CONCEPTUAL OPPOSITION UKRAINIAN NATION – RUSSIA IN DMITRY DONTSOV'S POLITICAL JOURNALISM IN THE EARLY XX CENTURY

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Abstract. The article contains an analysis of the content of the concepts of the Ukrainian nation and Russia in the political journalism of the leader of the ideas of Ukrainian national self-determination and state independence Dmitry Dontsov, written by the author in the 20s of the twentieth century. The research is based on the methodological principles formed within the doctrine of the concept in its linguocognitive interpretation. As a result of understanding the content of the selected concepts and their comparison, it was found that the Ukrainian nation and Russia as realities of the political reality of the early twentieth century. In the picture of the world, political analysts are a conceptual opposition, the core of which is conflict, struggle, confrontation, caused by several historical national, social, political, cultural, and mental factors.

Keywords: Concept, Conceptual opposition, Political journalism, Russia, Semantic component of the content, Ukrainian nation, Verbal explication.

1 Introduction

The first quarter of the twentieth century. in the history of Ukraine was marked by active attempts of the great European nation to realize its age-old state-building aspirations [12]. In 1917, the southwestern provinces of former tsarist Russia, in the population of which the Ukrainian ethnic community predominated, proclaimed autonomy within their territory as part of the Russian Republic [4]. However, Bolshevik Russia could not agree even with such a limited form of Ukrainian statehood and launched armed aggression against the autonomous republic. In the course of the struggle against the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian People's Republic was created.

The national liberation movement of Ukrainians in 1918-1922 was so powerful that its ideas, overcoming Soviet dogmas, spiritually inspired all subsequent generations of nationally conscious fighters for Ukrainian statehood, nourished the will of soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which operated from 1942 to 1960.

What mental impulses did the nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia send to society, which prompted students, peasants, artisans, officials, yesterday's soldiers, and officers of the Russian Tsarist army in the 1920s to enter into unequal confrontation with Bolshevik Russia for its right to build an independent state? Do the ideas of that historical era make sense today, when Ukraine's statehood is again threatened by Russia's armed aggression? Are the concepts of the political discourse of the 1920s of the XXI century? The answers to these questions can be obtained by studying the political analysis of the time. That is why we turned to the articles of Dmytro Dontsov, a political publicist and author of the ideology of Ukrainian national self-determination and state independence.

We hope that a look into the past will help in understanding and evaluating the current socio-political processes in Ukraine and related to it at the international level, to predict their consequences in the future. The study of the origins of national self-consciousness will have a positive resonance in understanding the trends that shape Ukrainian political discourse today.

The concepts of the *Ukrainian nation* and *Russia* belong to the existential in the political conceptosphere of the national picture of the world both in the historical dimension and in modern

political discourse. Russian military aggression in eastern Ukraine, which has been going on for eight years, makes them especially relevant.

2 Literature Review

Dontsov's interest in political journalism is shown mainly by researchers in the fields of history and social sciences [7, 8]. The most notable among them are the investigations of Mykhaila Chuhuienka, Oleksandra Sytnyka, Oleha Bahana, Serhiia Kvita, Halyny Svarnyk.

The evolution of D. Dontsov's worldview was studied by M. Chuhuienko and he found out that its formation was influenced by Marxism, Nietzscheanism, and Christian philosophy, which manifested itself in the synthesis of revolutionary and conservative positions of a political publicist [6].

O. Bahan devoted his works to a detailed study of D. Dontsov's activity as a political analyst and ideological inspirer of Ukrainian nationalism. He enthusiastically wrote: "... he urged and provoked others in the Promethean way, criticized and awakened the sleepy in the Socratic way, almost constantly went against the majority and the currents, but he never despaired or stopped. He did all this for one great goal: to radically reorient the Ukrainian national liberation movement from the standpoint of provincial ethnography ("Provençalism", by his definition), populist-liberal loyalism, socialist-anarchist utopianism, and self-indulgence based on volitional nationalism [4, p.5].

O. Sytnyk studied the influence of the concept of "volitional" nationalism on the mentality of the modern Ukrainian nation and concluded that it was the ideology authored by D.Dontsov that "transformed the oppressed people from an amorphous mass into a nation" [19].

S. Kvit agrees with O. Sytnyk's position, who is convinced that the political publicist subordinated his activities to the goal - to educate the national intellectual elite, to form a Ukrainian politician with a strong awareness of national interests and the idea of state independence of Ukraine [10].

