

## Postmodern Openings

ISSN: 2068-0236 | e-ISSN: 2069-9387

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2021, Volume 12, Issue 2, pages: 191-209 | <https://doi.org/10.18662/po/12.2/303>

# Futurology of Separatism and National Security: Being vs Dissipation

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**Abstract:** The article considers the peculiarities of the “domestic” and political worlds’ interactions, as well as their impact on the freedom of human choice. The purpose of the article is to analyze the political and existential being, who can be transformed in a distracting way. The phenomenon of national security is analyzed in its theoretical, as well as in its practical dimension.

The first part of the study of separatism is connected with the modern social world’s tendency towards social transgression, which involves blurring the rules and limits expansion. The concept of the “frontier”, as a transgressive space, can be embodied in the form of a possibility for political interaction or as a place for political conflict. Understanding the concept of “frontier” in the light of a cultural dialogue permits us to consider it as a dynamic system in perspective, in the social projects of constructing the common being.

The second part of the article reveals three main directions of transgression: philosophical and reflexive, ethical and normative, and common practices. Reflection is developed and argued starting from the idea of an existing correlation between freedom of choice, manifestation of will and the human ability of critical thinking. Tolerance is defined to be a strategic practice in the process of launching a dialogue program for conflicting political communication.

**Keywords:** *cobesion of being; domestic world; separatism; national security; transgression; frontier.*

**How to cite:** Levyk, B., Kolinko, M., Khrypko, S., & Iatsenko, G. (2021). Futurology of Separatism and National Security: Being vs Dissipation. *Postmodern Openings*, 12(2), 191-209. <https://doi.org/10.18662/po/12.2/303>

## 1. Introduction

Private, social or political life are the embodiment of routine things, as well as unexpected ones. Any contemporary man or community encounters the circumstances of the postmodern society: exaggerated modernity in all life spheres, post-humanism in education and culture, postmodern feminism in personal relations, new samples of semiotic culture and lexical modalities, postmodern analytical methods in political culture, new information and communication technologies, that are incorporated by the “society of knowledge” and the liquid modernity of the “network society”. All abovementioned factors include to some extent the postmodern spirituality in a post-secular society. The natural attraction to stability (incorporated into the idea of national security) and the significant spreading of the tendencies towards separatism (that become a reality in various states, particularly in Ukraine) once again confirm the complicated and contradictory nature of the postmodern world.

The contemporary world that we live in has dramatically changed and distanced itself from the ideals towards which humanity has moved during the last two centuries – according to the contemporary scientist specialized in postmodernism and social-political reality Postol (2010). Particularly, he stresses that “the contemporary world has a lot of names in different theories, one of which is the postmodern world. The name was given due to the special type of culture, science and society that J.-F. Lyotard mentioned as “a state of postmodern”, which was a logical consequence of the processes of modernism, a reaction to the crisis of its ideas. Therefore, it is characterized in the light of a **civilizational collapse**” (Postol, 2010).

**The aim of the paper** is to analyze the political and existential being that is presented in the light of structuring (cultural notions, ideas, information) vs dissipation, efficiency of the common world realization vs separatism. The main characteristics of the postmodern society are considered to be general traits of the contemporary society.

**The objectives of the study** are to highlight social and political transformations that occur in the postmodern society, to describe the postmodern “metamorphoses” of the state, of power transformations, as well as of values and identity and of social structure evolution under the circumstances of globalization. The main attention is drawn to separatism in the contemporary social and political reality and to the complex of social changes in the contemporary global society.

The philosophical concepts embody balanced social perspectives and suggest possible solutions for critical situations that are urgent during

periods of social turmoil, cultural changes and political crisis. Societies, without any exception, are condemned to faulty actions and degradation. Unawareness of the true sense of social actions, unwillingness to consider, analyze and separate facts from fiction and the manipulations connected with them can encourage a common man to irresponsible actions that ruin legitimate social structures, state integrity and deprive young generations of children of their future.

