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The evolution of the theory of nation-building: from Starosolsky to Harari

Introduction

The reason for writing the article was a poorly lit but definitely important discussion that unfolded in the information space around one of the aspects of the phenomenon of the nation. Speaking more specifically, we are talking about the polemical opinions of the famous Israeli historian and military analyst, Yuval Noah Harari. In his third book, *21 Lessons for the 21st Century*, the author of world bestsellers, among other things, asked an unexpected question: What is a nation – an object of reality, or a product of manipulation of the public consciousness? At least, this is what it looks, based on some passages by the writer: “[...] you cannot organize masses of people effectively without relying on some mythology. If you stick to unalloyed reality, few people will follow you. [...] In fact, false stories have an intrinsic advantage over the truth when it comes to uniting people. If you want to gauge group loyalty, requiring people to believe an absurd is far better test than asking them to believe the truth” (Harari, 2018: 194). He also observes that “Humans have the remarkable ability to know and not to know at the same time. Or more correctly, they can know something when they really think about it, but most of the time they don’t think about it, so they don’t know. [...] If you devote the time and energy, you can discover that nations are elaborate yarns. But in the midst of war, you don’t have the time and energy” (Harari, 2018: 196).

The first reaction to such statements could be the suspicion that the Israeli professor secretly sympathizes with the ideas of a well-known dictator whose name is not uttered in vain: the more terrible lies you say, the faster you will be believed (someone may of course object that the words were taken out of context, but that is not what we are talking about now). However, it would be much more constructive to simply try to analyze all the constituent problems, starting with the boundaries between the imaginary and

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the material, ending with the temporal and spatial aspects of the phenomenon known to the general public under the term nation, in order to finally get a little closer to understanding its essence.

The interruption of the Ukrainian intellectual tradition on the territory of mainland Ukraine and its renewal after 1991 led to a number of features of the current state of research on the problem. The first is a powerful outburst of scientific interest in issues of the nation and nationalism against the background of the formation of state sovereignty, which was embodied in a number of thorough works. Among them, it is worth mentioning the first national anthology of nationalism edited by Oleh Protsenko and Vasyl Lisovyi (Protsenko, Lisovoy, 2000), a meaningful essay by Leonid Zaliznyak (Zaliznyak, 2006) and fundamental monographs by Petro Kononenko (Kononenko, 2005) and Heorhii Kasyanov (Kasyanov, 1999). Also, with the assistance of the latter, several iconic works of British and American authors were translated into Ukrainian and became available to the general public.

In connection to this, the second feature of domestic historiography should be noted, which, in our opinion, consists in the *a priori* acceptance of one's own secondary nature in relation to the achievements of Western science. The third feature can be described as a latent shift in the attention of Ukrainian studies from the phenomenon of the nation to the national idea, nationalism and national liberation struggles, which, among other things, does not contribute to the proper popularization of the achievements of Ukrainian scientists, made specifically in the direction of understanding the nation at the beginning of the 20th century. And, finally, the fourth feature is the natural concentration of historians and political scientists on the Ukrainian question with insufficient consideration of modern global trends.

Thus, the goals set for implementation in the proposed research involve a comparative analysis of modern concepts of the theory of the nation in comparison with the classical interpretations of the Ukrainian school of political science of the 1920s. First of all, it will be about the work of the Ukrainian historian, sociologist, lawyer and, at the same time, one of the leaders of the national liberation movement in Galicia, later a prisoner of the Siberian camps, Volodymyr Starosolsky.

Research methods

The methodological basis of the research was a complex of general and special methods of historical investigation. These are methods of analysis and synthesis, deduction and induction, historical-genetic, comparative, systematic, retrospective methods, etc. Among the most important principles of organizing work on the topic of intelligence, the rules of comprehensiveness, consistency and objectivity should be mentioned, which, however, does not exclude the presence of a subjective factor, that is, the author's view of the problem.

