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Conditions of the foundation of Ukrainian nationalism

Introduction

Although many years have passed since the tragic events in Volhynia and Eastern Lesser Poland (Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic), the crime of Ukrainian genocide against the Polish population still arouses emotions, but also reflections on why this tragedy happened. The direct cause is the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, which assumed hatred of other nations and their physical elimination. However, it is rare to find studies that would go deeper into the background on which Ukrainian chauvinism was shaped.

The issue is still relevant and important. Finding the deeper reasons for the practical translation of the theoretical provisions of the ideology gives an opportunity to understand why the assumptions of Ukrainian nationalism could have been implemented, and why they would not even have a chance of emergence elsewhere. Therefore, a problem should be posed in the form of a question: What were the determinants of Ukrainian nationalism? To answer this question, the article is structured in three parts. The first presents the main ideological assumptions of Ukrainian nationalism, the second takes into account the influence of history on nationalism, and the third – civilization and cultural factors.

The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism

Ukrainian nationalism, established in the 1920s in Eastern Lesser Poland, is classified by many authors as integral nationalism. This is how it is described by a well-known American researcher of Ukrainian nationalism, John A. Armstrong, American sociologist of Polish descent, Tadeusz Piotrowski; a prominent Ukrainian essayist, Ivan Łysiak-Rudnyćkyj; a professor at the University of Toronto, Paul Magosci; Ukrainian professor of York University in Toronto, Orest Subtelny), as well as Ukrainian political scientist, Wiktor Poliszczuk (Poliszczuk, 2003: 11-12).

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Armstrong distinguished features of integral nationalism. Among them, he mentions, the conviction that the nation is the highest value to which all others are to be subordinated, referring to the mystical ideas of solidarity of all individuals that make up the nation, the expression of the “will of the nation” by a charismatic leader and an elite of enthusiastic nationalists organized in one party, glorification of the act, war and rape as an expression of the nation’s higher biological vitality (Armstrong, 1963: 19-21). These features are similar to Ukrainian nationalism.

At the core of integral Ukrainian nationalism is social Darwinism, a direction in sociology, established in the second half of the 19th century, represented by Fridrich Lange and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The founders of social Darwinism used the biological laws discovered by Darwin and applied his theory to social phenomena. The precursors of social Darwinism, as well as the theory of organicism related to it, should be sought among the 17th-century French encyclopedists who represent a materialistic view of the world. Organicism assumed that society functions and develops like a living organism, and that social institutions are intertwined as parts of this organism. Social Darwinism continued this thought. It transferred the theory of the struggle for existence and natural selection to research on society, but in isolation from the totality of Darwin’s theory, and with their help it tried to explain social life, its development and changes. Social life is filled with a constant struggle for livelihood, won by stronger individuals and stronger groups that can subjugate the weaker. The theses of social Darwinism were related to political doctrines, including fascism, which tried to use them to justify the policy of territorial and economic expansion, violence and wars. Ukrainian nationalism was also based on the theory of social Darwinism.

In the interwar period, among Ukrainian organizations operating after World War I, both in Eastern Galicia, which was part of the Second Polish Republic, and in the West, fascist thought began to mature among Ukrainian emigrants. Dmytro Doncov formulated the doctrine constituting the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism in his book *Nationalism*. In addition to this publication, Doncov promoted the concept of Ukrainian nationalism in numerous articles and brochures published in Lviv in the interwar period. The culmination of his concept was the work *Duch naszoji dawnyny*, published in 1944.

One of the important concepts in *Nationalism* is nation from which nationalism derives etymologically. According to the creator of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, the nation is eternal (Doncov, 1966: 325). It unites millions of wills around a common ideal (Doncov, 1966: 301). However, it cannot be equated with the sum of individual wills, but is an independent creation (Doncov, 1926: 243). A nation is like a person or a social organism with a will of its own. In such an understanding, nation becomes a metaphysical concept, a psychological soul, something above people, and even over God, who would limit it with His commandments.

