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NATIONAL IDEA AS A SYMBOLIC PREREQUISITE OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF THE 19TH–20TH CENTURIES AND EQUIFINAL MODEL OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Abstract. The article is an attempt to study the national idea as a symbolic prerequisite of the revolutions of the 19th and 20th centuries. It was researched the role of the national idea in social transformation of the 21st century. It was drawn a parallel between the events of 1917–1921 and 2014–2017. It was also studied the role of political leaders and powerful army in the state-building and in the effective implementation of the national idea. Understanding of the Ukrainian national idea was considered and the changes in the interpretation of the national idea in different periods of Ukrainian history were analyzed as well as the main factors that are necessary for implementation of the national idea.

Keywords: national idea, leaders, army, nation.

НАЦІОНАЛЬНА ІДЕЯ ЯК СИМВОЛІЧНА ПЕРЕДУМОВА РЕВОЛЮЦІЙ ХІХ–ХХ ст. Й ЕКВІФІНАЛЬНА МОДЕЛЬ СУСПІЛЬНИХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЙ ХХІ ст.

Анотація. У статті досліджено національну ідею як символічну передумову революцій ХІХ–ХХ ст. Досліджено роль національної ідеї у суспільних трансформаціях ХХІ ст. Проведено паралелі між подіями 1917–1921 років та 2014–2017 років. Вивчено також роль політичних лідерів та боєздатної армії в державотворенні та ефективному втіленні національної ідеї. Розглянуто розуміння української національної ідеї та проаналізовано зміни у тлумаченні національної ідеї в різні періоди української історії, а також основні фактори, які є необхідними для втілення національної ідеї в життя.

Ключові слова: національна ідея, лідери, армія, нація.

НАЦИОНАЛЬНАЯ ИДЕЯ КАК СИМВОЛИЧЕСКАЯ ПРЕДПОСЫЛКА РЕВОЛЮЦИЙ ХІХ–ХХ ст. И ЭКВИФИНАЛЬНАЯ МОДЕЛЬ ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЙ ХХІ ст.

Аннотация. В статье исследована национальная идея как символическая предпосылка революций ХІХ–ХХ вв. Исследована роль национальной идеи в общественных трансформациях ХХІ века. Проведены параллели между событиями 1917–1921 годов и 2014–2017 годов. Изучена также роль политических лидеров и боеспособной армии в создании государства и эффективном воплощении национальной идеи. Рассмотрено понимание украинской национальной идеи и проанализированы изменения в толковании национальной идеи в разные периоды украинской истории, а также основные факторы, необходимые для воплощения национальной идеи в жизнь.

Ключевые слова: национальная идея, лидеры, армия, нация.

Target setting. The issue of the national idea has haunted the Ukrainian patriots and theorists of the statehood for a long time. The national idea conceals the driving force of the national liberation movement, aspirations of the entire nation are encrypted in it and a key to the changes that are able to reverse the course of history are hidden inside of it.

Growing interest to the national idea and attempts to comprehend it are

an evidence of the activation process of self-discovery of the Ukrainian nation, comprehension of own destination, objective of the existence. Having defined the national idea, in fact the archetypal aspirations of the nation, we can talk about the further process of state and nation building.

Analysis of recent research and publications. National idea was studied by a huge number of researchers and scholars. “Father of the nation”

Mykhailo Hrushevskiy, who left a great literary heritage, one of the theorists of Ukrainian nationalism Dmytro Dontsov and Viacheslav Lypynskiy are worth of special mentioning [1–3]. Today, the issue of national ideas is researched not only by scholars but by journalists, managers, historians as well [4]. Special attention should be given to national idea as a prerequisite for revolutions and social transformation.

The purpose of the article is to determine the role of the national idea in the revolutionary processes and social transformations on the territory of Ukraine.

