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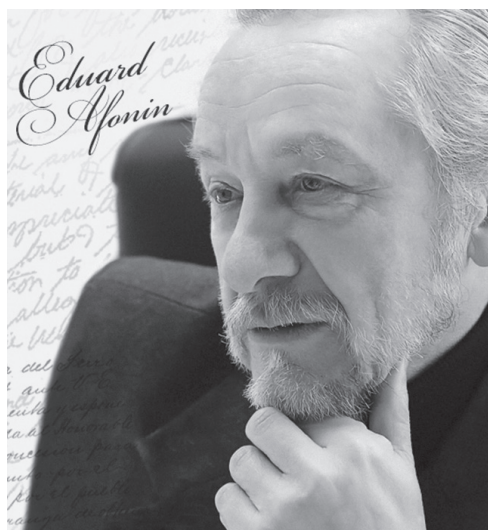
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## ARCHETYPES OF THE SOCIOPOLITICAL CONFLICTS: FROM MODERN TO POSTMODERN

**Abstract.** The article presents a problem of interpretation of social-political conflict in the archetype theory context. The paper analyses the evolution of archetype in example conflicts of modern and postmodern. In conclusion, the author's discusses the institutionalization of management of conflict potential and the problems that accompany it.

**Keywords:** archetype, social-political conflict, modern, postmodern.

### АРХЕТИПКА СОЦІАЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНИХ КОНФЛІКТІВ: ВІД МОДЕРНУ ДО ПОСТМОДЕРНУ

**Анотація.** У статті розглядається проблема тлумачення соціально-політичних конфліктів з точки зору теорії архетипів. Показано історичний фон зміни архетипів розвитку соціально-політичних конфліктів за часів модерну і постмодерну. Виявлено проблеми інституційного регулювання конфліктного потенціалу.

**Ключові слова:** архетип, соціально-політичний конфлікт, модерн, постмодерн.

### АРХЕТИПИКА СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ КОНФЛИКТОВ: ОТ МОДЕРНА К ПОСТМОДЕРНУ

**Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается проблема интерпретации социально-политических конфликтов с точки зрения теории архетипов. Показано исторический фон изменений архетипов развития социально-политических конфликтов от времен модерна и постмодерна. Рассмотрена проблема институционального регулирования конфликтного потенциала.

**Ключевые слова:** архетип, социально-политический конфликт, модерн, постмодерн.

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**Target setting.** The age of the European Enlightenment actually summed up during the discussion about the social and historical nature of the conflicts. From Antiquity it was believed

that the conflict is an inevitable social phenomenon. The French sociologist Raymond Aron, referring to inheritance of Thucydides, who described the vicissitudes of the Peloponnesian

War, said that war is a consequence of the judgment of the fate, the embodiment of the contradictions designed to stimulate the inevitable changes [1, p. 73]. The Middle Ages Italian philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli also believed that the conflict is an objective feature of the political life. Instead, the English philosopher and statesman Thomas More, who is considered to be the founder of the utopian ideas, admitted the possibility of such an order that minimizes the number of conflicts. His compatriot, Thomas Hobbes, who witnessed the events of the beginning of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century, claimed that only a strong state government is able to stop the permanent war of all against all.

Next — the modern social and historical era that it is launching the French Revolution (1789–1794) was considered the most acute form of conflict detection of the social conflicts as a clash of opposites that show various social and class interests and they can satisfy only the winning of one of the parties to the conflict.

Modernity offers a slightly different agenda when the conflict is understood as a permanent state of the social relations. Even without conflict relationships carry a latent potential for conflict that manifests itself in the struggle for values, claims a special social status, power or insufficient wealth for all. Today we have a wide variety of conflicts: between individuals, groups within society, inter-state conflicts, civilization and even inter-civilization conflict. For its object appears as a conflict existing objectively or a subjectively imaginary problem serving the cause of confronta-

tion, about which the parties enter into a dispute.

