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## THE WAY OF UKRAINE TO EUROPE: OVERCOMING OBSTACLES

This book [1] was published in December 2021, just a few months before the war, when Russia launched a large-scale aggression against Ukraine to destroy its path to Europe. My special attention was drawn to the authors' constructive approach to reforms in Ukraine, which were in line with the recommendations that Ukraine received from the European Union (EU) when it has recently become a candidate for the EU membership.

Currently, economic and sociological science emphasizes the urgent need for considering global development ways and the necessity for strengthening axiological (value system) approach based on the positive world experience demonstrated by South Korea. The synergetic method determines special importance of the triad «values — institutions — politics» in the study of modern democracy, in understanding all levels of social relations and its multifaceted impact on the prospects of political, social, and economic modernization.

The East Asian Confucian tradition countries' successful performance, especially regarding the anti-pandemic measures, have highly actualized the issue of restructuring mainstream patterns of effective democracy, rethinking the relationship between democracy, strong state, human rights, traditional values, and sustainable development.

The intensification of the competition for global leadership between the United States and China in the context of rapid globalization has brought to the fore the problem of comparative analysis of ethical and value principles of socioeconomic dynamics, innovation and competitiveness of the Euro-Atlantic, primarily Protestant, community, on the one hand, and East Asian, primarily Confucian, on the other, especially from the viewpoint of respective ethical values systems' competitive advantages, compliance with the interests of global economic leadership, and mutual adaptability.

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It is the lack of attention to the system of values that has to a large extent determined the unsuccessful experience of reforming the economy and political system of Ukraine. It has been happening largely due to the inconsistency of the value system of contemporary Ukrainian society with the requirements that in the contemporary world determine the very possibility of successful modernization. The absence of a socially responsible elite and a persistent moral and cultural tradition in society are the key reasons for the failure of modernization in Ukraine over the three decades since the proclamation of independence. Accordingly, a change in the value component is one of the decisive conditions for the democratic development of Ukraine on the way to the EU.

The search for a model of democracy suitable for Ukraine, capable of making the long-awaited leap forward in the modernization of the country and its rapprochement with the EU is actively going on today. The case of the South Korea is especially fascinating, since it is, in fact, the «most Confucian part of the world», effectively utilizing the ancient Confucian legacy tradition for the sake of national development.

Due to a very successful modernization despite the long-lasting war with the Communist regime in the North, the Republic of Korea poses both a striking example of the East-West fruitful integration with regard to complex society characteristics and a valuable experience of tackling the key regional conflict with global powers' involvement. The book is an important contribution to political science, political economy and constitutionalism, since experience of the formation and development of democracy in the Republic of Korea is extremely important for Ukraine, which has been forced, like the ROK in the time, to look for ways to modernize the economy and develop a democratic society under the long-term military confrontation with its northern neighbor.

Thus, through the interdisciplinary approach, the use of tools of civilization and political transformation theories, the authors researched a number of issues.

They identified the influence of the Confucian characteristics of South Korean democracy, built on the synthesis of Western democracy and Korean national roots, on the effectiveness of state reforms and well-being of citizens, on observance of their fundamental social, economic, cultural, civil and political rights.

The authors also identified to what extent the Korean model of democracy of the Confucian tradition can serve as a model for states of «stalled» modernization, but which have unambiguously chosen decommunization and geopolitical orientation toward the West, primarily the United States, NATO, and the EU, such as Ukraine or Moldova. I believe that the study of South Korea's successful modernization experience based on interconfessional and intercivilizational convergence may offer solutions to similar problems not only in Ukraine but also in other countries of Europe and Eurasia.

It's critically important for modern development patterns that Confucianism has always been promoting education and morality. Confucius has always advocated universal education and taught that diplomatic and administrative positions should be held by those with the best academic, not social, qualifications. In the modern world, it is supposed that rational knowledge serves as the basis for a prosperous life.

