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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

the sixth number of journal *Oriens Aliter* brings five original studies in the field of history, culture and literary science. Their authors are associated with Charles University in Prague, Wrocław University and Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University and represent the Czech, Polish and Ukrainian academic environment. According to *Oriens Aliter's* editorial policy, the region of Central and Eastern Europe is viewed from a broader, comparative perspective, to be a “clash of cultures and search for one’s own identity”.

Four studies are focused on the 20th century, specifically on Ukrainian student movement in the 1920s and 1930s, information policy of Nazi occupiers on the territory of present-day Ukraine, racial theory of Yuriy Lypa, Ukrainian journalist, poet, writer and publicist, and forming a new political identity – Slovenian writers versus Yugoslavian idea. The fifth study goes beyond the cultural-historical framework and deals with the representation and reflection of culture in the process of learning Russian as a foreign language.

The paper by Olena Humeniuk, Associate Professor at the Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, *Ukrainian Student Movement in Czechoslovakia in the 1920–1930s: Brief Outline* presents analysis of Ukrainian student movement in Czechoslovakia in the period of 1920–1939. The author also touches on the attitude of the Czechoslovak Republic and its state policy towards Ukrainian emigrants and other foreigners. In the interwar Czechoslovakia a number of Ukrainian (not only) academic organizations were established. These organizations maintained their own traditions and enabled to present the Ukrainian nation as part of the European community. Marcin Jędrysiak, a PhD student at the University of Wrocław, in his study *A Poet’s Narrative of Race: Yuriy Lypa and His Vision of Ukrainian National Character* explores racial theory of Ukrainian journalist, poet, writer and publicist – Yuriy Lypa. Lypa published numerous texts on racial and

national character. The article by Marcin Jędrzyśiak shows and explains Lypa's interest in racist theory and defines its key factors – to what extent they were biologicals, cultural factors, anthropology or whether it was the national character. The paper proves that Lypas' notions of race were rooted in studies of national character and Ukrainian spirit rather than biology. Oksana Salata, Professor, Doctor of Historical Sciences from Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, in her study *Preparing to Implement Nazi Germany Information Policy in Occupied Ukraine in 1941–1944* focuses on information policy in Nazi-occupied Ukraine during the Second World War. Based on a number of primary and secondary texts she reconstructs the strategy of the occupiers, which was based primarily on a set of policy actions (in the field of security and defense) and which was divided into three stages. Associate Professor Alenka Jensterle-Doležalová from the Charles University in Prague, deals with identity of the Slovenian writers in connection with the formation of national identity in her text *Forming New Political Identity: Slovene Writers and Yugoslav Idea at the Beginning of the 20th Century*. The beginning of the new Illyrism and the Yugoslavian idea – the possibility of fusing Slovenes with other South Slavic nations into one state, emerged at the beginning of the 20th century and found support of a number of Slovenian intellectuals. The modernist Ivan Cankar opposed the creation of a common Yugoslav nation and culture and warned that this would bring an end to the Slovenian language and literature and the death of Slovenian culture. In her paper *Cultural Aspect in Learning Russian as Foreign Language*, Ekaterina Rycheva, a PhD student at Charles University in Prague, deals with the role of culture in the acquisition of Russian as a foreign language. The author writes about the relationship between language and culture and points out the need to learn language in connection with the culture of the country, because the student is then involved in intercultural dialogue. The article is based on an extensive authorial research among Czech students of Russian language.

The editors hope that this issue of *Oriens Aliter* will attract not only the attention of experts dealing with the above-mentioned topics and students of Slavonic studies and history, but also the general public.

Anna Hausenblasová

STUDIES

Olena Humeniuk

UKRAINIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN THE 1920–1930S:
BRIEF OUTLINE

The theme of Ukrainian student emigration in Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) in 1920–1930s represents an issue that has lost none of its currency in the study of contemporary history. It is explored within the context of Ukrainian emigration in the European countries. But we should admitted, that they were essential part of Ukrainian emigration. Student emigration had its peculiarities, mostly social and legal, which depended on to governmental policies on emigrants in different European countries. Young Ukrainians in Czechoslovak Republic had major influence on the entire Ukrainian emigration in Europe. They determined not only scientific and cultural work, but also designed new, modern Ukrainian political system abroad. This makes it useful to explore the origins of Ukrainian student presence and activities in Czechoslovak Republic, their numbers, foundations and work of their organizations, attitude of the Czech Government to emigrants from the territories of the former Russian Empire and the Ukrainian question in that context.

The main reason for Ukrainians to emigrate in the early 1920s was the defeat of the national-liberation struggle in 1917–1921. At the beginning of the 1920s, Ukrainian emigration consisted mostly of former soldiers of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic and the Army of Western Ukrainian National Republic, who were interned in the Poland locations of Wadowice, Kalish, Lancut, Oleksandruw-Kujawski, Sedlice, and in the Czech camps of Josefov, Liberec, Německé Jablonné etc.¹ Yet in the middle of the 1920s, students became the main component of Ukrainian emigration. After the closure of the internment camps in 1923–1924, the greatest number of the former interns were admitted to the universities in

¹ Срібняк, І., *Україниці на чужині. Полонені та інтерновані вояки-українці в країнах Центральної та Південно-Східної Європи (1919–1924 рр.)*, Київ 2000, 20–45; *Central State Archive in Prague*, fond Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Russian Aid (MFA – RPA), box 50.

Central-European countries and even to Ukrainian high schools that opened in Czechoslovakia in the 1920s. They included the Ukrainian Free University (established in Vienna at the beginning of 1921, but relocated to Prague six months later), Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute named after M. Drahomanov in Prague, Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Poděbrady, and others. The development of these processes had its root in the establishment of cultural and educational organizations in the internment camps. Former soldiers of the Army of Ukrainian National Republic and the Army of Western Ukrainian National Republic were thus given an opportunity to complete their secondary schooling offered through special courses and educational organizations in the camps. Afterwards they had been able to enroll in European and Ukrainian universities.²

Other source for the Ukrainian student movement in the interwar Czechoslovakia included politicians and civil servants of the Government of Ukrainian National Republic and Western Ukrainian National Republic who hadn't been able (because of multitude of largely political reasons) to study at universities in Ukraine. Most young emigrants were nationals of Ukrainian National Republic and Western Ukrainian National Republic,³ who had taken part in the national-liberation struggle in 1917–1921. Yet there were also students from Eastern Galicia and Volhynia – Ukrainian territories that were officially attached to Poland after the World War I and the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 (according to international agreements from 14th March 1923).⁴ In Western Ukrainian territories, as part of Poland, Ukrainian students were banned from attending the universities.⁵ Those Ukrainian students who didn't support the new regime, had to find new possibilities to study in Europe.⁶ Young Ukrainians from the Carpathian region (attached to Czechoslovakia after the World War I) studied mostly at Czechoslovakian higher schools.

Hence, the defining feature of the interwar Ukrainian émigré student community was one's military history. Most of them were young people aged 20–35 years who fought in the World War I and the national-liberation struggle in 1917–1921 within the Army of Ukrainian National Republic or Western Ukrainian National Republic. Another group, less numerous included those, who had no possibility (again largely due to political reasons) to study in Ukraine in the interwar period.

² Сімянцев, В., *Студентські часи (Спогади): Чехословаччина 1923–1929 рр.*, Вашингтон 1973, 37.

³ Karpus, Z., *Jeńcy i internowani rosyjscy i ukraińscy w Polsce w latach 1918–1924*, Toruń 1991, 120.

⁴ *National Library of the Czech Republic*, Slavonic Library, fond T-USUS (Central Union of Ukrainian Students), box 22, 10.

⁵ *National Library of Poland*, Archives of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, microfilm 68730, 13.

⁶ *National Library of the Czech Republic*, Slavonic Library, fond T-UHA (Ukrainian Agricultural Academy), box 21, 2–4.

Naturally, young people such active past (participants in the constitutional process in Ukraine during 1917–1921) were not considered to be average students, but future conscious, educated, qualified forces to facilitate the renaissance of the independent state.⁷ Another important student challenge was to represent Ukrainian nation at internationally.

Therefore, emigrant students had to present themselves as members of an independent nation with rich culture and ancient history. The challenges they faced were similar to those faced by European youth, in particular in the interwar period: “The new social world, new forms of life require new people. We conclude that academic area should become a kind of base for the new political thought, with the essential content that lays in the belief in the current conditions of such diverse political life and in the decline of previous ideas. We are parting from with the current student psychology of apolitical national.”⁸

After all wars and nation-liberation struggles, Ukrainians at the beginning of the 1920s created new type of student emigrants. They had two important objectives: to graduate from the universities, became true professionals and continue the struggle for independence for their country. The head of the Ukrainian Central Committee abroad characterized the role of students in 1921 as follows: “...give our young people the opportunity to acquire knowledge and experience, so that they can return to an independent and free Ukraine as intelligent professionals with experience and help our people to rebuild culture and economy of our destroyed homeland.”⁹

Ukrainian students thus faced the challenges to preserve national identity, struggle for the rebirth of the state, whilst the main one was to graduate from the university. The presentation of Ukraine among foreign community was the major task they were entrusted with and was successfully fulfilled by a number of student organizations.

Students were one of the largest groups of Ukrainian émigré community in Czechoslovakia. Their numbers there during the interwar period reached circa 2 000.¹⁰ It is still difficult to ascertain the precise number of students in Czechoslovakia because of a number of reasons. The main is a lack of statistical data, which differ in official Czech documents and materials of the Ukrainian émigré organizations. Hence, according to the statistics of the Ministry of Schooling and National Education on concerning Ukrainians emigrants in CSR of 9th August 1929, there were 469 students in Czech high schools.¹¹ For example,

⁷ *National Library of Poland, Archives of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, microfilm 79911, 58.*

⁸ *Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw, fond 75, box 18, 3–4.*

⁹ *Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies and Authority of Ukraine, fond 3570, part 1, box 5, 1.*

¹⁰ *Central State Archive in Prague, MFA – RPA, box 50.*

¹¹ *Ibidem.*

Ukrainian Academic Committee kept its own statistics: there were 1 060 Ukrainian students to graduate from Czech high schools during 1921–1931.¹² Another rather important characteristic of emigrants was their origin. Ukrainian student emigrants in Czechoslovakia came especially from the so-called Greater Ukraine – from Central Ukrainian territories (nationals of the Ukrainian National Republic), and the second group were presented by young people from Western Ukraine.¹³

Economic conditions of the Ukrainian students are another issue to be explored here. After the World War I, organizations such as the European Relief Fund (later International Student Service), World Federation of Christian Students, Methodist Mission,¹⁴ and Red Cross provided help for emigrants. In Czechoslovakia, Ukrainians received aid not only from international funds and organizations. They also enjoyed support from the so-called Russian Relief Campaign of the Czechoslovak Government.¹⁵ The campaign founded the Ukrainian Public Committee and the Czech-Ukrainian Committee at the beginning of the 1920s. Using the funds of the Russian Relief Campaign, they organized aid for Ukrainian students.¹⁶ Majority of Ukrainian student emigrants in Czechoslovakia studied at the universities for free, moreover with a monthly scholarship. For example, in the academic year 1922/1923, 1 990 Ukrainian students received state scholarships.¹⁷ In 1923, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs earmarked a monthly amount of 520 Czechoslovak crown as state scholarship for Ukrainian and Russian students.¹⁸ During the 1930s, the Czech Government closed the Russian Relief Campaign.

Material aid to Ukrainian students wasn't always enough to make their living in Czechoslovakia. They also received aid from international organizations, such as the World Student's Christian Federation (WSCF) that provided different types of support, such as tuition fee for the poorest students; minimum amount

¹² *National Library of the Czech Republic*, Slavonic Library, fond T-UAK (Ukrainian Academic Committee), box 62, 34.

¹³ Чумак, В., Українське студентство в ЧСР, *Діло*, 1924, № 226, 3; *National Library of the Czech Republic*, Slavonic Library, T-UHA, box 2, 9.

¹⁴ *Central State Archive in Prague*, MFA – RPA, box 51.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, box 50, 51, 52, 53; *National Library of the Czech Republic*, Slavonic Library, T-UAK, box 1–18.

¹⁶ Вацулик, Я., Меморандум Вацлава Гирсы о помощи русским и украинским эмигрантам, направленный в Лигу Наций, in: *Русская акция помощи в Чехословакии: история, значение, наследие*, Прага 2012, 263–268; Коваленко, С., Украинский высший педагогический институт имени М. П. Драгоманов в Праге как культурно-образовательный центр украинской диаспоры в ЧСР, in: *Русская акция помощи в Чехословакии: история, значение, наследие*, Прага 2012, 97–104.

¹⁷ Сладек, З., Русская эмиграция в Чехословакии: развитие «русской акции», *Славяноведение*, 1993, № 4, 34.

¹⁸ *Central State Archive in Prague*, MFA – RPA, box 52.

per month for the poorest students; food for some categories of students; payment of dormitory fees; clothing supplies; medical assistance; textbooks and schoolwork accessories.¹⁹ Students only used the aid of WSCF during the first part of the 1920s. Similar aid came from the Methodist Mission to CSR.²⁰ In the 1930s, economic situation of Ukrainian students was quite difficult in result of the economic crisis, and due to a lack of organized support from international, governmental and emigrant organizations.

In June 1922, a congress was held that brought together 5 000 Ukrainian students in Prague. It established Central Ukrainian Student Relief Fund. Social and economic situation of Ukrainian students was quite different from that of students from other countries. The congress delegates stated that:

- Ukrainian students cannot receive any support from their own nation;
- the international donor organizations are indifferent about Ukrainian students;
- Ukrainian students couldn't earn their daily bread even by hard work;
- the world doesn't yet accept the emergence of the new Ukrainian nation in the international arena and, by the same token, the struggle and needs of Ukrainian students;
- political circumstances have deprived Ukrainian students of their rights, especially of the right to live in their own country;
- in other countries (where Ukrainian students currently reside as refugees), the so-called hospitality along with poor material situation made it very difficult or sometimes, quite impossible for Ukrainian students to continue their studies;
- at last, Ukrainian students are deprived of their own schools, and even if they wanted to study, they had to organize and keep their own schools, by their own effort and means.²¹

These were the main reasons for the foundation of the Central Union of Ukrainian Student (CeSUS) in 1922. The relief organization provided serious supply for Ukrainian students predominantly in Czechoslovak Republic, but also in other European countries. After its closure in 1924, Central Union of Ukrainian Students (which was also founded at the same congress), became the main relief organization for student emigrants.

Still, without attention that was given to all difficulties, Ukrainian students conducted cultural and educational work in their organizations trying to achieve some major objectives, such as the preservation of national memory (Ukrainian traditions, culture, history), popularization of knowledge about Ukraine among

¹⁹ *Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies and Authority of Ukraine, fond 3570, part 1, box 16, 152.*

²⁰ *Central State Archive in Prague, MFA – RPA, box 51.*

²¹ *National Library of the Czech Republic, Slavonic Library, T-USUS, box 21, 3.*

international community, cooperation between Ukrainian students and their colleagues from other countries.

Prague, Poděbrady, Brno, Příbram, and Bratislava were the key centres of Ukrainian student emigrants in Czechoslovakia. During the interwar period, Ukrainian students founded in Czechoslovakia more than two hundred²² academic, educational, professional, cultural, sports, and political organizations.