In general we can say about the chaos of the conflict as the most likely state of the current complex social system in low efforts at organizing manner. In the modern world picture it took on real meaning and testified to the real clash of different social interests. The Postmodern world view, based on significant simulacrum, turned the conflict in the absurd devoid of moral and historical sense. Given the contemporary postmodern democracy the minority determines how to resolve conflicts on the background of the silent majority, but often at the expense of speculative financial practices. A striking example serve the poor Ukrainian who were betrayed by “their own” elite experiencing the clotting of own production, destruction of education, medicine, science, transfer of the ownership of the Ukrainian resources to globalized elites.

Those who destroy the state are calling into question the very existence of the civil society that needs support in the public infrastructure, even if it is a long-established civil society. A weak state in the current Ukrainian conditions becomes from a liberal democracy into the nomenclature-oligarchic institution that ignores the interests of the majority of the society.

The Third World today consists of societies where the state institutions are underdeveloped or destroyed, as a result the level of the political culture is so low that the practice of everyday life is permanent violence. The old and new peripherals inability does not demonstrate either manifestations of international social solidarity, nor civilizational solidarity in the areas of the world re-

ligions. The Arab “revolutions” in 2011 eloquently demonstrate that the stones in the hands of the “revolutionary” become a symbol of the invitation to the Stone Age society. The poor are pushed into reservations, where they are destined to quiet economic genocide. There is no spiritual resistance, which is the basis of the political support. Under these conditions, the conflict has a chance to be regulated if the regulatory mechanisms are institutionalized and the actions of the conflicting parties are formalized. The security can be secured if the it is provided to the both conflicting parties.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** Revealing the social reality of postmodern, the American sociologist Lewis Coser in his book “Functions of the Social Conflict” (1956) draws our attention to the idea *that the more different the conflicts in the society, the more difficult to divide the society into two hostile clear camps between which there are no common values and norms.* Therefore, the more “independent” from each the conflicts, the better for the social cohesion. A peculiar addition to the above is the view of the German-British sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, who in the works “Class Structure and Class Conflict” (1965) and “Social Conflict in the Modern Times” (1988) considers the presence of the conflict as a natural state of the society which is everywhere permeated by error and conflict. Therefore, *“not the presence but the absence of the conflict is something strange and abnormal”.* Apparently no conflict can testify to its movement in the internal (latent) plan, to manage which is more complicated than the open one. Equally model is the hidden global conflict of

civilizations, which is a contradiction between the center and the colonized periphery [2, p. 172].

In the scientific literature on conflict is elaborated the theoretical and practical problems of essence, nature and mechanisms of the social conflicts, is disclosed the probabilistic nature of causality [3, p. 56] and argued that without effective institutions, the practice of the conflict resolution is in decline [4]. The Russian-American sociologist Pitirim Sorokin analyzed in detail the phenomenon of the social revolution as the embodiment of the system clash of different social interests. He concluded that the prescription to avoid revolutions is a timely reform. However, it is the lack of effectiveness of the reform that creates the preconditions for an explosion of the revolution. According to P. Sorokin, the reforms can be successful if: 1) the reforms do not destroy human nature and do not contradict the basic human instincts, 2) the practical phase of reforms is preceded by a thorough scientific study of the specific social conditions, 3) each reform precedes the test on the objects at a smaller social scale, 4) the reforms are implemented by legal and constitutional means [5, p. 271]. Instead, such a perfect reform plan too rarely occurs in the real history.

The chaos and destruction of the transition period of the social development is accompanied by the destruction of the social contract based on a desire to “take” any means the most, having used for it a minimum of effort. Such conflicts and the reconstruction of the whole social and power relations are extremely difficult to solve by non-radical means. So now more than ever is actualized *the Institutionalized of the mecha-*

*nisms of the conflicts resolution* which is ahead of their appearance.

**The purpose of the article** is to highlight the features of the conflicts of the modern and postmodern era given the archetypal nature of the social consciousness.

**The statement of basic materials.**

One of the most visible symptoms of the unresolved conflict is the state of the social anomie, which reflects a negative attitude towards the norms and moral values of a social system. Contently, the anomie is the conflict between the culturally arisen content and socially fixed form, the display of the disputes between the objectives of the people and their inability to reach them by usual means.

