
Шановні друзі та колеги!

Рік тому, 24 лютого 2022 року путінська РФ розгорнула широкомасштабне військове вторгнення в Україну як найагресивніше продовження свого давнього прагнення знищити нашу країну. Це число часопису ми відкриваємо текстом¹ професора Пьотра Штомпки, присвяченим осмисленню подій та наслідків російсько-української війни. Ці суспільні, політичні та соціокультурні наслідки, наразі часто несповна передбачувані, П. Штомпка інтерпретує як «корисні функції», в термінології Л. Козера, або суспільні надбання будь-якого конфлікту. Вчений виокремлює десять таких «яскравих спалахів світла серед темряви війни» для України, серед яких: утвердження та зміцнення української національної ідентичності, підйом та мобілізація громадянського суспільства, новий рівень легітимності держави та армії, переконливі зразки суспільної стійкості, визначення чітких розмежувань між ворогами і друзями українського народу, зміцнення європейського та євроатлантичного цивілізаційного вибору країни, глобальне визнання та підтримка суверенітету та територіальної цілісності України, широке міжнародне засудження та ізоляція агресивної держави-терориста і санкції проти неї, а також глибинна консолідація Європейського Союзу та НАТО у ствердженні цінностей свободи, самовизначення націй, демократії та миру. З точки зору соціолога П. Штомпки, українське суспільство вже здобуло важливу моральну перемогу в цій битві, а в перспективі воно відродиться, стане ще сильнішим, буде вільним, незалежним і демократичним.

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1 Текст виступу професора П. Штомпки на пленарному засіданні Всеукраїнської науково-практичної конференції «Проблеми розвитку соціологічної теорії: війна, насилля, суспільні порядки» (факультет соціології КДУ ім. Тараса Шевченка, Інститут соціології НАН України, Київ, 15–16 грудня 2022 року). Текст публікується в оригіналі з дозволу автора.

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The Bright Side of a Tragedy: on the Unintended and Unanticipated Consequences of the Barbaric Aggression

Dear Ukrainian friends,

Let me convey to you the feelings of solidarity and support for your heroic struggle against the ruthless, barbaric aggressor. Years ago Samuel Huntington predicted a clash of civilizations, mistakenly opposing the West and Islam. The true *war of civilizations* is occurring nowadays, between free and democratic world and despotic Russian empire. Ukraine is on the very frontline, at the limes of civilizations defending us all, the people of Europe and America.

But I propose today not to dwell on the horrors of war but rather to focus on the aftermath of war and long-range perspective for the Ukrainian society.

There is an important sociological tradition to consider the *unintended and unanticipated consequences* of social events. My master Robert K. Merton claims that the study of such consequences, which he also labels as latent functions, is of particular heuristic significance. In his own words: «In short it is suggested that the distinctive intellectual contributions of the sociologist are found primarily in the study of unintended consequences of social practices (among which are latent functions).» Merton himself as well as a number of other scholars select for a particular attention the category of consequences which are directly contrary to the intentions of the actors, to manifest functions of social actions and events. He calls them boomerang effects or suicidal, self-destroying prophecies. Karl Raymond Popper in his book on «Open Society and Its Enemies» was writing about the outcomes of revolutions as contrary to the intentions of revolutionaries. Raymond Boudon and Anthony Giddens use the term «perverse effects». Jon Elster, the guru of rational-choice school calls it the condition of «counterfinality».

In fact, the idea is very old, to be found already in the Bible, when the disobedience before God and eating an apple from a forbidden tree in Paradise, has dramatic consequences for Adam and Eve and supposedly, at least for the believers, for all humanity as «original sin». In economy it appears in the idea of the «invisible hand of the market» by Adam Smith, in philosophy in the notion of «cunning of Reason» by Wilhelm Hegel.

In modern sociology this idea has been applied to the area of social conflict. Lewis Coser inspired by the classical writings of Georg Simmel, argues contrary to common

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sense that conflict both at the microlevel of groups and at the macrolevel of whole societies may have positive functions and ultimately bring about *beneficial consequences*. He writes: «Far from being only a negative factor which tears apart, social conflict may fulfill a number of determinate functions in groups and other interpersonal relations». They may reveal themselves most clearly in the long run.

Enough of the theoretical background.

Now, in this spirit, in the darkness of war, amid the violence, human tragedies and destruction, I am trying to find some *bright perspectives for the post-war future* of the Ukrainian society, unintended and unpredicted by the vicious aggressor, and eventually contrary to his goals. I have found ten.

First, we observe the reawaking and *strengthening of the national Ukrainian identity* in its spiritual and emotional meaning. «Ukraine is a part of me» writes on the pages of Scandinavian journal «Baltic Worlds» Dmytro Drozdovskij, a Fellow at the Shevchenko Institute of Literature in Kiev. It is well known that such an emotional social identity is articulated most clearly by opposition: «we» versus «them». Let me quote Coser again: «It seems to be generally accepted by sociologists that the distinction between us, the we-group, or in-group and everybody else, or the other groups, out-groups is established in and through conflict». There is no more important condition for the unambiguous definition of «we», than the situation of war, and particularly the barbaric external aggression. And there is no better occasion to draw clear borders against «them». Contrary to the plans of the aggressor the Ukrainian national spirit and strong emotions of Ukrainian national identity are being reborn.

