jazz vocabulary. Its characteristic modal features, metro-rhythmic and textured signs unfold in the procedurality of improvisation. The third type synthesizes the features of the two above and contributes to the formation of the principles of the synthetic style “author’s jazz-fusion”. The stable elements of the primary source in rock and jazz improvisation are the order and metro rhythm of folk melody, and all other parameters of the musical language remain mobile. We consider stable elements of a musical composition (such as modal scale, retro rhythm) that define genre characteristics to be a genre canon.

Canon (Greek κανών – norm, rule) is a system of creative rules and norms that dominate the art of any historical period or trend and consolidate the basic structural laws of specific types of art. Canonality in art is primarily inherent in non-written non-fixed forms of musical art, such as traditional music (folklore) and jazz. The problem of the canon was brought to the theoretical level in aesthetic and art studies only in the twentieth century. A. F. Losev defined the canon as “a quantitative-structural model of a work of art of such a style, which, being a certain socio-historical

indicator, is interpreted as the principle of constructing a known set of works” [3, 15]. Y. M. Lotman, who studied the information-semiotic aspect of the canon, believed that the canonized text is organized not according to the model of a natural language, but “according to the principle of musical structure” and therefore acts not so much as a source of information, but as its causative agent. The canonical text organizes the information available to the subject in a new way, “recodes his personality” [4, 16–22].

The genre canon of folk song presupposes the presence of an inviolable basis of the characteristic metrorhythm, the fret structures that unfold in the process of improvisation. As a result of the analysis we will note that folk-song canonical prototypes unfold in the space of jazz rework of modern Ukrainian composers with incredible skill.

Kyiv resident Oleksandr Saratskyi (born in 1961) is a graduate of the R. Gliere Music college and the Leningrad Conservatory in theory and composition faculties. O. Saratskyi is the author of numerous reworks of Ukrainian folk songs in the jazz style. These rework exist in the form of scores for a big band, or are directed for virtuoso piano (solo) performance. The composer gives interesting considerations, scientifically and creatively proves the idea of the organic existence of Ukrainian folk and composer melody in domestic jazz. For example, Oleksandr Saratskyi considers the lullaby “Evening Song” by Kyryl Stetsenko to be the jazz standard of Ukraine. In the same way, O. Saratskyi resorted to jazz interpretations of both ancient authentic melodies and popular lyrical samples of folk music – the so-called *songs of late formation* according to the term of F. Kolessa [2, 261].

Kolomyika rework is very popular. The composer skillfully reproduces a myriad of feelings: lyrics, humor, epic pictures, everyday observations, and much more. This is a monostrophic form that has a stable composite numerical structure (4 + 4 + 6). The melody is a single-pentachord that outlines a minor key with a tonal center “c”. All the jazz resources that paint the *folk kolomyika* in jazz colors are associated with char-

acteristic harmony. In addition to rhythmic sharpness, the melody is accompanied by septachords with interchangeable tones with altered steps. This is especially true of cadence zones that are deliberately highlighted by dynamics and longer durations. Thus, in figure 1 [5, 7], the following pass-through is used between two septachords: dominant and subdominant, and as a pass-through is used the nonclassical principle of “softening function” and the septachord of the quarter structure on the fifth altered steps. In this way, two canons are connected: folk genre features of kolomyika and jazz methods of development. These canons are realized in improvisation, which is most fully expressed in squares (variations) on the theme of kolomyika. Since the melody is presented as a jazz standard, improvisation takes place according to the same canons.

Veronika Tormakhova (born 1974) is a representative of the Ukrainian musical culture of the XXI century, a universally gifted creative person. She is a musicologist and composer, a well-known arranger, a member of the Union of Composers of Ukraine and the ASCAP Association (American Association of Composers, Arrangers and Publishers). Ms. Veronica has a thorough musicological education: teaching composition in her creative life has always been combined with music-theoretical education. Thus, the creative profession of the composer was acquired in the class of professor of the Kyiv Conservatory Genady Lyashenko, and scientific musicology is connected with the name of the outstanding Ukrainian theorist Dmytro Terentyev, under whose guidance V. Tormakhova defended her dissertation in 2007.

In her own work, the composer uses a wide palette of folk song genres, embodying their essential musical characteristics in the language of jazz style. Such musical and stylistic features are especially evident in a cappella reworks of folk songs for male ensemble [1]. Thus, in the jazz reworks of the edging “Little Bird” and the folk composition “Shchedryk” from the collection of arrangements of folk songs in 2020, V. Tormakhova revealed an organic connection of immanent folk-song frets, metro-rhythmic, textural constructions. It is proved that V. Tormakhova’s reworks demonstrate many variants of combining the treasures of national music with elements of jazz style. The conclusion about the naturalness of such a symbiosis, which is not a simple mechanical addition to the features of classical jazz with well-known folk melodies, is asserted. It is proved that the specificity of the individual compositional style is connected with the embodiment of the principles of jazz thinking, which is revealed in the organic context of folk melody. It is revealed that the composer’s creative message is most appropriately embodied by a masterful group of performers – the a cappella group *ConCord*.

Contemporary Ukrainian composers of the beginning of the XXI century V. Tormakhova and O. Saratskyi deeply feels and analyzes the genre canon of folk song (fricative and scale features, metro-rhythmic and formative, etc.). These composers also adheres to the stylistic canons of jazz and creatively embodies them in special improvisation techniques on the theme of Ukrainian folk songs.

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JOHANN BACH'S HARPSICHORD CONCERTOS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BAROQUE INSTRUMENTAL GENRES

Abstract. The baroque features are especially evident in I. S. Bach. Concert forms presuppose a dialogue between the soloist / soloists and the ensemble / orchestra, in which the ratio of the main themes depends on the part of the composition. Various kinds of dialogues and rhetorical figures play an important role in Bach's concertos.

Keywords: concerto for clavier, form of concert, rhetorical figures, type of musical dialogues.

The genre of the instrumental concerto in the works of J. S. Bach appears even in his student years. Concerto and Fugue for Harpsichord, BWV 909, was written between 1701 and 1703, when the composer was fond of the work of prominent German organists, was a student at the Lüneburg Gymnasium and played the violin in the school orchestra, met Johann Jacob von Lowe and Georg Böhm, and also attended St. Catherine church in Hamburg and listened to the great Johann Adam Reincken [5, 667]. However, other genres associated with small polyphonic cycles received further development. Only in the middle of the decade of the Weimar period (1708–1717) did the concerto form resume in Bach's work. During 1713–1714, by order of Prince Johann Ernst IV of Saxe-Weimar, he wrote 22 concertos for solo instruments, of which 6 concertos for organ, BWV 952–957, (BWV 952 is a harpsichord version), and 16 concertos for harpsichord, BWV 972–987. Of these, the arrangement of the music by the prince himself are Organ Concertos No.1 in G major, BWV 952, No. 4 in C major, BWV 955, Harpsichord Concertos No.11 in B-flat major, BWV 982, No.12 in G minor, BWV 983, No.13 In C major, BWV 894, and No.16 in D minor, BWV 987. The rest of the concertos by Antonio Vivaldi, Alessandro Marcello, Benedetto Marcello,

Giuseppe Torrelli and Georg Philippe Telemann are also transcriptions of concertos for various instruments. In general, the concertos BWV 952–987 are called “Weimar concerto transcriptions”.

The work on these concertos became a kind of school for Bach, in them his composing skills in the concerto genre crystallized. The very concept of a concerto during the Baroque period had a fairly wide interpretation, its form, genre, origin, and instrumental composition did not have a definition, it was a special type of playing music, and, accordingly, musical composition. At the beginning of the twentieth century G. Bessler proposed the following classification of genres: performing genres (Parbietungsmusik) and genres for communication (Umgangsmusik) [1, 17]. So the concerto itself belongs to genres for performance. In transcriptions of concertos by other composers, Bach mastered the classical concerto form of the Baroque, which, first of all, is based on the compositional principle of concerto grosso – the three-part cycle with alternating fast, slow and fast parts.

Only in the Leipzig period (1723–1750) were full-fledged original concertos for various instruments, compositions, types and forms created. Among 35 concertos:

- six Brandenburg concert BWV 1046–1051 (№№ 1–2 F major, №№ 3–4 G major, № 5 D major, № 6 B flat major, 1718–1721),
- five concertos for violin, strings and basso continuo BWV 1041, 1042 (№ 1 in A minor, № 2 in E major), 1045 in D major (part I preserved), 1052R, 1056R (in D minor, G minor, both renewed, 1721–1746),
- six concertos for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo BWV 1052–1056, 1058 (№ 1 in D minor, № 2 in E major, № 3 in D major, № 4 in A major, № 5 in F minor, № 7 in G minor, 1738),
- three concertos for oboe (including oboe d'amore), strings and basso continuo BWV 1053R, 1055R, 1059R (F major, A major, D minor, all three updated, 1726–1738),
- six double concerts:
- for two violins, strings and basso continuo BWV 1043 in D minor (1720),
- three concertos for two harpsichords, string and basso continuo BWV 1060–1062 (№ 1 in C minor, № 2 in C major, (3 in C minor, 1730–1745),
- for harpsichord, oboe, strings and basso continuo BWV 1059 in D minor (1738),
- for violin, oboe, strings and basso continuo BWV 1060R in C minor (updated, 1719),
- four triple concerts:
- for flute, violin, harpsichord, strings and basso continuo BWV 1044 in A minor (1738–1740),
- two concertos for three harpsichords, strings and basso continuo BWV 1063, 1064 (№ 1 in D minor, № 2 in C major, 1735–1745),
- for three violins, strings and basso continuo BWV 1064R in D major (updated, 1738),
- for harpsichord, two flutes, strings and basso continuo BWV 1057 in F major (1738),
- one concerto for four harpsichords, strings and basso continuo BWV 1065 in A minor (1730).

The Italian Concerto for harpsichord in F major BWV 971 (1735) is special.

Bach's harpsichord concertos (including in various combinations with other instruments) are an example of the Baroque concertos of that time in Germany. If you look at the chronology of the concertos (from transcriptions to original author's compositions), you can see that this concerto genre covers 45 years of the great German's creative life, and we can conclude that this genre is one of the leading in the composer's instrumental heritage. Firstly, concertos are an indicator of the growth of his instrumental skills, and secondly, they demonstrate the formation and evolution of his style – from student and translation opuses to experiments with instrumental compositions in concerto compositions and the emergence of original works of a new quality.

Nevertheless, the key types of building concerto compositions are the concerto forms of the Baroque. Bach developed and expanded them, while keeping within the paradigm of this concerto style. It is in the harpsichord concertos that the basic principles of baroque musical art are reflected. First of all, it is a playful beginning, which is present in almost all Bach's concerto forms. The fugue form and other forms of polyphony imitation in the fast and slow parts of the concertos are of great importance. But the form of the fugue is found only in three concertos. The polyphonic texture of the concertos and the ratio between the parts of the soloist / soloists and the orchestra / ensemble bring to the fore the principle of dialogicity, which is divided into several types (all of them are found in the composer's harpsichord concertos):

- *dialogue-competition* – it is based on the idea of competition in virtuosity,
- *dialogue-echo* which uses the intonation technique of repetition of the motif, phrase,
- *dialogue-completion* – the development of one melodic line in the different parts,
- *dialogue "question and answer"* based on a comparison of tonic-dominant thematic structures,
- *dialogue-consent* holding the theme in unison [4, 35].

In all concertos, all types of dialogues are found in different parts of each composition and its development. Consider the relationship between a soloist / soloist and an orchestra/ensemble in original harpsichord concertos with accompaniment.

In the *Concerto № 1 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in D minor, BWV 1052*, the general theme of the Part I begins with a dialogue-consent, a side theme is also dialogue-consent, because the general melodic line is duplicated in the third/sixth. In the second part, taking into account the peculiarity of the form of variations on basso-ostinato, the dialogue develops between ensemble voices on the principle of repetition (echo). Part III demonstrates (as in Part I) the main theme in unison at the beginning (dialogue-consent).

In the *Concerto № 2 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in E major, BWV 1053*, in the first part the dialogue-consent is hidden: the main part of the soloist is a melodic line on T3/5 with sixteenth, and accompanied by the same T3/5 eighths. We observe the same in the Part II – the Sicilian theme is performed by ensemble instruments, and the soloist – harmonious figures. In Part III of the development, the main theme is performed in a dialogue-echo.

In the *Concerto № 3 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in D major, BWV 1054*, in the general theme of the Part I there is a combination of types: dialogue-consent and dialogue-completion. The Part II begins with a dialogue-consent (soloist – cello). The same dialogue begins in Part III (soloist – violin I).

In the *Concerto № 4 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in A major, BWV 1055*, the general theme is played by violins, and in the soloist's part – virtuoso figures, which creates a dialogue-competition. The thematic development of the Part II is a dialogue-completion: a soloist develops a melodic idea. Part III begins with tutti (dialogue-consent).

In the Part I of the *Concerto № 5 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in G minor, BWV 1056*, dialogic types are also mixed: tutti, echo and completion. Part II is a monologue of the soloist (with the

ensemble accompanying). Part III begins with tutti, but then there is a melodic development in the soloist and the ensemble (dialogue-consent).

The Part I of the *Concerto № 7 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in G minor, BWV 1058*, begins with tutti, the Part II is built in the form of variations on basso-ostinato, and we can see the dialogue-consent. Part III – fugue, respectively, the dialogue is built in the form of “question and answer”.

In double, triple and four harpsichord concertos, the dialogue is built not only between the soloist and the ensemble, but also between the soloists, which often creates cross-dialogue combinations. In the *Concerto № 1 for two harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in C minor, BWV 1060*, in the Part I the dialogue-consent (tutti) intersects with the dialogue-echo. In the second part, the imitation texture of the soloists (dialogue “question and answer”), the ensemble is a harmonious accompaniment. Part III is dominated by the dialogue-consent (two soloists and the first violin).

In the *Concerto № 2 for two harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in C major, BWV 1061*, in the Part I dialogue-consent of the first soloist and violin, between the soloists – dialogue-competition and dialogue-echo. Part II (only soloists, form of the fugue) contains dialogues-echoes, but in most – dialogue “question and answer”. The fugue of Part III provides for a dialogue “question and answer”.

In the *Concerto № 3 for two harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in C minor, BWV 1062*, in the Part I a dialogue-consent between the second soloist and the second violin, between the soloists – dialogue-echo, which is based on a detailed theme. The same is also preserved in Part II. The canonical conduct of the theme between the soloists in Part III provides for a dialogue-echo (with elements of dialogue-competition).

The Part I of the *Concerto № 1 for three harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in D minor BWV 1063* begins with tutti in all parts, the Sicilian theme of the Part II is also tutti, the fugue of the Part III provides a dialogue-echo.

In the *Concerto № 2 for three harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in C major BWV 1064* in the Part I tutti of the soloists contrasts with the theme of the first violin, creating a dialogue-competition. In the Part II of the ensemble there is a dialogue-completion against the background of unison with the soloists. Part III also implements the idea of a dialogue-completion.

The only *concerto for four harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in A minor, BWV 1065*, is a transcription of the concerto № 10 for four violins, strings and basso continuo in B minor from the cycle “L’Estro Armonico” by A. Vivaldi. The Part I begins with a dialogue-echo (large thematic construction), the Part II is the alternation of tutti of all voices and the unison of individuals, in the Part III the dialogue-echo intersects with the dialogue-completion.

So, we see that all types of dialogue (solo and ensemble) are used in harpsichord concertos. However, the composer gives preferences to dialogue-consent (unison of the theme in all or some voices), dialogue-completion and dialogue-echo. Dialogues-competition is less common, and dialogue “question and answer” type is only in the fugue forms.

For Bach’s music, which is completely permeated with religiosity, the system of rhetorical figures is of great importance. B. Yavorsky, exploring the connection between the Bach’s intonational (lexical) system, finds a pattern in which musical rhetorical meanings are clearly crystallized, which are contained in the logic of constructing whole fragments of sacred writings, encrypted in musical language. Harpsichord concertos have signs of a sacred plot; the peculiarity lies in the fact that not the full volume of known rhetorical figures is used, but only a certain set. Thus, rhetorical figures are contained in the main themes of the following concertos:

Concerto № 1 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in D minor BWV 1052

Part I:

- the second phrase of the general theme – the movement down the triads – a symbol of stay,

- penultimate phrase – ascending movement – a symbol of ascension (anabasis),

- conducting a side theme in the exposition and reprise by thirds and sixths is a joyful observation.

Part II:

- in the theme of gradual movement in triads is a gait and symbol of stay.

Concerto № 2 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in E major BWV 1053

Part I:

- the general theme – search on T3/5 is a symbol of stay.

Part II:

- Sicilian theme – doubling in sex is joyful observation.

Part III:

- movement down and up on T3/5 is a symbol of stay.

Concerto № 3 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in D major BWV 1054

Part I:

- the last phrase of the general theme – rapid ascending and descending movement is the flight of angels on Christmas night.

Concerto № 4 for harpsichord, strings and basso continuo in A major BWV 1055

Part I:

- the first phrase – move on T3/5 is a symbol of stay.

- the third phrase of the general theme – octave moves is a symbol of peace and prosperity.

Concerto № 6 for harpsichord, two flutes, strings and basso continuo in F major BWV 1057

Part I:

- general theme – move on T3/5 is a symbol of stay.

Concerto № 1 for two harpsichords, string and basso continuo in C minor BWV 1060

Part I:

- the general theme – begins with the ascending course on T4/6 is a symbol of the victim.

Concerto № 3 for two harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in C minor BWV 1062

Part I:

– the general theme – a tonic tetrachord – the comprehension of the Will of the Lord.

Concerto № 2 for three harpsichords, strings and basso continuo in C major BWV 1064

Part II:

– two soloists take turns – catabasis is a mourning and anabasis is a ascension.

Bach's harpsichord concertos are an example of a genre in which many factors intersect that indicate belonging to the style, primarily to the Baroque model. However, it is precisely in the composer's concertos that the features of the new style, which

he predicted in his work, are clearly traced. The polyphonic fabric, into which the homophonic-harmonious composition penetrates, is indicative for harpsichord concertos. The features of the Baroque, on the one hand, are clearly manifested in the use of dialogue techniques, fugue forms, as well as a special stable intonations – rhetorical figures. On the other hand, it is a rather characteristic and limited set of dialogue techniques and rhetorical figures; also, only three harpsichord concertos use the fugue form. Therefore, Bach's harpsichord concertos can be viewed as a bridge connecting the styles of different periods, which emphasizes that the work of the great composer developed at the intersection of eras.

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Section 3. History and archaeology

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BABI YAR IN THE CONTEXT OF UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE HOLOCAUST

Abstract. The national historiography of the Holocaust and the place in it of the Babi Yar' tragedy was analyzed in the article. The author described the main forms of representation of the theme in the Ukrainian researchers' papers. The main trends and stages of Holocaust Studies in Ukraine were determined. The author analyzed the socio-political conditionality of the Holocaust historiography in different stages, from Soviet time till modernity.

Keywords: Holocaust, Babi Yar, historiography, "Final Solution", Shoah, historiographical image, history of Ukraine.

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БАБИЙ ЯР В КОНТЕКСТЕ УКРАИНСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ ХОЛОКОСТА

Аннотация. В статье проанализирована украинская историография истории Холокоста и место в ней трагедии Бабьего Яра. Охарактеризованы основные формы репрезентации темы в научных трудах отечественных исследователей. Автор выделяет основные тенденции и этапы исследования истории Катастрофы украинскими учеными.

Ключевые слова: Холокост, Бабий Яр, историография, «окончательное решение еврейского вопроса», Катастрофа, историографический образ, история Украины.

Неотъемлемой составляющей не только отечественной, но и западной историографии стало исследование истории Холокоста на украинской территории. Во время Второй мировой войны на территории современной Украины было уничтожено около полутора миллионов еврейского населения; трагедия Бабьего Яра, 80-я годовщина которой состоится в следующем, 2021 г., стала известной на весь мир: ведь именно в урочище Киева в течение 29–30 сентября 1941 г. нацисты установили своеобразный «антирекорд», уничтожив более 33000 человек всего за два дня. Эта трагедия, по выражению известного американского исследователя Тимоти Снайдера, стала «самым массовым расстрелом гражданских в истории» [11, С. 222].

Не вызывает удивления тот факт, что история Холокоста в Украине и трагедии Бабьего Яра сегодня вызывает немалый интерес ученых по всему миру, что подтверждается постоянным ростом разной по содержанию и объему научной и публицистической литературы [10; 12; 13]. Такое академическое, а также общественно-политическое звучание темы, делает понятными важность и актуальность дальнейшего изучения и осмысления истории Холокоста.

Целью работы является определение основных тенденций и этапов исследования трагедии Бабьего Яра в контексте отечественной историографии Холокоста.

Начальный этап изучения истории «окончательного решения еврейского вопроса» связан с подготовкой в СССР в 1940-е гг. материалов о преступлениях нацистов, совершенных ими на оккупированной территории. Известно, что 6 января 1942 г. нарком иностранных дел СССР В. Молотов в своей ноте к правительствам тех стран, которые поддерживали дипломатические отношения с Советским Союзом, впервые признал и осудил массовые убийства евреев. В декабре того же года было опубликовано сообщение Информбюро Народного Комиссариата ино-

странных дел о «осуществлении гитлеровскими войсками плана уничтожения еврейского населения Европы», в котором отмечалось и массовое убийство евреев на оккупированных территориях СССР [4, с. 287–293].

В первые послевоенные годы в СССР выходили публикации, посвященные судьбе евреев, оказавшихся в гетто. Написаны они были в основном на языке идиш. В некоторых работах освещался сопротивление нацистам – восстание в гетто и концлагерях. Эти публикации в основном имели мемуарный характер, так как их авторы были свидетелями или участниками событий. Что касается исследований украинских советских историков, то таких работ было немного. Важно то, что они не публиковались, а так и остались в архивах Украины.

В течение второй половины 1950-х гг. и фактически до конца 1980-х гг. советская историческая наука в целом и украинская советская историография в частности не отделяли из контекста вопросов истории Второй мировой и «Великой Отечественной войны» проблему Холокоста и не исследовали ее отдельно. Некоторые западные исследователи прямо обвиняют СССР в подавлении любых публичных дискуссий о Холокосте. Так, Уильям Кори писал о «советской попытке уничтожить Холокост в памяти евреев и не-евреев», а Мордехай Альтшулер в статье 1970 г. утверждал, что «стена молчания о Холокосте до сих пор стоит в Советском Союзе, хотя здесь и наблюдаются небольшие трещины [...]»; недостаток публикаций, посвященных Холокосту советских евреев, а также нападения на поэму Е. Евтушенко «Бабий Яр» свидетельствуют о целенаправленной политике подавления темы Холокоста в Советском Союзе» [14, С. 6].

В 60–80-е гг. XX в. тема геноцида евреев присутствовала лишь фрагментарно в предисловиях и комментариях к сборникам документов, а также в обобщающих работах о преступлениях нацистов и энциклопедиях [3; 7]. В этот период также выходили многотомные академические труды по истории

войны, в которых говорилось об оккупационном режиме на территории Украины и массовых убийствах, однако понятие «евреи» было заменено «мирными советскими гражданами».

В одном из томов «Истории городов и сел Украинской ССР», посвященном Киеву, о расстрелах десятков тысяч евреев в конце сентября 1941 г. сказано так: «Он стал местом массовых казней советских людей – коммунистов и комсомольцев, служащих государственных учреждений и членов их семей, которые оставались в городе, бойцов и командиров Красной армии, которые не смогли выйти из окружения» [6, С. 403].

Показательной является также «История Великой Отечественной войны» в 6 томах, где нет ни одного упоминания о евреях, а такие понятия, как «антисемитизм» или «Холокост» отсутствуют в предметном указателе [7]. Хотя в третьем томе есть информация про айнзагруппы, которые осуществляли уничтожение евреев, а также упомянут Бабий Яр как место расстрелов, слово «еврей» не употребляется [7, с. 442–443, 446].

В начале 1990-х гг., после распада Советского Союза, в Украине стали появляться первые научные публикации, посвященные истории Холокоста. Как правило, это были исследования регионально-го характера, которые основывались на местных архивных материалах, а потому были сфокусированы на отдельных городах или областях.

Для данного периода характерно повышенное внимание исследователей к трагедии Бабьего Яра. С одной стороны, это было связано с почитанием в 1991 г. 50-й годовщины трагедии Бабьего Яра, с другой – к изучению этой темы историков побудило и осознание того, что именно на территории Украины нацистами было уничтожено более 33 тысяч евреев. В частности, в это время появились публикации Ф. Левитаса, В. Коваля и других исследователей, посвященные непосредственно Бабьему Яру [8; 9].

С начала 2000-х гг. начался новый этап в изучении истории Холокоста, что показала не только

активизация исследований по этой теме, но и осмысления трагедии представителями различных наук – философами, историками, политологами, психологами, юристами. В 2004 г. был реализован проект по изданию первого тома масштабного издания «Бабий Яр: человек, власть, история». В этой работе, хотя она и носит документальный характер, опубликованные аналитические исследования таких историков, как В. Нахманович, Т. Евстафьева, Д. Малакова [2]. Но, к сожалению, следующие четыре тома книги так не вышли.

В октябре 2011 г. в Киеве состоялась международная научная конференция «Бабий Яр: массовое убийство и память о нем», ставшая едва ли не единственным важнейшим академическим событием, посвященным 70-й годовщине расстрелов в Бабьем Яру. Результатом научного форума стало издание сборника материалов украинских и зарубежных историков, посвященных проблематике истории и мемориализации Бабьего Яра, современной украинской и мировой историографии этой темы, исторической судьбе места, которое олицетворяет собой один из ужасных и жутких символов преступлений тоталитаризма в истории Европы прошлого века [1].

Отметим, что внимание к этой теме не утихает и сегодня: в сентябре 2016 г. Украина чествовала 75-ю годовщину массовых расстрелов в Бабьем Яру, следствием чего стало обращение не только украинских, но и зарубежных ученых к этому вопросу. Результатом научного осмысления темы стало издание масштабного труда «Бабий Яр: история и память» под редакцией проф. Владислава Гриневича и проф. Павла-Роберта Магочия [5]. Книга стала результатом сотрудничества ученых из разных областей знания и разных стран мира – Украины, Канады, Нидерландов, США, Израйля, Франции, которых объединило осознание важности сохранения памяти о Бабьем Яре как символе Холокоста и других трагедий XX века. Это едва ли не первое масштабное издание, в котором комплексно исследуется политика памяти

и забвения Бабиного Яра от сталинских времен до современности. В предисловии редакторы отметили, что книгу можно условно разделить на три большие части: «До Бабиного Яра», «Трагедия Бабиного Яра» и «После Бабиного Яра». От себя составители добавили, что в украинском опыте Бабий Яр является еще и «символическим прощанием с империей и ее мифологическим наследием, возвращением к работе печали и формирования культуры скорби» [5, С. 12].

Таким образом, история Бабиного Яра стала предметом научного исследования отечественных историков фактически только с начала 1990-х гг. До этого времени в научных трудах тема присутствовала лишь фрагментарно, и упоминания о Холокосте в целом и судьбе евреев 29–30 сентября 1941 г. в частности, отсутствовали либо были

заменены «мирными советскими гражданами». С 2000-х гг. начался новый этап в изучении данной проблематики. В целом, по мнению украинских исследователей, существует принципиальное противоречие между общемировым и украинским восприятием этого места-символа. Для всего мира он является одним из двух символов Холокоста наряду с лагерем смерти Аушвиц. Но для Украины Бабий Яр является символом уничтожения многих других групп населения: ромов, украинских националистов, советских подпольщиков и других, что находит свое отражение в возникновении научных и публицистических дискуссий, а также в появлении сложностей в мемориализации пространства Бабиного Яра. Очевидно, что данная проблематика требует дальнейшего изучения историками.

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THE STUDY OF GENDER IN THE ANCIENT WORLD: THE LIVES OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

Abstract. In many past studies on the history of Egypt and Mesopotamia, there is a disproportionate amount of attention devoted to male figures. The present paper challenges this tendency by focusing upon the lives of women in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Instead of focusing upon women in power in these regions, I offer a perspective on the life-cycle of both royal and ordinary women from their early years as children to the different roles that they could take on in their adult lives. By examining the life-cycle of women in history we allow ourselves the opportunity to analyze the contribution that the textual and archaeological source convey about the significant place that women held in society.

Keywords: women; gender; Egypt; Mesopotamia; life-cycle; royal; childhood; women's roles; Hatshepsut; marriage.

Introduction

History tends to remember the dominant and the powerful. Historians and scholars often emphasize the importance of male figures and as a result neglect the roles of women in different societies in ancient times. The influence of patriarchal ideals marginalizes women and overlooks their unique traditions and contributions especially in textbooks [8, 17]. As Amy Gansell observes, "Their perceived lack of representation motivates the corollary interpretation of women's lesser significance or oppression" [8, 15]. For this reason, it is necessary to consider women's voices and customs when reading and reconstructing history.

The present paper will study the life cycles of ordinary and royal women in Egypt and Mesopotamia from 2000 BC to 1000 BC, including life stages such as children, students, wives, mothers, and death. Various types of evidence, such as textual, archaeological, and iconographical, will be used to illustrate their

life stages and importance within these two societies. Interestingly, although women in general were less valued by historians in these two societies, it all depended upon a woman's status and role in the society. In what follows, I argue that their importance was acknowledged and appreciated through various ways during their lives. In order to demonstrate this argument the first part of the paper will describe the life-cycle of a royal Egyptian woman, followed by a parallel comparison of a typical Egyptian woman. Thereafter, the third part of this paper will describe the life-cycle of Mesopotamian women to further support the argument.

Part 1: Royal Egyptian Women

The Egyptians held the belief that their kings and pharaohs were associated with gods, especially sons of gods, since the Old Kingdom (prior to 2000 BC). The belief affected royal infants and children since the great pharaohs had to have miraculous birth legends. In Egyptian history, most pharaohs were males

and, therefore, most female family members and offspring were poorly attested until they had a deeper affiliation with the king. As Gay Robins observes, “most royal children are unknown today, but a few king’s daughters are better attested because they had a ritual role or married their fathers” [16, 170]. But Hatshepsut was an exception since she later assumed the position of pharaoh, and her childhood stories and legends were remembered and recorded.

According to Benjamin Hinson, Hatshepsut had a birth legend that sought to explain her divine origins [15, 39]. The legend stated that her mother Queen Ahmose attracted Amun, the god that most pharaohs were associated with in the New Kingdom [15, 133]. When Amun was attracted to the Ahmose, they had sex and the queen gave birth to Hatshepsut [15, 39]. Hatshepsut had no political burden at a young age since a son of Pharaoh Thutmose I, her father, would presumably assume the position. She was thus raised in the great royal courts of Egypt as a princess who would later marry a foreign king or a cousin of hers in Egypt [6, 171]. Again, few records about Hatshepsut’s childhood were found, since she was of relatively little importance as a princess. But as she grew up, all of her siblings passed away and she became the only child [27, 378]. Thutmose I had no choice but to make Hatshepsut’s step-brother the heir and marry Hatshepsut to him to ensure the pure royal bloodline around 1495 BC [6, 172]. After Thutmose II I assumed the position of Pharaoh in 1492 BC, Hatshepsut became the queen and was gradually brought into the world of power (history.com).

As the Queen of Egypt, Hatshepsut expressed her divinity through her accessories: she was to wear the “vulture headdress” and “ankh” that all queens were required to wear in order to “link them to the king and the divine sphere, and to set them apart from the rest of humanity” [16, 170]. Vultures represent the Goddess Nekhbet in ancient Egypt, therefore, the vulture headdress symbolizes royal protection and was often worn by Royal Wives, priests, and female pharaohs (Monkhouse). The head of the vulture

points forward with its two wings hanging from the two sides of the head, like shown in the iconography from the outer coffin of Maatkare found in Royal Cache [25, 57].

Moreover, though seldom recorded on temple decorations, queens were able to attend religious rituals with kings. And as the principal wife of the Pharaoh, Hatshepsut had some religious roles as well since she was able to enter the sanctuary of the Temple of Luxor alone, where only high priests were allowed [6, 169]. She had great privilege in religious matters as a woman, which is rather surprising given the historical context.

Unfortunately, Thutmose II was only able to rule for a few years before he died, and he had no son with Hatshepsut, which gave way for Hatshepsut to assume power. The only eligible male heir to the throne was Hatshepsut’s nephew, who later became Thutmose III at a very young age, and Hatshepsut was made the regent [6, 270].

Just to be clear, common royal women were often vassals to male kings who had little independence or administrative power. In certain cases, such women would fight violently to become the next king’s mother in order to obtain more power. But Hatshepsut was a very exceptional female figure in ancient Egypt due to the unfortunate deaths of her husband and most of her siblings [6, 270]. As she became the regent for several years, she easily crossed the line and named herself the female Pharaoh of Egypt. In fact, Hatshepsut was long depicted as a male king as she ordered her subjects to do so [27, 383]. Knowing that her rise to power was rather controversial, Hatshepsut, “sought to reinvent her image” in order to be, “portrayed as a male pharaoh, with a beard and large muscles” (history.com). Her action implied the possible exclusion of females from high-ranking professions despite their abilities. Even as a pharaoh, Hatshepsut still had to fight for her legitimacy only because of her gender.

As one of the few women who became the Pharaoh of Egypt and the most successful female king

that ancient Egyptians had ever seen, Hatshepsut's reign was long and prosperous [27, 383]. She recognized the importance of religion and embarked on an "innovative building program for the gods," took an expedition to West Africa to bring back exotic goods, and launched various "military campaigns against foreign enemies" in order to enlarge the Egyptian territories [16, 174]. For example, she built a memorial temple at Deir el-Bahri, which was later regarded as an architectural wonder [2, 135].

During her reign from 1478 BC to around 1458 BC, Thutmose III remained king alongside her, but Hatshepsut had control over politics and military. The great female pharaoh died at the age of 50 in 1458 BC, and Thutmose III assumed full power since his other "coregent" passed away [6, 179]. There is little evidence for discontent towards Hatshepsut when she ruled as king. After her reign, however, Thutmose III ruled for another 30 years and intended to erase her name on various recordings and monuments at a later stage. He believed that a female Pharaoh would be a violation to the tradition of Egypt and consequently ordered that her likeness be destroyed in statues and paintings of her from the projects that she built [15, 45]. As a result, historians didn't know about Hatshepsut until the 19th century. Fortunately, unlike most of the other royal females or ordinary female citizens, Hatshepsut had stelae and monuments that proved her existence and greatness. Usually used for males, these monuments that commemorate her represented an usual social power for women at that time [6, 270].

Part 2: Typical Egyptian Women

Unlike most other peoples around the globe, ancient Egyptians had unexampled kindness towards female infants and even celebrated the birth of girls from time to time. Though boys were, on average, more educated as scribes, young girls rarely submitted to inferior diets, care, or education [10, 52]. In fact, the social status of the family exerted more influence on the childhood of a baby than the sexuality of the baby itself [27, 53]. In contrast with most other

people who prefer boys due to superstitious reasons, ancient Egyptians resorted to cogent reasons and had similar standards of raising a baby regardless of its sex [10, 53].

Fortunately, female children and adults were well distinguished in ancient Egyptian scriptures, and their differences, obvious and well-marked. Carolyn Graves-Brown observes that many differentiating factors between males and females from multiple artistic sources such as paintings and remarks that "hairstyles and clothing" were the determinants [10, 54]. According to her, tomb paintings depict adolescents "wear very little but a girdle" and wear the hairstyle "sidelock of youth," whereas older women "are shown with different hairstyles" and wear "the V-necked dress" [10, 54; 16, 58]. Female literacy was not unheard of in ancient Egypt, but relatively little evidence has shown that girls received education to read or write in their childhood in comparison with the boys [10, 55]. Moreover, distinctive details on images or art may also indicate the age or the social status of a woman. For example, drooping breasts on images resemble the aging characteristics of ancient Egyptian women, and gauntness of figures are more often servants and represent their relatively low social status [22, 76]. Other characteristics include "line at the corner of the mouth," and "bags under the eyes," which are often shown on statues from the Old Kingdom [22, 76]. These differences of how women of different ages were presented often reflects on the society's view on beauty, adolescence, and sexual matters.

The transformation of a female from childhood to womanhood often took place at the age of 12 after marriage. This age was significant to the ancient Egyptian society since women figures were sometimes sexualized for religious affairs. And marriage was often related with sex [27, 115]. One account was that, according to the *Instructions of Ani*, once a girl is in a holy matrimony, the male is to instruct her to become a human, which marks the arrival of her womanhood [10, 57]. The male is subsequently benefitted by this

marriage and reciprocated love as the ancient Egyptians also instructed that a man's life is only integral when another woman bears his child. The wisdom texts recorded that "she should bear for you while you're youthful. It is proper to make people. Happy the man whose people are many" [4, 43]. Therefore, women's importance in domestic affairs of the society was recognized and taught by the ancient Egyptians.

Besides domestic felicity and fertility, young women also had religious values. For religious matters, the figures of post-pubescent females, and never younger girls, were often used as handles on mirrors or as servant girls in tomb chapels, since sexualized adolescence symbolized fertility, birth, rebirth, and pregnancy [27, 63]. The start of menstruation was another herald of coming of adulthood [10, 56]. From various insinuations from ancient texts and iconography, it could be reasonably deduced that menstruation stood for renewal, fertility, and danger as the period was often identified with the Nile flood [10, 56]. But it could be interpreted both positively and negatively when taking different initiatives and could be a symbol for purification or impure evils. Menstruation, therefore, was an important time for women during which they were secluded or expected to be cared for by males, and marked both a celebrated renewed fertility and a possibly dangerous impurity [3, 76].

Due to malnutrition and a relatively underdeveloped medication system compared to contemporary times in ancient Egypt, it was considered "old age" if you were older than thirty. Statistics have shown that more women died before the age of 30 than men, but once they had entered old-age stage, elderly women on average lived longer than males [10, 69]. However, it is not ideal or even appropriate to depict the aging of women in ancient Egypt, since youth and beauty were encouraged and adored. As a result, there are less portraits of older royal women compared to those of elderly women with lower status [10, 70]. Interestingly, certain traits of aging were considered only appro-

priate for men but not for women, such as "vertical lines of concentration," "lines across forehead," and "multiple folds of fat" [10, 70]. Beauty and youth are a huge part in tomb depictions especially, since females want to be better represented in their after-life. In their real lives, many women resorted to ancient recipes to try to reverse the process of aging: for example, there were recipes "to stop greying of hair" and "to prevent sagging breasts" [10, 70]. But, in general, the youth and beauty of women were relatively more important than those of men since females were sometimes sexualized and objectified.

Children were expected to take care of the elderly, and unsurprisingly, a leisurely retired old-stage life was only obtainable to the rich or the ones with supportive children [10, 71]. For example, "an overseer of weavers at Gurob" still took on physically demanding jobs at an old age in order to support herself [10, 71]. Whereas royal women enjoyed a more leisurely old life aside from the competitions of their offspring as they always had the last resort to retreat into their vast wealth. Though it is believed that the ancient Egyptians had a culture to respect their elderly, some children still failed to support their aging parents and many elders were mocked [10, 72].

At last, monuments and commemorations after death were only obtainable by wealthy or royal women [27, 430]. A female commoner was often buried together with her husband or family, and the children sometimes visited their graves. As Joyce Tyldesley remarks, "Tomb ownership accurately reflected the social climate, and most women would have found it impossible to accumulate the wealth needed to pay for such a monument" [27, 458].

Part 3: Women in Ancient Mesopotamia

Although women had a relatively lower social status in Ancient Mesopotamia before marriage in comparison with Ancient Egypt, their domestic importance and fertility were more recognized and appreciated. Across this vast region, different cultures were developed and they sometimes had varying portrayals of females. But in general, women were,

of course, an essential and indispensable part of men's lives. It was true, however, that females were oftentimes objectified and sexualized for marriage and reproduction purposes.

In ancient Babylonia, life stages were categorized very strictly since each age group was assigned a fixed amount of food. For example, from the records of workers in temples, "ten liters of barley was given to small children aged 1–5," and "fifteen liters to those aged 5–10" [21, 8]. The amount assigned goes all the way up to sixty liters as the person proceeds into older life stages, until he or she reaches an "old age" to receive twenty liters again. It was considered adulthood after 15, and women were assigned half the amount as men as they were believed to "need fewer calories than men" [21, 8].

Marriage took place very early in a Babylonian girl's life: often at the age of 15, at which time a girl moved into her womanhood. There is little evidence that shows if girls were less desirable, but young girls in Babylonia were judged more often and more strictly. Young girls who became pregnant early were regarded as prostitutes, whereas if she was not pregnant at a certain age she would be regarded as obsolete [18, 25]. There were many different words used to describe girls for this very reason: *nârtu* was a word used to describe girls who were married off early or were thought as obsolete, and only *batûltu* were used for normal girls. By contrast, boys weren't categorized by such standards. Moreover, girls were often expected to be not on the streets as it was a place "where a woman's honor is endangered" [21, 12].