During modern period the social conflict was seen as social communities struggle with the social and irreconcilable class interests for domination or raising the status of the social actors in the hierarchical structure of the society. The structure of the social conflict was submitted to be traditional:

- *the pre-crisis state* of the social system that detects the first symptoms of the crisis related to the exhaustion of its capacity;
- *the culmination of the crisis* of the social system is linked to the escalation of a disaster;
- *the final stage of the crisis* — a revolution or a transition of the social relations that spawned the crisis in its new state.

The social modern conflict — post-modern era, transforming the social system in a variety of self-sufficient individuals, is inherent the struggle over the needs, interests, values and norms. Revolution under such conditions

can flare up, but not when the masses are living worse in absolute sense, but when their situation improves significantly and stimulates intense growth of new expectations. The value-normative conflict has, compared to conflicts caused by needs and interests, a more pronounced ideological nature. It faces the opposite interpretation of the social development. People believe in some chance of recovery, believe in a version of the idea of justice and freedom. Economic and political conflicts. Ethnic conflicts, legal conflicts, religious conflicts. The systemic public conflict in the revolutionary stage of the development the most exacerbates all of these types of conflicts and apply at the individual, social and civilizational level. Political conflicts of the uncontrolled emotions, ideological doctrines, conflicts of political institutions.

The key meaning during the deployment process of the social transformation plays the crucial elements first of all of the *institutional* social control — authority-organizational, ideological and power, and *self-control* of the various social actors.

In general, the concept of the *social control* is one of the most controversial in the modern system of the sociological terminology. Here are some interpretations of the term that somehow we use in this article.

The most common of them is the understanding of the social control as a set of norms and values of the society and the sanctions applicable for their implementation. This point of view on the mechanism of the social control was followed by including E. Durkheim (1858–1917) who in his social theory assigned prominently the control social

norms, stressing that their deformation leads to anomie, i. e. paralysis of the formation of the mechanisms of the social norms and to crises in society that are related to the dismantling of the social solidarity. Thus the public will in a state of anomie is paralyzed [6, p. 64]. That is, these social and historical circumstances, one can observe the condition where institutional force still exists, the individual will exists, but a total strength of will of a single entity aimed at monitoring compliance with social norms that form the basis of the mechanism of social control does not exist.

In this context M. Weber (1864–1920) in the classic work “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism” stressed the importance of mutual influence between the norms of the social control and self-control, in particular in the form of various forms of religious asceticism.

Gradually are formed new, above all, moral and ethical standards designed to regulate from outside the everyday social life. Standing thus, a new mechanism of social control is fixed through the formation of appropriate social institutions such as government security forces and means to establish an adequate reality of the public opinion.

Often the concept of social control is identified with political power. For example, the American political scientist P. Morgenthau by this term in political science understands the control over the mind and activities of others [7, p. 140]. This method of social control is used from the initially known written history. For example, it has been widely developed in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, where the priestly caste thus was implementing the sacred pow-

er. During the late Middle Ages, when the Reformation radically changed the spiritual horizon of the average Western European, and thanks to the efforts of ideological N. Machiavelli was held the differentiation of the religious life and the secularization of the civil politics. This ability to provide effective social control for Machiavellian Lord that became particularly important.

In general, for the organic community — *Gemeinschaft*, using the terminology of German sociologist F. Tonisa (1855–1936) and *Gesellschaft* — societies has various types of social control. For even poorly structured community importance in this case is the authority, and especially for modern society law. M. Weber stressed that the traditional rule is based on the belief in the sanctity of orders that existed for a long time. The charismatic domination is based on commitment to the charisma of the leader. The legal rule exists because of the established rules. Its purest type is the bureaucratic domination [8, p. 157–160].

In this context, in the modern society where are developing new means of artistic creation, accumulation and dissemination of the information as an important power resources, especially with the development of the modern communication technologies significantly important becomes the social manipulation as a method of control that is to develop latent influence on mass consciousness and behaviour of the people forcing them to act (or be passive) in the interests of certain social forces [9, p. 296]. Often, such a mechanism of social control is implemented through the media. Describing it as a manifestation of mass culture, Winston



Churchill in his memoirs notes that after the First World War in the conditions of acute social crisis Britain was saved from destructive social revolution by the public opinion, football and traditional beer pubs.

