International conference on "Ethno-cultural Diversity and the Problem of Tolerance in the Globalizing World" St Petersburg, June 24-26, 2010

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AS A WAY OF THE NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF UKRAINE IN THE CONDITIONS OF ETHNIC-CULTURAL PLURALISM

Andrey KOSTYREV,

candidate of political science,
assistant professor of international relations department
of Kyiv Slavonic University (Chernigov branch),
Chernigov,
Ukraine

Report is produced on International conference on "Ethno-cultural Diversity and the Problem of Tolerance in the Globalizing World.

Research Committee 14 ('Politics and Ethnicity') of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) and the Russian Political Science Association.

June 24-26, 2010

Political communication as a way of the national consolidation of Ukraine in the conditions of ethnic-cultural pluralism

Andrey Kostyrev,

candidate of political science,

assistant professor of international relations department

of Kyiv Slavonic University (Chernigov branch),

Chernigov,

Ukraine

It is known that the urgent task of internal policy of Ukraine is to achieve social harmony. This problem of national unity and integrity Ukrainian state appears in the first place in the National Security Strategy of Ukraine. This document states that the solution of this problem is complicated because the value-outlook separation of Ukrainian society, which depends on the cultural and historical differences between the regions of Ukraine and deepening as a result of speculation on these problems by certain domestic and foreign forces, including the extremist organisations. Achieving national unity and consolidation of society by overcoming both objective and artificial social and cultural differences, what have social and cultural, confessional, ethnic, linguistic, inter-regional and regional nature identified as a major strategic priority of national security policy[1].

Ukraine is situated not only on the borderlands between Western and Orthodox-Slavic (or according to other definition - Eurasian) civilizations, it is inland divided into two parts, one of which reaches out to Europe and the other - to Russia. According to the popular theory of Samuel Huntington named Clash of civilizations, the Ukraine is a 'split the country', two parts of which belong to two different civilizations. In his opinion, Ukraine is divided into Uniate Ukrainian-

---

[1] Указ Президента України від 12 лютого 2007 року № 105/2007 «Про Стратегію національної безпеки України»: http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/5806.

nationalist West and the Russian Orthodox East[2]. The famous Ukrainian scientist Victor Andrushchenko underlines the borderlands of Ukraine: 'The geopolitical position of Ukraine on the verge of two major cultural space - European and Eurasian was and is one of determinants of its historical and political destiny - he writes. - Splitting the national mentality and, consequently, the complexity of forming coherent system of geopolitical priorities of national interests, a unified national strategy led to considerable extent failed attempts to build national independence of Ukraine in the XVII and beginning of XX century, today's difficulties in recognizing Ukraine as an European nation. Historically, it stands on the brink of the interaction of European and Asian civilizations, combines their conflicting ambitions and delegate them to one another, but not otherwise, as in transformed their own culture and a mentality'[3]. Ukrainian scientists such as F.Rudich and A.Dergachev tend to consider Ukraine as a biregional state. According to F.Ruditsch the specificity of Ukraine's geopolitical coordinates lies in its membership both in the two regions - Europe and Eurasia, in which it has both peripheral position[4].

Recent sociological research shows that civilizational differences in relief detected in geopolitical, ethno-cultural and religious orientations. In the western regions psychology of individual entrepreneurship is more developed, a common West European political and cultural orientations are supported by family ties. Because this part of Ukraine for a long time was part of other states, then because of the desire to self-preservation among ethnic Ukrainian historically formed a strong tradition of national-cultural soil. Central and north-eastern Ukraine is historically the basic regions of ethnic Ukrainian nation, which is the least "diluted" by heterogeneous elements. In this region there are long and wide economic, cultural and family ties with Russia and Byelorussia. Specially ethnic national specifics are distinguished in the southeast region and Crimea. Along with

---

[2] Хантингтон С. Столкновение цивилизаций. / Пер. с англ. Т Велимеева, Ю.Новикова. – М.: ООО «Издательство АСТ», 2003.- С.243-244.