Such a view of a nation has nothing to do with the scientific approach to it, because instead of uniting the nation through the community of language, territory and culture,

it is united by a spiritual nature. There is a link with the theory of organicism, according to which society performs the same functions as higher-order biological organisms (Doncov, 1966: 260-261). However, as Poliszczuk claims, Doncov did not blindly imitate organicism, underestimating the historical and cultural contribution to shaping social bonds, but attached great importance to the national tradition understood in a specific way, which was particularly emphasized in *Duch naszoji dawnyny*, published in Prague in 1944. The ideal of the Ukrainian nation was to be the one from 9th-11th centuries, i.e. the period of slavery, and the 17th-18th centuries, i.e. the time of the greatest chaos that prevailed during the autonomy of the Hetman region. The events of these periods have become even mythical with time and it is these myths that Doncov considered to be ruling the history of mankind and shaping social consciousness. His views are similar to Georges Sorel, who uses the theses of social Darwinism for philosophical deliberations (Poliszczuk, 2003: 33).

Poliszczuk also points out that Doncov defined a nation as “species” and that mankind has been divided into species in nature. Such a division was not used by the creators of other ideologies, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, which proves the independence of the views of the ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism (Poliszczuk, 2003: 31).

According to Doncov, nation has its own hierarchical structure. Nature itself divides it into castes, understood as medieval states. At the head of the social hierarchy is the initiative minority, called by Doncov an aristocracy or order, which is the ruling caste. On the other hand, the rest is a mass, performing a subordinate-executive role. The hierarchy of the internal structure of the nation proposed by Doncov has its source in the theory of organicism, which has been mentioned many times here, according to which social life develops on the model of organisms.

The initiative minority was recognized by the creator of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism as a heroic aristocratic minority that is to represent the nation. It is to be a layer of better people to use “creative violence” (Doncov, 1966: 286). This layer is not created by means of elections, but, as it were, by natural selection, in accordance with racial characteristics. Therefore, the stronger one enters the elite, the one who knows how to fight ruthlessly using all means, such as collusion, deception, using those who are higher on the social ladder.

The initiative minority is one of the basic principles of the ideology of integral Ukrainian nationalism by Doncov, although Sorel was the creator of the idea of the initiative minority, and it was from him that Doncov took this idea. Analyzing various works by Doncov, Poliszczuk comes to the conclusion that the proposed features of the ruling caste are mutually exclusive. On the one hand, it should be characterized by a specific courage, expressed in ruthlessness, intolerance, and lack of mercy towards the individual, and on the other hand, wisdom, and nobility. The activity of the initiative minority, which was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), showed that only courage, specifically understood by the ideologist, worked. As far as the OUN is concerned,

it should be added that the Doncovian idea of initiative minority resulted in two clear divisions within the organization. OUN members belonged to the group of better people, while the group of even better people was made up of the *Sluzba Bezpeky*. In addition, there was another division – into the elite within the OUN and into ordinary members, most often young rural boys, who believed in the ideology of the OUN and unquestioningly obeyed the orders of the *prowidniks*.

In the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, an important role is played by the principle of leadership, which results from the principle of hierarchy in the nation led by the leader who has unlimited power. In the Doncov doctrine, the driving forces of Ukrainian nationalism are of great importance, as they guarantee the existence and development of the Ukrainian nation. One of them is the will. A nation as an individual has its own will and, therefore, must oppose the will of other nations. Hence, the constant conflicts between the nations.

According to Doncov, the will to live is synonymous with the will to power (Doncov, 1966: 228). Poliszczuk notices that the will to live refers to the will of the nation, because the nation is eternal, and the will to power refers to the initiative minority (Poliszczuk, 2003: 53). Doncov combines the will with the lust for power and expansion. He believes that it is a constant rush that can only be satiated for a moment. It is abstract and irrational. The essence of life is the lust for life, expansion, and struggle (Doncov, 1926: 160-161).

The Ukrainian ideologist puts the nation's will to live well above everything else, above individual and collective life. All ethics is irrelevant. There is no place for such concepts as good and evil (Doncov, 1966: 49). He also notes that the will is the driving force of the nation. Those nations that lack it must perish. Therefore, the first basis of nationalism was the strengthening of the nation's will to live, its will to power and expansion, as the first basis of nationalism, and the second basis is fighting and the awareness of its necessity (Doncov, 1966: 221). The will, then, as the driving force of Ukrainian nationalism, does not need any logical motivation. It has to be treated as dogma. Without it, a nation cannot exist.