During the twentieth century the organization of institutions designed to implement the social manipulation became more complex and widespread. The sociotechnics of management increasingly focused on the direct formation, adoption and implementation of the politics decisions. The tools of this process, as one of the most important forms of the social control, involves various methods of regulating effects. Among them, such as law, power pressure, rational or irrational arguments, even direct manipulation. Its objects are man as the main object of the influence of the communication and the public opinion as a vehicle of the communication [10, p. 234].

Since what is named the public opinion, as a fact of knowledge emphasized the famous British statesman B. Disraeli, rather deserves the name of social emotions — this area is the subject of constant manipulation that are universal mechanism of effective social control over the existence of the information society [11, p. 100].

A highly specialized understanding of the social control has developed the American sociological thought. It is related to the interpretation of control by various incarnations, especially the deviant behaviour. The classic American sociologist Robert Merton, in particular, believes that the American society rapidly generates significant contradiction between the inspired by advanced consumer psychology desires and the

circle legally achievable, resulting in a weakening of the rules and institutions that regulate and discipline the behaviour that eventually leads to the denial of the authority of the social regulations and various forms of deviant behaviour [12, p. 292].

With the development of the global promotion of the moral standards of the consumer society, this trend gradually, but relentlessly, is covering the growing number of countries. Thus Iraq in 1990 was trying to recover from the defeat in the war with Iran by capturing the wealth of neighboring Kuwait. Since then against Baghdad act international sanctions, which demonstrate the presence of problems with the control of the deviant behaviour not only of the individuals, but also of the complex social organisms — states, which in American diplomacy slang are called rouge.

Thus, in addition to forms of the social control as certain governmental mechanisms that operate at the national level and in the structures of the civil society, as well as control of the deviant behaviour, equally important category which determines the two previous is the self-control of the individual. This concept successfully captures the term of the social psychology — locus of control, which is to fix the degree and extent of how the person perceives his life is one that is controlled by his own efforts and actions, or controlled from outside — by case or anonymous external forces [13, p. 74].

Another type of the social control is associated with the conflict management. The fundamentals of the modern conflictology as a theory of management of various conflicts was laid by R. Dahrendorf (born 1929). He pro-

posed the theory of the rational settlement of the protracted conflict, subject to management, and hence to the social control. Thus, the political conflicts are defined as a way to broadcast frequently the destructive power of the civil confrontation that defies the regulation at a controlled political class energy constructive search for ways out of the crisis. The specific technology of this approach to monitoring the conflict remains beyond the topic of this article.

All the above mentioned forms of the social control always interact in a complex system and can not be considered separately. The mechanism of the social control functions due to a complex interaction between the relevant institutions that regulate the social relationships and the moral and ethical norms of the self-control of the individuals whose decisions significantly affect the institutional social control.

However, any functional type of the social control is always relative, because the actions of the historical subjects in a “modern” time, of course, are determined by the past, and they can determine the future, but future events can not yet influence these actions. Therefore, the social control is always dependent on the unstable balance between the social statics and dynamics. The unique historical events have a decisive influence on the subsequent changes in the prevailing social conditions, which in turn recognize the direction of the social and historical development.

### **The structure of the social transformations.**

The socio-historical significance of the social reform can be understood through a combination of structural and functionalist approaches to their inter-

pretation. From the first point of view we should pay attention to the radical change first of all of the set of rules and procedures for decision-making. On the other hand, noteworthy are the changes in the social ethics and morals, including the authority of certain status groups or authorities, primarily related to the social control. This is particularly important for such traditionally public institutions like school, church, police and army.

Rather conventionally the structure of the social reform can be represented as a complex model of interaction between its various components, such as:

- economic reforms, which are the quintessence of changes in property relations, tax, land, monetary reforms;

- equally important are the political reforms – a change of the political system, new political players, administrative reform, which affects the foundations of the state bureaucracy, reforming electoral legislation related to guaranteeing fair opportunities for voters to correct past mistakes of the previous choice for the new elections;

- third on the list, but not in importance, part of the social change is actually a socio-cultural reform, the most important of which is the educational one, which determines the so-called ideological providing of the new socio-political system and its reproduction in future generations. The transformations in the spiritual life of the society lead a line under the old mechanism of the social control and launch a new one.