[3] Андрущенко В. Організоване суспільство / Інститут вищої освіти АПН України. — К., 2006: - http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/books/2006/06vaos/

[4] Рудич Ф. Україна, Росія, Євроатлантика: деякі аспекти взаємовідносин // Украина в современном геополитическом пространстве: Прилож. к журналу "Персонал". - 2000. - №5(10) - С.11.

the Ukrainian - a large percentage of Russians and representatives of the southern nations. Predominantly Russian-speaking population of the traditional historical, economic, cultural and family-oriented to Russia[5].

According to the research of Kiev International Institute of Sociology (KIIS) ethnic composition of the Ukrainian society, what was fixed for a free self-identity, has the following structure: 62% - the monoethnical Ukrainians, 23% - the biethnical Russian-Ukrainians, 10% - the monoethnical Russians, 5% - the people of others ethnic groups[6]. According to sociological research of Center named Razumkov, 52% of citizens consider Ukrainian as their native language, 31% - Russian, both languages are native for 16% of the population[7]. What about the religious differences, what many researchers following Huntington regard as the initial cause of civilizational differences, the datas of socioligist researches show that 72,2% of Ukraine's population identify themselves with the Orthodox, 6.7% - with Greek Catholics, 2.7% - with Catholics, 1,1% - with Protestants, 0,6% - with Muslims, 0,1% - with Jews and 14.8% expressed their atheism[8]. Comparison with other countries, including European national states, shows that religious differences of the population of Ukraine are not critical. Moreover, as S. Pereslehin points, differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy have mostly dogmatic nature[9].

Specific problem is that the distribution of population by religious and ethnic composition has significant regional differentiation, but the boarders of these regions do not coincide so that we could talk about a clear ethnic-religious division as the clash civilization basis in Ukraine. According to the State Department of Religious Affairs on January 1, 2005[10], the number of Christian communities, dioceses, monasteries and dioceses of the Greek and Roman Catholics predominate

[5] Степико М. Українська політична нація: проблеми становлення// Політичний менеджмент.- 2004.-№ 1.-С.19-20.

[6] Хмелько В. Через що політикам вдається розколювати Україну // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 24 червня - №24 (603).

[7] Шангіна Л. Про країну, державу і громадян у перехідному віці // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 19 серпня - №31 (610).

[8] Соломко И Почем звонит колокол. / Кореспондент. – 2005. – 3 декабря. - №47 (186) – с. 51.

[9] Переслегин С. Самоучитель игры на мировой шахматной доске. // Геополитика. - М.; СПб.: Аст, Terra Fantastica, 2002. – С.56.

[10] Соломко И Почем звонит колокол. / Кореспондент. – 2005. – 3 декабря. - №47 (186) – с. 53.

only in Lviv (65.6%), Ivano-Frankivsk (60.4 %), Ternopil (58.1%) regions, in Transcarpathia, they have considerable influence (43.4%), in Zhitomir, Khmelnitsky, Vinnitsa region of the Greek and Roman Catholic communities respectively reduced to 15.4%, 13.1% , and 11%. But in such regions as western Volyn' and Rivne Catholic parishes share is only 4.7% and 2% respectively, which is less than in the eastern regions - Donetsk (5.9%), Odessa (5.4%) Kharkiv (5.2%), Kherson (5.2%), but the least they share is in a predominantly Ukrainian-speaking central and north-eastern regions - Kirovohrad (0.7%), Cherkassy and Chernigov (1%), Sumy (1, 4%), Dnipropetrovsk (1.7%), Poltava (2%) and mainly Russian - Lugansk (0.8%).

As in these regions is much less different in their ethnic composition than the language, it becomes obvious political significance of linguistic-ethnic heterogeneity of our citizens. In the north-western part the monoethnical Ukrainians make up 83%, the biethnical Russian-Ukrainians – 11%, and the monoethnical Russians - only 3%. And in the south-eastern region the monoethnical Ukrainians make up 34%, the biethnical Russian-Ukrainians and the monoethnical Russians – 60%, 41% of which – the biethnical Russian-Ukrainians[11]. V.Khmelko indicates that the analysis of relevant data revealed that electoral preferences in the presidential and parliamentary elections, as well as such national political orientation, as attitude status of Russian language in Ukraine and its relations with Russia and the West, are closely tied with linguistic-ethnic composition of regions. The north-western part is more prone to the EU than to the union with Russia and Byelorussia (43% vs. 39%) and the south-eastern part of the opposite - much less prone to the EU than to the union with Russia and Byelorussia (21% vs. 70%) [12].