The statement of basic materials. National idea and its underlying archetypes, formed during the centuries of the nation's existence are quite multifaceted, as the whole Ukrainian nation is as multifaceted and sometimes controversial. Flow of centuries is not able to change the essence of the people. This is a base for stereotypes, template ideas about a particular nation. Some of them are hard-working and punctual, others are skilled in the distillery and in communication with the ladies, and third ones are traditionalists and respect the property of their history etc. And someone continues the expansionist wars for centuries and blends the nation into a single bloody mess. Not always positive, sometimes limited or offensive, often wrong, sometimes flimsy, particular for their own, but largely having the right to exist. Time passes, the essence does not change.

Ukraine and the Ukrainians also have some stereotypical reflection in the eyes of foreigners. For some of them the Ukrainians are rebels, soldiers

and fighters for their own ideas, for others – experts in the aerospace industry, IT and nuclear industry, for the third ones – singers, sportsmen and artists. Yet all of it belongs to external and changing features. Today or a few decades ago, or even a few hundred years ago the Ukrainians have been united by one aspiration that is far from the loud slogans and colourful banners. Poetry was written and songs were composed about it, people went to death and into exile for it, because of it hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainians were exterminated, forcing them to renounce their own language, religion, culture and history. And to replace the primordial Ukrainian values with artificial substitutes, fabricated and filtered through a thick ideological sieve.

Not one pen was written off and many verbal swords were crossed to determine for what there were ages of struggle on Ukrainian soil, what is inside the concept of Motherland for every Ukrainian, what are their aspirations and what is worth to fight for. However, it seems that common for many is the idea of a peaceful, prosperous life on their “God-given land”, not looking at the neighbour, either from East or West, working and getting deserved reward for their work, creating a family and raising children, remembering own history, respecting own culture and language.

All of it has been the national idea, the driving force of the national liberation struggle, insurgency movement and silent passive standoff that lasted on Ukrainian lands till gaining of independence of Ukraine. These simple things have been topical in Cossacks age, in the UNR (the Ukrainian Peo-

ple's Republic or Ukrainian National Republic) times and today. The realities change, human aspirations remain the same.

History shows that since the end of Kyivan Rus era our lands changed their owners for many times, they were divided, sold, invaded and violated. Life with some masters was better, with others – worse, but the Ukrainians have never resigned to the idea to live on their own land and not be its owner. Hence the endless wars, rebellions, struggle. This is not a consumer, mercantile approach – to live where it is better, an approach that is practiced nowadays by many Ukrainians, and not only Ukrainians, who leave their parental home on their own will and go to travel the world, searching for a better life. It is about a conscious choice to build your future and the future of your children on your native land, whatever the cost, even if it is measured by wanderings and struggle.

None of the masters who tried to run things here were interested to keep people's national memory: to follow customs, pass cultural heritage, develop language. On the contrary, everything possible was done to remain the whole nation rightless, illiterate, without own language, religion and traditions. For centuries, the enemies tried to eradicate everything unique that was typical to Ukrainian culture.

However, despite the fact that the centuries of selection have given the bitter in its wealth harvest, but they failed to eradicate the Cossack spirit in the Ukrainian people, they didn't turn the nation into population.

In times of upheaval people's true nature always becomes clear. In the

complex for the state and for the people stages of history the national idea begins to play an important role, based on the archetypes of consciousness, which distinguish one nation from another. In times of upheaval people reject everything artificial, everything unnecessary and determine for themselves the priorities which are the national idea.

For centuries, without their own state, the Ukrainians remained the nation, united by the desire to live independently on their own land, free to create and work, to adhere to the traditions handed down from forefathers and to grow up children in respect to their past, their customs and traditions.

The national liberation struggle can be suppressed but not suffocated. Coal will smoulder under the ashes until the wood is thrown to it. This is what happened in 1917 when the national ideas that flickered in the Ukrainian people flashed especially brightly, probably for the first time so powerfully since the Cossack era.

That was the turning point of the era, the time of fall of the old empires and the creation of the new ones. The time when bold initiatives give the result and decisive actions alter the flow of history. At the same time, it was a period of frustration and defeat, unjustified hopes and dispelled illusions.