A girl became a woman when she was ready for marriage. For example, a Sumerian song explicitly expresses that the coming of age takes place when "her breasts have enlarged and her pubic hair has grown" [21, 13]. A girl was also expected to be pure when the marriage took place, and she had to testify before a temple that she was a virgin. The word virgin, however, had different connotations in ancient Babylonia. It was used to describe girls at a certain marriageable age and at different phrases such as "the unopened

one" or "one not known" were used to refer to virgins in today's concepts [7, 92]. Surprising, virginity by modern connotation was not required since it was only undesirable on a legal stance rather than being frowned at morally. But virginity was certainly valued greatly, if not necessarily associated with morals, in ancient Babylonia. It is suspected by many scholars that the expectations of virginity resulted from the want to ensure male authority, female purity, and female chastity [7, 93]. Loyalty and purity are again emphasized in law as females were required to "wear a veil," punished by "death penalty" for adultery, and require to be "virgins in magic rituals" [21, 16]. Unsurprisingly, male virginity and fidelity were often less discussed, since women were more objectified and sexualized.

Though wedding traditions varied slightly from region to region, many folklore and records were well preserved and indicated that wedding customs were remarkably similar. In ancient Babylonia, according to the Thorkild Jacobsen, the bridegroom "would appear with his wedding gifts, food and delicacies at the door of the bride's parents and ask to be admitted" [21, 93]. And if the bride opened the door for him, the marriage became valid. The bride was often expected to bath ahead of time in many regions as the couple was expected to have intercourse directly afterwards. They would "each be separately escorted to the bride's room, where intercourse would take place" [21, 94]. According to the Atra-hasis myth, the couple was expected to enjoy nine days of pleasure, since during the sacred marriage of the god Nabu and the goddess Tasmetu, they stayed for six days in the bedroom as well. Marriages and weddings were very different for Ancient Mesopotamian women of different social statuses as there were three major classes: free, semi-free, and slaves [11, 17]. Females of a higher social status would often be matched to men that belonged to the same social class. In comparison, marriages and weddings were more complicated and delicate for free females than slaves.

Friends, or *kuli*, of both partners were encouraged to attend the wedding ceremony and join as best men.

Best men were essential to a marriage: they were the guardians of the marriage, who were often paid for and considered as very honorable [21, 95]. They were also responsible for keeping the woman's chastity against the "demon," or Asmodaeus [30, 71]. According to Tobit and the Song of Songs, it was believed that this supine man would come at the wedding night to harm and lure the bride [30, 71]. Therefore, the best men were especially important to keep them safe for the first night. They were also supervisors, since the best men were expected to spend the first wedding night with the couple in the same room to make sure that they have had intercourse. Huge amounts of trust were placed on these people as they were there to inspect, guard, and protect the bride [21, 95].

The wedding ceremony officially starts when the bride opens the door for the approaching groom and the event is over when the couple has had intercourse the same night [21, 98]. Both families of the marrying partners were expected to keep records of the marriage expenses from the start for later negotiations [21, 98]. Major expenses include payments for the best men, preparations of meals for the months prior to the official marriage, and dowry. On average, males pay more than the female families since women were often objectified and valued as products for trade in certain relationships.

Entering marriage and bearing children were expected for a female as both events are necessary to make a woman's life complete. In comparison with Ancient Egypt where women and children supplement the man's life, this matter was considered from the females' perspective in Ancient Mesopotamia their lives were made complete by marriage and bearing children. Those who had not married or bore children have not experienced "the normal destiny of a woman" and will turn to become "frustrated and dangerous" like demons [21, 61]. Many negative pictures about this were found and they showed the importance of marriage in ancient Babylonia. The short stories about the souls in the underworld in the Gilgamesh epic were shown to illustrate expecta-

tations for females. According to the epic, a woman who had not given birth was "like a useless pot as she is discarded with force" [10, 775]. Various sources, such as law books, contracts, and love songs, have been well kept from around 1500 BC that indicated what marriages were like for females. A girl was often married "between the age of 14 and 20" and "a man between 26 and 32" though it might vary from region to region [2; 19, 737]. Sometimes, males were to pay a bride-price if a young girl was wanted. For instance, a Middle Babylonian text recorded how a merchant was able to take a young girl to marry his youngest son later. He paid her parents garments and promised to take good care of her [21, 66].

As mentioned previously, a woman was expected to be married and bear children. A woman's status was increased after she had given birth since the children were expected to respect the mother. According to the *Instructions of Shuruppak*, the mother is like Utu (the sun god) as she brought forth mankind. As for rebellious kids, a Sumerian proverb taught that "a disorderly son, his mother should not have given birth to him" [1, 98]. Though in many cultures fathers were more disciplinarian, mothers in ancient Babylonia could be strict as well. For example, a literary text has shown that when a son wrote a letter to his mother to ask for more clothes from far away, his mother refused because he had behaved badly towards his father. Besides disciplinary roles, mothers were often more expressive regarding emotions. According to the stories of ancient Babylonian gods, a father "never utters lamentations," which indicated that mothers and females were more emotional and retained the right to express sorrow and cry [21, 158].

The ancient Babylonians had an expression that if a man had no descendants, "the fire in the hearth is extinguished" [21, 160]. In this patriarchal society, a son was expected to inherit the father's legacies, so it was also problematic if all the children of an individual were daughters. In this case, the male would take a second wife or resort to adoption. The first wife would be regarded as barren and were paid less

attention to. In Sumer, a lawsuit case was recorded as an adopted son lost his inheritance right, which proved that the father did go through legal adoption as he had no sons [21, 161]. The right to inherit could be passed down to grandsons if the son, whether or not adopted, passed away before the father did. Little evidence has shown that the ancient Babylonians blamed the all-daughter situation or infertility on the woman, though modern feminists would argue that it was the man's problem. But a woman was in fact looked down upon or judged with bias if she was unable to bear children for the male since giving birth was her duty in ancient Babylonia [21, 161–162; 20, 1991–1993]. As a result, in many cases, the payment of the bride-price could be postponed until the birth of the first child, since paying bride-price to a woman that didn't give birth was considered as a huge loss.

Sadly, since women were oftentimes a lot younger than males when first married and women lived longer in general after entering old age, many became widows. Widows were very vulnerable since women had, in general, a lower legal status [11, 19]. Many widows were threatened by people who were “intent on starting legal proceedings to confiscate her land” and even the Babylonian kings intended to address this dangerous situation [21, 276]. Widows were expected to become independent economically and socially, though another supporting man (brother or father) might be present to offer help. Since sons were able to inherit properties of the father, they were expected to take care of their widow mother in Old Assyria and Neo-Babylonia [11, 19–20]. These widows weren't allowed to remarry and could be taken advantage of easily as many could work their ways around stuff to prove that they had no legal right to own a property. For example, though one Sumerian widow lived in a house “bought by her brother-in-law and given to her,” the son of the brother-in-law could “get his way as there were no witnesses to the arrangement” after his father passed away [21, 176]. Widowhood was common and oftentimes difficult for the females in the patriarchal society of ancient Babylonia.

Conclusion

Females were essential in the ancient Babylonian societies as their domestic importance was highly recognized and needed. In these patriarchal societies, women were able to acquire a relatively high social status in comparison with other ancient societies because of the belief that women complete and supplement men's lives [13, 107]. Men had to have children for societal and religious reasons: legacies were only inherited by sons and social status was stabilized by having children [27, 68]. Therefore, women were needed and even respected to comply with certain social norms and religious requirements. But women were judged much more often and deprived of many personal rights. For instance, a girl was expected and eventually required by social norms to be married at a young age. She had to give birth just at the right time: not too early to be called a prostitute but not too late to be regarded as barren and abandoned. In this practice, girls were often objectified as supplementals to complete men's lives, and thus had little legal rights or religious importance.

Females are often the behind-the-back figures in history as they were not discussed as much in patriarchal traditions. It was tough gathering pieces of information from different sources because ancient artists and writers left little records about women and contemporary historians studied little about women in comparison with males [8, 16]. Thus, it is important to discuss the lives and significance of these often left-behind half of the population and to recognize their roles and achievements in ancient societies. For this reason, it is important to go back and unravel to see what is hidden behind the surface in patriarchal societies and what scholars might have left out of their studies [8, 22]. I have learned that in both the Egyptian and Babylonian societies, women were encouraged to stay where they were and were often restricted by social norms to accomplish. They were often subordinates of males and were kept down for male dominance and control. Many even took efforts to erase the achievements of significant female figures to ensure the patriarchal rule. But in general, these ancient societies acknowledged,

respected, and appreciated women's domestic importance. Giving birth to girls was almost never a dissatis-

faction to families, and many females were satisfied or at least accustomed to their roles in the ancient societies.

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Section 4. Linguistics

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GENDER COMPONENT IN POETIC TRANSLATION

Astract. Nowadays gender research in the field of literary studies is gaining more and more interest from scientists in the field of linguistics. Fiction texts, both prose and poetry, are considered from the point of view of the functioning of femininity and masculinity, their gender interaction in a particular culture, which is reflected in the author's organization of speech of the work. In this article, as a part of the research on gender identification of the text, we consider the poem "Yurak" written by the famous national poet of Uzbekistan, Rustam Musurmon in the language of the origin – Uzbek, as well as translations of this poetic work into English in order to identify the differentiation of female and male translations.

Keywords: the concept of gender, gender dominant, signs of femininity, signs of masculinity, the programming of the recipient.

Today, one of the main tasks, that was put forward by researchers in the field of linguistics, literary studies and translation studies is to identify the features of texts based on gender. For example, one of the leading Russian experts in this field, Anna Vladimirovna Malygina, notes in her research that "the main feature of a "masculine" text is manifested in its construction on the basis of significant semantic oppositions, and a "feminine" one – in the construction within the context of existing cultural meanings, when mixing and quoting of which new meanings are born. The "masculine" text is hierarchical and asserts one possible truth; the "feminine" is plural and demonstrates the plurality of possible truths [1, P. 11].

Modern Uzbek linguists and literary scholars, such as M. Ch. Chutpulatov [2], O.N Kalinina [3], Z. Khozhieva [4] and others, also show an active interest in the study of the gender concept. Based on the results of research conducted by foreign colleagues in this field, Uzbek scientists consider works written by male or female authors under the gender concept, which tell not only about their fate, but also about their way of thinking and emotional manifestations.

Speaking about the gender analysis of a poetic text, firstly we need to consider the image system of a poetic work and the social context. To study gender identification, we selected the poem "Yurak" (Heart) [5] by the famous national poet of Uzbekistan, Rustam Musurmon.

Yurak – mening duldulim,
 Ko'kragimda qozig'i.
 Beda emas, yem emas,
 Mehrdandir ozig'i.
 Pishqiradi depsinib,
 Qon quyilar ko'ziga.
 Mendan boshqa odamning
 Ko'rinmaydi ko'ziga.
 O'zim bersam yemaydi,
 Yemishlarning gulidan.
 Oziqlanib o'rgangan
 Suluvlarning ko'lidan.
 Ko'zlar oyu yulduzli
 Arg'amchining dastidan.
 Ko'pchib ketti ko'kragim
 Tuyoqlari ostida.
 Oxiri bir parini
 Olib qochar yugurib.
 Meni sudrab ketadi
 Qozig'ini sug'urib...

(*Our word for word translation*: The heart is my swift-footed horse, / the stake is in my chest (is hampered). / Neither alfalfa, nor grain food (he does not eat), / He is fed only by mercy. / He snorts, stomping hooves, / His eyes are filled with blood. / None of the people except me / He is searching by his eyes. / When I myself give him fine food, / He does not eat (it). / (He) is used to eating / From the hands of beauties. / His eyes are moon-starry / Because of the string. / My chest arched / Under (his) hooves. / Finally, one beautiful maiden, / He steals at a gallop. / He drags me after him, / Pulling out the stake...)

So, although we are faced with the traditional love lyrics inherent and characteristic of traditional oriental poetry, but we still can observe the distinctive features of the symbolic expression of the “intimate” life of a modern person. The author speaks openly about his inner world, his emotional and physiological sensations, about his “burning passion” that overwhelms him. The semantic content of the poem is replete with comparisons and metaphorical frames of a real life situation that every man faces on his life path.

In support of our argument, we can refer to the research of the French philosopher and literary critic Roland Barthes [6, p. 473–474], who, in his works, speaks of love poetry as about a “text of pleasure”, which is primarily characterized by physicality. “The text has a human appearance; perhaps it is an image, an anagram of the human body? Undoubtedly. But we are talking about our erotic body,” says the French scientist in his writings.

So, in the poem we are considering, we may find the features of masculinity that are clearly traced in the images created by the author of the poetic work. For example, the images of the very first stanza of the first quatrain *Yurak-mening duldulim* (*The heart is my swift-footed horse*) immediately sets the recipient to the male gender concept.

A feature of the emotional state of a man during passionate arousal is the processes that occur in his brain and affect the activity of the respiratory, digestive, cardiovascular system, and other physic-biological functions of the body [7, p. 6–39]. Naturally, these constants can be traced in the poem we are considering, which we presented in the following table:

Table 1.

Emotional state	Physical and biological processes
1	2
Yurak-mening duldulim (the heart is my swift – footed horse)	Heartbeat, rapid pulse (tachycardia)
Neither alfalfa, nor grain food (he does not eat), O'zim bersam yemaydi, Yemishlarning gulidan. (When I myself give him fine food, / He does not eat (it))	Hyporexia, a decrease in appetite

1	2
Pishqiradi depsinib (He snorts, stomping hooves)	Rapid breathing (tachypnea)
Qon quyilar ko'ziga (His eyes are filled with blood)	Psychosomatic disorder on the background of emotional reactions
Mehrdandir ozig'i. (He is fed only by mercy) Ko'zlar oyu yulduzli (His eyes are moon-starry) Oziqlanib o'rgangan Suluvlarning ko'lidan. ((He) is used to eating/ From the hands of beauties.)	A psychological concept of day-dreaming which is called the obsessive daydreams
Meni sudrab ketadi Qozig'ini sug'urib... (He drags me after him, / Pulling out the stake ...)	State of sexual arousal (erection)

The last stanzas of the poetic text *Meni sudrab ketadi Qozig'ini sug'urib...* (*He drags me after him, / Pulling out the stake ...*) have the “appearance-disappearance effect” indicated by punctuation, namely the three dots at the end of the stanza. That is, according to R. Barth, “the poetics of the gap” covers “the subject in the midst of pleasure” [7, P. 468], where the reader conjectures further subsequent events. Thus, the recipient is programmed by the author of the text.

Based on the analysis of the gender identification of the poetic text, we can say that the plot-compositional embodiment of the gender dominants of the author's inner world, the nature of his consciousness, thereby indicating the masculine type of poetics of this poem. Thus, at the lexical, syntactic and semantic levels of the poetic text “Yurak” reflects masculine specificity, which brings clarity to the context, in other words, the reader can immediately determine who appears before him – a man or a woman.

So, after analyzing the gender identification of the source text, we identified the masculine nature of the poem, and then we have a question about the gender concept of the recipient, that is, how women and men perceive the lyrical content of this poem, whether there is a difference in the attitude of the male recipient and the female recipient to the artistic image created by the author (man) of the work.

In order to answer our question, we ourselves set the task of analyzing two translations of this poem

into English by A. Abidov and A. Iplina (a male translator and a female translator).

Heart [8]

Heart – it is my saddle-horse,
Its stake is stuck into my chest.
Neither alfalfa nor fodder,
Its food is mercy, that's the best.

It always snorts and taps its heels,
Likes to gallop with bloodshot eyes.
It only wants to play with me,
To hide itself from others, tries.

If I feed it by myself
It doesn't eat the sweetest food
Because it's used to eat from hands
Of the girls that lovely, good.

It wants to jump a solid rope,
Thinks to fly and hits the roof.
I'm already a wounded man
Injured from its heavy hoof.

It will steal, at last, an angel,
And looks never yet more back.
It will also drag me then
Pulling out a profound stake.

Heart [9]

My heart, the swift-footed steed,
Its stake is in my chest.
It's fed without grain or seed
But only mercy, blest.

It snorts aloud, strongly stamps;
 Besides his bloodshot eyes
 Seek after me; even clamps
 Can't keep it strongly, nice.

And when I give him solid meal,
 It does not want to eat.
 Through habit, at his own will,
 The belles bring the feed.

The moonlight is reflected in
 His wistful starry glance.
 The hoof beat, in my strength within,
 Has given a good chance.

Thus, charging perfectly, at last
 It stole a pretty girl.
 And dragging me into the vast,
 Pulled out the stake at all...

So, as we can see, both translations are quite equivalent to the original according to the criteria of translation adequacy of the poetic text. However, analyzing the translation texts from the point of view of differentiation of male and female speech, we obtained the following results:

1-at the lexical and grammatical level: in A. Iplina's translation, we have identified such characteristics of femininity speech as a tendency to hyperbolized expression and the use of intensive words. For example, A. Iplina chose the poetic English word "steed" to translate the word-image "horse", and A. Abidov translated it as "horse", which is a generalizing noun for determining the name of the animal genus, which indicates to us the masculine characteristics of speech, namely the tendency to use lexically reduced means.

Also, the characteristics of the femininity of speech translated by A. Iplina are manifested in the use of emotionally evaluative words, such English words-poeticisms as "blest" (blessed) and "vast" (space). And in the translation of A. Abidov, there is a clear tendency to accuracy and terminological use of words, which is typical for masculine speech, for example:

"alfalfa" (Lucerne),"feeder" (forage, livestock feed), "heels" (horseshoes), "solid rope" (rope).

Another example of the characteristics of male and female speech is how the following images of the original poem were translated:

– A. Abidov's neutral evaluative vocabulary of male speech is manifested in the translation of such phrases as "the sweetest food" (delicious food), "It always snorts and taps its heels" (He always snorts and taps his shoes), "lovely, good girls" (pretty girls) and "angel" to describe a girl;

– A. Iplina uses in translation emotionally rich names of qualities and states characteristics of female speech: "solid meal" (plentiful food), "It snorts aloud, strongly stamps" (he snorts loudly, stomps hard), "pretty girl" (beautiful girl) and "belles" (beauties).

Also, we observe frequent use of functional constructions, such as conjunctions and conjunctive words, in the text of A. Iplina's translation: "but", "besides", "even", "and", "thus", which indicate the femininity component of the text.

2 – at the syntactic level: in the translated text of A. Abidov, we observe separate laconic sentences with monotony of construction techniques, which is typical for male speech, and in the translation of A. Iplina, we can see the use of expanded compound sentences, which is typical for female speech.

3 – general perception of the text: a characteristic of the femininity of the speech of the text is the desire for a harmonious and literate writing, which we can observe in the text of the translation by A. Iplina (for example, the choice of the adjacent type of rhyming – abab), and the translation of the text by A. Abidov demonstrates the status aspiration in communication, which is characteristic of the component of masculinity.

Thus, based on the analysis of translated texts, we came to the conclusion that A. Iplina's translation of the poem into English in terms of the use of linguistic means has a feminine aspect, although in the figurative-compositional component we find the muscular nature of the text. In A. Abidov's translation, we observe the muscular character of the text,

both in the use of linguistic means, and in the recreation of the figurative-compositional image of a poetic work. Consequently, the male recipient can recreate the masculine character of the text at all levels, and the female recipient can create the figurative-compositional masculine component of the text by using feminine means of language.

Identifying the texts of the original and translations according to the gender component, we concluded that the individual characteristics of a person associated with his gender play an important role in the study of the linguistic construct of

a work of art, both the original and its translations. It is necessary to take into account the gender factor, the sex of a person in his socio-cultural aspect, which is one of the dominant characteristics of a literary text, and undoubtedly affects the identification of a male or female author in the perception of a male recipient or female recipient. Therefore, it is necessary to reflect the gender component when creating a translated text, so that it can meet the requirements of the adequacy and equivalence of the original at all linguistic levels in the reconstruction of plot-like content.

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SEMANTICALLY REVIVED TRADITIONAL VOCABULARY AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONCEPT OF "TRADE" (SAUDA) IN THE KAZAKH LANGUAGE

Abstract. The article considers semantically revived traditional vocabulary, which is a representative of the concept of "trade" (Sauda) in the Kazakh language.

Keywords: Kazakh language, traditional vocabulary, revived words.

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СЕМАНТИЧЕСКИ ВОЗРОЖДЕННАЯ ТРАДИЦИОННАЯ ЛЕКСИКА КАК РЕПРЕЗЕНТАНТЫ КОНЦЕПТА «ТОРГОВЛЯ» (САУДА) В КАЗАХСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Аннотация. В статье рассматривается семантически возрожденная традиционная лексика, являющаяся репрезентантом концепта «торговля» (сауда) в казахском языке.

Ключевые слова: казахский язык, традиционная лексика, возрожденные слова.

В годы независимости целые пласты традиционной лексики казахского языка, изначально имевшие только положительную семантику, но под влиянием советской идеологии обретшие отрицательные семы, были возрождены в своем истинном значении. Это можно уследить на примере лексикографической подачи данных слов в толковых словарях советского периода и периода независимости Казахстана.

Таблица 1.

САУДАГЕР (торговец)	
1	2
Словарь казахского литературного языка. В 15 т. – Алматы, 2011. – Т. 13. С – Т. – С. 18–19.	Толковый словарь казахского языка. П – Т (планетарий – таңдыру). – Алматы: Наука, 1985. – Т. 8. – С. 211.
САУДАГЕР 1. ист. Представитель социальной группы, в прошлом устанавливавший торговые отношения между странами или внутри страны посредством купли-продажи и имевший от этого доход; купец.	САУДАГЕР. Человек, перепродающий товар по более высокой цене.

1	2
<p>2. <i>Высококвалифицированный продавец, специалист по продажам.</i></p> <p>3. Человек, разбирающийся в торговле и склонный к торговле.</p> <p>4. отриц. Человек, перепродающий товар по более высокой цене, спекулянт.</p> <p>5. перен. Человек, находящий еду в дороге.</p> <p>6. перен. Человек, готовый все продать, ищущий во всем выгоду, корыстолюбец.</p>	

Казахстан издревле занимал огромную территорию по которому проходила большая сеть всемирного торгового пути – **Великий шелковый путь**. Поэтому на его территории была развита не только внешняя и внутренняя торговля, но и налаженная традиционная система услуг по ее обслуживанию и транспортной логистике.

В традиционном казахском обществе предпринимателей, занимавшихся **внешней торговлей** называли – **саудагер, көпес** (название көпес, произошло от русского слова «купец» и вошло в казахский язык в XVIII веке).

Саудагеры занимались международной торговлей, поставляли в соседние страны – Россию, Китай, а через них уже Европу огромные партии сельскохозяйственных товаров, особенно скот и скотоводческую продукцию. Саудагер обладал не только «торговой жилкой», так сказать биз-

нес-мышлением, но и капитальными знаниями в области международных отношений, бизнес-коммуникации, языковыми компетенциями, ведь от их успешной деятельности зависела не только экономика и финансовая политика государства, но и мирное сосуществование соседних государств.

Так, например, в конце XVIII – начале XIX веков за один год казахские саудагеры приграничных с Россией регионов продали российским купцам 1,5 миллиона голов крупного рогатого скота, 100 тысяч лошадей, а в районе Прииртышья саудагерами на торговые ярмарки были предоставлены 150 тысяч лошадей на 8 миллионов (по тем расценкам) рублей, 3 миллиона голов мелкого и 100 тысяч крупного рогатого скота [1]. Для интереса, давайте сравним данные по статистике поголовья скота в Казахстане на 2017 год с населением около 17 миллионов.

Таблица 2. Численность скота во всех категориях хозяйств Республики Казахстан на 1 января (на начало года), тыс. голов

Год	Крупный рогатый скот	Овцы и козы	Лошади	Верблюды
2012	5702.4	18091.9	1607.4	173.2
2013	5690.0	17633.3	1686.2	164.8
2014	5851.2	17560.6	1784.5	160.9
2015	6032.7	17914.6	1937.9	165.9
2016	6183.9	18015.5	2070.3	170.5
2017	6247.2	17947.2	2113.2	172.5

Источник: Комитет по статистике Министерства национальной экономики Республики Казахстан (<http://www.marketingcenter.kz/2017/03-07-kazakhstan-selskoe-khoziaistvo.html>)

Получается в конце XVIII – начале XIX веков казахские скотоводы имели большие угодья

и имели огромную прибыль от них. Мы знаем, что к этому времени численность казахов было око-

ло 6 миллионов, и по вышеприведенным данным только в приграничных территориях с Россией, не считая торговли в других регионах (с Цинской империей – Китаем, Сибирью), за год на внешний рынок поставлялось 1,5 миллиона голов мелкого и 3 миллиона голов крупного рогатого скота, то не трудно представить, насколько объемным была общая торговля во всех районах в целом. И как она динамично развивалась во все времена мирного сосуществования соседних стран. Об этом свидетельствует самая древняя казахская пословица, отражающая эталон «золотого века», *«қой үстіне бозторғай жұмыртқалаған заман»* (времена, когда жаворонок гнездился на спине овцы). Сейчас эта пословица употребляется в казахском языке в значении «мирные, благодатные времена». А возникла она еще в далекую эпоху мирного соседства с Китаем и Россией, когда наше степное государство славилось на весь Шелковый путь своим изобилием мелкого скота, непрерывной торговлей им. *«Настолько была казахская степь богата на скот, что земля наполнилась им, аж до того, что и жаворонку, не оставалось места на поверхности земли чтобы, вить свое гнездо, и он начал вить их на спине пасущихся овец»* – именно такая картина образно отражена в пословице, свидетельствующей о широком «национальном бизнесе» – скотоводстве [2].

Таким образом, крупные торговцы – **саудагеры** были арбитражерами на внешних рынках страны, отвечали за городскую торговлю, т.е. внешнюю торговлю – *«қалалық сауда»*. И торговали в крупных городах и международных торговых ярмарках. Так, они на внешних рынках за деньги, а чаще за иностранный товар – предметы домашней утвари, различные виды ткани и многие другие виды мануфактурных товаров сбывали скот, который скупали у мелких торговцев. Мелкие же торговцы за обмен на товары скупали у аульных скотоводов скот и сбывали их на местных ярмарках саудагерам.

Далалық сауда – **внутренний рынок** развивался в степной торговле (далалық сауда) за счет

«предпринимательской деятельности» мелких торговцев, их называли в народе *«бақалшық»* (бакалейщик), *«ұзын қоржын»* (длинный коржун), *«арбакеш»* (кучер). *«Ұзын қоржын»*, *«арбакеш»* – такое прозвище получили они, за то, что ходили по степным аулам с набитыми корджунами, либо с полной арбой мелких вещей, и предлагали товары в обмен на скот, либо на деньги. Благодаря их «бизнесу» в аулы доставлялись заморские товары, необходимые в быту.

А известно ли вам, что в казахском языке есть более 80 видов названий тканей? Назовем только самые популярные из них – *барқыт, тұқаба, берен, биқасап, бүлде, дүрия, қамқа, қойқын, қыжым, мақпал, мауыты, міндала, пайы, баршын, парша, пүліш, саң, тапта, ұштап, тібек, шұға, мана, ләмбөк, дыраб, манат, масаты, борлат, бояқ, бұйдас, зипуын, дабы, сылаң, қасандар, қаламы, қымқап, кініпас, кіріс, кіләңкөр, күлдірі, қатиша, батсайы, сарпөңке, сіндіп, тапта, торғын, торқа, шәйі, қырмызы, атлас, кінәуыз, маңлық, құлмы, зон, ақсұп, борлат, бомази, бояқ, дабы, сыңсыма, сұрып, сәтен, сиса, шаги, бітес, тек, зәріп, саржа, құмаш, орысқол, тайгақ, бөз, сәлдебөз, тіке* [3]. Так вот, все это ранообразие текстильных изделий стало доступным для казахских степей благодаря развитию внешней и внутренней торговли. В это свою непосильную лепту внесли и работники «степной транспортной логистики» – керуенбасы и кіреші. А транспортировка товаров в степях осуществлялось благодаря караванам из верблюдов, недаром верблюда называют *«дала кемесі»* – кораблем степей.

Керуен (Караван) – организованная группа людей, путешествующих с торговыми или другими целями и их вьючные животные (верблюды, мулы, лошади и т.д.). Казахские степи были как океан, который по ответвлениям Великого шелкового пути браздили корабли торговли с Азии и Европы, и государства которые занимали нынешнюю казахстанскую территории брали дань (пошлину) за транспортировку товаров и с Азиатских, и с Европейских торговцев. А кораблями

степных торговых путей были верблюды. Именно из них формировали караваны. Ни у китайских, ни у российских торговцев не было таких выносливых животных, приспособленных к суровым климатическим условиям казахских земель, а также навыков выживания в огромных степях, поэтому местное население обеспечивало их торговлю на территории и даже вне территории нынешнего Казахстана, предоставив им керуенбасы/караванбашы (ведущий каравана), держателей верблюдов – кіреші, охрану – керуен күзетшісі, верблюдов, а государства степей предоставляла торговцам Великого шелкового пути дома отдыха на торговых путях – керуенсарай/каравансарай. Состав людей и верблюдов в караване зависел от расстояния пути и его сложности, а также от общего веса транспортируемого груза. Так, например, 992 году, по историческим данным, по территории Западного Казахстана прошел караван арабского миссионера ибн-Фадлана с 5 тысячами человек. Караваны для казахской культуры были значимым явлением, так как они были транспортировщиками не только новых товаров, но и новой информации самого различного характера, через них степные жители распространяли свою культуру и узнавали чужую, поэтому на протяжении всего его пути караваны встречали с радостью и почетом, казахи предоставляли им еду, одежду, ночлег и замену транспорта (лошадей, волов, мулов, верблюдов). Благодаря путевым запискам торговцев старый свет – Европа узнала о богатой культуре казахского народа.

Чтобы выжить и успешно торговать, доставляя свой товар до намеченных пунктов в целостности и сохранности, караваны шли по казахским землям по определенным и уже намеченным «специалистами по степной логистике» – керуенбасы и кіреші схемам: они пролегли вдоль устьев рек, по побережьям озер, по путям с системой колодцев. В среднем каждый день такой караван проходил 25–30 км. И важно было не попасть под ураган, найти укрытие в суровых погодных условиях, не

заблудиться в пустыне, либо безводной долине и обойти множество преград и препятствий тяжелого пути – все это было возможным благодаря отважному, ловкому, всезнающему, выносливому капитану степей – керуенбасы.

Керуенбасы (Караванбашы) – это не только отважные предприниматели степной торговли своего времени, знатоки торговых расценок, товаров и торгово-финансовых и экономических отношений, но и знатоки астрономии (по звездам могли ориентироваться в «океане степей», угадывать погодные и климатические изменения), географии (по земельному рельефу находили удобные, короткие и безопасные пути с природными водными источниками и населенными пунктами), ботаники (находили в пути для состава верблюдов и другого скота каравана перевалы для пастбы, по растительности определяли удобный маршрут) – настоящие «бизнес-универсалы». Керуенбасы также были «HR-менеджерами» своего времени, ибо они подбирали весь обслуживающий персонал для караванов – держателей верблюдов со своими верблюдами – кіреші, охрану – керуен күзеті.

Основной задачей керуенбасы было управление торговым караваном для доставки его до точки назначения. Керуенбасы нанимались хозяевам торговых караванов – саудагерам и купцам. Особенностями казахских керуенбасы от бухарских было в том, что в Бухарском (узбекском) ханстве керуенбасы было должностью, назначаемым самим ханом, а у казахов им мог стать каждый, если имел высокие квалификации, поэтому среди казахских керуенбасы были и богатые баи, имеющие большие скотоводческие угодья, и простые скотоводы, хорошо знающие пути откочевки на жайлау и зимовку.

Керуенбасы хорошо разбирались в финансовых вопросах, поэтому зачастую были посредниками во время торговли хозяинов каравана с местным населением и населением на других территориях.

Без керуенбасы не обходились и переговоры с местными «налоговиками», хороший керу-

енбасы, участвуя на переговорах в таможенных пунктах, мог помочь облегчить таможенные пошлины своему каравану, потому как хорошо знал язык, особенности коммуникации и ведения торговли своего государства – они были еще, так сказать, «GR-менеждерами» своего времени. В своей трудной работе керуенбасы полагались на кіреші.

Кіреші/ Кірекеш – представители промысла, нанимавшиеся торговым караванам для транспортировки товаров. В основном этим делом занимались казахские аулы, расположенные на караванных путях и имевшие большие верблюжьи стада. Кіреші имел телеги, сани и другие средства транспортировки, а также обладал стадом верблюдов, мулами, лошадьми. Кіреші могли стать и люди не имевшие этого добра, таковые брали в наем гужевого скот у своих сородичей. Однако все кіреші обладали огромными знаниями и мощными навыками выживания в степи. Ведь они не только предоставляли караванам свой «транспорт» – телеги и верблюдов, но и сами сопровождали его, обеспечивая эффективную транспортировку товаров гужевым скотом, сохранность товаров и людей каравана. Между саудагером/купцом, т.е. хозяином товара, транспортируемого караваном, и кіреші заключалась сделка, с XIX века письменная, на предмет предоставления услуг транспор-

тировки. И многие иностранные исследователи степной торговли не раз восхищались смелостью, честностью и преданностью своему слову казахских торговцев, керуенбасы и кіреші [4].

Керуенақы – оплата за груз, навьюченный на верблюды и гужевого скот, а также за услуги керуенбасы и кіреші. Керуенақы взималась за груз каждого верблюда, а также за обеспечение его транспортировки до пункта назначения, т.е. за услуги сопровождения каравана. Таким образом, степные «логисты» получали оплату за предоставленный транспорт и его обслуживание. О расценках такой платы есть множество исторических документов. По ним можно узнать, как менялась ситуация на рынке «транспортной логистики» в степной торговле.

Керуенсарай (Каравансарай) – места для остановки караванов, для их комплексного обслуживания. Керуенсарай были местом не только обслуживания караванов, т.е. отдыха караванщиков и верблюдов, а также их обеспечения едой, но и местом определения спроса на товар, его рыночной цены. Также во многих керуенсараях находились таможенные и пошлинные центры, куда торговцы платили дань. Известны крупные керуенсарай на территории Казахстана в таких городах как Отырар, Сауран, Кулан, Туркестан, Тараз, Буктырма, Казалы, Кереку.

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Section 5. Management

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TIME PARAMETER OF THE EFFICIENCY OF LABORATORY PROCESSES

Abstract. The article considers that at present the efforts of laboratory medicine specialists are mainly aimed at ensuring the analytical quality of research. The author believes that quality indicators, in particular the characteristics of the study time [1], have not been taken into account in our country until recently. The article notes that for the first time the requirement to comply with the time standards for obtaining a laboratory result was formulated in the Resolution of the Government of Georgia No. 1140 of 25.08.2010. “On approval of the State Program for the adoption of legislative changes in the areas of standardization, accreditation, conformity assessment, technical regulations, and metrology.” Thus, the author argues that the time criterion has gained acceptance as a mandatory characteristic of laboratory services in Georgia.

Keywords: Laboratory medicine, compliance with time standards, laboratory result, time criterion.

To characterize the time parameters of laboratory processes in foreign literature, the term execution time is used – TAT. It is translated into Georgian as “time of test turnover” or “time of obtaining the result”, while the abbreviation TAT is retained [2]. The definition of TRT (total execution time) [3], like TAT, is much less common in the literature.

The clinician’s perspective on TAT

TAT is a key indicator of the treating physician’s satisfaction with laboratory services. Long-term waiting for the test result causes discontent among clinicians, and adequate TAT remains unnoticed [2]. For some tests, a short TAT is vital and considered a must. It is believed that the effectiveness and efficiency of treatment directly depend on the timeliness of laboratory tests.

Attending physicians define the therapeutic, or general, TAT as the interval from the moment the request for research is formed until the result is obtained. In general, TAT is divided into three stages: pre-analytical (from filing an application for research to delivery of biological material to the laboratory), analytical (conducting research in the laboratory), and post-analytical (registering the result and transferring it to the attending physician). The number and order of actions performed by medical personnel at each stage depends on the degree of informatization and automation of the institution.

The first mention of the time criterion for the effectiveness of medical care (55 minutes for urgent examinations) is usually attributed to 1965 [4], but despite technological changes in recent years in labo-

ratory medicine, the target TAT of emergency care research remains within 60 minutes.

To create a TAT, it is compared against the quality criteria of the College of American Pathologists (CAP is the leading organization of certified laboratory medicine specialists, whose goal is to spread best practices in laboratory medicine practice for the benefit of patients, laboratory medicine professionals).

Consider how LabCorp, an American medical corporation that operates a network of specialized clinical laboratories around the world, including Puerto Rico and Canada, works.

Organizing and managing the work of LabCorp

For 246 orders received from the reception, the following time points were recorded:

- Time of receipt of the application for research by phone;
- Time of delivery of biological material to the laboratory;
- Time of completion of (a) determination of glucose concentration on the Eco-Twenty analyzer (Care diagnostics) and (b) time of completion of a complete blood count (CBC) on the KX-21N analyzer (Sysmex);
- The time of transferring the results by phone to the reception after registering the result in the journal.

The main results obtained for the time intervals of the total TAT are presented in (Table 1).

Table 1. – Characteristics of Time, Intervals of General TAT Urgent Tests in the Express Laboratory

TAT stages, min	Median	25–75 P(IQR)
General TAT, including:	23	18–30
– pre-analytical TAT	12	10–17
– analytical TAT for glucose	7	3–9
– analytical TAT for a general blood test	3	2–5
– post-analytical TAT	3	1–5

Note: P – percentile, IQR – interquartile range

As follows from (Table 1), the TAT of all urgent tests met the target CAP requirement, that is, did not exceed the 60-minute interval. It also follows from the data obtained that 52.0% of the time to obtain the result falls on the pre-analytical stage. The presented results are consistent with world experience, which indicates a significant effect of the duration of the pre-analytical stage on the overall TAT. This is the time of the pre-analytical stage, which is the most common cause of total TAT lengthening. In this case, the pre-analytical stage consisted of the following steps: fixing an application for a study from the admission department by phone, the arrival of a laboratory assistant at the admission department, taking capillary blood into a Microvette tube, and returning to the admission department. The express laboratory and the admissions office are located in adjacent buildings, so a significant part of the time

spent in the pre-analysis phase was spent moving between buildings.

Optimizing the pre-analytical phase is considered the most effective approach to reducing therapeutic TAT. To do this, it is proposed to use the following measures: interaction of hospital staff, use of effective sample delivery systems, reduction of the complexity and number of actions at the pre-analytical stage, implementation of effective laboratory and medical information systems [4].

With regard to a specific patient, the analytical stage of the TAT is limited by the time of obtaining the result of the last study when prescribing, in the illustrated case, the determination of glucose, as a test, the execution of which takes more time, than a complete blood count. Also, the duration of the test is affected by the number of samples obtained in the express laboratory at the same time.

In the case of testing one sample, laboratory TAT is minimal. With an increase in the load, the TAT increases due to the sequential execution of the study in a group of samples on each analyzer. To optimize the intra-laboratory processes, it is proposed to form a list of urgent laboratory tests with prioritization of each of them, taking into account the clinical significance and technological features of the study [3].

The analysis of the general TAT of the express laboratory in this example shows that regulating the TAT only for the analytical stage does not give a complete picture of the time during which the attending physician will wait for the results of the patient's laboratory tests.

The importance of TATs as an indicator of clinician satisfaction with laboratory services can be seen in the laboratory service quality indicators developed by the CAP. This organization offers several programs that enable laboratories to evaluate their performance. In three of them – Q-Probes, Q-Tracks and Q-Monitors, TAT urgent tests, and TAT troponin are indicators of effectiveness. In addition, in 2013, the ATS proposed additional quality criteria in which it is supposed to measure TAT for microbiological studies in the control of nosocomial infections, and TAT for molecular tests in pathological anatomy [5].

A look at the TAT from the laboratory

Laboratory staff most often define TAT as the interval from the moment the sample is received in the laboratory until the time the test result is issued, the so-called laboratory TAT. For routine laboratories, where the total TAT requirement for routine tests is 24 hours, the laboratory TAT is an indicator of the effectiveness of the organization of work processes.

Automatic biochemical analyzers have entered laboratory practice since the 1960s. Technological changes implemented in modern analytical systems are due to two factors: an increase in the need for clinicians to reduce TAT and the need to reduce the cost of laboratory research. Diagnostic system developers have responded to these requests by creat-

ing high-performance analyzers, a broad test menu, and combining biochemistry and immunochemical modules on a single platform.

Today, when planning laboratory development and determining whether an analytical modular system will provide an optimal laboratory TAT, it is not enough to simply divide the total number of daily tests by the hourly instrument throughput. In the literature, there are examples of the use of computer simulators to determine the TAT analyzer when simulating various options for its loading and real TAT with various combinations of tests. A limitation of these data for practical application is that in the above studies, the TAT included the interval from the moment the sample was placed on the analyzer until the moment the test result was obtained, i.e., in fact, the TAT of the analyzer.

In the literature, the first results of measuring TAT in a planned centralized laboratory reflected the full laboratory TAT: the interval from the moment the laboratory recorder reads the barcode from the order form until the moment the results of the last study in the order were transferred from the analyzer to the laboratory information system (LIS). The study showed the advantage of the Cobas 6000 modular system (Roche Diagnostics) in comparison with autonomous biochemical and immunochemical analyzers in determining the tests included in the usual examination panel of an outpatient patient (on average 8 biochemical and 2 immunochemical tests). The difference in the time of obtaining the result for one patient on the Cobas6000 analyzer compared to the situation when biochemical studies were performed on an Integra 800 analyzer (Roche Diagnostics), and immunochemical studies were performed on an Elecsys 2010 analyzer (Roche Diagnostics), was 48 minutes.