Results and discussion

So, let's start by comparing the mythical and the material, as mentioned at the beginning of the article. That is, let's remember that matter consists not only of matter, but also of a field (and plasma). That matter is eternal and is in constant motion, changing from one form to another. That the universal features of matter are the inexhaustibility of multifaceted properties, causality, and determinism. That all types of matter are combined into one whole by the concept of energy – a general quantitative measure of movement and interaction. For Harari, mythology, absurdity, “elaborate yarns” appear as a completely material object of the information field, endowed with the energy to influence the world of people – beings, as you know, not only spiritual, but also material. The reverse statement should also be considered true: the material environment is capable of causing changes in the information field. In other words, myths give rise to reality – reality gives rise to myths. At the same time, if you clear the concept of the word myth from the emotional and sensual shell, you can see another word behind it – social idea. According to a passage from the fundamental work of Starosolsky, *Theory of the Nation*: “As a sociological fact, the idea is characterized by the following. From a historical point of view, this is a primordial spontaneous aspiration, to which conscious human thought joined, absorbing the purpose of the aspiration into a defined form and motivating it” (Starosolsky, 1998: 7). If we briefly state the essence of his idea, then, in our opinion, it will look like this:

- 1) There is no complete list of objective features of a nation (Starosolsky, 1998: 90).
- 2) “Antiquity did not know the nation” (literal title of one of the chapters of the book): the use of slogans of national revival by political movements of the 19th century is nothing more than PR itself (Starosolsky, 1998: 66).
- 3) The nation-building process is based on the desire for democracy. At the same time, from the very beginning, democracy used communities that arose against the background of religious currents and religious struggles. Language acquired the meaning of sign of the nation only later, after religion had exhausted its historical potential (Starosolsky, 1998: 87).
- 4) In Starosolsky's vision, the struggle for democracy is a genetic factor in the creation of a nation, which, in turn, is the natural ruler of the state (Starosolsky, 1998: 107).

The question naturally arises here: at what point in human history does the desire for democracy appear, given that “ancient times did not know nations”? Actually, Starosolsky himself gives some clarifications on this matter, though delving more into the narrative of the spirit than into the narrative of the substance.

The fact is that the ability of ideas to materialize is determined, first of all, by the presence of carriers, that is, social groups capable of acting under their influence in a certain direction. As for the idea of people's rule, it was, according to Starosolsky, an obvious product of the capitalist era, which “brought with it a wave of rationalism” and “washed

away the foundations of old authorities" (Starosolsky, 1998: 79). It is noteworthy that the term irrational (in the original – arational) in the sense of unaware, inaccessible to understanding was used by him to refer to medieval pre-national forms of organization of society, while a hundred or so years later he has already declared a nation to be the result of irrational thinking (myth). True, Starosolsky did not question the objective determination of the process of consolidation of archaic communities, while Harari denied the existence of anything beyond individual sensory experience.

Strictly speaking, this could be the end of our comparative analysis. After all, the views of Starosolsky and Harari are not just opposite, but to some extent incomparable. Harari presents the newest direction of historical research, known as global or transnational history. His goal is to identify patterns common to all cultures. Proclaiming the mythicity of no limitations stemming from all identities, including national ones, he strives to grasp the pure essence of man. Since the will, the ability of an individual to control their own actions, is based on the conscious acceptance of social norms (including restrictions), Harari denies free will. The Israeli historian and futurologist proposes to transfer the functions of regulating human behaviour to artificial intelligence, which will do it on the basis of an unbiased analysis of individual combinations of basic instincts.

Of course, in Starosolsky's time, the ideas of bio-digital convergence could exist only in the form of ambitious projects of science fiction writers. Human nature seemed sacred. However, the thirst for scientific research required objects of study, and one of such objects at the beginning of the last century, in the context of the just ended world war, was certainly the nation. Starosolsky dissected the concept of the nation in the same way as Harari – as the concept of a person. Striving to distil the essence of the phenomenon from secondary signs, the Ukrainian researcher nurtured a completely utilitarian intention: to find an effective way to transform the Ukrainian community into a political subject. However, for our investigation, the fact that Starosolsky connects the chronological boundaries of the birth of the nation and democracy with the emergence of capitalist relations, while simultaneously neglecting the spatial aspect of the problem, is much more important, since the European orientation seems to have been chosen by him *a priori*. In fact, we should be talking about the so-called European miracle, which arose at the intersection of unique geographical, climatic and demographic factors, which at a certain moment were able to transform a once backward region, the backyard of Eurasia, into the centre of a new world system.