History likes to repeat itself. And the Ukrainians have got an opportunity to experience a repetition of history not from the first row but as direct participants. However, the Ukrainians stubbornly refuse to draw conclusions that are badly needed. Recognition of the problem, of certain dependence or disease, is the first step to recovery.

The dizzying changes of 1917–1921 can be compared with as intense period of 2014–2017. Unprecedented for a long time revival of national movements, active self-awareness and activation of state-building processes unite two periods of Ukrainian history, separated by a century.

Building of the Ukrainian state that was begun in 1917 and social processes aimed at restarting of state-building processes in 2013–2014 caused equally indignant reaction from the Eastern neighbour who got used to consider himself the sole manager of the Ukrainian lands and did not wish to release the Ukrainians from his zone of influence. The result of it was in armed aggression.

In December 1917, after the occupation of Kharkov by the Red Guard detached unit, the invaders created the puppet Central Executive Committee which called on the Council of People's Commissars for help, as a result the thirty thousand of the Russian Bolshevik army launched an offensive on Kyiv [5]. The same thing happened in 2014 when the agitators under Moscow's control began to call for bringing Russian troops into the territory of Ukraine.

The UNR which positioned itself as an exceptionally peaceful state did not expect the invasion of a rabid horde which broke in the Ukrainian lands with the call to kill the Ukrainians [6]. An independent Ukraine with its non-bloc status and already cancelled conscription was also practically defenceless and confused before the invader who knew no hesitation and regrets.

The unfit for action army, the discord in the governing bodies and, in

fact, unjustified high expectations for the European allies, struck the defence of the Ukrainian state painfully both now and centuries ago. And the Ukrainians had to deal with their problems on their own.

Ukraine has inherited from the Soviet Union the most powerful army in Europe at that time, equipped, among other things, with nuclear weapon. The number of the inherited army was about 980 thousand people [8]. However, a systematic reduction of personnel and public funding of the Armed Forces of Ukraine led to the fact that in 2013 spending on defence industry was less than 1 % of GDP, and size of the army was 165,5 thousand people, including 120,9 thousand soldiers [7]. Poorly equipped with outdated weapon and equipment and with a weak military training.

According to various estimates, in 1918 the size of the Ukrainian army reached about 300 thousand people [6]. However, a short-sighted state policy led to the situation that the newly created state found itself without an army at a time of crisis: some military unit were disbanded and the others switched to the side of the Bolsheviks. The problem of desertion, treason in the ranks of the Ukrainian army has not lost its relevance over the past century. And in 2014, many traitors easily changed stripes on their military uniform, betraying the oath and showing contempt for the people and the land they once promised to protect. The Concept of Ideological Work in the Armed Forces of Ukraine of early 2013 was adopted too late, it became apparent a year later when desertion in the ranks of the Ukrainian army, in par-

ticular its naval forces, became a heavy blow to the Ukrainian state [7].

Lack of proper ideological preparation and readiness to defend their people against any external attack, whatever the threat, is fatal for the combat effectiveness of the army and the future of the state that should be protected by such army. Weakness of the ideological positions has repeatedly played against the Ukrainians, sow discord, undermined the morale of those who were ready to fight for Ukraine till the very end.

Fortunately, patriotic education has begun to revive. And if during the first two decades of independence attention to the patriotic education was paid mainly in the Western regions, now it has received geographical spread in all regions of Ukraine.

Significantly, the most effective in fighting with traitors in their ranks were the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Death was not only the payment for betrayal but also a good mean of prevention for others who were tempted to switch sides.

Moscow likes to use its opponent's weakness, especially military weakness. The military confrontation reminded to the two nations about the profound conflict which existed between us for centuries. Internal, hidden hostility broke out in undisguised aggression, recalled all the painful and bloody pages of the common history, all the harassment experienced by the Ukrainian people from the neighbour who fully inherited the horde cruelty from distant ancestors from the Asian steppes and numerous tribes that had inhabited the lands of modern Russia many centuries ago.