In addition to the will, the nation's strength is of great importance, understood by Doncov as a collective physical force, thanks to which the nation can influence its fate through violence. The ideologist refers here to Darwin's theory, according to which the stronger wins in a constant struggle for existence. According to Poliszczuk, Doncov associated strength with the revolution, and not with the need to defend the nation or the country (Poliszczuk, 2003: 55-56).

The consequence of the use of force is violence, and it is the motor factor in the Doncov doctrine which is significant. For him, strength and violence are elements for the development of the nation. The initiative minority should even use creative violence against commoners, thanks to which it becomes possible to introduce new ideas or restore the former glory of the nation. Doncov even makes progress dependent on the ability to use brutal violence by the stronger (Poliszczuk, 2003: 59).

The necessary condition for the emergence of another driving force – territorial expansion – is the existence of the Ukrainian nationalist state. At the heart of Doncov's arguments on expansion is the philosophy of Schopenhauer, according to which, without violating the will of others, it is impossible to pursue a goal, and above all, social Darwinism, in particular the views of Sorel, justifying wars as a natural struggle for the existence of stronger groups. The essence of the nation's life consists in striving for power and expansion, and the strengthening of the will to strive for such striving is recognized by Doncov as the first principle of Ukrainian nationalism.

According to the assumptions of social Darwinism, the Ukrainian ideologist defines the aggression that most often accompanies expansion as a symptom of the nation's strength (Poliszczuk, 2003: 38). Consequently, Doncov was clearly against the idea of world peace, which would prevent the continual expansion (Doncov, 1926: 67).

Another driving force was derived from the theory of social Darwinism, namely racism. In *Duch naszoji dawnynny*, Doncov distinguishes the races of the Ukrainian nation, noting among them: Nordic, Dinaric, Mediterranean and Ostian. Following the German racial theorists Hans Günter and Ludwig Clauss, Doncov ascribes positive attributes to the Nordic race, claiming that it is master race with the ability to shape the world. The other races, on the other hand, have the characteristics of sub-strata and cannot play any role in the construction of the Ukrainian state (Poliszczuk, 2003: 38). Here it is necessary to point out the similarity between the racist programme of Nazis and the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, other motor forces are important, namely fanaticism, ruthlessness and hatred. In the discussed *Nationalism*, Doncov gives a definition of a fanatic and describes his attitude. A fanatic who considers his truth to be revealed is characterized by aggressiveness and intolerance towards other views, as well as love for the idea and hatred towards everything that hinders its implementation (Doncov, 1966: 263). The Ukrainian ideologist considers Vladimir Lenin and Bolshevism, as well as the followers of Hitler and Mussolini, to be examples of such an attitude. In his opinion, there are many examples in history that without fanatic's new ideas would not have been successful. So, it is the fanatics who make history (Doncov, 1966: 274). In the context of Doncov's doctrine, fanaticism, even by force, is to be inculcated in the masses by an initiative minority.

Ruthlessness is inseparable from the principle of fanaticism, without which, according to Doncov, nothing in history has been built. Without fanaticism and ruthlessness, there is no progress, and therefore, it should be used both against the external enemy and against the recalcitrant members of your own nation.

The third force that supplements fanaticism and ruthlessness is hatred of the enemy. Justification for feeling hatred towards the enemy, even if the enemy did not cause any harm to the other side, the ideologist derives from Plato (Doncov, 1966: 265).

Furthermore, Doncov recognized amorality as the driving force of Ukrainian nationalism. He devoted a separate chapter to it in *Nationalism*. Morality as a universal

value must be replaced with all that is amoral, because only in this way is it possible to achieve the goal and goodness. At the same time, it should be remembered that in Doncov's doctrine, a leader decides what is good for the nation. You can even abuse and kill others for the sake of the nation.

The next motor force – mysticism – was opposed by Doncov to realism. The Ukrainian nation, as the chosen nation, must first deeply believe in its idea and then aggressively carry out its mission, even against the interests of a given generation, because the lasting interests of the nation and its happiness are more important. The ideologist is supported here by the example of the English who, in his opinion, were inspired by the idea of the chosen people and who, thanks to national pathos, believed in their ability to rule over the world. A nation can reach such a mystical state by creating legends and myths that can captivate the masses (Poliszczuk, 2003: 74).