In his popular book *Civilization. The West and the Rest*, the famous British historian and journalist, Neil Ferguson, cites a very apt remark of the French philosopher of the 18th century, Charles Louis de Montesquieu: "Asia, strictly speaking, does not have a temperate zone at all, and its countries located in a very cold climate directly collide with countries located in a fairly hot climate [...]. In Europe, on the contrary, the temperate zone is quite extensive [...], each country is very similar in its climate to the neighboring one [...]. From this it follows that in Asia the nations oppose each other as the

strong against the weak; warlike, brave, and active peoples directly collide with weak, lazy, and timid peoples, so one of them inevitably becomes the conqueror, and the other – the conquered. In Europe, the peoples oppose each other as the strong against the strong [...]. This is the great reason for the weakness of Asia and the strength of Europe, the freedom of Europe and the slavery of Asia” (Ferguson, 2018: 55-56).

Therefore, the competitive environment that was formed in a specific place, namely in Western Europe, stimulated the introduction of new unique principles of labour organization, pushed technical progress and, ultimately, contributed to the transition from a traditional agrarian to an urban, and then industrial, system. Over this complex system of management, an equally complex system of different levels of power and management, lines of confrontation and levers of mutual restraint gradually formed. In the end, the English satirist, William Thackeray, named this entire exceptional construction the term capitalism, under which it entered history textbooks and philosophical reference books and remains there to this day.

Now, in order to further advance the chosen course in the direction of the declared goal, we will have to independently verify some of Starosolsky's conclusions, starting from the just-mentioned deadline. If you analyze the definition of capitalism in the vast majority of dictionaries, the concept of private ownership, primarily of the means of production, will definitely appear in it. It is logical to assume that only a private person can own private property, that is, a person who acts on his own behalf and only on this basis, and not on the basis of belonging to a certain social group or organization (family, tribe, clan, order, guild, party), endowed with the right of ownership. In other words, private property is the right to own property, protected by law – a regulatory act adopted under a special procedure by a legislative body of state power. Thus, the establishment of the capitalist system requires, on the one hand, a massive rupture of humanity with previous identities, and on the other hand, the establishment of new forms of state and law.

The next stage of our research should be the comparative characteristics of rural and urban, cultural and historical codes. Even today, without delving into the depths of scientific research, everyone can easily feel the difference between them, just by attending a wedding or a wake in a village or a metropolis. The village, even in our time, is a separate, sometimes quite cruel world with a unique social hierarchy, unconscious acceptance of inter-family enmity and wary attitude towards foreigners. Life on the land and at the expense of the land is permeated with numerous dependencies on the untamed forces of nature and, therefore, tends to generate its own traditions and taboo systems that are incomprehensible to outsiders. Among other things, the British researcher, Ernst Gellner, drew attention to this. Studying various agrarian cultures, he described the village as a set of isolated communities, isolated vertically, “within small localities”, and horizontally, from the ruling classes, as well as internally divided into estates and castes (Gellner, 2003).

The city is another matter. When people move to one of these centres of business and cultural activity and live there long enough, they gradually lose touch with the natural rhythms of the oikumena, begin to neglect customs and former contacts, thus, causing sincere indignation and resentment on the part of the village natives. Instead, the urban environment produces a system of territorial and professional associations, far from being based on personal communication, but structured according to principles that have personal authorship.

In other words, the rural cultural code includes isolation, stability, identification based on gender, regulation of social relations on the basis of customary norms – unwritten rules. From this follows the absence of a separately allocated function of knowledge transfer, which occurs directly in the process of labour activity against the background of a minimal division of labour, and the function of management, which is realized through the action of the non-personalized power of traditions. The city's cultural code provides for mobility, universality, identification by territorial feature, regulation of social relations on the basis of normative acts – written rules. This implies the separation of the process of knowledge transfer and management into independent functions.

By the way, Gellner also believes that the existence of a specialized function of management and maintenance of law and order is the main feature of state existence. And although he does not share the opinion popular among nationalists about the unconditional connection and mutual dependence of the nation and the state, he still emphasizes that the problem of nationalism in stateless societies cannot exist in principle (Gellner, 2003).

From all of the above, we can conclude that the nation, as Starosolsky understood it, a self-conscious entity focused on achieving sovereignty, turned out to be a derivative of industrial development with the inherent increase in urban strata. At the same time, it is worth noting that the city itself plays the role of the main link in the nation-state-civil society structure. It is not for nothing that the English word "citizen" comes from the word "city".