For the analysis of the effectiveness of the organization of production processes, the interval turned out to be especially interesting, which included the time from the moment the order was registered at the LIS PSM-AKL Clinical Laboratory (Roche –

Across Engineering) to the placement of the primary tube in the analyzer. The time spent by employees within this interval is not related to the technical features of analytical systems; it directly reflects the organization of the movement of samples within the laboratory. The measurement results of the discussed TAT interval are presented in the (table. 2). For In-

tegra 800, Elecsys 2010 and Cobas 6000 analyzers installed in the same control room, the duration of this interval does not differ. In addition, in the same hall, there is a workplace where the barcode is read from the primary samples and distributed among the analyzer racks, then the racks are transferred manually and placed on the analyzers.

Table 2. – Time interval from the moment the order is registered in the laboratory information system until the primary tube is placed in the analyzer

Time interval, min		The average	95% CI	Median	25–75 P(IQR)
Integra 400	(n = 3245)	31	30–33	15	7–34
Integra 800	(n = 14635)	21	20–21	6	3–19
Elecsys 2010 (n = 359)		25	23–28	10	4–25
Cobas 6000 (n = 9147)		24	21–25	8	4–23

Note: CI – confidence interval, P – percentile, IQR – interquartile range

Significantly, it takes significantly longer to deliver samples to the Integra 400 analyzer in an adjacent room. In fact, we can talk about wasted time, the exact meaning of which was revealed in the analysis of TAT. The optimal solution would be to place all analyzers for biochemical and immunochemical studies in one room, which is possible only during its reconstruction. Nevertheless, the results obtained were taken into account and the intra-laboratory flows were redistributed so that the main pool of studies of the Integra 400 analyzer was glycated hemoglobin (an appointment not related to the usual biochemical profile, a separate tube) and measurement of the serum index for coagulation tests (a semi-quantitative measurement of hemolysis).

Optimizing within laboratory workflows by eliminating wasted time can make a significant contribution to reducing staff fatigue and human error. In the available literature, we could not find a single indicator characterizing the satisfaction with the work of laboratory staff. Perhaps, in the situation where the “cabinet-corridor” model of the laboratory prevails in the country, the time for such indicators as “lost time” or “time for the corridor” has already come.

It was found that strategic measures aimed at improving operational efficiency are the best of the

transformation options. For a complete analysis of laboratory processes, it is important to have an understanding of the time indicators of quality, thus it is possible to develop targeted measures to improve each stage of laboratory research. In a laboratory with a few studies, but no LIS, one must be prepared for the fact that manually fixing the time of each action will lead to an extension of the total TAT, and the determination of TAT without LIS in a centralized laboratory is simply impossible.

Technological changes, the introduction of automation, and informatization in laboratory medicine reveal a clear similarity between the organization of laboratory processes and the production model. It is no coincidence that research is currently underway to identify quality indicators suitable for analyzing production processes in the laboratory. In particular, the benchmarking method is widely used to assess the performance of laboratories. TAT is also referred to as a laboratory process control indicator. From this point of view, the data of the survey of Georgian laboratories looks optimistic, showing that 72.4% of the respondents would like to introduce LIS into their work.

Thus, the informatization of Georgian laboratories is a key factor for the active implementation

of national programs for assessing and comparing the effectiveness of work that includes TAT as one of the indicators of the quality of the laboratory process.

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Section 6. Pedagogy

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GAME INFLUENCE IN JUDO LESSONS ON MORAL EDUCATION FOR PRESCHOOL AGE CHILDREN

Abstract. One of the main sections of pedagogy is the physical education of children, which is an important element of the entire educational system. It is aimed at the development of motor qualities, physical and mental performance, training of the cardiovascular and respiratory system, hardening of the body, ensuring the correct regime of the day, fostering cultural and hygienic skills and is closely related to moral, mental and aesthetic education. Judo can be an effective means of physical and moral education of preschool children.

Judo maintains centuries-old traditions and remains the heir to the samurai code of honor. Judo educates not only physical strength, but also intelligence, nobility. Judo is the art of self-improvement. A wrestler, both experienced and beginner, must be courageous, persistent, modest and respectful to other people. The founder of the struggle, Jigoro Kano, regarded his art as a means of forming a harmoniously developed personality. The judoist's code of honor includes such qualities as: courtesy, courage, sincerity, honesty, modesty, self-control, fidelity in friendship, respect for others.

Moral education is one of the most important aspects of the multifaceted movement of personality development, the individual's mastery of moral values, the formation of moral qualities, the ability to orient oneself on a standard, live in harmony with principles, generally accepted standards and moral rules, when views and ideas about what are materialized in real actions and actions.

The article discusses the influence of judo elements in a playful way on the moral education of preschool children 4–6 years old.

Keywords: preschool children, games, judo, moral education, physical development.

Currently, educational programs with children in preschool institutions are aimed at harmonious and comprehensive development of the child's personality. T. A. Ilyina notes that the comprehensiveness and harmony of upbringing means the formation of all aspects of the personality at the same time and in close interconnection: mental, moral, labor, aesthetic and physical (Ilyina, [13]). In most programs

of preschool institutions, in connection with the increased requirements for future first-graders, priority is given to the development of intellectual abilities. Additional classes on the development of the intellectual sphere of children are introduced. All this led to an increase in the volume of educational and cognitive activity of preschoolers and a decrease in their motor activity (Aronfreed, [1]; Prishchepa, [16]).

Numerous studies of Vygotsky, Piaget, Vallon testify to the paramount role of movements in the formation of the child's mental functions. The child receives the first ideas about the world through movement, and the richer his motor experience is, the more actively he learns the world around him, and therefore, the most favorable conditions for mental development are created (Piaget, [5]; Vallon, [6]; Vygotsky, [7]).

Physical education of children is an important element of the education system and one of the main sections of pedagogy. It is aimed at the development of motor qualities, physical and intellectual performance, training of the cardiovascular and respiratory system, hardening of the body, ensuring the correct regime of the day, fostering cultural and hygienic skills and is closely related to moral, intellectual and aesthetic education. Judo can be an effective means of physical and moral education for preschool children.

The education of the moral qualities of the personality of the young generation is relevant at all times. Preschool age is an important stage in life of every person. This age is between two age crises, that's why some consider this age to be relatively stable and not of interest to researchers, others, on the contrary, believe that at this age, personality formation, character formation takes place (Bandura, [2]; Lieury, [3]; Thompson, [4]).

Game, representing the main form of activity of a child in preschool period, is a significant impulse for moral education. The behavior of children during a game is characterized by strong emotionality in achieving the goal, which is associated with the rapid development of thinking operations and imagination. During a game expands the range of representations for the child, stabilizes contacts with other children, which in turn affects the development and formation of personality (Prishchepa, [16]). It is known that in sports games thanks to the pronounced activity of various analyzers and interactions with other participants, favorable opportunities are created for the development of motor actions and the improvement of the central nervous system.

In modern sports programs, training is carrying a fragmented character. At the same time, judo classes contribute to physical and psychological development by performing all kinds of motor actions and the speed of thought processes to solve problems (Lieury, [3]; Ilyina, [13]). The lack of a methodology for teaching judo elements in a playful way leads to their exclusion in preschool sports classes.

Considering that for preschool children the most preferable game activity is to include elements of the game in the judo learning process. It is important for preschoolers to create not only a play environment, but also comfortable in an emotional plan. Various obstacle courses, relay races and competitions should be aimed not only at developing a competitive spirit, but also at uniting a team and developing friendly relations.

Judo, being a martial art, is not an aggressive sport, but, on the contrary, teaches respect, attentiveness and correctness in relationships, including with an opponent (Shulika, et al. [17]).

At the initial stage of acquaintance with the judo technique, preschoolers should develop balance, coordination, vestibular apparatus, agility, reaction speed, etc. For this, various exercises can be used, for example: running, jumping, throwing light objects, maintaining balance, etc. These and other exercises can be included in various subject and non-plot role-playing and outdoor games, including those with judo elements. Various auxiliary objects can be used for classes: balls, jump ropes, hoops, gymnastic sticks, the Swedish ladder, etc. Many exercises of classical judo can be difficult for children to perceive, so it is important to present them in an easily digestible form of play (Dyachenko, [9]; Eremina, [1]).

The aim of the study was to study the influence of judo elements in a playful way on the moral education of preschool children 4–6 years old.

Based on the previously mentioned, we have developed and tested an experimental methodology for the use of elements of judo in a game form with children 4–6 years old. The developed technique in-

cluded phased training in various elements of judo and outdoor games with elements of judo.

Research Methodology. At the beginning and at the end of the pedagogical experiment, the level of development of moral education was determined using psychological tests of the child's emotional attitude to moral standards ("Story Pictures" by R. R. Kalinina). (Kalinina, [15]; Kalinina, [14]).

The methodology proposed by R. R. Kalinina is aimed at studying the moral development of preschoolers based on the unity of moral representations, emotions, and behavior (R R Kalinina, [15]). Based on this, we had to find out not only the children's knowledge of the norms of social behavior and emotional attitude towards them, but also how this knowledge affects their real behavior and relationships with adults and peers. To study the cognitive and emotional components of moral development, subjects were presented with seven subject pictures in turn, which depicted familiar situations for children (a boy helps his grandmother, a girl washes dishes, a boy walks through a flower bed, etc.). It was proposed to consider them, tell what is depicted on them, as well as evaluate the actions of the characters and put the pictures in two columns according to the principle of "who did well, who did badly." Before the assignment, preliminary training was carried out.

In this study took part 80 children aged 4–6 years. Two groups were formed: experimental – 40 children and controled – 40 children. The uniformity of both groups was determined during preliminary testing. Classes with children were held under the Judo pro-

gram. Judo classes in the control and experimental groups were carried out 3 times a week: 3 classes in a sports hall lasting 45 minutes. Classes were held by trainers and educators. The number of classes in the experimental group using the developed methodology amounted to 45% of the total number of classes.

Results

At the beginning of the pedagogical experiment, between the average group results in motor tasks for physical fitness in children of the control and experimental groups, there were no significant differences ($p > 0.05$).

During the pedagogical experiment, within the framework of which an experimental methodology was introduced in the system of classes with children 4–6 years old based on the use of wrestling elements in a playful way, a significant increase in test results was observed in children in the experimental group.

The development of moral education was evaluated according to the method of R. R. Kalinina. A distinctive feature of the technique is that it affects not only the cognitive aspect (knowledge of moral standards), but also emotional (personal attitude of the child to compliance with these standards).

This technique allowed us to determine the level of development of the child's emotional attitude to moral standards (respect, friendship, honesty) during the pedagogical experiment. Prior to the experiment in children of 4–6 years of the control and experimental groups, indicators of the level of development of psychological processes did not have significantly significant differences.

Table 1. – The level of the child's attitude to moral standards in children 4–6 years old before the experiment (%)

Groups	friendship %			respect%			honesty %		
	before	after	growth	before	after	growth	before	after	growth
Controlled 4 year old	40	55	15	35	45	10	25	30	5
Experimental	40	70	30	35	60	25	25	45	20
Controlled 5 years old	55	75	20	40	55	15	30	40	10
Experimental	55	95	40	40	75	35	30	60	30
Controlled 6 years old	60	85	25	45	65	25	40	55	15
Experimental	60	100	40	45	80	35	40	70	30

At the beginning of the pedagogical experiment, it was noted that in most children of 5–6 years of control and experimental groups, the level of development of such an aspect as friendship is higher (55% and 60%) than in 4-year-olds (40%). The concept of respect was noted in children 5–6 years old (40% and 45%), in 4-year-old children (35%). In groups, a low level of honesty development was revealed in children of 5 years old (30%), in 4-year-

old children (25%) in comparison with 6-year-olds (40%). By gender, there were no significant differences ($p > 0.05$) in moral education.

After the completion of the pedagogical experiment, the increase in the indicators of the development of moral education in children in the experimental group was 40% (friendship), 35% (respect), 30% (honesty), which is more than double than in the control group.

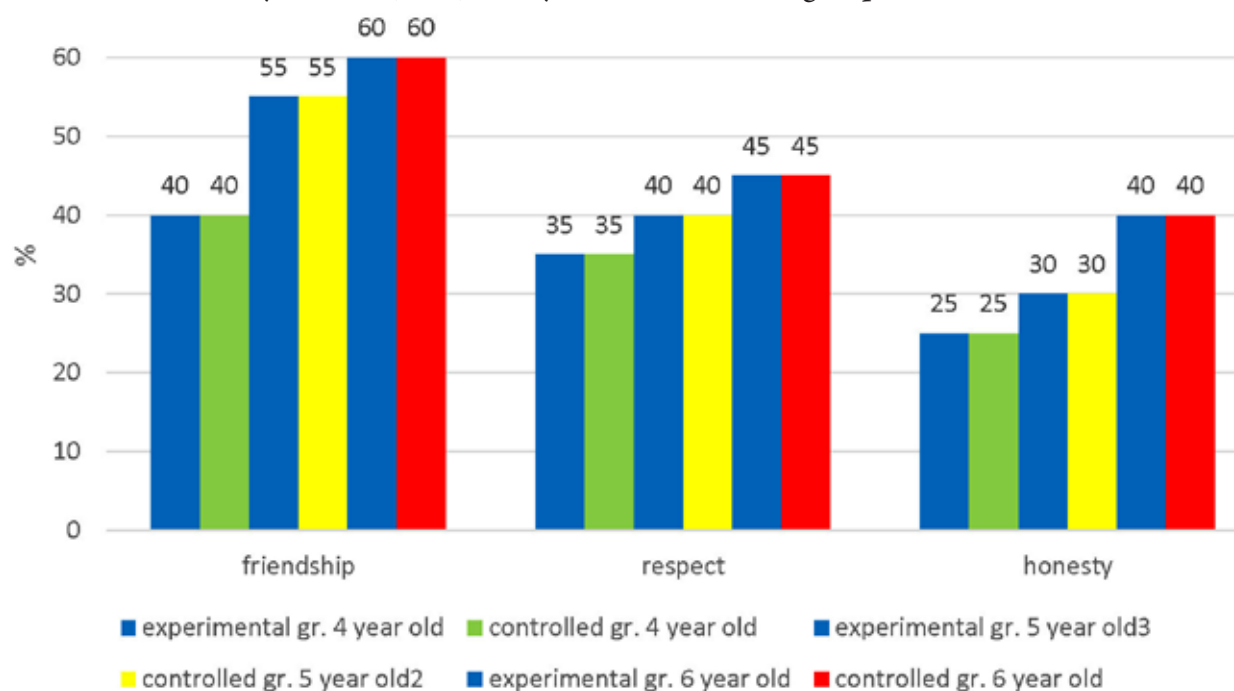


Figure 1. Indicators of morality in preschoolers

As we see on (Figure 1) indicators at the beginning of the experiment in the experimental and control groups equal, because children received moral education at almost the same level, in kindergarten and in the family. Indicators in 6-year-old children are slightly higher than in 4 and 5-year-olds. Children (especially 4-year-olds) have a lower level because incorrectly emotionally react to a situation of disobedience and conflict with peers, disrespectful attitude to elders, justice. This was manifested in the fact that the children did not experience negative emotions in relation to these situations, and therefore did not show emotions of condemnation.

In all situations 6-year-old children they recognize and correctly emotionally respond to situations in

which there are no rules of accuracy and friendliness. 5-year. Even 4-year-old children react to a conflict situation. Communication with peers, that is, they consider it unacceptable if one child hits another; 6-year-old children had difficulty responding adequately to respect for elders and obedience. In all children of the experimental groups, the growth of moral indicators is significantly higher compared to peers in the control groups. Children who practice judo in a playful way have a higher level of development of the emotional component of moral consciousness. Children 4 and 5 years old distinguish between moral situations, setting standards for accuracy, conflict-free peer behavior, respectful relations. However, at the same time, they do not own moral categories, that is, they cannot give a

name to the above norms of behavior. Children of 6 years old are well aware of moral standards associated with a neat appearance, rules of conduct denia in public places and with peers. 5-year-olds had difficulties with the question of how acceptable it was to fight, while many of the children were at a loss about how acceptable it was to stand up for the weaker. Preschool

children accurately determine the values of learning, the rules of behavior in public places, the rules of behavior with peers. Preschool children involved in judo in a playful way have better mastered the positive moral qualities and values of learning, rules of behavior in public places, rules of behavior with peers. Children from the control group learned these qualities worse.

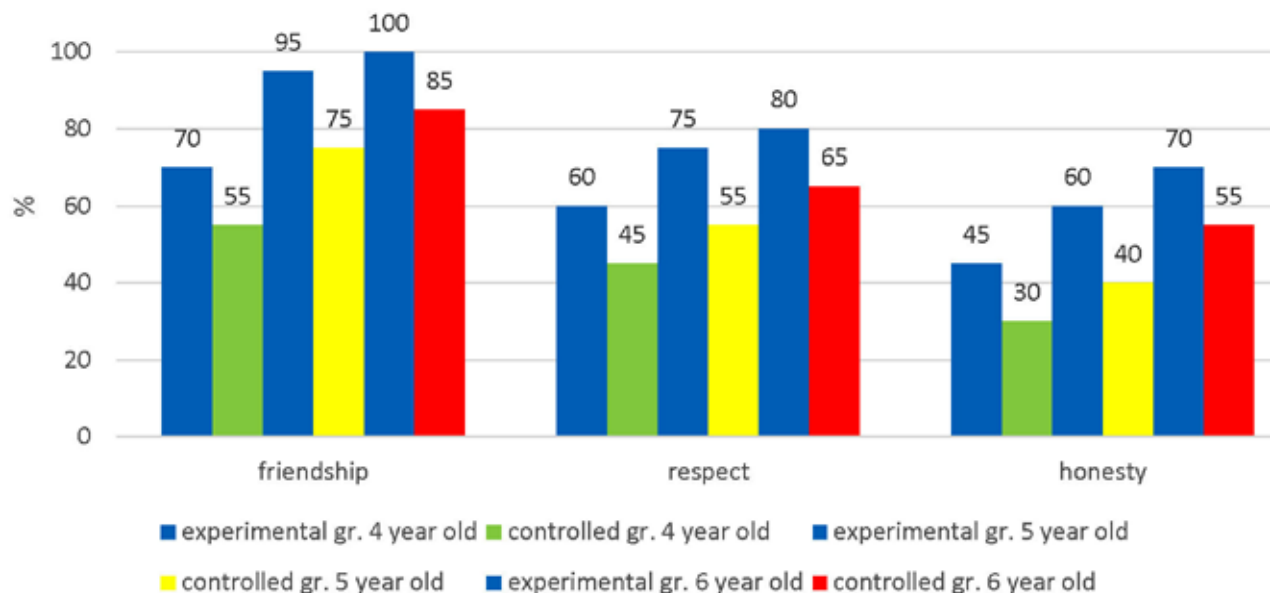


Figure 2. The dynamics of moral indicators in preschoolers

Discussions

Currently, the issue of the development of moral education in the younger generation is becoming increasingly relevant. It is at a preschool age, according to many children's psychologists and educators, morality and personality formation take place.

Eremeeva, V.V. He believes that a fairy tale is one of the most important moral and pedagogical means of personality formation. Any fairy tale has a socio – pedagogical effect: it educates, educates, warns, teaches, encourages activity and even heals. The value of fairy tales lies in their influence on the comprehensive development of the child, and especially on moral education (Eremeeva, [10]).

The article by Golous, E.A gives a brief overview of the problem of the study of morality in the works of many psychologists and presents the results of a study of the moral education of preschool children using the method of "Scene Pictures" (Golous, [8]).

Zabolotina V.V. proved in her work the feasibility of using a theatrical game as a means of emotional and moral education, using the "Story Pictures" methodology to determine the moral education of preschool children with hearing impairments (Zabolotina [12]).

Elkonin D.B. also in his work he attaches particular importance to the game, as a means of emotional and moral development of preschoolers. A game is a form of activity in which children, creating a special game situation, replacing some objects with others, replacing real actions with shortened ones, reproduce the basic meanings of human activity and assimilate those forms of relationships that will be realized, implemented later. In the game, various aspects of the child's personality are formed (Elkonin, [18]).

The results of our study also show that judo classes in a playful way influence the formation of moral education in preschool children.

The level of development of the behavioral component of moral consciousness in preschool children is average, which characterizes children of this age as situational carriers of moral standards. In most children of this age fulfill moral standards in response to any reward, or because of fear of punishment, the child is guided in their behavior by their own desires, and not by moral standards.

Conclusion:

Thus, the application of an experimental teaching methodology based on the use of judo elements in a playful way with children 4–6 years old allowed to effectively influence their moral education.

The results obtained indicate that already in preschool age conditions can be created for the forma-

tion of a high (reflective) level of development of moral formations.

Studies have shown that the process of moral education of a child requires focused pedagogical guidance. The process in which judo elements are used in a playful way contribute to the better development of moral education in 4–5 year old children. The result of 6 year old children showed that the level of moral education of such a quality as friendship has almost doubled.

As a result of the study, we came to the conclusion that the level of moral education has increased in children who are taught elements of judo in a playful way. Children became friendlier, more sociable, more honest and respectful.

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ON THE PSYCHOLINGUISTIC BASIS OF LANGUAGE ACQUISITION STRATEGIES

Abstract. The problem of Russian language teaching methods falling out of the general scientific strategic paradigm has been solved only recently. In this regard, the article examines the stages of formation of the strategic direction in the methodology of teaching foreign languages, and traces the development of its conceptual apparatus. Current changes in the approach to building a taxonomy of strategies are substantiated.

Keywords: language acquisition strategies; teaching strategies; strategic methodology.

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К ВОПРОСУ О ПСИХОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ОСНОВЕ СТРАТЕГИЙ ОВЛАДЕНИЯ ЯЗЫКОМ

Аннотация. Проблема выпадения методики преподавания русского языка как иностранного из стратегической общенаучной парадигмы была решена лишь недавно. В этой связи в статье рассматриваются этапы становления стратегического направления в методике преподавания иностранных языков, прослеживается развитие его понятийного аппарата. Обосновываются актуальные изменения в подходе к выстраиванию таксономии стратегий.

Ключевые слова: стратегии овладения языком; стратегии обучения; стратегическая методика.

На современном этапе развития науки принято говорить о стратегическом направлении исследований. Значение монографии «Стратегическая теория овладения русским языком как иностранным и стратегии обучения» (С. И. Лебединский, [4]) как для становления белорусской школы психолингвистики, так и утверждения принципиально нового подхода к обучению русскому языку как иностранному (РКИ) трудно переоценить, поскольку с ее выходом была окончательно решена задача включения методики преподавания РКИ в современную общенаучную парадигму.

Для отечественной лингвистики и лингводидактики стратегический подход к обучению иностранному языку остается, однако, пионерским направлением исследований, тогда как в мировой науке на протяжении уже более сорока лет является актуальным и востребованным.

Слово «стратегия» восходит к греческим *stratos* 'войско' и *agō* 'веду'. Как понятие стратегии изначально рассматривались в общефилософском ключе, затем в психологии (когнитивной и инженерной), психоанализе, психолингвистике. Сегодня говорят о сложившемся стратегическом

направлении в науке как таковой. Тем не менее, в современных словарях и энциклопедиях значение термина «стратегия» раскрывается исключительно в связи с военным искусством либо политической, в отраслевых словарях по упомянутым выше гуманитарным дисциплинам термин встречается только в психологической лексикографии, да и то в небольшом количестве изданий. При этом, например, в Большом толковом психологическом словаре А. Ребера подчеркивается разница между понятийным наполнением термина в психологии («сознательно составленный набор операций для решения некоторой проблемы или цели») и в психоанализе («бессознательная программа действий») [7, т. 2, с. 321–322]. В прикладных исследованиях зачастую принимается подход, сочетающий как осознанность, так и бессознательность применения стратегий. Отношение к стратегиям как к подсознательным закономерностям выделяет аспект их автоматизированности, и, наоборот, «понимание их (стратегий – И. Ш-Б) как потенциально сознательных планов подчеркивает гибкость и креативность стратегического подхода» [2, С. 2].

М. В. Давер указывает на то, что «специфика самого термина “стратегия” в его первоначальном значении подразумевает наличие некоторых особых условий применения. Необходимость применения стратегии всегда изначально вызвана либо осложнениями в ходе деятельности (реальными, антиципируемыми или воображаемыми) и возникновением необходимости дополнительного планирования, разработки специальных решений, усложненных планов деятельности, каковыми, по определению, и являются стратегии, либо изначальным стремлением к максимально эффективному выполнению деятельности, недопущению возникновения затруднений» [2, с. 2–3].

Первые исследования в области стратегий изучения иностранного языка начались в американской психолингвистике в 70-х годах прошлого века (Дж. Рубин, А. Венден, Н. Нейман, Е. Бялысток, Р. Эллис, Р. Оксфорд, Дж. О’Мэлли и А. Чэ-

мот, Р. Бэрдэн и М. Виллиамс и др.). Их появление было обусловлено, прежде всего, необходимостью успешной адаптации большого числа эмигрантов и включения их в языковую среду. Первопроходческой стала опубликованная в 1975 г. статья Дж. Рубин «What the “good language learner” can teach us». Рубин попыталась привлечь внимание к тому парадоксальному факту, что, несмотря на огромную востребованность компетенций владения иностранным языком, механизмы его освоения практически не изучены, усилия же педагогов вовсе не обращены на понимание стратегий, использование которых приводит к реальному успеху, наоборот, существование таких игнорируется или отвергается методикой [10]. Идеи автора, однако, не были восприняты сразу; предметом первых исследований стали не стратегии овладения, а стратегии пользования вторым (изучаемым иностранным) языком, получившие в работе Э. Тэйрон, А. Коэна и Г. Думаса название «коммуникативные стратегии» [11].

Необходимо подчеркнуть, что под коммуникативными на данном этапе исследований понимались лишь стратегии компенсаторные, используемые изучающими иностранный язык взрослыми людьми для решения проблемы несоответствия имеющихся языковых компетенций уровню выражаемых мыслей. На протяжении как минимум десятилетия именно компенсаторным стратегиям уделялось наиболее пристальное внимание, поскольку считалось, что лишь они «пригодны» для непосредственного наблюдения, изучение же остальных не может иметь под собой научной основы. Например, выделивший три категории стратегий (учения, продуцирования и коммуникативные (компенсаторные) стратегии) профессор Р. Эллис сам высказывался крайне пессимистично относительно возможности научного анализа двух первых категорий, сравнивая данный процесс с «заглядыванием в черный ящик» и «поиском спрятанного предмета с завязанными глазами» (перевод наш) [8, С. 188].

Тем не менее, в 1980-х гг. началось широкое изучение стратегий изучения иностранного языка. Поскольку проблема касалась в большей степени взрослых людей, исследования проводились в рамках научного направления, получившего название *Second Language Acquisition* (Овладение вторым языком). Ученые ставили перед собой задачу выяснить, за счет каких специфических процедур достигаются значимые результаты успешно осваивающими язык студентами. Методами и приемами первых исследований служили анкетирование, беседа, наблюдение со скрытой аудио- и видеозаписью, создание нестандартных ситуаций на занятии, запись студентами своих мыслей, размышление вслух и т.д. Значительное влияние на исследования оказало развитие когнитивной психологии, в рамках которой и возникла идея, что специальные стратегии учения могут помогать в овладении вторым языком. Теория, развивающая эту идею, поставила под сомнение постулат, что у некоторых людей есть особые, «врожденные» способности к изучению языков («языковой слух» и т.д.). Утверждалось, что такие люди успешно овладевают языками, используя особые способы обработки информации. Более того, наиболее ценным для сферы практического применения теории стало утверждение, что такие стратегии могут быть освоены любым взрослым человеком, следовательно, возможность преуспеть в обучении доступна не только одаренным людям.

Таким образом, в зародившемся направлении исследований не только не разделялись стратегии овладения языком и стратегии обучения языку, но и к самому определению нового понятия «стратегия изучения иностранного языка» изначально существовали различные подходы. По А. Венден и Дж. Рубин, стратегии есть «любое сочетание операций, шагов, планов, процедур, применяемых студентом для облегчения получения, хранения, извлечения и использования информации» (перевод наш) [12, С. 19]; Д. Ричардс и Д. Платт трактовали их как «целенаправленное мышление

и поведение с целью запоминания и понимания новой информации в процессе обучения» (цит. по: [6, С. 243]). В релевантном рассматриваемой теме документе Совета Европы «Общеввропейские компетенции владения иностранным языком» «стратегия» определяется как «принятие определенной линии поведения с целью повысить эффективность до максимума» [5, С. 59].

В советской лингвистике со второй половины 1970-х гг. встречались разрозненные публикации о стратегиях обучения (например, М. И. Серебряная, Н. Н. Сметанникова). Упоминание же «новой предметной области методики обучения неродному языку – “стратегий изучающего язык”» впервые появилось в работе Г. В. Ейгера и А. А. Рапопорта (1991 г.), хотя сами авторы преимущественно оперировали такими терминами, как «стиль учебной деятельности», «типы учебных действий» и «приемы изучения языка» и не привели для «стратегий» ни определений, ни таксономии [3]. Считается, тем не менее, что именно данная работа привлекла внимание лингвистов постсоветского пространства и явилась толчком к развитию стратегического направления в обучении языкам. Особый вклад в данное направление исследований был позже (в конце 1990-х гг.) внесен А. А. Залевской.

Развитие направления повлекло и осознание необходимости в определении и более четком понимании ключевых терминов. Уже в «Новом словаре методических терминов и понятий» Э. Г. Азимова и А. Н. Щукина выделены и разграничены понятия «стратегии овладения языком» и «стратегии обучения» [1, С. 295]. Наиболее актуальным, как хронологически, так и содержательно, можно считать определение стратегий овладения языком, сформулированное С. И. Лебединским: «комплекс глубинных психологических процессов, посредством которых обучаемые аккумулируют новые правила иностранного языка и автоматизируют их в новых ситуациях через переработку воспринимаемого материала

путем его структурного упрощения с последующим включением в индивидуальную когнитивную схему обучаемых» [4, С. 46]. Именно на основе наиболее эффективных стратегий овладения языком должны, по мнению исследователя, вырабатываться оптимальные стратегии обучения.

Первая таксономия была создана для исследования по своей сути компенсаторных стратегий пользования языком, которые, однако, на тот момент широко понимались авторами как коммуникативные стратегии (Tarone, Cohen, Dumas, [11]). Исследователями, таким образом, было выделено шесть основных типов «коммуникативных стратегий»; стратегии избегания подверглись также и дальнейшей детализации [11]. Попытка же классификации стратегий, влияющих (как непосредственно, так и опосредованно) на процесс овладения иностранным языком, была предпринята в 1981 г. Дж. Рубин, которая, по сути, выделила стратегии учения и стратегии использования языка. Немногим позже когнитивная психология описала метакогнитивные стратегии. Р. Оксфорд в 1990 г. было предложено разделение стратегий на прямые (стратегии запоминания, когнитивные и компенсаторные) и косвенные (метакогнитивные, аффективные и социальные) [8].

Приведенный выше обзор показывает этапы становления стратегического направления в области изучения иностранного языка, теоретическая база которого должна была послужить прикладным лингводидактическим целям. Особенность обоснования стратегической методики С. И. Лебединского состоит, прежде всего, в указании на психологическую основу и лингвистический базис формирования стратегий овладения и пользования языком, которые могут быть как общими,

так и индивидуальными, при этом все используемые учащимися стратегии следует считать основными и прямыми. Одним из базовых положений теории является указание на зависимость генерации стратегий как от вида знания (его эксплицитности либо имплицитности, анализируемости либо автоматичности), так и от принадлежности самого учащегося к определенному типу психической организации. Под последним понимаются:

1) коммуникативный склад личности (активность, реактивность, инертность, пассивность); 2) параметры когнитивного стиля (контекстозависимость / контекстнезависимость, склонность к детализации / генерализации, склонность к спецификации / унификации, когнитивная ригидность / гибкость, склонность к когнитивному сглаживанию / заострению и др.); 3) предрасположенность к использованию определенного интеллектуального и эпистемологического стилей [4, с. 20–41].

Как следствие, таксономия общих и индивидуальных стратегий овладения языком значительно шире существовавших прежде и включает одиннадцать типов, которые могут быть укрупненно сгруппированы следующим образом: 1) когнитивные; 2) социально-аффективные и социально-прагматические; 3) коммуникативно-компенсаторные; 4) собственно коммуникативные (стратегии речевосприятия и речепорождения) [4].

Детальному изучению стратегий речевосприятия и речепонимания посвящено докторское диссертационное исследование С. И. Лебединского, описание десяти других типов стратегий овладения иностранным языком и лингвометодическое обоснование стратегий обучения на их основе – задачи, которые должны быть решены в ближайшем будущем.

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Section 7. Political science

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YEMEN'S ARAB SPRING: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Abstract. The Arab Spring in 2011 sent waves of political protests and calls for democratic change across the Middle East. Nations such as Jordan have come out of the movement relatively unscathed, returning more or less to the same government as prior to the Arab Spring. On the other hand, nations such as Yemen and Libya underwent drastic political and economic changes due to the intensity and severity of the 2011 protests within their respective nations. Ensuing civil wars have since consumed both nations to the detriment of nearly every citizen. The conflict within Yemen in particular has led to mass poverty, unemployment, starvation, and many more humanitarian crises. This essay explores the long and short term historical causes that differentiated Yemen's Arab Spring from those in Libya and Jordan. A close examination of each nation's colonial history, leadership patterns, and governing systems offers a unique perspective on the continued political instability within Yemen. The imperialism that plagued Yemen removed the idea of national unity from Yemeni citizens and leaders as compared to Jordanian the "loyal opposition". The poor discretion of Yemen's President Saleh and Libya's Colonel Gaddafi economically stunted their nations and constituents. The Yemeni structure of political suppression, false democracy, and systemic corruption, similar to that of Libya, laid the foundations for mass discontentment and government instability. These three factors represent the historical core of contemporary unrest within Yemen and Libya.

Keywords: Yemen, Arab Spring, Libyan Civil War, Jordan, comparative analysis.

The current war in Yemen stands as one of the worst humanitarian crises in contemporary times. Over 24 million Yemeni citizens, making up about eighty percent of the total population, remain in dire need of immediate humanitarian aid [1]. The situation has been described as "a living hell for every single boy and girl in Yemen." [2] Every year, the severely impoverished nation of Yemen witnesses over

360,000 children under the age of five die by malnutrition [1]. These humanitarian issues are all the symptoms of a greater problem occurring in Yemen right now: the Civil War between Iranian-backed Houthi rebels and the Saudi-backed governmental regime [3]. This brutal war traces its roots back to the 2011 Yemeni Arab Spring, which toppled any semblance of political stability in an already economi-

cally unstable nation. Although the acting president, former President Ali Abdullah Saleh, was in no way beneficial to the Yemeni people (inflation rates spiked to 20% throughout his reign), his exile paved the way for the unrest unfolding today [4].

While other Middle Eastern nations underwent a similar political uprising, few can compete with Yemen in its lethality and duration. The question then becomes: “What differentiates Yemen from other Arab Spring nations that causes the conflict to become so prolonged and violent?” In the following paper, I will argue that in order to understand the complexities of Yemen’s Arab Spring one must look closely at the entire spectrum of its modern history, not just the events immediately leading up to the conflict. After providing a brief description of Yemen’s Arab Spring, the following will compare and analyze Yemen’s conflict by comparing the country’s history, impact, and people with that of Jordan and Libya. It will be argued that the country’s unique colonial legacy compared to other Middle Eastern countries played a significant role in the breakdown of national unity. Moreover, the following show that systemic failures in government leadership, most visible in heavy corruption and the suppression of individual liberties, also contributed to the further weakening of the country’s unity.

A Brief History of Yemen

Similar to many other deep-seated conflicts in the Middle East, the current Yemeni Civil War finds its roots in European colonialism. Beginning in 1839, the British Empire, under the rule of Queen Victoria, seized parts of Yemen, including the vital port of Aden. While the Yemeni national structure existed merely as a collection of tribes, the British created a definitive border separating the North of Yemen from its Southern counterpart. Over time, the British created infrastructure and industrialized South Yemen to fuel its imperialist agendas, while at the same time ignoring North Yemen.

The 1960s saw the beginnings of the process of decolonization across the globe. During this decade,

Yemen also began to liberate itself from foreign powers with the aid of Soviet and Chinese influence [5]. During this process of liberation, the newly independent nation established the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) in the absence of British presence. The YSP had attacked many dominant tribes that ruled South Yemen during British rule, stripping these families of their wealth, power, and land [6]. As a result, the YSP socialist policies laid the groundwork for heavy resentment towards the political party. One of the serious repercussions of this was the rise of Al-Qaeda within the region. Al Qaeda associates of Bin-Laden terrorized the South Yemeni political structure and promoted wide-spread instability.

During this same period, North Yemen slowly began to industrialize as tribes and communities engaged in grassroots projects that were independent of each other. These small modernization efforts laid the foundations for the eventual rise of a North Yemeni government, headed by President Ali Abdullah Saleh [7]. President Saleh was a member of the powerful Hashid tribal confederation. In 1994, President Saleh and the YSP engaged in Yemen’s first Civil War after plans for reunification fell apart. Saleh manipulated Al-Qaeda’s presence in South Yemen in order to garner international support from the United States and Saudi Arabia. This led to the North’s eventual victory and the reunification of Yemen under a single government.

In the wake of a Northern victory, Saleh set up a government dominated by his tribesmen, while maintaining a limited presence and power of rival political parties in a democratic facade [8]. The Northern dominated government consistently exploited the South for its resources and economic potential, sowing the roots for the outbreak of significant political dissent in 2007. The al-Hirak, a string of Southern protests under surviving branches of the YSP, saw many South Yemeni citizens rise up in protests against Saleh’s regime and acted as the predecessor to the eventual Arab Spring.

Saleh’s exploitation of the south had significant ramifications upon the economy. But, even before the

Al-Hirak protests in 2007, Saleh's poor economic policies and internal corruption had crippled the national economy. During the lead up to the Arab Spring, Yemen had up to 10.3 million individuals living in poverty with worsening conditions almost forcing them to rise up [9]. For much of Saleh's reign, the Yemeni economy had been propped up by oil exports and foreign aid. However, this overreliance on other powers outside of Yemen's control and a single industry created glaring weaknesses in the national economy. In 1990, during the wake of Yemeni unification, the national economy had been almost completely reliant on foreign aid, specifically from Saudi Arabia. Two million Yemeni migrant workers resided in Saudi Arabia to send money, totalling close to \$2 billion a year, back home; this foreign income represented a key pillar in the Yemeni economy as the largest source of income [10]. Yet, in a shocking move against his nation's primary benefactor, Saleh renounced Saudi Arabia, refusing to support their cause in the Persian Gulf Crisis by citing a continual attempt to undermine Yemeni unification and the invitation of Western powers into the region as his main grievances. In a 1990 interview with the *New York Times*, Saleh accused the Saudi government of "convincing, or paying, the southern government to receive assistance in order to not proceed with the unity" and feeling threatened by Yemen's newfound "freedom and democracy." [10] While this newfound freedom and democracy would ultimately be a lie, Saudi Arabia nonetheless expelled 500,000 Yemeni migrant workers immediately, forcing them into harsh conditions at the border and effectively killing a vital foundation within the Yemeni economy.

Beyond heavy corruption, this critical failure in leadership represented only one of the many financial missteps of Yemen. After the brutal civil war in 1994, Yemen's economy has continued to falter. The national unemployment numbers in Yemen fluctuate heavily depending on the reports from 15% to 40% all the way up to around 70% [9]. Its hydrocarbon sector (primarily fossil fuels) – which makes up around 20–30% of the GDP and 70–80% of govern-

ment revenue through the 2000s – has encountered a steep decline in production with predictions of Yemen becoming a net oil importer looming in the near future [9]. The complete failure in economic policy, leading to rising unemployment levels, rampant poverty, and high inflation, coupled with the mounting political fractures created the perfect storm for the eruption of mass protests in 2011.

As with the many other Middle Eastern nations during 2011, the Arab Spring threw the nation of Yemen into complete disarray. The mounting pressure between rising disdain for the Saleh regime along with the democratic wave in neighboring nations finally pushed the citizens past a breaking point on January 27th, 2011 [11]. The people of Yemen collectively rose up against Saleh's regime. The initial protests were more or less peaceful in the beginning, involving sit-ins and marches calling for the immediate and voluntary resignation of Saleh from office. The protests very quickly became deadly after "the Day of Rage" when Saleh's forces killed around 50 peaceful protesters [7]. Thereafter, violence became commonplace after this event as the major cities became split by fighting, mainly fueled by opposing political groups including the Houthi tribe. Key cities in South Yemen fractured further as Al-Qaeda of the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) seized the opportunity to reinstate its own political dominance [8]. After clinging onto what little power he had left, the violence soon found its way to President Saleh's own home. A bomb, aimed at ending his regime, detonated in his family mosque, which was commonly used by other members of his inner-circle/tribe. The incident severely injured Saleh, forcing him to depart to Saudi Arabia for medical attention and install Vice President Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi as acting president in 2011.