Without a strategic goal, it would be impossible to achieve the desired results. In his ideology, Doncov outlined the strategic goal of the maximum of Ukrainian nationalism, which was to build an imperialist Ukrainian state of unimaginable territorial scope. This goal should be considered an important driving force, because thanks to it, it became possible to liberate the Ukrainian nation from the inferiority complex towards other nations.

The motor force that complements the above-mentioned is the indication of the enemy. It should be noted that the understanding of the enemy in Doncov's doctrine has a different meaning than the commonly accepted one. The enemy may be not only a member of another nation, for example a Pole, a Jew or a Russian, but also an Ukrainian who will not succumb to the indoctrination of Ukrainian Nazism. Thus, even the closest family member, when he does not accept the principles of ideology, becomes an enemy.

The influence of history on Ukrainian chauvinism

In sociology, one of the important, though nowadays forgotten, theories studying social processes is the theory of historical ground developed by Ludwik Krzywicki (Krzywicki, 1957) and Kazimierz Dobrowolski (Dobrowolski, 1952; 1967). According to this theory, a certain character of a given population, modeled by external factors, has been shaped over the centuries in the historical process. Therefore, it is recommended that the moment of the realization of an idea be examined in regard to the historical background. When examining the basis of Ukrainian nationalism, which directly led to the genocide of the Polish population in the Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic, it is worth examining some of the historical facts that preceded those tragic events.

For centuries, as Dobrowolski puts it, outstanding individuals developed on the Ukrainian land. Their superiority consisted in the love of freedom, which over time evolved into a croaking. Those individuals were also characterized by courage, which turned into audacity, ruthlessness, and brutality. Remarkably enough, the very features made them win. This resulted in the issuing of collective judgments, usually of a pos-

itive nature, approving even damnable deeds. In this way, the historical consciousness of Ruthenians, called Ukrainians in the 19th century, was shaped. This is explained by the cult in Ukraine of questionable pseudo-heroes such as Semen Nalewajko, Bohdan Chmielnicki, Maksym Żeleźniak, Ivan Gonta, Stephan Bandera, Roman Szuchevycz and many others. Their fame continues to this day. Many streets have been named after Semen Nalewajko, especially in western Ukraine, including Lviv and Vinnitsa. There are also monuments dedicated to him. In 2009, a 12-meter monument to Ivan Gonta was unveiled in Chrystynówka in the Cherkassy region. In 2015, a monument to Ivan Gonta and Maksym Żeleźniak was built in Uman. The glorification of the people responsible for the murder of Poles, Jews and Uniates, whom the Ukrainians consider national heroes, is building the contemporary historical policy of Ukraine. Equally organized are museums and monuments in honor of executors of terrorist acts and the organizer of the Volhynian massacre himself, namely Stepan Bandera. Therefore, the criminal traditions that constitute an element of the historical foundation of the Ukrainian nation continue to be and will be strengthened and may in the future constitute a backbone for dangerous social behavior on the part of Ukrainians.

The mass crimes of the OUN-Bandera and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against the defenseless Polish population were preceded by other bloody events involving radical leaders. These 'remnants', according to the theory of the historical background, influenced Ukrainian nationalists and led them to limitless cruelty towards Poles.

The properties of the Ukrainian soul could be experienced earlier, at the dawn of the independence of the Second Polish Republic, during the Polish-Ukrainian war over Lviv and Eastern Galicia. Ukrainian crimes claimed the lives of several hundred people – murdered civilians and military members alike. The incidents of shooting at civilians and single murders were recorded in Lviv, while Poles – prisoners and civilians – were executed in several places in the province.

In 1918, the Ukrainians attacked the village of Sokolniki in Lesser Poland. They burned down 450 farms and murdered 50 people (Wieliczka-Szarkowa, 2011: 127). An eyewitness to the attack, Anna Celewicz, testified that first the houses had been robbed, then burned down, and the people had been murdered in a cruel way (Kulińska, 2009: 38).