It is necessary to re-emphasize the obvious fact that the economic development of South Korea has been one of the fastest and most sustainable in the world. It is the accumulation of human capital through education that has become an important element of the successful economic development of Korea. Education was seen as an important source of upward mobility as well as an opportunity for new jobs.

According to Confucius, to become a good worker, one must have at least a basic education. Consequently, to provide people with a livelihood, it is necessary to pursue a policy of mass education. The industrialization of the Confucian region began with economic reforms and at the same time with mass education in order to correspond to the modernization processes.

Nowadays, human capital plays an increasingly important role in all spheres of human life. Education and training became key elements in defining the quality aspects of the workforce. Unsurprisingly, the economic success of Japan and the four tigers, these five resource-poor regions, is closely related to their emphasis on developing human capital through education. Long-term Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew, for example, has repeatedly stressed the importance of education for the development of democracy and the economy of any country.

Regarding the industrial process models of the Confucian region, all five polities followed similar patterns of economic progress. Political freedom was not put in the first place, but the emphasis was on the livelihood of citizens through teaching people science and technology at all stages of development.

Interesting enough that Confucius did not at all oppose the wealth of people, but he believed that wealth corrupts the minds. According to Confucius, knowledge is the true wealth that a person possesses for effective service to society and enjoyment of life. In the Confucian tradition, the accumulation of knowledge is aimed not only at learning itself, but also at economic and social benefits. But since people are very different, then only a person with high moral and ethical values is able to devote oneself exclusively to virtue and service to society.

Confucius not only promoted the need for quality education for the development of the society and economy, but also personally taught students. In the practice of Confucius, moral education played a particularly important role. In the Confucian tradition, respect for knowledge and the pursuit of lifelong learning are fundamental human responsibilities. It is believed that the full self-realization of a person is achievable only through an orderly model of learning and self-improvement. Confucius also believed that education should not serve any abstract principle at all. The systematic acquisition of knowledge to achieve a high standard of living is considered a generally accepted goal of education.

Another problem to be addressed in the sphere of higher education in Ukraine is creation of a teaching system in English. As a subject English is taught in almost all universities in Ukraine. However, few universities teach specialized subjects in English. Preparing for EU membership, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe began to massively switch to teaching in English at the universities of their countries.

Poland, for instance, in the mid-90s of the last century was most active in Europe in the transfer of university education to teaching specialized subjects in English in the process of preparing for EU membership and the WSB-NLU was among the leader in this process.

In the system of university education in South Korea, the teaching of subjects in English has been very developed for a long time. This approach has helped the country not only to quickly integrate into the system of international economic

relations, but also to take a leading position in it. In addition, the active transition of the education system to the language of international communication allowed South Korea to stimulate the influx of foreign students, since knowledge of the Korean language is not mandatory for foreign students, and a significant part of educational programs at universities in the country involves teaching in English.

Among the relatively new but critically important disciplines, it is also worth noting those that contribute to the education of high moral and ethical values in young people, as even the highest quality reform program will not work if it is carried out by professionals who do not have these values. In South Korea, for example, it is required that education of citizens is conducted in the spirit of high moral and ethical values.

In Ukraine, appropriate steps in this direction are also being taken. For example, the Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv and the Vasyl Stus Donetsk National University (Vinnytsia) have developed and purposefully teach relevant courses on business ethics and development of students' moral and ethical values in Ukrainian and in English, since these requirements are among major determinants in the country's reform process in the European style. Given the recent candidate's status of Ukraine to the EU membership, this practice should be introduced in other universities of the country as soon as possible. And if there is still not enough professorship of the appropriate qualification, then one could resort to the Cloud distance learning system, which has been successfully implemented at the School.

Despite keen rivalry and geopolitical confrontation, today the conflicting world powers have much more internationally declared values in common than under the Cold War era: they proclaim their commitment to the market economy, respectively universal and mutually compatible European/Confucian values, especially the rule of law, respect for human rights and rights of national minorities, respect for private life, common global challenges like fight against terrorism, religious fundamentalism, illegal migration, energy efficiency, etc.