According to the Center named Razumkov in Western Ukraine 40% of responents feel themselves as Europeans, but on the East - only 18%, in the Center - 25% and on the South - 30%. Inhabitants of the West consider themselves equally

---

[11] Хмелько В. Через що політикам вдається розколювати Україну // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 24 червня - №24 (603).
[12] Там же.

close as residents of Poland and Donbass (but the inhabitants of Ivano-Frankivsk, Transcarpathian and Chernivtzi regions considered closer the Poles, Hungarians, Romanians and Moldovans, than residents of Donbass), but the residents of the Centre, East and South believe closer to the inhabitants of Russia than Bukovina, Galicia and Transcarpathia (in this case for residents of Donetsk and Luhansk regions, Crimea and Sevastopol citizens of Russia are closer than residents of other regions of Ukraine; Lugansk make exceptions only for Donetsk and Sevastopol - for Crimeans). For residents of the west – 'Ukraine is the only descendant of history and culture of the Kievskaya Rus' (relative majority, 46%). For all the rest – 'History of Ukraine is an integral part of the history of the great eastern slavonic people as well as the history of Russia and Byelorussia' (East - 54%, Center - 42% South - 60%). For the residents of Western war against fascism – World War II (41%). For all the rest - Great Patriotic War (East and South - 64%, Center - 59%)[13].

According to the results of research, that was conducted GFK - Ukrainian polls and market research, there are five countries, that people in Western Ukraine believed friendly, as follows: Poland - 61,6%, Georgia - 47,2%, USA - 39.7%, Russia - 19,7%, Germany - 19.3%, while in the eastern region considered friendly to Russia - 81.0%, Byelorussia - 47.3%, Poland - 31.4% Germany - 20.9%, Moldova - 18,2%. In western Ukraine, more than half of respondents (54.9%) called Russia a hostile country, and the East more than a third believe the U.S. as dangerous state [14].

Is it possible, taking into accaunt these differences, to consider that the population of Ukraine forms one nation? – that is a question. According to the special committee of the British Academy of Sciences, the nation's main characteristic features are: 1) submission of all members of a unity government, 2) stay in one area, 3) a common language, literature, customs, 4) a common origin and history, 5) separate national character, 6) common religion, 7) common

---

[13] Шангіна Л. Про країну, державу і громадян у перехідному віці // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 19 серпня - №31 (610).
[14] Кремень Т. То ли друг, то ли враг // Кореспондент. – 2005. – 3 декабря - №47 (186). – с. 27-32.

interests; 8) common sense or the will to be specifically "national" in nature; 9) respectful relationships between people belonging to one nation, 10) commitment to a single whole; 11) a sense of pride about the achievements and failures of national mourning for the policy; 12) contempt or hostility to other nations [15]. Impartial analysis shows that more than half of these features clearly inherent in the people of Ukraine.

But experts pay attention to the existence of such the most important features of nation as Identity. 'Belonging to the nation in most members of society manifests itself in the sense of collective, public identity'[16]. S.Huntington writes: 'Throughout history, human civilization made up for the highest level of identity. Civilization is the highest cultural integrity. Civilization is the most 'we' in what everyone feels culturally at home and distinguishes itself from all the rest of 'them'[17].

Self-identification of citizens of Ukraine testifies to the fact that, despite the linguistic, historical, regional differences, there is something what certainly unites us. 93% of respondents consider Ukraine as their Motherland, it is the absolute majority with small variations from 98% on the West to 82% on the South. 75% (in the West - 88% in the East - 64%) consider themselves as patriots . The most citizens are polled (56%) identify themselves with the Ukrainian culture (among them 20% - with Russian), while 7% identified themselves with European culture, 11% - with the Russian cultural tradition, 16% - with the Soviet [18]. As for the distribution of geopolitical orientations in both parts of the country, they lose their contrast when choosing between policy concerns similar relations with the EU and Russia on the one hand, and joining the European Union, on the other. Supporters of equal relations with the European Union and Russia dominate and there and there (on the North-West - 51% vs 27%, and on the South-East - 74% vs 4%). The least difference between the two parts of Ukraine as for sensitive national political

---

[15] Основи етнодержавознавства. Підручник / За ред. Ю.І. Римаренка. – К.: Либідь, 1997. – с. 132-133.

