

## THE CONCEPT OF THE NATION IN THE VIEWS OF UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS (1960-1980's)

*У дослідженні розглядаються погляди українських дисидентів (1960-1980-х рр.) щодо того, якою має бути українська нація, яку роль нація відіграє для процесів державотворення. Автор аналізує ідеї українських дисидентів щодо значення основних символів, традицій, що притаманні українській ментальності, для становлення української державності.*

**Ключові слова:** нація, національність, дисиденти, дисидентський рух, ментальність.

*В данном исследовании рассматриваются взгляды украинских диссидентов (1960-1980-х гг.) относительно того, какой должна быть украинская нация, какую роль нация играет для процессов в государстве. Автор анализирует идеи украинских диссидентов относительно значения основных символов, традиций, присущих украинской ментальности, для становления украинской государственности.*

**Ключевые слова:** нация, национальность, диссиденты, диссидентское движение, ментальность.

*In this research, the analysis the views of Ukrainian dissidents (1960-1980-ies) as to what should be the Ukrainian nation, the role played by the nation for state processes. The author analyzes the Ukrainian dissident ideas on the meaning of basic symbols, traditions inherent to Ukrainian mentality of the Ukrainian statehood.*

**Key words:** nation, nationality, dysydensty, the dissident movement and mentality.

The development of modern Ukrainian nation requires an examination of ethnic and political orientations of Ukrainian society, features of their historical formation and evolution, because the development of any society is impossible without studying its historical experience. For Ukrainian political history the twentieth century is important, which «can be seen as the history of the movement for the national revival» [3, p. 9]. In Ukrainian history, the period around 1960-1980 is called «dissent» and is unexplored in terms of political science. Research into the dissident ideas about the role and importance of the nation for the progress of the Ukrainian people has to strengthen civil society, especially in the context of integration and globalization processes.

From the perspective of political science research the question of the heritage of Ukrainian dissidents is still poorly explored. The main scientific achievements of the research into this matter are considered primarily in philosophy, historiography and history of Ukrainian literature. Primary sources, such as works of Ukrainian dissidents I. Dziuba, L. Kostenko, V. Stus, Yu. Badzo, I. Hel et al are quite important for the study of the idea of the nation. Investigation of the dissidents» activity and their works are found in the papers of B. Zaharova, Y. Zakharov, A. Rusnachenka. The article by J. Seco, B. Janko et al. is noteworthy in connection with this topic.

The purpose of this work is to examine the concept of the nation in the works of Ukrainian dissident (1960-1980's) and to identify its main features and characteristics.

Dissent generally means nonconformity or protest against an existing political system. Political Science Dictionary defines this concept as a revolt against an

existing state (political) system or accepted norms of a country, opposition to official ideology and politics, and apostasy from the doctrine of the established church [5, p. 157]. Central place in the works by Ukrainian dissidents is occupied by the questions of the right of the Ukrainian nation to self-determination and protection of rights and freedoms. The dissidents tried to convey their ideas to people through poetry and fiction. They took part in protests against violations of the laws of the national anti-Ukrainian policy in defense of those arrested, as well as in defense of national rights of the Ukrainian people.

Formation of the dissidents» views on the concept of «nation» and understanding of what the Ukrainian nation should be took place in quite difficult conditions, on the one hand, during the period of «thaw», which involved a certain departure from the rigid Stalinist totalitarian system, attempts to reform it in the direction of liberalization, the relative democratization and humanization of political and public life, and on the other, during the persecution of the so-called «Dissent». According to B. Zaharov, political history of enslaved peoples is only in the national liberation struggle, except for participation in some empire-wide campaigns, but it is rather a share political history of the whole empire. The history of enslaved peoples is primarily a history of dissent. The armed national liberation struggle, its preparation, riots, revolutions, etc is the manifestation of political history of the oppressed people, the moment of truth at some point in history, a moment when the history of dissent turns into political history [3, p. 12].

This idea of reviving the Ukrainian nation was one of the leading ideas in Ukrainian dissident movement that gained national democratic bias and was aimed at finding

social and national justice. Ukrainian dissident movement had its own peculiarities. B. Janko provides these features of Ukrainian dissident movement:

- Firstly, it was a peaceful, oppositional, non-violent form of struggle for the mind and soul of a human. By keeping the ideals of the national liberation struggle, the dissidents sought to achieve the goal by constitutional methods, through propaganda campaigns – that is a prime example of the mental Ukrainian tradition.
- Secondly, this movement had its own well-defined organizational forms (circles, unions, associations, committees).
- Thirdly, the dissent was the general Ukrainian phenomenon that existed in all the regions of Ukraine...
- Fourthly, the dissent as a political and national movement, covered various social strata – intellectuals, writers, journalists, literary critics, teachers, lawyers, professionals of various sectors of the economy, students, workers, etc. [7, p. 118-119].