Yemen and the Arab Springs of the Middle East

The unprecedented violence that Yemen has experienced during the Civil War raises the question of how its differences from other Arab countries contributed to the severity of the continued violence in the country. To return to the question posed at

the beginning of the study, “What differentiates Yemen from other Arab Spring nations that causes the conflict to become so prolonged and violent?” What is unique about Yemen’s situation? In order to provide a partial answer to these questions, the following section compares Yemen with two other Arab countries – Jordan and Libya – that experienced Arab Springs. Such a comparison offers an important vantage for viewing some of the unique factors involved in Yemen’s Arab Spring.

Jordan

The Kingdom of Jordan shares many aspects and legacies of a colonial past with Yemen. Both Jordan and Yemen fell into British rule and colonization in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The area that is now considered Jordan and Palestine/Israel fell into the British Empire’s hands after the fall of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War II. The report of the Palestinian Royal Commission in 1937 designated the British Empire to “accept full responsibility as Mandatory for Transjordan” [12]. Under the mandate policies of the League of Nations, Britain brought the Palestinian area under its folds as a mandate. Jordan, as it is known today, previously went under Transjordan after the British Empire split Palestine and Transjordan along the boundaries of the Jordan River.

One of most important aspects of the British colonial comparison between Yemen and Jordan is the difference in how the two nations approached the process of decolonization and the purge of British influence from their borders. The absence of British hegemony in South Yemen gave rise to communist sympathies supported by both the USSR and China, which – as previously mentioned in the paper – gave way to the YSP.

The Kingdom of Jordan seemed to follow the inverse approach to decolonization. During the British rule over Transjordan, they installed a son of Sharif Hussein, one of the Sharifs of Mecca, as emir, or prince, over the mandate [13]. In complete antithesis to communist ideologies as adopted in Yemen,

this monarchical government system would persist to and past the Arab Spring in 2011. Even more, the Jordanian government failed to completely purge British influence completely at the time of its independences. The British empire still retained great political dominion over aspects in Jordanian society, most notably the military, until 1956.

Jordan, under a monarchical rule of King Hussein, was unequivocally an authoritarian government. While the Jordanian people had the right to vote on parliamentary representation and possessed high levels of political participation, the King had the ultimate power within the Kingdom of Jordan. Even the prime minister, who remains an influential figure in spite of the presence of the monarchy, is appointed by the King. Under his authoritarian powers, King Hussein implemented martial law in 1957 as soon as members of parliament even mentioned the reduction of his powers [14]. Furthermore, following the defeat of Jordan and the Arab Coalition in the War of 1967, King Hussein suspended the representative parliament indefinitely until circumstances in Palestine nearly twenty years later [14]. While the resurgence of the Parliament in 1989 ushered in a new wave of political liberty and participation, the sitting monarch, the current king and former King Hussein’s son, King Abdullah, suspended elections and the Parliament in 2001. The two year period of no representation gave all legislative and executive power back to the hands of the king and the prime ministers. However, a lack of representation within the Jordanian government did little to cease the voices of Jordan.

Throughout the history of Jordan, protests and civil disobedience have been a staple among Jordanian cultural and political life. Unlike the despots in Yemen and Libya, the king could do little to suppress such loud voices in their constituencies. Following Jordanian independence from British influence, demonstrations and other facets of political participation were quite prevalent. Even with the advent of martial law in 1957, protests could not be

silenced [14]. The context in which these protests were named is something to note; demonstrations critical of the government remained under “loyal opposition”, never once calling for the dissolution of the monarchy.

Libya

Similar to Yemen and Jordan, contemporary Libya was the product of the brutal system of European colonialism that plagued many Middle Eastern nations. After World War I, Italy seized Libya from the clutches of the Ottoman Empire in a manner similar to what the British Empire did with the Transjordan [8]. Following the Italian defeat of the Axis powers in World War II, the territory of Libya was divided between the British Empire and the French until King Idris the First of the Senussi Dynasty gained Libyan reunification and independence under the backing of the United Nations. The Senussi clan had played a major part in anti-Italian activities during the brief Italian tenure as the main colonizers of Libya.

In 1969, a military group known as the “Free Officers,” which was led by Muammar Qaddafi, overthrew King Idris and the Senussi Family during their absence while visiting Turkey in a “bloodless coup” [8]. Thus began a forty-two year-long tyranny headed by a despotic dictator and a mismanaged government. Qaddafi modeled himself after his Egyptian counterpart, Gamel Abdel Nasser. The Libyan ruler subscribed to the pan-Arab ideology espoused in the neighboring country of Egypt. Qaddafi created his own version of the pan-Arab movement by appealing to the greater African continent such as Chad and Liberia rather than countries found in the Middle East.

Qaddafi’s economy relied heavily on oil money for various social and welfare programs. Under such pretenses, Qaddafi had been able to boost the economic situation of many Libyan citizens significantly. For instance, he was able to boost the per-capita income of the nation by almost four-hundred percent. Yet, the oil money under Qaddafi had a dark underbelly, which financed brutal wars and revolutions around the world under a policy of anti-Western

imperialism. For example, in viewing Great Britain as the pioneer of colonialism across Africa, Qaddafi heavily financed the Irish Republican army, sending the terrorist group Semtex and other munitions to carry out a string of attacks in the 1970s [15]. In a fiery radio broadcast during the time, Qaddafi pledged his allegiance to Irish revolutionaries, stating, “We support the revolutionaries of Ireland, who oppose Britain and are motivated by nationalism and religion” [15]. These policies marked Libya as intensely unpopular with Western countries, which were the largest consumers of oil at the time. In reaction to these policies by Libya, Western countries levied sanction after sanction on the country. In the end, Qaddafi’s entire economic system collapsed under the collective weight of Western economic pressure and the rapidly falling oil prices in the 1980s.

The dire situation in Libya eventually meant that Qaddafi’s only recourse was to bend to Western needs. As a result, the Libyan diplomatic narrative transformed into one of counter-terrorism, stricter policies on emigration, and neoliberalism. Following the infamous tragedy of 9/11, Qaddafi manipulated the United States’ War on Terror to relieve economic oil sanctions as well as to persecute the growing Islamist dissent in Libya. Furthermore, Qaddafi pushed fears of the possibility of the country’s many migrant workers immigrating to Europe and causing a racial replacement in Mediterranean Europe [16]. In response, European nations both lifted sanctions on Libya as well as provided large sums of financial aid to Qaddafi as the “buffer” to African immigration. This ultimately was a false narrative aimed at manipulating European governments. Contrary to Qaddafi’s words, the primary destination of African migrant workers was Libya, which itself relied heavily on migrant workers for its oil-based economy. Qaddafi went as far as establishing military internment camps and calling these migrant working movements “barbarian invasions” in a 2010 BBC interview [16]. Finally, given Libya’s new favor in the West, many oil companies that had previously

pulled out of the nation would return to reap profits off of Libyan soil. Yet, even under the narrative of greater economic liberty, the structure of Libya's economy remained more of an oligarchy with the middle class seeing little to none of the considerable amounts of oil money. The regime banned the existence of trade unions and community organizations, providing little opportunities for financial mobility to the middle and lower classes.

While the economic situation of many Libyan citizens did contribute to the eventual overthrow of Muammar Qaddafi, the severe political repression and lack of basic human rights or freedoms remained the single largest factor in the eventual bloody revolt. The regime employed heavy security forces that quelled any signs of dissent or criticism. In the 1970s, a brutal new group of loyalists called the Revolutionary Committees cropped up in the country [16]. Young individuals filled the ranks of these committees to monitor Libya, working extrajudicially as an equivalent to a paramilitary group. Political enemies found themselves in danger of frequent assassination attempts even when they escaped out of the country.

Ultimately, the event that sparked the Libyan Arab Spring in 2011 would be a collection of all the previously mentioned factors. The Libyan economic depression in the 1980s as a result of falling oil prices and foreign sanctions gave rise to militant Islamists all across the nation [16]. These groups would form out of small communities pushed into poverty by the policies of Qaddafi. The response to these uprisings was needlessly violent and indiscriminate, sometimes starving entire populations in an attempt to flush out anti-government militant groups.

The year 1996 marked the start of a chain of events that would eventually see Qaddafi's body dragged down the streets of Sirte [16]. The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) – one of the aforementioned Islamist militant groups – attempted to assassinate Qaddafi. Qaddafi's regime responded in a completely disproportionate fashion. Anyone with suspected Islamist sympathies would be perse-

cuted and many would be thrown in the infamous Abu Salim prison [16]. After some misguided hope of change, the ultimate result would be the unjust deaths of over 1200 political prisoners at the hands of Qaddafi's security forces. Fifteen years later on February 15, 2011, Fathy Terbil, a human rights lawyer who was seeking justice for those 1200 individuals, would be violently arrested and tortured [17]. In a moment, the mounting pressures of four decades of economic turmoil, political suppression, and the anger of their fellow Arabs around the world blew up into one of the most violent and prolonged civil wars in the course of history: the Libyan Arab Spring.

Analysis

The above comparison between Yemen and the two other Arab countries paves the way

for an analysis of what caused the conflict to become so prolonged and violent? The present section moves from a comparison of the countries to analysis of the key reasons behind this violence. Yemen's Arab Spring will be compared to both these nations through the lens of their national leadership – specifically looking at the failures and policies of the leaders – then an examination of how these failures impacted the people in ways that caused social and economic unrest. Finally, a comparison of the different historical trends that might have come into play will also be examined in this section.

Similar to the issues pervading Yemen right now, international dialogue surrounding the Middle East and Yemen retains imperialist roots. All too often the dialogue surrounding the history of Yemen blames the concepts of "tribalism" and "sectarianism" for the current humanitarian crisis. Such discussions extend the ideals of the Western Enlightenment and transpose colonizing ideals onto the conflict. By attributing the violence in Yemen to a Sunni-Shia conflict, or tribal disputes, we neglect both the larger trends and specific events that have coalesced into the crisis seen today. While there may be some truth behind this dialogue, it remains difficult to ignore the long standing political, economic, and colonial history

behind Yemen, today. The present section attempts to balance these views by focusing upon the multiple historical, economic, and political forces that have shaped Yemen's current crisis.

Seeing as though Yemen, Libya, and Jordan were mostly ruled by single individuals, the actions of these national leaders had immense effects on the courses of their respective Arab Springs. It becomes easy to simply blame these leaders for every failure and misstep leading up to the violence of the Arab Spring, chalking up the entire conflict as a product of a few "great" men. As a result, an analysis should not lean too heavily on the overly simplistic Great Man Theory of history. However, it still remains an important academic step to observe how the actions of a single individual may have relieved or exacerbated political tensions during the Arab Spring, while remaining cognizant of the other factors at play. The first facet of this examination is one through the lens of leadership. Yemen's President Saleh and Libya's Qaddafi acted as despots, whose corruption and various misdeeds could be attributed as a direct cause of the eventual Arab Spring. Moreover, the oligarchical system and facade of popular consent were characteristics that both Yemen and Libya's political systems shared. The blatant disregard that both of these leaders felt towards the general population of their nations exemplified the very despotic values that the Arab Spring sought to tear down.

First, the political system of Yemen placed the nation on a shaky foundation of corruption and general tyranny. While Saleh did come into power through democratic means as the president of North Yemen, his claim to power after Yemeni unification morphed into a much more tyrannical justification. Yemen boasted a highly oligarchical system, both economically and politically. As mentioned before, Yemen's economy suffered heavily from poor discretion by the national leadership, resulting in mass unemployment and other brutal consequences for the Yemeni people. The mass corruption that pervaded the national economy only exacerbated Yemen's situation. Close to thirty percent of government revenues fail

to return to the national treasury [8]. Yemen's corruption operated by a given and take system. Saleh awarded control of large swaths of Yemen's politics and key industrial sectors in return for political support and loyalty [9]. The ultimate result of Saleh's clandestine politics resulted in a rigid, unspoken system of corruption by which many of the nation's elite adhered to for their own benefit. International institutions such as the IMF attempted to force Saleh into reforming this system throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s [9]. They targeted Yemen's system of fuel subsidies, a primary form of political payouts to Saleh's political "patrons." The system of fuel subsidies made up nearly one-fourth of all government expenditures in 2009 and represented a key foundation on which Saleh's corrupt system lies [9]. However, these reform attempts became an arm of Yemeni corruption, launching a group known as "the young reformers" into political prominence by creating a guise of reform only to adhere to the status quo [9].

Secondly, Saleh's attempts to portray the nation's governance as justified through democratic means only further incited violence and unrest within the Yemeni population. He put up a facade of public participation and democracy through blatant lies and clever deceit. While Saleh's entry into office seemed to be legitimate, the way by which he maintained that power came at the cost of Yemeni democracy. Saleh employed various tactics to mislead the Yemeni public. Saleh's maintained the guise of political diversity by allowing a very limited number of seats in the national legislation to other parties. In an attempt to maintain some semblance of political freedoms, the opposition parties formed a coalition named the Joint Meeting Parties (JMP) [7]. Even then, the General People's Congress (GPC)–Saleh's party–made sure its opposition held little to no power over the general outcome of the government. Furthermore, parties within the JMP opposition ended up being led by Saleh's own tribal fellows under the Hashid Tribal Confederation. The leading "opposition party" in the JMP, for example, was the Islah party. This party

stood as the more religiously grounded opponent to Saleh. However, the head of the Islah party, Hamid al-Ahmar, was a member of the Ahmar family, which also happened to be the head family of Saleh's own Hashid Tribal Federation [8]. As a result, even the supposed political opposition to Saleh were products of his own corruption.

Saleh's heavy use of tribal nepotism was built directly into the system of corruption. At the same, this aspect of his rule would ultimately lead to his downfall. The primary beneficiaries of Saleh's actions would remain his close family and tribal federation, the Hashid tribe. Increasingly, Saleh placed his family and tribal federation into positions of higher power. His son, Ali Ahmed Saleh was placed as the commander of a military force known as the Republican Guard [8]. The aforementioned Hamid Al-Ahmar rose massively in wealth after holding a monopoly on the nation's telecommunications sector. General Ali Muhsin, another high ranking member of the Hashid tribe, was placed as the General of Yemen's First Army Brigade [7]. However, Hamid Al-Ahmar and General Ali Muhsin would ultimately turn against Saleh during the Arab Spring, creating a sense of legitimacy and access to greater resources for the anti-regime forces [7]. These powerful men, who had thrived under a corrupt system, turned against Saleh. These men framed the ensuing uprising and Arab Spring as more of a tribal civil war rather than a revolution, leading to further bloodshed [18].

Aside from Saleh's creation of puppet parties and severe tribal nepotism, he also maintained the guise of a term limit in the democratic justification for his dictatorship. He consistently promised to step down from the position, only to renege his own words due to some excuse. In 2006, Saleh told the public he would not run in the presidential race, only to "give in to popular demand" and crush his opponents in the ensuing "election" [8]. Just prior to the 2011 Arab Spring, Saleh once again barred his tyrannical fangs and openly challenged the already flimsy democratic system in Yemen. He attempted to pass

a bill to extend his rule indefinitely, only to be met with mass protests [8].

Saleh's inability to heed the voice of his people to tear down his false democracy led directly to his ultimate downfall during the Arab Spring. This issue remained a primary point of contention and anger for the Yemeni people up to the Arab Spring. After Saleh's failure to extend his rule indefinitely, he began to groom his elected position of president into a hereditary one for his son [7]. As a part of the list of demands given to Saleh during the course of the Arab Spring, the most significant was the immediate removal of Saleh from office and the guarantee that his family and son would not steal Yemeni leadership to maintain a Saleh dynasty [7]. The Gulf Cooperation Council, which attempted to oversee a peaceful transition of Saleh out of government and Yemen into a more democratic and less corrupt system, engaged in fierce talks with Saleh on this very issue [19]. For each proposal that the GCC gave to Saleh, he gave the impression of consent. However, a few days, and sometimes even hours, before the ratification, Saleh would suddenly deny the proposal and prolong his rule. Within this period of constant cycle talks and denials, the way by which the Yemeni people expressed their discontent became more and more violent. This occurred until the GCC gave up and Saleh was hospitalized after a bombing.

Similar to the political situation in Yemen, the Qaddafi regime in Libya justified their powers through the guise of popular consent. Qaddafi relied heavily on the idea of "revolution" within his borders, borrowing heavily from socialist ideas like those of Egypt as compared to the false democratic ideas of Yemen. Qaddafi's political system completely dissolved representative governments around 1977 [8]. His reasoning behind their dissolutions was the tendency of representative governments to become ruled by the wealthy elites of a nation and is easily bogged down by bureaucracy. Instead, he formed people's congresses through a form of direct democracy. However, these people's congresses were little

more than masks and useless figureheads. The true power in the Libyan government remained in the hands of Qaddafi and people who were ultimately loyal to him. It was also under this system that Qaddafi banned public participation movements such as trade unions in order to further concentrate power out of the Libyan public. During the midst of fierce fighting in March of 2011, Qaddafi still maintained this facade, stating in a BBC interview “I don’t lead Libya. Libya does not have a leader, a president, or king. Libya is a state of the masses” [20]. Even his title, that of a “Colonel” meant to reflect Qaddafi’s supposed lack of power within the nation.

Besides failures in leadership and the dissent that these failures caused, Yemen suffered fatally from a lack of national unity that was a legacy of its colonial past. Most conflicts that occurred in Yemen prior to its Arab Spring partially resulted in a North-South divide, and 2011 was no different. The 1994 unification and civil war set a dangerous precedent for Yemeni national unity to come. As Saleh took control over the resources and people in South Yemen, he continued to abuse this North-South divide. As mentioned in earlier in the paper, North Yemen, under Saleh, leached off of the resources, riches and infrastructure found in South Yemen to feed their more corrupt systems [6]. Furthermore, the presence of Islamic extremist forces such as Al-Qaeda of the Arabian Peninsula gave Saleh more reason to oppress and divide the Yemeni people. The United States War on Terror found an unexpected ally in Saleh, who aimed to use the United States resources to further snuff out Southern dissent. Finally, the very Yemeni Arab Spring could be partially considered the offspring of the 2007 Al-Hirak protests in South Yemen against Saleh’s regime.

Throughout the course of Yemen’s history, there has been a distinct lack of a national identity, one that might maintain the stability of a nation during times of crisis. Yemen precisely lacked this characteristic and ultimately saw the violence grow into the humanitarian disaster it is today. Even now, the

Houthi tribe that has been one of the primary aggressors against pro-regime forces reside primarily in the North. Whether this lack of Yemeni nationalism is more the fault of its British colonial past or through Saleh’s corrupt policies that perpetuated such failures, both have created considerable lasting damage on the state of Yemen.

Contrary to the actions of Yemen, Jordan’s people held their national identity in very high esteem, prioritizing the well-being of their own nation over sectarian interests. In the entirety of the Jordanian Arab Spring, only one casualty was produced by the protests [14]. Even under the many times that Jordan’s Youth 24 Movement protested against police and Loyalist movements, all came to peaceful ends save for that one casualty [14]. The key to Jordanian peace in the Arab Spring lies in the protestor’s patriotism and national identity. “The Youth waved Jordanian flags and donned the red-and-white *kaffiyehs* that signify Jordanian national identity, hoping their expressed patriotism might deflate a repressive response from the regime” [14]. The Loyalists and anti-regime movements even competed for which side was the most patriotic [14]. The Hashemite dynasty gained legitimacy through both its connections to the Prophet Muhammad’s daughter, Fatimah, and its assimilation of tribal culture into political organization [21]. After emancipation from British rule, the 1917 Hashemite King gave representation to Jordan’s indigenous tribal chiefs, essentially coalescing tribal pride into patriotism [21]. Looking forward to the Jordanian Arab Spring, this patriotism created an environment of political participation through protests rather than political upheaval [14]. The prioritization of the national created a political climate of peace as “unlike in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt, and Syria, Jordan’s reigning and ruling political regime did not appear to be in any danger of being overthrown” [14].

Conclusion

As of August 20th, 2020, the conflict continues to rage more intensely than ever. A devastating battle to capture the city of Marib on this date has left thousands of casualties on both sides [22]. The two con-

flicting parties have changed, but they still echo the same stances as their predecessors nine years ago. The Houthi movement, headed by the Houthi tribe in North Yemen, has taken up the mantle of government opposition with intense fighting. Saleh's successor, Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi, and his loyalist forces have now split the nation in half. President Hadi fled to Saudi Arabia after the Houthi capture of Sanaa, Yemen's capital, but continues to instruct Saudi Arabian and United States support through bombing campaigns that only further ravage Yemeni civilians. Moreover, the war's impact on regular citizens has even eclipsed the threat of COVID-19 with starvation as an even more prevalent issue than the global pandemic. The continued violence in 2020 continues to beg the question at the heart of the present study: what makes Yemen's crisis particularly acute compared to other Arab countries?

While certain media reports tend to oversimplify possible answers to this question, the present

paper has provided a perspective on the conflict that addresses its complexities. By looking at Yemen's history through the lens of its colonial past one gains the opportunity to see how the country's current crisis stems from its historical relationships with colonial powers. Locating the crisis within the trajectory of Yemen's long term history also allows one to appreciate more fully the role that recent failures in leadership have played on the domestic front of the country. A comparison of Yemen's Arab Spring with Jordan and Libya also sharpens an ability to see the unique characteristics of the country's internal political and economic dynamics and how those dynamics are related to larger historical and international currents. I have argued here that it is only by examining Yemen's existing crisis within a variety of intersecting dynamics that we might find a way to begin alleviating one of the worst humanitarian crises in modern history.

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INCREASING THE YOUTH OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMY OF VIETNAM AWARENESS OF PARTICIPATING IN PROPAGANDA AND ADVOCACY PEOPLE

Abstract. As the role of strike force in the important political implementation of unit, the young of the people's army of Vietnam participating in propaganda and advocacy people, manifest the domination's special organization and good qualities of Uncle Ho's soldiers when contacting, propagating the People to successfully implement the Party's guidance and undertaking, the State's policies and laws, lay down as a policy the development of the local economy society. Therefore, increasing the young of the people's army of Vietnam awareness of participating in propaganda and advocacy people is the important issue, which unifies will and action. The article discusses the ine necessities, contents discusses some measures to raise awareness for the young of the people's army of Vietnam awareness of participating in propaganda and advocacy people.

Keywords: The people's army of Vietnam, the young of the people's army of Vietnam, the propaganda and advocacy people.

1. Introduction

The propaganda and advocacy people is the part of Communist Party of Vietnam, Business of Communist Party activities, the military political work aimed at mobilizing the revolution towards the people; contributing to maintain political stability, economic development, culture, society, national defense and security, strengthening the solidarity bloc of the entire nation, unite army and people; ensure the successful implementation of two strategic missions of the Vietnamese revolution and build a strong political army to meet the revolutionary requirements and missions in the new period.

In the current situation, promoting the role of youths of the Vietnam People's Army in participating in participating the propaganda and advocacy people is very important for the results of the implementation of the people's movement of the Party, the Army and the political tasks of units in the stationed area. These activities that require the attention of leaders

of all levels and branches, especially the leaders, commanders and officers presiding over the unit. The process of promoting the role of youth of the Vietnam People's Army in participating in the civilian work is only achieved when the youth of the Vietnam People's Army officers, leaders, commanders, managers and young person themselves must always be aware of and solve the conflicts arising in practical activities, develop plans and propose reasonable and effective measures to participate in the increasingly quality and effective the propaganda and advocacy people.

2. Content

2.1 The inevitability of increasing the youth of the people's army of Vietnam awareness of participating in propaganda and advocacy people

Promoting the role of the youth of the Vietnam People's Army in participating in propaganda and advocacy people is an important and urgent task. Because of the basis of each young person having good awareness of this activity, which created a unity of will and action

in the whole unit and allowed mobilization of “overall strength”. So it ensures the process of promoting the role of the youth of the People’s Army of Vietnam of participating the propaganda and advocacy people will be active and high quality, furthermore, it also overcomes simple thoughts, hesitates difficulties and sufferings, avoids responsibilities. At the same time, it is an important basis for activities of each young person in participating in propaganda and advocacy people with the right direction, clear objectives, contents and methods suitable for each localities and areas.

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2.2. Methods to raise awareness for the Vietnamese People’s Army youth in participating in propaganda and advocacy people

Raising awareness for the Vietnamese People’s Army youth in participating in propaganda and advocacy people is the process of the overall impact process of the youth of the Vietnam People’s Army by using a combination of ways and measures to detect, arouse, spread the effect, function and develop position and positive influence of the youth when doing specific steps in participating in propaganda and advocacy people. Some methods as:

Firstly, to promote education and grasp thoroughly for the army’s youth about the basic contents of Marx-

ism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh Thought, the views of the Party, State, the Army and the resolutions of the unit on the propaganda and advocacy people.

Currently, raising awareness for the Vietnamese People’s Army youth in participating in propaganda and advocacy people, it is necessary for the party committees, the leaders of agencies and units need to clearly define this is an important activity in the work of leading and directing political-ideological education to make each young army. The team is properly aware of and able to apply creatively the views and principles of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh’s thought, our Party and State’s work on the propaganda and advocacy people.

Concentrating deeply on the theory of Marxism – Leninism, Ho Chi Minh’s thought on the decisive role of the masses of people in the revolutionary cause. According to Karl Marx: “The sovereignty of the people is not due to him but on the contrary he is due to it. ... the people is one of the confused notions based on the sovereignty of the people ...” [5, P. 347]; “not to the state regime that creates the people but the people create the state regime” [5, P. 350]. In *Greetings To Italian, French and German Communists*, V. I Lenin says: “Without the support of the vast majority of working people towards their pioneering team, ie for the proletariat, the proletariat could not be carried out...” [4, P. 251]. Talking about the role and great power of the masses, Ho Chi Minh also affirmed: “In the sky, there is nothing as precious as the people. In the world there is nothing as strong as the united force of the people” [7, P. 267]; “Revolution is the cause of the masses, not the career of any individual hero” [8, P. 197].

Along with raising awareness of the army’s youth about the decisive role of the masses in the revolutionary cause, it is necessary to thoroughly understand them deeply aware of Marxism-Leninism theory, Ho Chi Minh’s thought on the work of mobilizing the people in the cause of the socialist revolution, especially the view of Karl Marx about: “it is necessary to carry out a long and patient work” [5, P. 775],

It means that is to conduct the work of mobilizing the masses. At the same time, grasp Ho Chi Minh's thoughts on the position, role and meaning of the propaganda and advocacy people, "... If you have a good propaganda and advocacy, everything will be successful" [6, P. 698]. Therefore, for the revolution to be successful, it is necessary to regularly mobilize the masses, for the real benefit of the masses. The masses need to be propagated and educated so that they understand clearly why they must join the revolution and their ideal purpose and responsibility in the revolutionary cause.

Educating the young military man to have a firm grasp of the basic contents of the Party, State, Army and local policies on the policies of the Party, State, Army and locality on civil mobilization work. This is a matter that directly affects the building of political bravery, attitudes and behavior of all subjects towards the process of promoting the role of the youth of the People's Army of Vietnam in participating in the propaganda and advocacy people. To implement this content, it is necessary to focus on the Party's documents and resolutions, with focus such as: Resolution No. 25-NQ/TW dated June 3, 2013 of the 7th Central Conference Session XI on strengthening and renewal the Party's leadership in the mobilization of the new situation; Propaganda and education on the undertakings and policies of the State related to the mass mobilization should focus on: Program 135, 30a of the Government ... At the same time, to thoroughly grasp and disseminate to the youth of the Vietnam People's Army the process of promoting a firm grasp of resolutions, directives and documents guiding and directing the implementation of the propaganda and advocacy people in the new era of the Army. Central Committee, Ministry of Defense, General Political Department. In addition, it is necessary to the propaganda for organizations, forces, all individuals and collectives in the unit to understand the undertakings and resolutions of the Party Committee and local authorities on the the propaganda and advocacy people in new situation.

The process of educational organization, committees, and commanders should be based on the requirements, tasks, local situation and awareness level of young persons to choose appropriate content and form. From there, it helps them to build up the right attitude of responsibility, proactively self-research, study, foster, improve their qualifications, practice methods, working style, and determination to effectively implement in participating the propaganda and advocacy people transport according to their respective scope of responsibility.

Secondly, well organize learning, political activities, professional training on the propaganda and advocacy people and other activities to educate and raise awareness for the youth of the People's Army of Vietnam of participating in the propaganda and advocacy people.

This is an important measure to foster and raise awareness of the Party's guidelines, the State's policies and laws, the Army's resolutions and regulations on the mobilization of the Army's Vietnamese young people. Therefore, young person can be aware of the urgency as well as their own responsibility in participating in the propaganda and advocacy people.

The process of organizing the study, political activities, professional training of the propaganda and advocacy people and other cultural thought activities to educate and raise awareness for military youths in participating in the propaganda and advocacy people should be ensured the contents, basic programs, systems and uniformity prescribed by the General Department of Politics. The process of organizing political learning should integrate the education of the contents of the people's movement of the Party, the State and the Central Military Commission. Political learning must be conducted in the following forms: introduction of resolutions, thematic reports, self-study, discussion of answers, conclusions, writing harvests. In addition, through political activities, trainings and other activities of party organizations, command organizations and mass organizations to raise awareness and promote the role in participating in the propaganda and advocacy people.

Raising awareness for young people of the Vietnam People's Army to participate in the propaganda and advocacy people is a dialectic unifying process between education, awareness raising and building motivation and responsibility in the team. implementation. Therefore, it is required that the leaders and commanders of the units through learning sessions, political activities, professional training on civil society work and other cultural ideological activities should focus on fostering all individuals, collectives, organizations and forces in the unit the basic contents of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thought about the position and role of the youth of the People's Army of Vietnam in shock. implementing the central political tasks of the unit in general as well as participating in the successful implementation of specific contents of the propaganda and advocacy people.

Thirdly, through the unit's action movements to educate, foster and raise awareness of the Vietnamese People's Army's youth on the task of participating in the propaganda and advocacy people.

Party committees and commanders of units in the entire army need to encourage the young people in their units to actively participate in the effective implementation of the emulation movement "the skillful propaganda and advocacy people", building "A good propaganda and advocacy people unit". Associating with promoting learning and following Ho Chi Minh's ideology, morality and style in the unit; thoroughly grasp and implement the point of view "What is beneficial to the people must be done, and what is harmful to the people must be avoided". To step up the implementation of the campaign "Promoting traditions, dedicating talents and worthy of the name of Uncle Ho's army", raising the sense of serving the Fatherland, for the service of each youth army. At the same time, it is necessary to integrate the mobilization work with the Army's Decision Emulation movement and each unit.

Through the practice of the unit's mobilization and participation in the mobilization work of the youth, party committees, political commissars, poli-

ticians and commanders at all levels, it is necessary to regularly organize the preliminary review and review results to properly evaluate the achieved results with existing limitations; clarify the causes of strong and weak and discover new emerging problems ... From there, help each young military man see his position, role and responsibility for the mobilization of the unit. In the preliminaries and summaries, it is necessary to prevent diseases that show off the form and praise, reward, discipline the wrong person, the right job, therefore, reducing the motivation and socio-political positivity of the youth Army Vietnamese people towards this promotion.

A long with preliminary activities, reviewing and learning from experience in the process of organizing and implementing tasks, the party committees, political commissars, politicians, unit commanders and the executive committees at all levels should strengthen the inspection investigating, supervising, promptly detecting and resolutely overcoming incorrect perceptions and actions of military youth in the propaganda and advocacy people.

3. Conclusion

The youth of the People's Army of Vietnam participating in the propaganda and advocacy people is a specific activity, vividly demonstrating the function of "working army" of the new army – The army of the people, by the people, for the people; directly contributing to raising awareness of the people about the Party's lines and undertakings, State policies and laws, and local regulations; assisting People in economic, cultural and social development; maintain the environment of political stability, social order and safety; to strengthen good relations between the Party and the People, between the Army and the People; contribute to strengthening and consolidating the great block of unity of the whole nation.

According to the rapid changes of the practical situation, promoting the role of the youth of the People's Army of Vietnam in participating in the propaganda and advocacy people, it is inevitable that there is a need to continue raising awareness for each

young man. in participating in the propaganda and advocacy people. This process needs to be conducted synchronously and comprehensively with many specific measures. At the same time, regularly follow

the movements and changes of the practical situation in order to promptly adjust the contents and forms of implementation to get the highest working efficiency.

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THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ANTI-CORRUPTION POLITICAL BODIES IN MODERN UKRAINE

Abstract. The adoption of a number of anticorruption laws, the introduction of new public anti-corruption bodies became the start of the largest and systemic anti-corruption reform, which fully regulate the key sectors of the anti-corruption activities in the country. The paper analyzed the conceptual grounds for the institutionalization of anti-corruption political bodies, political and legal bases for their formation, powers and specifics of their functioning.

Keywords: The Institutionalization, Anti-Corruption Political Bodies, political corruption, institution, anti-corruption reform, Ukraine.

Introduction

Political corruption is a priority problem to be addressed in the Ukrainian political environment. It is the fight against corruption that became one of the key demands of the Revolution of Dignity and has been a priority, which is still burning. The recent assessments of analytical studies, e.g. those performed by Global Corruption Barometer [1], point to the improvement of some indices and the reduction of corruptogenic factors. That has been the result of a number of anticorruption reforms, aimed at creating a new institutional anti-corruption system. However, the complexity of the nature of political corruption excludes any possibility of fast recovery and prompt results of the performed anticorruption reform. The fight against political corruption requires the use of effective institutional protective measures. It refers to the establishment of special public institutes, the adoption of respective anticorruption regulations, the identification of the conceptual approach to fighting corruption at all levels of the state power: national, regional and local.

Results and materials

The institutionalization of a new anti-corruption system of Ukraine began after the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. One of the most important documents

that determined the strategic vision of the anti-corruption policy in modern Ukraine was the Strategy of Sustainable development Ukraine-2020. The offered national strategic document outlined the key measures for the effectiveness of the anti-corruption reform, including, in particular: the implementation of the Anti-corruption strategy and a successful introduction of new anti-corruption mechanisms (public servants property declarations, prevention and regulation of conflicts of interests, due diligence of public servants and the monitoring of their life style). It was planned to overcome political corruption due to the fundamental reform of the political funding system; the introduction of advanced technologies, i.e. public access to information as “open data”.

The active stage of the institutional establishment of anti-corruption bodies is considered to be on 14th October 2014. It was that day that the parliament passed a number of anti-corruption laws: *On the National Anti-Corruption Bureau* [5], *On the bases of public anti-corruption policy in Ukraine (Anti-corruption strategy) for 2014–2017*, *On preventing corruption* and *On changes to the Criminal Code* [5; 6], *of Ukraine on harsher punishment for violating citizens' voting rights*. Furthermore, the Verkhovna Rada of

Ukraine passed a new law on Prosecutor's Office. Hence a new institutional system of anti-corruption bodies was then established based on the above new dedicated anti-corruption legislation and also owing to the support of the international partners, civic society advocacy and political will.

Therefore, today the main anti-corruption agents in Ukraine are the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, National Agency on Corruption Prevention, Asset Recovery and Management Agency, Specialized anti-corruption prosecutor's office, State Bureau of Investigations, Supreme Anti-corruption Court, Supreme Council of Justice, General Prosecutor's Office represented by the Prosecutor General, civic society, as well as international organizations and agents.

The National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NACB) – a political declaration on establishing this body was made in a dedicated clause in the Coalition agreement of the parliamentary majority, formed after the Revolution of Dignity. That requirement was included into the agenda of the Ukrainian power as a pre-requisite for Ukraine's cooperation with the International Monetary Fund. The essential goal of the National Bureau is fighting criminal corruption acts [5], committed by senior officials, including politicians and high-ranking officials and executives. To ensure the independence of the body operations, the law regulating its activities includes institutional guarantees of its independence, e.g. a special status of a separate body, which is not subordinate to any other public governmental institution or official; staffing via a unique open recruitment and selection of candidates to executive and other positions, mandatorily involving representatives of the civic society to the recruitment boards; the exclusive jurisdiction of the anti-corruption law-enforcement body; a special right to the access to required information kept by other public bodies etc. However, it should be understood that the procedural activities of the NACB staff is tightly related to the activities of the specialized anti-corruption prosecutors. Thus,

the next institutional anti-corruption body was set up – a specialized anti-corruption prosecutor's office.

The **SAP (Specialized anti-corruption prosecutor's office)** is a body fighting political corruption which is a part of the anti-corruption system. The SAP itself is an element of the General Prosecutor's Office; nonetheless, it has rather independent powers and functions. SAP prosecutors supervise procedures and public prosecution in legal proceedings initiated by the NACB detectives. That is the way of implementing the idea of holding political corruption subjects liable.

The National Agency on Corruption Prevention (NAZK) is a key anti-corruption agency fighting against political corruption established to ensure honesty of legislative, executive and judicial powers by introducing efficient anti-corruption standards and the institutional provisions for their compliance: public control of funding political parties and the intended use of the public national budget funds by political parties [6]; the control of using election funds; the control and verification of submitted declarations; monitoring filers life style; the development of the state anti-corruption strategy. Thus, the NAZK acts as an anti-corruption body in charge of establishing and implementing the state anti-corruption policy of Ukraine. Moreover, the NAZK plays an essential role in implementing the Law of Ukraine on preventing corruption. It is important that this law applies to all categories of public servants, including people's deputies, judges and prosecutors. The law includes well-detailed provisions on the conflict of interests and the issues, including professional restrictions, gifts and assets declaration.

The Asset Recovery and Management Agency (ARMA) is an anti-corruption body whose activities are aimed at searching and managing the assets acquired through corruption and other offences. The practices of this body operations are new for Ukraine and they became especially relevant after the Revolution of Dignity. The *Global Financial Integrity* estimated that on average Ukraine lost \$11,676

bn annually from assets being illegally moved out of the country in 2004–2013, whereas the total amount of such assets was \$116.762 bn. The body is being institutionally established and legislation on enhancing its activities is being developed, in particular: specification of the procedure of assets transferring to ARMA management, introduction of the transparent sales of the ARMA assets, which will increase the revenue of the state budget [3].

Another body fighting political corruption is the **State Bureau of Investigations**. The activities of this anti-corruption body are primarily focused on the investigation of crimes committed by senior officials (category A of public officers), law-enforcers and also the most serious crimes. The State Bureau of Investigations acts as the so-called controlling body within the system of law-enforcement and anti-corruption bodies, since it has the functions of investigating corruption crimes, committed by the staff of the National police, NACB, CAII and the investigation of misconduct and malfeasance [7]. The issue being actively discussed now is the way of optimizing the powers of this body to avoid doubling the functions and powers of other public law-enforcement bodies. The role of a specialized judicial body in the anti-corruption system of Ukraine is hard to overestimate, since, the practice shows that corruption cases investigated by the NACB and the SAP have low chances for independent and unbiased trial after being submitted to courts. The process of creating an anti-corruption court was very complicated and related to numerous political manipulations and barriers. The pressure of international partners, experts, civic society and the political will of a certain part of the political establishment eventually enabled to institutionalize the High anti-corruption court.

The High anti-corruption court considers criminal proceedings investigated by the NACB and the SAP, dispenses justice as a first-instance and appellate court, as well as analyzes judicial practices in criminal proceedings of its jurisdiction. At present,

the court activities are being optimized for more efficient operation of the body and the reduction of workload on judges. Accordingly, the **Anti-corruption court** is a logical final element in the anti-corruption system of Ukraine.

Analyzing the institutionalization of the bodies fighting political corruption it is necessary to emphasize the role of the civic society, international organizations and agents. It should be reminded that they became the main driver of implementing the comprehensive anti-corruption reform in Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity. In those conditions representatives of non-governmental organizations jointly with representatives of international organizations assumed responsibility for the establishment of a new anti-corruption agenda for Ukraine, which would meet the needs of the society. It will not be an exaggeration to claim that those were the representatives of the public sector that became the “guardians” and advocates of the anti-corruption reform after the Maidan events. That appeared a precedent of the effective participation of the public in forming anti-corruption policy.

Conclusion

The institutionalization of anti-corruption political bodies in Ukraine is ongoing. The adoption of a number of anti-corruption laws, the introduction of the new public anti-corruption bodies became the beginning of the largest and systemic anti-corruption reform, which fully regulate the key sectors of the anti-corruption activities in the country. Still, despite the established sufficient pre-conditions for building an efficient mechanism of preventing and fighting corruption it is necessary to ensure duly implementation of the new legislation at all levels of public power. Political elites as the main vectors and subjects of the political power on the whole are responsible for the implementation and creation of the respective political situation and atmosphere to fight corruption in the country. It is especially relevant as the public demand for fighting corruption remains rather high.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE UKRAINIAN MENTALITY ON THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC POLICY

Abstract. The article reveals the historical context and specific features of the political mentality of the Ukrainian people, influencing the formation of public policy. It was found that the modern political mentality of Ukrainians is of a hybrid nature. The formation of public policy is influenced by such traits of the Ukrainian people as community-centrism, will and freedom, the authority of law, a pro-Western activist type of mentality, crystallized national identification.

Keywords: mentality, political mentality, public policy, public policy formation.

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ВЛИЯНИЕ УКРАИНСКОЙ МЕНТАЛЬНОСТИ НА ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ ПУБЛИЧНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

Анотация. В статье раскрываются исторический контекст и специфические черты политической ментальности украинского народа, влияющие на формирование публичной политики. Выяснено, что современная политическая ментальность украинцев имеет гибридный характер. На формирование публичной политики влияют такие черты украинского народа как общинцентризм, воля и свобода, авторитет права, прозападный активистский тип ментальности, кристаллизованная национальная идентификация.