The idea of national security has become topical in this context, as an instrument of personal, community and national security. The contemporary researchers Abramov and Afonina (2012) emphasize: “Nowadays, the issue of national security is a source of concern to the public and national leaders, scientists and all citizens of Ukraine. The multidimensional nature of the issue has transformed it into the study subject of the professionals from almost all scientific fields: technics, philosophy, sociology, law, psychology, economy, ecology, biology, mathematics, health care etc... It is obvious that the former conceptual approaches connected with the problem of national security are old and do not meet current objectives” (Abramov & Afonina, 2012).

Philosophy is a way is a way to bring into discussion the conditions of freedom (Mamardashvili, 1996). The question of the Georgian existential philosopher Merab Mamardashvili was brought into attention in the existential context regarding the full being: are we free in our will and deeds, or are we under the pressure of circumstances, traditions, superstitions, and to what extend? Our existence is divided into numerable fragments, we are waiting for something, claiming something, hoping for something, moreover, we wish to be well and are eager to be far from evil. Nevertheless, the willingness for “good” and the separation from evil is not enough for being “good” and being able to realize what our desires make us capable of. “Doing good and being good are not the same as feeling yourself a good person; it is art” (Mamardashvili, 1996). It is the art of introducing categories such as *justice*, *existential continuity*, *human dignity* into the space of philosophical consideration .

## **2. Transgression in the contemporary political, social and cultural practices**

There are 195 states in the world. The fires of political tensions, international conflicts, territorial claims happen in different locations around the world. Some of them have been solved, others have festered for years and even decades. The political processes accompanied by *separatism*, as well as its fostering and cultivation in other regions pose a hidden danger for all

global order. The modern legal systems of democratic countries and their universal rules do not always work under the circumstances of the unstable, fluid and changeable world. This cannot be explained via old, rigid algorithms, but rather according to a phenomenon of social *transgression*, or a transgressional disorder of the current social order.

Chris Jenks (2003), in the work “Transgression. Key Ideas”, connects a limit in being, behavior and communication: “with the desire to transgress that limit. Simple societies expressed this clearly through mythology and more recent societies have celebrated this magnetic antipathy between order and excess through periodic ‘carnival’ and the idea of the ‘world turned upside down’, as Bakhtin demonstrates” (Jenks, 2003, p. 7).

The widespread attitude of common people, as well as the vast majority of scientists to transgression in when referring to crime cannot reveal its complexity and functional variations in society. Transgression can be considered in its social limits, as well as in its limits regarding the person.

The main sense of transgression is not to cross the limits of an external ban, however, it means to cross the line “of personal ontological limit”, as Sergei Zenkin (2019, p. 58) underlines in the comparative analysis of the term transgression in the works of George Bataille and Michel Foucault. **Transgression stresses the dynamic parts and the transferability of the being. It simultaneously reveals itself as an undermining and confirmation.**

Social and cultural transgression practices are provocative regarding norm testing. The communities aimed at transgression practices pose a potential threat, that of social and political space destruction, as well as of cultural environment elimination, hence, they are accepted as a threat for the stable native world and the social status of political integrity. As a result of social transgression, a particular social and political space can become a frontier zone with an indefinite future.

Being an urgent and contradictive form of interaction between the social and the cultural space, the concept of *frontier* provides material for political research, which includes the features of some cultural territories and creates a new reality.

It is crucial to consider the frontier in the light of cultural dialogue, which permits to conceptualize it as a dynamic system that is constantly changing in time and space and provides perspective projects for the common being. In the situation when the enclosed intimate domestic space is replaced by the open space of cultural horizons, it refers to *the world as a community*, as conceptualized by Klaus Michael Meyer-Abich (2004). He promotes the concept of the world as a community, derived from a

perspective of a holistic being, of a humanity that preserves differences, respects others and is based on the ethical principles of responsibility and discourse approach, thus it becomes a crucial concept of political philosophy. In contrast, countries' fragmentation and total separation by boundaries are accompanied by violence, existential tragedies, injustice concerning state citizens, flows of migrants.

### **3. Algorithms of common being vs secession**

Considering the issue of *separatism*, the concept of transgression defines three vital spheres: philosophical and reflection-oriented, ethical and normative, and the sphere of common practices. Based on the ideas of Edmund Husserl (2004), the main philosophical strategies of a coherent being can be understood via the knowledge of ontological issues regarding spatial relationships and connections.