The event in Sokolniki was not the only one. Assaults and looting of Polish property became common. So was the ruthless cruelty of Ukrainian militias towards the victims. For example, in Stanisławów, seven little boys who had been captured had their eyes gouged out, their tongues and ears cut off. In turn, near Tarnopol in Chodaczków Wielki, four young Polish women had their breasts cut off and the torturers played with them like balls (Kulińska, 2009: 37).

Almost at the same time, a revolution was going through, and with it the atrocities of the Ukrainian peasants, incited by the Bolsheviks against the Polish gentry, with whom they had often lived in symbiosis. Attacks on Polish courts, pogroms, murders and exterminations were described by Zofia Kossak-Szczucka in *Pożoga*, which was a form

of a personal document. The author experienced what the Ukrainian, then Ruthenian people, instigated by Bolshevik agitators, were capable of. An impulse was enough for the unscrupulous Ruthenians-Ukrainians to rob and burn Polish mansions, and brutally murder their owners. In words full of grief, she wrote how the Ukrainian domestic servants betrayed their masters. People who after several decades faithfully serving in the same court, suddenly, as if driven by a wild instinct, openly or secretly passed to the enemy's camp (Kossak-Szczucka, 1990: 47).

The destructive crowd was turning manor house after manor house and farm after farm into rubble. Orchards were cut down, houses were burned or completely demolished, so that the owner would have nowhere to return, and even made it difficult to recognize them. Soon, in a huge area of high agricultural and economic culture, where numerous manor houses stood, only ruins remained (Kossak-Szczucka, 1990: 48). Meaningful was the razing to the ground of the palace of eighty-year-old prince Roman Sanguszko and the complete destruction of the priceless Polish national relics. The old man was murdered by a crowd of thousands for no reason (Kossak-Szczucka, 1990: 56).

Showing the historical background of the Ukrainian nation, it should also be noted the Cossack and Haidamak traditions, which were the basis for determining the specific behavior of that national group. They shaped the attitudes of future generations of Ukrainians and their identity.

In these considerations on the conditions of the basis of Ukrainian nationalism, one should go back to the events of 1768, when a slaughter took place, preceded by the outbreak of the rebellion, known as the *Koliyivshchyna*. The ruthless and fanatical defender of the Orthodox Church and the Humen of the Melchizedek-Znaczkow-Jaworski monastery chose Maksym Żeleźniak as the leader of the mob. His orders were subordinated to the Haidamaks, i.e., robbers spread on the Polish-Turkish border, as well as the rebellious Ruthenian peasants and Cossacks from various rebels of the city and invader formations. They raided manors, murdering not only the nobility, but also ordinary townspeople and peasants, as well as Jews and Greek and Roman Catholic clergy.

In June 1768, Żeleźniak's troops reached Humań, a city of the voivode of Kiev, Franciszek Salezy Potocki, where thousands of refugees from other places found asylum. The voivode sent the Cossacks under the command of Ivan Gonta to help the city, but he turned out to be a traitor and joined the attackers. Despite the fact that the city was surrendered, the conquerors have been cruelly murdering residents and refugees for two days. During the slaughter, thousands of nobles and Jews were murdered. They were hanged next to each other along with dogs with the inscription: "Lach, Żyd i sobaka – wse wira odnaka" (Eng. *A Pole, a Jew and a mongrel – all of them the same*) (Świętochowski, 1925: 341).

Descriptions of the slaughter in Humań can be found in the publication *Z dziejów hajdamaczyzny* (Lippoman, 1905: 59-61). The author points out that the Ruthenian peasants joined in the murders and robberies. Even the women, following the example of

the men, murdered or finished off the victims using farm tools – knives, spatulas, sickles. To make it worse, they encouraged their own children to do the same (Lippoman, 1905: 61). For the first time in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Polish nobility were murdered by peasants, which generally caused a huge shock.

Humań slaughter, and with it the Haidamaks, taking over the entire tradition and symbolism of the Cossack movement and Zaporizhia Sich, occupies an important place in Ukrainian collective memory as a movement related to shaping national identity. Haidamaks was an important phenomenon for the formation of the Ukrainian historical foundation.

Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński, when assessing the Haidamak movements, which include the slaughter in Humań, states that they do not show great ideas, but rather wild instincts, leading to the destruction of all civilization achievements. He also sees two moral features: cunning and ferocity (Rawita-Gawroński, 1899: XVI-XVII).