The biggest of them had own structure and network. For example, Ukrainian Academic Organization (UAO) in Prague was established in 1919. It was student's organization with numerous sections, such as: medical, law, mathematics, economics, science, agronomists, art and painting, drama, choir.²³ In 1924 the number of UAO was 374 members.²⁴

UAO activities in Prague were carried out in such directions: international, cultural and social. Students of this organization maintained friendly cooperation with other Ukrainian and foreign communities in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Europe.²⁵ Ukrainians often held celebrations marking key dates of national history or other holidays, to which they kept inviting international student guests, including Czech, German or Belorussian. The activities of UAO was essentially cultural and educational. Each Saturday UAO members of held meetings to discuss political, economic, cultural situation in Ukraine.²⁶

In the second decade of the interwar period, Ukrainian student organizations served exclusively professional role, providing assistance for their members and engaging in cultural and educational work. Intensity of their work dramatically decreased. With the outbreak of World War II, majority of Ukrainian student organizations in Czechoslovakia ceased.²⁷

Conclusion

A good number of Ukrainian student and academic organizations were founded and active in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period. Responsibilities, forms and methods of their activity were similar and largely connected to cultural and

²² Ibidem.

²³ З життя українського студентства, *Студентський вісник*, 1926, № 2, 27.

²⁴ *Central State Archive in Prague*, MFA – RPA, box 50.

²⁵ Наріжний, С., *Українська еміграція: культурна праця української еміграції між двома світовими війнами*, ч. 1, Прага 1942, 136.

²⁶ *National Library of the Czech Republic*, Slavonic Library, fond T-UVA (Ukrainian Scientific Association), box 2, 14.

²⁷ Наріжний, С., *Українська еміграція: культурна праця української еміграції між двома світовими війнами*, ч. 1, Прага 1942, 138.

educational spheres. The main responsibility of their members was to present Ukraine, its history, culture and tradition internationally. Young people preserved and popularised national traditions and historic memory. They became the force, able to sustain the existence of their nation. They safeguarded future life for the next generations of determined nationals within the renewed Ukraine.

Among numerous student's organizations the Central Union of Ukrainian Student (the Ukrainian abbreviation – CeSUS) stands out. Founded in Prague in 1922, it brought together majority student organizations and individuals. CeSUS had its elected President and structure arranged in different departments: economic, educational, cultural, publishing, international. CeSUS succeeded internationally sphere, chiefly due to the Head of the International Department, Vasyl Oreletsky. It became member of the International Confederation of Students.²⁸ The key responsibilities of the Union included material and juridical aid to Ukrainian student emigrants, presentation of student movement and emigration in internationally, and the advancement of national culture and education.

Publishing was one of the most influential operations on the part of CeSUS.²⁹ *Student Herald* was the main periodical of the Union. It covered a range of issues, particularly student and youth movement of Ukrainian emigration, political, economic, cultural situation in Ukraine, international news. Often young Ukrainian authors published here their poetry and prose.³⁰ *Student Herald* and other student magazines, newspapers, and brochures made valuable contribution in presenting Ukrainian nation internationally. Such information in English and other foreign languages proved essential, as it provided short outline of essential Ukrainian matters, and was distributed to student unions or international organizations.³¹

During the interwar period, Czechoslovakia was the most important centre for Ukrainians. It gave home to different groups of emigrants: former soldiers of the Army of Ukrainian Western National Republic and Army of Ukrainian National Republic, politicians, scientists, students, etc. The positive attitude by the of Czechoslovak Government and international aid, Ukrainians were given opportunities to found out their numerous organizations and engage in cultural and educational work. It was only in Czechoslovakia that Ukrainians established higher academic institutions, universities, secondary schools during the interwar period.

The main people who entered the Ukrainian student emigration were the former interns from the camps – soldiers from the Army of Ukrainian National

²⁸ *National Library of the Czech Republic, Slavonic Library, T-USUS, box 16, 5.*

²⁹ Гузар, Л., *В Роковини: українське студентство в минулому й сучасному*. ЦеСУС, Прага 1938, 19.

³⁰ Антонович, М., *Нариси історії Центрального Союзу Українського Студентства (1922–1945)*, Мюнхен – Нью-Йорк – Торонто 1976, 45.

³¹ *National Library of the Czech Republic, Slavonic Library, T-USUS, box 20, 1.*

Republic and Army of Western Ukrainian National Republic. Their material conditions were good enough, because of the governmental Russian Relief Campaign designated for refugees from the former Russian Empire.

Young people founded numerous organizations in Czechoslovakia. The tasks put before them included the preservation of national identity, reconstruction of the state, international information about Ukrainian students, their country, culture, history, and traditions. It was largely through the cultural work that the students presented their nation internationally. Cultural and educational work was the main area of activity in these organizations. Through their organizations, young people represented Ukrainian nation as the part of European community with the heroic history and outstanding cultural achievements.

ABSTRACT

Ukrainian Student Movement in Czechoslovakia in the 1920–1930s: Brief Outline

Olena Humeniuk

The article explores Ukrainian student movement in Czechoslovakia in the period of 1920–1939. The role of Ukrainian students' organizations in the interwar period is analyzed through the lens of extensive documentary sources. The article describes structure and activity of Ukrainian student movement in Czechoslovakia, including numbers of students within the entire Ukrainian community in Czechoslovakia, their material conditions, types of organizations and their activities, challenges the students faced and their influence on emigrants, their role in future rebirth of the independent Ukrainian state. The paper also highlights the instrumental role Czechoslovak Republic played for Ukrainian émigré community and its specific governmental policy on foreigners.

Key words: Ukrainian, Emigrants, Student, Organizations, Czechoslovak Republic.

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Marcin Jędrysiak

A POET'S NARRATIVE OF RACE: YURIY LYPA
AND HIS VISION OF UKRAINIAN
NATIONAL CHARACTER

Racist Ideology as a Scientific Topic

Racism is an imperative element in the history of political and legal thought. In the past different race theories were considered to be a science. They were believed to be rooted in anthropological studies, biology and even history.¹ Ideology of racism was present in practically every state and nation. They were invented by the French political writer Arthur de Gobineau (cultural racism).² Another French scientist, Vacher de Lapouge, developed a canon of biological racism.³ Racist ideas achieved a great success in Germany;⁴ however they were present all across the Europe and America. In a number of cases racist ideas would support development of eugenics: the system of selective breeding of people, that would eliminate the so called less worthy individuals and help the advance of what was believed to be more worthy of pure racial type. Studies of national character were derivative of racist ideas.

Racist Ideology in Ukraine

Ukraine was not an exemption. Racial traits were being researched by the historian Volodymyr Antonovych in the article *Три національні типи народні*.⁵ He compared

¹ MacMahon, R., *The Races of Europe. Construction of National Identities in the Social Sciences 1839–1939*, Portsmouth 2016, 19 ff.

² Gobineau, A. de, *Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races*, Philadelphia 1856.

³ Vacher de Lapouge, G., *L'Aryen son rôle social*, Paris 1890.

⁴ MacMahon, R., *The Races of Europe. Construction of National Identities in the Social Sciences 1839–1939*, Portsmouth 2016, 37 ff.

⁵ Антонович, В., Три національні типи народні, *ІЗБОРНИК*. [online: <http://litopys.org.ua/anton/ant03.htm>, cit. 2017-10-22].

the looks and biological traits of Poles, Russians and Ukrainians: skull size and the proportion between the length of legs and torso, as well as eyes and hair colour. He also investigated the reaction of the nervous system, which – he believed – identified phlegmatic nature of Russians, sanguine nature of Poles and Ukrainian melancholy. His studies were to show the difference between the three groups and prove that Ukrainians were a different nation than Poles and Russians. He wrote: “Nationality should be understood a sum of such traits that make one group different from any other group.”⁶

Some racist policies (including eugenics) were advocated by the Ukrainian geographer Stepan Rudnytsky. In the 4th chapter of Ukrainian edition of his book *Чому ми хочемо самостійної України*, he considers race to be one of the two key elements of nation (next to national territory).⁷ He believes that every state should have some biological policy, which would go hand-in-hand with economic policy. Rudnytsky recommended a policy that would be a compromise between the politics of multiplication and eugenics.⁸ He called for breeding of the best elements of the Ukrainian nation. Yet he did not oppose mixing races: while he believed that Ukrainians were an example of Dinaric race – one of the best races, he recommended mixing with what he believed to be racially proper nations, such as Nordic Germans, Scandinavians, English, Czechs, and Southern Slavs.⁹ On the contrary, he was convinced that mixing with Poles, Russians, Hungarians, Romanians, Turks, and Tatars was harmful to the Ukrainian racial type.¹⁰ He also opposed mixing with Jews: not because he considered them to be racially less worthy (Rudnytsky condemned anti-Semitism), but because “it is proven”, that mixing Jews and Aryan races brings bad results.¹¹ He also formulated three conditions: mixing should be an exemption, not the rule; it should not lead to the import of foreign influence in Ukraine; Ukrainians should not be mixing with less worthy races. Rudnytsky also expressed a need for the policy of eugenics to be supported by proper legislation that would help reject negative elements of society, such as criminals.¹²

In Ukraine we can also trace more scientific approach to the question of the race presented by anthropologists such as Franciszek Henryk Duchiniński, Fedir Vovk or Rostislav Yendyk. Duchiniński, Polish ethnographer, argued that Russians are not a Slavic nation. He had also formulated a view about the cultural and racial differences between Russians and Europeans, which would definitely

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Рудницький, С., *Чому ми хочемо самостійної України*, Львів 1994, 297.

⁸ Ibidem, 299–300.

⁹ Ibidem, 300.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 300–301.

¹¹ Ibidem, 307–308.

¹² Ibidem, 300–301.

lead to confrontation between those two.¹³ He would consider race a complex phenomenon, consisting of not only biological but also geographical, spiritual and cultural factors.¹⁴

Fedir Vovk was an anthropologist responsible for formulating the so-called Ukrainian racial type (essentially based on biological factors). He argued that Ukrainians belong to the Dynaric race, which he believed to be an original ancient Slavic racial type.¹⁵ Ukrainians were supposed to have predominately dark hair, darker than skin,¹⁶ round and wide head,¹⁷ narrow faces, be short with long legs but short arms.¹⁸ The issue of Ukrainian racial traits was also explored by Rostyslav Yendyk, anthropologist and a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. He was highly influenced by German racial theories. As such, he was one of the anthropologists to believe that Jewish people were enemies of civilization and, as such, they deserved to perish.¹⁹ Racism was not a significant factor in official ideology of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN): some remarks on the race can only be found in documents of the 2nd Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists. The resolution of 1941 proposed to set out conditions for the development of social health and physical vigour of Ukrainian race.²⁰ Nonetheless, this part of the program merely referred to public health care system, not to any eugenic policy. On the other hand, there were indeed members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists who studied the issue of Ukrainian race or Ukrainian national character. Ideas similar to those included in the aforementioned resolution appear in Dmytro Myron's *Ідея і чин України*.²¹ Myron concludes that the issue of races should be examined as one of rising spiritual and biological condition of the Ukrainian race.²² He believed that Ukrainians should create a strong, coherent psychical, biological and socio-political body. In order to achieve that, he proposed

¹³ Wrzesińska, K., Ariowie i Turańczycy. Poglądy Franciszka H. Duchinińskiego na temat rasy i cywilizacji, *Sprawy Narodowościowe*, 2015, no. 46, 50.

¹⁴ Ibidem, 51.

¹⁵ Сегеда, С. П., Антропологічний доробок Ф. Вовка: сучасний погляд, *Археологія і давня історія України*, 2012, № 9, 241; Vovk's views were similar to those formulated by the acclaimed French anthropologist Joseph Denicker.

¹⁶ Макаруч, С. А., *Етнічна історія України. Навчальний посібник*, Київ 2008, 338–339.

¹⁷ Ibidem, 341–342.

¹⁸ Ibidem, 343.

¹⁹ Petrovsky-Stern, Y. – Polonsky, A., Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry, *Judaica Ucrainica*, 2014, vol. 3, 284.

²⁰ Постанови II Великого збору Організації Українських націоналістів. Квітень 1941 року, [online: https://uk.wikisource.org/wiki/Постанови_II_Великого_збору_Організації_Українських_націоналістів_Квітень_1941_року, cit. 2017-12-15].

²¹ Мирон–Орлик, Д., *Ідея і чин України*, 1940, 51.

²² Ibidem, 51–52.

a short program, that consisted of eleven points, which included military and physical education, protection of mothers, children and proper upbringing of youth, protection of national health care, hygiene, fight against prostitution, alcoholism, etc.

Some remarks about the race can be also found in the works by Volodymyr Martynets. In his book *За зуби й пазуринації* he strongly criticises biological theories of race and the belief that mixing races is something negative.²³ He is also critical of idea of what so called better or superior races. Martynets examines Ukrainian national character and is unafraid to subject it to criticism. He argues that the peaceful, conservative, religious, mild, idealistic, naive, poetic, and moral Ukrainians are not well adapted to the 20th century; and they national character unavoidably leads to the failure of the Ukrainian nation.²⁴ He wishes to see Ukrainians as conquerors, make them more aggressive, recreating the inner, aggressive power that they lost over time.²⁵ Despite his view about race as a spiritual and not a biological phenomenon, Martynets proposes cultural and national assimilation of foreigners, and then perhaps also biological assimilation “by blood”.²⁶ He claimed, however, that Ukrainians should not mix with Jews, as they make Ukrainian national character even weaker.²⁷

Some remarks about the Ukrainian race can also be found in Mykhailo Kolodzinskiy’s *Українська воєнна доктрина*.²⁸ They are, however, quite general in nature and focus on what they call military spirit of Ukrainian race.

Yuriy Lypa and Racism

The absence of racist ideas in the OUN ideology was noticed by its member and poet Yuriy Lypa. In one of his works, the brochure *Українська доба*, he calls for political programme based on racial qualities of Ukrainians. Lypa’s studies on race and national character represent interesting topic: he is mostly known as poet or journalist, much less as political theorist. Nonetheless, he managed to design a geopolitical plan for Ukraine, known as *The Black Sea Doctrine*. Lypa was highly educated, holding a degree in medicine (he studied in Poznań, in western

²³ Мартинець, В., *За зуби й пазуринації*, Париж 1937, 95–96.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 101–115.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 169.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, 147–148.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 150.

²⁸ Колодзінський, М., *Українська воєнна доктрина*, Toronto 1957.

Poland) and spoke a number of foreign languages.²⁹ It is also safe to assume, that he had a lot of biological knowledge. Normally, one would not examine an artist with racist views. Yet, it is not difficult to find examples of well-known artists who revered racist ideology: a fine example of that would be German composer Richard Wagner.

Lypa was both artist and physician. In its title, this study refers to him as poet as it focuses on what prevails in the doctrine of Yuriy Lypa and his reflection on Ukrainian race. Lypa the physician, doctor, someone focused on biology; or Lypa the Neo-Romantic poet, who essentially focused on spiritual values. The following parts examines the reason for his interest in racist ideology; whether his ideology was indeed a racist doctrine, or perhaps just some kind of nationalism with racist label; and the defining factors were important in his ideology – to what extent they were biologicals, cultural factors, anthropology or whether it was the national character.