The peculiarity of the Ukrainian dissident movement was its humanistic orientation, appeal to man as the world's greatest value. Protecting the rights of the Ukrainian people and their desire to create a national unity had to create that value. According to Y. Seko, the understanding of the concepts of a people and a nation in the works by the dissidents was a natural phenomenon because of the process of establishing their identity. Mainly having come from villages, young Ukrainians often met in the cities which had been assimilated by the dominant Russian culture. They experienced a kind of «boundary situation» – a painful stay on the edge between the denationalized environment and the ethnicity spirituality acquired in rural areas [5, p. 112].

For the dissidents such thing as «Motherland», «Fatherland», and «Ukraine» meant more than just geographical, political, or even spiritual and cultural phenomenon. Their writings were full of national patriotism, which was confirmed through their correlation with the subject of an individual. The national corresponds to individual and personal, the personal corresponds to national «Fatherland – is not someone somewhere, I am Fatherland too» (I. Svitlychnyi), or «For you are you, it's you and you, because you are Homeland» (V. Stus) [5, p. 113].

The concept of «nation» is one of the important categories in the formation of the state ethnic policy. A nation is a type of an ethnic group, a socio-economic and spiritual community of people with a certain mentality and consciousness, the occurrence of which was historical, and who have a stable set of essential characteristics. Dziuba refers to the concept of nation in his work, noting that «the highest duty of a man is to belong to mankind. However, you can only belong to humanity through the nation, through its people. In the history of mankind only a few exceptions to this general rule can be found, which was confirmed by the grand movements of the masses and biographies of great men. One can find a few cases when a person has left their nation and joined another, which has done good to them and humanity. However, this is only when their mother nation has established itself in the entire human family, has secured a national existence and has no felt a great

loss due to the outflow of several persons. When your nation is in critical condition, when its national existence and future is uncertain, it is shameful to abandon it» [2].

However, the dissidents were accused of nationalism and chauvinism while throwing light on the ideas how to develop Ukrainian nation. This is the example of V. Stus» reply to this «You think I'm a nationalist ... I am a Ukrainian writer, I write poems, translate Russian, Belorussian, German, French, English poets. Yes, I love my Ukrainian people. That is why I treat with great respect other people. I will not let myself say a single word to offend the national dignity of others...» [1].

The idea of the nation in the writings of dissidents was full of thoughts about rebirth of unity of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian culture and language. It was determined by love for the motherland, the people. The idea of the nation envisaged respect for its people and for its neighbors. So, I. Dziuba said that the only alternative to nationalism (nationalism as defense of small nations and large aggressive nationalism of Nations) is to cultivate true national and international feelings and devotion to the nation, love and respect for all other nations, desire for your nation as much as possible to serve humanity and do for it everything that it is capable of. Hence, a true internationalist has great sense of responsibility for their nation, the desire to win for it, if to use the words of the poet, «patent for nobility» in front of humanity [2].

Also, the views on the issue of Ukrainian nation were expressed by Y. Badzo, he criticized the theory of «merging of nations». This theory included the erasure of national differences, particularly of the language, that was considered, however, a long process. This phenomenon belonged to a new stage «of ethnic relations» in the USSR, which was characterized by a further «convergence of nations and the achievement of full unity». Y. Badzo considered this theory to be the work of Lenin, which essentially legitimized assimilation of nations. The basis of this theory is the same Russian great-power chauvinism. Referring to the country's future, the author speaks of the need for an ideological, cultural and political pluralism. The working class and the peasantry must have their class representation in the government, there should be multipartisanship [6, p. 23].

An important document of the history of uncensored political thought was the work of I. Gel «Faces of Culture». It gives a theoretical justification for the emergence of totalitarian systems as well as opponents» views – dissidents, members of the national resistance movement. The author analyzes in detail the techniques and methods of ideological pressure on the enslaved peoples of the empire with the help of science, education and culture. The author argues that the totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union appeared not without defeatism of the West. Through the connivance of the Western world there have been developed new mechanisms of ethnocide as the main strategy of Moscow. I. Gel criticizes the West for deliberate silence for a long time about the national problems of empire, and says that they are only now beginning to comprehend the real danger of the Soviet system [6, p. 32].

Thus, the idea of the nation in the works by Ukrainian dissidents included promotion of Ukrainian culture,

Ukrainian language and Ukrainian spirituality. Dissidents have made a significant contribution to the formation of Ukrainian national identity. Restoring the link with the tradition of «Executed Renaissance» dissidents actualized

main characters, traditions and codes that are available in Ukrainian mentality. Transforming them into art forms, they claimed them as national values.

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