Generally the impetus for reforms always gives the actual cancellation of the operating for a while mechanisms of the



social control. Accordingly, the period of social reforms usually ends with the establishment of the new rules of the social control, which are the result of the systemic change. Critical meaning thus have the new social values that are, so to speak, the heart of any system of the social control.

So, the objective criterion of the beginning of some transformations is the attack of the various social agents on the existing social values, the mental field of which actually holds the existing social order.

Explaining this process, the Italian Communist A. Gramsci, whose theoretical developments of the first half of the twentieth century played an important role in the development of the new concepts of the social control, unlike the orthodox Marxists that constantly emphasized mainly the force control power in a class society, emphasized that the mechanism of power is not only compulsion but also conviction. Any ruling elite has to legitimize and maintain the power through *conviction* of the society in justice of the existing social order.

Of course, the importance of the public opinion for effective social control was emphasized by the “father” of the modern sociological thought Auguste Comte. In particular, he noted that the entire social mechanism operates from different points of view [14, p. 68]. Therefore, the formation of the independent public opinion, which occurs mainly in the structures of the civil society, is a critical step for the effective functioning of the democratic mechanisms of the social control. At the same time the critical reforms are the power levers of the influence on society and

control over the formation of the public opinion.

Generally, in our view, the structure of the social reform in certain stages of the historical development of the society is fundamentally different. Consider these processes in a state of social statics and dynamics. The most appropriate model for this description is the idea of the universal epochal cycle. It consists of two periods: the regulatory and the unstable. In the stable (regulatory) phases of the cycle — of the involution and evolution is stored the existing for a certain period of time the system of the social control. The reforms thus have partial character, as it were a cosmetic one, generally they do not change the existing mechanisms of the social control and are directed to its perfection and improvement.

But in the evolutionary stage of the cycle there is accumulation of significant social innovations. After reaching a critical number of innovative changes can be observed the quality changes.

The dynamic (transient) phases of the cycle of the landmark are associated with the preparation and implementation of the social reforms. Thus at the co-evolutionary stage of the cycle we can observe the loosening of the old system of the social control that reaches such a degree of intensity that is objectively fixed by the mass consciousness.

The radical systemic changes usually occur at the stage of the revolutionary stage of the epochal cycle, which brings an end to the historic “spent” cycle, and initiates a completely new one.

Let’s see how the proposed model “works” in the analysis of the known social transformation.

### **Historical experience of the social reforms.**

We will focus on the most famous revolutions that eventually formed the modern social conditions in the forefront of the history. These are the Dutch, British, American and French Revolution of the XVI–XVIII centuries. All of them, despite the rather significant differences, were caused by different historical circumstances of their deployment, rate of changes, their radicalism, sustainability formation of a new social order, have important analogies.

First of all, it concerns the impact of the religious factor as a key in the traditional form of organization of the social control, for radical social transformations. Especially revealing in this respect are the first three revolutions. They were made under the influence of the Reformation's value, their entities consolidated around the ideas of different branches of Protestantism and Catholicism. As a result, about a generation underwent a process of forming new institutions of the social control inherent in bourgeois society.

The French Revolution of the late eighteenth century was brought up in the ideas of the Enlightenment. It even formed a basis for the secularization of the civil society on the basis of its transformation into an object of almost religious worship. It is sufficient to mention the Jacobins attempts to introduce the cult of the Reason.

The legitimization of the transformations in each case took place on the basis of the rejection of the traditional mechanisms of the social control. In the case of the Netherlands it was the domination of the Catholic Spain, which was seen as an obstacle to free not only of

religion, but as a sudden exploiter of the Dutch wealth gradually accumulated from the development of the commodity-money relations. In England such enemy, emerging from the course of the social and political processes of capitalization, was the old semi-feudal monarchy that with their inadequate actions violated an unspoken social agreement on the taxation, pursued the radical dissidents (so called themselves followers of the religious Reformation). After they moved to the North America, where created new settlements, but were not yet delivered from the control system of the metropolis.