Ключевые слова: ментальность, политическая ментальность, публичная политика, формирование публичной политики.

Постановка проблемы. Развитие любого общества проходит под влиянием различных факторов. Чтобы понять суть украинского общества, необходимо обратить внимание на источники влияния, которые на протяжении исторического пути стимулировали или тормозили его развитие. Исследуя их, можно прийти к выводу, что причины не

только во внешних обстоятельствах, но и в ментальности украинской нации.

Проблема влияния украинской ментальности на формирование публичной политики мало исследована, поэтому в данной статье мы проанализируем давний и новейший исторический опыт с целью выявить современные политико-ментальные осо-

бенности украинского общества, которые влияют на формирование публичной политики и осуществление публичного управления в Украине.

Изложение основного материала. Понятие «менталитета» и «ментальности» относятся к междисциплинарным категориям. Им прежде всего обозначают те явления общественно-культурной жизни, которые связаны с традициями, сознанием, языком, духовными и ценностными ориентирами этноса [1, С. 67].

Различия ментальности и менталитета как социо-психологических феноменов образует основу для их спецификации в сфере политики. В частности, политический менталитет предлагается понимать как результат работы ментальности, как совокупности смыслов, образованных ментальностью определенного сообщества. В свою очередь, политическая ментальность – это способ отображения и усвоения политической реальности [4, С. 11].

Политическая ментальность одновременно и отражает, и образует политический менталитет – систему представлений, ценностей, оценок, установок, стереотипов, предубеждений, мотивов, символов, мифов, традиций, ритуалов [4, С. 163].

Существует несколько базовых взаимосвязанных особенностей традиционного политического менталитета украинцев, среди которых экзистенциальный индивидуализм, эгоцентризм, интроверсивность, эскапизм, консерватизм, кордоцентричность, социальный эгалитаризм, общиноцентризм, провинциальность, аполитичность, анархичность [9, С. 86].

В нашем контексте стратегически важным компонентом традиционной украинской ментальности выступает общиноцентризм как склонность к различным формам самоорганизации и самоуправления. Эта черта обозначает и историческую традицию, и современную политическую ментальность украинцев. В частности, как отмечает А. В. Бондаренко, самоуправляющиеся потенции украинской ментальности – неотъемлемая часть исторического «образа» украинского народа.

Они принадлежат к базовым чертам украинцев и находят свое отражение в ментальности современного украинства, в общественно-политических реалиях украинской действительности. Речь идет о способности даже при самых неблагоприятных условиях находить различные индивидуальные и общественные формы рационального хозяйствования, является формой борьбы за выживание; о желании свободы, свободной самостоятельности личности; о достаточно высокой степени общественно-политической самоорганизации украинского народа [1, С. 73]. Сегодня общиноцентризм выступает необходимой ментальной основой процесса децентрализации и активности гражданского общества в процессах принятия властью общественно значимых решений, а следовательно, в формировании публичной политики.

Политическая ментальность украинского народа формировалась на протяжении веков под влиянием нескольких важных особенностей национального исторического процесса. Доминантным фактором специфики ментальной основы украинства выступает продолжительная безгосударственность. Этот фактор вызвал появление и существование государственной аномии как составной части политической ментальности украинского народа. Многовековое отсутствие собственной суверенной государственности существенно деформировало политико-национальное сознание украинства, обусловило преобладание внешних факторов, поиск внешнего врага, который объявлялся виновником всех бед. Доминирование иностранных проводников привело к возникновению в украинской ментальности многих комплексов, среди которых главный – комплекс неполноценности человека, который является владельцем земли, но из-за действия внешних сил не может быть свободным хозяином, то есть распоряжаться своей землей. Отсюда возникает нехватка природных амбиций, стремление избежать личной ответственности, толерантное восприятие негативных явлений, терпеливость.

Длительная безгосударственность стала причиной разобщенности украинских этнических территорий, которая даже с течением длительного времени заметна сих пор. Принадлежность украинских земель Австро-Венгерской, Российской империям, Чехословакии, Польши, Румынии оставила свое влияние на традиции, быт и культуру разных групп украинского народа. К примеру, определяющими чертами ментальности надднепрянцев считаются анархизм, коллективизм и патернализм, а национальное сознание и идентификация их, по сравнению с галичанами, значительно слабее. Зато ментальность галицких украинцев постоянно находилась в поле западноевропейской культуры (польской, немецкой и австрийской), что привело, по мнению большинства ученых, к таким характерным чертам как уважение к собственности, трудолюбие, умение хозяйствовать, консерватизм и индивидуализм [7, С. 96].

Кроме регионального ментального различия среди украинцев всегда проявлялась и социальная ментальная неоднородность. Речь идет о существовании двух основных ментальных типов: казацкого и крестьянского. И каждый из этих ментальных типов по-своему оригинален.

А. С. Стражний обращает внимание на особое значение казацкой ментальности для развития оригинального украинского национального характера: «Как охотники болотом, прошлись по Европе запорожские казаки». Их свободное сообщество, переступив через стандарты тогдашнего мира, живя вопреки тому миру и над тем миром, доказало свое право быть не такими, как все. На этом и основывается своеобразие украинской ментальности как цивилизационного феномена – выход за рамки привычных шаблонов и мировоззренческих трафаретов [10, с. 353–354]. Эту черту необходимо учитывать при внедрении тех или иных заимствованных форм нормативного регулирования или применения те или иные механизмы воздействия: они не могут игнорировать украинский национальный колорит и оригиналь-

ные традиции, иначе – получают жесткое сопротивление общества.

И. Полищук отмечает, что казацкому ментальному типу присущи пассионарность, демократизм, «братская» солидарность, активизм, авантюризм, стойкие формы самоорганизации, определенные элементы анархизма. Отдельно он подчеркивает, что для казацкого сообщества стержнем ментальности выступало свободолюбие. Существенное значение в украинской ментальности в современных условиях обрело смысло-жизненное понимание свободы. Воля и свобода стали экзистенциальными императивами для жизни многих поколений украинского народа.

В противоположность казацким пассионариям украинские крестьяне унаследовали традиционные черты земледельческой культуры: приходское мировоззрение (хуторянство), пассивная мечтательность, склонность к созерцанию (которая культивируется в православной традиции), индивидуализм [7, С. 97].

Своеобразие и оригинальность украинской национальной истории нашла свое отражение и в правовой ментальности украинцев. Главная ее закономерность, как свидетельствует история, заключается в отношении к власти: украинцы доказали, что никакой власти они не признают и никакой долго не выдерживают. Находясь 300 лет под польской короной и 350 лет под протекторатом Москвы, они оставались народом, которой жил своей жизнью. Представление украинцев о власти состояло в том, что управлять собственной жизнью могут только они сами. Понятие «власть» никогда не отождествлялось на украинских землях ни с какой-то внешней силой, ни с «богом избранной» персоной. Даже такой авторитет, как Богдан Хмельницкий, обязан был выполнять постановления совета старшин, который оставался главным органом власти [10, с. 220–221]. Можно не соглашаться с такими безапелляционными утверждениями, но отрицать подтвержденные факты, вряд ли стоит.

Другой закономерностью правовой ментальности нужно признать авторитет права, которое должно ассоциироваться с авторитетом его источников и носителей. Это проявлялось в уникальном народном правосознании, которое особенно в благоприятные времена утверждало право конкретного человека на свободу, землю, собственность, труд, свободное хозяйствование (вечевое законотворчество, братское судопроизводство, трансформация магистратских судов в сторону обычного права, национально-своеобразный характер земства и т.д.); в способности к общественно-политическому творчеству «снизу», потенциальной общественно-политической энергии украинского народа [1, С. 74]. Эта черта ментальности в настоящее время производит не малое влияние на выработку публичной политики в Украине.

С другой стороны, по мнению многих исследователей, на украинских землях никогда не было уважения к закону. На каждом хуторе, в каждой семье был свой закон, свои правила. «Беспредел» составлял основу жизни киммерийцев, скифов, сарматов. Не отличались особым уважением к закону северо-причерноморские эллины, «героизировала» преступника византийская психокультура. [10, с. 340–341].

Ментальность нынешней украинской нации отмечается, по мнению И. Полищука, постколониальным, постсоветским, постсоциалистическим характером. Правда, эта ментальность на данный момент потеряла монополию и функционирует в основном по инерции, постепенно рождая новый, прозападный активистский тип ментальности. Этот тип нового менталитета во многом репродуцирует пассионарные формы политической активности, присущие казацкому обществу. Конечно, активистский тип ментальности только рождается и присущ в основном молодежным общественным лидерам [7, С. 98].

Вместе с тем, тенденции развития современных политических процессов в Украине позволяют констатировать, что политическая

ментальность украинского социума получила стабильную национальную идентификацию и государственный характер. Так, согласно результатам общенационального исследования, проведенного в декабре 2019 года во всех регионах Украины за исключением Крыма и оккупированных территорий Донецкой и Луганской областей, абсолютное большинство населения Украины (75%) считает себя прежде всего гражданами Украины, региональную идентификацию как основную выбрали значительно меньше – 16% граждан. Причем, общенациональная идентификация преобладает во всех регионах Украины. Правда, в Восточном регионе 7% считают себя прежде всего гражданами бывшего СССР. Общенациональная идентификация существенно возросла после 2013 года (декабрь 2013–54%, декабрь 2014–73%) [6].

Согласно результатам всеукраинского исследования, проведенного в 2017 году, 92,6% респондентов считают себя украинцами, 5,5% – русскими. Стоит напомнить, что во время последней переписи населения в 2001 году 77,8% граждан Украины идентифицировали себя как украинцы, 17,3% – как русские [2].

Считаем весьма показательным для подтверждения характерных черт ментальности украинского народа общенациональный опрос, проведенный в январе 2020 года. По отношению к демократии и государству как социальным институтам политическая ментальность украинского народа остается этатистско-патерналистской. Ведь 74% украинцев до сих пор считают, что государство должно гарантировать каждому гражданину благосостояние, трудоустройство, социальное обеспечение и безопасность в сложных жизненных обстоятельствах и только 23% согласились с утверждением, что государство должно гарантировать соблюдение правил игры, согласно которым гражданин несет ответственность за собственное благополучие. В то же время, большинство респондентов (63,5%) не готовы

пожертвовать своей свободой даже для большей безопасности и благосостояния.

Каждый третий украинец (32,8%) отмечает, что с определенной регулярностью участвует в жизни своей общины, в то время как к деятельности общественных организаций приобщается немного меньшая доля граждан (16,9%). Это свидетельствует о проявлении общиноцентризма.

Что касается форм демократического участия, украинцы в основном вовлечены в работу общественных комитетов (8,1%), участвуют в общественных слушаниях (6,4%) и мирных собраниях (4,4%), готовы подавать жалобы относительно инфраструктурных вопросов (5, 2%) и инициировать подписи электронных петиций (4,2%) [5], используя таким образом организационно-правовые механизмы формирования публичной политики. Несмотря на то, что вовлечение граждан остается не достаточно существенным, уровень осведомленности и заинтересованности в общественной деятельности наполняют оптимизмом.

Выводы

Ментальные процессы не происходят стихийно, они нуждаются в повседневном внимании со стороны органов власти, гражданского общества и, конечно, интеллектуальной среды. Ведь менталитет выступает своеобразным индикатором взаимоотношений и взаимовлияния человека, общества и государства, их взаимодействия с внешним миром, и не может не влиять на то, каким образом развивается государство и как формируется публичная политика в нем.

Одним из главных условий успешности публичной политики в государстве является необходимость учитывать ментальные основы народа в правотворческой деятельности и построении эффективной коммуникации власти с гражданским обществом – носителем как положительных так и отрицательных ментальных черт, которые передаются от поколения к поколению, изменяются и активно влияют на все сферы жизни общества, а потому требуют постоянного изучения и анализа.

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COMPENDIUM OF RESEARCH ON THE ROLE OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES AS ONE OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL STABILITY

Abstract. The policy of the modern system of international relations has not only not reduced the volume of external threats, but also significantly changed the content of their essence. This article discusses the main phases of the potential scenario of "Hybrid wars", which allow achieving the goal by practically not using armed force on the object of claims, as well as the activation stage of "special operations Forces". Successful testing of their potential proves that this unit is able to counter almost any military-terrorist threat, acting both inside and outside the country.

Keywords: world of hybrid warfare, special operations forces, local conflicts, the security of the state.

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ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ ФАЗ РАЗВИТИЯ СИЛ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ ОПЕРАЦИЙ В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ВООРУЖЕННЫХ КОНФЛИКТАХ

Аннотация. Политика современной системы международных отношений, не только не уменьшила объём внешних угроз, но и существенно изменила содержание их сути. В данной статье рассмотрены основные фазы потенциального сценария «Гибридных войн», позволяющие

путём практически не вооружённого воздействия на объект притязаний добиваться поставленной цели, а также стадии активации «Сил специальных операций». Успешное апробирование их потенциала доказывает, что данное подразделение способно противодействовать практически любой военно-террористической угрозе, действуя как внутри страны, так и за её пределами.

Ключевые слова: мир, «гибридные войны», силы специальных операций, локальные конфликты, безопасность государства.

Актуальность данной работы обусловлена тем, что безопасность государства превалирует при решении любых вопросов, включая модернизацию вооружённых сил казахстанской армии и её ныне действующей инфраструктуры. Учитывая современные реалии политики некоторых стран и то, что особенностью межгосударственного противоборства последних лет являются результаты, которые ранее могли быть ранее достигнуты только методом силового принуждения – т.е. войны, любые концепции мира необходимо строить на крепком фундаменте защиты собственного суверенитета [1].

Современные войны приняли вид «гибридного» характера, которые, как и иные виды военных действий обусловлены следующими факторами: обострением борьбы за ресурсы; повсеместный рост населения в мире; экономические кризисы, влекущие за собой безработицу, обнищание и неконтролируемую миграцию населения; сокращение природных и энергетических ресурсов; усиление религиозного и этнического экстремизма и т.д. [2].

Политика «ядерного сдерживания» свыше 70-ти лет помогала блокировать глобальные конфликты между крупными международными игроками, имеющими данный потенциал в своем арсенале, что совершенно не мешало «спонтанным» всплескам вооруженных конфликтов локального характера в странах, где очередные кандидаты на передел собственности стараются свергнуть имеющуюся на данный момент систему конкурента [3].

Хотя общая обстановка в Центрально-Азиатском регионе характеризуется как стабильная, тем не менее Афганистан, находящийся в состоянии перманентного конфликта длительное время, вно-

сит своеобразно-сложный деструктив, который проявляется в следующем:

1) угрозами со стороны религиозно-экстремистских и международных террористических организаций, расположенных как на территории Афганистана, так и проникающих со стороны Сирии, поддерживаемых теми странами, целью которых является усиление своего геополитического влияния в странах Центральной Азии путем дестабилизации внутривластной, экономической, религиозной, этнической и др. обстановки, включая попытки смены режимов светского характера и создание теократического государственного образования;

2) слиянием международных террористических организаций и наркогруппировок;

3) продвижением и распространением «ценностей» определенного характера со стороны различных международных не правительственных организаций и фондов, дискредитирующих не угодные власти на местах [4].

«Гибридные войны» занимают существенное место в данном весьма эклектичном процессе. Комплексное использование военных и психолого-информационных аспектов воздействия на противника, приводят к революционным изменениям и пересмотру основ ролевой функции Вооруженных сил Республики Казахстан (далее – ВС РК) т.к. конструктивно-действенным компонентом как явного, так и скрытого противодействия является мобильно-универсальная, уникальная в своём проявлении, боевая система самых развитых стран мира, оказывающее всё большее влияние на современное вооружённое противоборство в целом – «Силы специальных операций» (далее – ССО) [5].

Table 1. – Фазовое развитие современного военного конфликта

Основные фазы возникновения и развития военного конфликта	1 фаза	2 фаза	3 фаза	4 фаза	5 фаза	6 фаза
	Предвоенный период				Военный период	Постконфликтный период
	Дестабилизация обстановки в государстве		Резкое обострение военной политической обстановки			
Военно-политическая обстановка	Скрытая фаза Создание «революционной ситуации» в государстве, выдвижение лидеров	Фаза попыток свержения правительства		Резкое обострение военной политической обстановки	Военный период	Фаза «переформирования» государственности
		Разрешение «революционной ситуации» силами движения сопротивления, формирование нового политического руководства				
		Невооруженная борьба (цветная революция)	Вооруженная борьба (внутренний вооруженный конфликт)			
Стратегическая обстановка	Военная опасность	Информационно-психологическое вмешательство извне, создание образа врага и легитимизация возможного применения силы в сознании международной общественности (силы ПсО)		Миротворческие операции по подержанию мира	Военное вмешательство извне	Всесторонняя поддержка
		Потенциальная военная угроза				
Этапы искусственного управления военным конфликтом	Организация движения сопротивления (участие ССО)	Стабильность		Непосредственная военная угроза	Воздушная фаза вторжения	Наземная фаза вторжения
		Руководство движением сопротивления (участие ССО)				
Продолжительность	не ограничена	Активные действия НВФ		Массированная заброска ССО	Со-вместное боевое применение ССО и НВФ	Героизация участников НВФ и их движение во власть
		до года и более				
Продолжительность	не ограничена	от трех и более суток до начала агрессии		от трех и более суток до начала агрессии	не ограничена	не ограничена

Исследуя генезис ССО на разных этапах вооруженного конфликта, включая богатый опыт подготовки и применения ведущими мировыми державами их потенциала в формате «гибридных войн», необходимо учитывать, что любая актуализация научной цели должна иметь в своём арсенале варианты конструктивного решения, максимально ассимилированных при реализации поставленных задач. Безусловно, что в формате научной статьи открытого доступа невозможно отразить всю многозначность аспектов наисложнейших проблем современного облика ССО, но даже частичное освещение актуализированных до предела конструктивности вопросов играют огромную роль в созидании вооруженных сил, отвечающих задачам безопасности государства [6; 7; 8].

Анализ результатов исследований позволяет говорить об устойчивых фазах военного конфликта, зависящих от времени, в рамках которого применяются именно ССО, что и визуализировано для удобства восприятия в нижеприведенной схеме (рис. 1) [9; 10].

К сожалению, ни одно государство мира не застраховано от попыток дестабилизации обстановки с использованием внутреннего протестного потенциала, т.к. человеческая психология обладает особенностями, позволяющими манипулировать сознанием. Согласно результатам социологических исследований примерно 2–3% граждан являются постоянными носителями агрессии, а около 10–15% представителей «*homo sapiens*» подвержены деструктивному воздействию экстремистской идеологии и пропаганды [11].

Применение технологий манипулирования сознанием человека существенно ускоряет процесс получения желаемого результата. Не случайно, специально-ментальные операции в информационно-психологической сфере стали неотъемлемым элементом современного вооруженного противоборства, а морально-психологический фактор приобретает всё большее значение в повседневной реальности. В данном аспекте объектами воздействия являются чувства, воля, дух, идеологические установки, способность принимать решения, смыслы и другие составляющие сугубо эмоциональную сферу человека в частности и социума в целом. Совокупно-избирательное воздействие на человеческую психологию позволяют достигать желаемого результата деструктивными силам, стремящимся к доминированию и продвижению собственных интересов, т.е. целенаправленно управлять как индивидуумом, так и массами [12].

В заключении необходимо отметить то, что Казахстан – это многонациональная страна, изначально ориентированная на мир и стабильность. Богатые природные ресурсы и общий потенциал развития делают весьма привлекательным данный регион для «любителей легкой наживы» и иных деструктивных сил. Именно для того чтобы сохранить благополучие страны и её граждан, необходимо проводить постоянный мониторинг современных вооруженных конфликтов и роли участия в них Сил специальных операций, которые позволяют вырабатывать направления для дальнейшего реформирования и совершенствования ВС РК.

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Section 8. Psychology

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INFORMATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT IN MODERN WARFARE

Abstract. The special operations forces (hereinafter referred to as SSO) include units that carried out information and psychological influence on the enemy. This article examines the influence of this factor on the results of armed confrontation, since the history of wars and military conflicts has hundreds of examples of their active use by the operating party.

Keywords: Special operations forces the special operations forces, homeland security, psychology, information, impact.

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ИНФОРМАЦИОННО-ПСИХОЛОГИЧЕСКОЕ ВОЗДЕЙСТВИЕ В СОВРЕМЕННОМ ПРОТИВОБОРСТВЕ

Аннотация. В состав Сил специальных операций (далее ССО) входят подразделения, осуществлявшие информационно-психологическое воздействие на противника. В данной

статье рассмотрено влияние этого фактора на результаты вооруженного противоборства, т.к. история войн и военных конфликтов насчитывает сотни примеров их активного применения оперирующей стороной.

Ключевые слова: силы специальных операций, ССО, национальная безопасность, психология, информация, воздействие.

Теоретические основы информационно-психологического воздействия на сознание людей получили своё развитие именно в XX веке. Это было обусловлено уровнем развития науки и технологии, а также желанием минимизировать финансовые затраты на ведение военных действий при получении максимального результата. На определенном этапе развития цивилизации информационно-психологические технологии воздействия на сознание людей стало мощным оружием в руках сил, стремящихся к доминированию и продвижению собственных интересов, в основном меркантильного характера. Объектами целенаправленного воздействия выступают чувства, воля, дух, идеологические установки, способность принимать решения, смыслы и т.д. и т.п. Совокупно-избирательное воздействие на эти факторы позволяют достигать желаемого результата, т.е. управлять как отдельным индивидуумом, так и массами. Постепенно, информационно-психологическое противоборство приобретает черты, присущие войне, а военная сила становится хотя и вспомогательным, но весьма действенным аргументом в межгосударственном «диалоге».

В случае, когда основной целью являются ликвидация (трансформация) государства, то, первоначально, решаются задачи по: – деформации интеллектуального ресурса нации; – разрушению ценностных установок; – подготовке политической элиты новой формации. Своевременно-эффективное противодействие реализации подобных сценариев является важнейшей задачей системы обеспечения безопасности государства.

Теоретические основы современных технологий дестабилизации обстановки в отдельно взятом государстве разрабатывались в XIX–XX в.в.

Г. Маркуз, М. Хайдегер, М. Хоркхаймер, Т. Адорно, Э. Фрома и другие. Именно их усилиями были разработаны основы теории виртуальных конструкций. После второй мировой войны инструментальная составляющая их идей получила развитие в трудах Ж. Бодриера, Ж. Делеза, М. Фуко, Ю. Кристевой [1].

В 1968 г. эти теоретические наработки воплотились в виде «Студенческой революции» во Франции, результатом которой явилась отставка правительства и кардинальное изменение политического курса страны. Силловые структуры оказались совершенно бессильны против толпы, мобилизованной на протесты с помощью манипулятивных методов. Политическое руководство Франции не осознав своевременно все масштабы реальной угрозы, оказалось совершенно не способно принимать решения, отвечающие реалиям информационной эры, когда «люди живут иллюзиями, которые можно создавать искусственно» [2].

В 80-е годы XX столетия теория вопроса получила дальнейшее развитие в трудах Р. Дебре в рамках «медиаологии», являющейся развитием «семиологии» (науки, исследующей мифы) швейцарского лингвиста Ф. де Соссюра. На основе анализа результатов социальной деятельности масс и индивидов с точки зрения «следования стандартам поведения», ученый обобщил существующие и предложил новые методологии и методики организационно-технических систем создания и управления потоками дезинформации. Именно они стали базисом теории виртуальных конструкций, реализуемые практически в рамках «цветных революций» [3].

Анализ опыта постсоветских государств, событий «арабской весны» свидетельствует, что мето-

ды воздействия органов государственного и военного управления на силы оппозиции могут быть эффективны только при наличии мощного информационного сопровождения. В условиях доминирования иностранных СМИ достигнуть этого крайне сложно, что в очередной раз подтверждает «... современный конфликт в своей основе является информационным, создаваясь и поддерживаясь коммуникативными методами. И разрешение его зависит не от административного ресурса власти, а от её информационных возможностей» [4].

Осознавая значимость информационно-психологического воздействия на результат вооруженного противоборства, ведущие государства мира разрабатывают и широко используют подобные подходы в практике. Создаются силы и средства, способные решать соответствующие задачи. Наиболее глубокое развитие теория и практика в рассматриваемой области получила в ВС США. Первый официальный документ – директива МО США № TS3600.1 «Информационная война» был опубликован в декабре 1992 года. Далее, осуществлялась целенаправленная деятельность по развитию принципов и способов ИВ, а также их внедрению в войсковую практику. Как свидетельствуют представленные материалы, вопросы информационного воздействия рассматривались на стратегическом, оперативном и тактическом уровнях. Для этой работы привлекались ученые, практики и эксперты в различных областях знаний.

В настоящее время ИВ трансформировалась в информационное противоборство, которое осуществляется на двух уровнях: государственном и военном. На первом целью является ослабление позиций конкурирующих государств, подрыв их национально-государственных устоев, нарушение системы государственного управления за счет информационного воздействия на политическую, дипломатическую, экономическую и социальную сферу жизни общества, проведения психологических операций, подрывных и иных деморализующих пропагандистских акций. На военном уровне

перед вооруженными силами поставлена задача воздействовать на противника еще в период нарастания военной угрозы с тем, чтобы обеспечить выгодную для доминирующей стороны направленность процессов управления и принятия решений противостоящей стороной [5].

Следствием адаптации теории к практике и развития взглядов, явилось решение руководства ВС США, принятое в 2010 г. о замене термина «психологические операции» на «операции информационного обеспечения» (далее – ОИО), как наиболее полно отражающего задачи формирования, оказывающих информационное воздействие на войска и население страны-противника. При этом, их основными задачами определены: деморализация, склонение к прекращению сопротивления и сдаче в плен членов вооруженных формирований противостоящей стороны; сведение к минимуму потерь среди своих войск; разъяснение населению причин появления иностранных войск в регионе, а также целей США и их союзников; завоевание симпатии и обеспечение сотрудничества со стороны местных жителей. Общее руководство ОИО возложено на ОКСО, которое отвечает за организацию и проведение операций информационного обеспечения, а непосредственное на отделы СО оперативного управления объединенного штаба (рабочий орган объединенного комитета начальников штабов (далее – ОКНШ). Каждый вид ВС США располагает собственными силами и средствами ОИО, однако основной потенциал в этой области (около 85 процентов) сосредоточен в сухопутных войсках [6; 7].

США являются единственным государством в мире, в котором вопросы ведения операций информационного обеспечения (психологических) возложено на ССО. Однако подобные формирования имеются практически во всех ведущих государствах мира. Уже в условиях мира им нарезаны соответствующие зоны ответственности, созданы органы управления и центры подготовки специалистов. Решаемые задачи во многом аналогичны, однако имеются определенные национальные

особенности и разделяются на западный (американо-европейский) и восточный подходы [8].

Среди представителей последнего – лидирующие позиции занимает Китай, который сумел объединить технические наработки запада с философскими воззрениями востока. Первые упоминания о системных исследованиях в области ведения информационно-психологических операций в Китае можно отнести к середине 80-х годов XX века. Именно в это время научно-исследовательские организации НОАК и Комитета по оборонной науке, технике и оборонной промышленности начали проводить симпозиумы и публиковать материалы по проблемам информационно-психологического противоборства. Сегодня КНР является одним из лидеров в области информационного противоборства, при этом, творчески используется весь опыт подобных действий. Как и на Западе, китайские эксперты считают, что одним из основных принципов является информационное доминирование, описываемое как возможность защиты собственных ИС и разрушение информационной структуры противника. Умело подготовленная и направленная сетевая атака может обрушить социальную, политическую и экономическую жизнь страны, превратив ее в хаос, что, естественно, негативно скажется на морально-психологическом состоянии населения и армии. Важную роль в этом процессе играют глобальные сети (Интернет). Современная военная наука и практика Поднебесной под информационными операциями понимает «совокупность всей боевой активности, которая включает разрушение и парализацию информационных систем (ИС) противника, а также деятельность по защите собственных ИС». Основными элементами информационных операций являются: – физическое уничтожение; – электронная война; – дезинформация; – оперативная маскировка; – психо-

логическая война – использование СМИ, а также печатной и устной пропаганды в целях подрыва морального духа войск противника.

Особенностью китайского подхода можно считать сосредоточение усилий на новейших технологиях в рамках идеи «перешагивания» (куаюэ лунь) и реализации концепции интегрированной электронно-сетевой войны (INEW, IntegratedNetwork-ElectronicWarfare). Доктрина информационной войны Китая активно развивается на основе творческого сочетания базовых положений доктрины информационной войны США и специфических, присущих китайской культуре элементов, к примеру, таких как доктрина «народной войны», традиционные теоретические посылы типа «убивать с помощью чужого меча» и «атаковать слабость, а не силу». В данном случае следует особо подчеркнуть тот факт, что два главных доктринальных документа по информационной войне ВС США, единый устав КНШ JP 3–13 и полевой устав СВ FM-100–6, были переведены на китайский язык и размещены на серверах китайского сегмента Интернета [9].

В заключение необходимо отметить, что в настоящее время многие государства мира готовятся к «новым» войнам, когда цели вооруженного противоборства достигаются не только за счет количества техники и личного состава, но и способности действовать в информационной (кибернетической) сферах, а также результативно вести специальные действия и противодействовать им. Данные факторы заставляют более внимательно относиться к вопросам строительства Вооруженных Сил, адаптировать их к современным вызовам и угрозам, прогнозировать направления их трансформации. Следует четко понимать, что обеспечение национальной безопасности не ограничивается только военными средствами, а требует консолидации всех ресурсов государства.

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Section 9. Sociology

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ARE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL NETWORK ASSOCIATED WITH ILLICIT DRUG USE?

Abstract. Background: Illicit drug abuse has been existed as an intractable problem in Americal society for a long period. Those drugs, which can be produced both naturally and articially while violating multiple legal provisions, are popular among adolescents. Through the investigation of illicit drug abuse, I aimed to find out whether any demographic characteristics and social network are associated with illicit drug use. Methods: I used data collected by YRBSS (Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System) and used R – Studio to do the analysis. I categorized adolescent students' drug use status into 3 levels: no drug use, use of marijuana only, and use of other illicit drugs. Results: The result we got is that a large proportion of adolscents reported illicit drug use (15.9% of marijuana only and 20.2% using other drug). In addition, people, who have negative attitude on both their social network and daily lives, will be more likely to be in the abuse of illicit drug use.

Conclusion: Through the study, I conclude that the prevalence of illicit drug among adolescents has been a serious and durable problem in current society.

Keywords: Illicit drug Use, logistic regression, Adolescents, Marijuana.

1. Introduction/background

Illicit drug use refers to the use of illegal substances which can make people highly addictive. This has been a long-standing problem in American society. Those drugs can be classified to four types: stimulants, depressants, narcotics and hallucinogens. Those drugs can be planted naturally or synthetized artificially in illegal factories.

- Marijuana is the most commonly illegal drugs among adolescents, about half of teenagers have misused an illicit drug at least once, and marijuana become the most of their choices due to its easy way to get and its lower price than others.
- Marijuana has both short-term effects and long-term effects on adolescents. For short-

term effects, it may cause short-term memory problems, increased risk of stroke and heart attack, strange senses such as hearing, seeing, as well as lowered reaction time and sexual problems especially for males. For long-term effects, it may lead to the addiction on those illicit drugs, decrease on IQ (especially for adolescents) and developed abuse of illegal drugs. In addition, it may also have serious problem on society, those adolescents who are addicted to marijuana may have financial difficulties, then they may try to steal or rob from others to get money. Increasingly, they will have higher chance of skipping classes which will be greater chances of being unemployed in the future.

- Those adolescents who use illicit drugs always have lower grade point average (GPA) and school attendance. Also, substance abuse among friends, lack of parental supervision in family, the availability of drugs in school and early aggressive behavior personally can contribute to the use of illicit drugs.

Study purpose: In this study, we categorized adolescent students' drug use status into 3 levels: no drug use, use of marijuana only, and use of other illicit drugs. We aimed to explore if adolescents' demographic characteristics and social network are associated with drug use, using data of a nationally representative sample from the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS).

2. Research methods

2.1 Data source

YRBSS which is the short for the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System, supervises six categories of health-related behaviors that lead to the death and disability among youth. It is operated by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention since 1990. More than 4.4 million high school students have already participated in more than 1900 separate surveys through YRBSS. The main purposes of the YRBSS are to determine the prevalence of health behaviors,

examine. The co-occurrence of health behaviors, provide comparable. Data among subpopulations of youth... and so on.

For this study, we used the most recent data from year 2017. A total of 14,765 students in 9th through 12th grades were included in this year's data.

2.2. Variables of interest

2.2.1 Variables on drug use status:

In YRBSS, students were asked the following questions:

- Q46. During your life, how many times have you used marijuana?
- Q49. During your life, how many times have you used any form of cocaine, including powder, crack, or freebase?
- Q50. During your life, how many times have you sniffed glue, breathed the contents of aerosol spray cans, or inhaled any paints or sprays to get high?
- Q51. During your life, how many times have you used heroin (also called smack, junk, or China White)?
- Q52. During your life, how many times have you used methamphetamines (also called speed, crystal, crank, or ice)?
- Q53. During your life, how many times have you used ecstasy (also called MDMA)?
- Q54. During your life, how many times have you used synthetic marijuana (also called K2, Spice, fake weed, King Kong, Yucatan Fire, Skunk, or Moon Rocks)?
- Q55. During your life, how many times have you taken steroid pills or shots without a doctor's prescription?
- Q56. During your life, how many times have you taken a prescription drug (such as OxyContin, Percocet, Vicodin, codeine, Adderall, Ritalin, or Xanax) without a doctor's prescription?
- Q57. During your life, how many times have you used a needle to inject any illegal drug into your body?

Based on these questions, we created a “drug use status” variable with 3 levels:

- no drug use;
- marijuana use only;
- other drug use (may or may not have marijuana use).

2.2.2 Variables on social network:

In the YBRSS survey, there was no question that directly measures social network such as peer relationship of the participant. Therefore, we used the following question as a proxy of social network:

- Q9. During the past 30 days, how many times did you ride in a car or other vehicle driven by someone who had been drinking alcohol?
- A. 0 times B. 1 time C. 2 or 3 times D. 4 or 5 times E. 6 or more times

A “negative social network” variable is created: 0=if answer is “0 times”; 1=If the answer is 1 time or more

2.2.3 Demographic variables

- Age;
- Gender;
- Grade: 9–12;
- Race/ethnicity.

2.3 Statistical Analysis

This includes 3 parts of analysis.

Descriptive analysis: We first described the study sample’s profile of demographics, social network, and drug use status, using mean values for

continuous variables (e.g., age) and percentages for categorical variables (e.g., gender).

Bivariate analysis: We then examined the percentage of drug use by students’ demographics and social network status.

Multivariate analysis: *Multinomial Logistic Regression Model*

Multinomial Logistic Regression is an extension of binomial logistic regression when the dependent variable has more than two levels.

In the model, not using condom is the outcome “y”. The explanatory variable “x” included age, gender, race/ethnicity, and grade level, and social network.

Log odds of event = $\beta_0 + \text{social network} * \beta_1 + \text{age} * \beta_2 + \text{gender} * \beta_3 + \text{race/ethnicity} * \beta_4 + \text{grade} * \beta_5$.

The main output from Logistic Regression is regression coefficient b and odds ratio (OR).

In this study, two levels of outcomes (marijuana use, and other drug use) are to be compared with “no drug use”. β is regression coefficient for a specific X. The relationship between OR and β is $OR = e^\beta$

- If $\beta > 0$, $OR = e^\beta$ will be larger than 1, meaning that the predictor is related to a higher probability/odds of the event.
- If $\beta < 0$, $OR = e^\beta$ will be smaller than 1, meaning that the predictor is related to a lower odds of the event.

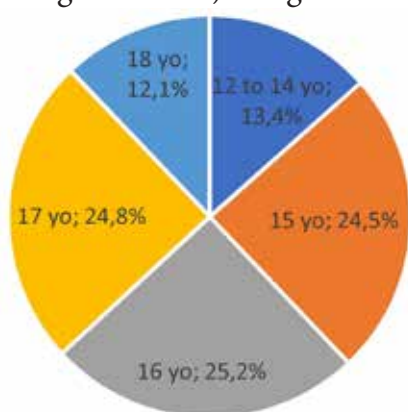


Figure 1. Age group composition

51% were females and 49% were males. Students were proportionately from each grade of 9, 10, 11, and 12, with around 25% from each grade

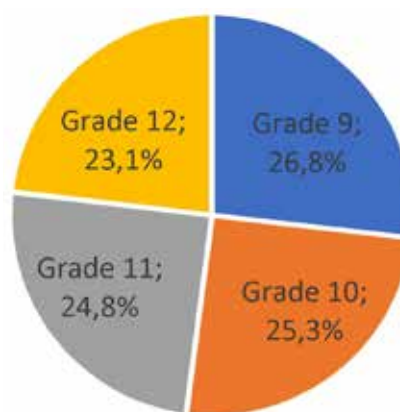


Figure 2. Grade composition of participants

In terms of race/ethnicity, the study sample included 48% Whites, 18% African Americans, and others

- If $\beta = 0$, $OR = e^\beta$ will be equal 1, meaning that the predictor is not related to the event.

3. Results

3.1 Descriptive analysis results

After limiting to variables with non-missing values, the study sample included 12.706 high school students.

The average age was around 16 years. There were only 23 and 13 students aged 12 and 13, respectively, so we combined them with students aged 14 years. Below are age group composition: (figure 1)

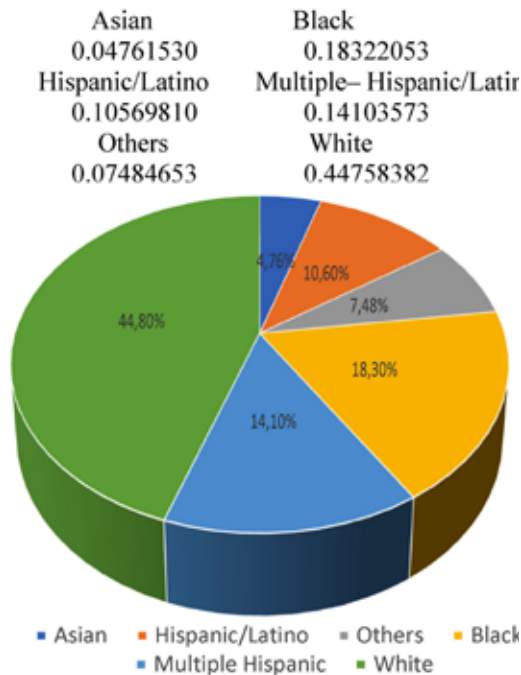


Figure 3. Drug Use Status by Race

Overall 15% reported having negative social network

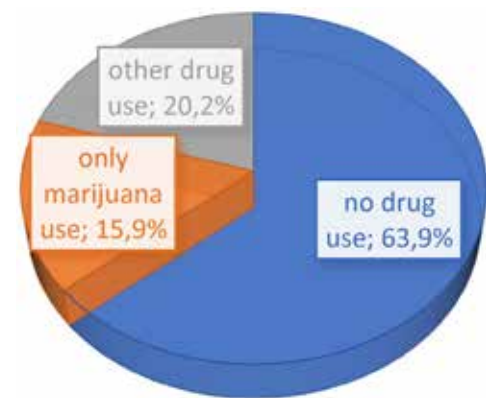


Figure 4. Drug Use Status

3.2 Bivariate analysis

As adolescents' ages increases, more and more of them will be attracted to the drug. For 18yo adolescents,

almost half of them have used drug, which is about 27% percent more than 12–14yo adolescents.