The Ukrainians remembered what their ancestors were fighting for and realized how close they came to the loss of the state. Protection of their state, defence of own interests, well-being on their land become the new national idea which united people. If in the 19th and 20th centuries the national idea was focused on obtaining of a separate, independent Ukrainian state, the recent history has set a new task – to keep the Ukrainian state and to defend the inviolability of its borders, protect the Ukrainian language, keep their own spirituality and traditions, revive ancestral Ukrainian values and, which is also very important, to clean the ranks of traitors who directly or covertly are trying to harm the national interests and play along with the enemy.

The state is impossible without an army. It is an axiom. One can be confident in own security only when behind your back, behind the back of your people there is a powerful, combat effective army that knows exactly who she is protecting. Instinct of defender sits deep in the subconscious of a Ukrainian, in the archetype of his behaviour. Protection of the family, house, land, people and Motherland was a powerful driving force behind the volunteer movement which kept the next horde invasion out of Ukrainian land. They went there not for rewards or money but for their own ideals because no one but them could do it.

Each time, turning their backs to Moscow, the Ukrainians received from it a stab in the back. And each time they managed to react only due to the loyalty and sacrifice of the ordinary Ukrainians.

In 2014, the first-strike attack, the hardest burden of resistance during the incapacity of government was taken over by the volunteers, as once by the students near Kruty. Both selflessly responded to the call to defend the Motherland knowing that they are going to fight at their own peril and risk, realizing that there can be no return.

The history is unequivocal: having destroyed the desperate defenders of Kruty, the enemy regrouped and soon entered Kyiv. However, the history of 2014 went another way. And it happened most likely because behind the volunteers who were directly holding the weapon in their hands, there was a whole nation that not only wanted to help, as in 1918, but was also able to do it. It fully realized the menace of the reoccupation of the Ukrainian lands. The danger, in which the state and all its citizens have been, activated the archetype of the defender in the public consciousness.

The age of information technologies, electronic money transfers, high-speed transport communications has done its job: ordinary Ukrainians have provided a solid back areas for their defenders and to the weapons distributed by the state, they gave uniform, medicines, food and, most importantly, colossal psychological support. Old and small, women and young people, everyone was able to make their contribution, to make sure that the modern “defenders of Kruty” got the help. The mechanism has started to work, with a scratch, resistance, strained but progressively and purposefully.

The people who have gained independence at the dawn of the 1990s too easily learned again to appreciate it,

reconsidering their values, turning to their roots, becoming aware of own descent from a great family, which has a glorious history.

For the Ukrainians, the national idea is the embodiment of our aspirations, the better future to which we must aspire and for which we must fight.

Complex processes of state-building are clearly reflected in the modern Ukrainian society. All shortcomings, heterogeneity of opinions, own selfish interests, indifference and greed that are inherent to individual Ukrainians are reflected in those leaders we choose. Every nation has the leaders it deserves.

In general, the issue of Ukrainian leaders, the Ukrainian elite is rather complicated. It is not only that we traditionally have three hetmans for two Ukrainians. Moreover, the quality of these “hetmans” often leaves much to be desired.

Remembering Hrushevskyi and Vynnychenko, we can talk about them as idealists who sought to build a state that would exist in peace and mutual understanding with its neighbours. Being educated, intelligent people, they expected their eastern opponents to be the same. People with whom one can conduct a dialogue, negotiate, make arrangements. However, furious, hungry proletariat could not and did not want to be able to conduct a dialogue, seeking only mythical revenge on those who did not resemble them, stood out. Godless robbery of the Ukrainian lands carried out by the Moscow horde both during the tsarist period and during the seizure of the Ukrainian lands after the October Uprising and further in the

Soviet times testifies about the instinct to plunder and batten. And the word “intelligence” most soldiers and sailors, who suddenly found themselves in executive positions, were hardly able to write.

If we remembered our own history better, we would never rely on the promises of the Eastern neighbour who demonstrated its barbaric, horde face too often. Rejected international promises and guarantees, mean invasion, humiliation and abuse of indigent population, hypocrisy on the international scene, “green corridors” executed by shooting and outright lies through the media — it was all before, in other forms and in other historical scenery but it was and the characters were the same.