[16] Короткий Оксфордський словник. – К., «Основи». – 2005. – С. 435.

[17] Хантингтон С. Столкновение цивилизаций / Пер. с англ. Т Велимеева, Ю.Новикова. – М.: ООО «Издательство АСТ», 2003. - С. 36.

[18] Степико М. Українська політична нація: проблеми становлення// Політичний менеджмент.- 2004.-№ 1. - с. 19-20.

issues observed in their relation to NATO. KIIS's poll shows that supporters of NATO membership in both parts of the country less than opponents: in the northwestern part - 23% vs. 39%, and in the southeast - 7% to 77%. Virtually the same support in both parts of the country (57% and 58%) gets friendly stance of neutrality with respect to both NATO and the CIS military alliance [19].

Based on these datas we suggest the following conclusions.

First, a split between the civilizations in Ukraine is not as fatal as it was wrote by S.Huntington. Secondly, the Ukrainian reality refutes the assetion of Polish scientist F.Konechny that civilization can not 'cross' and give a creative synthesis[20]. In contrast, the availability of common values makes a fruitful intercivilizational convergence both possible and necessary. Thirdly, false views have those of Western and Russian scientists who do not see in Ukraine separate single ethno-political system. Arguably, the population of modern Ukraine can create one nation if we can combine at least three ethnic subethnoses: the monoethnical Ukrainians, the biethnical Russian-Ukrainians, the monoethnical Russians (the terminology of Khmelko) or the Ukrainian Uniates on the west, the Orthodox Ukrainians in the centre and the Russians in the eastern part (the affirmation of E. Todd [21]).

And if so, for Ukraine is fully relevant L.Gumilev's assertion that it is nation, which consists from subethnoses and constantly emerging consortions , as a discrete system, provides both essential for differentiation of culture and the necessary unity of the bearer of this culture[22]. Therefore, we can consider the citizens of Ukraine as some ethnological 'whole', definition of which was given by N.Trubetskoy as the aggregate of the ethnoses, they set "place of development", which is economicaly 'self-sufficient', autarhical and connected with each other njt by race, but by common historical destiny, working together to build the same

---

[19] Хмелько В. Через що політикам вдається розколювати Україну // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 24 червня - №24 (603).

[20] Солонин Ю.Н. Цивилизация и понимание истории (к оценке «Науки о цивилизации» Феликса Конечны) // Вестн. С-Петербрг. ун-та. – 1993. Сер. 6. – Вып. 1 (№6). – с. 13-16.

[21] Тодд Е. После империи. Pax Americana – начало конца. – М., Международные отношения. – 2004. – С. 186.

[22] Гумилев Л. Ритмы Евразии. Эпохи и цивилизации. – М., Издательсво АСТ. – 2004. – С. 62.

culture or the same state[23]. 'Ethnic groups have a systemic nature - L.Gumilev wrote. - It means that the basis of ethnicity is not similar individuals, which form it, but contacts, wich cement a group and extend to natural landscape where live this collective. Side by side with a spatial connections nation is formed also by a temporal connections, which namely a tradition'[24].

Cultural complementarity may help to increase the interdependence of ethnic groups in pluralistic society and create the basis for interoperability. In those areas where there is not cultural complementarity, can not be formed the conditions for the formation of ethnic interaction. Interaction wil be not at all here, or it will exist regardless of ethnic identity. However, complex social systems provide a wide range of complementary value differences and the various forms of social orders. In this social system cultural differences must be sustainable, standardized within ethnic group. The set of status-roles of each member of the group (social face) should be mainly stereotyped, and then interethnical interaction can be based on ethnic identity. In this context, F.Barth examines ethnic groups and cultural diversity on their organizational capacity. Thus ethnicity is considered in a functional sense as a form of social organization and cultural differences. The ethnic group formed by notions of man as self-categorization and identification of other to ethnic groups. In social terms these mechanisms are the system of social orders. Bart's conceptual approach to research the ethnic and cultural differences based not only on the objectively existing and historicaly inheriting cultural features of ethnic groups, but on the individual consciousness and social behavior caused by it, what is displayed in the system of social roles[25].