So, it makes sense to look at the problem from the point of view of the circumstances of mass urbanization of the European population and, in this context, to additionally consider the issue of universalism of the Western model. One needs to be reminded that according to the established concept of social development, the process of industrialization is possible only within the framework of the capitalist model. Capitalism is a socio-political system where the main economic resource is capital (materialized labour). Capitalism replaces the previous system of feudalism, where the main resource was land. We will also recall that the phase transition from the previous stage to the next occurs when the further use of natural factors of production in the usual way in the given territory becomes impossible due to their relative exhaustion. In this case, one of the effective options for overcoming the crisis may be to change the methods of ap-

propriating the public product by substituting the object of appropriation or the main economic resource.

As a rule, the phase of transition period is characterized by the expropriation of small owners and the appearance of a large number of 'extra people'. In our case, we are talking about peasants driven from the land, some of whom were absorbed by the city with subsequent recruitment as hired workers. The other part was simply 'disposed of'.

We should immediately note that historians have not yet developed a consolidated position on whether agrarian societies outside of Western Europe can be considered feudal. For example, the famous French researcher, Mark Blok, co-founder of the *Annals* school, substantiated at one time the position that the social order formed on the territory of Western and Central Europe as a result of the decline of ancient communities and the invasion of the Germans was, if not a unique phenomenon, then in any case, not a universal stage of civilization progress (Blok, 2002: 950). Accepting the arguments of Blok and extrapolating his conclusions about feudalism to the next era, it should be recognized that the existence of an industrial society, a nation, and a national state is rather a concrete consequence of the dynamics of specific circumstances than a general necessity (Gellner, 2003).

It is noteworthy that commitment to the opposite universalist approach often takes the form of increased attention of scientists to the ethnic component of the nation. Thus, the British researcher of the nation and nationalism, Anthony Smith, emphasizes the importance of the "primitive" culture of the people for national identification (Smith, 2006: 141). His concept, thus, fully corresponds to the main provisions of the so-called modernization theory, according to which any traditional community can join the development and progress, moving in the fairway of the advanced countries of the West.

But the experience of many regions of Africa and Asia proves the opposite. Take Afghanistan as an example. It seems that everything is fine with the manifestations of primitive culture in this country. But with the nation – no. Tribal ties and clan feuds are much more important to the local residents than national interests. The fact is that Afghanistan, despite the sufficient amount of minerals and transit potential, is absolutely not suitable for the development of industry. The sharply continental dry climate and the mountains, which cover more than 80% of the entire territory, prevent the creation of a more or less profitable industrial complex. That is why the local residents to this day preserve their traditional way of life, herding sheep, goats and camels, weaving carpets, producing hides, and growing wheat and opium poppy in the meager fields. In fact, they remain the same illiterate nomads as their distant ancestors.

Despite everything, Afghanistan is an officially existing state, recognized by the world community, a member of the UN, a participant in the international division of labour and world production cooperation. However, the external form is frankly dissonant with the internal content. The Afghan nation and the Afghan state resemble a transition. This is a technical detail that allows you to connect the resources of one system to the distri-

bution unit of another. For ease of use, each such 'switch' must meet certain standards: democratic separation of powers, free elections, independence of mass media and financial regulator, etc. Everyone is so used to this that in the imagination of an average person, the specified template has long taken on the appearance of a transcendent given.

Nonetheless, everything has its reasons and consequences. We are again talking about the industrial society, which, on the one hand, was the first to launch the idea of scientific and technical progress and, on this basis, conquered the world. On the other hand, it was the first to introduce a new form of behaviour control in society, "social bribery", which, according to Gellner's definition, was "a guarantee of material well-being for the refusal of social aggression" (Gellner, 2003).

The fact that the national state, the only officially recognized way of organizing state power today, is a superstructure over the system of social bribery means one thing: its appearance was strictly limited in time and space. The direct correlation with the process of industrialization allows us to avoid long explanations and limit ourselves to a direct quote from the work of a British scientist: "An extremely large-scale transformation took place in a vast, diverse society with an incredibly complex structure, and this process was truly unique: no secondary industrialization can be considered an event equivalent to primary industrialization for the very simple fact that all others were repetitions, copies [...]. Therefore, we will never be able to reproduce the original event, the authors of which were people who were unaware of what they were doing [...] under any conditions, we will not be able to reproduce all the circumstances of life in Western Europe in the early modern period" (Gellner, 2003).