An individual always exists within the spatial construction of their being. Understanding of political, social, cultural and anthropological consequences is essential in solving the issue of the self-determination of any territorial community. The recognition comes in contradiction with the common and the private, the part and the whole. The significant criterion in this process is a marker of individual rights protection, human dignity and freedom.

Personal acceptance in the space of co-being with the others is a crucial anthropological mindset, which permits the creation of a bridge of considerations about the issues of territorial conflicts, secession and behavior of various groups regarding political communication. The human culture as *homo sapiens* lies not in an ability of personal assertiveness at the expense of another and the creation of a personal space via displacing the others, but in the ability of understanding the others. Any communication about the Others always implies considerations about self, self-identity, domestic and political territory, responsibility and existential choice. The conflicts triggered by ethnical or political issues, at a first glance, reveal the space of complicated entanglements within the modus of the social world.

This powerful methodological potential can be applied to understand a role and meaning of the private world in human's attitudes to political communication and the phenomenological interpretation of historical types. The semantics of the social space division between the private and the foreign space can be deduced from Husserl's conception of the lifeworld. The lifeworld is revealed through numerous cultural and subject-oriented forms of being; it exists in thoughts, experiences, values, and the range of sensory perception. The lifeworld is considered in the light of a particular

historical tradition. It always relates to a particular community, its territory, environment, background. Husserl's exegets, Oleksiy Savin (2006) and Andrey Lavruchin (2018), highlighted that E. Husserl was critical to the historicism of modern thought, however, he offered a phenomenology of historical types that methodologically actively marked the social and the cultural space, the articulated "history" in a mandatory connection with the experiences of the human being. These are "three ways of establishing the world environment based on things and culture – Umwelt, human community and personality specific to human Dasein" (Savin, 2006, p.15), namely naïve and mythological historicity; political, professional and phenomenological. These types are distinguished according to the features of a "generative character", which is a connection between generations, the influence of previous generations on the way contemporary humans accept the world. Historical types' distinctions demonstrate the mechanisms of cross-cultural contexts in understanding and misunderstanding. Any interpretation of the domestic private world as a community with its historical tradition leads to its consideration in the light of a primordial general space, within which humans exist as empirical subjects. Meaning-making differs within the private and foreign worlds. The borders' support acts via a generational change in the naïve and mythological historicity of the domestic private world. The domestic world is inhabited by familiar people, emotions, thoughts and deeds that are accessible to be understood, in comparison with the foreign world, which can be viewed in a modus of misunderstanding. The domestic world is the familiar, trusted world, while everything in it is commonly accepted by its representatives, it is the world of natural and relaxed behavior. Consequently, the "native" world correlates with "the native domestic relations" and differs by naturalness, naivety and normality from the foreign world. A person who lives in the natural world of native, domestic relations is convinced that this is the only possible way of everyday life and meanings' creation.

The relations between the supporters of the domestic are naïve, as the representatives of this world consider it to be absolute. Therefore, naivety has negative connotations. The common world is limited and ultimate when it comes to the representations of its representatives. It does not mean that relations are accepted as the only ones that exist, nevertheless, they exist only for them. All other life forms are considered as being naïve or primitive, incomprehensible, foreign or even hostile. The normality of the private domestic world is the way of its existence and the fact is explained via the history of generations. A system of normality secures a feeling of

reliability and trust as it has been built through the generations of ancestors and has been absorbed by a person as a way of thinking and acting.

Edmund Husserl (2004) defines a huge change which happens “with a reduction of naivety when transferring to the transcendental and phenomenological mind set” (Husserl, 2004, p. 279) under the circumstance of maintaining the life world and the natural mind set.

The phenomenological space separation on “friend-or-foe” has existed since the time of archaic cultures. The configuration is presented with the help of concepts like topos, center / periphery, close / far, in a view of the world belonging to traditional societies, where a man, his family and relatives are in the center. Connections with the world suppose connections with a place that has a particular meaning. The meaningful places bind an individual or a group with the phenomenological experiences of that space. When all subjects feel their affiliation with the space, it creates a coherence of spatial forms and typical positions.