The American Revolution, which coincided with the birth of the process corresponding to the so-called American way of development of the capitalism, synchronized with the struggle for the independence of the North American colonies from the British crown. On the other hand, it influenced the launch of the French Revolution, which in fact opened a new global cycle of the social and historical development and formed the modern institutions of the social control.

However, we at the beginning of the article stressed that the process of globalization, which intensified after the collapse of the socialist bloc, creates innovative trends of the social transformations. At the same time, Soros sees the threat to open society from the instability caused by the lack of the developed social values. To save the situation, he proposes to act correctly and morally, even if it sometimes seems inappropriate, i.e. convert the means to achieve the goal on the same goal.

The problem of monitoring the changes, the known sociologist and

futurologist A. Toffler, offers a means to resolve clear understanding of long-term social problems and democratization ways of achieving them [15, p. 392]. At the same time, we can not observe the intensive humanization of the social transformations, because the consequences of the social modernization are still connected with the tangible depopulation of the population and the whole complex of negative social phenomena that are intensively developing in an environment of anomie and permanent stress favorable for most sectors of societies that are in a state of transformation.

However, the historical experience of the social reforms shows that their result ultimately is to establish new mechanisms of society and renewal of the social institutions that are designed to perform the permanent social control. Let's consider from this point of view the recent experience of our country and our great northern neighbour.

### **Ukrainian and Russian ways of the reforms and social control.**

The dismantling of the Soviet social system in both countries took place with certain specific features, but also in the process of restructuring. Gradually, step by step, there was a departure from the traditional mechanism of the social control and its gradual destruction. In particular, the refusal of the sixth article of the Soviet Constitution, which enshrines the leading role of the Communist Party, became a real "quiet" revolution. Thus was actually removed the core structure-creating of the Soviet political system, which provided legitimization and the meaning of its existence.

Further progress of the rebuilding project was associated with the delegitimization of the most active at that time law (to this has contributed the postulate — "everything that is not prohibited by law, it is permissible") that contributed to the creation of favourable conditions for the development not only of the legal nihilism but also of various methods of privatization by the former Soviet ruling elite of the public property. After, gradually, by relatively little blood was made a real social revolution, confirming a radical change status and social roles of the "working class", "working peasantry", "intelligence" and the ruling elite.

The whole process was accompanied by demobilization of the collectivist attitudes mass behaviour and the active promotion of the hedonistic individualistic morality ultimately aimed not at "Protestant asceticism" originally capital accumulation (in Weber's sense of the term), but a new form of "robbery of the loot" with simultaneous destruction of the industrial and scientific potential. The consequence of these transformations began the dismantling basic of the social security and all the social services from kindergarten (due to genuine demographic disaster) to schools and higher education.

The social institutions which, because of their functions should provide continuous reproduction of the social control — school, church, science, military, executive and the legislature, the media — were in a deep systemic crisis. The school mired in ill-considered reforms that leveled the approach to providing universal primary knowledge and led to rigid class stratification of the students. The church appeared un-

prepared to answer the moral crisis of the society, by the Byzantine tradition it has entered into an alliance with the government. In Ukraine the Orthodox Church in general because of political reasons was divided into warring denominations. The science was disoriented by the market approach to its activities as scholasticism of the plan of the scientific discoveries replaced the prose of the commodity-money relations. The executive and legislative branches of the government took up the sharing of the power. In Russia, this “constitutional process” in October 1993 needed a bloody naturalistic performance with the shooting of the White House. In Ukraine, the Constitution was adopted after lengthy clarifications of the relations between branches of the government in one night. But its “reform” after the April 2000 referendum will last for a long time.

Finally, the media has not turned into the fourth power designed to implement the so-called informal control over the activities of the authorities. Thus, they did not become the eyes and voice of the civil society. Last, if we understand under this term various social groups, the differentiation which occurs as a result of certain social division of the labour in Ukraine and Russia also still in the stage of self-awareness and determine their functions in social control by the state, which in turn is in no hurry to delegate to it such a right. At the same time, the naturally languid civil society can not defend its right, constantly flirting with the state.