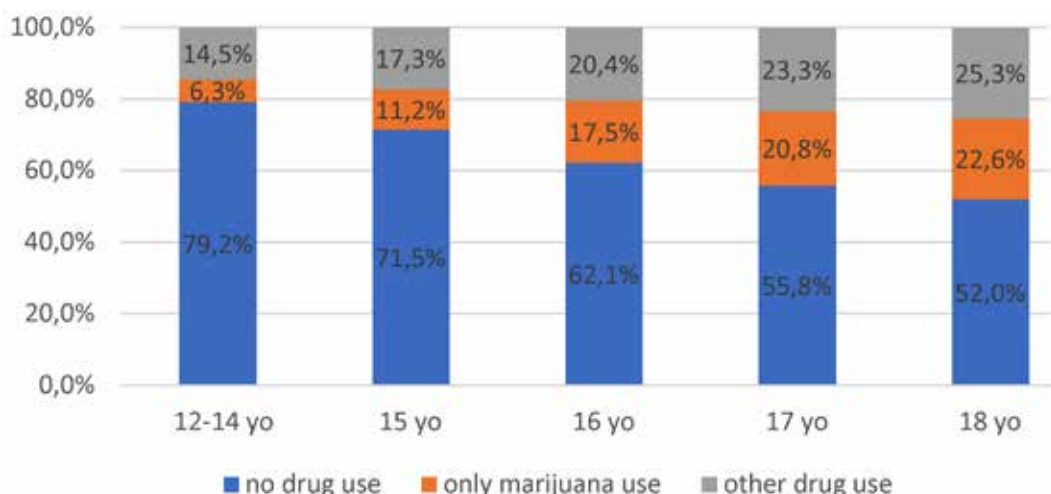


Figure 5. Drug use status by age group

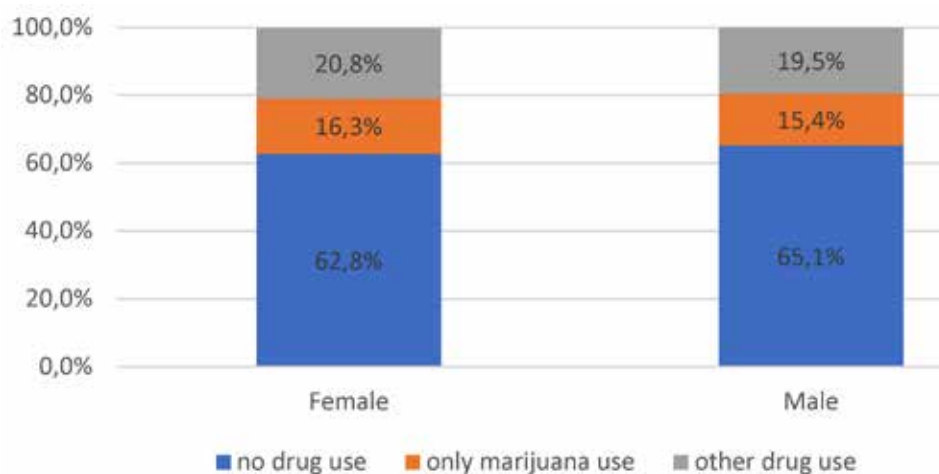


Figure 6. Drug use status by gender. Male and female have about equal number of drug users

Table 1.

data_2017_final\$drug_use_status			
data_2017_final\$grade	no drug use	only marijuana use	other drug use
9	2589	279	538
	0.760	0.082	0.158
10	2129	476	606
	0.663	0.148	0.189
11	1844	620	684
	0.586	0.197	0.217
12	1559	646	736
	0.530	0.220	0.250
Column total	8121	2021	2564
	0.639	0.159	0.202

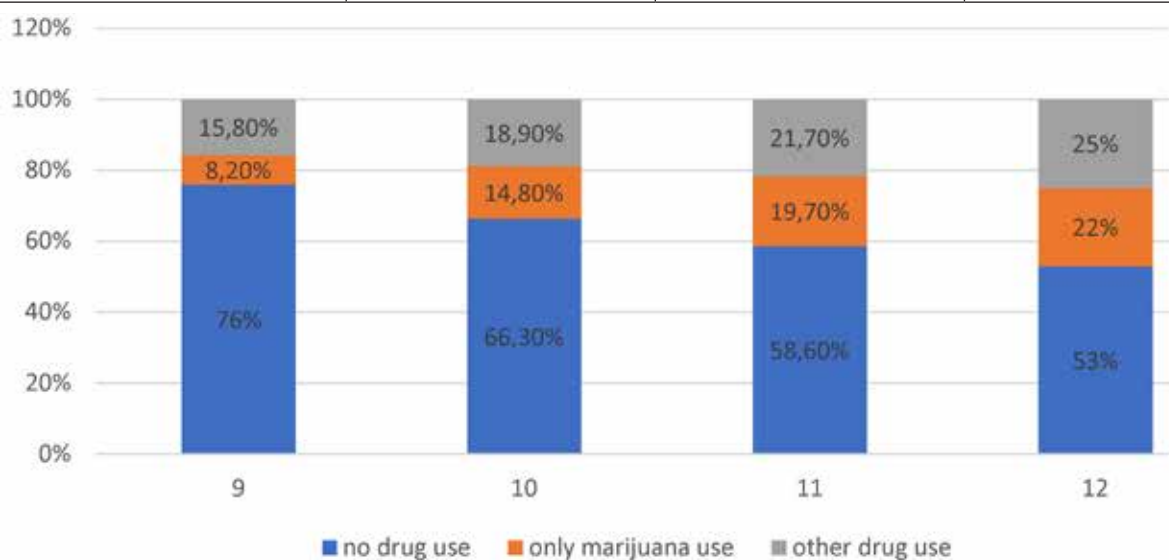


Figure 7. Drug Use Status by Grade

Table 2.

data 2017 final\$drug use status			
data 2017 final\$race ethnicity	no drug use	only marijuana use	other drug use
Asian	506	34	35
	0.836	0.056	0.107
Black	1398	522	408
	0,601	0.224	0.107
Hispanic/Latino	835	228	280
	0.622	0.170	0.208
Multiple– Hispanic/Latino	1050	302	440
	0.586	0.169	0.246
Others	566	161	224
	0.595	0.169	0.236
White	3766	774	1147
	0.662	0.136	0.202

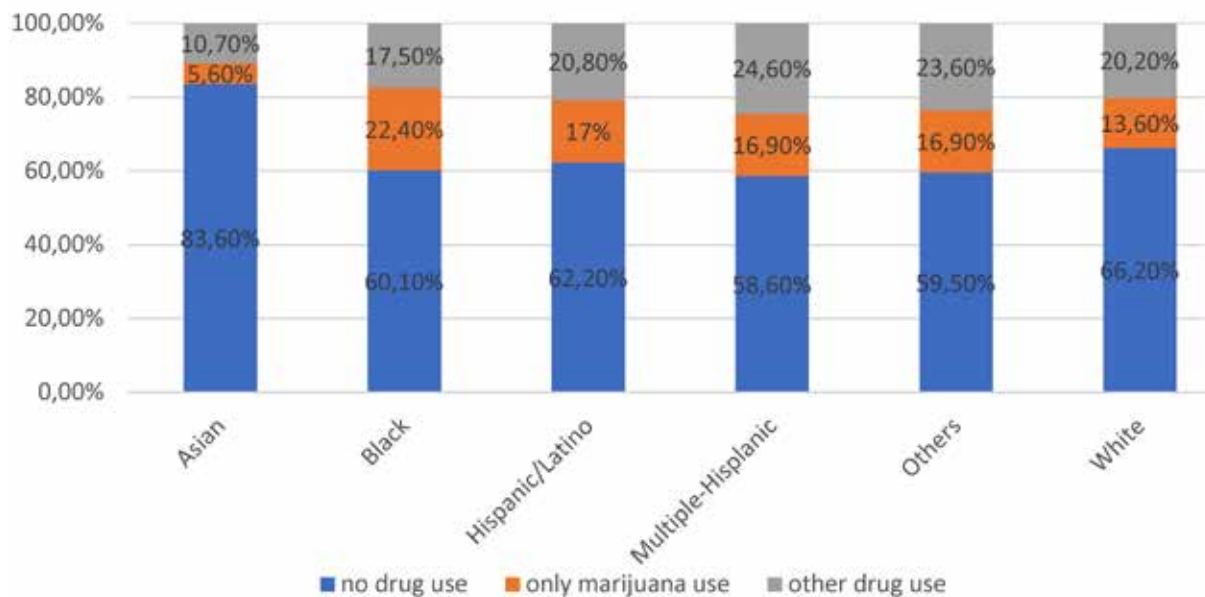


Figure 8. Drug Use Status by Race

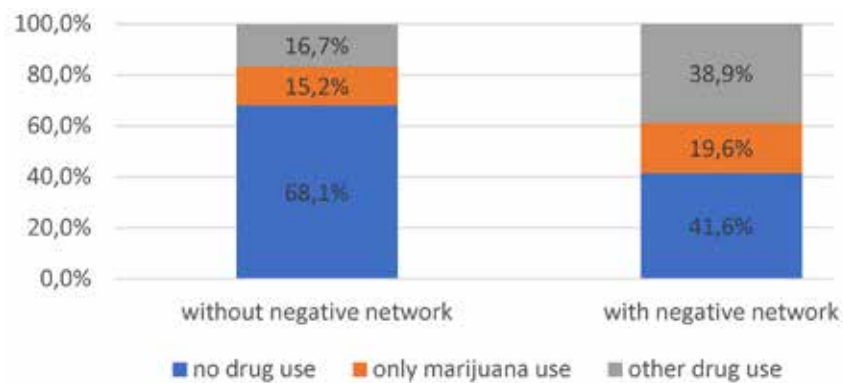


Figure 9. Drug use status by if student has negative social net

Students who have negative social network tends to be in the group of illicit drug use compare to those who don't have negative social network.

3.3 Multinomial Logistic Regression model results

Two tables are created, with regression coefficients and Odds ratios for “marijuana use” and “other drug use”, respectively. Factors that are associated with higher risk of the outcome is highlighted in orange, while those associated with lower risk are highlighted in green.

- Older age is associated with higher risk of marijuana or other drugs.
- For example, compared with the youngest age group, those aged 15 years are 1.65 times more likely to use marijuana, and 1.22 times more likely to use other drugs.

- Males are slightly less likely to use marijuana or other drugs.
- Compared with White Americans, Asians are less likely to use illicit drugs, while other racial/ethnic groups are more likely to use drugs.
- Similar with age, higher grade is associated with higher risk of drug use.
- Those who have negative social network are 2.1 and 3.8 times more likely to use marijuana or other drugs, respectively.

We use cutoff point of 0.05 for P-values. If the p-value of a beta/OR is <0.05 , it means this variable is statistically significantly associated with the outcome. If the p-value of a beta/OR is ≥ 0.05 , it means this variable is not statistically significantly.

Table 3.

Odds Ratios for “only marijuana use”						
	beta	standard error of beta	p-value	Odds Ratio	lower CI	Upper CI
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Age						
Reference: 12–14yo						
15 yo	0.50	0.13	<0.001	1.65	1.28	2.12
16 yo	0.85	0.15	<0.0001	2.35	1.74	3.17
17 yo	0.98	0.17	<0.0001	2.67	1.91	3.73
18 yo	1.08	0.19	<0.0001	2.96	2.04	4.28
Gender						
male vs female	-0.12	0.05	0.02	0.89	0.80	0.98
Race/ethnicity						
reference: white						
Asian	-1.11	0.18	<0.0001	0.33	0.23	0.47
Black	0.59	0.07	<0.0001	1.80	1.58	2.05
Hispanic/Latino	0.25	0.09	<0.001	1.28	1.08	1.52
Multiple– Hispanic/Latino	0.30	0.08	<0.001	1.35	1.16	1.57
Others	0.41	0.10	<0.0001	1.51	1.24	1.84
Grade						
reference: 9						
10	0.34	0.11	<0.001	1.41	1.15	1.73
11	0.56	0.13	<0.0001	1.75	1.35	2.26
12	0.63	0.15	<0.0001	1.88	1.40	2.53
negative network						
yes vs. no	0.74	0.07	<0.0001	2.10	1.83	2.40

Odds Ratios for “other drug use”						
	beta	standard error of beta	p-value	Odds Ratio	lower CI	Upper CI
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Age						
Reference: 12–14yo						
15 yo	0.20	0.10	0.04	1.22	1.01	1.48
16 yo	0.42	0.12	<0.0001	1.52	1.19	1.94
17 yo	0.50	0.14	<0.0001	1.65	1.25	2.19
18 yo	0.55	0.16	<0.0001	1.73	1.25	2.38
Gender						
male vs female	−0.11	0.05	0.02	0.90	0.82	0.98
Race/ethnicity						
reference: white						
Asian	−0.80	0.14	<0.0001	0.45	0.34	0.59
Black	−0.06	0.07	0.35	0.94	0.82	1.07
Hispanic/Latino	0.03	0.08	0.67	1.03	0.89	1.21
Multiple– Hispanic/Latino	0.27	0.07	<0.001	1.31	1.14	1.49
Others	0.35	0.09	<0.0001	1.42	1.19	1.69
Grade						
reference: 9						
10	0.14	0.09	0.12	1.15	0.97	1.37
11	0.30	0.12	<0.0001	1.35	1.07	1.70
12	0.45	0.14	<0.0001	1.57	1.20	2.07
negative network						
yes vs. no	1.34	0.06	<0.0001	3.83	3.42	4.29

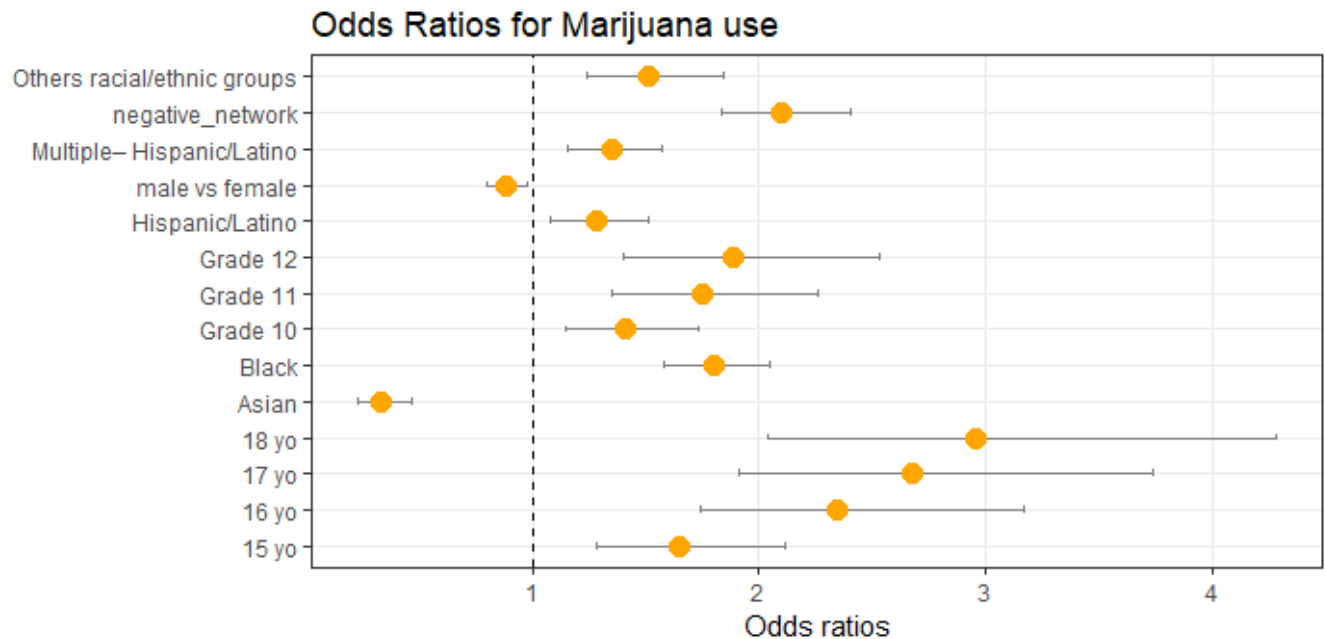


Figure 10. Odds Ratios Marijuana use

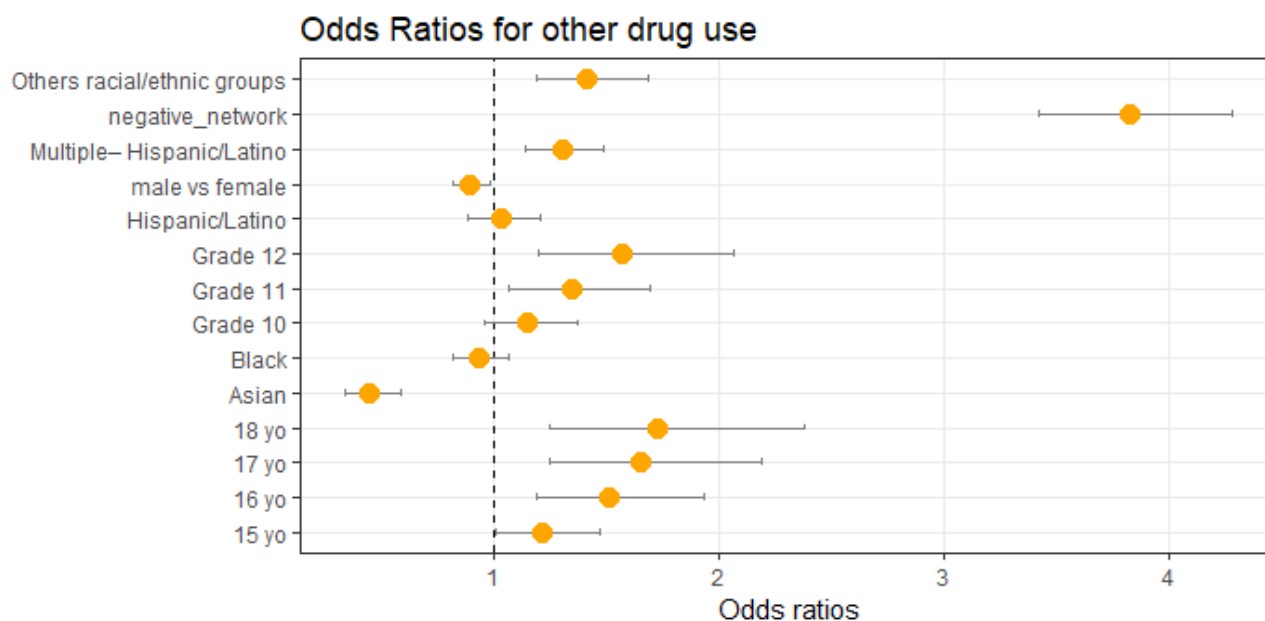


Figure 11. Odds Ratios for other drug use

To further illustrate the risk differences, we created two graphs of predicted probabilities.

Figure 1 is Predicted probability of drug use status by age and race/ethnicity for male students, grade 12, and without negative social network. It

can be seen that: as age increases, the risk of drug use increases. Asian groups have highest probability of no drug use, while groups such as Black Americans have higher risk of marijuana or other drug use.

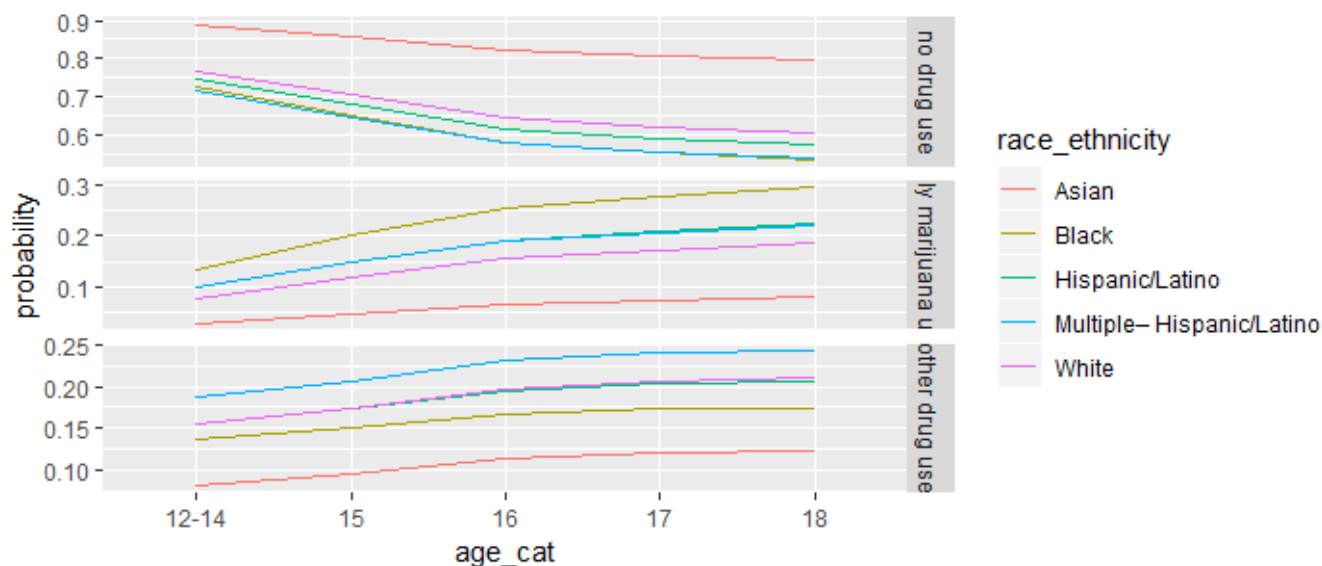


Figure 12. is Predicted probability of drug use status by grade and negative social network for male White students aged 12–14 yo. It can be seen that: as grade increases, the risk of drug use increases. Students with negative social network are more likely to use illicit drugs

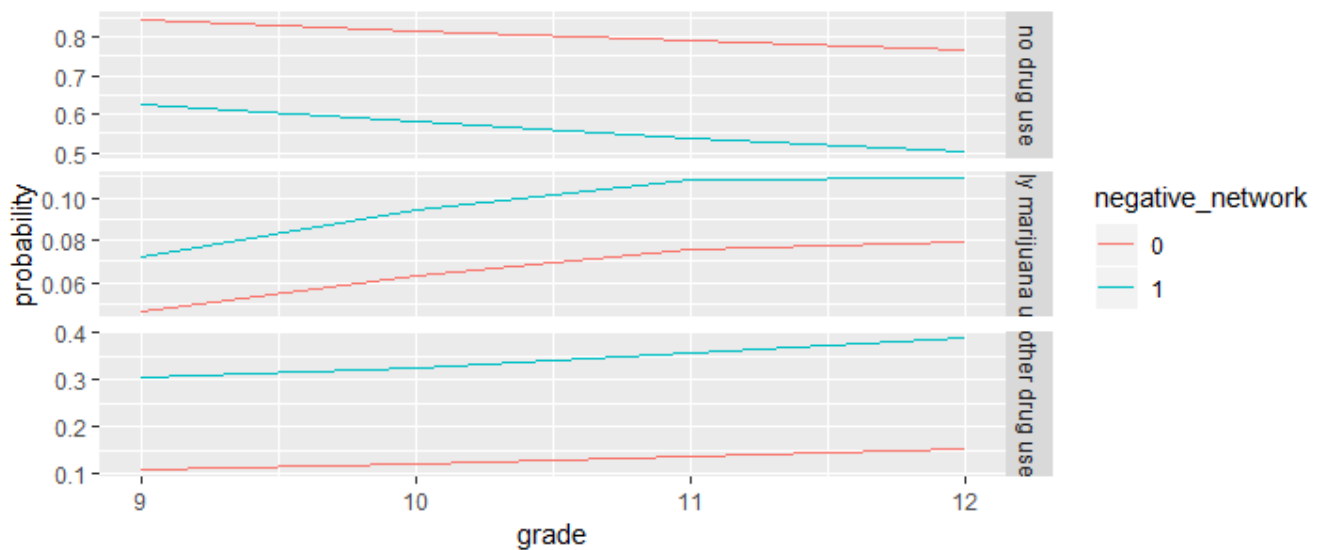


Figure 13. Predicted probability of drug use status by grade and negative network

4. Discussion

We found that older age, higher grade, female gender, and having negative social network are associated with higher risk of marijuana or other drugs. There are also racial/ethnic differences. These findings are similar with previous studies. In addition, compare to others' findings, it shows almost the same result with ours that illicit drug abuse, such as marijuana, are

5. Conclusion

I found that certain demographic characteristics such as age, race/ethnicity, grade, and gender are associated with illicit drug use among adolescents. Meanwhile, having negative social network is associated with higher risk of marijuana or other drugs.

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Section 10. Philology

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ABOUT THE INITIAL NORM OF CONSONANTS OF THE AZERBAIJANI LANGUAGE

Abstract. The article shows that research results are usually advisory in nature. In this regard, the study of local dialects and accents in schools is of great interest in the teaching of speech culture. However, the result is not beyond the scope of the recommendation. Speech culture is an integral part of the general social culture. Some of them are common to the area, some are collaborative, and some are more limited. There is no doubt that serious work has been done in schools to ensure that children follow the standards of speech culture. The main problem was that the children followed the rules of the written language. The acquisition of a culture of speech during the period of global work on cultural and construction work in the Republic of Azerbaijan is of strategic importance both in terms of social, moral and educational, as well as intensive transmission of information. The consistent continuation of research in this direction creates the basis for a unified consensus of experts.

Keywords: speech culture, oral linguistic norms, speech language, written literary language, approximation methods, consonants.

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О НАЧАЛЬНОЙ НОРМЕ СОГЛАСНЫХ АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА

Аннотация. В статье показано, что результаты исследований обычно являются рекомендационного характера. В связи с этим изучение местных диалектов и акцентов в школах представляет большой интерес в преподавании речевой культуры. Тем не менее, результат не выходит за

рамки рекомендации. Речевая культура является неотъемлемой частью общей общественной культуры. Некоторые из них являются общими для местности, некоторые являются совместными, а некоторые более ограничены. Нет сомнений в том, что в школах была проделана серьезная работа по обеспечению того, чтобы дети следовали стандартам речевой культуры. Основная проблема заключалась в том, что дети соблюдали правила письменного языка. Приобретение культуры речи в период глобальной работы по культурно-строительным работам в Азербайджанской Республике имеет стратегическое значение как с точки зрения социальной, моральной и образовательной, так и интенсивной передачи информации. Последовательное продолжение исследований в этом направлении создает основу для единомышленного консенсуса экспертов.

Ключевые слова: речевая культура, устные лингвистические нормы, речевой язык, письменный литературный язык, методы приближения, согласные звуки.

Введение

Современное независимое условие государственности и языковая официальность требуют ускорения практической работы для установления ее устойчивых норм. В практикуемых школах в произношении начала согласных звуков есть конкретные свойственные варианты речи. Для практикующих западных территорий в начале есть варианты произношения, такие как *b-p, p-b, b-m, d-t, d-ç, y-d, y-z, s-ç* [1]. Эти варианты произношения, безусловно, влияют и на речь учеников. Потому, что не исключено, что учащийся не соблюдает эти стандарты в окружающей среде и в семейной среде, хотя первоначальный словарный запас произносится в соответствии с письменными и устными нормами языка. Поэтому устранение различий в местном разговорном языке в школьном языке имеет большое значение для формирования речевой культуры молодого поколения, представляющего будущее страны.

В западных речевых областях согласные звуки, кроме указанных, восемь вариантов имеют и другие отличительные типы. Но более популярные состоят из того, что в исследованиях связанных с учениками они были обобщены. Эти различия, не относятся к общему разговорному языку, и их использование на устном языке обычно неприемлемо. На современном этапе формирование культурной речи молодого поколения в основные переговорные ярлыки предстоит как серьез-

ная неотложная работа в этой области. Преподаватели языка часто считают, что усвоив правила грамматики и орфоэпические привычки ученикам они, выполнили свои обязанности. Конечно, есть много общих аспектов письменного и устного выражения. Они помогают друг другу, потому что они взаимосвязаны. Устная речь, прежде всего, означает живое, выразительное слово. Устная речь, в отличие от письменной речи, имеет больше возможностей выразить мысли и чувства человека. Каждый говорящий должен уметь говорить на правильном языке. Но есть ли обязательная норма правильной речи? Литературные речевые нормы не так просты, как на первый взгляд. Наоборот, это очень сложный и трудный вопрос» [2].

Нигяр Шахбазова пишет: «Определение общих и устойчивых правил произношения литературного языка очень важно с точки зрения развития речевой культуры, с точки зрения речи и правил чтения этих правил. Более важно ожидать литературных норм произношения в настоящее время, когда расширяется область устного языка» [4].

Основная трудность не заключается в том, что усвоение норм не происходит вскоре. Сложность в том, что язык поэтичен, а границы нормы всех его стилей четко не определены. Язык письменности имеет ряд недостатков. Границы разговорной и устной речи не уточнены.

Часть разговорных языковых элементов в устной речи становится нормой. Элементы местного

языка, в том числе местные диалекты и разговорные элементы влияют на устную речь. Изучение, анализ и применение их создает серьезную потребность в интенсивной работе в этой области. Отмечено, что для развития речевой культуры учащихся необходимы два аспекта, связанные с преподаванием родного языка в средней школе. Во втором направлении речь идет о проделанной работе по усвоению норм речевой культуры. Он также отмечает, что в некоторых сельских школах, где характеристики местной полярности по-прежнему «доминируют», такие учителя встречаются редко. Большинство из них обращают внимание не только на литературные привычки произношения учеников, но даже в своей речи они используют особенности местного диалекта по своему усмотрению. Важно помнить о том, что соблюдение орфоэпических норм в устной речи имеет такое же решающее значение, как и соблюдение норм правописания в письменном литературном языке » [3]. Нельзя как то упрекать это сказанное. Как пишет Байрамали Асланов: «Поскольку формирование и развитие навыков развития речи у учеников является одним из основных требований обучения, я стараюсь устранить отсталость, обращая внимание на этот аспект процесса обучения на каждом этапе процесса обучения. Потому, что ученики могут регулярно работать в этой области, чтобы выразить свои мысли и идеи в устной и письменной форме. Студент часто не «видит» ошибки, которые он или она пропустили в устной речи. Изучение правильного произношения – длительный процесс » [5]. Принимая во внимание эти утверждения, можно сделать вывод, что в правилах орфоэпической нормы действительно есть недостатки. Чтобы устранить эти недостатки, необходимо скоординировать усилия преподавателей, педагогических работников и исследователей в области культуры речи. В связи с этим имеем право обосновать следующую мысль Арзу Амирли и Вагифа Курбанова: «Ограничение работы в средней школе только по правилам орфоэпии отрицательно влияет на речевую культуру» [6].

Опытная учительница Гульнара Аббасова пишет: «Образование проблемной ситуации на уроке в учебном процессе особенно помогают ученикам выдвигать самостоятельные суждения. Создание проблемной ситуации на уроке создает условия для глубокого мышления студентов и побуждает их думать и искать. Это также создает стимул для интеллектуальной деятельности, направленной на раскрытие проблемы у студентов» [7]. Агамамед Абдуллаев также отмечает, что развитие менталитета играет важную роль в формировании у детей способности говорить, творчества, суждения и свободы слова и, таким образом, в приобретении речевой культуры. «Развитие речи учеников – общая проблема, стоящая перед школой. Развивая мышление детей, мы, несомненно, влияем на их речь, и, развивая их речь, мы также обеспечиваем развитие мышления» [8].

Учитель должен принять во внимание, что ключевым инструментом для разработки письменного заявления является устная подготовка. Направление работы по развитию речи многомерно, и каждая часть языка обслуживает определенную область развития речи» [9].

Также возможно увеличение этих мыслей и мнений экспертов по культуре речи. Хотя все предложенные соображения имеют разные ориентации, цель состоит в том, чтобы принять более интенсивное принятие правил норм речевой культуры. Так что есть желание, цель та же, но способы подхода разные. Методы подхода варьируются в зависимости от того, что устный язык не имеет такой фиксированной нормы, хотя существуют строгие правила письменного языка. Хотя ссылка на правила Орфоэпии считается уместной, эти правила объединены. Поэтому выдвигаемые идеи остаются неактуальными, и нет другого надежного человека, кроме личности учителя. Учитель нуждается в фиксированном, четком, точном бюджете. Пока таких средств не будет, возникнут трудности при реализации идей. Эксперименты также показывают, что существует множество

препятствий на пути преподавания и изучения культуры речи [11].

Заключение: Варианты, присущие западным областям языка, как правило, не равны. Некоторые из них являются характерными для местности, некоторые являются общими, а некоторые более ограничены. Некоторые варианты относятся к полученным словам. Например, различия между переходами *b-p* и *b-m* являются общими для всех западно-говорящих районов. Вариантности, наблюдаемые в переходах *D-t* и *d-ç* являются общими. То есть произношение, которое встречается как на *d-t*, так и на *d-ç*, является параллельным самим пользователям языка, не подозревая об этом. А расхождения по переходам *Y-d*, *y-z*, *s-ç* ограничены. В том смысле, что произношение, которое наблюдается в таких переходах не массовое, а используется в некоторых словах. Выраженное произношение на переходе *P-b* наблюдается в полученных словах. Кроме того, можно отметить, что переход *v-l* в ограниченной полосе также используется в составе полученных слов.

Разница в *b-p*, наблюдаемая в начале, более значительна в западно-говорящих районах, и почти все они имеют одинаковое различие в речи. Будь то школьник, учитель или обычный человек, такое массовое различие является причиной многих препятствий в принятии, консолидации и применении единой и стабильной речевой культуры. Тем не менее, нет никаких сомнений в том, что школы прилагают все усилия, чтобы дети соответствовали стандартам речевой культуры. Можно полностью оправдать мнение исследователя Сулеймана Гусейнова, что «культура речи – это совокупность норм литературного языка и их знание законности, их формирование и приобретение». Речевая культура измеряется нравственным уровнем людей. Культурный уровень связан с тем, что все слои населения знают свой родной язык, заботятся о них и любят их» [10].

Произношение согласного *p* как *b* в западных речевых местностях в начале слогов наблюдается

только в полученных словах. Например, произношение слова *padval* как *badval*, *patron* как *badrum* (*badron*), *palto* как *baldun*, *pomidor* как *bamador* имеет прямое отношение к речевым областям Запада. В устной речи учеников такой разницы не обнаружено. Потому что это произношение только для пожилого поколения. Поэтому не было необходимости давать им конкретные инструкции относительно этих слов.

Популярность перехода согласного *b* на *m* в начале наблюдается только при склонении указательного местоимения *bu*: а само слово *bu* используется в именительном падеже в соответствии с письменной языковой нормой: *bu – minin, mina, minu, munda, minnan*. Также важно отметить, что наблюдения проведенные относительно перехода *b-m* указательного местоимения *bu*, указывают на то, что такая замена не является постоянной. Как правило, в речи интеллектуальных людей произношение с началом *m* встречается редко. В речи полуграмотных и пожилых людей замен *b-m* можно найти гораздо больше. И в речи учеников отмечается, что переход *b-m* не является стабильным. В тех семьях, когда склоняется местоимение *bu*, произносится с началом *m*, у детей наблюдаются начало на *m*. В речи остальных использование начала *b* является доминирующим. В этом случае нетрудно исправить начало *m*. Также в этом неравномерном произношении считается целесообразным увеличение заданий со зрительной памятью.

Различия в *d-t* и *d-ç* в западных областях речи не всегда постоянны. *D-t* и *d-ç* разности используются параллельно с *diş-tiş-çiş*, *düş-tüş-çüş*, *düşmən-tuşman-çuşman*, *dişi-tişi-çişi*. Трудно четко определить границы употребления этих вариантов. Однако желательно поощрять прямые письменные языковые нормы для адаптации детей к единому стандарту. Например, из устных бесед с учениками было ясно, что они не склонны к вариантному произношению. Первоначально они смогли сложить общее мнение о том, что вариант

d является более подходящим, чем звуков *t* и *ç*. путем целенаправленной интенсификации тренингов по нормам речевой культуры.
Устранить эти незначительные различия можно

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Section 11. Philosophy

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GENESIS AND TRANSFORMATION OF PSYCHIATRIC POWER INTO WESTERN EUROPEAN SOCIETY

Abstract. This article examines the process of formation psychiatry in Western Europe from the end of the Middle Ages to the middle of the XIX century. The main purpose of the article was to systematize and formulate linearly the main milestones for the transformation of attitudes toward madness in Michel Foucault's analytical work and his lectures. The article is a disclosure of the main differences of a madman in a society over time, from the medieval lunatic to the exile, then the monster, and even to the creation of a typification of madness, various strategies of behavior with the madmen, and finally to madness, like mirrors of truth.

Keywords: insanity, crazy, psychiatry, isolation, thinking, personality.

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ГЕНЕЗИС И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ ПСИХИАТРИЧЕСКОЙ ВЛАСТИ В ЗАПАДНОЕВРОПЕЙСКОМ ОБЩЕСТВЕ

Аннотация. В данной статье рассматривается процесс становления психиатрии в обществе Западной Европы с конца Средних веков до середины XIX века. Основной целью статьи было систематизировать и составить линейно основные вехи трансформации отношения к безумию в аналитических работах Мишеля Фуко и его лекциях. Статья представляет собой изложение главных отличий безумца в обществе с течением времени от средневекового юродивого, до изгнанника, затем монстра и до создания типизации безумия, различных стратегий поведения с сумасшедшими и наконец до безумия, как зеркала истины.

Ключевые слова: безумие, сумасшедший, психиатрия, изоляция, мышления, личность.

Анализируя долгий путь институализации безумия и трансформации образа безумия, французский философ Мишель Фуко отмечает, что в XIX веке психическая болезнь стала рассматриваться культурой как проявление скрытой сущности, в которой человек может найти разгадку самого себя. Безумный в XIX выполняет двоякую роль, ведь безумие несет в себе угрозу, но и насмешки, раскрывает абсурдность мира и ничтожность человека вместе с тем.

Цель данной статьи – проследить путь безумия от средневекового юродивого к этому переломному моменту в XIX веке и далее. Эти трансформации позволяют утвердить мысль о том, что безумие является социальным конструктом, который менялся вместе с обществом. Стоит заметить, что Фуко рассматривает феномен безумия в контексте Западной Европы, поэтому анализ локализован именно там и не выходит за пределы западноевропейского общества.

Проблематика безумия – одна из главных тем, разработанных с помощью его археологического метода. «Как раз отношением к безумию он проверяет смысл человеческого существования, уровень его цивилизованности, способность его к самопознанию и, тем самым, к самопознанию и пониманию своего положения в культуре <...> И в этом плане вся история человечества выглядит у него как история безумия» [1] – именно так характеризует И. Ильин теорию безумия М. Фуко.

Приближаясь к концу Средних веков, в культуре сумасшедший начинает занимать место хранителя истины в любых театральных спектаклях, фарсах, сказках или сатире. «Если Глупость ввергает каждого в какое-то ослепление, когда человек теряет себя, то Дурак, наоборот, возвращает его к правде о себе самом; <...> влюбленным он объясняет, что такое любовь, юношам – в чем правда жизни, гордец, хамам и обманщикам – как они на самом деле ничтожны.» [2]. Такое видение, очевидно, отходит корнями в далекое прошлое, ведь в недалеком прошлом «глупость» сводилась

к гордыне, недостатка милосердия, забвение христианских добродетелей.

Однако со времен Эразма Роттердамского безумие уже не представляет угрозы извне, оно проникает в самого человека. Искажена не объективная истина мироздания как такового, а только истина в самом человеке, в отношении того, что она может постичь. В это время безумие перестает быть чуждостью и непостижимостью мироздания. Безумие рождается в сердцах людей, покоряет своей власти, заставляет действовать по собственным правилам.

В XVI веке нет безумия безотносительно к разуму, а истина разума сводится к тому, чтобы разоблачить безумие, которое он отрицает и в котором растворяется одновременно. Такое отношение лишило безумия фантастичности, ведь теперь оно существует только в соотношении с умом. «Настоящий ум не тот, который свободен от любых компромиссов с безумием, а то, что, наоборот, уважает своим долгом осваивать определенные безумием пути» [2]. Вслед за открытием того, что безумие присуще разуму, происходит его раздвоение на «безумное безумие», то есть отрицание безумия ума, и на «мудрое безумие», то есть прислушивание к безумию, что тем самым является надежной защитой от самого безумия. Таким образом, в XV веке безумие теряет свою эсхатологическую фигуру, как пограничная зона между миром, человеком и смертью.

Считается, что в Средние века безумие носило в себе сакральную фигуру одержимости, Сакральность заключалась в том, что согласно средневековой идее милосердия, нищета и бедность сама по себе выражала сакральность. А сумасшедшие демонстрировали и превозносили нищету и их место в госпитале, вместе с другими нищими и убогими. Изменилась также и сама фигура сумасшедшего: если в средневековье безумие было тесно связано с религиозностью, ведь оно приходило из другого мира, теперь безумие находится рядом с проблемами правопорядка, нормами поведения. «Когда

безумном давали приют, потому что он приходил извне; теперь его выгоняют, потому что он появляется внутри общества, и место его – в ряду бедняков, нищих, бродяг» [2, 79]. Отныне безумие означает невозможность работать, интегрироваться в коллектив, что и послужило началом заключения. Сближение безумия и разврата в европейской культуре является новинкой классической эпохи. Пространство изоляции теперь занимают одновременно и грешники против плоти, и грешники против разума. Именно в это время безумие начинает родниться с чувством вины.

В классическую эпоху две сферы восприятия глупости существуют параллельно: юридически сумасшедший признан недееспособным и невменяемым, то есть его лишают прав. Вторая сфера – социальная: сумасшедший признается возмущающим нарушителем норм и требует изоляции. Таким образом сформировалась судебно-медицинская экспертиза, которая исследовала извращения и опасность безумия. «Другими словами, стыковка медицинского и правового означает восстановление в правах родительско-детского дискурса <...> это дискурс, организуется не только вокруг поля извращения, но также и вокруг проблемы социальной опасности: это еще и дискурс страха, дискурс, задача которого – выявить опасность и дать ей отпор» [3, 58]. Предметом судебно-правовой экспертизы является категория ненормальных, которые никак не коррелируются ни с преступником или невиновным, ни с больным или здоровым. Здесь действует только градация от нормальности к ненормальности. То есть цель экспертизы – нормализация.

Изоляция имеет двойную роль: с одной стороны, она прячет безумие, но с другой – указывает на него и на чувство стыда за него. «Безумие превратилось в дело, дело зримую и зрелищную: это уже не чудовище, таится в глубинах человеческого «я», а непонятная устроена животное, чистый звериный начало, в котором уничтожено все человеческое.» [2]. Образ животного позволяет

обращаться с сумасшедшим соответственно, то есть приковывать к стенам, сажать в клетки, все, что делают чтобы обуздать зверя, освободившийся от нравственности и отдался бешености. Цель изоляции – не исправление, раскаяние или даже не наказание, а именно обуздания. Животность отныне не является признаком дьявола или потусторонних сил. Зверь – только безумие в его естественном проявлении. Он не меняет сущности человека, а лишь снижает человечность до минимального уровня. С появлением эволюционной теории безумие связывали с возвращением к первоначальному состоянию, как симптом и сущность безумия. Но в классическую эпоху со зверем ассоциируется с устойчивостью к холоду, голоду, боли и другим суровым условиям существования. Человек, опустилась до уровня зверя в то же время становится неуязвимым к болезням, то есть сама природа становится к нему мягче. С таким отношением безумие не подлежит медицинской сфере и исправительным мерам, а только дрессуре. Смысл дрессуры идет не о том, чтобы вернуть безумца к человеческому, а наоборот в том, чтобы довести до максимальной степени все животное, открыть исток звериного, в котором и есть истина безумия.