Lypa expressed his views on Ukrainian race in two brochures published in Odessa: *Українська раса*³⁰ and *Українська доба*. Another central source of his reflection on Ukrainians as a race was his *Black Sea Trylogy*, particularly the first and second volumes.³¹ Why would Lypa find some interest in the racist doctrine? He lends his answer in *Українська доба*. In the brief brochure, he examines the actual meaning of the adjective Ukrainian and its spiritual connotation. He also tries to define what people feel as Ukrainians. He believed, that Ukrainians were in a state of apathy, and the word Ukrainian hardly meant anything. According to Lypa, contemporary Ukrainians subscribed to two national ideas coined by Dmytro Dontsov's and Vyacheslav Lypynsky's. At the same time, many would find inspiration in Italian and Nazism, and in racial theories.³² Lypa condemned the idea of simply copying foreign ideologies, yet he found some values in them that deserved to be followed. He was fascinated by their fervent approach to racial roots, their essence and the separation in the past. He praised the fact that such leaders as Benito Mussolini or Mustafa Kemal Atatürk would go as far as Antiquity to find some elements to help cement their own race, their positive "Us." The second reason why Lypa upheld these ideas was more practical: they were introduced by former soldiers, veterans

²⁹ Сварник, Г., Юрій Липа і Дмитро Донцов крізь призму собистих і творчих взаєми, in: *Юрій Липа: Голосдобітрикладчину. Збірник наукових праць, присвячений 100-літтювідня народження українського письменника, літературознавця, політолога, лікаря, видатного громадського діяча Юрія Липи*, Львів 2001, 213.

³⁰ Липар, Ю., *Українська раса*, ВАТРА. [online: <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrayinska-rasa.html>, cit. 2017-10-12].

³¹ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 2.

³² Липа, Ю., *Українська доба*, Львів 1934, 8–9.

of “great wars” (both the World War I and Italian wars in Abyssinia). These people helped to “spiritually conquer their own countries”.³³

Lypa lamented that Ukraine lacked its indigenous racist ideology: what it had instead was merely a shadow of such ideas. Ukrainians thus had no idea to follow. Dontsov created solely a method of fighting; Lypynsky offered utopia. They did not offer the Ukrainians an answer to their spiritual needs. Lypa wanted to find something new in the Ukrainians: the face of Ukrainian race, some unity. Unity of the Ukrainians would have to be created by securing homogeneity of the vernacular, linguistic, historical, and cultural roots. That was supposed to lead to the unity of the Ukrainians, give them some idea to follow. Lypa wanted to use racist ideology to discover who Ukrainians really are and to find their spiritual identity.

Another answer might have been given in his *Бій за українську літературу. Київ, вічне місто*. Here he hypothesised the answer to the questions: Where is your race? What is your purpose? What energy do you rise with your ideas, your spirituality? What do you give Europe? He answered: “We are the race whose destiny is to free and strengthen the free and affluent peasantry – in Ukraine and its whereabouts.”³⁴ In the same publication he formulated the view that the idea of race could lead to the renaissance of Ukrainian nation.

Lypa’s Ideas – Racism or Nationalism?

Unlike some Ukrainian scholars, Lypa does not use the term race as the synonym to that of nation (at least not ubiquitously).³⁵ Generally speaking, after World War I it was quite common to mix the terms such as race and nation. In *Українська раса* Lypa considers the word to be equivalent to kin; lineage (*pid* in Ukrainian), but not necessarily a nation. In some works he openly uses these words not as synonyms, but as separate phenomena, such as the reference to racial conflict being much deeper than national conflict, or another mention elsewhere in the first volume of his *Black Sea Trylogy*.³⁶ Moreover, he argues: “Besides, concepts such as nation, class, statehood and patriotism are only an expression of race that contains all of those ideas. Yet all of them are much

³³ Ibidem, 9–10.

³⁴ Липа, Ю., Бій за українську літературу. Київ, вічне місто, in: *Твори*, т. 4, Львів 2012, 136.

³⁵ Жифарська, І. О., Генеральні ідеї українства в історіософському баченні Юрія Липи, *Вісник Запорізького національного університету. Філологічні науки*, 2008, 2, 72.

³⁶ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 194, 235.

shallower than the concept of race”.³⁷ Therefore, Lypa understood race as something greater and more important than nation. That, however, doesn't mean that he would be consequent. In some parts of his work he would use those words interchangeably. For instance, in *Українська раса* he would use it as a synonym to race.³⁸ Nevertheless, Lypa created the theory of race, not of nation. First of all, he clearly defines the race. He understands race as “some part of humanity, which is being characterised by the same mental traits – but also partially: physical traits – in every generation. Race is a living organism, which lives and operates as one.”³⁹ Later he states: “Race is a great, spiritual unity in terms of morality and emotion”⁴⁰ and “all of the people, their spiritual traits, both concealed and apparent (like tradition or language), and anthropological factors, create clear unity through time (history)”.⁴¹ His also subscribes to Gobineau's work in the argumenta that the idea of race changed the way both history and contemporary times could be understood. At least in his early works on racism, Lypa acknowledged the idea of the war of races.

His definition of race consists of mental and biological factors. The former are much more important, while the latter play only secondary role. In his works, Lypa focused mostly on Ukrainian mentality, spirit, and national character.

Idiosyncrasies of Lypa's Racism

Lypa's idea of race differ from what can be referred to as traditional racism. Racism is mostly characterised by three main traits:

- a) The idea that there is hierarchy of races, one race is better than the other, and there is some best race which is supposed to rule above other races;
- b) The idea that mixing races is something undesired and leads to degeneration of humanity;
- c) Biological qualities of races have some influence on social, political and cultural life of races. Hence, the higher the race, the better the culture.⁴²

Some of those traditional racist characteristics were absent in Lypa's works. First, he criticised Gobineau for the idea of mixing races. For him, purity of race

³⁷ Ibidem, 153.

³⁸ Липа, Ю., *Українська раса, ВАТРА*. [online: <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrayinska-rasa.html>, cit. 2017-10-12].

³⁹ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 151.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 152.

⁴¹ Ibidem, 153.

⁴² Tokarczyk, R., *Współczesne doktryny polityczne*, Warszawa 2010, 288.

was something unachievable and, as such, it did not have any value. Also, mixing races is sometimes impossible. Lypa offers an example of Russians and Ukrainians. He argues that, if such union bore offspring, the child would be – without a doubt – Ukrainian, since Russian racial traits are much weaker than Ukrainian. Thus, it is impossible to mix some races.⁴³

Second, he does not believe in a strict system of hierarchy of races. He considered Ukrainian race no better, but older than other races. He negatively rates the Russians and some other racial types (e.g. Romanians). Yet his ranking does not end up designing a system of racial hierarchy. He did agree that Ukrainians belonged mostly to the Dinaric race: the term had been coined by the French anthropologist Joseph Deniker and was highly valued by theorists. As Deniker said, race had “tall stature (168 to 172 cm in average), extreme brachycephaly⁴⁴ (ceph. ind. 85–86), brown or black wavy hair; dark eyes, straight eyebrows; elongated face, delicate straight or aquiline nose; slightly tawny skin.”⁴⁵ It was believed that they were smart, imaginative, artistic, with goodness of heart, but were careless and lacked organisational talents.⁴⁶ Despite that, they were believed to be the second best race, coming only short of the Nordic (or Aryan) race.⁴⁷ Yet, by believing that Ukrainians belong that race, Lypa was merely expressing a view which was considered scientific fact, recognised by such experts as Stepan Rundytskiy, Rostyslav Yendyk, or Niko Županič. This shows that Lypa was aware of the existing racial theories (he would openly refer to Yendyk’s works)⁴⁸ and anthropological studies. Yet, in 1935 he argued that Slavic nations tended to develop faster than other European races – and the pace of the development of the Ukrainian race was particularly high.⁴⁹ The evidence was to be in Ukrainian literature which genuinely expressed Ukrainian national spirit.

Third, biological factors are not of vital importance in his works. For Lypa, biological traits were secondary to mental and spiritual traits. That does not mean, that they did not play any role in his theories. At least in few instances, he would refer to biological traits of the race.

First, while justifying the difference between Ukrainians and Russians, Lypa tried to prove his argument by referring to blood types. He argued that the most popular blood type in Russia was B, while in Western Europe and Ukraine it was

⁴³ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 184–185.

⁴⁴ Brachycephalism meant wide skull, not elongated. It was related to the so-called skull index (relation of width and length of the skull), developed by Vacher de Lapouge.

⁴⁵ Deniker, J., *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*, London 1900, 334.

⁴⁶ Gorny, M., *Wielka wojna profesorów*, Warszawa 2014, 190.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 191.

⁴⁸ Липа, Ю., Бій за українську літературу. Київ, вічне місто, in: *Твори*, т. 4, Львів 2012, 250.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 119.

either A, AB or O. Thus, Ukrainians were more biologically similar to Europeans than to Russians.⁵⁰

Second, he referred to the works by the French physician René Martial who argued that race was coded in human brain cells. Thus, humans were genetically set to live and remain within a single race, and thus in one nation, an argument that Lypa upheld.⁵¹ He used it to justify the Ukrainian national revolution of 1917–1923. He considered it to be an example of Ukrainians being denationalised, but when the right time came, their racial subconscious has awakened, and they were able to rise for the Ukrainian cause.⁵² That was the example of racial cells acting. Therefore, even when we remove a Ukrainian from Ukraine, do not raise him in Ukrainian culture and do not teach him the language, still his Ukrainian identity would eventually awaken.⁵³

Third, in his early works he called for a biological policy to promote the Dinaric element of Ukrainian race. He believed that it was a combination of Indo–German and Cisasian elements.⁵⁴ This belief was often expressed by such anthropologists as Jan Czekanowski, Deniker or Županič. Lypa argued that Cisasiatic and Indo–Germanic races were still present in Ukraine. He wanted to create a system of legal norms, and to promote it across the Ukrainian society: the idea was to allow the Dinaric and Cisasian elements (which he believed to be agricultural) to remain in rural areas, while facilitating migration of Indo–Germanic race to urban areas.⁵⁵

Lypa's works also contain references to antisemitism, though it was more of an attribute of German racist theories, than of French or English sources.⁵⁶ Lypa generally accepts Jewish imprint on Ukrainians and approves attempts to create Jewish cultural autonomy after World War I.⁵⁷ Hence, Lypa's racial theory is quite subtle. It differs significantly from the traditional approach to the idea of racism: biological factors are only secondary to mental ones; and there is no hierarchy of races. Yet Lypa seems to recognise some ideas of Social Darwinism. He considers victory of one race to be often a failure of another: what gives birth to Ukrainian race, means death of another race.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 186.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 196–197.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, 196.

⁵⁴ Липа, Ю., *Українська раса, ВАТРА*. [online: <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrayin-ska-rasa.html>, cit. 2017-10-12].

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ Tokarczyk, R., *Współczesne doktryny polityczne*, Warszawa 2010, 295–299.

⁵⁷ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 183.

⁵⁸ Липа, Ю., *Українська раса, ВАТРА*. [online: <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrayin-ska-rasa.html>, cit. 2017-10-12].

Curiously, in his later works, Lypa does not mention the view he agreed to in his *Бій за українську літературу*. He argued that every race needed great leader as the maker of race, able to link its spontaneous differences and national unity. Without this no nation could exist. Thus, leader and race become the prerequisites of nation-building.⁵⁹

Origins of Ukrainian Race According to Lypa

What is a core of the Lypa's racial theory? The answer lays in Lypa's racial theory which is largely a study of Ukrainian national character, spirit and mentality. He also discusses the origins of Ukrainian race, based on the works of Ukrainian historian and anthropologist, Vadim Scherbakivsky. Lypa describes three main elements that helped shape Ukrainian race: Tripolian culture, the Greeks and Goths. Since those theories do not represent Lypa's original views, the following part merely focuses on the traits that Ukrainians allegedly inherited by from those three races.

The legacy of the Tripolian culture was settled culture, centred around villages. Tripolians were most important when it comes to shaping Ukrainian national character. Ukrainians inherited from them such traits of as patience, bravery, quiet valour, forethoughtfulness, endurance in not straying from the set line, cool approach to failures.⁶⁰ Greek influences are expressed in Ukrainian humanism, and in their natural affection for the sea. He believes that Ukrainians to be a nation of sailors. Lypa also argues that many Ukrainian cities originated as ones made by the members of a Tripolian culture, thus Tripolian culture created Ukrainian cities and urban tradition.⁶¹ Though, he argues, Ukrainians did not inherit Greek individualism.⁶²

Goths, on the other hand, helped create Ukrainian language, religion and art. They also brought a degree of military discipline to the Ukrainian character, along with sense of, as Lypa called it without further explanation, "momentum and abstract thinking". Also, their military character brought a sense of collectivism to Ukraine and helped creating the Ukrainian army.⁶³

⁵⁹ Липа, Ю., *Бій за українську літературу*. Київ, вічне місто, in: *Твори*, т. 4, Львів 2012, 73–74.

⁶⁰ Блажеєвська, Ю. М., Репрезентація національного характеру в публіцистиці Ю. Липи (за працями «Призначення України» та «Українська Раса»), *Вісник Харківської державної академії культури*, 2013, № 39, 29.

⁶¹ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 158.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, 162–166.

Lypa does not believe that Ukrainians were influenced by Russians and Poles. He argues that Russians, as a nomadic race, had utterly different lifestyle and system of values, thus they could not affect Ukrainian spiritual and intellectual life.⁶⁴ In connection with Poles he argues that their influence on Ukraine was short-lived. Hence Poles only managed to affect some elements of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, not Ukrainians as a whole. Significant portion of the influence was eliminated during the Cossack uprising in the 17th century.⁶⁵

Lypa also believes that Celts, Romans, Normans, Track and Caucasian tribes had some influence on Ukrainians.⁶⁶

Ukrainian National Character According to Lypa

That made Lypa formulate the main traits that constitute the Ukrainian national character. Two most important ones were Ukrainian collectivism and conservatism. He also identified lesser traits, such as the love for the idea of justice, sense of dignity, love for their land, modesty, humanism, scepticism, and rationalism.⁶⁷

First, he sees Ukrainians as a race of collectivists. It is a result of their sedentary nature, focused around villages. It was the main difference between the Ukrainians and Baltic nomads such as Poles, and Asian nomads such as Russians. Ukrainians, he argues, feel comfortable only around other people who think exactly like them. A Ukrainian must feel group pressure and the oversight that would offset his or her potential individualism and help preserve Ukrainian morality. Yet home and family still remain the utmost ideal of any Ukrainian. It is also expressed in the alleged Ukrainian matriarchy, which is another trait that clearly separates Ukrainians from the patriarchal Russians. According to Lypa, matriarchate is a natural order of things in Ukrainian culture. Woman – mother is the centre of Ukrainian spirituality. It is around her that family unites – something that characterises settled races.⁶⁸ For Lypa, the maternity is an important and constant power in social life, as it is the through mother that racial traits and values are transferred between generations.⁶⁹

Lypa believed Ukrainians to be very conservative, which is also a result of their settled nature. He also sees Ukrainians to be highly religious, although not

⁶⁴ Ibidem, 188 ff.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 189.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 169–179.

⁶⁷ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 2, Київ 2007, 16; т. 1, Київ 2007, 288.

⁶⁸ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 1, Київ 2007, 208–209.