One of the many reasons for this situation is that most media in the market conditions of existing quickly came under the control of various financial and

industrial groups and express the opinion of their new owners, while avoiding to perform the functions of the “watchdog” of democracy, becoming a decorative dog which delivers the voice only by the instructions of the team owner.

Moreover, another component of the formation of the independent public opinion – the so-called “public relations” also turned into a function of big business and are based on the well-known postulate of Mark Twain about that honesty is the best policy, especially if it brings money.

Thus, the common problems of both post-communist countries is the lack of the effective civil society structures, because of the existing shortage of effective, not communist, constructive opposition. The social control of the state institutions in the political sphere should ideally consist of an incorruptible and impartial judge, designed not to play on the side of certain political forces, but only see to it that all political players followed the rules of the game.

However, as stressed the Russian political scientist O. S. Panarin, the politics serves as an innovative production process for new power status and influence within the universal legal norms. Based on these considerations, this author come to the reasonable idea that the basis of the political revolution is not a conflict between the productive forces and the production relations, but the conflict between the subsystem mass production of the new requirements and the existing subsystem of the political decision-making.

In the Ukrainian and Russian realities of the transition period, contrary the dismantle of the effective state control with simultaneous crisis control

mechanisms mobilized the public opinion, has created a peculiar phenomenon of “privatization” of the public authorities which for taxpayer money often acted against their interests. At the same time, the society was assigned the role of a passive observer for clarifying the relationship between the various groups of the newly formed elite.

The dialogue between the government institutions and the civil society structures as a form of exercise of effective mutual social control still has not emerged. By virtue of this factor, the process of institutionalization of the corresponding political field is slowly proceeding.

The lack of effective political support for social reforms significantly slows down their pace, hinders the crystallization and differentiation of various social interests, that should lead to a stable political structure and a substitution of a small party for a multi-party system, when several parties of a clear ideological orientation become active political actors that will represent the objective interests of different strata of the society.

The recent political battles in Russia — the State Duma elections in December 1999 and the early presidential elections in March 2000 again revealed the conservation of the deficit dialogue between the authorities and society. This clearly showed the lack of the public debate between the candidates for various governmental mandates. This democratic mechanism was replaced by various compromising materials, which only undermined the remnants of citizens’ trust in the existing political class. On the other hand, the entire state machinery worked actively to ensure the

election of V. Putin to the highest office in the executive power. Opposition for various reasons, the media were taken under control.

The first steps of the President V. Putin, as a non-acting, but absolute president, noted the need to establish a “dictatorship of law”, were associated with the restoration of the mechanisms for monitoring the course of the social transformations in Russia. This process has been linked to the formation of the pro-presidential majority in the Duma, the actual political isolation of the Communist Party because the authorities intercepted its national-patriotic rhetoric restructurization of the Federation Council. Further strengthening of the vertical of the federal government is associated with the complex process of changes to the current Constitution of 1993 that could be one of the priorities during Putin’s second term.

However, during the first period of his stay in the Kremlin office were made very noticeable steps in the new phase of reforms that unlike during the presidency of B. Yeltsin, were not aimed at destroying the remnants of the old mechanisms of the social control, but the formation of new ones. Specifically, were adopted the Tax Code, the Land Code, which provided private ownership of the land for the first time in Russian history without blood, were initiated the judicial and military reforms. At the same time, the pro-presidential political forces again do not have a constructive opposition. In this role is trying to pretend the “Yabloko” of G. Yavlinsky and newly established in December 2001 B. Berezovsky’s party “Liberal Russia”.

From our point of view, the next elections to the Duma, where different political forces bear in mind the prospect of Putin's re-election in 2004, will be the challenge for new mechanisms of the social control that so far only manifested as a trend, but not yet fully formed.

A similar test around the same time was waiting for Ukraine too. Here, after the 1999 presidential elections a year later blew loud the "cassette scandal" that became one of the symptoms of the lasting anomie, of the lack of effective mechanisms of the social control. However, as with any crisis, it stimulated certain positive trends reanimating the political activity of different actors. As a result of the pressure of the April 2000 referendum was formed the majority in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine that in difficult political conditions could hold a number of important bills. In particular, at the last session before elections were adopted the Land, Civil, Penal Codes. Another thing is how is overcome the legal nihilism, so the existing legislation to be enforced by all the subjects and worked for the reform.