В XVIII веке одним из объяснений возникновения безумия выступила свобода, богатство и роскошь. То есть безумие получило экономически политические факторы. Ведь свобода влечет за собой гораздо большие опасности, чем деспотическая власть. В то же время, религия также является тем фактором, порождает безумие, потому что религия является основой для развития воображаемого, иллюзорного и оправдывает любые формы галлюцинаций и бреда. С другой стороны, религия вводит довольно суровые правила спасения души, наказание за грехи и проступки, вызывает меланхолию. Еще одним фактором развития безумия выступил развитие науки. С первого взгляда очевидно, что наука наоборот имеет целью развеять ошибочные суждения, но в то же

время на фоне научных теорий создается множество псевдонаучных, спекулятивных теорий, вызывают постоянное возбуждение ума.

В XIX веке в психиатрии стали применять наркотические средства. Эксперименты также проводили психиатры сами на себе, ведь наркотический опыт очень схож с ходом развития болезни. Еще до этого психиатр олицетворял фигуру нормального, что давало ему право поступать закон над безумием. Но раньше, до экспериментов с гашишем и другими наркотиками, действовал закон исключения: «ты сумасшедший, потому что думаешь не так, как я; я признаю тебя сумасшедшим, поскольку твои действия не повинуются причинам, понятным мне. » [4]. Отныне психиатр знаком с безумием изнутри. Еще одним открытием наркотического опыта стали сновидения, а именно понимание того, что безумие – это состояние нервной системы, когда барьеры сна и бодрости разрушены.

Изменения в вопросе безумие происходят постоянно. Так, во времена Фуко и в наше время это так же все еще имеет место, происходит разграничение безумие и психического заболевания, с XVII века были сомкнуты между собой. Разграничение происходит как в языке, так и в общественном сознании, мысли. В Западной культуре безумие долгое время размещалось между запретом слова и запретом деяния. В то время, как в XVII веке начали создавать городские приюты, запрет деяния безумие переместился в область нравственного, в то же время сохраняло существенный связь с сексуальными запретами. Классическая эпоха приравнивает безумие с либертена мысли и слова, еретиков, богохульников, колдунов, алхимиков, то есть всех их объединяет языковая запрет. Таким об-

разом, безумие – это исключительная язык, то есть безумцы – это те, кто произносят слова без смысла, сакрализованной высказывания или слова с запрещенным содержанием.

С приходом Фрейда безумие перестает быть запретом слова, оно превращается в «слово, которое – более того, что оно говорит, – что-то другое: то, единственным кодом чего может быть только оно само – вот она, если угодно, эзотерическая язык, и основа ее содержится внутри слова, которое, в конечном итоге, не говорит ничего, кроме этой взаимодопускаемости» [5]. Безумие стало хранилищем смысла. Однако это хранилище не подразумевает функцию просто открыть и взять то, что нужно, смысл открывается сквозь пустоту, где речь и произнесения формируют друг друга и говорят только об этом свое отношение.

Завершая изложение основного материала, стоит подытожить, что сумасшедшие в любое время были отражением настроений в обществе и культуре. Когда царит паника, наиболее умным кажется избавиться от всего непредсказуемого и непонятного, когда царит хаос и беззаконие – заставить все и всех подчиняться правилам и порядку, когда свободы и знаний становится больше, появляются попытки овладеть и приручить то, что до сих пор не подвергалось дрессуре. Фуко сделал огромный вклад в историческое представление отношения общества к безумию и до безумных. Именно в исторической перспективе становится четко видно каким образом наше современное видение этого феномена сформировалось, что являются пережитками прошлого, а что – инновационными методами. К сожалению, Фуко успел захватить период только середины XX века, но это дает прочную основу будущим исследованиям.

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THE DISCUSSION OF FLOW STATE IN ANCIENT CHINESE TEXTS

Abstract. The purpose of the study is to find out the commonality between ancient Chinese philosophers. After reading and analyzing the philosophies of different ancient Chinese thinkers, it can be found out that a lot of them not only mention but also stress the importance of going with the flow. This article is going to look into the ways they deliver the idea and how it helps them in their achievements.

Keywords: ancient Chinese thoughts, flow state, Confucius, Laozi, Mencius, Zhuangzi, Chinese classics.

After reading the texts of many ancient Chinese philosophers, one might conclude that the reason these texts still exist today is that these philosophers are the masters in their area so that their students feel compelled to record their sayings and possibly propagate their teachings to a greater group of people. But have you ever wondered how these idealistic masters of these thoughts achieve their status and reputation? While the effort of their students is indispensable, something must also exist in themselves that drives them to reach toward perfection in their studies of philosophy. To reach such a state, intense concentration and firm faith are both necessary. Then how do they become so focused and persistent in their fields? Though it is impossible to travel back in time and find out what prompted them to do so, I resort to find the answer inside these texts. Coming across to read the many of the ancient Chinese texts, I noticed a commonality between all of them: they seem to be all talking about this idea of being in the flow state, and that might be the reason behind their incessant effort to reaching perfection. This paper is going to discuss how the idea of going with the flow is incorporated

in each text and how different texts focus on the different aspects of it.

What defines a flow state? According to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, the psychologist who coined the term "flow state," it is defined as "a state of concentration so focused that it amounts to absolute absorption in an activity" [1; 2] (Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi is an American-Hungarian psychologist who, after 20 years of studying the state of optimal experience, has concluded that a person attains their optimal experience when they are in a flow state. He is the first psychologist to define the flow state, and his definition of the flow state served as a basis for me to develop my argument about the flow state in ancient Chinese philosophies). It is reached when a person is fully immersed into the activity he performs, notices nothing about other outside influence, and attains nearly perfection in his field. In fact, this state of mind had been discussed by many ancient Chinese philosophers long before the subject of psychology had been invented. Starting from perhaps the most famous Chinese philosopher, Kongzi, ancient Chinese thought started to develop and evolve gradually into many different schools. Despite their obvious

differences, the notion of going with the flow can be found in most of them. In discussing going with the flow, different philosophers emphasize the different aspects of this notion, which distinguishes the emphasis of the texts from each other.

To start, the *Analects*' (論語) view of going with the flow is subtle yet still present throughout the book. Taking a different viewpoint from the other philosophers on this notion, the *Analects* discusses this idea from two aspects: one is a person's internal state in the flow and the other is his external performance in it. Devoting many passages to discussing how to become a *junzi* (君子), the text stresses the importance of going with the flow, among all the other good qualities that the text describes. Both aspects, internal and external state when a person is in the flow, play an important role in forming Kongzi's opinion on how to achieve this high moral state.

The internal state of mind of being in the flow is discussed in several parts of the text in the *Analect*. Firstly, there is a part in which Kongzi discusses the "flow" literally. In 9.17, he writes, "how it [water] flows on, never ceasing, night and day!" [2, 43] (The *Analects* of Kongzi is one, and probably the most famous one, of the collections of Kongzi's sayings. Even though it is ambiguous that whether Kongzi existed in history, the *Analects* is said to be compiled by his students many years after his death. Kongzi, or known as Confucius, is one of the great philosophers in spring and autumn period in ancient China. He founded Confucianism, which became a major school of ancient Chinese thoughts. This translation of the *Analects* was done by Robert Eno, who was the professor in the East Asian Language and Culture Department at Indiana University). These words paint a picture of Kongzi standing by a river bank and expressing his admiration toward the flowing water. He praises water for its ability to always keep practicing in the same activity. Regardless of its circumstances, the water just keeps flowing unswervingly. But this passage delivers something more than just water. In fact, it reflects Kongzi's admiration for

the kind of person who maintains the same determination and practices it day by day. This describes the personality of a *junzi*, who, no matter what happens, remains in a still, calm mental state. Like water, a *junzi* persists in his belief all the way through, and that is one of the elements of being in the flow internally.

Other than in a literal sense, the mental state of going with the flow is also present in other parts of the text. For example, *Analects* 3.7 states, "The *junzi* does not compete... They[non-*junzis*] compete at being *junzis*" [2, 10]. In the comparison between *junzi* and non-*junzi*, since a *junzi* already has a set of firm beliefs that he establishes for himself, he does not bother to think about how other people view him. Even though he might find himself in such a competitive environment, he does not feel the pressure to compare himself with others. In contrast, people who are not yet *junzis* involve in the competition to become them. They have not realized that the key distinction is that once a person reaches the moral state of a *junzi*, he does not compete anymore. Instead, he remains insusceptible in the society, knowing but ignoring the competitions among people who have not become *junzis* yet. This observation Kongzi makes of a *junzi* in this passage resembles the quality of the flowing water: he maintains a firm determination regardless of the situation.

The depiction of being in the flow mentally also appears in *Analects* 7.37: "the *junzi* is free and easy, the small man always careworn" [2, 35]. Kongzi presents a contrast between *junzi* and small men; what makes them different is their attitude toward life. In contrast to the small man who is always bothered by the troubles in life, the *junzi* is more broad-minded and calmly overcomes the obstacles. Like a flow of water, although he sits in a place easily affected by others, he is in fact firm in his state of mind so that nothing bothers him anymore, which is the reason that he becomes "free and easy."

The second aspect of going with the flow is how he performs when he is in the flow, which is depicted in the *Analects* through instances when Kongzi's

behaviors serve as examples and are observed and recorded by his students. According to *Analects* 7.14, “When the Master was in the State of Qi, he heard the Shao Music. For three months he did not know the taste of meat” [2, 31]. This is an example of Kongzi being completely in the flow: listening to the Shao Music, he even forgets what meat tastes like and how much time has passed. Since three months is not a short period of time, it further shows the level of concentration Kongzi possesses. This is what happens when a person is intensely focused in his state of mind; he does not care about anything else. Since Kongzi is portrayed as a *junzi* in the *Analects*, such behavior of him is written down as an example of what a *junzi* should act like. Once a *junzi* is in the flow, he will be totally absorbed into it and unwilling to come out.

Another instance is *Analects* 10.3:

- When the ruler ordered him to greet a guest to court, he changed expression, as if flushing. His step became hurried. When he stood beside the guests, he bowed to them, putting first his left or right hand, as appropriate. His robes remained even in front and back. When stepping with them towards the throne, he walked with quickened step, his arms bent wing-like. When the guests had departed, he always returned to report, saying, “The guests have ceased to look back” [2, 46].

This is not just a random instance, but one of the common examples in Book 10 of the *Analects* that shows Kongzi’s serious attitude to rituals, which is the theme of the book and describes what happens when he is absorbed into his flow of ritual. The detailed depictions about his step, his standing posture, his bow, his hand gesture, his walking style, and his words to the ruler all serve to illustrate that when Kongzi is in his flow, he focuses on every single detail, and thus he is entirely absorbed in it until he finishes the ritual. He is praised for this quality and his level of participation, which make him such a master in ritual.

The ideal of going with the flow is perhaps more obvious and pervasive in the *Daodejing* (道德經), in which the text makes an argument that a person should go with the flow by leaving his situation in its most natural state and exerting minimal effort. The *Daodejing* argues that a person achieves the Way through nonaction because this is also the way of Heaven, which does make all beings respond to it without having to say or do anything. The idea of nonaction resembles that of going with the flow in the sense that they both literally mean moving along without exerting any effort. Laozi elaborates this idea in several instances in the *Daodejing*.

Like the *Analects*, there is also one instance in the *Daodejing* in which Laozi discusses the flow in a literal sense. Chapter 8 writes, “The highest good is like water. / Water is good at benefiting the myriad creatures, while not contending with them” [3, 172]. (Laozi is believed to be the philosopher who founded Daoism and the author of the *Daodejing*, but it is also uncertain that a real person existed in history. Contemporary with Kongzi, Laozi, however, proposes a different philosophy. In the *Daodejing*, he presents how a person can reach “the Way,” the ultimate goal of a person’s life. Daoism is also a big school of thoughts in ancient China. The translation was done by Philip J. Ivanhoe, an historian of Chinese thought and a professor at Sungkyunkwan University in Seoul, South Korea). The difference between the ways that the two texts describe water is that the water here is not flowing, which matches the main argument in the *Daodejing*, nonaction. Not moving, the water is still able to influence other beings, which is the quality the text admires. Pure water itself, being completely transparent, signifies something austere and unadorned. It just goes along with what situation pushes it to do without exerting any effort. Since water is also the origin of all lives, the *Daodejing* also uses this character to portray the benefits it brings to others. Here the text implicitly makes an analogy between water and human beings by depicting characteristics they both have. This is

the state of being that he sees as ideal for a person as well: he remains in an austere state of mind, goes with his innate instinct, has certain power and ability to influence other individuals, yet is never affected by them and remains in a neutral standpoint.

This state of mind is further discussed in Chapter 62 of the *Daodejing*: “Those who offer up precious jades and present fine steeds are not as good as those who stay in their seat and promote the Way” [3, 190]. The passage perfectly reflects the two types of persons: one is those who strive for opportunities by offering up treasures, and the other is those who do not exert any effort but just go with their flow in pursuing the Way. Comparing these two types of people, the latter one is more favorable according to the text, and that is how the *Daodejing* suggests a person should do to align with the Way. Offering up precious substances is just a distraction to pursuing the Way, and the most practical way is just to sit quietly and stay completely in the flow, neither striving to get attention, nor building the so-called connections to people of high authority. Discard all those distracting thoughts and go with the flow, the text proposes, and a person will get closer to achieving the Way.

Chapter 20 of the *Daodejing* states, “Cut off learning and be without worry!” [3, 168] Here, even though the text proposes a contrasting theory to the *Analects*, which tells people to learn at all times, it brings a similar feeling to the passage in the *Analects* that compares the free, easy *junzis* and careworn small men. The ideal state the *Daodejing* pursues is similar to that of the *Analects*, to be free and without worry. “Learning” in this passage represents an action of exerting effort, and to “cut off learning” reflects the text’s point of view that exerting effort does not have any use other than distraction. In essence, when a person is in the flow, no actions need to be performed and nothing needs to be worried about. To cut the effort off and to practice nonaction is the most ideal way of living. Since people are already shaped when they are born, they just need to go with the flow and practice nonaction in order to succeed.

Zhuangzi (莊子), overall, gives a feeling of freedom and wandering. Despite this free feeling, he states the importance of remaining in a focused state, which also means remaining in the flow. Similar to an aspect emphasized by the *Analects*, *Zhuangzi*’s interpretation of going with the flow is that no matter how easy-going a person seems on the outside, he is not easily affected by other people’s opinions. Only through maintaining his initial intentions can a person achieve the Way.

To understand *Zhuangzi*’s perspective on going with the flow, firstly, it would be helpful to look at his description of someone who is in his flow. In Chapter Three, the text describes a butcher who is totally proficient in cutting up oxen. He says:

- When I first began cutting up oxen, I did not see anything but oxen. Three years later, I couldn’t see the whole ox. And now, I encounter them with spirit and don’t look with my eyes [4, 220].

(*Zhuangzi*, along with the *Daodejing*, are the foundation of the school of Daoism. *Zhuangzi* is supposed to be written by an ancient Chinese philosopher, Zhuang Zhou. In the book, the author conveys the feeling of freedom and wandering. He makes good use of his imagination, which helps him construct a vivid picture to strengthen his argument. This part of the translation was done by Paul Kjellberg, who specializes in Chinese philosophy and Greek and German traditions and is a professor of philosophy at Whittier College).

This is what happens when a person is fully immersed into his zone. For the butcher, he forgets about the essence of cutting-up oxen but only goes with his instinct, and that is when he becomes a master of it. The reason that *Zhuangzi* includes this story is that in order to become the master of anything, one has to gain the mental state similar to that of the butcher. One has to insulate himself from the outside world, forget about the substance itself, and maximize his attention on it. Once he achieves this state of mind by going with the flow, he is able to develop a new perspective and achieve mastery.

Zhuangzi expresses its attitude toward going with the flow through describing the ideal way of life. In Chapter Two, the text writes:

- Don't insist but lodge in the usual. The usual is useful. You can use it to penetrate. When you penetrate, you get it. Get it and you're almost there. Just go along with things. Doing that without knowing how things are is what I call the Way [4, 213].

In the first few sentences, *Zhuangzi* proposes that one should immerse into his environment through the action of "penetrate." The text also states that penetration can lead a person to "get it," meaning that he achieves realization. "Doing that without knowing how things are" perfectly matches the notion of going with the flow in the sense that when a person is fully immersed into the zone, he forgets the essence of it but just keeps going. In this part of the text, it argues that even though a person does not insist on anything, he still holds a set of beliefs that he should go along with what his heart tells him to do. Essentially, in order to reach the Way, one should be completely immersed into the environment around him and absorbed into the state of being that his mind urges him to do.

Another good example is in chapter one when the text discusses how a person should act in response to other people. It writes:

- People who know how to do one job, handle a small town, or impress a ruler to get put in charge of a state see themselves like this... The whole world could praise him and he would not be encouraged. The whole world could condemn him and he would not be upset [4, 206].

The people *Zhuangzi* describes in the first sentence of this passage are the masters of their areas. They are the people *Zhuangzi* regards as the ones who are in the flow. The passage reveals *Zhuangzi's* belief that when a person is fully absorbed into his flow, he would not be influenced by how other people view him. This behavior holds great importance because only when a person

is uninfluenced by other people's opinions, he is able to remain confident and persist in his goal firmly. This is the state of mind that the author of this text wishes to achieve: to stay in the flow at all times without being affected by what other people think of him.

Last but not least, when *Zhuangzi* discusses the manners of the sages, it expresses an admiring sentiment for their ability to go with the flow freely. The text writes:

- Since they have human form, they flock with people. Since they lack human essence, right and wrong do not get to them. Infinitesimally small, they flock with people. Indescribably large, they complete their Heaven alone [4, 229].

Since "they flock with people," the sages conform with their surroundings, but at the same time, because "right and wrong do not get to them," they are not affected by how people judge them. *Zhuangzi* aspires to the mental state of the sages, for even though they live in a world shared with everyone and flock with the society, they are still broad-minded and are able to "complete their Heaven alone." The fundamental reason behind this state of mind is that they are in the flow of striving to achieve the Way. Living inside the flow, no matter where a person is situated and how distracting the place is, he will be completely focused in his pursuit of his goals and be uninfluenced by the outside factors.

The text of *Mengzi* (孟子) makes the argument that human nature is originally good, and thus for a person, following his nature is going with the flow. *Mengzi* illustrates this idea with the use of a lot of botanical metaphors, since plants, in many ways, resemble humans. For plants to grow in nature, going with the flow means that they follow their path of growth without human interference. This is analogous to human beings: for them, to go with the flow means that they just have to follow their instinct, and since human nature is originally good, they will achieve high moral states only through being unaffected by outside factors.

An example of the botanical metaphors can be found in book two when the *Mengzi* talks about the seedlings [5, 123] (*Mengzi* is the work of the imaginary Chinese philosopher and politician Mengzi, or Mencius. *Mengzi* is also a work of Confucianism, and Mengzi himself is said to be the fourth generation of disciples of Kongzi. To build onto Kongzi's point, Mengzi proposes an important argument that human nature is good, but it needs nourishment. The translation was done by Bryan W. Van Norden, a translator of ancient Chinese texts and a scholar of Chinese and comparative philosophy; he was also a professor at Vassar College). In this story, someone who is too anxious about his grain pulls up the seedlings to "help [them] grow," but the result turns out to be that all of them wither. The moral of this story is obvious yet profound: everything has its way, and forcing it to go against its way will lead to bad outcomes. In this story, the growth pattern of the plants is the flow, and the only way to let the plants thrive is to go along with it. Any interference – in this case, the person's effort to force it to grow – disrupts the flow, and thus the plants cannot reach their ideal state. The same moral also applies to humans: human nature is the flow for people, and when people choose to follow it and isolate from outside interference, they will achieve success.

Another example is the story about the trees of Ox Mountain in book six [5, 145–46]. The trees once flourished, but since people consistently cut trees down and animals always graze on the grass, the mountains become barren, and people treat it as a norm. This is an example of the flow being disrupted, and the text intends to show how brutal the result is. The nature of the trees is to grow without interference from humans and animals, so it can be anticipated that they will flourish on the mountains. Once living in the flow when the mountains were prosperous, those trees were disrupted from it since the cutting and grazing began. They were prevented from following their nature, and thus their flow no longer continues. Similar results will be seen if

the moral behind this story is applied to humans. A person who follows his nature will become a sage, but since he is frequently influenced by the society around him, he gradually diverts his attention and is no longer in his flow.

Other than the botanical metaphors, there are other instances in the *Mengzi* that strengthen the importance of going with the flow. In book six, the text makes a comparison between human nature and water:

- Now, by striking water and making it leap up, you can cause it to go past your forehead. If you guide it by damming it, you can cause it to remain on a mountaintop. But is this the nature of water?! It is that way because of the circumstances. That humans can be caused to not be good is due to their natures also being like this [5, 140].

Here, the text's central argument is that human nature is the same as water, which only goes downward instead of upward without outside interference. Acting in the same way, human nature can also only develop in a good direction if the person goes with the flow. Striking and damming are both examples of outside interference trying to violate the instinct of water. Similarly, for human beings to become bad, it must also involve other factors that cause them to go against the flow. The difference between a sage and a normal person is that the sage remains an unswerving heart despite his circumstances. Therefore, since outside factors are sometimes ubiquitous, it becomes more important not to be easily influenced by them, so that a person can achieve a moral state close to that of a sage.

Despite these ancient Chinese philosophers' common goal of reaching perfection through going with the flow, they have slightly different interpretations on how to practice it. The *Analects* shows the state of going with the flow internally and externally, the *Daodejing* says it is achieved through nonaction, *Zhuangzi* states it is a firm attitude despite outside influence, and *Mengzi* expresses that it is following the human nature. It is intriguing to see that the same idea is presented in all of these texts, and more-

over, how the authors develop different branches of thoughts from this idea. To understand it helps create a clearer picture of how these thoughts built on each other and finally came into being. After knowing the differences in the ways these philosophers deliver the same idea, the question remains: why do these ancient Chinese philosophers like the idea of going with the flow so much? Perhaps they find this idea attractive because they coincidentally observed that nature acts like this; they regard that the flow of

a person is mandated by the Heaven, so it is not to be violated. Or perhaps they were compelled by the idea after listening or reading earlier philosophies; these philosophers tend to put great respect to their ancestors, for like it is often seen in the text, these philosophers quote sayings from the *Book of Songs* or other thinkers and give their own interpretation of the idea. To figure out the reason from the root, we might need to look deeper into the related texts to discern the cause.

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UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA 1982 AND VALUE USED IN PROTECTING VIETNAM'S SEA AND ISLAND SOVEREIGNTY

Abstract. In the history of thousands of years of building and defending the country of the Vietnamese people, the sea and islands always associated with the process of construction and development of the country and people of Vietnam. Vietnam's territorial sea include internal waters, territorial sea, contiguous zone, exclusive economic zone and continental shelf. In the article, The author analyzes a number of provisions of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and affirms that the State of Vietnam's view on the protection of sovereignty over the sea and islands of Vietnam is an objective inevitable compliance with the law current Vietnamese law and international law.

Keyword: The sea, islands; Vietnam's sovereignty over sea and island.

1. Introduction

Vietnam is a country with both the sea, islands and archipelagos, located on the West coast of the East Sea. The territorial waters and islands of Vietnam are inseparable from the sacred sovereignty of the Fatherland and play an important role in the cause of national construction and defense, both in history, present and in the future. Not only having provide food for coastal residents for thousands of years, it also facilitates economic development and is a gateway for Vietnam to have direct relations with regions of the country, trade with regional and international markets, is a place of exchange and integration of many cultures. However, in the present some territorial waters and islands under Vietnam's sovereignty, there are disputes between other countries and territories. Based on Vietnam Laws and the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (the 1982 Convention for short), Vietnam has sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the sea, islands and continental shelf established in accordance with this Convention.

2. Affirming the sovereignty over sea and islands of Vietnam

The term "sovereignty" means the supreme power of the state in the territories that it governs. In other words, within the national nation, there is no power higher than the state power. In international relations, the supremacy of state power has created national sovereignty. Therefore, "national sovereignty refers to the sacred, inviolable rights of an independent state, expressed in all aspects of politics, defense, security, diplomacy, economy, sociocultural; and are guaranteed integrity and completeness in all aspects, both legislative, executive and judicial of their own country. Generally, national sovereignty is the sovereignty of a nation on all the above mentioned aspects" [8, P. 17].

Sea and island sovereignty is in the national and national territorial concept. Thus, Vietnam's sea and islands sovereignty is a legal concept defined in the maritime law of the coastal states on the basis of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, of which 107 countries: Vietnam, signed at Montego Bay, Jamaica (the Convention most highly legalized international customary and progressive development of international law in the maritime domain, thus receiving wide recognition and support from the international community). According to the 1982

Convention, Vietnam has an area of over 1 million square kilometers, accounting for nearly 30 percent of the East Sea area (the East Sea is nearly 3.5 million square kilometers). Vietnam's territorial waters have more than 3,000 islands, large and small and two off-shore archipelagos, namely Hoang Sa and Truong Sa.

Law of the Sea of Vietnam passed by the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam at the Third Session of the XIII National Assembly, on June 21, 2012, takes effect from January 1, 2013 cleared sovereignty over the sea and islands of Vietnam. Specifically: "Vietnam's waters include internal waters, territorial waters, contiguous waters, exclusive economic zones and continental shelf under Vietnam's sovereignty, sovereignty rights and jurisdictional rights. determined according to Vietnamese law, international treaties on territorial boundaries to which the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a signatory and in accordance with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea" [12, P. 8]. And "Islands and archipelagos under Vietnam's sovereignty are an inseparable part of the Vietnamese territory" [12, P. 18].

Sovereignty rights follow the international legal point of view are the exclusive rights of Vietnam exercised within the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf. This is the right of territorial origin, sovereignty nature; are the rights of a coastal state enjoyed on the basis of sovereignty over all natural resources in its exclusive economic zone and continental shelf, as well as to activities aimed at exploration and exploitation of the region. economic privileges and the continental shelf of that country for economic purposes, including the production of energy from water, ocean currents, wind ...

Jurisdiction is a consequence of sovereignty and sovereignty rights, a complementary effect to create an environment for the exercise of sovereignty and sovereignty rights. Therefore, jurisdiction is closely tied to the national territory. However, jurisdiction can also be exercised where Vietnam has no sovereignty. For example, jurisdiction can be applied on ships and vehicles flying the flag of that country when

they are operating in waters under the sovereignty or sovereignty of another country. Jurisdiction in a broad sense is the authority to make decisions, rules; authority to oversee implementation; jurisdiction over a particular field; In the narrow sense it is the legal authority of the court to hear a person or thing.

According to the provisions of the 1982 Convention, coastal countries have five (05) maritime zones, including: Internal waters are within the baseline; territorial sea with a width of 12 knots; exclusive economic zone and continental shelf with a width of 200 nautical miles from the baseline; particularly continental shelf can extend up to 350 nautical miles. The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam declares the sovereignty, sovereignty right and national jurisdiction over the aforementioned seas, in particular:

Internal waters are water areas located within the baseline of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, internal waters are regarded as territorial territory under the complete and absolute sovereignty of the country of Vietnam.

Baseline means the inner boundary of the territorial sea and the outer boundary of the internal water, determined by a coastal state or archipelagic state in accordance with the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea as a basis for determination to determine the scope of territorial waters under national sovereignty and jurisdiction. Is the line used as a basis for calculating the width of territorial sea and other seas. There are two types of baselines: A baseline is normally a road that uses the lowest tidal water in the coast or on islands. The straight baseline is the line connecting the most protruding points or islands of the mainland coast or islands. A straight baseline applies when a coastal national coastline is split or has an attached chain of islands running along the coast.

The territorial sea of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is 12 nautical miles wide (1 nautical mile is equivalent to 1.852 m), outside the baseline. The outer boundary of the territorial sea is the border of the coastal state. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam exercises full and complete sovereignty over its territorial

sea as well as over the airspace, seabed and subsoil of its territorial sea. According to the 1982 Convention, sovereignty over territorial sea is not as absolute as internal waters, ships of other countries can “pass without harm” in territorial sea. The coastal states have the right to fix routes, to regulate the division of traffic flows for foreign ships passing through the territorial sea to ensure national sovereignty, security and interests.

The territorial sea of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is 12 nautical miles wide (1 nautical mile equivalent to the contiguous zone of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the contiguous sea area outside the territorial sea of Vietnam with direction. 12 nautical miles wide, merging with territorial sea into an area of 24 nautical miles from the baseline used to calculate the territorial sea width of Vietnam. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam exercises the necessary control in the contiguous zone of their own territorial sea in order to protect the interests of customs, taxes, and ensure respect for all regulations on health, immigration and immigration in the territory or within the territorial sea of Vietnam.

The exclusive economic zone of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is adjacent to the territorial sea and merges with the territorial sea into a sea area of 200 nautical miles from the baseline used to calculate the territorial sea width of Vietnam. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has complete sovereignty over the exploration, exploitation, protection and management of all natural, biological and non-living resources in the waters, on the seabed and in the seabed of the exclusive economic zone of Vietnam; has separate powers and powers of other activities in service of exploration and exploitation of exclusive economic zones for economic purposes; has separate authority for scientific research in Vietnam's exclusive economic zones; is competent in environmental protection and anti-pollution in Vietnam's exclusive economic zone.

The continental shelf of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam consists of the seabed and the subsoil of the natural extension of the continent extending beyond the territorial sea of Vietnam to the outer edge of the

continental edge; Where the outer edge of the continental edge is less than 200 nautical miles from the baseline used to calculate the width of the Vietnamese territorial sea, the continental shelf there shall extend to 200 nautical miles from that baseline. According to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, whichever country has a natural continental shelf that is too large, the continental shelf can extend to no more than 350 nautical miles from the baseline. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has complete sovereignty in terms of exploration, exploitation, protection and management of all natural resources in the Vietnamese continental shelf, including mineral resources, non-natural resources organisms and biological resources belonging to the type of settlement in the Vietnamese continental shelf.

Thus, the sovereignty over the sea and islands of Vietnam is a part of the territorial sovereignty of Vietnam, including the right to own, own, manage, use and protect the State of Vietnam over the sea areas, islands belonging to their territory are in accordance with Vietnamese law as well as international conventions that Vietnam recognizes and accesses to an inseparable part of the Vietnamese territory. Therefore, protecting sovereignty over sea and islands is an important and regular task of all Vietnamese people. At the same time, in history as well as nowadays, Vietnam always asserts, protects and supports the peaceful protection of the seas and islands under its sovereignty.

3. Protection of sovereignty over sea and islands of Vietnam

The issue of protecting sovereignty over sea and islands of Vietnam is very sacred, always the same, in history as well as nowadays, Vietnam resolutely and persistently struggle by means of many measures in accordance with international law to protect the sovereignty of their sea and islands. In history, after establishing a protection regime for Vietnam under the Treaty of June 6, 1884, France in the name of Vietnam exercised sovereignty over the two archipelagos of Hoang Sa and Truong Sa. The South Vietnamese governments later also strongly opposed all cases of

infringement of Vietnam's sovereignty in the waters and the two archipelagos of Hoang Sa and Truong Sa.

Currently, the East Sea contains disputes of a certain degree of complexity. The East Sea disputes are mainly around sovereignty, sovereignty, jurisdiction with the waters and islands in the East Sea. Paracel and Spatly Islands in the East Sea were exploited early by the Vietnamese, another name is Golden Sand. Since the 17th century, the two archipelagos of Hoang Sa and Truong Sa have been continuously and peacefully exercising their sovereignty by the State. International law has formed the principle of establishing sovereignty which is the principle of true possession and realization of State power in a peaceful, continuous and true manner. This principle has been applied by countries and international jurisdictions to resolve many disputes over territorial sovereignty in the world. Applying the above principle of international law to the case of Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagos, historical evidence and legal bases all affirm that Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagos are under the sovereignty of Vietnam

In order to solve problems related to Vietnam's sovereignty, as inheriting the ownership rights of the seas and archipelagos from the previous government, Vietnam first and afterward as a steadfast, firm affirmation to preserve their sovereignty, sovereignty and jurisdiction over archipelagos, seas, exclusive economic zones and continental shelf as required by international law, by peaceful means average, in accordance with international law. In addition, the Party and State of Vietnam soon paid attention to the management and protection of territorial sovereignty, settlement of disputes on sea and islands and marine economic development. The Party and State of Vietnam regularly pay attention to leading and directing branches, levels, forces exploiting and developing the marine economy in close combination with the protection of sovereignty over sea, islands and continental shelf of the group to contribute to creating a peaceful environment for the country's sustainable development.

The Government's declaration on May 12, 1977 on Vietnam's territorial sea, contiguous zone, exclusive economic zone and continental shelf was the first and fundamental legal document the foundational basis for later legal documents. The declaration establishes an exclusive economic zone of 200 nautical miles, which is not limited to fishing rights but also other sovereign and jurisdictional rights. This declaration was made when the 1982 Convention was being formulated, reflecting the trend supported by the majority of countries at the 3rd Conference of the Law of the Sea, demonstrating Vietnam's contribution to evolutionary development. international maritime law.

On June 23, 1994, the National Assembly of Vietnam issued a Resolution on ratifying the Convention on the Law of the Sea, which affirmed Vietnam's sovereignty over internal waters, territorial sea, sovereignty rights and jurisdiction over the contiguous zone of the territorial sea, the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf of Vietnam on the basis of the provisions of the 1982 Convention and the principles of international law, requiring countries to respect the aforementioned rights of Vietnam. At the same time, the Resolution also affirms Vietnam's sovereignty over the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagos, advocates the settlement of disputes over territorial sovereignty as well as other disputes related to the East Sea issue through peaceful negotiation, in the spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect, respect for international law, especially the 1982 Convention

In accordance with the provisions of the 1982 Convention, Vietnam has enacted the Law of the Sea of Vietnam in 2012 to uniformly manage the planning, use, exploration and exploitation of marine resources and management of marine areas and territories. Vietnam's mainland and islands, as well as the settlement of maritime disputes between Vietnam and neighboring countries. Along with the enactment of the Law of the Sea, the National Assembly of Vietnam has also passed the National Border Law (2003), the Maritime Law 2015, the Law on Marine and Island Resources and Environment (2015)...

As the motto of protecting the sovereignty of the sea and islands, Vietnam does not use or threaten to use force, resolve conflicts through peaceful negotiation on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and compliance. in accordance with international law, especially the 1982 United Nations Convention, Declaration on the conduct of the Parties in the East Sea, proceeding to build the East Sea into a sea of peace, cooperation and development. Vietnam resolutely opposes activities of foreign forces that violate national sovereignty, sovereignty right and jurisdiction over the waters and islands under Vietnam's sovereignty.

4. Conclusion

Vietnam's current sovereignty over the sea and islands is very clear, "Vietnam has full legal basis and his-

torical evidence of Vietnam affirming Vietnam's sovereignty over the two archipelagos of Hoang Sa and Truong Sa, in accordance with international law. Vietnam requests related parties to respect the sovereignty, sovereignty and jurisdiction of Vietnam, strictly abide by international law and make responsible contributions, build and maintain security and safety, peace and stability in the East Sea "[4]. Always the same, Vietnam resolutely and persistently struggles with peaceful means, in accordance with international law, both in the field and on the diplomatic front, through many channels and at various levels to keep firmly hold their sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the seas, exclusive economic zones and continental shelf according to international law.

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THE EFFECTS OF THE FOURTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION TO THE PROMOTION OF THE HUMAN FACTOR IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES

Abstract. The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) has had deep and diverse effects on every aspect of social life, including the military field. 4IR resulted in new-generation weapon systems and technical equipments with outstanding quality; the appearance of new war shapes and tactical methods, which altered the nature of military activities, directly affected the promotion of the human factor in military activities at the present. In this paper, the author analyzes several effects of the 4IR to the promotion of the human factor in military activities, then proposes some solutions to limit the negative influences of the 4IR to maximize the potentials of the human factor in modern military activities.

Keywords: the human factor, The Fourth Industrial Revolution, military activities.

1. Introduction:

The humanity is witnessing the advent of the Fourth Industrial Revolution with Artificial Intelligence, The Cyber Age and the booming of new, modern technologies which overweigh the conventional ones. The rate of development and the effect scale of modern technologies have changed almost every aspect of the economic-social life, of every production, management and control system. It has brought both opportunities as well as challenges to almost all countries in the globe, with no exception for Vietnam. Its effects are not just applied on the fields of economy, culture, society, science, medicine, education, ... but also the field of military. The 4IR affects multiple aspects, from weapons and equipments to the human factor; from science-technology and military art to the chain of command and tactical monitoring; from the propaganda and education to training, nurturing and organizing the military personnel, etc. The application of the achievements from the 4IR on the field of military with many weapon system and smart technical equipments means the emergence of new war shapes and tactics, especially cyber-warfare and general attack. Therefore, the 4IR will change the nature of military activities, directly

influence the promotion of the human factor in such activities.

2. Some impacts of the 4IR to the promotion of the human factor in military activities:

First, the 4IR alters the nature of weapons and warfare tactics, but the outcome still depends much on the role of human on the opposite sides.

In the 4IR, the “smart” weapons are manufactured and widely utilized in combat. These are the type of weapons that can be remotely controlled, have transnational effective range, can locate the targets with high accuracy, can operate in any weather conditions and are launched outside the enemies defended areas. The rapid development of high-tech weapons has completely changed the tactical methods. In non-contact combat, high-tech weapons, remotely controlled from the attackers’ base, can eliminate targets deep inside the enemies’ territory.

It can be seen that one obvious advantage of non-contact combat is low rate of fatality due to distant offence. With non-contact combat, the attackers can actively choose the targets, the time of attack, which increase the tactical effectiveness, allowing combat to happen at any time, thus gaining the element of surprise, and to be operable in any weather conditions.

Thanks to the development of science and technology, the power and the accuracy have been greatly increased. While in conventional warfare, destroying a target means a large bombardment, in modern warfare, with the aid of high-tech weapons, only one missile or one bullet remotely controlled can fulfill the task. Recent wars have shown that non-contact combat has really become an important, common and effective tactical method in all stages of war.

The ability to hit all targets is a clear advantage of high-tech weapons, however, this tactic also shows some downsides. Most noticeably, non-contact combat is hardly effective in mountainous and forest areas; can hardly distinguish between real and fake targets without a reliable transmission and intelligence system, a good navigation system and strong cyber-warfare forces. Non-contact weapons and transportation may have to fly a distance of up to thousand kilometers with limited speed and stable route, which may lead to being attacked; the process of security in combat is complicated; and the manufacture of high-tech weapons necessitates high scientific foundation and abundant budget.

The aforementioned disadvantages have been analyzed and utilized by our enemies, especially the experience in avoiding and retaliating by means of increased mobility, camouflage and diversion. Therefore, despite the use of high-tech weapons, the tactical effectiveness of the attackers as well as the defence and retaliation of the enemies rely much on the people of the combat forces.

Second, the 4IR changes the combat behaviors of soldiers, but the decisive factor to military activities is still human.

In the past, war was often attached to the vision of thousands of soldiers and loads of heavy artillery. Nowadays, with the presence of many high-accuracy weapons and drones, the combat equipments are programmed, remotely controlled, while the soldiers become the controllers in tactical areas. War becomes more of the struggle between exploiters with their machines than the of fight between sol-

diers. High-tech warfare is developed with the focus on automatic and multi-functioned systems which can operate in almost any environments and conditions. On the battlefield, weapons are the heavy robots that can fight on land, air, water and under water, on even in space, all of which would be incorporated in a single reconnaissance-attack system.

The automatic process is being used extensively in jobs which were once carried out by human in conventional warfare. The automatic systems make changes in different positions in the army and the way soldiers achieve their tasks. Therefore, the physical demands for jobs such as flying aircrafts, combat vehicles or firing weapons may be less severe since these modes of transportation can self-operate, while smart weapons can self-modify according to wind direction, altitude and the gunner's movement.

However, it is necessary to acknowledge that these automatic systems cannot replace the soldiers in military activities, and they merely change the way they fight. The nature of military activities, the mental demands, the willingness of soldiers in accomplishing missions do not change, what really change is the specific ways that modern soldiers fulfill their tasks. Moreover, from the production of weapons and equipments to the tactical organization, they all come from the decisions of human, clearly because robots cannot just roll out of the production chain and report for duty on its own. Therefore, human will still play a part in the warfare and will still be in charge, but more of remotely monitoring rather than of directly participating in the battlefield.

Third, the 4IR requires soldiers to well combine the human factor with high-tech weapons and equipments.

High-tech weapons and automatic systems can assist human's activities in war, but they cannot totally replace human's position. It has to be a combination of both factor.

