



КИЇВСЬКИЙ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ УНІВЕРСИТЕТ  
ІМЕНІ ТАРАСА ШЕВЧЕНКА

НАВЧАЛЬНО-НАУКОВИЙ ІНСТИТУТ  
ПУБЛІЧНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ ТА ДЕРЖАВНОЇ СЛУЖБИ



# **НЕЗАЛЕЖНІСТЬ УКРАЇНИ: СУЧАСНА ДОКТРИНА І ПРАКТИКА ПУБЛІЧНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ**

**Матеріали міжнародного круглого столу  
до Дня Незалежності України  
(Київ, 22 серпня 2022 р.)**

За загальною редакцією  
Л. Г. Комахи

КИЇВ  
2022

**JAN-URBAN SANDAL,**

*Rector and Owner of Fil. Dr. Jan-U. Sandal Institute, Norway*

**ЯН-УРБАН САНДАЛ,**

*директор Інституту Доктора Яна-Урбана Сандала, професор, Ph.D (Королівство Норвегія)  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8072-0822>*

## THE PRICE OF INDEPENDENCE

### ЦІНА НЕЗАЛЕЖНОСТІ

Найвища ціна та найбільша загроза незалежності, здається, походять зсередини нації. Ціна незалежності базується на хоробрості та прагненні свободи громадян. Сміливі та незалежні громадяни ніколи не запитують, що держава може зробити для них, вони справжні творці та захисники демократії. Щедрість держави не принесла демократії і не є гарантією незалежності. Якщо нація втрачає свої свободи, це тому, що вона знищила себе зсередини. Демократична держава заснована на фундаментальних правах людини. Рівні права та рівні можливості є основними цінностями демократії та забезпечують громадянам морально-етичну основу для мотивації та реалізації свого потенціалу в житті. Протягом всієї історії це поняття було важливим для великих мислителів.

*Ключові слова:* демократія, незалежність, мир, наукова істина, хоробрість.

What is more valuable, peace or freedom? Peace with liberty is the goal; peace without freedom is slavery. Independence always has a price. The price of independence is the opportunity cost of getting something done, that is, the unpleasant outcomes one must accept or experience in order to achieve a specific goal or do something. Independence is the rights and capability to live without being assisted or manipulated by other people or structures. Throughout history, this notion has been essential to great thinkers.

Patrick Henry addressing the House on March 23, 1775 on Give Me Liberty Or Give Me Death: «Gentlemen may cry, Peace, Peace – but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!» [1].

On Christmas day 1776, George Washington manifested «Victory or Death» [2]. There was no room for middle ground; he would win over the Hessian forces, or he would die. His expression was not an empty phrase it was reality.

Abraham Lincoln's Lyceum address was delivered to the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois on January 27, 1838, titled «The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions»: paraphrasing «America will never be destroyed from the outside. If we falter and loose our freedoms, it will be because we destroyed ourselves» [3].

Abraham Lincoln gave his House Divided Speech on June 16, 1858 at the Illinois Republican convent. ««A House divided against itself cannot stand». I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free»» [4].

In his inauguration address January 20, 1961, John F. Kennedy highlighted: «For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty ... the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God ... My fellow citizen of the world; ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man» [5].

The highest price and biggest threat against independence seem to come from within the nation. Any kind of tyrants, Caesars or Bonaparte attacking from outside must give way if they want to conquer a nation that is not divided against itself. If a nation loses its freedoms, it is because it has destroyed itself from within. The democratic state is founded on the rights and will of the people. A weak democracy is more likely to fall in the hands of evil forces. A strong democracy is a good home for all its citizens and it makes an important contribution to the prosperity and stability in the world. The democratic state is based on fundamental human rights. The political stratum as well as the bureaucracy is imbued with the desire and understanding of the necessity to serve the people in all their work. Every man and woman in the nation's political and governmental structures must act as obedient servants of the people. There is no room for personal gains, interests, maltreatment or other

attempts at fraud, corruption, violence or destructive positioning when benefitting from the respect and trust shown to someone who wanted to serve, and has been chosen to serve the people.

The state's generosity has not brought democracy and is not a guarantee for independence. On the contrary, a generous state is a state that cannot survive, because the political based distribution of wealth and privileges will always end up with discrimination, racism, suppression, gang crimes, violence and horror. Excessive government generosity implies a loss of independence, both at the micro and macro level. The belief that the rights of man do not derive from the generosity of the state is very strong and has not been proven wrong. Equal rights and equal opportunities are the core values of democracy and ensure citizens the moral ethical basis for motivation to reach their potential in life. Enlightenment of the people creates a nation of brave and freedom-seeking men and women based on the insights that develop thought the scientific truth. Questioning the legislators and their decisions as well as the way the bureaucracy works, ensures the power of the people in all situations. Economic growth, education, knowledge, skills, tradition and culture, or other non-social data, or non- economic social data as well as changes in preferences in the population do not contribute to a critical attitude among people. International independent science is free from political propaganda, demoralizing ideologies, disinformation and fake news as well as religious lies; its method is scientific argumentation and conclusion and presents the scientific truth.

The price to pay for independence for any state is to follow the will of the people in every situation as long as the will is based on scientifically balanced arguments and judgmental decisions behind the attitudes of the citizens. Brave and freedom-seeking citizens are the main players in every democracy; they never ask what the state can do for them, they are contributors, they are the real creators and defenders of democracy. Independent science is the method that contributes to the creation of brave and freedom-seeking inhabitants. At the same time, it is a reality that a well-informed population is more difficult to manipulate and control and can seem more unpleasant to govern than an obedient and poorly educated one. Peace with liberty is the goal of any nation and every individual; the price of independence is to avoid peace without freedom, which is slavery.

### References

1. Henry, P., (1775). Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death. Retrieved 2022-08-10 Give Me Liberty Or Give Me Death (ushistory.org)
2. Carbone G. M., (2011). December 1776: Victory of Death. The History Reader. Dispatches in History from the St: Martin's Publishing Group: Military History, retrieved 2022-08-10 <https://www.thehistoryreader.com/military-history/december-1776-victory-death/>
3. Lincoln, A., (1838). Goodreads, Abraham Lincoln quotes, retrieved 2022-08-10 <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/2310-america-will-never-be-destroyed-from-the-outside-if-we>
4. Lincoln, A., (1858). Lincoln's House Divided Speech. USHistory.org, Historic documents, retrieved 2022-08-10 Lincoln's House Divided Speech (ushistory.org)
5. Kennedy, J. F., (1961). Ask Not What Your Country Can Do For You. USHistory.org, Historic documents, retrieved 2022-08-10 Ask not what your country can do for you (Kennedy's inaugural address) (ushistory.org)

Наукове видання

# **НЕЗАЛЕЖНІСТЬ УКРАЇНИ: СУЧАСНА ДОКТРИНА І ПРАКТИКА ПУБЛІЧНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ**

**Матеріали міжнародного круглого столу  
до Дня Незалежності України  
(Київ, 22 серпня 2022 р.)**

Підп. до друку 23.11.2022.  
Формат 60x84/8. Ум.-друк. арк. 31,62.

Видавець  
Навчально-науковий інститут публічного управління та державної служби  
Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка  
Навчальна лабораторія методичного  
та видавничого забезпечення навчального процесу  
03057, Київ, вул. Антона Цедіка, 20.