⁶⁹ Липа, Ю., *Українська раса, ВАТРА*. [online: <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrayin-ska-rasa.html>, cit. 2017-10-12].

zealous.⁷⁰ Tradition is most important for Ukrainians: it helps them reject both Western and Eastern influences (“mysticism and bluff” and “shamanism”⁷¹) and allows them to develop within the scope of their own tradition. Groups are led by élites that emerge from respect for experience of the elderly. They help to sustain the continuity of appropriate hierarchy and spiritual values. The entire Ukrainian statehood was built on hierarchy and its living tradition. Ukrainian conservatism also means a fight between good and evil. Lypa claimed that Ukrainians inherited an important Middle Eastern symbol of that struggle – the swastika.⁷²

Lypa has his own concept of progress. For him it doesn't mean erasing the past, but instead strengthening the strongest aspects of the character. It can only be achieved by using “Ukrainian methods”. Ukrainian conservatism expresses itself also in the limited tolerance and preference to close themselves in the small groups.⁷³ Lypa claims that the strong Ukrainian traditionalism allows Ukrainians to resist foreign influences and constantly be ready to act towards a rebirth of their national culture.⁷⁴

Lypa also seems to notice the stamina, vitality and creative talents of Ukrainians, qualities he had seen as the instruments of Ukrainian renaissance.⁷⁵

Racial Theory as the Foundation of Political Ideas

The aforementioned national traits serve as the foundation for internal and external policies of the future Ukrainian state. In fact, Lypa formulates some recommendations for the legal and political system, as well as the organisation of society.

The role of state is to physically preserve the race. State should manage the blood, not waste it. Wasting the blood is a crime against race. Lypa also introduces the idea of spiritual economy: state should harmonise the entire energy of race and ensure its productiveness.

Furthermore, there were two important views that Lypa formulated: first and foremost, that race is a living organism. Second, the rules that govern the state should mirror the Ukrainian soul.

That leads Lypa to the idea of racial solidarity as the core of Ukrainian economic and social life. Ukrainians as a nation of collectivists should live on the basis of

⁷⁰ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 2, Київ 2007, 15.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 15–16.

⁷² Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнськ катрилогія*, т. 1, 214

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 210.

⁷⁴ Кушнір, О., Маніпуляційні прийоми Юрія Липи в зображенні українського та москвинського народу, *Збірник наукових праць «Діалог: медіа-студії»*, № 7, 194–195.

⁷⁵ Липа, Ю., Бій за українську літературу. Київ, вічне місто, in: *Твори*, т. 4, Львів 2012, 88.

solidarity as a race.⁷⁶ The emotional side of solidarity is quite important: solidarity does not mean an encounter and cooperation of some groups. It means sensing the organic character of race. It is not something exalted. It is a stable, enduring feeling. Every Ukrainian should feel solidarity with his race and uphold the priority of the external politics of race, its safety and national values.⁷⁷

As the race of solidarists, group is the natural social habitat for Ukrainians – an individual does not really matter. The organism, such as race, should consist of number of smaller groups and societies that are able to cooperate.⁷⁸ Lypa believes it essential to renew ancient forms of the Ukrainian organisations.

Lypa also refers to the economic system. He believes that Ukrainians value private property. Hence communism is not fit for Ukrainians. The way Ukrainians were trying to resist the communist rule and collectivisation as well as the resulting suffering caused by *Holodomor* were, in his opinion, an expression of the Ukrainian will.⁷⁹ He advises creating a number of business organisations, machine societies (probably kinds of industrial associations, member of which cooperate by sharing tools), cooperatives as the most fitting the Ukrainian mentality.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, the state should play an active role: every citizen should be have his or her proper place within the economy, as that enables their utmost productivity. Otherwise anarchy will arise, and the state will fall.

Lypa also recommends a policy that would help the physical state of Ukrainians. That was closely linked to his vision of the status of women. This interest arises from his understanding of Ukrainian matriarchate. The state should develop women both spiritually and physically. A woman would be required to get married.⁸¹ Until then, she would be compelled to join some artistic, scientific or even military organisation. Lypa considered an absence of marriage and children to be a waste. For him “300 eggs of every Ukrainian woman and 1 500 ejaculations of every Ukrainian man, are identical treasure for the state, like, for example, energetic resources, iron, coal or petroleum.”⁸²

Lypa advances his views about external politics in his *Black Sea Doctrine*. The publication has already been analysed in literature.⁸³ It is worth adding, however,

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 306 ff.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, 304–306.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, 287–291.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, 291.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, 292.

⁸¹ Липа, Ю., Українська раса, ВАТРА. [online: <http://www.vatra.cc/rasa/yuriy-lypa-ukrain-ska-rasa.html>, cit. 2017-10-12].

⁸² Ibidem.

⁸³ Казанков, Р. Ю., Проблема формування чорноморського геополітичного простору в першій половині ХХ ст.: український варіант, *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В. Н. Каразіна. Серія: Історія України. Українознавство: історичніта філософські науки*, 2008,

that Lypa brought some elements of racial theories into the intended geopolitical doctrine. For instance, he recommended a creation of strong alliance with Bulgarians, arguing that Ukrainians and Bulgarians share similar national character.⁸⁴ He highlighted the Dinaric racial character of Yugoslavs.⁸⁵ On the other hand, he criticised Romanians and Hungarians for their alleged negative national traits.⁸⁶

Lypa believed that literature to be an important instrument of the war of races, which he considered to be the war of spirits and national character. He highly praised Polish poets or writers for expressing the national spirit of the Poles – or Dickens for expressing the English spirit.⁸⁷ He wished for Ukrainians to express their national character and to built their race through literature as well – writers were supposed to be as important as historians, philosophers or heroes. Through that the love for the race could be built, and through that love – new energy could be found, which could encourage people to the service of Ukraine. That was indeed part of Lypa's answer to the failure of the Ukrainian National Revolution of 1917–1923.

Lypa's Race Theories and Contemporary "Racial Science"

Lypa's ideas of Ukrainian national character differ from other views on the same subject. For example, collectivism contradicts Kostomarov's idea of Ukrainians as individualists, as the core difference between Ukrainians and collectivist Russians.⁸⁸ Another specific feature is his idea of the natural Ukrainian conservatism, which is probably linked to his initial idea of finding some inspirations in Ukrainian past and tradition and bring some pride, some sense of purpose to being an Ukrainian. On the other hand, it might also be a result of his historical inspirations as a Neo-Romantic poet. It is difficult to find other examples of such a strong focus on tradition in Ukrainian political thought in this time.

№ 835, вип. 11; Короба, Н., Місце України формуванні Балто-Чорноморського регіону: від ідеї до реального співробітництва, *Вісник Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка. Географія*, 2007, № 54; Wojnar, M., Idea konfederacji czarnomorskiej Jurija Łypy na tle geopolitycznych koncepcji ukraińskiego nacjonalizmu integralnego, in: *Ukraina. Narracje, języki, historie*. Ed. M. Gaczkowski, Wrocław 2015.

⁸⁴ Липа, Ю, *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 2, Київ 2007, 74–76.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 71–72.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 77–82.

⁸⁷ Липа, Ю, *Бій за українську літературу*. Київ, вічне місто, in: *Твори*, т. 4, Львів 2012, 88–91.

⁸⁸ Костомаров, М., *Дві руські народності*, *УКРАЇНСЬКА ЛІТЕРАТУРА – Електронна бібліотека*. [online: <http://ukrclassic.com.ua/katalog/k/kostomarov-mikola/1656-mikola-kostomarov-dvi-ruski-narodnosti>, cit. 2017-12-28].

Lypa, though being aware of the works of Rudnytsky,⁸⁹ does not refer to his research into race. There are, however, some common elements, such as identifying Ukrainians with villages and land, instead of the city.⁹⁰ Another similarity is the sense of distinction and superiority over nations that were considered hostile by the Ukrainian national movement: especially Russians,⁹¹ to a lesser degree also Poles, Romanians and Hungarians. There are also some differences. Lypa agreed that Dinaric race was a mix of other races, in which he followed the Yugoslavian and French reflection: while Rudnytsky believed that the Dinaric type is the original type of the Slavic race. The two also differed in their understanding of the connection between race and nation differently. For Lypa, race was a narrower concept than the nation. Rudnytsky saw race as just one of the elements of nationality. It remains unclear why Lypa did not refer to Rudnytsky's or Antonovych's works while constructing his racial theory. It might be because Lypa's studies mostly refer to the national character, while the two focus largely on biology and geography.

Lypa's views on Ukrainian national character also tend to contradict the vision of the Dinaric race promoted by the Serbian anthropologist Jovan Cvijić.⁹² He characterises the Dinaric as heroism, patriarchy, love of freedom and bravery. The first two traits do not really fit the description of Ukrainians made by Lypa. German anthropology usually identified the Dinaric race with the lack of organisational skills, while Lypa believed that Ukrainians inherited organisational talents from the Goths.

Conclusion

The analysis of the racial theory developed by Yuriy Lypa suggests that his ideas of race were embedded in the studies of national character and Ukrainian spirit, rather than biology. This is a theory of race, not merely a theory of nation. Lypa directly drew from inspirations from Fascists and the Turkish leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. With his theory he aimed to give Ukrainians a vision, purpose, an ideal to follow. He wanted contemporary Ukrainians to be proud of their past. In race, he wanted to find an ideal to strive towards, which the ideology of OUN

⁸⁹ Липа, Ю., *Всеукраїнська трилогія*, т. 2, Київ 2007, 363.

⁹⁰ Рудницький, С., *Чому ми хочемо самостійної України*, Львів 1994, 299.

⁹¹ Кушнір, О., Маніпуляційні прийоми Юрія Липи в зображенні українського та москвинського народу, in: *Збірник наукових праць «Діалог: медіа-студії»*, № 7, 194 ff.

⁹² Bartulin, N., Intellectual Discourse on Race and Culture in Croatia 1900–1945, *Review of Croatian History*, 2010, vol. 6, 188–194.

lacked – it only had the method. The idea of race was to lead to the spiritual renaissance of Ukraine, which would allow Ukrainians to assume a proper place among European nations. His notes on national character had also another goal, to set the foundation for his geopolitical programme. Ukraine was to be the spiritual and mental island among her neighbours. As noted by Maciej Wojnar, Lypa wanted to prove that Ukrainians were free from any Eastern or Western influences. Hence there are no contradictions between Eastern and Western values in Ukraine. Ukrainian individuality was to be original, cleared of those influences.⁹³ Ukrainians were thus free to develop on another geopolitical axis: north-south, not east-west.

A question arises whether, while making this theory, Lypa remained to be a poet. Lypa explains: “Thomas Mann was asked whom he considered to be the greatest German poet of all times. He answered: Oswald Spengler. We should not be surprised. Heat, hell of real poetry emerges from Spengler’s historiosophical books. Such heat emerges from personal polemics of Dontsov. Dontsov used to write poems and lyrics. Perhaps he is simply the greatest poet of contemporary Ukraine. Perhaps his doctrine is the axis of his own literature, his personal creative expansion. Perhaps that is his utter dynamism, since every poet has his own dynamism.”⁹⁴ If seen through such lens, it can be argued that, for Lypa, the political doctrine can also be the form of poetry for the soul. Perhaps then, while constructing his racial theory, Lypa still remained a poet.

ABSTRACT

A Poet’s Narrative of Race: Yuriy Lypa and His Vision of Ukrainian National Character

Marcin Jędrysiak

This article explores racial theory of Yuriy Lypa, Ukrainian journalist, poet, writer and publicist. Racism as a political ideology is a neglected topic in scientific literature, although some papers on the topic can be found. First, the study explored whether Lypa’s ideas actually referred to race and represented racial theory, whether they were just an example of nationalism. The article examines Lypa’s interest in racist ideology and his inspirations. It further explains Lypa’s understating of race

⁹³ Wojnar, M., *Idea konfederacji czarnomorskiej Jurija Lypy na tle geopolitycznych koncepcji ukraińskiego nacjonalizmu integralnego*, in: *Ukraina. Narracje, języki, historie*. Ed. M. Gaczkowski, Wrocław 2015, 141.

⁹⁴ Липа, Ю., *Українська доба*, Львів 1934, 15.

as a concept: to for him it is essentially a spiritual idea, linked to national character, while biological factors only play secondary role. Yet some biological factors remain present. The study goes on to identify the origins of Ukrainian race, which Lypa borrowed from the historian and anthropologist Vadim Scherbakivsky. It also highlights his beliefs in the assumed influence of Tripolian culture, along with the Greeks and Goths. All this presents a portrait of Ukrainian national character according to Yuriy Lypa who sees the Ukrainians to be conservative collectivists. In his theories, Lypa differs from the commonly shared understanding of Ukrainians as a race.

Key words: Ukraine, Race, Racism, Nationalism, Political Thought.

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Oksana Salata

PREPARING GERMANY TO IMPLEMENT
NAZI INFORMATION POLICY IN OCCUPIED
UKRAINE IN 1941–1944

The 20th century seemed to be a period when humanity faced new technologies essentially within political and military confrontation. This had a major effect on masses. Using information policy concept as method of influencing enemy troops and population became major advantage in the World War II. The countries with totalitarian regimes started using information technology to create closed political systems.

Being targeted by information and psychological operations of the USA and Britain, Nazi Germany developed powerful arsenal of methods of information influence used in fight against the Allies during World War II. By that time, German government had developed the concept of information policy for the occupied territories and improved methods of shaping informational space in the occupied territories of the USSR including Ukrainian lands.

During World War II, Nazi propaganda was studied by European and Soviet scholars such as E. Hadamowsky,¹ N. Müller,² P. Longerich,³ etc. Special attention was given to Germany's attack preparations on the Soviet Union and the development of methods to wage information-psychological war against the Red Army and civilian population of the USSR. Nazi propaganda was to weaken the morale of the Red Army and secure obedience and labour by local people.

The problems of propaganda policy of Nazi Germany during the temporary occupation of Ukraine and Belarus and its psychological influence on the population were studied by Western European and American scholars such as

¹ Hadamowsky, E., *Propaganda und nationale Macht: die Organisation der öffentlichen Meinung für die nationale Politik*, Oldenburg 1933.

² Мюллер, Н., *Вермахт и оккупация (1941–1944)*, Москва 1974.

³ Longerich, P., *Propagandisten im Krieg: Die Presseabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes unter Ribbentrop*, München, 1987.

D. Armstrong,⁴ G. Förster,⁵ M. Balfour,⁶ G. S. Jowett,⁷ I. Kershaw.⁸ Their works are particularly characterised by extensive study of documents from the Nuremberg process, archival materials from Europe, memoirs of Soviet partisans and members of the Ukrainian national movement. Alas, information policy of German occupation administration remained omitted by scholars.

Major contribution to the elucidation on information policy of the Nazi leadership was made by a Ukrainian scholar B. Chernyakov.⁹ While studying the periodical press, he had determined significance level of occupation authorities for Nazi press and its leading role in the Third Reich.

The Ukrainian historian A. Lisenko suggested that new conceptual ways of studying of World War II explore advocacy campaign launched by the German authorities on the occupied Ukrainian lands to secure voluntary labour for the economy of the Third Reich and force farmers to continue working on collective farms. Analysing propaganda campaign of the Nazi government, Lisenko concluded that the system of collective responsibility established by the Nazis differed little from Soviet collectivism, hence it promptly lost public confidence.¹⁰

Each party in the German-Soviet War had its own military policy. German policy promoted the Nazi regime and prevented regime change. At the same time, the Soviet Union strived to strengthen its defence capabilities and ideological front particularly among rural population. National Socialists “under the motto expansion of the *Lebensraum* – living space for Germans” aimed to establish dominance in the Eastern countries and achieve its aggressive ambitions of conquest.