The entrenched domestic world absolutely defines sacral locations, which are the other reality, in contrast to the common reality. Sacralization of social objects means that “an object is transformed into something else wherein it stops being itself”, whereas it remains to be a natural object (Eliade, 1994, p. 18), as the famous philosopher and historian of religion Mircea Eliade underlines. Sacralization is connected with a search of the sacral center. It is a rendezvous point of all levels. The sacral beliefs about the world’s structure are based on the statement that “our” “true” world is at the center. The “center” symbolism occurs at a cosmological, as well as in a political context; it coordinates relations between the “domestic” world and other worlds. The question arises about the kind of world that should be considered as the man’s own, “domestic” world. A man with a sacral worldview feels the constant necessity of being in the center. He makes the sacred world a region of his living world, grants distinctive features to it, transfers it into “the center of the universe”.

The contemporary life is based on the rationalization and legitimization of the common rules of being. It reveals itself as a vision that expands the limits of the domestic circle. Nevertheless, the processes of sacralization are preserved in different features and forms. Historical transformations lead to the process of leaving old rituals and establishing new ones. The phenomenon of power sacralization remains still active, but it is difficult to understand by the lay person, but still, it is a significant factor of influence on human behavior and the organization of social life. The attributes and symbols of power are a crucial part of everyday life. Political sacralization demonstrates an intention to legitimize a certain status and

establishes inviolable castes. The efficiency of power depends on the technological level, taking into account the peculiarities of the collective consciousness and its vulnerability to various manipulations.

Sacralization should not be considered as a negative process. On the one hand, sacral features are an integral part of culture. On the other hand, sacralization is the base for the support and strengthening of a particular community (via sacral symbols like flags, emblems, national heroes). Thus, human trust into the political body and its participation to the great deeds of a community can be used by an authoritarian or totalitarian political regime for its own purposes. This fact can create space for strength of character; nevertheless, it will not be a spirit that “blows where it wills”, but is founded on a solid basis, which continues due to sacred traditions. The information space of such a society demonstrates a deficit of sustainable values and the existence of blurred views about the norms and rules of an open society. The Ukrainian philosopher Evgen Bystrytskyi (2018), in his considerations, tries to define the term *post-truth*. According to him, the post-truth “appeals to the artificial reality modeled by post-verity via the initial act of the communion image creation, in the context of which an image (fact) or a real situation becomes secondary, derivative from a sense specified by the represented whole of the Other” (Bystrytskyi, 2018, p. 56).

Hence, the phenomenon of the post-truth is generated within “a collision of the cultural worlds in the space of open communication” (Bystrytskyi, 2018, p. 57). The semiotic text of the ritual reduces the distance for the average citizen. The experience of being, integrity and knowledge is hence discovered, namely all the ritual components (verbal, non-verbal, components of time and space) that are crucial for understanding of the meaning are present. For instance, a reproduction of historical military battles in the form of games (commemorative rituals) binds the contemporary generation to the former victories and establishes some interpretations of cultural memory. When a war image of horror, death, sufferings vanishes, another war image filled with victories, glory, and fame succeeds. Consequently, a distorted view of war can be created, as a necessary way to obtain “unity” or “freedom”.

Sacral power acceptance does not facilitate the reflexive understanding of policy, by establishing active political culture, does not stimulate the institutions of the civil society or provide favorable conditions for the manifestation of social initiative and creativity.

The existed historical mythologemes prevent their bearers to draw objective conclusions on historical laws and analyze modern political processes. Every generation in such society makes a fresh start, without



taking the past into account. Political liberation from sacralization marks the beginning of an open society, that does not need the special sacral ways of communication with the authorities, if there are clear democratic mechanisms of political stratification. The sacral is a symbolic resource of power in a society with developed democratic structures. Sacral images reinforce the primacy of their acceptance by people and reduce the criticism and rationality in their considerations.

A man is acknowledged by history due to their own abilities and individual efforts. It is impossible to live a civilized life without an autonomous spiritual sphere of independent thoughts. Existence at the highest level of critical thinking, shaped by the borders of senses, is possible specifically under the condition of understanding their generality, universality and limited substantive content. When only some senses, necessary to the separatist elite, are transferred and dubious ideas. under the pretext of freedom. are implemented, people lose their role of subjects for political action and become its objects.

