УДК 321:004

Timchishin B.

V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University

## VALUE CRISIS OF WESTERN LIBERALISM

The liberal discourse status in the countries of the West is considered. The vector of liberalism development after Cold War, the increasing of left-wing powers influence on liberalism, their fusion are researched. It is investigated the values analysis of liberal identity from positions of its classics with purpose to find changes and assess them. The examples of negative tendencies, which reveal the accumulated contradictions caused by the absence of external ideological competition are given.

*Keywords*: liberalism, postmodernism, values, the West, freedom, contradictions, left-wing politics, equality, social justice.

#### Тимчишин Б.В.

## ЦІННІСНА КРИЗА ЗАХІДНОГО ЛІБЕРАЛІЗМУ

Розглядається стан ліберального дискурсу в країнах Заходу. Вивчається вектор розвитку лібералізму після Холодної Війни, посилення впливу лівих сил на лібералізм, їх злиття. Аналізуються цінності ліберальної ідентичності з позиції її класиків, з метою виявити зміни і дати їм оцінку. Наводяться приклади негативних тенденцій, які виявляють накопичені протиріччя, викликані відсутністю зовнішньої ідеологічної конкуренції.

**Ключові слова**: лібералізм, постмодернізм, цінності, Захід, свобода, протиріччя, ліва політика, рівність, соціальна справедливість.

Тимчишин Б.В.

### ЦЕННОСТНЫЙ КРИЗИС ЗАПАДНОГО ЛИБЕРАЛИЗМА

Рассматривается состояние либерального дискурса в странах Запада. Изучается вектор развития либерализма после Холодной Войны, усиление влияния левых сил на либерализм, их слияние. Аналиируются ценности либеральной идентичности с позиции её классиков, в целях выявить изменения и дать им оценку. Приводятся примеры негативных тенденций, которые выявляют накопленные противоречия, вызванные отсутствием внешней идеологической конкуренции.

*Ключевые слова*: либерализм, постмодернизм, ценности, Запад, свобода, противоречия, левая политика, равенство, социальная справедливость.

Today, on the political front of Europe, there are processes that, in our view, show negative trends. From the point of view of common sense, the initiators of any scenarios of reformatting the society, transferring it to the rails of another development model, it would be worthwhile for them to think about created value vacuum as a result of their actions and how it will be filled with a new meaning. And this meaning will not necessarily be adequate to the conceived model of the reorganization of society. Liberalism as an ideology took the dominant position in the world, without meeting the resistance of an equal in strength ideology. In the absence of an ideological competitor, erosion processes began in the liberal ideology, reinforced by the penetration of various kinds of left ideas (for example, neo-Marxism).

Various political philosophers and publicists, especially from the right side of the political spectrum, note changes in the doctrine of liberalism caused by the passage of time, the change of epochs, the complication of social and political processes in the countries of the West. These include: John Goldberg, Patrick Buchanan, James Burnham, Mark Stein, John Derbyshire and many others, all of them in their works point to the negative processes in the evolution of liberalism and blame left philosophers and politicians for it. The purpose of the article is to reveal changes in modern liberalism, to show how much the changes deviate from its original postulates of the classics of liberalism, how this affects the life of society and the state of the countries of the West.

The events of recent years show that Europe is not in agreement on some issues (security, migration and sanctions policy), and consensus

<sup>©</sup> Timchishin B., 2018.

becomes more expensive. The military operations in the Middle East have provoked a huge mass of refugees who went to the EU countries in an attempt to obtain shelter. To date, the EU countries have not yet found a common solution to this emergency situation. Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries accepted many refugees, seeing in them as a new citizens who will accept European values and fill an emptying labor niche. But the countries of the Visegrad Group<sup>1</sup>, faced with an uncontrolled wave of immigrants people of a different culture, other civilizational values, saw in them a threat to national security and European culture in general. Therefore, they took a number of measures to limit, or even restrict immigration on their territories. This caused severe criticism from countries that called for accepting refugees (Germany, Sweden, Norway) with rely on the common European values of tolerance, humanism, etc.

The migration boom was a powerful economic, political and value challenge for Europe. It can be said that European unity on the basis of liberal values was endangered by disintegration and growing uncertainty about the inviolability of these values. As it turned out, the organizational structure of the EU isn't always able to adequately meet the challenges of different levels and with a high degree of efficiency to fulfill the consensual function for which it was created.