Contemporary historians, such as Lucyna Kulińska, present Humań slaughter as a kind of prelude to the Volhynia massacre, which took place one and a half century later. It was marked, as well as the whole genocide committed by the UPA and the SS Galizien, by monstrous cruelty. It manifested itself in the bestial methods of inflicting death. The actions of *Żeleźniak* and *Gonta* were a model of conduct for Ukrainian chauvinists murdering Poles in cold blood in Volhynia and Eastern Lesser Poland.

Searching for the roots of these cruel murders in the 20th century, as well as Humań slaughter, one might go back to the times of the Cossacks. Chmielnicki Uprising and the mass execution of Polish prisoners of war at Batoh in 1652 also left their mark on Ukrainian identity. The murder of the Polish political and military elite in Polish historiography is unofficially called the Sarmatian *Katyń* or the first Polish *Katyń*. The course of the battle in the Batoh wilderness and the struggle of the 12,000-strong Polish army with the opponent twice as strong (the 17,000-strong Cossack army and the 7,000-strong Tatar horde) are not vital here. What is of key importance, however, is what happened after the battle. About 3,500 equestrian soldiers and officers, constituting the military elite of the First Republic, were captured. Already on the second day after the battle, Chmielnicki ordered the murder of Polish prisoners, despite the protests of the Crimean Tatars, who expected a sumptuous ransom for the release of each officer. For Hetman Chmielnicki, what mattered was not the ransom, but Polish blood. He himself paid the Tatars the ransom for each prisoner of war and ordered the prisoners to be handed over to the Cossacks and Nogai Tatars. The beastly slaughter began. The tied soldiers were led out in groups to the square. The executioners slit their throats or cut their heads; others were stabbed with peaks. When some were being murdered, the rest looked at the execution awaiting their own death. The mass slaughter lasted 2 or 3 days, but some prisoners were killed later when found in the Tatar camp where they had taken refuge (Długolecki, 2008: 185-193).

Chmielnicki in Ukraine is treated as a national hero who gave his compatriots advice on gaining independence. If such a hint is in his action against the Republic of Poland and the slaughter of Polish prisoners of war, it can be claimed that Chmielnicki showed the Ukrainians a way of dealing with Poles, which they eagerly used by organizing mass murders on the defenseless Polish population during World War II, and also after it ended. Taking into account the Pereiaslav agreement signed by the hetman in 1654 and its consequences, i.e., the transfer of Transnistrian Ukraine under the care of Tsarist Russia, the question arises whether this is how independence should be understood. After all, this decision deprived Ukraine of the possibility of autonomous development and caused its disastrous division. And therefore, can the person who committed such an act be called a hero?

In the search for models of the Ukrainian racial soul, in which the criminal ideology found acceptance, one should refer to even earlier events that gave Ukraine 'national heroes'. In the years 1594-1596, Nalewajko uprising took place. Nalewajko, as Rawita-Gawroński calls him, was a bold warlord whose temperament prevailed over reason. Above all, he wanted to fight, no matter who it was against. He began his career in Konstanty Ostrogski's army, fighting against Krzysztof Kosiński's Cossacks. When he realized that he could become a Cossack ataman, this vision was much more attractive to him. Nalewajko organized his unit from among peasants and townspeople who had escaped from the entire Republic of Poland, as well as the participants of Kosiński Uprising who were dispersed by Ostrogski. The Cossack troops led by Nalewajko and Grzegorz Hryćka-Łoboda turned against the nobility, attacking their courts, plundering and killing whom they encountered on their way. Nalewajko conquered Mohylev and Słuck, committing numerous pogroms and massacres of townspeople and Jews. Compared to other Cossacks, Nalewajko was particularly cruel. The impunity and audacity of the insurgents were curbed only by Stanisław Żółkiewski at Ostry Kamień.

At that time, plans and projects emerged at the Cossack Assembly, which, 50 years later, were to be fulfilled by Chmielnicki. Namely, it was planned to appeal to Moscow for its protectorate or to the Crimean Khan in order to attack Poland with their help (Rawita-Gawroński, 1922: 55). These plans were again interrupted by Żółkiewski, who defeated the Cossacks completely at Sołonica, near Łubniów (Serczyk, 2009: 60).