The example of the separated part of Ukrainian – Donbass - can be an illustration of the negative experience of such cultural drifts when speaking of political practices. A contradiction with the foreign world can lead to spiritual inertia, frustration, social disorientation. When the cultural programs of integration do not work effectively against the catastrophic economic situation, a community returns to “the spiritual marks” of the domestic world, which resumes, in practice, the tribal culture, where tribal features is declared to be a spiritual peculiarity, while paternalism is the main principle of social structuring. Such situation is in Donbass. The tribal elements prevail in social structure and human consciousness; they lead to the reluctance of people to leave the limits of the domestic world. Favoring tribal values, they do not have the will to cooperate with other worlds. The background for the active rejection of the political world which, according to the locals, is a threat to the domestic private values (language, history, monuments, idols, etc.), has been established in that way. The promises of the other political world (separated from the domestic world where the old generation got born and grown) about social protection and social justice fuel the separatist mood. People do not endeavor to critically analyze the consequences and reality of the promises. The ritual of a democratic procedure is accepted in light of the democratic mechanism, consequently, according to this, any regime (authoritarian, totalitarian) can be considered as legitimized. Such human rationality is categorical for any foreign behavior, that is not tolerated by the others, who do not accept any other way of life. For this reason, the prosperous industrial region of the county became an

enclave of ruined economy, of totalitarian policy, and has lost its cultural perspectives. The Ukrainian experience of separatism can be a caveat for all parties who have chosen such way.

As the philosopher and forced migrant from Lugansk, Oleksandr Eremenko (2014) mentions: “the deep rejection of private property, disrespect and even the contempt for private property is typical for tribal consciousness . This is the reason for individualism, rejection and misunderstanding of the values by the civil society, as well as the values of a law-based state. Particularly, a man with a tribal consciousness demonstrates some legal nihilism” (Eremenko, 2014).

Can it be a fair solution that a part of the population separates itself from the region where they live, when the rights of the other inhabitants of that region and the rest of the state citizens are violated? The question was whether the initiative had come from the average citizens. The analysis of the political actions in the territory of Donbass in 2014 has stemmed the conclusion that part of the issue was the hybrid war and the information manipulations of the consciousness part of people. The president of one of the human rights funds, Joseph Dzyaloshinskii (2002), considers that separatism is an incorrect approach to the multicultural issues in a common territory.

The accepted discursive practices are that these problems are based on legitimate and legal mechanisms of actions. Opposing separatism via means of persuasion and by law is better than force. The legitimacy of acts gives way for implying peace regulations for cross-national conflicts.

The numerous social and cultural aspects involved permit us to understand that the Other and the Foreign have the right to be different. Aspiring to understand the other, an individual “subordinates a person to their previous knowledge and understanding” (Waldenfels, 2004, p. 92). Considering the issue about the inaccessible Foreigner, the philosopher Bernhard Waldenfels encourages us to accept the Foreigner “as something we respond to and should respond to in any case, hence, as a demand, a challenge, a stimulus, a response” (2004, p. 93). A connection between One’s Own and Foreign is not represented as a vertical hierarchy , but as a crossing of independent spaces. A point of intersection will be the place of their contact, a space “between”. Bernhard Waldenfels (2004) offers a phenomenological concept of the “common territory”, where One’s Own and the Foreign are recognized as an answer.

Global processes transform cultural traditions, mix different cultures according to the principle of a “mix” or melt them into one pot, deeply referring to the issue of tolerance and connecting it to the concept of

identity. Culture and policy determine the collective identity of a particular society or community. The researcher's mission is to consider the issue of collective identity and reveal why the regional identity of part of the inhabitants can prevail over the identity of a citizen over their own country. What is justice in this situation?

A phenomenon of frontier identity occurs in the territory of transit and mixing cultures. The analysis cannot be particularly based on the studies regarding the cultural "internal" and "external" positions; it needs to be applied to the concept of a hybrid identity. The studies of these process demonstrate a complex of definitions and approaches that are united by the term "*hyphenated self*". The key factor of such an identity is the procedure of cultural hybridization. The identity is not represented as an indisputable term, a fact that is mentioned by Sergei Tolkachev, but as "the other essence, that is constantly in the process of production, that has never stopped. It is always in a phase of internal formation" (Tolkachev, 2013, p. 178). Interpreting identity as having some positional relativity characterizes transgression and frontier subjectivity, realized within the movable limit where "two sets of indeterminable variables" (Tolkachev, 2013, p. 178) cross each other. The result is a collision of social discourses, of historical and cultural narratives. Hybrid identity does not mean blurring or rejecting any set of traditions; still, it underlines the mutual influence of different cultural traditions. It can embody the absorption of one cultural tradition by another. The variable reconciliation of the indigenous (domestic) and the adopted cultural forms (from an independent parallel existence to a complete merging) depends on the level of hybridization of cultural traditions.