One cannot lose sight of the fact that the US, in the face of increasing pluripolarity, retains its hegemony in the world with great efforts and if the leaders of the European countries want to see the world as Eurocentric, radical measures are required to maintain the world balance. For example, from time to time, the ideas of creating a continental European army and new formats for the consolidation of Europe are actualizing. On the shoulders of the EU lies the task of bringing a new and unified meaning to liberalism. In the meantime, this does not happen, the defenders of Western civilization need to struggle with internal forces that seek to distort the understanding of human freedom postmodernist philosophers, cultural Marxism.

The collapse of the USSR somewhat untied the hands of the Western left (neo-Marxists), since the enemy in the face of world socialism (in their opinion, not in accordance with the intentions of the classics of Marxism) was defeated and the negative stigma of Soviet interfering socialism stopped with the development of «correct» socialist ideas (Di Lorenzo 2015). In countries with liberal ideology, there is practically nothing left of their social base (the working class transformed into middle), but the theorists of the Frankfurt school found a way to undermine the capitalist system in the cultural and social dimension, using the tools of critical theory and deconstruction. Unofficially, it got name of «cultural Marxism». The goal of this new ideology is to emancipate the oppressed, but this time not the proletariat, but all historically oppressed minorities (women, blacks, gays, transgender people, obese people), by distorting the central ideas (liberalism) of the West, destroying the sources of oppression – the institutions of Western civilization (Buchanan 2001).

The priority issue for us, what is liberal values and what is happening to them today. How value core of liberalism, which has become the basis of a prosperous industrial world, is relevant and effective today - in the conditions of the formation of the postindustrial, information society?

Individualism is the prevalence of the individual's interests over the interests of the society or group. A person in an individualistic society is brought up as an independent and autonomous unit of society. Nurtures sense of personal responsibility, recognizing one's weaknesses or mistakes, opens a window for self-improvement. The ability to independently choose goals, determine values, ways of life, ways to achieve success. Subordination primarily to personal moral standards, and not to the expectations of society. Similarity unites us, and uniqueness gives us sources of selfidentification, which forms an idea of «and «others».

Oversocialization, generated by the media, deeply penetrates into the sphere of a personal life that it sometimes becomes very difficult to distinguish between personal and group values. Left liberals judge a person not by his personal views and qualities, but by belonging to one or another group. There is a dissolution of individual in a certain group. Mr. «n» is no more, but just a set of indications, «white, heterosexual, cis-gender man» for example. The individual is sacrificed to the interests of the group.

Pluralism and freedom of speech allow peaceful coexistence and mutually tolerant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The «Visegrad Group» (V4) is an inter-state association of Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary, established in 1991 with the aim of promoting mutual development and creating the structures necessary for European integration.

attitude towards individuals, regardless of opinions, social status, economic prosperity or political views. As shown by the practice of European society at time of the heyday of the social state, the inviolability of these value principles ensures the internal stability of society. Compromise and balance of power leads to agreement, cooperation and a reduction in polarization, if rivaling sides are able to hear each other, perceive criticism not as an attack but a way of eliminating own shortcomings.

Voltaire's principle – «I do not agree with any word that you say, but is willing to die for your right to say this» - «no longer works». The public statement of the opinion, which is in violation of the left-liberal agenda, threatens sanctions by the society or the state, in which the left liberals have a significant influence. These sanctions are related to accusations of «hate speech» (Buchanan 2001). History does not know more totalitarian and repressive censorship than «political correctness» -«newspeak», which is full of euphemisms, which prohibits calling things by their old names, erasing their attributes or attaching a completely new meaning. Freedom of speech in such societies is replaced with "safe opinions". It is forbidden to express alternative points of view, i.e. those who can offend the feelings of individuals who identify themselves with a certain group, and the collectivist nature of the lefts perceives these insults as an attack on an entire group. The Western lefts violate the ideological equilibrium, moving public opinion to the left, ignoring their opponents, thereby marginalizing them.

For example, during the presidential election campaign in the United States in 2016, the American right-wing movement «Alt-Right» used the previously existing internet meme «Pepe the Frog». With help of this meme Alt-Right used to spread their ideas and «troll» the left opposition, which made them so offended that Anti-Defamation League took action in officially declaring «Pepe the Frog» as symbol of hate, along with the Nazi symbols (Pepe the Frog).

The rule of law is the main principle of legal life in the West. Aristotle said: «The law must rule» (Aristotle 2000), by which he meant the principle that social and political processes are regulated exclusively within the framework of written law. Nobody can become above the law, its action equally applies to all. This principle prevents arbitrariness, lynching or other kinds of unfair operations, protects the rights and freedoms of citizens. The rule of law is the main principle of legal life in the West. Aristotle once said: «The law must rule», by this he meant the principle that social and political processes are regulated exclusively within the framework of written law (Арістотель 2000). Nobody can become above the law, its action equally applies to all. This principle prevents arbitrariness, lynching, nepotism or other kinds of unfair operations, protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens.