According to the political concept, German authorities developed military-political strategy, a combination of political action in security and defence, the state system of military-political ideas. Military-political strategy of Nazi Germany in the 1930s included development and implementation of a range of key military and political objectives. Hitler’s military-political strategy was known to be an important setting military policy in Germany. It was supported by the socio-political, strategic and military-technical base of military doctrine, and the nature and objectives of the military strategy. The main foreign policy goals were set out by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.

The strategy of Hitler’s government was based on the following principles of military policy:

⁴ Armstrong, J. A. (ed.), *Soviet Partisans in World War II*, Madison 1964.

⁵ Ферстер, Г. и др., *Прусско-германский генеральный штаб 1640–1965. К его политической роли в истории*, Москва 1966.

⁶ Balfour, M., *Propaganda in War, 1939–1945: Organisations, Policies and Publics in Britain and Germany*, London – Boston – Henley 1979.

⁷ Jowett, G. S. – O’Donell, V., *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Newbury Park 1992.

⁸ Kershaw, I., *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich*, Oxford 1983.

- compliance with long-term political goals and military-political situation in Germany, Europe and the world in the period of the 1920s and 1930s;
- use of political, economic, diplomatic and military measures to address military and political objectives;
- use of socio-economic and military-strategic advantages of the country;
- identifying and using strengths and vulnerabilities in the enemy defence system and contradictions in their relations;
- attracting to its side maximum number of allies and ensuring the unity of common efforts;
- consistent weakening of potential adversaries.

The monopolistic bourgeoisie of Germany seemed to have the leading role in the concept of foreign policy of Nazi Germany. They paid great attention to the impending Eastern expansion. This was proved by the letter sent to Hitler from the Deutsche Bank in October 1933. It was noted that the German people could get extra lands in the East. According to the Bank, the German people found resources and territories.¹¹ The USSR, and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in particular, were considered to be an inexhaustible source of cheap raw materials.

Despite the non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and the USSR (23rd August 1939) including the secret additional protocol, Germany kept on planning campaign to the East. First, on 21st July 1940 Hitler announced immediate political goals of Germany concerning the fate of the Ukrainian state and the Federation of the Baltic states and Belarus. Some Nazi leaders, such as J. Goebbels, H. Göring and H. Himmler, expressed the view that Eastern lands should be captured as soon as possible to solve more vital geopolitical problems of Germany.¹²

The plans of some political activists reached the greatest intensity at the beginning of March 1941. It was the period of the preparations of German attack on the USSR. The High Command developed *Directive No 21 (Operation Barbarossa)* with special issue concerning the occupied Soviet territories.¹³ It was a conflict between two ideologies. Formation of nation states was not part of Hitler's plans, because *Barbarossa* was amended to create geographic units instead of states.

Kyiv was designated to be the centre, given its historic, cultural and political. The main political line in the region was to encourage Ukrainian aspirations to national independence, potential creation of their own state or unification of Ukraine with the Don region and Caucasus. Such union, according to Hitler's

¹¹ Höhn, H. et al, *Auf antisowjetischem Kriegskurs; Studien zur militärischen Vorbereitung des deutschen Imperialismus auf die Aggression gegen die UdSSR (1933–1941)*, Berlin 1970, 64.

¹² Гальдер, Ф., *Военный дневник. Ежедневные записи начальника Генерального штаба Сухопутных войск 1939–1942 гг.*, т. 2, Москва 1969, 60.

¹³ Данилов, В., *Сталин опоздал...*, *Родина*, 1995, № 7, 70.

government, would create the Black Sea Alliance. It was supposed to be an opposition to Moscow when defending living space in the East. At the same time, the region would serve as a strong resource base for the Great German Empire.

Generally, the *Directive* contained an action plan that included the creation of a central body to coordinate the actions of the USSR. There were issues connected with the development of the required political guidance to individual administrative units taking into account the specific situation and tasks; providing important military supplies from all the occupied territories.

Under *Barbarossa*, Hitler ordered Göring to develop a plan for future captured territory in the East. The Oldenburg plan was developed and approved in March 1941. It provided for immediate implementation of ambitious economic policies and the use of Soviet resources after the war. Economic headquarters were established immediately. They were completely separated from the General Headquarters. The Soviet territory was to be economically decentralised and turned into an agro-raw material appendix of Germany.¹⁴

Nazi leadership tried to avoid protracted war on two fronts. Therefore, the first steps had been taken by Germany: first, an attack on France and England. The attack on the Soviet Union was to be held only after the solution of problems in the West. This political concept was also reflected in *Mein Kampf* and was fundamental for Nazi military doctrine.¹⁵

Military doctrine of Nazi Germany was basically developed according to German military theorists A. von Schlieffen, E. Ludendorff, F. Bernhardt, G. Ritter and others. It built upon the experience of the past, and a new military theory and practice of creating armed forces of Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States.¹⁶

The authors of the doctrine were military leaders of the Third Reich: A. Hitler, H. Göring, H. Himmler, R. Heydrich, A. Rosenberg, W. von Blomberg, W. von Brauchitsch, W. von Reichenau, W. Keitel, A. Jodl, and others. Having developed the doctrine, they paid great attention supporting all the ministries of the Reich inside Germany and beyond.¹⁷

Along with the surge of hostilities in Europe, German government engaged in tasks within German economy and armed forces, aimed to prepare for a global war by 1939. The memorandum on economic preparation for the war, signed in August 1936, stated: "The war requires such a large amount of raw materials,

¹⁴ Мюллер, Н., *Вермахт и оккупация (1941–1944)*, Москва 1974, 11.

¹⁵ Загоруйко, М. М., *Крах плана Ольденбург. О срыве экономических планов фашистской Германии на временно оккупированной территории СССР*, Москва 1980, 17.

¹⁶ «Совершенно секретно. Только для командования». *Стратегия фашистской Германии в войне против СССР. Документы и материалы*. Сост. В. И. Дашичев, Москва 1967, 76–77.

¹⁷ Ферстер, Г. и др., *Прусско-германский генеральный штаб 1640–1965. К его политической роли в истории*, Москва 1966, 483–485.

that there has been no precedent in world history, who could really manage to create reserves for a long time..." With this, German economy poses two major problems: 1. four years of an efficient army; 2. four years later, the German economy should be ready for the war.¹⁸

The next step in the programme of the Nazi concept was to develop a policy on the Occupied Eastern Territories. Even before the war, there was already a plan for Eastern Europe. Its first version, the *Ost* was developed in 1941 by the Reich Main Security Office. It was presented on 28th May by the Chief of Staff of the *Reichskommissar* for Consolidation of the German Nationhood, the SS-Oberführer K. Meyer-Hetling, so-called "master plan *Ost*, the foundations of legal, economic and territorial structure of the East."¹⁹ The only proof of the existence of this document is "Observations and proposals of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories general the *Ost* plan"²⁰

The main objectives of the Nazi leadership in Germany were reflected in the *Ost* plan and aimed to seize future political and military space acquired by the eviction of indigenous population.²¹ Some basic ideas of the *Ost* plan were thought out and proclaimed during World War I.

The interests concerning Eastern territories were explained either as the Bolshevik threat or in terms of the *Lebensraum*. One of the Nuremberg participants testified that, at the beginning of 1941, Himmler explained to twelve heads of the SS groups that extermination of 30 million Slavs would be "the aim of the campaign against Russia."²² The same witness explained the main reasons for fighting the guerrillas as "the fight against the guerrilla movement had been quite an important reason for the destruction of Slavic and Jewish population."²³

The development of the plan for the Eastern campaign and the use of Eastern territories was under control of multiple agencies of the Third Reich. One of the authors of the plans for the Occupied Eastern Territories was Rosenberg.²⁴

In his memorandum, Rosenberg emphasised that the attitude to certain parts of the territory should focus on achieving political goals in management, economic

¹⁸ «Совершенно секретно. Только для командования». *Стратегия фашистской Германии в войне против СССР. Документы и материалы*. Сост. В. И. Дашичев, Москва 1967, 78.

¹⁹ Дашичев, В. И., *Стратегия Гитлера – путь к катастрофе, 1933–1945, т. 3: Банкротство наступательной стратегии в войне против СССР, 1941–1943*, Москва 2005, 13.

²⁰ *Замечания и предложения «Восточного министерства» по генеральному плану «Ост»*. [online: <<http://lib.rus.ec/b/149273/read>>, cit. 2016-02-16].

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg 1947; Допрос свидетеля Эриха фон Бах-Целевски, 7 января 1946 года*, 356.

²³ *Ibidem*, 358.

²⁴ Безыменский, Л. А., *Разгаданные загадки Третьего Рейха, 1933–1941: Книга не только о прошлом*, Москва 1981, 88–89.

and ideological terms. In the memorandum, he outlined plans according to different parts of the Soviet Union. The cornerstone of the concept was inciting hostility between different nationalities of the USSR to implement the great German policy. Baltic countries, such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became an area of German colonisation. There was a plan to form the Black Sea Alliance within Ukraine, the Don and the Caucasus to “keep Moscow under attack and to provide living space for the Great Germany in the East”.²⁵

The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, led by Rosenberg, developed a structure of the occupation apparatus for Soviet territories. The memorandum attachment of 7th April 1941 (No 2) was known to be the document for the administrative apparatus in the East. Thus, Rosenberg recommended H. Lose as the *Reichskommissar* of Baltic countries and Belarus, A. Schickedanz – as a *Reichskommissar* of Ukraine – a person, who had been responsible for the “Great Russian” for the last 20 years. H. Backe was advised to run the Nazi business in the Caucasus. D. Klagges, the Braunschweig Minister, was advised as a Don-Volga *Reichskommissar*. In case of Moscow occupation, Rosenberg planned to E. Koch to be the head of *Reichskommissariat* of East Prussia.²⁶

Anticipating imminent victory over the Soviet Union, Hitler said at a meeting of Nazi government on 16th July 1941 about the new order in the occupied territories: “The creation of the state West of the Urals should never be on the agenda [...] All Führer’s followers must know: The Empire would only be safe when there are no alien forces West of the Urals. Germany is responsible for the protection of the territories from all possible dangers...”²⁷

The meeting discussed the massacre of civilian population that resisted the occupation regime. Most of the present leaders of the Third Reich came to conclusion that most likely this problem could be solved by shooting resistance members. W. Keitel outlined the importance to make the local population responsible for their actions and for any misconduct.²⁸

Hitler’s plans were also revealed by M. Borman in his letter sent on behalf of Rosenberg. The letter showed that the Reich government was not interested in increasing the population on these territories, because the programme offered a reduction in fertility among Slavs. It was also proposed that local people shouldn’t have access to higher education.²⁹

²⁵ Германский империализм и вторая мировая война. Материалы научной конференции. Комиссия историков СССР и ГДР в Берлине (14–19 декабря 1959 г.), Москва 1963, 117.

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Преступные цели – преступные средства. Документы об оккупационной политике Германии на территории СССР (1941–1945), Москва 1985, 50–51.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Дашичев, В. И., Стратегия Гитлера – путь к катастрофе, 1933–1945, т. 3: Банкротство наступательной стратегии в войне против СССР, 1941–1943, Москва 2005, 39.

The entire main territory of the living space had to be regulated by law. Hitler demanded that the local population is not given many laws and be existentially limited to the very essentials. The German administration should be rather small. Regional commissioner should work with local elders. There shouldn't be created single Ukrainian board as significant as the *Generalkommissariat* or even *Reichskommissariat*.³⁰

The Nazis planned to reduce to a minimum the population of Poland, Ukraine and Belarus on their lands and settle there 10 million German colonists. The Poles, Ukrainians and Belarusians who wanted to stay alive, had to serve as free labour for German owners. The occupation authorities were instructed to keep the population in obedience by extreme cruelty, always using mass executions and other forms of destruction.³¹

Since the beginning of the occupation, the new clear management system began to emerge: Rosenberg oversaw four *Reichskommissariat*: Ostland, Ukrainian, Moscow and Caucasus. Each of them were divided into *Generalkommissariate*. Hence, *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine was divided into Volyn-Podolsk, Mykolayiv, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Tavria *Generalkommissariates*. The lowest level of the German occupation administration were provincial commissariats. 1 050 such departments were planned for the occupied Ukrainian lands. 144 officers and 711 governors from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Labour Front organisation were officially sent to serve for the Reich Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Territories.³² As an administrative-territorial unit, *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine consisted of districts, regions (hebits), counties and townships, that were overseen by general, hebit and district commissioners. The occupied Western region of the Soviet Union did not have a single unified civilian administration and management. The administration elected the head or mayor from the local population. Village elders were elected in villages.³³

The Nazi government, implementing its occupation policy in the East, created conditions which worsened the situation of the local population. According to Himmler, people dying of starvation made the colonisation process easier. During the senior SS meeting in Wewelsburg, he clearly declared that one of the objectives of the Eastern campaign was the destruction of 30 million of Slavs.³⁴

³⁰ «Совершенно секретно. Только для командования». *Стратегия фашистской Германии в войне против СССР. Документы и материалы*. Сост. В. И. Дашичев, Москва 1967, 122–123.

³¹ *Нюрнбергский процесс: Сборник материалов в 8 томах*, т. 2, Москва 1988, 89.

³² Дашичев, В. И., *Стратегия Гитлера – путь к катастрофе, 1933–1945*, т. 3: *Банкротство наступательной стратегии в войне против СССР, 1941–1943*, Москва 2005, 10.

³³ *Ibidem*, 11.

³⁴ Корольюк, В. Д. (ed.), *Германская экспансия в Центральной и Восточной Европе*, Москва 1965, 273.

To keep such a vast large area under control, avoiding resistance from the local population, German government established local police. Thus, on 17th July 1941, Hitler signed a decree about policing and security in the occupied Eastern regions. To make the decree more effective, each of *Reichskommissariat* officers worked together with senior SS, who was directly and personally subordinated to *Reichskommissariat* officer. The general and main regional heads of the commissariats worked with the SS and police officers in full submission.³⁵ Such a strict protection system was quite similar to the Bolshevik system of supervision of military officers during the Civil War 1917–1921 in Bolshevik Russia during the Great Patriotic War 1941–1945.

The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories developed instructions which defined the content of advocacy agencies for the Wehrmacht on the German-occupied territories of the Ukrainian SSR. They included: providing moral and psychological influence on local population through political and cultural propaganda via the press, radio and television; implementation of promotional actions which had to influence the mood of the population serving the interest of the German Reich and local administration.³⁶

In terms of intensive advocacy of German army on the occupied territories, it was necessary to create the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories. The Eastern Division was the first step towards it. The Ministry formed its own department of education and propaganda. Its section defined main policy lines for propaganda and political trends.³⁷

The structure of Ministry was developed, which included the following one – Propaganda Department and a special department worked effectively according to the opinion at the Ministry.³⁸

The Enlightenment and Propaganda Department of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories also focused on the work of Ostarbeiters, especially among those who voluntarily went to work in Germany. In such situation, it was impossible to conduct among them propaganda urging them to cooperate.³⁹

In the same period, anti-Bolshevik illustrated posters and brochures of 134 pages asking: “What is the importance to fight with the Soviet Union?” Twenty thousand copies were written in local languages where they were distributed.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Немецко-фашистский оккупационный режим (1941–1944 гг.)*. Ред. Е. А. Болтин, Москва 1965, 125.

³⁶ Дашичев, В. И., *Банкротство стратегии германского фашизма. Исторические очерки. Документы и материалы, т. 2: Агрессия против СССР. Падение Третьей империи 1941–1945 гг.*, Москва 1973, 196.