The co-world construction raises an issue about the inter-subjectivity of the human being and applies to the strategy of *tolerance*. Due to Peter Godfrey-Smith and Benjamin Kerr, "tolerance has become a central and contentious topic in recent years, especially in diverse societies" (Godfrey-Smith & Kerr, 2019, p. 403). It causes lively debates in the scientific and political space, however, in light of social phenomena, it is a rule for the co-existence of a great variety of culturally different subjects and a way of communication aimed at establishing equal relations between different cultures, while avoiding their division into a dominant and a subordinate or marginal side, maintaining, at the same time, their cultural heritage and recognition.

#### **4. Did Donbass want secession?**

The issue of the modern Ukrainian context of separatism compares the Ukrainian being with a mystical Phoenix once again: "In a civilization

process of spiritual evolution – as researchers state – where each nation has obtained its meaning through determining the borderlines of peaks and falls in its national fate, as well as in the personal life of each representative, it can disappear under the pressure of geopolitical realities or occupy an appropriate place in the historical process of following epochs, under these circumstances of the phenomenon of Ukrainian ethnical mentality, that has proved its crucial meaning. Figurative thinking and rich imagination were always inherent in the Ukrainian view of the world, that was a reason of presenting Ukraine as the mystical Phoenix, which is an idea found in scientific literature and fiction. A fatal coincidence of figurative and literal meaning permits us to argue (despite all stylistic canons): “that there was a manifestation of God’s miracle through which Ukraine physically, as well as spiritually, survived, despite all the tragedies of its fate” (Levyk et al., 2020).

The conviction that the vast majority of people in Donbass wanted secession from Ukraine did not have any valid basis. As the Ukrainian researchers have accurately described, all contemporary events are based on the dichotomy of perception and social reality (Yereskova et al., 2020). That conclusion was based on the sociological studies presented and formed an existential situation, even for one of the authors of the article, who lived in Donetsk at that time and was a witness of the events. A statement that the views of people approved separatism prevailed in the Donbass region was a myth, which was politically implemented according to external influence:

“A public opinion poll was conducted by the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation together with Kyiv International Institute of Sociology in the period between February, 8-18<sup>th</sup>, 2014. 2032 respondents were interviewed in all the districts of Ukraine (including Kyiv) and in Crimea according to a random sample, which was representative for all the population of Ukraine older than 18 years” (Public opinion polls’ results, 2014). The results of the survey were the following: 33% of the Donetsk region inhabitants and 24% of the Lugansk region inhabitants supported the views of separatism.

The current situation in Donbass, after six years of war, exacerbates the problem of choice, namely the decline of events into chaos or the reassembly of the personal being. Any war gives no opportunity to live by half-hearted decisions. Empirically, an individual remains into a modern contradictive phenomenal mosaic. Nevertheless, conceptually, it is necessary to establish logical links, enhance personal thinking activity, and use the abilities of theoretical reflection for understanding the living circumstances.

The identity of every separate citizen is closely connected with the collective identities and it is forced to enter into the network of inter-

recognition, in order to gain stability. Nevertheless, the infringement of the dispositions of the Constitution is the reason for trials against the initiators of the secessionist activities. The calls of some regional representatives for secession mean violence against the other citizens who lived in that territory.

It is not just simple violence; it is a violation of the whole idea of national security. National security is “a base for the efficient interaction of all the branches of the authorities, organizations and public unions for the national interests of Ukraine’s protection as well as for personal, social and national security” (Abramov & Afonina, 2012). The well-established network of connections between the main principles, demonstration of their interconnection with their practice are the prerequisite for the idea of the solid theoretical system of knowledge about national security management. The urgency of solving this issue is highlighted by the range of researchers who are implicated (Hodgson, 1991). The knowledge system is able to respond to numerous issues regarding epistemology of the institutional theory of the security systems.