Appearance in the late twentieth century on the map of Europe of a sovereign state Ukraine encouraged Western political scientists, historians, social scientists to study the sources of Ukrainian national ideology, comprehend the conditions in which it was formed, and on this basis predict the effects that this ideological system may have on political thought, political movements and parties in modern Ukraine. The author of the first English-language work on the detailed study of the activities and identity formation of Dmitry Dontsov as the spiritual father of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is Trevor Erlacher, a fellow at the Center for Russian, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of Pittsburgh in the United States. One of the main postulates of the book is the assertion that Ukrainian nationalism emerged as a democratic liberation movement of a stateless nation for its inalienable right to establish its state [20].

3 Materials and Methods

We aimed to linguistically and cognitively analyze the political articles of D. Dontsov, written by him in the early twentieth century, on the eve of the active national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian People's Republic with Russia, to identify those semantic components that fill the content of concepts *Ukrainian nation* and *Russia* in the author's picture of the world of the national self-determination ideology and state independence of Ukrainians.

The study is based on the methodological principles formed within the doctrine of the concept in its linguistic-cognitive interpretation, which was developed in the 90s of the twentieth century by foreign and domestic linguists: Askoldov S. [2], Alimuradov O. [1], Babushkin A. [3], Bondarenko Ye. [5], Vezhbytska A. [21], Zhabotynska S. [23], Zapolskykh S. [22], Zmiieva I. [24], Lykhachev D. [11], Poliuzhyn M. [13, 14], Prykhodko A. [16], Selivanova O. [17], Stepanov Yu. [18]. Without deviating from the linguistic-cognitive tradition, we understand the concept as a linguistic construct that is a set of meanings (conceptual features) of a particular material or abstract fragment of the objective world, produced by collective and supplemented by individual empirical and emotionalpsychological cognitive experience.

The main methods used in the research process are critical discourse analysis and conceptual analysis. At the stage of systematization, interpretation, and generalization of the results of observations, general scientific methods were used: descriptive, observation, comparison, and generalization.

The material of the study was the articles of political analyst Dmitry Dontsov "On a heresy", "Engels, Marx and Lassalle on" non-historical "nations", "Ukrainian state thought and Europe", "Current political situation of the nation and our tasks", "International situation Ukraine and Russia", "National Hermaphrodites "," People-Bastard ", written by the author in the 20s of the twentieth century.

4 Results and Discussion

The concept of the Ukrainian nation in its political articles of the early twentieth century. Dmytro Dontsov verbally explains the nominations Ukraine, Ukrainians, Ukrainian Nation. Ukrainianness, Our Nation. In the worldview of a political analyst, the Ukrainian nation has preserved a common ethnic space, although for centuries it has crossed the state borders of two empires, each of which has left its mark on the collective consciousness of Ukrainians. D. Dontsov admits that in the XIX century. "The political weight of our nation was small", it was a "completely politically passive mass in Russia, putting the first uncertain steps on the path of political self-determination in Austria" [7, p. 70-71].

The publicist characterizes the situation of Ukrainian society at that time with sharply negative axiological phrases "*nation of peasants and priests*", "*dark mass*", but notes that authoritative European social scientists and thinkers of the time "*still saw a separate nation in this amorphous mass... and did not involve it as a "supplement" to the Muscovites or Poles*" [Ibid.].

Analyzing historical contexts, D. Dontsov singled out as a key conceptual feature of the Ukrainian nation its state-building aspirations. To determine the time when "*the idea of Ukrainian statehood was born*", he resorted to the metaphor "*at the dawn of European history*" [7, p.107], thus connecting the fate of Ukrainians with European civilization from its origins.

D. Dontsov notes that in their "aspirations for their own political life", Ukrainians had a successful experience in "building such state bodies as the Kyiv principality, the Galician and Volodymyr kingdoms (until the middle of the fourteenth century)" [Ibid.]. After three centuries of decline Ukrainian statehood, its revival became possible as a result of a victorious uprising led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the proclamation, according to Dmitry Dontsov, "The Ukrainian Republic" [7, p.109], which emerged in Eastern Europe as a "new state work, ..., which relied on a large victorious army" [Ibid.].

Among the defining semantic components of the concept, the Ukrainian nation D. Dontsov singles out the continuous national liberation struggle of many generations of Ukrainians, which lasted "*in bloody, periodically repeated uprisings against each state that forcibly defeated Ukraine*" [7, p. 107].