³⁷ *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz: R 55/606, 54.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 55.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, 60.

⁴⁰ *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz: R 55/1470, 6.

In addition, in 1941–1944 radio broadcasted anti-Bolshevik reports about atrocious acts of the Soviet system. Most of these reports were aimed to Ukrainian population.⁴¹

Methods and propaganda technologies of the Third Reich used to influence not only its citizens, but wider European community. At a meeting of the National Assembly, G. Kittler, the speaker of the investigation group, presented examples which evidenced the effective work of National Socialist propaganda in European community. To make it more persuasive, it was necessary to create truly striking examples of propaganda material, to confuse public opinion in Europe. In one of the striking examples, he suggests that Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on 22nd June 1941.⁴²

In September 1942 through the propaganda was circulated through all departments of the ministries about Hitler's recommendation for tough control over the manuscripts that came to press agencies, and print published in Eastern occupied countries and potential colonies.⁴³

During the first months of German occupation government encouraged activities of educational institutions, theatres, museums, and individual research institutions. On the other hand, German occupation administration carried out regular campaigns to check political loyalty among all who agreed to cooperation, first and foremost, teachers.

The Administration of Press and Propaganda was formed in structure of the Occupied Eastern Territories Ministry. In summer 1942 the so-called "Russian Committee" of the imperial foreign minister Ribbentrop was founded.

For almost the entire period of Nazi occupation, ideologues and occupation authorities used direct psychological influence on Ukrainian population. A protocol dated on 16th July 1941, from A. Hitler to A. Rosenberg, H. Lammers, W. Keitel and H. Göring, included further plans for Ukraine and its territory.⁴⁴

To exert psychological influence in the occupied territories more effectively, the occupation administration used the latest tools of influence and communication technologies. There opened theatres. Films by well-known Ukrainian filmmakers with the heroic past of the Ukrainian people were shown along with such plays as *Cossack beyond the Danube*, *Taras Bulba*, etc.⁴⁵

The implementation of the conceptual foundations of information policy was performed with the help of the powerful branched military-administrative system of the occupation administration in the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine and

⁴¹ Ibidem 7, 8.

⁴² *Bundesarchiv*, Berlin: R 55/21377, 1.

⁴³ *Bundesarchiv*, Berlin: R 55/21441, 4.

⁴⁴ Косик, В., *Україна Другій світовій війні у документах: Збірник німецьких архівних матеріалів*, т. 2, Львів 1998, 172.

⁴⁵ *Волинь, Часопис для Волині*, 1. 9. 1941, 4.

the military occupation zones. The activities of military administrations were often out of the box. Therefore, the nature of such policy differed in some areas and its reception varied accordingly.

The most effective methods of information influence used by the Nazi government in the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine and in the area of military administration were extra techniques: persuasion, suggestion, information, misinformation, incentives, coercion; usage for spreading false information of war mechanisms; creating adverse psychological atmosphere among the population of the occupied territories, which undermined the credibility of the Red Army and the Soviet system.

In general, in the first period of the war – from June 1941 to May 1942 in large parts of Ukraine, local population did not engage in significant resistance. Yet in the summer of 1942, the methods and techniques of Nazi propaganda were less effective and had no psychological effect on most of the Ukrainian population. By the winter of 1943–1944, the population of the occupied territories joined mass guerrilla groups to resist Nazi occupation.

To summarise the developments, the formation of German information effort on the territory of the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine and in the area of military administration and its transformation took place in three different stages.

From early June 1941 to March 1942, Nazi government understood that the war with the Soviet Union would be complex and rather long. Nazi information policy aimed to convince the population of the occupied regions of Ukraine. Admittedly, it succeeded in that period. Some peasants and intellectuals believed that Germany would help Ukraine to free itself from the Bolshevik regime, to build its own state and advanced Ukrainian culture. Farmers waited for the settlement of the land issue and the agrarian reform promoted by Nazi administration. It attracted a considerable number of peasants. In the same period, the occupation authorities created favourable conditions for intellectuals: educational institutions were opened; theatres staged works by Ukrainian writers. Nazi Germany was presented to the Ukrainians by press and cinema as a highly developed country. Small portion of the population under the influence of Nazi propaganda, also motivated by the hope to save their lives and those of their relatives, deliberately agreed to cooperate with the German occupation administration.

Significant changes in the information policy of the German occupation authorities took place in the second part of March – April 1942 when the situation on the front deteriorated for the German army. German government immediately strengthened the occupation regime. Everyone suspected of guerrilla collaboration refusing to work for Germany, sabotaging the orders and instructions by local authorities, was persecuted. During this period, the Nazi propaganda power slogans were changed dramatically. It didn't promise happy life in their own country. There was no word about the implementation of the agrarian reform. Cultural

and educational institutions kept on closing; theatres worked mostly to entertain Wehrmacht military *Volksdeutsche*, where frequent raids in the theatres and cinemas used to take place. Local residents and young people were forced and sent to Germany as labour slaves. This situation could not keep people indifferent. The moral and psychological state of the population was extremely gloomy. People began to support the guerrillas and participate in the resistance movement organised by OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and Soviet partisans. At this stage, the main theme of German propaganda was to intimidate local residents, punish them for cooperating with the guerrillas and the Soviets.

The third period of Nazi information policy was accompanied by the adverse military-political conditions and the defence on the part of the German army. Since summer 1943, Nazi government had changed the tactic and conduct information policy on the territory of the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine. The content of the propaganda was filled with slogans not to support guerrillas and Soviet power. The Bolshevik government was dealing with only repression's policy according to prisoners of war and their families who stayed on the occupied territories. The collective farm system was presented as slave farming deprived of the opportunity to work on their own land. The occupation authorities intensified activities concerning the agrarian reform, though it eventually was not implemented. The year 1944 brought the beginning of the destruction of *Reichskommissariat* military administration and economic power.

ABSTRACT

Preparing Germany to Implement Nazi Information Policy in Occupied Ukraine in 1941–1944

Oksana Salata

The article presents the main directions of Nazi Germany information policy, which was to be implemented in the occupied territories of Ukraine during the World War II. It portrays the military-political strategy of the Third Reich, which was a set of political actions in the field of security and defence, the state system of military-political ideas, beliefs and practical measures that determined the goals and general orientation of political struggle, its forms, methods, military aspects of higher national interests and security of the state. The study shows that the implementation of the Nazi information policy on the territory of the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine and in the area of military administration was planned

in three stages. Since the occupation policy was cruel and inhuman in nature, the information policy of the Nazi Germany did not deliver the expected results.

Key words: Nazi Germany Occupation Policy, Occupied Ukraine, Information Policy, Information War.

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Alenka Jensterle-Doležalová

FORMING NEW POLITICAL IDENTITY:
SLOVENE WRITERS AND YUGOSLAV
IDEA AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE 20TH CENTURY¹

First Part

Slovene writers all through history linked their writer's identity with the formation of national identity: the dictate of national idea was crucial for them. The "creative paradigm" of Slovene writers in the 19th century – the formative period of Slovenes as nation – was connected with the idea of the Slovene nation. The idioms of Slovene culture and language were, from the very beginning, the main points of Slovene national identity also because of the history of the suppressed nation without a state. From the Romantic period, Slovene literary society was also entranced by the idea of the supranational model of pan-Slavism, which promised the union of all Slavic nations. At the end of the 19th century, additional supranational models came into force.

On the other hand, from the beginning of Slovene culture, there were attempts to neglect the language and culture or to fuse it with other South Slavic nations, especially the Croats. The first idea about the fusion of the Slovene with the Croat language appeared in the period of Protestantism², when Primož Trubar, the founder and the first superintendent of the Slovene Protestant Church, cooperated with Croats in writing and publishing books for all South Slavs.³ Trubar worked for some time together with the reformist Peter Pavel Vergerij,⁴

³ In period between 1561 and 1565 Trubar was the organiser and supervisor of the South Slavic Bible Institute in Urach, where the press for South Slavs was also established.

⁴ Peter Pavel Vergerij, Vergerius (Vergeryi, Vergerio) (1370–1444), Peter Pavel, junior (from 1522 with the nick name "minor" or "il giovane" to differ from P. P. V. senior) was a bishop from Koper and Protestant writer, born to an aristocratic family around 1498 in Koper and died in Tübingen on 4th October 1565. Trubar stayed with him on his death bed. They worked together in exile in Germany. Vergerij persuaded Trubar to translate parts of the *Bible* into Slovene (the *Gospel of Mathew*). On his advice, Trubar began to write in Latin prescription. They cooperated together on 4 manuscripts especially in the year 1555. Then they split because

the ideologist of the South Slavic movement. He rejected Vergerij's visionary ideas to write Protestant books in Croatian or in a kind of artificial Slavic "esperanto".⁵

At the time of Slovene Romanticism (1830–1850) the idea of pan-Slavism, which was mainly the idea of Jan Kollár, crystallised in the movement of Illyrism, founded by Kollár's followers in Croatia. The movement found its way into the minds of Slovene intellectuals. The idea was spread in the northern Slovene lands: Carinthia and Styria, but it was not successful in the main literary society in Ljubljana, in which France Prešeren and Matija Čop dominated. The talented Slovene poet Stanko Vraz from Styria, who studied in Graz, became one of the ideologists of the Illyrism among Styrian students. He changed his language from Styrian dialect to Illyrian, moved to Zagreb and became the right hand of the leader of the Illyrism movement Ljudevit Gaj. One of the reasons was that L. Gay offered him to publish in Zagreb. Yet his poetry was not accepted by the main literary group in Ljubljana.⁶

The key figures of Slovene Romanticism, Prešeren and Čop, rejected this idea. Contrary to Stanko Vraz, they didn't accept "Illyric language", invented by the Croat Ljudevit Gaj. France Prešeren proved with his writing that the Slovene language was equal to the other European languages.

Second Part

In the second part of the 19th century Slovenia was a part of Austrian-Hungarian Empire. At the time the voices of the different Slavic nations started being heard. Powerful Slovenian national patriotic movement emerged and merged with the ideas of pan-Slavism. In 1860s and 1870s, it spread as a result of the dissemination of South Slavic ideas largely among students and young intellectuals.⁷ The period

of the different cultural concepts and ideological reason. [online: <<http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi774658/>>, cit. 2016-02-27].

⁵ Slodnjak, A., *Študije in eseji*, Maribor 1966, 75.

⁶ There were some reasons, why he changed the identity, but one of them was the rejection of his poems by Prešeren and Čop. Standard Slovene language was also not codified at that time and in Eastern Styria (the area which was geographically and culturally very close to Croatia), where he lived and worked, they used different type of language than standard one, which was closer to Croatian – *kaikau* dialect.

⁷ See: Prijatelj, I., Slovensko, slovansko in južnoslovansko vprašanje pri Slovencih na prelomu šestdesetih in sedemdesetih let (Sloven, Slavic and South Slavic question between the Slovenes in the 1860s and 1870s), in: *Slovenska kulturnopolitična in slovstvena zgodovina: 1848–1895 (Zbrano delo, tretja knjiga)*, Ljubljana 1958, 147–228.

also saw the demise of the dualism of Austria and Hungary. On 1st December 1870, the first South Slavic congress was held in Ljubljana. Ivan Prijatelj wrote that the Yugoslav idea culminated then.⁸

The beginning of the 20th century brought major improvement in economic situation, electrification and industrialisation, along with major societal changes. By the end of the 19th century, industry developed considerably in Slovenia and the society was similarly differentiated as in the other developed European nations. The great railway connection from Villach to Trieste was completed in 1906: it connected Austrian lands with Adriatic Sea.

The rise of the new Illyrism (Slovene: *neoilirizem*) and the Yugoslav idea, that means the possibility of fusion of Slovenes with the other South Slavic nations to the one state, arose with the beginning of the First Balkan War in October 1912. The idea of the united South Slavic nations in one state became very real. Another attempt at fusion of two languages and cultures (Slovene and Croat) came in the time before collapse of the Habsburg Empire: when new Illyrism as the consequence of the new political situation became concrete and discussed all around Slovenia. The status of the Slovene language and culture was quite fragile: new Illyrism also brought Slovene language and culture into question. Plus, there was a powerful movement between Slovene intellectuals before the World War I to again renounce Slovene language and culture. The most radical voices came from young students in the group Progressionists (*Preporodovci*), who called for political and cultural union of all south Slavic nations. Other Slovene intellectuals shared the idea, such as Etbin Kristan (1867–1953).⁹ Distinguished Slovene writer and the most important dramatist after Ivan Cankar was also a celebrated politician during the late-Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy who believed in the Yugoslav idea. He co-founded the Yugoslav Social Democratic Party (SDS) and served as its Chairman until 1914. As a powerful figure in the party and society, he also persuaded others to follow the suit. He foresaw gradual absorption of Slovenes, their language and culture into the future Yugoslav nation. At the meeting of Social Democratic Party in Slovene Tivoli (November 1909) he reported on his opinion about the Yugoslav issue and defended the thesis that the Slovenes were an independent nation.¹⁰ He thus called for future unification as a fusion of all

⁸ The consequences of the Slovene and Croat connections and their co – work was the newspaper *Südslawische Zeitung*, established on 1871 in Croat Sisak. One of the editors was also the most known prose writer Josip Jurčič. (Ibidem, 228.)

⁹ Mahnič, J., *Obdobje moderne*, in: Legiša, L. (ed.), *Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva V*, Ljubljana 1964, 302–303.

¹⁰ Etbin Kristan disagreed with the friend I. Cankar in that point of view and split with him because of that.

Yugoslavs into one union within a single nation, language and culture (*The Resolution of Tivoli*).¹¹

Another leading Slovene intellectual to subscribe to the idea was Fran Ilešič, also Ilešić (1871–1942),¹² a Slovene literary historian, a professor and the main chef and editor of the national publishing house and also national heritage house Slovenska matica (1907–1914). For a time, he was also editor of the newspaper *Slovan* (1910–1913) and lecturer in Slovene language and literature at the University of Zagreb. In order to disseminate Croat culture in Slovenia, he established in Slovenska matica the edition Hrvatska knjižnica (Croat Library). He ardently published Croat authors without any selection criteria. He also underestimated East Styrian authors such as Stanko Vraz and on the other side in his writing he lessened the role of France Prešeren.¹³ He cooperated with other Slovenian writers as Etbin Kristan, Fran Miličinski and Rado Murnik.¹⁴

On the contrary, some Slovene intellectuals and writers rejected these ideas and refused the attempts: most significantly in public lectures of the writer Ivan Cankar, in some of his texts “a sharp critic of Slovene society”.¹⁵ The merger with the Croats was voiced by Slovenes who studied in Prague and later returned to Slovenia influenced by the idea of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. The best known was the group of Slovene national radicals, who tried to develop Slovene culture and language and insisted in the resistance of the Slovene identity.¹⁶

After the outbreak of World War I, the idea was implemented in politics: the politicians from the Slovene Liberal party in 1915 joined the Yugoslav coalition (Yugoslavski odbor) in Paris and tried to create the future union of South Slavs. They were initially also passionate about the idea that South-Slavic nations would

¹¹ Koblar, F. – Pirjevec, A., *Kristan, Etbin (1867–1953). Slovenska biografija. (Slovene biography)*, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 2013. [online: <<http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi305141/#slovenski-biografski-leksikon>>, cit. 2016-01-01]. First publication in: Lukman, F. K. et al., *Slovenski biografski leksikon: 4. zv. Kocen – Lužar*, Ljubljana 1932.