The antagonistic attitude of various «fighters for social justice» to anything concrete, forcing them to act not in a formal framework, but in moral categories. Protection from insulting feelings became, unfortunately, more important than compliance with the law. An example of this may be a conflict incident with a homosexual couple and a private sweetshop owner that occurred in the US in July of 2012. The owner of the confectionery, Jack Phillips, for his religious reasons, refused to provide services to a homosexual couple, who wanted to place an order in his store. Instead of applying for a service in another store, the couple sued the owner for discrimination on sexual grounds. Not wanting to abandon his principles, Jack Phillips stopped making wedding cakes at all, losing, he said, about 40% of the profits and resused his staff from 10 to 4 people (Wolf 2017). Not only did the state interfere in the affairs of private business, but also the First Amendment to the US Constitution was trampled on in favor of moral compensation.

A small goverment is an understanding of the extent of the powers of the government, which believes that any increase in interference or the growth of state influence on a private citizen's life is unacceptable.

The role of a small government according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau is to protect people's freedom, equality (before the law), inviolability of private property and justice for all in the state, even against the will of the majority (Pycco 1762).

In matters of economic freedom, the classics of liberal thought, such as Adam Smith, advocated for freedom to produce and own, modern liberals always try to impose more and more taxes, «take and divide».

It is necessary to understand the difference between the creating of equality and equal treatment of people (Hayek 1948).

Liberals who have experienced left-wing influence place equality above freedom, some even express the need for equity (equality in results) and all this can be achieved through forced state intervention. The distribution of wealth is an attempt to establish justice from a

social point of view, but this attempts result in the formation of a dependent stratum of people who take money from the state without creating socially useful goods. Today's lefts, instead of the requiring comfortable work and fair payment, artificially overstate the minimum wage, which creates conditions in which it is more profitable not to work, but to exploit the welfare system. Western labor ethics, which allows career growth through self-improvement and perseverance, no longer have a wide popularity among young people and adults, the welfare state financially encourages laziness, indiscipline, parasitism, economic dependence and the hope of material assistance from the state. In our opinion, the recipients of benefits become in such a situation that they are forced to vote for left parties as they most often promise to protect social payments. The social base of left populism is expanding.

Left liberals in their ideology are guided by the principle of distribution of wealth in society by taking it away from the rich, which they, in their opinion, «do not use» and transfer them to the poor without obligation for the poor to take part in the production of material goods or socially useful work (in the service sector). While the classical liberals tend to give the opportunity to earn money and / or start their own business and create good.

In our opinion, we should highlight a few more points. Disconnecting a common men from the idea of God, heaven and hell, other concepts and Christianity in general deprived him of his belief in the future. The existential emptiness substituted with consumerism, which uses slogans that call for living exclusively «right now» or «YOLO»<sup>2</sup>, destroying the concept of «tomorrow». This is very dangerous, because in order to confidently step into the future, the society needs a picture of the desired one. In conditions when there is no such picture and with background of the complication of social processes, which makes forecasting increasingly complex and inaccurate - the future is unclear, which makes one think no farther than tomorrow or turn to various forms of escapism (for example, video games).

Ultimately, a person who is freed from labor, using benefits, most often does not engage in self-development, but spends money on harmful food and entertainment. The modern left movement distorts the idea of liberalism in its very roots. Feelings are a new truth for the modern left. Even such philosophical concepts as «justice» are used in a completely opposite meaning. Socrates in his reasoning about justice concluded: a just man who does good and does not harm either his friends or his enemies (Платон 2000). This is where the contradiction of left liberals or fighters for social justice is revealed. If pluralism and equality assumed equal rights for all, the left liberalism tends to restrict freedom and rights of those who are very privileged or «historical oppressor».

Today, the left liberal chimera, which at the same time absorbed all sorts of European and cultural, ethnic, non-European religious concepts without representing any of them, calls itself «the forces of social progress». Inviting migrants - representatives of non-European cultures, do not seek to assimilate them, allowing them to safely exist in Europe with their cultural characteristics, despite the harm they local population. do to the Multiculturalism is an idea that involves use of instruments of tolerance and pluralism with the goal of rallying people with different cultural backgrounds within one country. Europe is getting more and more heterogeneous every year, the share of the Islamic and African population is growing, Samuel Huntington noted: «Countries and peoples with dissimilar cultures diverge» (Huntington 1996: 125). It is difficult to imagine how the West will be able to maintain cohesion in artificially created cultural diversity. The postmodern obsession with the equality of all people and the representation of all possible cultures of the world does not allow the Western elite to notice the threats coming from the countries of the Third (pre-modern and modern) world (Cooper 2002).