The mentioned analysis manages to reveal and form the main metaphysical issue of Ukrainian national security as a paradox. In other words, there is no national security, moreover, it is not reflected in the national spirit or is not a part of the self-consciousness of the Ukrainian nation. There is no social security for all and everyone in Ukraine. National security seems to be national without any orientation towards the person, which leads to existential humiliation, develops a sense of abandonment, and therefore, creates total mistrust in the authorities. These tendencies are accompanied by a crisis of ethnical mentality and identity.

The abovementioned tendencies are mixed to some extent by fashion for poly-contextual definitions of the tolerance phenomenon.

It should be mentioned that the idea of tolerance is idealized and is abstract to some extent. Its ethical, political and rhetorical perspectives, controversial decisions about the demarcation of boundaries and the practical application of the principles are basically undeveloped. In contemporary situations of cultural collisions between political principles, national identity claims the recourse to dialogue, mutual understanding, acceptance and exchange. Establishing a society where all problems are traditionally solved by a dialogue implicating the overall participation of the inhabitants, taking all views into consideration and manifesting tolerant attitude towards the ideas and acts of the others is unfeasible for many reasons and circumstances at the moment. Still, tolerance is vital as a normative principle and trajectory.

The adoption and approval of identity via dialogue is one of the most productive strategies of tolerant communication. A dialogue became an urgent issue of social consciousness and philosophical reflection at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this context, it is appropriate to remember a universal phenomenon that has united all members of the nation for centuries – its bread. According to contemporary scientists Khrypko et al. (2020): “Generally, Bread is a symbol of unity, peace and wealth of all, as well as a symbol of cultural, generational interconnection” (Khrypko et al., 2020).

Nowadays, the issue obtains new meaning and even reveals unexpected aspects of contemporary communication in case of ethnical and cultural contradictions, military conflicts, crisis and blurring of identity.

The tendencies towards separatism destroyed the unity of the Ukrainian state and cultural space. The postmodern social and political fashion for new names (nicknames or codenames) violated the elegance and stability of the national system of anthroponomics (Khrypko & Iatsenko, 2019).

The phenomenon of separatism causes traumatic solitude, as the true sense of the human being is of the Self in connection with others, based on the differences between I and You. In this context, we can state that “An individual is an orphan being (...) as a social individual has an inclination to obtain treasures from communication, that is one of the main values of socialization, which encompasses all: happiness, concerns, faith, doubts, wishes to be part of a group, mutual support, etc.” (Aleksandrova et al., 2020).

To be human makes sense only in the unity of people, admittedly, the unity is based on the reality of differences between I and You. The individual reality occurs as a special way of accepting and absorbing everything different. Beyond this, an individual loses the sense of their existence, transferring their individuality into an empty form. The eternal values, the pillars of human existence lie within the integrity desire of I-You. The effective communication of the cultural groups lies in a dialogical form. By living in the communicative world, subjects establish reality in the process of dialogue. As a social-oriented reflection of the world, a dialogue does not become a passive reflection on the reality that exists, but supports its active reconstruction. Furthermore, it introduces a position of a third person who can be potentially involved into an interaction in the communicative space. Without considering the position of the third person in detail, their role for the development of a tolerant dialogue between the subjects of the initial communication should be underlined. The objective of

a conflicting dialogue should be a decision-making process, oriented to the future, and the role of the third person is crucial. If the participants in a communication reach agreement through the limited interests of the Third, who also takes part in communication, then it can be supposed that the agreement is moral. The condition of freedom is a desire to reduce the pressure of conditionality and circumstances, the dictatorship of historical traditions and to go further towards the future.

Reflection is a condition of freedom. Comprehensibility of being is separated like the pieces of a mirror. A temptation of transferring responsibility to some collective subject, someone who is big and well-known, someone stored in the collective memory (consequently, it has native, domestic values) and associates with stability, community, unwillingness of reflection, an endeavor to live another way without personal efforts, but due to someone else, who is considered to be rich and generous, leads to the rejection of comprehensibility of the being, to an erroneous “sub-human” being. It is possible to complain about living circumstances and wait for somebody who will solve all problems. The Donbass inhabitants could not abdicate their responsibility for misunderstanding the statements of the referendum in 2014.