Probably exploring the Ukrainian historical background, one could cite many more examples showing its ingredients and what the legacy is, influencing the lives of individuals and the entire national group. The presented historical facts, however, are the most representative and sufficient to show that historical traditions that played an important role, first in adopting the ideology of extreme Ukrainian nationalism, and then in the genocide of Poles in the south-eastern provinces of the Second Polish Republic.

Choosing thugs, warlords, or even killers and genociders as national heroes, and cultivating blood-soaked traditions of Cossacks and Haidamaks, as well as the mythologization of heroes and their deeds, make generations of Ukrainians continue to follow

their role models from antiheroes, while the true heroes of Ukraine remain unknown and unnoticed.

Civilization and the culture inseparably connected with it also had a share in shaping the historical background of the Ukrainians. They were factors implying the basis of Ukrainian nationalism.

Civilization and cultural determinants of Ukrainian nationalism

Feliks Koneczny, a historian, librarian, and journalist from Kraków, is considered to be the forerunner of the science of civilization. The thoughts contained in a number of his works are compared with those of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee.

According to Koneczny's findings, civilization is a method of the system of collective life (Koneczny, 1935: 154), i.e., a way of life of a certain community, which includes the material and spiritual achievements of a human being. The researcher analyzes civilizations based on various premises, including the relationship of private law to public law, the relationship of public law to the principles of ethics, the relationship of material forces to spiritual forces, which of them dominate in a given civilization, whether a feature of civilization is personalism or community, etc. In this way, he distinguishes several dozen historical civilizations, seven of which (the most important ones) exists today. These are the Arab, Byzantine, Brahmin, Chinese, Latin, Turanian and Jewish civilizations. They differ, firstly, in the three laws, i.e., in property, family and inheritance law (according to him, these three areas of law exist in all human societies) and in the understanding of abstracts belonging to the so-called *quincunx*, or the pentomial of being: health, wealth, good, truth and beauty (Koneczny, 1935: 133-139). According to the Polish historian, most differences can be noticed in the sphere of ethics. Among the various ethics, he notices formal similarities, namely seven generals – concepts found in all known ethics: duty, selflessness, responsibility, justice, conscience, attitude to time and work.

Koneczny was the first to introduce the concept of Turanian civilization. It was created in the steppes of Eurasia. It included the empire of Genghis Khan, as well as Afghans, Turks, Russians, and Cossacks (Ukrainians). A characteristic feature of this civilization is its Asiatic character, and therefore militancy, waging war in a cruel manner similar to the Mongols. War became the way of life. According to Piotr Bezat, the Turanian civilization is able to activate inexhaustible amounts of physical strength, thanks to which it conducts plundering expeditions, leaving behind ashes (Bezaty, 2002: 82). The peculiarity of this civilization was a social structure similar to a military organization in which one must conquer to exist, and the camp was the most appropriate form of organization.

In the steppe communities, politics was superior to other manifestations of collective life. Ethnic factors or kinship relationships were relegated to the background (Kałużyński, 1983: 206). The exercise of power is considered the highest value. In pursuit of it, it was

possible to murder anyone who stood in the way, even father, or mother, or brother or sister. Power was a goal in itself, and the subjects had to be ruled against their will. Hence, the entire society and each person individually along with his property were considered the property of the steppe ruler (Anonymous, 1970: 72), who exercised power over them by means of an extensive administration (Kałużyński, 1983: 39). For him, it was an instrument of domination over the conquered population, which was completely subordinate to the state. The most desirable feature of the subjects was loyalty to the ruler. The death penalty was absolutely obligatory for lack of fidelity (Kałużyński, 1983: 25; 29).

The steppe peoples were characterized by their lack of mercy towards the weaker and by their cruelty (Koneczny, 1997: 231-239). Bestiality was a tool to intimidate the enemy. All methods, even the most inhuman ones, were good as long as they allowed the goal to be achieved. As Mieczysław Kuriański notes, “the philosophy of cruelty, deception and cunning applied to both one’s own and strangers. In the struggle for power and in the exercise of politics, the concept of mercy was unknown” (Kurianski, 2011: 123), nor was morality.