An important component of the content of the concept of the *Ukrainian nation* in the linguistic picture of the world of Dmitry Dontsov is the ancient traditions of democracy, which determined the nature of the architecture of the Ukrainian state since the Zaporizhzhia Army. This new form of government emerged at the turn of the XVI century. and caused changes in the institutional, social and cultural landscape of Ukrainian society. Democratic principles of state-building were first exposed in 1710 by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk as "Treaties and

Resolutions of the Rights and Freedoms of the Zaporizhzhia Army." Assessing the historical significance of this document, D. Dontsov noted that "*this was the first in the modern sense of the word Constitution of Ukraine*", and was proud of this fact as such, "*which does great honor to the political mind of our ancestors*" [7, p.116-117].

Of particular importance in the content of the concept of the Ukrainian nation in Dontsov's linguistic vision is the vision that Europe has always been an important factor in Ukrainian history, as well as Ukraine – of the European one. In his articles, the publicist emphasized that the role of Ukraine - "that was the protection of the West and the whole Occidental culture from the flood of Pan-Muscovite" [7, p.104] and stressed that among the many problems of European history, "which were destined to unleash our generation, the most important, perhaps, has been Russia's relentless flight to the southern sea and the desire to achieve it, and thus political hegemony in European political space allowed D. Dontsov to claim that "the Ukrainian state idea of a protective wall against Russia does not lose its significance as a postulate of European balance" [7, p. 107].

Reflecting on the signing on January 27, 1918, of the Brest-Lithuania Peace Treaty between the Ukrainian People's Republic on the one hand and the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and the Bulgarian Empire on the other, the political analyst states: "Ukraine became an independent state more by force than by the will of its politicians" [7, p. 96]. D. Dontsov is concerned about the lack of independence of Ukrainian politicians of that time, the existence of a party in Ukrainian society, "which seeks closer economic rapprochement with Russia" [Ibid.]. According to him, "the most important consequence of economic rapprochement with Russia will be political rapprochement. This will lead us to a political federation with Russia. And this federation will become a grave for our political, and maybe national independence "[7, p. 98].

As an active leader of the idea of Ukraine's state independence, D. Dontsov called on the Ukrainian nation to awaken and politically separate from Russia, when "*it does not want to voluntarily lock itself in the coffin prepared for it by Russian Young Turks*" [7, p.29]. The occasionalism of the *Young Turks* is a transparent allusion to which the publicist draws a parallel between the aggressive international policy of the Russian tsarist government and the Ottoman conquests of the Christian states of southeastern Europe, which lasted from the mid-fourteenth century until the First World War.

D. Dontsov believed that the right decision of the Ukrainian politicum would be "only cooperation with those who will currently defend the republic from revenge on the part of Russia" [7, p.101]. In the early twentieth century, the political analyst saw Germany and Great Britain as Ukraine's main allies in its struggle with Bolshevik Russia for its right to build a sovereign state and called on its compatriots to rely on "of each state, which is currently ready to defend the integrity of the republic against encroachments of Russia" [7, p. 102].

In Dmytro Dontsov's political journalism, the *Ukrainian nation* opposes the concept of *Russia*. Both linguistic constructs represent two political, social, and national entities that have been in a relationship of antagonism for more than three hundred years of their coexistence on the political map of Europe [16].

To verbalize the concept of *Russia*, D. Dontsov sometimes resorted to metonymy, using the astonym *Moscow*, and the adjective *Moscowian* instead of *Russian*, as well as the connotative *Muscovite* (*Muscovites*), which contains negative semantics. Therefore, taking into account this fact, we believe that the concept of *Russia* in the linguistic thinking of the publicist has two title names: *Russia* and *Moscow*.

Among the verbal explicators of the analyzed linguistic construct [17, 24], there are conceptual metaphors with the sphere-source of the fauna, which reflect the predatory nature of Russia. These include periphrases with ornithological numbers: "*Eagle that feeds only on the corpse*" [7, p. 31], built on the parallelism of

the state symbols of Russia and understanding of its role as a vulture in the European political field. In discussing the issue of "understanding" between Russia and Ukraine, to which Ukrainians are inclined by Russian liberals, the publicist uses the zoonyms *wolf and lamb* [7, p. 26]. Here is an allusion to the plot of the famous fable of L. Glibov, in which the wolf, despite his wrongdoing, has an advantage in strength and therefore dictates its own rules of coexistence to weaker people. D. Dontsov used the plot of the work of art to describe the political realities of the time, in which Russia acted as the embodiment of a great unjust force that conquered Ukraine.