An ideal of a collective being having a conscious life means that everything that refers to humans is identified through philosophy. The organization of a personal cultural being is possible via the means accumulated by human experience, such as art and philosophy. A man has a dignified life due to the symbols, their sense and comprehension. It is a long winding way for the intended goal; it is an infinite wandering in a maze, where any corner can have a particular value. Modern social and cultural situations offer different challenges to the human identity, while an adequate response facilitates establishing the domestic world and cooperating with the other worlds. The process of self-collection is a condition of free deeds and freedom of choice that leads to understanding of the bases and elements of the construction of personal identity's and the ways to develop the cultural space. Every personal distinction is based on the ground of a cultural matrix and they are symmetric within “the domestic world”. The bases for the process established on other distinctions are the same. The acceptance of a cultural group as being the Other, but not as a Foreign, creates a basis for dialogue. The way of understanding this eliminates the limits and expands the horizons of the domestic world.

## 5. Conclusions

The multi-directions of postmodernism are determined as a new historical stage of social development, as well as an intensive time for the appearance of new social problems. Postmodernism is considered to be a global state of uncertainty of the civilization, that is proved by dramatic social ambiguity and instability all over the world. The postmodern social and political reality rejects the traits inherent in modern societies, as stable value orientations, rigid structures, social organizations targeted at achieving an ultimate goal, etc. Therefore, it is characterized as chaotic, undetermined, diffuse. The tendencies are most acute when speaking about the phenomenon of separatism.

The results of the study prove the hypothesis that separatism is not a natural state for a human as a political subject. Such political convictions appear as a result of the vast persistent propagandistic work and manipulations of the consciousness. The regional separatism in Ukraine has colonial roots. A cultural or national distinction becomes a reason for communities' separation when programs of social and political disconnection are launched.

The separatist movements in the European countries generally present their actions as freedom of thought and insist that their actions are far from violence and have a peaceful character. Still, the scientific study of the Ukrainian political experience questions such arguments. When the political will of regional leaders or neighboring countries is aimed at the implementation of a strategy of secession or the annexation of the whole territory, then violence becomes the main method.

The frontier of territories obtains a crucial ideological meaning in the post-colonial discourse. A wall is considered a protective structure and a symbol of communicational termination. The crossing zones and the areas of cultural reconciliation are presented as the most conflictual locations within the social space, still, ambiguity has a more powerful potential even then known domestic world, it forces doubt about the common stereotypes and prejudices, stimulates the process of critical thinking and tolerates acceptance of the others. The image of enclosed, isolated cultural communities is passing into history. This fact has dramatically altered the role and sense of limits and borders. A border historically performs a protective function for a society and controls the movement of citizens from other countries. The cultural expansion beyond borders, the cultural codes' distribution into other territories, the phenomenon of trans-civility maintain the phenomena of blurring borders or even the disappearance of borders.



Modern global tendencies of the de-regionalization of space change the ontological status of cultural borders that are connected by signs and communication. Communication loses its localization and adherence to a particular territory; it stimulates the emergence of a trans-cultural space. Nevertheless, the risks connected with these tendencies strengthens the processes of localization, protection and internal cultural solidarity. The vast integrated potential of the territory as a cross-cultural dialogue, a territory of cultural enrichment and development is considered in the contradictory modern cultural vectors.

Postmodernism efficiently reflects the borderline state of social consciousness, that includes the re-evaluation of ideas. The age of postmodernism is of such social processes inherent in sophisticated social systems, that are connected with the personalization, as well as the fragmentation of social unity and the crisis of the traditional social institutions. The multiplication of meanings, poly-contextual irony, unexpected interpretations, reversed meanings and games with meanings, fragmentation in consciousness and culture, de-canonization, illusion of being in lieu of reality, predominance of intuition over rationality, metaphorical nature of meaning are far from complete features of postmodernism, that are highlighted in all spheres of human existence.

Postmodernism is under a general trend of chaos, however everything is united. Having stable values and reducing value taboos will provoke the establishment of a new universal borderline, where national ideas and values in general and national security in particular will occupy an appropriate place in the culture of humanity on values.

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