Although machines do surpass people in certain areas, they do not have a sufficient comprehensive intelligence to adapt to unprogrammed situations. Therefore, they are bound to fail in such situations.

Meanwhile, the human's intelligence is flexible to changes in situations, environment and is able to deal with circumstances that require prediction, experience and instinct. Because of all these factors, the most effective approach will not be just human or just machines, but will be a cooperation between the both.

The cooperation between human and machines also brings many challenges and the army would need to find an optimal approach to promote the awareness of human towards machines. The decision of which tasks are carried out by machines, which are fulfilled by human play an extremely important role. It is also a great challenge, since machines are gradually developing their own "awareness". The human-machine interfaces and the training of controllers at a high level of automatic system mastery become increasingly essential. The controllers need to understand the power and limitations of automatic systems be aware of the situations where they produce the most results or where they fail.

When the automatic systems and the human forces are properly combined, the missions require human to adjust their knowledge and skills according to the demands of the weapons and technologies. The adjustment begins at the missions that do not necessitate people's presence, but some missions force people to absorb new knowledge and hone new skills. The controllers need to understand, to supervise and to control very complex automatic systems in combat. This put new pressure on the recruitment, training and education of soldiers in new environments. The support on the human's awareness will be of good use and extremely necessary to manage the overwhelming amount of data and campaigns that is increasing in war.

Fourth, the 4IR alters the tactical behaviors of soldiers but does not change the nature of war and the atrocity it causes.

The presence of unmanned, automatic systems on the battlefield would not mean a "bloodless" war. The enemies would apply the same technologies to retaliate. Therefore, the fatality remains an irreplace-

able part of war, and the people still have to pay too much a price for the wars to end. Even more, human is not entirely excluded from the battlefield and still keep a close connection to the combat operations thousands of miles away.

Despite the increasing role of automatic systems on the battlefield, human would still participate in the war, only their weapons change. The soldiers are human, not machines, so they still have emotions and sentiments. Technology aids people in war, but the aspect of politics and spirit still much rely on the authorities. Therefore, high-tech wars are essentially struggle between the human's minds. Those who pioneer in mastering new technologies and their operation basics may gain ascendancy over the uninitiated. However, the renewal in war technologies may reduce a nation's caution due to the fantasies that these technologies can end wars quickly and easily. As a matter of fact, all wars are brutal, rough and bloody.

The increase in automatic weapons also raise the possibility of war and constantly threaten the cause of peace-keeping. Even more, the rapid development of high-tech weapons may even make the wars more chaotic and unpredictable. The wars may not end so quickly as they break out, and the repercussions in terms of politics, society and humanity would remain an unsolvable problem of modern warfare.

The presence of the human-machine system on the battlefield brings challenges to the development plans and policies of each nation. The influence of Artificial Intelligence, automatic equipments and the events on the battlefield may traumatize the soldiers, both mentally and morally as their actions may cause great destruction. On the other hand, with the development speed of high-tech machines, people are lagging behind with their requirements.

It can be seen that the 4IR has had huge changes on the human factor in the military activities and warfare. However, these changes do not alter the nature of war and undermine the role of human on the battlefield, however advanced the technologies may have become.

3. Solutions to limit the negative effects of the 4IR to the promotion of the human factor in military activities at the present:

*First, improving political education and ideology orientation to raise the **soldiers**' comprehensive awareness.*

Great philosophers of Marxism-Leninism stated that the human's practical activities are activities with purposes, organized and put under the control of awareness; only awareness can lead to proper behaviors. Only with the right awareness, the actions of soldiers bring about positive creativity, which encourages them to strive for the better. Therefore, it is important to attach the training to equip soldiers with proper information with political education and ideological orientation, so that the **soldiers** can be well aware of the fact: "In all wars, the ultimate victory depends much on the mind of the people who are bleeding on the battlefield" [3, P. 147]. The human factor with all its intellect, bravery, faith and willingness to fight is always the active factor, with a diversity that contains immeasurable power. The human factor, especially the mental readiness of the soldiers, decides the outcome of a war. Artificial Intelligence, new weapons and equipments, however advanced they may be, are just man-made products and are exploited and controlled by the people only [2, P. 89]. Therefore, it is important to equip soldiers with a strong faith in the human factor, in the army's weapons and equipments, in the art of military of Vietnam; with a consistent political belief and the willingness to conquer over the enemies in high-tech warfare.

It is also important to provide soldiers with sufficient information to exploit and utilize new, modernized weapons and equipments. One of the outstanding characters of the 4IR is that the military organization system, the soldiers, the weaponry and technical system are all connected in a single body. Therefore, it is necessary for soldiers, especially those who are in charge, to have a systematic approach to acknowledging, assessing and effectively dealing with practical issues in war. Also, the training programs of soldiers need to be regularly updated and incorpo-

rated with new knowledge, which specifically and detailedly explains the achievements of the 4IR in the field of military; the functions and uses of new weapons, thus allow soldiers to grasp the strong and weak points of high-tech warfare, to have faith in our weaponry and our way of war.

The 4IR is a digital revolution, so the incorporation and application of new technologies in the manufacture of weapons and military equipments are a transfer of much scientific information. Unlike the operation of conventional weapons, which necessitates the involvement of many people, the new automatic weaponry system is complemented with digital technology. The technical manipulation of soldiers must be quick, professional and accurate. Therefore, it is essential that soldiers are trained in a systematic, synchronous and professional way [7, P. 94].

*Second, promote the political and spiritual factor of **soldiers**.*

When mentioned the political and spiritual factor, President Ho Chi Minh stated: "politics is the fate of the revolutionary army", in order to fight off enemies, first and foremost, the political and spiritual strength of the fighters must be enhanced, or in other words, "men first, weapons second". He also said: "Enemies may possess the latest weapons and mighty warriors, but we ourselves have even stronger and better weapons. Those weapons are the uncompromising willingness of our nation and the cooperation of our people. Those weapons are the martyrdom of the frontline soldiers. Those weapons are the perseverance of our supporting forces. Those weapons are the means to our victory, are the elements that no enemies can conquer over" [5, P. 219].

The process of constructing, fighting and maturing of our army has proven that, despite inferior weapons and equipments, our army has always successfully fought off strong colonialists. One of the reasons for these victories is the fact that our army has had a superior political and spiritual strength. However, in the new circumstances, **the 4IR has been strongly affecting on the army**. Therefore, it is necessary to

have a clear awareness of the decisive role of the political and spiritual factor to the army's combat strength.

It is important to emphasize the principle of building the army politically to enhance overall quality and combat strength. Also, the army's revolutionary quality; cognitive and cultural capacity; stamina and physical strength need to be improved. Moreover, soldiers need to have faith in our weapons and our way of fighting. All the negativities that affect the construction of the political and spiritual factor need to be limited. On the other hand, in the construction of the political factor, the spirit of soldiers must be placed in the connection with other factors: weapons, equipments, regular training and discipline; the human factor and the ability, as well as the mental preparation for the atrocity of war.

Third, well organize training methods, promote soldiers' creativity in utilizing weapons.

Combat training to form and improve military proficiency for soldiers is the foundation to promote the human factor in military activities. The training process for combat and weapon manipulation for soldiers is organized into specific stages and forms. The focus is put on raising soldiers' awareness of the missions of the revolution, the army and the unit; of the views and guidelines of the Party and **military art of the nation**; mastering the skills and tactics, especially how to deal with enemies' high-tech weapons. Self-reliance is of great importance in studying and training to master the weapons and equipments. Also, soldiers' willingness, techniques and skills of using weapons in any situations; abandoning the reservations towards high-tech weapons and towards our weapons equipments are important.

Apart from well-organized training, creativity in using weapons is also a vital factor. As can be seen from our history, we have always hold weapons and equipments in high regard, but in almost every struggle against outsiders, we had to suffer an inferiority in weapons. It was this circumstance that contributed to our art of defence "few against many, weak against strong" and "small against giant". One of the exam-

plary campaigns of that motto is the "Dien Bien Phu on air" campaign. Before its outset, no one believed **in ours chance** to win. No one could have possibly thought that fake missiles made out of bamboos can trick the "eagle eye" of the B52s. No one could have imagined that the enemies' smart Shrike missiles can be neutralized by our radar soldiers, just by suddenly turning off the radar and moving the antenna. Even Soviet military experts did not believe that the SAM2 missiles, with such tactics as "searching for enemies", methods like "three-point shooting" and "half-angle shooting", could become such a terror to the mighty B52 "flying fortresses" [1].

In the 4IR, the more automatic and modernized the enemies' weapons are, the more creative our soldiers have to be in improving our technical ability, in using weapons and military equipments. Therefore, it is important to promote the positivity of our soldiers in studying to enrich their knowledge in military science and technology, and acquire expertise in using weapons and military equipments. Also, there need to be well-organized competitions to promote the responsibility of officers and soldiers in research works, as well as motivating more creative ideas to innovate military gadgets to meet the requirements of modern, high-tech warfare.

Fourth, improve the ability to distinguish wrong and hostile views on the Internet.

The 4IR has placed our country in the face of heavy anti-revolution movements of enemies on the cyberspace. They exploit and abuse social networks to propagandize and stimulate conflicts in our nation; spread false opinions on our Party, our regime and State; undermine the leadership role of the Party to the army, making the army stray away from the nature of the working class, from the aims and ideals of the revolution, losing our political orientation, making the army no longer the means of violence and the trusted force of the Party, State and socialism. Even more dangerous, they spread the idea of weapon absolutization, especially towards high-tech weapons, while diminishing the role of the people

and of the political and spiritual factor, ..., which has had consequences on the ideology and the sentiments of soldiers.

To deal with such situations, we need to stay calm and wise to acknowledge and fight effectively against wrong and hostile views on social networks. Besides, we need to improve education to raise soldiers' awareness on Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh ideology, the Party's views and guidelines on building a new army of the working class; on the nature and the schemes of hostile forces to "depoliticize" the army. We need to promote the role of responsible forces, as well as officers and soldiers who actively participate in this ideological battle, both directly and on the cyberspace so as to reveal their false assumptions and to sabotage their anti-revolutionary schemes. At the same time, forums, social networks and blogs need to provide truthful and clear opinions and information, actively fight off wrong and hostile opinions; signs of quality, morality and lifestyle depreciation, violation of the traditions and the nature of "Uncle Ho's soldiers", create the ability to **"self-defence"**, **build a strong army**, able to fulfill all tasks that the Party, State and People assign [7, P. 99].

Fifth, build and complete the soldiers' policy system to promote the human factor to the fullest.

Military policies are the legal regulations of the army regarding the rights and duties of soldiers and their families. These policies represent the view of the Party about soldiers and their families. Military policies have a great influence to soldiers' tendency, motivation, attitude, and are the driving forces of hu-

man in military activities. Since its foundation, the army has issued and implemented many policies regarding soldiers and their families, encouraged them to do their job with no worry, facilitated their creativity, motivated them to overcome difficulties and achieve the tasks. However, the current military policy still has shortcomings, shows both in construction and implementation organizations. In order to better promote the human factor in military activities, in the near future, measures need to be taken, such as: continue to complete current policies to suit the new circumstances in the army; carry out comprehensive supervision and investigation in policies execution, identify and take measures to deal with negative issues in policies execution.

4. Conclusion:

In the 4IR, it is inevitable that countries utilize to the fullest the advance of science and technology in the field of military to serve war, and modernized weapons and equipments play an important role to the situation of the battlefield. We need to educate our soldiers on the 4IR and make sure that no matter how advanced and intelligent weapons may be, human is still the decisive factor of the outcome of any war. Therefore, it is necessary to have an army that is politically strong, has faith in our weapons and equipments; understand the basic principles of enemies' weapons to mitigate their firepower; utilize the functions of our weapons. These measures belong to a unified body, which is of great importance in promoting the human factor in modern military activities.

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PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD CENTERS OF RELIGIOUS TOURISM

Abstract. The article provides an analysis of the development of real estate markets in the five largest pilgrimage centers. The degree of influence of the economic factor on the development of religious tourism centers was analyzed. And also identified opportunities for business development that investors in their territory can find.

Keywords: religious tourism, pilgrimage, spiritual and social practices, pilgrims, religious centers, religious shrines, economic factor.

Currently, under the influence of globalization processes and related changes in society and culture, various social practices are intensifying, among which tourism can be distinguished, and religious tourism among spiritual and social ones. If in the past tourism was a local practice, its sphere of activity was limited, then, since the middle of the 20th century, tourism has become a sphere of society aimed at producing and consuming a tourist product or services. It involved large-scale human resources, information technology and advertising in its production and consumption process, having influenced many aspects of society and individuals, revealed its social aspects and problems.

The religious sphere was no exception. Every year, about 330 million people go on a trip to holy places. Religious tourism is more resistant to fluctuations than any other. As a sphere of modern society, religious tourism affects the economy, becoming one of its industries, and politics, highlighting international problems and the possibilities for solving them by means of “people’s religious diplomacy,” contributes to the development and interaction of religious cultures. The role of religious tourism in the formation of ideology as a projection of the future

development of society is great, since world understanding changes through tourist religious practices, undesirable stereotypes break down, such important principles of life as tolerance, openness, friendliness, participation in common religious and cultural values are formed.

Based on the analysis of the development of real estate markets in the five largest pilgrimage centers, business development opportunities were identified that investors can find in the territory. For example, pilgrims from around the world make up a third of tourists in Israel. According to the Franciscan Pilgrimage Center, in the past 2019, about half a million Catholics and about 136 thousand Protestants visited holy places associated with the life of Jesus Christ, which is more than 10 percent more than the previous year. In total, 16 thousand pilgrimage groups were registered, not counting Orthodox, statistics on which are available to the Jerusalem Patriarchate, through which they are issued. Most Catholic and Protestant pilgrims arrive from the United States, followed by Italy, which is in first place among European countries: in 2019, 80 thousand Italian believers visited the Holy Land. Behind Italy are Poland (62 thousand people) and Spain (35 thousand). Of

the 40 languages spoken by visitors to holy places, the first place is English, native to 37 percent of pilgrims. According to the Israeli Ministry of Tourism, a total of 4.5 million visitors entered the country last year. In Jordan in 2019, there were about the same number of visitors as in Israel, which is 7.6 percent more than in the previous year.

Israel's income from international tourism is approximately \$4–5 billion per year. According to forecasts, by 2025 the amount of tourist spending in Israel will increase to 30 billion, and the volume of investment in this sector will increase by 57% to 4 billion dollars. About 80% of tourists in Israel go to Jerusalem. 3.5 million people visit the capital annually, and since the mid-2000s their number has only been growing. Most travelers here (64%) stay in hotels. The local government seeks to increase the tourist flow by offering grants and tenders for the construction of new hotels and the expansion of existing ones. Large local brands are actively looking for new opportunities for investment.

Despite the small number of transactions and strong competition from Airbnb, analysts call the hotel sector of Jerusalem promising. A third of tourists stay here in economy rooms – given the latest trend to invest in elite hotels, investors should pay attention to standard and budget offers in the hotel sector. As for the residential real estate market, the average price per object over the past year has increased by 3.9% to 472 thousand dollars, and apartments in the Old City often cost more than 1 million. In this part of Jerusalem, relatively few restaurants are rated higher than many fashionable establishments, such as Gabriel and La Guta, located in the center, so investments in the Old City can be called more promising.

In general, according to experts, about 3 million people (including illegal ones), about 1 million 800 thousand foreigners, make a pilgrimage during the Hajj season. In particular, in 2017, 2 million 352 thousand 122 people (1752014 foreigners and 600108 Saudis) made the hajj., And, according to

experts, the total number of tourists here by 2025 will grow to 17 million and exceed 20 million in another five years. The tourism sector brings Saudi Arabia more than \$11 billion a year, which is about 2% of the country's GDP. Almost a third of the profits come from religious tourism. The government is actively investing in the development of tourism infrastructure. In 2010, the metro was opened in Mecca, which helps tourists move around the city during the Hajj. The Haramain High Speed Rail high-speed highway connected Medina, Jeddah, King Abdulaziz International Airport and Mecca in 2018.

Although the number of hotels is constantly growing, it is often difficult to find free places here. In Mecca, there are about 150 thousand hotel rooms, their number grows by 8–9% per year. Each year, almost \$25 million is invested in the hotel business, and, according to forecasts, by 2025 the volume of investment in this sector will increase to 40 million. Investors should pay attention to hotels in the budget segment of the market: despite the stable demand for elite hotels (which account for 43% of the market) from tourists from richer countries, experts predict a significant increase in the number of pilgrims by 2030 due to population growth in poor Islamic countries. The cost of residential real estate here is also growing rapidly: today, a square meter in the center of Mecca near the Al-Haram mosque costs \$1917, in the suburbs – \$840. According to experts, the growth of the local real estate market is closely associated with an increase in public investment in local religious attractions.

During religious holidays, more than 400 thousand people gather on St. Peter's Square. Every year Rome receives 7–10 million tourists, many come here for the sake of religious sights: for example, the Pantheon or the Lateran Basilica. In 2019, 6.2 million people visited the Vatican museums. Today, the city has only about 50 thousand hotel rooms. There are quite few premium international networks, and the existing ones are not located in the best locations, since most tourists live in the western part of

the city next to Via dei Condotti. Elite hotels account for only 8% of the market, so this sector is the most promising for investors. Rome's residential real estate market also feels relatively good: the average cost per square meter over the past year has increased by 5.8% to \$ 4.540, and housing prices in the city center reach \$ 10.260/m². The city has 65 restaurants with Michelin stars, most of them are concentrated in the center of Rome and only four – near the Vatican. Restaurants on the west coast of the Tiber can be a profitable investment for foreign investors.

It is believed that in the 19th century, in the grotto of Masabiel, the Virgin Mary appeared to a local resident. Lourdes is a small city in France, where only 17 thousand people live. It is also the largest religious center in the country, where at least five million pilgrims come annually. The main attraction is the Grotto of Massabielle, which is part of the sanctuary (chromium complex around the grotto). Pilgrims come to Lourdes to swim in local waters: it is believed that the water here has healing properties. The city has more than 200 hotels, hostels and camping places, about 34 thousand places. Three-star hotels account for about 41% of hotel rooms, hotels with two stars – 25%. The cost of one night here is quite low compared to large cities in France due to the high competition in the budget segment. Premium hotels occupy only 13% of the local market. Given that the number of tourists who come to Lourdes to improve their health is growing, investors should look at the segment of elite hotel real estate adapted for customers with disabilities.

Varanasi is one of the main pilgrimage centers for Hindu, it is visited by 5.2 million people a year. To the northeast of the city center is Sarnath, the place where the Buddha read the first sermon on the “four

noble truths,” which formed the basis of the teachings of Buddhism. Almost 1.2 million tourists come to Sarnath annually. In 2016, the Indian government approved a plan under which \$ 64.27 million will be invested in the infrastructure of Indian cities. In the same year, the Ministry of Tourism of Uttar Pradesh, where Varanasi is located, allocated \$3.06 million for the development of the tourism sector in order to attract new pilgrims.

Local tourists stay in special residences for pilgrims, monasteries and hotels. 61% of hotel rooms in Varanasi belong to the economy class, 29% to standard rooms and 10% to the premium class. In recent years, demand has steadily exceeded supply, and the market has been growing actively. Investors should pay attention to potential transport projects: elite hotels near transport hubs can be an excellent investment in the future. Every year, the demand for residential real estate here grows by an average of 16%. New houses are being built mainly in the suburbs. The average cost of apartments is \$ 595/m², houses – \$700/m². In Varanasi or Sarnath there are no restaurants with Michelin stars. Most cafes are located in the center and southern part of the city. With the development of construction in the suburbs, the demand for leisure from poor tourists will grow, so investors should think about investing in restaurants in the average price segment in the suburbs or expensive establishments in the northeastern part of Varanasi.

Thus, it can be concluded that the economic component has not avoided the world religious centers and their shrines. Societies, the basis of which were and are religious relations, and the superstructure – economic ties, in most cases achieved amazing economic success.

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Section 12. Science of law

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FORUM-SHOPPING LAWSUITS: ABUSE OF RIGHTS OR MEANINGFUL USE OF TOOLS PROVIDED BY LAW?

Abstract. The author considers the main approaches to the concept of forum-shopping. The author provides various opinions of scientists on the arguments about whether this phenomenon is an abuse of procedural rights or represents a rational decision to implement the tools provided by law. The main motives for this action are given, as well as negative legal consequences that may be caused by forum-shopping.

Keywords: abuse of procedural rights, prohibition of abuse of procedural rights, European Union law, forum-shopping.

1. General characteristics

Forum shopping is a choice of the most profitable forum for the proceedings [3, 301].

Forum shopping, both domestic and international, is still one of the controversial topics [2, 102]. Domestic forum shopping is a choice between courts of different territorial divisions and in some countries (especially in the United States) issues of domestic forum shopping are given much more attention than international ones [4, 559].

There are at least three different positions regarding the permissibility and legitimacy of forum shopping. The prevailing view is that forum shopping is necessarily “something bad”, which must be counteracted in every possible way by any available means [1, 689].

For example, some authors are concerned that various legal conventions have failed to “eliminate

“ opportunities for forum shopping, believing that such practices are undesirable [1, 689].

The second group of scientists does not agree with this already traditional approach and believes that there is nothing negative about forum shopping, since the participants in the dispute simply use the options provided by the current law to their advantage [6, 467]. In their opinion, forum shopping is not only an unavoidable legal phenomenon, but on the contrary, the failure of representatives of legal communities to fulfill their obligations to maximize the interests of their clients is considered unethical in principle [5, 25].

A third group of scientists, some of them having a similar idea about forum shopping, unconditionally approves of this legal phenomenon, noting that depending on specific circumstances, cases of forum shopping can be both “bad” and “good” [2, 553]. At

the same time, it is not always possible to determine the very boundary when a valid forum shopping ceases to be such and becomes a pure abuse of the right.

On the external side of forum shopping is an act committed, within the framework established by current law, but such action entails the deterioration of the situation of the defendant against the plaintiff, which violates the balance of interests of the parties in a dispute.

In forum shopping, the claimant exercises its right to choose the most preferred of several competent forums. Thus, forum shopping initially provides the claimant with advantages. So, the rule actor sequitur forum rei (the handling of a claim on the defendant's domicile), which aim to artificially favor the interests of the Respondent (balance of interests of the parties), in view of the need to "be held accountable" for the alleged plaintiff claims, and to argue against them, protect their innocence, in cases where forum shopping, loses its protective function of the interests of the defendants and there is a shift in the balance of interests in the direction of the plaintiff.

Such a starting advantage of the plaintiff allows him to play on the rules of international jurisdiction in his favor, which has its own motives and, as a result, may negatively affect the interests of the defendant.

Next, we will consider the main motives that drive a person in cases of forum shopping, adverse consequences for the defendant, as well as possible ways to combat unacceptable forum shopping.

2. Motives

Forum shopping has its own motives, which may vary depending on the specific situation.

a) Application of the most favorable substantive law for the plaintiff.

One of the key points that encourages the plaintiff to resort to forum shopping is the length of the Statute of limitations. These terms are established by the substantive law of various countries and are not unified for all legal orders of the European Union members. Under the legislation of one of the coun-

tries whose forum is competent to consider the claim, the main reason for filing a claim with the competent court of another state, in accordance with the substantive law of which, the limitation period is not missed by the plaintiff.

b) Application of the most favorable procedural law for the plaintiff.

The rules of procedural law of different countries, even if they are members of a single integration community, differ significantly from each other in terms of the General terms of consideration of the case, evidence, requirements for the form and content of certain procedural documents, and so on. One of the more significant provisions of procedural law that are of interest to the plaintiff is the procedural time frame for consideration of the case. Depending on what purpose they serve the plaintiff he may sue in a competent forum, the procedural law of the country where there are long-term consideration of a case (e.g. Italy), if the purpose of the trial is the desire to involve the defendant in the most long and protracted trial, with the aim, for example, to weaken the position of the Respondent in other areas of interaction with the plaintiff, including other judicial proceedings. Or, on the contrary, to file a claim with the competent court of the state whose legislator has provided for the shortest possible time for consideration of the case (for example, Germany), for the purpose of obtaining the final judicial act as quickly as possible and enforcing it.

c) Legal expenses.

One of the reasons for choosing a forum may be the mechanism for allocating court costs. For example, under German law, the plaintiff is required to reimburse all legal expenses incurred by the defendant in connection with the conduct of the case in case of refusal to satisfy the claims, including the amounts to be paid as representatives' fees [3, 105]. This circumstance is also one of the reasons for choosing a particular forum, depending on how motivated the plaintiff's claims are and what the chances of winning are.

d) The current judicial practice.

As you know, even in the context of federalism within the same country, the courts of different administrative divisions can make different decisions depending on the circumstances of a particular case. The difference may be in the amount of damages, penalties, and so on. Naturally, in the territories of different States, due to the peculiarities of the internal market and other objective factors, approaches to determining the amount of recovery may differ from each other under similar actual circumstances. Thus the analysis of the current judicial practice on a specific claim of the plaintiff is also one of the reasons why a person resorts to forum shopping.

3. Ways to deal with forum shopping

Taking into account the specifics of the legal phenomenon under consideration, while accepting the fact that forum shopping is essentially a legal action, however, in connection with the above circumstances, it is impossible to deny the possibility of abuse on the part of the plaintiff, especially if the claim is filed in a place with which the defendant does not have any connection.

For several decades now, this problem has been thoroughly discussed by both theorists and practicing lawyers from different countries. One of the ways to solve the existing problem is the global unification of private international law. But in practice, as experience shows, the developing process of unification does not solve the problem of interest in forum shopping. Moreover, as mentioned above, in addition to the interest in choosing the most advantageous substantive law, the procedural law of a particular state is equally, and perhaps even more, of interest, which, due to the features discussed in the second paragraph, does not lend itself to complete unification, and, consequently, it is impossible to get rid of this problem in this way. An important role in reducing the number of cases of forum shopping is played by improving the rules on international jurisdiction at the conventional level [8], but nevertheless, more and more refined rules of jurisdiction still do not allow us to finally solve the task.

Thus, the most successful means of combating forum shopping and a number of other procedural abuses continues to be contractual jurisdiction.

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LEGISLATIVE ASPECTS OF PACKAGE TRAVEL CONTRACT IN ALBANIA, THE LEGISLATIVE MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE EU 3202/2015 DIRECTIVE

Abstract. The package travel contract is a complex contract that involves within it the need to regulate contractual interests by one party and on the other hand it ensures the consumer protection. With the development of internet technology and the increase in services provided by low-budget airlines, the nature of consumer behaviour has changed dramatically, from a brochure-driven environment to a digital one. In this sense the need for a complete and adequate adjustment in accordance with the requirements of the contracting parties appears essential. Based on its complexity, the EU Commission has amended with the 3202/2015 directive, the previous directive 90/314/EEC to ensure complete all-embracing legal regulation of travel contracts. In the framework of fulfilling the obligations that arise for Albanians to approximate the legislation with the *aquis communitarium*, it is the duty of the legislature to provide a complete and harmonious arrangement of the package travel in Albania. The package travel contract is one of the atypical contracts which do not find proper regulation by Albanian legislation. They find restricted regulation as part of the law 9902/2008 "On consumer protection" and in the decision of the Council of Ministers no. 65/ 2009. Through this paper is intended to offer a general reflection of the travel contracts in Albania, legal issues and the necessity of adapting our civil legislation to *aquis communitarium*.

Keywords: contract, package travel contract, consumer, EU directive 3202/2015, civil legislation.

Introduction

Tourism is one of the strategic sectors of Albanian economic development and as such the package travel contract represents an important role in the development of this market. A complete analysis of the concept of the package travel contract, its components and its role in Albanian contract law will be the subject of this article. The legal regulation of this contract in Albania is provided for by the law "On protection of consumers" in art. 46–47 and by legislative decree no. 65 "The package travel contract". Through these acts a general overview of the contract is reflected, and many of the combinations of travel services were in a "legal gray area" or simply not covered by the law. The massification of tourism

requires a more articulated legislative intervention, in particular in domestic law, in order to standardize the practice on the protection of tourists-travelers. Under conditions of rapid tourism development and in a range of different national legislations, states in pursuit of harmonizing the legal framework have established the adoption of the Brussels International Convention [1]. Through which the states intended to unify the legal terminology in relation to tourism contracts and provide greater protection to consumers. Although the convention was approved by 47 countries (*the signatory states*) it was not adopted by them. Only 7 states have adopted the Convention, the others have underestimated the importance of the protection for consumers or have adopted more

advanced provisions than those offered in the Convention [2].

The package travel contract is classified as “*new contracts*” [3]. These contract rank among atypical, mixed and complex contracts. Based on this fact, through this article it is proposed to offer suggestions on possible adjustments of the legislation on package travel contract in Albania.

The Albanian legal framework

The package travel contract is the agreement of two parties to establish, regulate or terminate a legal relationship between them concerning travel, holidays, resulting from the pre-established combination of at least two of the elements of transport, accommodation or tourist services not ancillary to transport or accommodation which constitute a significant part of the “*tourist package*”, sold or offered for sale at a flat rate, and lasting more than 24 hours [4]. In this sense, the package travel contract includes holidays organized by a travel agency according to the requirements and specifications of a consumer or group of consumers. Furthermore, the notion “pre-designed combination” includes combinations of travel services at the time of the contract between the travel agency and the consumer [5].

In its content, the package travel contract must have a series of elements defined by the leg. dec. no. 65/2009, for which the consumer must be informed before the conclusion of the contract [6]. Which means that the contract must always be in writing form [7]. Some of the doctrine deems the written form *ad substantiam* necessary, that is, under penalty of nullity [8], others, however, believe that the written form is required only *ad probationem*. We estimate that according to the provisions of Legislative Decree no. 65/2009, art. 8 the written form is not required for validity purposes, the lack of form does not invalidate the contract but is necessary to inform the consumer about the terms of the contract. In the leg.dec. no.65 / 2009 it is established that the package travel contract must necessarily include in their content a series of elements [9] for which the

customer must be informed in writing before the conclusion of the contract and have a copy available [10]. As indicated above, the form in package travel contract is not required *ad substantiam* but *ad probationem*. The legislation aims to establish an acceptable balance between the rights and obligations of the parties to the contract and, therefore, it is in the interest of the organizer and / or the seller to present the forecasts required by law in a written contract to provide accurate information to consumers.

The contractual party are the consumer, the organizer and / or retailer each of them has reciprocal rights and obligations, what constitutes an obligation for one party to the other is a right and *vice versa*. For the organizer and / or reseller of tourist contracts, the obligations arise as pre-contractual and contractual obligations. During the pre-contractual phase, the organizer and / or retailer has the obligation to inform the customer about the general conditions of the tourist contract (The provider of “tour packages” is obliged to provide the consumer with all the necessary information regarding the travel service, the respective price and any other terms applicable to the package travel contract.(Law. no. 9902/2008, art.47/1). Before the conclusion of the travel package contract, the organizer and / or the seller must notify the customer, in writing, of all the terms of the contract and provide him with a copy of these terms. (Leg.dec.no.65/2009, art.5)). The responsibility of both parties to the contract, organizer and retailer is a responsibility of solidarity. They are obliged to provide complete, accurate and comprehensive information on the terms of the contract, which cannot be subject to change, except in cases of prior communication by the consumer or an agreement between them. The purpose of the pre-contractual information obligation is to provide the consumer with a will created on the basis of complete and accurate information, thus effectively guaranteeing contractual equality between the parties and avoiding the asymmetry of information existing between them. The consequences of the lack of pre-contractual in-

formation, depending on the circumstances, can lead to the nullity of the contract. For the determination of the nullity of the contract, since it is not established in the Leg.dec.no. 65/2009, the general provisions of the consumer protection law will be apply [11]. During the pre-contractual phase the organizer is obliged to provide the consumer, in writing or in other appropriate form, with general information on the applicable requirements for equipment with visas and passports, the requirements for health insurance and accommodation [12]. This pre-contractual information is essential for the effectiveness of the package travel contract. Its absence creates a relationship of inequality between the contracting parties, thus violating the principle of equality of the counterparties.

The organizer's obligation to provide information also extends after the conclusion of the contract. Within 7 days before the start of the trip, the organizer is obliged to provide in writing, information on the name, address and telephone number of the company or local agency in the country that will be visited, which can provide assistance to the client if in difficulty. The price of the package travel contract is not subject to revision unless the contract clearly provides for the possibility of a price change based on the increase in costs [13]. Any price change greater than 5% is a material change in the contract [14]. In any case of substantial changes to the contract, the consumer reserves the right to accept a supplement to the contract specifying the changes in the price or the right to withdraw from the contract without penalty. In this case, the organizer or the seller must compensate the consumer with the difference between the canceled travel package and the one offered; or return the full amount paid by the consumer, within 7 days [15] of renouncing the contract. The consumer also has the right to seek compensation for material or immaterial damage from the seller or the organizer for breach of the contract, unless the cancellation by the organizer is made as the group cannot be formed with the minimum number of participants, or in cases where the cancellation of the trip is due to a case of

force majeure [16]. Force majeure is a circumstance that does not depend on the will of the parties for this reason, the organizer cannot be held responsible or obliged to compensate the consumer. The case of booking over capacity is not a force majeure, and for this reason the organizer must answer for the full value of the damage caused to the consumer.

The consumer also has the right to transfer the contract to third parties, in this case, he is obliged to notify the organizer within the period specified in the contract (In the event that there is no deadline set in the contract, the consumer has the right to carry out the transfer within a reasonable time before departure). The consumer and the third person are jointly liable for the payment of the contract price and any additional costs that may arise from the transfer [17]. The Albanian legal framework governing consumer contracts and, in particular, the package travel contract aims to have an approximation with the *acquis communautaire*. In pursuit of this goal, the law provides for the protection of consumers as the weakest contractor.

Analysis of Directive 90/314 / EEC

On 13 June 1990 the first EU directive on travel packages, holidays and all-inclusive circuits (EEC) 90/314 was adopted. This directive was the result of the EU's overall aim to include it in the internal market and harmonize laws, as the EU identified the tourism sector as an essential part of this market. Although there are still disparities between the rules that protect the package travel contract in the different EU member states, and to allow travelers and tour operators to fully benefit from the internal market, it was necessary to further approximate the laws of the member states of the union. Most of the member states of the union have chosen to transpose the provisions of the directive through a special law (Different case are the following states: Civil code (Germania e Slovenia, Repubblica Ceca, Ungheria, Lituania e Slovacchia), Consumer code (Austria e Italia), Law on obligations (Estonia e Slovenia), Law on turismo (Estonia, Bulgaria, Francia,

Lettonia e Lituania)) on package travel [18]. The success of low-cost airlines and increased internet access are two factors that have led to the choice of various offers from a variety of service providers, and which can repackage a tailor-made holiday. In the event of a lack of connection between service providers, the Directive offers no protection. An example is the case of “dynamic package” (“Dynamic package” where an internet platform, for booking flights, will also provide “add-ons” with which the consumer can contract for services such as vehicle rental, health insurance or hotel reservations). The protection offered to consumers by “dynamic packages” is not clear in Directive 90/314/EEC even if the jurisprudence helps us in the interpretation of the concept of “tourist packages” [19].

Directive 90/314/EEC aims to approximate the laws, regulations and administrative provisions of the EU member states concerning “all-inclusive” travel, holidays and sightseeing tours sold or offered for sale in the territory of the community, which provides for predetermined combination of at least two (trasporto, alloggio, altri servizi turistici non accessori al trasporto o all'alloggio che costituiscono una parte significativa del “tutto compreso”) of the elements, sold or offered for sale at a flat rate, where this service exceeds 24 hours [20]. Article 2/1 of the Directive excludes from the scope of the Directive all packages that cover a period of less than 24 hours and do not include accommodation. The directive limits consumer protection of the package tour and does not offer full protection for organized sightseeing or organized tours to cultural or sporting events with a duration of less than 24 hours. A ticket to the Champions League finals and a return flight ticket for the same day could easily cost more than a normal week-long package tour. The need for consumer protection is very important in this case.

The obligation to guarantee the provision of information for the consumers of package travel contract is provided for by art. 3(2). Article 4 of the Directive establishes the obligation to provide preliminary con-

tractual information as an obligation which must be fulfilled in any case by the organizer or seller of the travel service. The directive provides that the prices established by the contract cannot be changed, unless the contract expressly provides for the possibility, increasing or decreasing, and indicates the precise methods of calculation, only to take into account changes in transport costs, including the cost of fuel, taxes on certain services, such as landing, disembarkation or embarkation fees at ports and airports, exchange rates applied to the all-inclusive service in question [21]. In any case, this change cannot be made after 20 days from the departure date. Article 5(1) of the directive left it to the member states to determine the respective responsibilities of organizers and retailers. Obviously, the directive aims to ensure that national legislators clearly establish who is liable to the consumer, ensuring maximum protection towards him. National legislators have determined liability in case of breach of contract as a different and separate responsibility of the organizer and the retailer in relation to the problems occurring in their respective spheres. The non-fulfillment of the contract in most national laws places the responsibility on the organizer of the tourist package and not on the retailer. This could lead to problems if a consumer purchases a package organized by an external travel organizer from a retailer in his home country. This situation would be contrary to the aim of the directive, which is to provide the consumer with a contractual partner responsible for the performance of the contract and who is easily accessible to him.

Access to Directive EU2015/2302

The new EU package travel directive EU2015/2302, adopted in November 2015, repeals the old EEC directive 90/314 and aims to improve transparency and increase the security of rights for consumers and organizers, in the package travel contract. Since the adoption of the EEC directive 90/314 I in 1990, the market has undergone significant changes. Even if Directive 90/314/EEC had been fully and satisfactorily transposed by all EU member states, consumer protection in the tourism sector would still be open to improvement. In addition

to traditional distribution channels, the internet has become an increasingly important medium through which travel services are now offered and sold. It should also be noted that nowadays travel services are not only combined in the form of pre-ordered traditional packages, but are often combined in a personalized way. Many of these travel service combinations were either in a “legal gray zone” or were simply not covered by EEC Directive 90/314. The new EU directive 2015/2302, adopted in November 2015, repeals the EEC directive 90/314 and aims to take into account the aforementioned developments, all to improve transparency and increase the security of the law for travelers and tour operators. EU member states will have to apply the new directive by 1 July 2018. The new rules will extend the protection of the package travel directive to cover not only traditional package tours but also clear protection for consumers who book other forms of combined travel, for example a self-selected combination on a website of a flight plus a hotel or car rental. There will always be protection when travel services are advertised as a package or where they are offered at a full or inclusive price. Based on the above, it should be noted that the new directive expands consumer protection to three different types of travel combinations:

- pre-established packages
- holidays organized by a tour operator consisting of at least two elements: transport, accommodation or other services,
- customized packages: consumer selection of components and purchased from a single online or offline agency;
- linked travel arrangements
- if the consumer, after booking a travel service on a website, is asked to book another service via a similar link, provided that the second booking is made within 24 hour.

In addition to consumers, the new directive provides protection for travel agents and retailers of travel services.

The EU Directive 2015/2302 on travel packages intends to contribute to the maximum harmoniza-

tion of the legislation “... to the achievement of ... the most uniform level of consumer protection possible ...”. The directive also contains significant additions and changes to the definitions relating to service providers and consumers.

In particular, the term “consumer” has been replaced by the term “traveler” within the meaning of Article 3 (6) of the Directive. Providers of package travel and related travel services have been defined under Article 3 of the Directive. The new directive provides for consumer protection even in cases where the organization of the package is outside the jurisdiction of the directive (the case of organizers established outside the European Union) by transferring the responsibility to the seller of the tourist package. EU Directive 2015/2302 also clarifies liability for the damage caused, defining that the organizer of the package in all EU member states must address the problem if something goes wrong. In addition, member states may decide that the retailer is also fully liable, extending the number of parties simultaneously liable for the damage caused.

Article 12 (5) indicates that member states have the possibility to require that travel contracts provide the traveler the right to withdraw from the contract within 14 days without reason for contracts negotiated off-premises, as a guarantee in more for the protection of the consumer. As indicated above, Article 17 of the new directive requires organizers to establish protection in the event of insolvency. A new aspect of the directive is the need to ensure consumer safety in the case of linked travel arrangements. Article 19 stipulates that operators facilitating linked travel arrangements must ensure the reimbursement of all payments received from travelers to the extent that a travel service which is part of a linked travel arrangement is not made as a result of their insolvency.

Conclusions, the obligations that arise for Albania

In recent decades, the activity of inclusive tour operators in Albania and the EU has shown significant growth. The repeal of the new EU directive on

tourism contracts reflects the need for an approximation of legislation with *aquis communitarium*.

Currently the package travel contract in Albania do not find a complete adaptation. Through the tourism law and the consumer protection law, the definition of this contract appears which does not fully represent the package travel contract. For this reason it is suggested that the package travel contract could be governed by a specified law.

The law will have to offer the same protection guaranteed by the new directive of the union. Legal changes will have to include terminological harmonization. Some of the existing regulations need to be brought

into the digital age. In this sense, the object of the tourism contract should be expanded in accordance with the new directive. With which, consumers will appreciate even more protection and greater rights.

It is necessary to regulate the protection offered to the consumer in the case of contracts outside the commercial environment. The Albanian law will have to foresee dynamic packages as a new form of the tourist package. On the other hand, one of the most important benefits of the new directive will be the boost to the economy thanks to a clearer and more harmonized regulation that will allow the organizers and sellers of the tourist package.

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