The authors believe that a historical alternative to neoliberal democracy and unlimited freedom can be the communitarian, or social, democracy which presupposes «responsible freedom.» That is essentially a «responsible» democracy capable of ensuring a balance of interests and freedoms of various social groups. It is this kind of democracy that fully meets the spirit and letter of the constitutional law of Ukraine declaring it «a sovereign and independent, democratic, social, law-based state», and that «The human being, his or her life and health, honor and dignity, inviolability and security are recognized in Ukraine as the highest social value.»

The conceptual opposition of East and West requires further significant interdisciplinary research and development. Ontologically Confucianism is by no means antagonistic to the values of Western liberal democracy. Due to strengthening the global role of China and Confucian tradition democracies, especially in the economic, financial, and infrastructural «soft power» spheres, Confucian approaches and East Asian models of successful modernization have been increasingly influencing the socio-economic policy of some Central and Eastern European states. With this regard, there is a vital need to revise the dominant approaches in economic science towards greater attention to ethical, political, cultural, and other specific historical conditions and factors of economic activity, intensify interdisciplinary research herein. The authors have substantiated that the modernization potential and mental-value compatibility of the Protestant and Confucian worlds is much higher than that of the Protestant and post-Soviet-Eurasian worlds. They have identified the key correspondences between the ethical-value principles and motivations of Protestant and Confucian cultures in their genetics, historical dynamics, and modern dimension. It is shown that such fundamental principles of modern Western society as pluralism and the rule of law have their traditional correspondences, albeit in a transformed form, among the main values of Confucian culture.

Therefore, the appeal of South Korea and other «East Asian dragons» to the Confucian heritage turned out to be very productive for the success of their systemic modernization. In this regard, the prospects for rational converging the values of East and West, primarily Protestantism and Confucianism, within the framework of the new globalized civilization of the future look rather likely.

Given South Korea's outstanding performance during the life of one generation and geostrategic similarity with Ukraine, it is expedient to use positive experience of the ROK in attaining the priority goals of Ukraine's reform strategy, which include restoring the country's good governance system, decentralization, abolishing monopolies, fighting corruption at all levels, effectively reforming the judiciary and solving other important problems, as was once done in South Korea.

In South Korea, the president's political instruments were used to bring about vigorous and effective changes in public policy. The success of the reforms was also largely ensured by the rigidity in making, and especially in the implementation of vital decisions, which is critically important for modern Ukraine.

However, global practice confirms that blind copying of someone else's experience does not lead to the expected results of the original. Ukraine doesn't need to fully copy the experience of South Korea due to a number of economic and political peculiarities. On the one hand, the Ukrainian society cannot yet be called fully mature, since the level of legal awareness and understanding of the basic requirements of modern socio-economic life is clearly not sufficient. On the other hand, the country could adapt the positive experience of South Korea and successfully apply it to promote reforms and modernize the economy on the European basis.

It should be noted, that industrialization and modernization of the South Korean economy was carried out with significant support from American aid flows, and with the support of multibillion-dollar loans and private direct investments.

Equally, Ukraine has significant potential for drawing the necessary financial resources into the economy. In addition to funds for the restoration of the economic potential of Ukraine destroyed by the war with the Russian Federation, which the developed democracies committed to provide, it is necessary to stimulate the inflow of huge financial resources located at private hiding places or offshore into the banking system of Ukraine; it is also necessary to significantly improve the investment climate in the country, to which the government's efforts are already directed. Achievement of these goals will strengthen relations with international financial institutions, which will have a cumulative effect on the further increase in investment inflows into the country.

As evidenced by the South Korean experience of economic modernization launched under the highly controversial period of authoritarism, the extreme privatization of public resources and assets can lead to opposite results compared

to what took place in Ukraine. As it turned out, the extreme privatization under the centuries-old Confucian tradition and good governance served the national interests and led to an impressive «economic miracle» accompanied by an unprecedented leap in the people's well-being.