So, the method of Ukrainian nation consolidation is not 'melting' of it's ethnic diversity in a crucible, but overcoming of cultural and historical heterogeneity of the region by strengthening links between spatial regions and civilization traditions. Therefore, the key principles of such consolidation is interethnic

---

[23] Там же.
[24] Там же. – С. 542.
[25] Татаренко Т. Етнічні кордони і міжетнічна толерантність// Політичний менеджмент.- 2004.- № 5.- с.31-39.

tolerance and intercultural dialogue[26]. Reaching consensus in the conditions of ethnic-cultural pluralism is difficult but possible. On the belief of O.Maruhovskaya-Kartunova the main ways to achieve and maintain consensus may be: the perception some common values, interests and goals of the 'great' society and state by all parties of the conflict, mutual recognition of values, interests and goals of each party; constitutional consolidation of a 'rules of game', as a rules of interrelations[27].

As we consider, consolidation can not be achieved without creating the effective communication mechanisms and process of communication. Thus we understand communication not only as simply changing of messaging, but as the process of mutual interpretation of messages in order to understand their cognitive sense and obligatory availability so-called 'feedback loops' in this process[28]. It should be emphasized that it is very important to define political communication in the conditions of ethnic-cultural pluralism by a category of culture, which, according to S.Sarnovskaya, emphasis distinguishes contemporary definition of value communication from a value-neutral definition, according to which communication is considered only as network channels. as a kind of abstraction, depersonalized, converted form of human interrelations[29].

W.Shramm's concept of communication foresees the model, which involves two-way process of communication, when and who sends and who receives information, there are inherent within the framework of correlation, the relationship formed between them and the social situation that surrounds them[30].

So, communication is a two-way process of exchanging messages (signals), based on generally accepted concepts and content as specified by relations

[26] Мітряєва С.І. Міжнаціональні аспекти консолідації українського суспільства (регіональна модель): Монографія. Вид-во Національного інституту стратегічних досліджень, Закарпатський філіал. - Ужгород, 2001.- С. 79.

[27] Маруховська-Картунова О.О. Особливості запобігання ескалації та врегулювання етнополітичних конфліктів. / Політологічний вісник. – К. – 2001.- с. 193-194.

[28] Костирєв А.Г. Суспільно-політичні функції засобів масової інформації в демократичному суспільстві // Вісник Київського Національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Серія: Філософія. Політологія. – 2002. – № 40 - с. 230-234.

[29] Сарновська С.О. Сучасна соціальна інформативна культура (філософсько-методологічний аналіз) дис. канд. філос. н.: 09.003. – К., 2000. – С. 24.

[30] Schramm Wilbur. The Nature of Communication Between Humans // Process of Effects of Mass Communication / Rev. ed. by Witbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts.- Urbana, 1971.- P. 17.

communicators, and social environment. Therefore, the current task for effective deployment process of political communication in Ukraine is to identify those values that are common to the subetnoses determined above.

It is unlikely that it will be possible to rely on consensus, if the representatives of the western and eastern parts of Ukraine will soon discuss the historical role of Stepan Bandera and the significance of the basing Russian Black Sea fleet in Crimea. But the beginning of a dialogue with a conversation about how to solve, for example, ecological issues or problems of housing and communal services, which are common both for Galicina and for Donbass, could be productive. We should gradually expand its zone of mutual crossing of the communications frameworks of correlation, which we discussed above.

As for the integrated assessment of feelings for the Motherland, nature and priorities of languages, then, as the I.Vilchinskaya considers, research results show that they are mostly determined by the level of material sufficiency, thus increasing trend among young attitude importance for the country depending on the level of material wealth is manifested distinctly[31].