However, a stable sample structuring of the Ukrainian parliament like the elections of 1998 did not happen. The strengthening of the trend towards the final transformation of Ukraine into a presidential republic as a result of the possible adoption by the next composition of the parliament during 2002 of the changes in the Constitution (with the early elections of the lower house of the parliament in our country can become as frequent as in Italy), for the time will remove the problem of the political structuralization, since the new type of the Verkhovna Rada is more

controlled by the Upper Chamber, whose senators will be appointed by virtually non-partisan executive power. And there will not be far away the time of the 2004 elections, when the inevitable aggravation of the political struggle around the post of the president of Ukraine will occur.

So, all this shows that the search for the optimal model for organizing the distribution of power and the organization of institutional social control in Ukraine and Russia will last at least in the nearest first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, does not give us grounds to talk about the end of the transformation processes in both countries and the completion of the transitional time reforms, a symbol of what should be the formation of new mechanisms of the social control. However, this does not mean that the trend will not increase. In Ukraine the evidence of attempting to restore its power control function was, in particular, the December 2001 census. Next year a similar event is to be held in Russia.

But in general should also take into account the impact on the transformation process in both countries of the external factors related to the complexity of the global transformation and the formation of the new rules of the international game. These factors can significantly affect the future course of events in Ukraine and Russia. After the attacks of 11 September 2001 in the United States is rapidly changing the balance of power in the international arena. Russia politically actively supports the United States in conducting the anti-terrorist operations. However, its implementation has stimulated the sharpening contradictions in Eurasia,



especially between the nuclear India and Pakistan. The terrorist attacks in December 2001 of the Indian Parliament further aggravated the situation of the Indian subcontinent. Controversial remains the situation in the Middle East.

All these events complicate the foreign politics positioning of Ukraine and Russia. The question remains to ensure the place of these countries in the new global system, in particular from the point of view of their subordination to the external control. The US with the withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, officially to be held in June 2002, is actively preparing for the role of the global policeman. After all, if the national missile defense system is deployed, the United States will have the opportunity to defend its territory in the event of a missile response of the so-called rogue countries with military pressure from the superpowers. In this case, the role of “deputy sheriff” is rather claimed not by Russia, but by Britain.

The resource possibility of Ukraine in the context of protecting the national interests from the external control of today are rather limited. The preservation of the negative demographic growth, the accumulation of the problems with the population aging, as well as the unsolved social, economic, political, environmental and other problems, can further weaken the competitive ability of our state in the context of globalization. One of the possible solutions to this problem can be the synchronization of reforms in Ukraine and Russia, the mutual strengthening of the positions in the world, without shifting their problems to the shoulders of the strategic allies.

The first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century offers an opportunity to choose the strategic priorities and areas of development that can open up space for innovative capacity or finally bury hope, even the last.

**Conclusions.** The socio-historical analysis can identify the conflict in the troubled field of two archetypal model interpretation of the causes of conflict — the modern and the postmodern.

*The modern archetypal model of conflict* is associated with the ideas of Thomas Hobbes, who said that the conflict is generic (“war of all against all”). Therefore, the public administration entities based in these conditions on hatred as part of the human nature are looking for social and political mobilization irreconcilable enemies, competitors, rivals, opponents and others. The political action is seen as resistance. They warn the society against external ones that they consider as a threat to their own security.

*The postmodern archetypal model of conflict* is associated with the ideas of John Locke, who believed that man is by nature good and bad due to circumstances and social environment. Accordingly, the basic categories of the public administration here is a cooperation mechanism and concessions and the general consensus in decision making. The public-regulatory practices are aimed at minimizing the adverse conditions for the implementation of decisions.

In general, we can say that the subjects of the modern era, due to the dominant extroverted psychosocial properties of people, act in the context of the universals and social-class intransigence. However, postmodern moderni-

ty, with access to the arena of the social life of the introvert psychotype, puts a person in dependence on the pressure of the social segregation, mass practices of gradualness, mutuality of actions with detente of the social conflict tension.

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