It should be noted here that researchers who build their own concepts on the ideas of the exclusivity of the Western European experience operate within the so-called dependency theory. It is based on the thesis of the identity of capitalism and the world system, which, in turn, consists of the core, semi-periphery and periphery. One of the prominent representatives of this direction was the American historian and sociologist, Immanuel Wallerstein. In the vision of Wallerstein, capitalism can function only due to the manipulation of the difference in conditions ensured by the existence of countries with different potential and internal rules (Wallerstein, 2004: 57). In other words, on the outer contour of the international division of labour, all countries act as capitalists. Internally, each has its own structure, from the highly developed technological democracies of the West to the Latin American latifundia and tribal system with elements of slavery in Africa.

Continuing the conversation about the essence of the nation phenomenon in various worldview systems, it is also worth mentioning the original concept of the Czech historian, Miroslav Groh, developed in the middle of the last century. According to this concept, all European nations can be conditionally divided into two categories. Groh included the national communities of such countries as the Great Britain, France, Spain,

Germany, Denmark and some others to the first. In the mentioned states, the process took place according to the classic Marxist scheme: in the conditions of the struggle against feudal restrictions for bourgeois democracy, the new bourgeois class or the old but 'bourgeoisized' class of former feudal lords declared itself the expression of the interests of the entire population (Kasyanov, 1999: 222).

The situation develops in a completely different way among the peoples who, at the time of advancement to bourgeois society and national self-awareness (and for Groh, these processes were directly related), did not have their own political tradition. Here, the historian distinguished three phases: during the first, the local intelligentsia forms the image of the future nation based on the study of cultural-historical and cultural-linguistic heritage. During the second, the results of scientific research should be transformed into the ideology of the educated classes. During the third, patriotic agitation should generate a general movement of the masses and eventually lead to the independence of the new nation (Kasyanov, 1999: 223).

Actually, the concept of Groh brings us to the problem under the general name "nation as a social construct". In addition to the Czech historian, other researchers also developed this narrative in their works. In particular, the American political scientist, Roman Shporlyuk, claimed that Europeans began to perceive themselves as members of national communities "under the influence of printing culture and the Protestant Reformation with their deep religious, psychological, intellectual and political consequences" (Shporlyuk, 1998: 176).

In an effort to carry out our own analysis of constructivist approaches in the theory of the nation, we will try to look at the subject from the point of view of the finiteness of the cognitive capabilities of an average person and the volume of human memory, which, according to some modern neuroscientists, has remained a constant value for at least the last three thousand years. In this connection, first of all, the concepts of knowledge and education should be clearly distinguished, considering the fact that our agrarian ancestors, while holding huge amounts of information in their heads, remained deeply uneducated people. The fact is that only those representatives of the *homo sapiens* species can be called educated who know how to write and read, that is, to transmit and receive information through text. In other words, an educated person is not obliged to keep in his head the entire collection of necessary knowledge, since they can transfer a significant part of it to external media.

Thus, the flip side of the spread of literacy in the industrial era was the actual loss of control of individuals over a weighty information cluster that was moved beyond personal memory into the zone of belief in printed matter, which made it possible to create an effective system of manipulation of public consciousness. Paradoxically, but it is a fact: educated city dwellers, in a certain sense, turned out to be significantly less information-resistant than their illiterate ancestors.

The further development of scientific and technical progress was accompanied by revolutionary transformations in the field of data storage, processing and transmission, and incredibly rapid growth of information flows. This led to the expansion of the mental sphere responsible for the passive consumption of external man-made content, due to the narrowing of the area of formation of self-acquired stable knowledge.

It is worth noting that the degree of detail of the community with which the subject recognizes their identity can be easily established by the specified ratio. The more space in the mental structure of a specific 'I' is occupied by the cognitive processing of direct contacts with objective reality, the more narrow and specific the kinship group will be and the less flexible the criteria of 'one's – another's'. And *vice versa*: the more space in a person's life is occupied by interaction with virtual reality, the more likely it is that they will consider all of humanity as their related group. That is, we are talking about a special scale of identities from self-determination based on gender in the pre-industrial era to complete cosmopolitanism and gender neutrality in the post-industrial era.