What values, besides wealth, are indeed common to all regions of Ukraine and what values need to find a constructive compromise? KISS's research show that in both parts of Ukraine attitude to political freedoms and the legal equality of members of society were virtually identical, and the peculiarities of the market economy to private ownership and private enterprise are very similar. Only a few national political orientations differ significantly; attitudes towards Ukraine's membership in the CIS, the relations between Ukraine and Russia and status of Ukrainian language in Ukraine. So as a position that may become the subject of consolidating communication V.Khmelko offers: first, the unconditional recognition of Ukrainian as the only state language and the right of local governments to impose additional local official language (or languages), where it wants much of the inhabitants; second, maintaining equally friendly relations with

---

[31] Вільчинська І.Ю. Політологичні характеристики етнічної ідентичності. / Політологічний вісник. – К. – 2001.- с. 193-194.

the EU and Russia keeping with Russia visa-free borders; third, non-alignment to the military alliances both NATO and CIS- states (OTCS) and maintain friendly cooperation with both these unions[32].

Whan about the instruments of political communication, it should be noted that the prospect of updating and development of the identity of population to a new level depends on the full participation of the civil, political and social institutions.

According to researcher A.Khoroshylov, the State the should be the main mechanism for consolidation of Ukrainian political nation, in particular, he stresses that in our country, given its historical and cultural heritage and ethnopolitical realities, the only effective way of accelerating the political constitution of the nation can only be paternalistic model of ethno-national policy[33]. 'In order to achieve national unity and consolidation of society - is noted in the National Security Strategy - to be spread among different social, age and educational and cultural strata of the Ukrainian people the idea of common historical destiny, the advantages cooperation and mutual assistance, the immediate success of each depends on the level of citizen Ukraine unity of Ukrainian society, which will promote the national idea in its broad, philosophical sense'[34]. Not contested the content of this thesis, let us note that the declared procedure, proclaming the role of State as a distributor of ideas, and giving for people only the passive role of consumers is a throwback to totalitarian times. Such etatism, in our opinion, is not able to provide effective circulation of information, precisely the 'feedback loop' without any communication as a way of expression and the formation of public opinion impossible. In a democracy, namely public opinion has become a national idea lonom birth. After all, public opinion, by definition of L.-S.Sanisteban - a socio-psychological phenomenon that consists in the similarity criteria of broad groups of individuals, which leads to the formation of dominant common sense,

---

[32] Хмелько В. Через що політикам вдається розколювати Україну // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 24 червня - №24 (603).

[33] Хорошилов О. Українська політична нація: сценарій конституювання// Політичний менеджмент. - 2004.- № 5.- с. 23-30.

[34] Указ Президента України від 12 лютого 2007 року № 105/2007 «Про Стратегію національної безпеки України»: http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/5806.

the pressure is very significant[35]. Nature of public opinion such that it necessarily has to pass the stage of exchange, discussion, move from the sum of individual opinions to superindividual, generalized reactions to the phenomenon, a force able to influence and individual consciousness, and the activities of social institutions. The experience of the XX century confirms that the national idea, which was born by the state, became a prelude to totalitarism and, although for the same time it can to consolidate the nation, but eventually such idea leads to national tragedy. That is why a democratic society have to reserve for the State only a coordinating function, and immediate communications have become the subjects of civil society: non-governmental organizations, socially-responsible media, local governments, academic and educational institutions.

The problem of overcoming cultural barriers in ethno-national environment can be solved through progression of the media, which greatly enhance the interaction and dialogue of different cultures, encourage integrative tendencies. In terms of information society challenges the media as the leading channel of political communication that is reflected in policy and mediatization of phenomenon, which is called 'the power of information'. Today, life values and ideals are interpreted as 'own' through the intensive impact of media rather than produced and fixed by own personal experience and comprehension. In addition, exactly the media determines the 'agenda setting' of social discourse. Thus the media can act not only as a consolidating factor in the powerful information and communication channel, but also as a tools of public opinion manipulation, what, as has been said, ultimately leads to deconsolidation of society. Social responsibility model is the most appropriate model of the interaction between political and media sistems in an information society. This model is based on principles of media independence nor the authority of government, nor the power of money and recognition of mutual responsibility of the media and civil society and enables to provide an open communicative discourse.