Danger as a conceptual feature of Russia is verbalized by the periphrasis "vampire of the continent" [7, p. 94]. These language formulas explain the semantic component of the content of the concept of Russia – a predator that poses a mortal danger to other peoples.

Note that, in contrast to the Russian government, which in the language of political journalism is associated with birds of prey and animals, the Russian people are by nature "flock-people" [8, p. 140]. Fear of conquered but unconquered Ukrainians pushed all Russian autocrats to destroy all forms of Ukrainian statehood. The Russian Empire was never ready to perceive Ukraine even as a satellite, denying Ukraine's narrowest political autonomy. "Petersburg would not tolerate any, at least autonomous, state innovation on the most important path of its expansion - in Kyiv" [7, p. 99]. Therefore, "abolition of the hetmanate", "abolition of the Ukrainian army", "destruction of Zaporizhzhia" [7, p. 120] was Moscow's first steps towards the destruction of independent initiatives in Ukraine. Russia actively spread its all-Russian consciousness to Ukrainians, and consistently destroyed the institutional, social, and cultural landscape of Ukraine. The publicist emphasizes that Russia changed the cultural and mental traditions of Ukrainians through Russification, it "destroyed our old and high culture, and instead endowed us with its own problematic value, in addition, it killed an independent political thought in Ukraine" [8, p. 125]. This change of worldview has repercussions even today when parts of Ukrainian society lack identity, and it defends the culture of the aggressor, which, of course, causes confrontation in society.

D. Dontsov analyzes the national policy of the Russian Empire in the historical dimension and notes that "a Muscovite does not know how to assimilate foreigners and does not try to do so. His method is pogroms... He does not seek to draw a stranger into his community, he has an instinctive fear of it. He prefers to destroy and mutilate it. This is his "national policy" [8, p.141].

D. Dontsov considers the events of 1917 to be convincing proof in favor of the conceptual feature of Russia as an artificially created state: "*The tsar fell and parts of the empire fell from the center. The best proof that they held together only by physical force, only by the fact of force, and not by the force of fact* "[7, p. 100].

The formation of the concept of *Russia* in Dontsov's picture of the world was influenced by his understanding of the role of Russian liberals in solving the Ukrainian national question. At every mention of the representatives of this system of ideological views, the author of political articles marks it as hostile to Ukraine. Russian chauvinists, regardless of their ideological orientations, united "*in a choir of savage persecution of all Ukrainians, which comes not only from the Black Hundred, but also the liberal press*" [7, p. 25]. The political analyst is convinced that "*the situation will not change at all, even if someone represents Moscow capitalism – the devils of reaction or the angels of liberalism*" [7, p. 55].

History has shown that from the time when Dmytro Dontsov wrote those words to the present day, Ukrainian public confidence in the insincere promises of Russian liberals has been a major factor in the defeat of Ukrainians in both the cultural and political spheres. Russian liberals deceitfully demonstrated their loyalty to the Ukrainian nation, but only superficially, because, as D. Dontsov noted, they did not want to hear about the national self-determination of Ukrainians and state independence. To expose the hypocrisy of Russian liberals, who "...systematically silencing the wildest manifestations of the government's greedy policy" [7, p. 26], a political analyst reminisces about the image of Pontius Pilate. Disguising their true intentions in "voices" in favor of us", they proclaimed "Ukraine is a state danger that must be fought with all energy and without any reservations" [7, p.25].

In conceptualizing Russia as a reality of political reality of his time, D. Dontsov does not ignore the economic relations of the Ukrainian region with the Russian government, which has always accepted this territory as an integral part of the empire, and Ukrainians as part of the "united Russian people". Objectively assessing the nature of these relations, D. Dontsov stressed that Ukraine is a land, "the juices of which feed Russian industry and the state budget, on which tens of thousands of Russian officials find their bread...", it becomes clear why "the prospects Ukrainian movement in front of Russia, filled with panic fear of every Russian bourgeoisie" [7, p. 27]. The empire is unable to "let out of its control a colossal territory with tens of millions of people, the eating of which Russia owes its great power" [Ibid.].