¹² He was pro Illyrist also as an editor of the newspaper *Slovan* from 8 number: 1910–1913.

¹³ Writer Alojz Kreigher pictured him as Dr Janko Mraz in his novel *Kontrolor Škrobar* (1914): he ironized his figure and his Illyric passion.

¹⁴ See: Čeh, J., Cankarjev pogled na ilirizem in novoiliristične ideje Frana Ilešiča, in: Hladnik, M. (ed.), *Preseganje meje. Slovenski slovenistični kongres v Zagrebu leta 2006*, Ljubljana 2006, 158.

¹⁵ See also: Lončar, D., *Politični življenje Slovencev*, Ljubljana 1921; Tuma, H., *Iz mojege življenja. Spomini misli in izpovedi*, Ljubljana 1937; Mal, J., *Zgodovina slovenskega naroda*, zv. 16: *Naš čas (po letu 1890)*, Celje 1939; Sperans – Kardelj, E., *Razvoj slovenskega narodnega vprašanja*, Ljubljana 1939. (The second and revised edition in Ljubljana 1957); Gestrin, F. – Melik, V., *Slovenska zgodovina 1831–1914*, Ljubljana 1950; *Zgodovinski arhiv komunistič'ne partije Jugoslavije, t. V: Socialistično gibanje v Sloveniji 1869–1920*, Beograd 1951.

¹⁶ See: Hladký, L., *Slovinsko, Stručná historie států*, Praha 2010, 64, 160–161. See also: Rychlík, J. et al., *Dějiny Slovinska*, Praha 2011, 136–137.

be part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Yet the Monarchy collapsed on 29th October 1918 and the new state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was declared (later named the Kingdom of Yugoslavia).¹⁷

Slovene modernism (1899–1918) was cosmopolitan literary movement of the group of writers from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. James Gow writes that, as elsewhere in the Habsburg Monarchy, the three decades before the outbreak of World War I, the modernists were quite creative, while Vienna became the cultural Mecca for Slovenes.¹⁸ Slovene modernists introduced Slovene literature to Europe and invented new methods in literary writing. They were nomads, living in Ljubljana, Trieste, Vienna and Prague. As such they were also connected to other Central European movements. Initially they wrote largely poetry.¹⁹ Later, Ivan Cankar, the key figure in “Slovene Moderna”, introduced new models and patterns to drama and prose. As Irena Avsenik Nabergoj points out: “From his first contact with modern European literature in 1896 in Vienna, Cankar actively sought aesthetic models, stimuli and means of expression that would enable him to move beyond the atmosphere of stagnation and self-satisfaction that pervaded Slovenian culture at the time.”²⁰

They were inspired by, inter alia, the Belgian poet Maurice Maeterlinck, and by Russian authors, Northern playwrights such as Ibsen, and the cult French poet Paul Verlaine. They also accepted some philosophical ideas in their writing: they wrote under the influence of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Friedrich Nietzsche and Henri Bergson. On the other hand, Cankar was akin to Dostoevsky and Kierkegaard.²¹ Despite their cosmopolitan literary works, they faced great challenge in their reception within the Catholic atmosphere and culturally backward mentality of Slovene semi-urban society particularly in the early days.

They first called for pure literature and their aesthetic ideas. As in all European fin de siècle movements, they were inspired by the concepts of l’art pour l’art. They were highly critical of the national idea and of literature with ideological concepts, later the historical and political development of the Slovene lands before

¹⁷ Rychlík, J. et al., *Dějiny Slovinska*, Praha 2011, 149–153.

¹⁸ Gow, J. – Carmichael, C., *Slovenia and the Slovenes, A Small State and the New Europe*, London 2000, 76.

¹⁹ Other cosmopolites who showed the openness of the Slovene culture in that period (which was a phenomenon contrary to the rigid, conservative political situation) were painters and sculptors: Impressionists Ivan Grohar, Matej Strnen, Matija Jama, Rihard Jakopič and the sculptor Ivan Berneker. Slovene paintings became known in the world through the works of them from the first half of the 20th century.

²⁰ Avsenik Nabergoj, I., *Mirror of Reality and Dream. Stories and Confessions of Ivan Cankar*. Frankfurt am Main – Berlin – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Wien 2008, 23.

²¹ See: Pirjevec, D., *Ivan Cankar in evropska literatura*, Ljubljana 1964.

World War I changed their views. They felt that the small Slovene nation was in danger at the end of Habsburg era.

The formation of writer's identity later meant for them also the forming of the national identity. The Slovenian homeland was still the magical word for them, even though they proclaimed symbolic and impressionistic movements in literature. Theirs was quite a haphazard attitude to their homeland: they both loathed and loved it. Nevertheless, the homeland was their theme throughout their writing period. The main theme in the prose of Ivan Cankar was the issue of an artist not accepted by Slovene society. Yet later, in the context of political changes, the writers had to also define the supra-national issues and rethink those about the union of the South Slavs that acquired currency before World War I.

Third Part: "Let's Leave Austria in Its Own Shit" ²²

Ivan Cankar was, throughout his life, critical of Slovene society. In his literary works he showed stylistic mastery, along with great irony and sarcasm in his images of Slovene society. As Avsenik Nabergoj suggests: "The social and moral criticism that makes up most of Cankar's creative opus is marked by firm psychological keenness of intellect."²³ The writer, playwright, essayist, poet, and political activist was also a politician: he was member of the Social Democratic Party – dominated in Slovenia by workers. In 1907 he was also on the Party ballot (he ran as a candidate for the party in the largely working-class electoral district of Zagorje-Litija in Carniola), but lost to a candidate of the Slovene People's Party. Although he remained active Party member, he rejected its views on Yugoslav nation-building: in a resolution in 1909, the Party favoured gradual unification of Slovene culture and language with the Serbo-Croat in order to create common Yugoslav nation and culture. In an interview with Izidor Cankar in 1911, Ivan Cankar argued that Slovenian literature had to be independent in the future and Slovenian language would never become part of the Croat language.²⁴ He was upset because of the renegades – he specifically mentioned Fran Ilešič (1871–1942), the President

²² „Pustimo Avstrijo v lastnem dreku.“ This phrases Ivan Cankar proclaimed in the lecture *Slovinci in Jugoslovane (Slovenes and Yugoslavs)* in 12th April 1913.

²³ Avsenik Nabergoj, I., *Mirror of Reality and Dream. Stories and Confessions of Ivan Cankar*. Frankfurt am Main – Berlin – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Wien 2008, 29.

²⁴ Cankar, I., *Obiski. S poti*, Ljubljana 1960, 12; Interview of Izidor Cankar with Ivan Cankar: „Slovenska literatura bo ostala vedno samosvoja. Naš jezik – tudi literarni – ne bo nikdar prešel v hrvaškega.“ (“Slovene literature will always stay independent. Our language – also literary language – will never unite and fuse with the Croatian.”)

of Slovenska Matica, who tried to promote new Illyrism in the main Slovene national publishing house.

Upon return from Vienna to Slovenia in 1909, Cankar in his public lectures tried to formulate the problem of new Illyrism and its denial as a prerequisite of independent Slovene culture and language. He advanced his argument in lecture *Art and Society* (*Umetnost in ljudstvo*) in Trieste on 14th October 1910. He opposed new Illyrism and Ilešič, whom he referred to as “dictator and destructive element”,²⁵ because as editor he published Croatian authors in Slovenska Matica without any deliberation.

In his talk on 2nd February 1911 in Gradišče he suggested that writers and poets were the conscious and subconscious prophets of their period, its cultural magnitude, faults and misadventures, ideas and goals.²⁶ He was highly critical to the role of Stanko Vraz. As Jožica Čeh underlined, his critical remarks on Vraz’s Illyrism were not utterly objective. On the one hand, he also didn’t explain well the relations between Prešeren and Vraz.

Cankar’s best known lecture on Yugoslav idea is *Slovenes and Yugoslavs* (*Slovinci in Jugoslovane*) given in Ljubljana on 12th April 1913.²⁷ He highlighted the fact that the relationship between Slovenes and the possible future Yugoslav union were a genuine a true political issue. Cankar subscribed to the idea of the political unification of all South Slavs but rejected cultural merger of South Slavs. He believed that the future state as the politically equal union of South Slavic nations, Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, was possible also because of political ineptitude and inefficiency of the Habsburg monarchy. He called the Monarchy “a dying state” without efficient political diplomacy and real solutions (the belief is best illustrated by his statement: “Let’s leave Austria in its own shit”, what was later erased from the printed version of the speech). On the other hand, he was quite bitter and cynical about and sharply criticized the situation in Slovene society, as he could clearly see that all the Slovene public bodies – newspapers and revues, uncritically accepted the idea of new Illyrism: “Our overly enthusiastic members of the Illyrian movement forgot not only about Slovene culture and about Slovene writers: Trubar, Prešeren and Levstik,²⁸ but they also forgot about themselves,

²⁵ The lecture is not preserved, but we can reconstruct the meaning from references in press.

²⁶ „Pisatelji in pesniki so zavedni in nezavedni glasniki svoje dobe, njene kulturne višine, njenih grehov in zmot, njenih idej in ciljev.“ (Cankar, I., *Zapuščina*, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (NUK), Ms 513, št. 4, CDZ 25, 210.)

²⁷ Cankar, I., *Slovinci in Jugoslovani*, 12. 4. 1913, the manuscript: NUK, Ms 512, nb. 2 – the lecture was later published in the Slovene newspaper *Zarja* in 1913, 15 (4. 4. 1913); Cankar, I., *Zbrani spisi*, zv. 12, Ljubljana 1931, 12–23; Cankar, I., *Izbrana dela*, zv. 10, Ljubljana 1959, 391–402.

²⁸ Ivan Cankar in his speech exposed three key figures of Slovene literature: Primož Trubar (1508–1586), the founder of Slovene Protestantism; France Prešeren (1800–1849), the main

their names and homeland.”²⁹ He underlined the fact that the main foci of Slovene national identity were language and culture. He was stunned that some members of the new Illyrian movement wanted to sacrifice Slovene language on behalf of some generalised “Yugoslav language”. He interpreted that as a lack of self-consciousness and national dignity.³⁰ He believed that this tendency was even worse than that of the never ending the process of Germanisation for Slovenes in Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

Responses to the lecture in society were not positive: the Slovene newspapers criticised his ideas. Ivan Cankar showed a mirror to the society: he depicted its dark side for all to see. The act had also political consequences. He was arrested for defamation of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and sentenced to one week in jail. Hence, in 1913 Cankar foresaw the creation of Yugoslav state which would preserve cultural differences and in that Slovene identity.³¹ Because of this proclamation of Slovene identity, he and his work was later not accepted in the new Yugoslav state. During the dictatorship of King Alexander (1929–1934), Cankar’s works were removed from school curricula. He was considered to be a dangerous follower of Slovene particularism and nationalism.

Similarly to Cankar’s ideas before the World War I the leading Slovene poet Oton Župančič (1878–1946) responded to the foundation of Yugoslavia in 1918. In his article *Draft of The Declaration of Slovene Cultural Autonomy (Osnutek izjave za slovensko kulturno avtonomijo)* he suggested that the new state had to develop all three cultures: he stressed that Slovene language had his history. It was a special language, so it was impossible to fuse Slovene with the Serbo-Croat language.³²

figure of Slovene romanticism and Fran Levstik (1831–1887) the main figure in Slovene literary society in the second half of the 19th century: a poet, a prose writer, a politician; also a great public organiser of Slovene culture.

²⁹ „Naši do omedlevice navdušeni Ilirci pa niso pozabili samo na slovensko kulturo... ne samo na Trubarja, Prešerna in Levstika, temveč pozabili so navsezadnje kar samo nase, na svoje ime in na svojo domovino.“ (Cankar, I., *Zbrano delo, Petindvajseta knjiga (Politični članki in satire / Govori in predavanja)*). Eds. D. Volgar – D. Moravec, Ljubljana 1976, 236.)

³⁰ „Najbolj gnusni, res – gnusni! pa se mi zdé tisti ljudjé, ki čisto brez vzroka in brez povoda v zvezo s političnim jugoslovanskim vprašanjem še slovenski jezik.“ (“The most disgusting, really disgusting! for me are the people, who without any reason and any explanation put into connection political question of the Yugoslav idea and the problem of Slovene language”). (Cankar, I., *Zbrano delo, Petindvajseta knjiga (Politični članki in satire / Govori in predavanja)*). Eds. D. Voglar – D. Moravec, Ljubljana 1976, 238).

³¹ Gow, J. – Carmichael, C., *Slovenia and the Slovenes, A Small State and the New Europe*, London 2000, 22. See also: Vodopivec, P., *The Slovenes and Yugoslavia, East European Politics and society*, 1992, vol. 6, no. 3, 220–41.

³² „Ugotavljamo, da je dala historija Slovincem v toku stoletij svojo lastno smer, v kateri se je izoblikovala slovenska duševnost vsebinsko in oblikovno samostojno [...] Kulturna politika bo morala vsekakor upoštevati dejstvo, da se je slovenska veja jugoslovanskega naroda razvila jezikovno samostojno, tako da je slovenski književni jezik, dasi najbližji sorodnik srbohrvaščini,

At the time of monarchical dictatorship during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the question of Slovenian language became quite exposed also because the Slovenes as a nation, weren't granted their rights under the Serbian control. Yugoslav authorities sponsored official use of Serbo-Croat in Slovene lands. Even the name Slovenia was officially banned. The situation completely changed, and the intellectuals were one suddenly highly conscious of and sensitive about the question of Slovene language and culture. In 1932, Oton Župančič published an article in the journal *Ljubljanski zvon*, entitled *Louis Adamič and Slovene Identity (Lojze Adamič in slovenska zavest)*. In his study of Adamič's work³³, he suggests that Slovenes can preserve their cultural identity in different parts of the world (such as in America), even if they don't use Slovene language – as it was the case of the writer Lojze Adamič. He pointed out that Slovenes have to look after their language in the territory of Slovenia above all, for it is the territory that was highly exposed to other cultures.³⁴ The article by the open minded intellectual caused quite some upheaval and its reception proved controversial. Editorial board of the main Slovene journal *Ljubljanski zvon* split because of that.

Additional other Slovene writers and intellectuals behaved very differently after the collapse of the Monarchy and in the new circumstances of the forming the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which was in 1929, renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Some of them accepted the Yugoslav idea in response to the denial of the Slovene cultural identity. For example, the Slovene-Croat writer and journalist

vendar organizem zase in da je v območju slovenskega jezika za zdaj možno uspešno kulturno delo edinole v tem jeziku.“ (“We can declare that the history of Slovenes during the centuries is very specific – with the orientation in which Slovene spirit is seen in content and form [...] In the future, cultural politics must, at any case, take into the consideration the fact that the Slovenes and Slovene language are independent within the context of Yugoslav nation. That means that the Slovene language – even though it is very near to Serbo-Croatian – is a specific phenomenon. Hence, we can write Slovene literature in Slovenian only.”) (Župančič, O., *Zbrano delo. Deveta knjiga*, Ljubljana 1984, 176).

³³ Alojz Adamič or Louis Adamic (also Adamic) (1898–1951) is a famous Slovene-American writer, translator and politician. He was an emigrant from Slovenia, settled in America. He wrote in English. He got his reputation from the book *Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in Amerika* (1931). In this article O. Župančič put into consideration his book *Laughing in the Jungle: The autobiography of an Immigrant in America* from 1932.