---

[35] Санистебан Л.-С. Основы политической науки: пер. с фр. – М.: Наука, 1992. –С. 476.

Today Ukraine remains an acute problem to choice the mechanisms for open communication discourse as a tools of democratization and consolidation of society in the conditions of ethnic-cultural pluralism. The analysis of the relationship between government, media, their owners and the public shows that using of liberal-market instruments for the transformation of the totalitarian model could not secure the Ukrainian media functions as effective channel of political communication. Using the Western experience and especially taken to account the expierence of domestic media, we can determine that in modern terms as a guide should be considered social- responsible model of interaction between political and media system, what correspond to the needs and the political culture of the Ukrainian society. It should be done for the formation of this model in Ukraine: to develop and to act the democratic mechanisms of media self-regulation; to complete the processes of privatization of the media through the introduction of public TV and broadcasting; to de-monopolize the media, it's production, delivery (broadcast) and maintenance with support from public funds, including international; to promote the accelerated development of the Internet[36].

Stressing the importance of civil society to consolidate the nation we want to pay attention to the words of G.Le-Bon: 'We can just a little think over the process of formation of civilizations as soon as it turns out that in any society institutions, beliefs and arts represent the whole network of ideas, feelings, habits and methods of thinking, what were established by hereditary way and comprise a force of society. Society is the only unite when the moral inheritance confirmed in the souls, not in the codes. Society comes to the decline, when the net disbalanse. It is doomed to disappearence, when the net comes to a complete collapse'[37].

Thus, the value political communication through the 'network' linking different social, cultural, ethnic, linguistic and confessional group is a only way to national consolidation of Ukraine in the conditions of ethnic-cultural pluralism inside the country. But a necessary condition for the effectiveness of this communication is

[36] Костирєв А.Г. Соціально – відповідальна модель функціонування засобів масової інформації як чинник суспільної злагоди в демократичному суспільстві // На шляху до суспільної злагоди. – К. Український центр політичного менеджменту. - 2001. – с. 75–84.
[37] Ле Бон Г. Психология социализма. – М., 1997. – С.14.

not only the internal discourse, but dialogue and cooperation between European Union and Russia as a geopolitical actors, who are indicated as nucleuses of civilizations. On another way the Ukrainian nation again will be split between this centers of gravity. In this regard, V.Kremen', D. Tabachnik and V. Tkachenko indicate that implementation and harmoniously combine the different orientation of Western and Eastern and Southern Ukraine can only be pursuing the active foreign policy as on the East as on the West[38]. That is why the actual task, what is necessary for internal consolidation of Ukraine, to stretch out intercivilizational communications network at its neighboars - Russia and the EU.

Sure, Ukraine, acting as mediator, can not be regarded only as a simply mechanical transmitter. While in the case of value communication, about what we are speaking, this is impossible, because the mediator always acts as interpreter, taking messages and processing its according to one's own scale of values. In this connection it is necessary to pay attention to assertion of V.Andrushchenko about the importance of theoretical reflection of the world humanitarian and humanistic tradition as a condition for ensuring the influence of Ukrainian culture and traditions, humanistic thought upon the world community[39].

Referensces

1. Schramm Wilbur. The Nature of Communication Between Humans // Process of Effects of Mass Communication / Rev. ed. by Witbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts.- Urbana, 1971.- P. 17.

2. Андрущенко В. Гуманітарна політика України / Філософія політики. Хрестоматія. Т.4 – К.: «Знання України», 2003.- С.329.

3. Андрущенко В. Організоване суспільство / Інститут вищої освіти АПН України. — К., 2006: http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/books/2006/06vaos/

---

[38] Кремень В., Табачник Д., Ткаченко В. Україна: альтернативи поступу. Критика історичного досвіду. / Філософія політики. Хрестоматія. Т.4 – К.: «Знання України», 2003.- С.295.
[39] Андрущенко В. Гуманітарна політика України / Філософія політики. Хрестоматія. Т.4 – К.: «Знання України», 2003.- С.329.