Modern historiography confirms the complete validity of these theses of D. Dontsov: in the middle of the XIX century Ukraine accounted for 75% of all Russian exports, Yuzivka, founded by the British capital in eastern Ukraine, became the metallurgical center of the tsarist empire, Podillya and the eastern steppes - the main areas of grain production - became famous European granaries, and Odesa was the main port. which connected Russia with Europe [24, p. 257].

D. Dontsov's definition of Russia as a parasite that feeds on Ukrainian resources shows the atypical worldview of a political analyst who perceived Ukraine not as low-value and dependent on the empire, but as a source of energy for the Russian state machine.

An important semantic component of the concept of Russia is the factor of its religious expansion into the mental space of Ukrainians. What was presented in Russia as theological foundations of the Orthodox faith was not always the case. D. Dontsov emphasizes that "in Moscow, the clergy had no authority; he was a servant of secular power "[8, p. 139]. Analyzing this thesis of a political analyst, we must take into account that, as is known from historical sources, the tsars of Muscovy, although positioned themselves as advocates of Orthodoxy, were also loyal to Lutheran tendencies in the church [15]. This loyalty dates back to the reign of Ivan the Terrible and culminated in the reign of Peter I, which manifested itself in repression against clerics who did not support the position of the autocrat. During his travels in Europe, Tsar Peter became fascinated with the Lutheran idea of a single majesty and decided to abolish the institution of patriarchy. He found supporters among the Russian clergy. Researcher in the field of theology D. Pospelovsky writes: "Prokopovich puts forward the Protestant doctrine - the greatness of only the king, who is both a head of state and church" [17, p. 130].

Dmitry Dontsov is not inclined to separate the Russian people from the Russian government, rightly believing that the "numerous class of cultural leaders" – officials, doctors, lawyers, professors, teachers, editors – protect the interests of big Russian capital, middle and small bourgeoisie. According to the political journalist, they "have a decisive role in the cause of selfgovernment and the national question in Ukraine in general", so they "will vigorously fight against regional self-government in Ukraine" [7, p. 55-56].

The Ukrainian nation and Russia in D. Dontsov's worldview system are a conceptual opposition based on several historical national, social, political, and even geographical factors: "old national antagonism is complicated by social and political antagonism" [7, p.36], "geographically Ukraine is not a part of Russia, nor is Russia a part of Ukraine" [7, p.97].

D. Dontsov describes the traditions of Russia's state policy throughout its state existence with insidiousness and meanness:

"The method has been the same for hundreds of years: to destroy one's neighbor with the help of his neighbor. This is how Russia erased Ukraine from the map of Europe with the help of Poland. She divided Poland with Austria and Prussia "[7, p.92].

Analyzing the international activities of the Russian government, the publicist notes that "the old international intriguer Russia" [7, p.31] "will not miss a happy opportunity to attack his neighbor at gunpoint" [7, p.32]. According to the political analyst, in its plans "to expand from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the North to the Indian Ocean" Russia becomes "a threat not only to European but also to world peace" [7, p.34]. By striving to implement the "Pan-Moscow program" in the European political field, Russia is "in conflict with democratic Europe," "it is becoming an enemy of European democracy" [Ibid.].

Russia, which "turns its ethnographic conditions and geographical grounds to the southeast, not west" [7, p. 97], D.Dontsov contrasts with Western European civilization.

5 Conclusion

As a result of the analysis of the content of the selected concepts and their comparison, it was revealed that the Ukrainian nation and Russia as realities of the political reality of the early twentieth century. in the individual picture of the world of political publicist Dmitry Dontsov are conceptual opposition, the core of which is conflict, struggle, confrontation, caused by several historical national, social, political, cultural, and mental factors. Antagonists, in particular, are the following specific conceptual features: state-building initiatives of the Ukrainian nation - the absolute denial of state independence of Ukraine by all governments, political parties, and public opinion in Russia; the desire of Ukrainians for freedom of national selfdetermination - an aggressive national policy of destruction of any cultural identity by Russia; ancient Ukrainian traditions of democratic principles of state-building -Russian authoritarianism; building Ukrainian parity relations with Western European countries - intrigue in Russia's international policy and its tendency to wage wars to implement plans for total "Pan-Muscovite", and hence a threat not only to European but also to world peace; the desire of Ukrainian society to build economic relations with other states on parity and mutually beneficial basis - Russia's desire to exploit the natural and human resources of Ukrainian territories.

The conducted research will have its development shortly in the study of the concepts of the *Ukrainian nation* and *Russia* in the modern Ukrainian political discourse.

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