The countries of a united Europe are divided in views, because some political forces that call themselves «progressive» betray or ignore the values that make the inhabitants of the West free.

The erosion of liberalism, caused by postmodern moral relativism, is eroding the common understanding of the liberal institutions that made the West the dominant civilization in the world. Francis Fukuyama was convinced in the final victory of liberalism, but if we remember that the basic postulates of liberalism are individualism, individual freedom, freedom of religion, the rule of law, equality of all before him, pluralism of opinions, their realization today is getting more difficult (Fukuyama. 1992) With the ever more intense penetration of the ideas of the left, all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> YOLO (You Only Live Once) is an abbreviation used in a number of cases when young people commit dangerous for their lives acts that endanger the lives of others, disrupt public order and usually describe antisocial behavior of young people.

these values turn into the opposite: the growing role of the «politics of identities», the attack on Christianity as a «source of oppression», the domination of feelings over facts and laws.

People's moods express an ever-increasing desire for equality, primarily economic, the spread of populist slogans and recipes for happiness acquires a frightening character. Representatives of the left in the political leadership use populist slogans to assert their own power. The British economist J. Keith pointed out that with commitment to equality, we pay a very high price - freedom and, as much as the left liberals try to create a society of equals, without a worthy counterweight to the right, they will lead us to a new totalitarianism (Keith 1976).

Will the West, as a valuable civilizational project, be able to withstand the challenges in a begging of the 21st century? This issue today, in our opinion, is relevant for addressing both global and local challenges and, of course, requires further research.

#### REFERENCES

DiLorenzo Th. How Universities Silence Truth And What We Can Do About It. 2015 : URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JS3ttzqTBqA (дата звернення: 25.04.2018)

Buchanan P. Death of the West. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001. 320 с. : URL: https://archive.org/ details/DeathOfTheWest (дата звернення: 02.05.2018)

Pepe the Frog – Anti-Defamation League : URL: https://www.adl.org/education/references/hatesymbols/pepe-the-frog (дата звернення: 09.05.2018) Арістотель. Политика. / пер. с давньогр. А. Кислюка. К.: Основи, 2000. 239 с : URL: http://litopys. org.ua/aristotle/arist.htm (дата звернення: 13.05.2018)

Wolf R. Gay couple, devout baker take cake fight to high court. : URL: https://www.usatoday. com/ story/news/politics/2017/11/26/gay-couple-devoutbaker-take-cake-fight-high-court/875305001/ (дата звернення: 13.05.2018)

Руссо Ж-Ж. Об общественном договоре или принципы политического права. Пер. с фр. Хаютина Д. и Алексеева-Попова С. : URL: http://librebook.me/the\_social\_contract/vol1/1 (дата звернення: 13.05.2018)

Hayek F. Individualism and Economic Order. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. 271 c.: URL: http://www.library.fa.ru/files/Hayek-Individualism.pdf (дата звернення: 15.05.2018)

Платон. Держава. / пер. с давньогр. Д. Коваль. К. : Основи, 2000. 355 с. : URL: http:// litopys. org.ua/plato/plat.htm (дата звернення: 16.05.2018)

Huntington S. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996. 368 c.

Cooper R. The new liberal imperialism. 2002. : URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/apr/ 07/1 (дата звернення: 18.05.2018)

Fukuyama F. The End of History and the Last Man. New York: Free Press, 1992. 418 с. : URL: https://www.democraziapura.altervista.org/wp-content/ uploads/2015/01/1992-Fukuyama.pdf (дата звернення: 18.05.2018)

Keith J. Stranded on the Middle Ground? Crawley: Centre for Policy Studies, 1976. 80 с. : URL: https://www.cps.org.uk/files/reports/original/11102810 2825-StrandedontheMiddleGround1976.pdf (дата звернення: 18.05.2018)

# УДК 323.2:343.791:34.07(477)

**Gryn I.** V. N. Karazin Kharkiv Nationa lUniversity

## ANTI-CORRUPTION ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE: THEORETICAL ASPECTS

A phenomenon of corruption is considered. The sources, social content, features of corruption and corruption aspects are determined. The factors of corruption, its development in the state are analyzed. Anticorruption activity in Ukraine and its influence on the present are considered. A conceptual-categorical apparatus used for studying corruption is explored and specified. The influence of corruption and corrupt acts on the state policy is determined. The special preconditions of corruption and strategies of struggle with them are analyzed.

*Keywords:* corruption, state, official duties, anti-corruption activity, sources of corruption, democracy and corruption.

© Gryn I., 2018.