The conflict that exists between the Ukrainian and Russian people has a very long and deep nature. It is likely that its archetypal roots date back to the times of Kyivan Rus and are related to the competition that the remote patrimony of the prince’s younger son tried to provide to the prince’s capital in Kyiv. Centuries were spent by Moscovia on self-assertion through looting of the lands of Kyivan Rus, which later became Ukrainian, through distortions and juggling with facts, attempts to assign the neighbouring state’s history and denial of their own roots which are remote from Kyiv. Due to a painful desire to dominate and conquer.

Difficulties with the search of the Ukrainian Lee Kuan Yew or John F. Kennedy are connected with the Moscow policy in our lands during the Soviet period. All young people who had scientific, artistic or managerial skills were beckoned to the Russian capital,

where they were working and creating not for the benefit of their Motherland but for certain mythical equality and mythical better future, to which the multi-million state was led by Ulianov’s ideals.

The Ukrainians were sequentially turned into average “Soviet man” who thought and acted according to the yet another solution of the yet another Communist Party Congress. The fate of those who did not want to align with silent ruck was tragic: “Executed Renaissance”, Holodomors, prohibition of the Ukrainian language and church, forced relocation, Gulag etc. The backbone of the nation had been breaking purposefully and systematically. It is easier to deal with slaves than with educated people who can and who will defend the interests of their own people.

Extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia could not end without consequences. If the 19th — the beginning of the 20th century could be characterized as the flowering of Ukrainian literature, art and theatre, the Ukrainian intelligentsia after the declaration of independence in 1991, or whatever left of it, was so demoralized that it could not really influence the development of its own state. Most of those who came to power in the newest Ukrainian history were like those Bolsheviki who broke into Ukrainian lands with hungry eyes, full of the desire to snatch as much of the Ukrainian riches as possible.

Only with decent leaders it is possible to become a master of our own land and make enemies stay away from these lands, rightly expecting a strong rebuff to any encroachment.

Being conscious of self as a part of the nation, having seen the goal that has activated the whole country, the Ukrainians began to work towards achievement of this goal. Unfortunately, not all citizens of Ukraine were able to see a Ukrainian in themselves and to overcome their thirst for self-enrichment. Yet, there are many traitors and mankurts who walk along the Ukrainian streets and sit in government offices. Hence the discontent of the people, hence the slip in the changes and reforms.

Until a critical mass of population realizes itself as people, nation, there will be no result. Ukraine should finally throw off the shackles of tolerance and indecision, and see its ancient roots of a great nation. Citing Viacheslav Chornovil, one can say that “national idea means to build a state based on indigenous nation. Indigenous nation is Ukrainian nation” [9].

An independent Ukrainian state is obliged to have a state language that reigns in all the spheres of life without exception, independent church which supports its own people not only in peacetime but also in wartime, a powerful army that knows whom it defends and stands up to the end. And an independent Ukrainian state in the person of its officials must remember that not only economic indicators determine the welfare of their country. In order to live, function and breath the state needs to develop its culture, art, education and sport. After so many years of neglect they need state support. Nowadays, people often recall a phrase the origin of which is attributed to Winston Churchill. Supposedly, during World War II, when he was offered to

cut arts funding to help the war effort, he was indignant and asked what then they were fighting for [10]. Such approach is very relevant for Ukraine. If we do not take care of authentic Ukrainian culture, traditions, do not support the development of science and technology, then what exactly, what country we strive to defend?

Conclusions. The national idea is the driving force behind the development of the nation. Work on its implementation cannot be completed because it is an endless process that can only slightly change its direction depending on those social processes through which the nation passes.

Further processes of state-building in Ukraine are impossible without the comprehension of the national idea, those archetypes that were laid in it during Ukrainian history. Being conscious of self and of the aspirations of your people is the first step towards their implementation. To the important elements that are necessary for the implementation of the national idea belong the thinking intelligentsia, responsible managerial elite and powerful army. Further academic research should be continued in this direction.

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