Second, there is the outbreak of *mobilization of responsible citizenship and civil society* by self-organization, solidarity, mutual support and help. The aggressive war creates an imperative of defense and produces consolidation of the whole society over and above any existing divisions. The common, universal predicament and goal of preserving the existence of the whole country wipe out any particular group interests and inter-group animosities. The Ukrainian people are passing the test of republican citizenship as defined by David Miller, the Fellow of Nuffield College at Oxford: «being willing to take active steps to defend the rights of the other members of the political community, and more generally to promote its common interests (...) and particularly to be ready to volunteer *for public service* when the need arises». Hence, the national identity in its civic meaning is strongly affirmed.

Third, the state and the army acquire the *new level of legitimacy* due directly to the military successes but also the ability to keep up basic infrastructure, providing at least for the elementary survival needs of the citizens, despite the furious attacks of the enemy. As sociology and political science teach us the most important way to win legitimacy is to be effective in responding to the expectations of the people. The Ukrainian state is successfully passing the ultimate test. In effect, the national identity in its third, political meaning is strengthened.

Fourth, there is the emergence of authentic, *charismatic leader*, who wins trust and respect both internally, from the Ukrainian people, and externally from the foreign countries. Just this week his image has appeared on the Christmas issue of Time magazine as the «Man of the Year». His charisma is due to the right decisions and policies, but also personal courage, moral strength and unwavering determination in the strug-

gle. Charisma as Max Weber taught us long ago is only partly given by inborn personality traits; it flourishes fully when a gifted person finds oneself in the right spot at the right time, jumps on the chariot of history and is able to create a unique «chemistry» with the followers. The aggression created that opportunity for your President and he has used it in the most inspiring way.

Fifth, in the everyday life, one sees the **raising level of personal resilience** of the people and successful coping strategies of survival in the inhuman conditions and deprivations of war. The self-exemplifying case is this very conference. The fact that the University is providing power generators for the conference to be carried out according to plan in spite of the threat of blackout and air raids is immensely impressive. People learn by experience, and dramatic experience provides the strongest lessons. The Ukrainian people are much hardened against any future threat. The national identity in its fourth, mundane, everyday sense emerges.

Sixth, there is the sharp, unambiguous definition of the **border between the enemies and friends** of the Ukrainian people, and in case of my country, Poland, and the Ukrainian-Polish relations, the final overcoming and forgetting the tragic moments of confrontations in the past. The powerful sign and catharsis of that was the spontaneous, grass-roots, massive mobilizations of Polish volunteers helping Ukrainian refugees at the Polish border. We the Poles share the proverb with the Ukrainians: «You have to be in need to discover who your real friends are».

Seventh, there is the final affirmation of **the pro-Western aspirations and hopes** of the Ukrainian society for the assured and dignified place in the democratic Europe. This has been confirmed strongly by the opening of the accession procedures for the European Union and Euro-Atlantic Alliance.

Eighth, there is strong, almost unanimous global recognition and support for the **independence and territorial integrity** of Ukraine, as witnessed by the resolution of United Nations voted by more than one hundred twenty member-nations. The providing of military supplies, humanitarian aid and huge sums of economic subsidies by the United States and the countries of the European Union is another, material proof of the same intentions. It shows international understanding of the wisdom phrased already a century ago, in 1918 by Georg Simmel in the letter to Graf Hermann Keyserling: «If Europe manages to recover after the war, if the thought spreads that this war is a common predicament for all parties and that the healing of its wounds must be a *common task* in which all must assist each other, Europe will regain its strength in the foreseeable future». One may add a strong resolve of Western countries to put all guilty of atrocities and genocide before the international courts of justice.

Ninth, we witness world-wide condemnation, isolation and sanctions against the aggressor treated as **a terrorist state** violating brutally all rules of international law and warfare conventions. The boycott and embargo on Russian resources and supplies is significantly weakening its imperial economic potential. Parallel to that, in internal policies of a number of countries, the populist, pro-Moscow parties and organizations are marginalized.

Tenth, there is the profound **integration and consolidation of the European Union and NATO Alliance** in the affirmation of the fundamental imperatives and values of freedom, self-determination of nations, democracy and peace. This overall, higher

purpose is pushing aside internal differences and cleavages. The anchors of the Western world are stronger than ever.

This is my list of ***bright lights in the night of war***. The price you are paying for all this is immense and the suffering and human toll – unforgivable and unforgettable. But the war will end one day. And independent of the final military effect, the society ***has already won the battle***. Let me quote Drozdovskij again: «What is most important for me is the idea of a deep transformation that we now have in our society that has been united to defend the country». As the British sociologist Paul Connerton argues persuasively ***social memory*** is most strongly rooted via commitments and actions. The experience of war, participation in the heroic struggle, overcoming mortal threats, sacrifices and martyrology – are the memories which will be carried over in time through the generations. They will be articulated and sharpened by what I call «the meaning industry»: stories, myths, literature, drama, film, poetry, and media. In effect, so much unintended and unrecognized by the vicious aggressor, the Ukrainian society will become ***reborn, renewed, much stronger than earlier, free, independent, and democratic***.

The Polish people wish you just that.

Kraków, December 2022