4. Вільчинська І.Ю. Політологичні характеристики етнічної ідентичності. / Політологічний вісник. – К. – 2001.- с. 193-194.

5. Гумилев Л. Ритмы Евразии. Эпохи и цивилизации. – М., Издательсво АСТ. – 2004.

6. Короткий Оксфордський словник. – К., «Основи». – 2005. – С. 435.

7. Костирєв А.Г. Соціально – відповідальна модель функціонування засобів масової інформації як чинник суспільної злагоди в демократичному суспільстві // На шляху до суспільної злагоди. – К. Український центр політичного менеджменту. - 2001. – С. 75–84.

8. Костирєв А.Г. Суспільно-політичні функції засобів масової інформації в демократичному суспільстві // Вісник Київського Національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Серія: Філософія. Політологія. – 2002. – № 40 - С.230-234.

9. Кремень В., Табачник Д., Ткаченко В. Україна: альтернативи поступу. Критика історичного досвіду. / Філософія політики. Хрестоматія. Т.4 – К.: «Знання України», 2003.- С.295.

10. Кремень Т. То ли друг, то ли враг // Кореспондент. – 2005. – 3 декабря - №47 (186). – с. 27-32.

11. Ле Бон Г. Психология социализма. – М., 1997. – С.14.

12. Маруховська-Картунова О.О. Особливості запобігання ескалації та врегулювання етнополітичних конфліктів. / Політологічний вісник. – К. – 2001.- с. 193-194.

13. Мітряєва С.І. Міжнаціональні аспекти консолідації українського суспільства (регіональна модель): Монографія. Вид-во Національного інституту стратегічних досліджень, Закарпатський філіал. - Ужгород, 2001.- С.79.

14. Основи етнодержавознавства. Підручник / За ред. Ю.І. Римаренка. – К.: Либідь, 1997. – с. 132-133.

15. Переслегин С. Самоучитель игры на мировой шахматной доске. // Геополитика. - М.; СПб.: Act, Terra Fantastica, 2002. – С.56.

16. Рудич Ф. Україна, Росія, Євроатлантика: деякі аспекти взаємовідносин // Украина в современном геополитическом пространстве: Прилож. к журналу "Персонал". - 2000. - №5(10) - С.11.

17. Санистебан Л.-С. Основы политической науки: пер. с фр. – М.: Наука, 1992. –С. 476.

18. Сарновська С.О. сучасна соціальна інформативна культура (філософсько-методологічний аналіз) дис. канд. філос. н.: 09.003. – К., 2000. – С. 24.

19. Соломко И Почем звонит колокол. / Кореспондент. – 2005. – 3 декабря. - №47 (186) – с. 51-53.

20. Солонин Ю.Н. Цивилизация и понимание истории (к оценке «Науки о цивилизации» Феликса Конечны) // Вестн. С-Петербрг. ун-та. – 1993. Сер. 6. – Вып. 1 (№6). – с. 13-16.

21. Степико М. Українська політична нація: проблеми становлення// Політичний менеджмент.- 2004.-№ 1.- С.19-20.

22. Татаренко Т. Етнічні кордони і міжетнічна толерантність// Політичний менеджмент.- 2004.- № 5.- с.31-39.

23. Тодд Е. После империи. Pax Americana – начало конца. – М., Международные отношения. – 2004. – С. 186.

24. Указ Президента України від 12 лютого 2007 року № 105/2007 «Про Стратегію національної безпеки України»: http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/5806.

25. Хантингтон С. Столкновение цивилизаций / Пер. с англ. Т Велимеева, Ю.Новикова. – М.: ООО «Издательство АСТ», 2003.

26. Хмелько В. Через що політикам вдається розколювати Україну // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 24 червня - №24 (603).

27. Хорошилов О. Українська політична нація: сценарій конституювання// Політичний менеджмент. - 2004.- № 5.- С. 23-30.

28. Шангіна Л. Про країну, державу і громадян у перехідному віці // Дзеркало тижня. – 2006.- 19 серпня - №31 (610).