The influences of the Turanian civilization formed on the great Asian steppes penetrated with the invasions of the Mongols, and later Turks and Tatars, all the way to Poland. Its interactions, influence and direct example were particularly active on the Dniester and Dnieper rivers. The Zaporozhian Cossacks, who set out on the cities of the Turkish coast, had contacts with the Turkish-Tatar circles. They were in turn fought by the Turks and Tatars. Barbarism, common among the nomadic peoples of Asia, permeated and spread also among the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who used the same cruel methods of treating the defeated. With time, the Cossacks (and the Haidamaks and the Banderas referring to their traditions), influenced by their contact with the Turanian civilization, began to behave similarly to the Mongols, Turks, and Tatars, also in relation to Poles. This could be seen during the mass crimes that took place on a mass scale during the Cossack revolts, Chmielnicki Uprising, Humań massacre, the conflagration of Polish courts in 1917-1918, and finally the genocide of Poles in 1943-1947 by the OUN-UPA.

The tribal and cultural factors rooted in the Ukrainian consciousness have their source in the Turanian civilization and found their expression in the ideology of integral Ukrainian nationalism. According to this doctrine, the greatest value is the nation, understood in terms of a tribe, headed by a leader who, as in the Turanian region, has unlimited power. All aspects of collective life are subordinated to his will. The ruler is above the law and the citizens are his property. Together with the initiative minority it has the passive Ukrainian masses. Terror became the tool of exercising power, hence the cult of power. Morality has been replaced with immorality just to achieve the goal.

Ukrainian nationalism also assumed constant expansion, which also points to the inspiration contained in the civilization of the great steppe. During World War II, the primal tribal instincts inherited from the nomadic Asian ancestors, ordering them to kill cruelly, were awakened in the Ukrainian masses. This was done willingly in the name of

ideology and in accordance with the spirit of civilization. Even kinship did not count, as a family member stood in the way of the goal of self-determining (Ukr. *samostijna*) Ukraine. Those who were not faithful to this idea faced death.

Barbarism, common among the nomadic peoples of Asia, taken over by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and later also by others, such as the Haidamaks, also fell to the Banderas in civilization. The cruelty with which they killed Poles and other national groups stemmed from the past. Ukrainian nationalists reflected the Turanian civilization.

Conclusions

Ukrainian nationalism shows the features of integral nationalism. It was built on social Darwinism, which perceives societies as living organisms struggling with each other for existence.

Doncov, the main ideologist, indicated in his works the main concepts related to nationalism, headed by the specifically understood notion of nation. He also listed the driving forces of Ukrainian nationalism, which are to guarantee the existence and development of the Ukrainian nation. They include, among others, will, strength, violence, expansion, racism, fanaticism, ruthlessness, hatred and pointing out the enemy. All these nouns are negative, which is additionally reinforced by Doncov's interpretation.

This ideology fell on fertile ground, shaped over the centuries by history. From time to time, the public opinion was shaken by a cruel slaughter of the Polish population, in which some other name appeared in the foreground. These people were considered heroes, although apart from courage, they were characterized by ruthlessness and exceptional cruelty. Similar inhuman scenes took place during Nalewajko Uprising, Chmielnicki Uprising, Humań massacre, the battles for Lviv, and finally the genocide of the 20th century.

Civilization and culture influenced behavior during uprisings and other gory events. The influence of the Turanian civilization was visible in the way of fighting in a cruel way similar to that of the Mongols, in the lack of mercy for the weaker, in the cult of the leader and the tribal approach to the nation.

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Abstract: The consequences of implementing the assumptions of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism were especially tragic for the Polish population living in Volhynia and Eastern Lesser Poland. The number of Poles murdered by the OUN-UPA and other armed Ukrainian nationalist formations in 1939-1948 is not known exactly, but it is estimated that it was from 80,000 to 150,000 people. This article is an attempt to answer the question of what the determinants of Ukrainian nationalism were. For this purpose, it refers to the historical, civilization and cultural background on which the Ukrainian soul have been shaped for centuries. This foundation prepared the space for the emergence of a criminal ideology, and then for its implementation.

Keywords: Ukrainian nationalism, theory of historical background, theory of civilization

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