Given Ukraine's place in the inter-civilization, borderland space of cultural and axiological dimensions, copying the institutional patterns of Western countries will also not ensure a break-through economic growth. It is hardly useful to expect an immediate change in values, as well as that Ukraine would be able to get closer to world leaders in terms of economic development, prosperity, and democracy. The strategy of value transformation must be based primarily on changes in the education system and other institutions of socialization of children and youth, which would take place in parallel with socio-economic reforms. Then, after some time, Ukraine is going to become a developed society and the EU member.

Rapid and radical changes in the state policy, rigidity in making and, especially, in the implementation of vital decisions, are considered extremely relevant for modern Ukraine. The primary tasks include rebuilding the system of economic and political relations in the country, decentralization, elimination of monopolies, combating corruption at all levels, effective reform of the judicial system and solving other crucial problems of the country just as it has been once done in South Korea.

Such sets of measures as the development of the export-oriented sphere of high-tech services and integration into relevant world markets, attracting «long money» from the population through deposits may become strategically important for the growth of the Ukrainian economy.

Proceeding from globalist thinking, Ukraine needs to aim at developing cutting-edge technologies like information, nano-, bio-technologies, etc., global competitiveness, rejection of social pessimism, and, at the same time, constructively rethinking communitarian, especially modern Confucian values. Ukraine should also count on social justice, respect for social rights, dignity and ethnocultural identity of all citizens, traditional ethnic, religious, and linguistic communities of the country as a sovereign participant in European integration processes.

The authors of the book have been engaged in scientific research of the influence of ethical and value systems on the success of the economic and sociopolitical modernization of society for many years. Given the huge role of education and science in the Confucian constructions of the economy and the development of society, the authors share their knowledge and practical experience of the principles of organizing modern education and scientific research at the world's leading universities. Over the past years, for differing periods of times, the authors had been working at or being part of universities in the USA, Europe, and the Confucian East. These universities included Stanford (USA), Brown (USA), University of Tokyo, National Chengchi University (Taipei), WSB-NLU (Poland), Vilnius University, where the authors taught and conducted research, compiled curricula, published articles, books and textbooks, worked with students and collaborated with foreign colleagues.

Attractive is also the interdisciplinary approach of the authors to the problem under study. Among the authors are an international economist, an economist-political scientist and a lawyer-diplomat, the former Ambassador of Ukraine to the Republic of Korea. For me, as a reviewer, the experience of the authors in the

educational process is especially important, since for the last 30 years the reviewer has been dealing with the system of modern higher education, collaborating, among other things, with Ukrainian colleagues.

Thus, the people of Ukraine face an important and long-term task — to realize what caused the formation of successful states and gradually change their mentality on the basis of high ethical standards. On this path, it will be necessary to change the internal principles of the development of the state, create conditions for the functioning of the economy for the benefit of society, and also achieve equality before the law for everyone without exception. The reviewer fully shares the justified optimism of the authors of the book regarding the successful European development of Ukraine.

The book under review has made a valuable contribution to the development of the European perspective of Ukraine, and its publication in English in the EU country allows once again to be heard by foreign colleagues, to demonstrate to the international community that Ukraine has grounded intentions to develop along the European path.

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## ШЛЯХ УКРАЇНИ В ЄВРОПУ: ПОДОЛАННЯ ПЕРЕШКОД

Наведено сучасний аналіз безпрецедентних досягнень Південної Кореї у всіх галузях розвитку. Розглянуто конфуціанство як модель всебічних відносин, яке довело свою здатність динамічно модернізувати і творчо засвоювати досягнення інших культур. Відзначено ефективний синтез цінностей конфуціанства і протестантизму в процесі модернізації Республіки Корея. Показано, що південнокорейський досвід модернізації та розвитку економіки є корисним для України на шляху до Європи.

**Ключові слова**: Україна; Республіка Корея; Європа; модернізація економіки; освіта; сучасні технології; конфуціанство; воєнна економіка; система цінностей; державне управління; системне реформування; виховання кадрів.