A separate important indicator on the mentioned scale is the dynamics of cognitive capabilities, which in general terms repeats the dynamics of natural population growth in the era of demographic transition. Just as in the first stage, under conditions of improvement of the sanitary and hygienic situation, the population of cities began to grow rapidly, as a result of increased life expectancy against the background of still high birth rates, the need to read and write caused an intellectual leap as a result of a synergistic alliance of cognitive processes and increased access to information. In the future, as is known, indicators of natural growth in developed countries began to decrease and, in some places, fell to negative marks. There are reasons to believe that the same thing awaits the IQ index (at least, this is the conclusion reached by journalists of the BBC Future portal, investigating the pace of intellectual development of Europeans over the past hundred years) (Robson, 2019).

Since the compilation of classical national anthologies took place during the period of dominance of textual means of influence on society, this prompted Starosolsky, a contemporary of those events, to call the action of creating national unity the result of a rational choice and conscious will. As for Harari, the period of his scientific creativity coincided in time with the process of replacing large texts with audio and video formats. This, on the one hand, made it possible to bypass cognitive blocks and direct the full force of the informational impact to the most vulnerable place, emotions, on the other hand, to deal freely with reality, that is, to use it as material or a reason for modeling desired narratives. Thus, it is quite possible to consider the concepts of Starosolsky and Harari as the manifestation of the step-by-step development of the same paradigm in terms of a dialectical combination of social and mental processes.

Conclusions

A comparison of the opinions expressed at different times by representatives of two different scientific and historical schools regarding the real existence of nations gives grounds for the following conclusions and generalizations:

- 1) The nation is not a myth or an 'artfully woven fantasy', but a completely material socio-cultural phenomenon that arose during the ontogenesis of the Euro-Atlantic civilization at the stage of industrial capitalism.
- 2) The period of active nation-building is closely related to the revolution in the mental sphere, which led to the emergence of identities formed on the basis of acquired beliefs.
- 3) The essence of this revolution consists in separating the process of knowledge transfer into an independent function and expanding the educated class to the size of society. Collective access to printed information, that is, information transferred to external media, made possible and necessary the management of the masses through control over the means of publicizing data.
- 4) Since modern globalization is a consequence of the gradual involvement of other areas and regions in the Western European market system as peripheral zones, the European model with varying degrees of awareness is used as a template for the organization of state power and society throughout the world.
- 5) Like any social phenomenon, the nation goes through the stages of birth, flowering and transformation or denial in its development in full correlation with changes in the economic, political and spiritual-cultural context.
- 6) Attempts at a scientific understanding of the problem of nation-building, carried out in different historical conditions, record different phases of the transition from an evolutionary to a project way of regulating social relations.

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Abstract: The purpose of the research is to reveal the essence of the nation as a complex socio-economic and spiritual-cultural phenomenon through a comparative analysis of modern and traditional approaches to the problems of social evolution of mankind. The research was carried out on the basis of the principles of systematicity, objectivity, comprehensiveness and historicism by applying the methods of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, abstraction, analogies, as well as problematic, comparative and retrospective methods. From our point of view, the modern Ukrainian social scientists, who in one way or another touch on the problems of nation-building, are not familiar with the latest concepts of Western historical science. We are talking, in particular, about the ideas of one of the brightest researchers in the field of so-called transnational history, the Israeli futurologist, Yuval Noah Harari. It is interesting to analyze his views in comparison with the opinions of Volodymyr Starosolsky, a representative of the classical national school of political science, who, unfortunately, is also little known to the Ukrainian scientific community. A detailed study of the materials on the topic allows us to assert that the nation is not only a temporal phenomenon, but also to a large extent a spatial phenomenon. On the one hand, the nation and the national state arose as a political superstructure over the system of non-economic coercion and the transfer of knowledge, separated in the modern era into independent functions. On the other hand, we should speak about the unique experience of industrialization of the Euro-Atlantic zone, transferred to other regions in the process of transforming these regions into peripheral areas of the Western European market. Like any social thing, the nation goes through periods of nascent growth and transformation in its development. This process is accompanied by successive evolutionary changes in the mental sphere, the essence of which is the permanent expansion of the zone of consumption of man-made content due to the reduction of the zone of contact with the natural environment. In this way, there is a transition from customary to project methods of forming societies, and the paradigm of scientific understanding of the national phase of civilizational progress is also undergoing a transformation.

Keywords: nation, nation-state, democracy, traditional society, civilization, city, globalization

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