³⁴ „Toda naš jezik živi na tem in tem tesnem in raskavem materialnem prostoru, na oglišču in terišču treh, štirih raznih kultur, in tu trpimo kot opeštniki. Tu poglej, tu pomisli, tu navri! Tam pa, kjer se ni bati, se ne boj. In ne omejuj možnosti, ne oviraj bodočnosti. Kako radi to slovenstvo utesnjujemo...“ (“But our language lives at this and only at this narrow and rough area, which is in reality territory of tree, four culture, and here we suffer as a buffer. Here you must be cautious, here you think of it, ‘here you boil!’ There, where you don't need to be afraid of it, don't be afraid. Don't narrow possibilities, don't obstruct the future. Too often it happens that we narrow our ‘Slovene identity’...”) (Župančič, O., *Adamič in Slovenstvo, Ljubljanski zvon*, 1932, 52, 8, 529)

Zofka Kveder (1879–1926) was, after World War I, outspoken defender of the Yugoslav idea.³⁵ Her political leaning influenced her writing and artistic aspect of patriotic plays with ideological concepts – written in Croat – in the 20th century.³⁶ Her newspaper for women was named *Yugoslav Woman* (*Jugoslovenska žena*). Additionally, the Slovene professor Matija Murko (1861–1952), based in Prague, was the follower of the idea of the union of South-Slavic nations (he wanted there also the Bulgarians). In the 1930s he pointed out that Slovenes could neglect the language in order to achieve that goal.³⁷

Conclusion

One of the main influential ideas between Slovene and South Slavic intellectuals before, during and after World War I was the idea of the reunion of three states within Yugoslavia. The idea was widespread in the Balkans, especially among Croats. The followers of the new Illyrism in Slovenia interpreted the idea as gradual unification of Slovene culture and language with the Croat one in order to create a common Yugoslav nation and culture. In that period, it was a common conviction among Slovene intellectuals. On the contrary, the leading Slovene modernist Ivan Cankar, in his public lectures and interviews, opposed the notion and warned that it would mean the end of Slovene language, culture and the death of Slovene writers. As a critic and foremost thinker and visionary, he foresaw the danger of reunification of the three different cultures and languages. His fears materialised in the context of Yugoslavia. He significantly influenced Slovene public and the awareness of the importance of Slovene culture and language. He reacted as a critic of the naive behaviour of some Slovene intellectuals at the time, keen to abandon the Slovene cultural identity and language for the sake of temporary political goals and ideas.

³⁵ She lived in Zagreb and was influenced by the politics of her husband. Juraj Demetrović was in that time the member of the Yugoslav government and lived more or less in Belgrade.

³⁶ For the understanding of her turn to ideological works see: Jensterle-Doležal, A., Avtor, tekst, kontekst, komunikacija. Poglavlja iz slovenske moderne, *Slavia Centrais*, 2014, 8, 2, 141–143.

³⁷ See: Jensterle-Doležal, A., Mit slovanske vzajemnosti pri Matiju Murku, in: *Matija Murko v mislenkovém kontextu evropské slavistiky*. Eds. I. Pospíšil – M. Zelenka, Brno 2005, 136–148.

ABSTRACT

**Forming New Political Identity: Slovene Writers and Yugoslav Idea
at the Beginning of the 20th Century**

Alenka Jensterle-Doležalová

Slovene writers – writers of the small Central European Slavic nation – connected their writer's identity with the formation of the national identity in times of national awakening. The rise of the new Illyrism and the Yugoslav idea which enabled fusion of Slovenes with the other South Slavic nations to the one state is dated to the beginning of the 20th century. The position of the Slovene language and culture was very fragile: new Illyrism also brought Slovene language and culture into question. The main Slovene modernist Ivan Cankar (1876–1918), the key figure of “Slovene Moderna”, was railing against such a notion in his public lectures and interviews. He clearly proclaimed this would be the end of Slovene language, culture, and also the end of the Slovene writer. As a critic and great thinker with visionary concepts he had foreseen a danger of reunification of three different cultures and languages in one which had the real threat in the new Yugoslavia. His activities were crucial, he convinced the Slovene public to support the uniqueness of Slovene culture and language.

Key words: Slovene Writers, Slovene Literature, Ivan Cankar, Yugoslav Idea and Slovene Identity, Literature and Politics.

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Ekaterina Rycheva

CULTURAL ASPECTS IN LEARNING RUSSIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE¹

Strengthening of international contacts justifies necessity of effective cross-cultural communication. Entering into a dialogue, people are in a search of the best and more complete means of establishing, transmission and correct understanding of information. Therefore, the focus of the current research is to highlight the relationships between language and culture in a process of learning Russian as a foreign language.

Language is the foremost tool of transmission of culture. Hence, the cultural aspect has a particular value in communication in order to achieve understanding and cooperation between people. Culture comprises of spiritual and material values accumulated from generation to generation, with certain constant character, which is, at the same time, specific to every nation or ethnic group. The well-known definition of a culture suggests that it is the “integrated pattern of human knowledge, beliefs, and behaviour that is both a result of and integral to the human capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations. Culture thus consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of art, rituals, ceremonies, symbols.”² The complicated composition of this phenomenon was also underlined by the American anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn: “Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditional elements of future action.” – This sophisticated nature of culture may

¹ The project was supported by Visegrad Scholarship Program.

² Stevens, M. A. et al., *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, Shanghai 2008, 430.

give certain indication to attitudes, life values, orientations, and relation to the world of an entire nation and a single person. "Culture is an ambiguous set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour."³ Therefore it is essential to understand not only the language as a means of communication, but also cultural background of words and phrases, what leads to effective interaction between communicants.

The issue of mutual influence of language and culture has always been of a widespread interest. Researchers have underlined the dialectical relationship between language and culture. Lotman says: "No language (in the full sense of the word) can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have, at its centre, the structure of natural language."⁴ Thus teaching of a foreign language will be inaccurate and incomplete without the study of a culture.

In this regard, there has been increasing interest in intercultural communication and formation of intercultural competence among students in studying foreign languages. Researchers (Y. Lotman, H. Spencer-Oatey, R. Hanvey, Milton J. Bennett, E. Vereshchagin, V. Vorobyov, V. Kostomarov, V. Maslova, S. Ter-Minasova, and others) study the different types of relationship and interaction between culture and language, describing their development and operation of the process in a modern cross-cultural communication. The discipline combines the study of language and culture. The purpose of cultural linguistics is to investigate and to describe the cultural space through the prism of language, and to analyse national component in semantics of language units. "Cultural linguistics is a science that arose at the intersection of linguistics and cultural studies. It investigates cultural manifestations of people that are affected and entrenched in language."⁵ Defined cultural components in language units have certain symbolic value and are transmitted through communication. As Vorobyov points out, "cultural linguistics is a complex scientific discipline of synthesising type, which studies the relationship and interaction between culture and language in its functioning. It reflects the process as integral structure units in the unity of their linguistic and extra-linguistic (cultural) content using a system of methods and

³ Spencer-Oatey, H., *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*, London 2008, 3.

⁴ Lotman, Y. – Uspensky, B. – Mihaychuk, G., On the Semiotic Mechanism of Culture, *New Literary History*, 1978, vol. 9, no. 2, Soviet Semiotics and Criticism: An Anthology, 211–232.

⁵ Маслова, В. А., *Введение в лингвокультурологию. Учебное пособие*, Москва 1997.

⁶ All translations from Russian to English were made by the author of the article.

with a focus on modern priorities and cultural establishment (a system of norms and human values).”⁷

Cultural linguistics depicts an individual not only as a speaker, but also as a representative of certain culture. Language reflects the culture of a speaker. Thus, the features of a linguistic identity of an individual are reflected in usage of certain language units. Therefore, the problem of the relationship between language and culture also requires consideration of extralinguistic factors in studies of related disciplines such as psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and others.

Teaching Russian as a foreign language involves presentation and explanation of culturally significant words and phrases. In the process of learning student does not only possess a foreign language as the means of communication and transmission of information. Yet it also becomes a bearer of certain cultural code that allows him or her to engage in dialogue about foreign language. One becomes able to understand surface information, and to grasp concealed intentions and meanings. Language is an essential tool in the process of learning and interpretation of other cultures in human consciousness. Ter-Minasova says: “Presentation of a word with a cultural component of meaning in teaching foreign languages is associated with human communication, promoting intercultural tolerance and communication.”⁸

Speakers of different languages encode different aspects of reality which are important to them. Thus, culture seems to be one of the conductors of national and/or personal consciousness. According to Matsumoto, “culture is as much an individual, psychological construct as it is a social construct. To some extent, culture exists in each and every one of us individually as much as it exists as a global, social construct. Individual differences in culture can be observed among people in the degree to which they adopt and engage in the attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours that, by consensus, constitute their culture. If you act in accordance with those values or behaviours, then that culture resides in you; if you do not share those values or behaviours, then you do not share that culture.”⁹

This raises an issue of searching and creating a collection of some cultural and background knowledges which would enable speakers of a language to understand each other. For example, Belyanin notes that “the cultural component of the meaning of a word is its extra-linguistic content, which reflects national culture. Background knowledge exists in the form of multiple logical implications and presuppositions.”¹⁰ That is why mutual cultural knowledge would help speakers of the same language to understand each other, as the foundation of the realities

⁷ Воробьев, В. В., *Лингвокультурология: теория и методы*, Москва 1997, 36–37.

⁸ Тер-Минасова, С. Г., *Язык и межкультурная коммуникация*, Москва 2000.

⁹ Matsumoto, D. *Culture and Psychology*, Pacific Grove 1996, 18.

¹⁰ Белянин, В. П., *Психолингвистика: Учебник*, Москва 2003, 153.

of the participants of communication. Nonetheless, some researchers note that “actualisation of the communicative essence of background knowledge points out to the existence of a certain ‘communicative minimum’ required for the implementation of communication. Not a whole meaning, ‘standing’ behind the word for a native speaker, is demanded for communication and seems to be a prerequisite for the correct perception. Moreover, this amount of meaning is often difficult to determine even for a native speaker.”¹¹

Understanding among people relies particularly on learning language units: symbols, signs and key concepts. They create a general-purpose pattern for dialogue between cultures. Language units bear the potential of cultural background of a different character. Therefore, idioms and precedent phenomena are of a high importance for a speaker of foreign language.

The well-known classification of precedent phenomena was proposed by V. Krasnykh, D. Gudkov, I. Zakharenko and D. Bagaeva. They defined and described four types of the precedent phenomena: precedent text, precedent situation, precedent statement and precedent proper name. They argue that the precedent text “is familiar to any average member of cultural-linguistic community”, for example, titles of works of fiction, lyrics, advertising and political texts.¹²

Precedent situation is “a real single situation, minimised invariant of perception of which, including representation about the action itself, its participants, the main connotation and evaluation, is part of the cognitive base of the cultural-linguistic community and is familiar to almost all its members”.¹³ They understand the term precedent statement as the popular quotes from different texts and proverbs.¹⁴

One of the most controversial types of precedent phenomena is a precedent proper name. Linguists interpret the concept as “personal name associated either with a well-known text, usually related to precedent text (e.g., Pechorin), or with the precedent situation (e.g., Ivan Susanin)”.¹⁵ The group includes the names of historical figures, writers, artists, singers, etc. Precedent names may acquire

¹¹ Иванищева, О. Н., *Язык и культура: учебное пособие*, Мурманск 2007, 56.

¹² Багаева, Д. В. – Гудков, Д. Б. – Захаренко, И. В. – Красных, В. В., Когнитивная база и прецедентные феномены в системе других единиц и в коммуникации, *Вестник Московского университета. Серия 9: Филология*, 1997, № 3, 62–85.

¹³ Багаева, Д. В. – Гудков, Д. Б. – Захаренко, И. В. – Красных, В. В., Прецедентное имя и прецедентное высказывание как символы прецедентных феноменов, *Язык – Сознание – Коммуникация*, 1997, Выпуск 1, 82–103.

¹⁴ Багаева, Д. В. – Гудков, Д. Б. – Захаренко, И. В. – Красных, В. В., Когнитивная база и прецедентные феномены в системе других единиц и в коммуникации, *Вестник Московского университета. Серия 9: Филология*, 1997, № 3, 62–85.

¹⁵ Багаева, Д. В. – Гудков, Д. Б. – Захаренко, И. В. – Красных, В. В., Прецедентное имя и прецедентное высказывание как символы прецедентных феноменов, *Язык – Сознание – Коммуникация*, 1997, Выпуск 1, 82–103.

secondary, common meanings with a set of associations (for instance, Napoleon – “arrogant leader”).

Other language units that carry important and rich cultural information, are idioms. They include key concepts of culture that define national identity of language, reflect cultural and historical experience of a nation, form identity and preserve it for future generations. Therefore, special attention ought to be paid to the interpretation and usage of phraseology as culturally significant items in learning foreign languages. As Telia notes, “1) the majority of idiomatic units have cultural and national originality, [...] 2) in the collective subconscious memory of native speakers the intertextual connection of phraseology is preserved with a certain cultural code, [...] 3) the repeatability of phraseological signs contributes to an intergenerational broadcast of culturally significant settings and thereby – formation in the process of learning and usage of a language as a cultural identity of a separate person and cultural and national identity of a nation”¹⁶

Thus, language units may have different cultural potential in everyday life, in the processes of education and socialisation. Such units are instrumental in studying foreign language, as they bear rich potential for effective cross-cultural communication. This study may produce material to study psychology and consciousness of an entire nation and reveal features of the individual “picture of the world”.

Acquisition of culturally significant linguistic units by students provides effective understanding of a foreign language. It is a helpful prerequisite for learning foreign language, as it may depict language on its functional level and in close relationship with the culture, including the world culture as a whole. Cote points out: “Culture is more than a collection of attributes or facts; it is a style of life, an orderly way of coping with the infinite complexities of reality. Language is only one way a culture expresses its style. Language therefore conveys a great deal of information about how a culture sees the world.”¹⁷

Thus, learning a foreign language involves the cultural-linguistic and cross-cultural orientation which facilitates removal of ethnic tensions, promotes tolerance towards representation of other cultures. Description of features of the other culture gives students the essential information, which is sufficient for adequate communication. Effectiveness of cross-cultural communication is determined not only by practical language skills, but also by knowledge of foreign culture. In this regard, one of the most important issues of foreign language teaching is

¹⁶ Телия, В. Н., Первоочередные задачи и методологические проблемы исследования фразеологического состава языка в контексте культуры, in: *Фразеология в контексте культуры*, Москва 1999, 13–24.

¹⁷ Cote, M., *Language Reflects Culture*. [online: <<http://www.sicc.sk.ca/archive/saskindian/a85sep21.htm>>, cit. 2016-05-04].

overcoming the cultural barrier. Understanding of cultural code provides insight into the national and cultural features (mentality) of native speakers. It facilitates the use of peculiar linguistic representations of reality in communication.

There are some classifications of language realities which reflect certain culture. Ivanova offers one of the classifications that consists of four major groups: domestic realities (dishes, drinks; clothing, hats, fabrics; economic realities; monetary units; measures of weight and length; buildings; means of transportation, trade establishments; musical instruments, etc.), concepts of state and public life (settlements; state, political parties, public organisations and institutions, enterprises; titles, degrees, administrative positions; trends, members of organizations, beliefs; population, religion, church, education system; media; holidays, dances, games, songs, beliefs, etc.), realities of the natural world (names of plants, animals; landscape and natural phenomena); onomastic realities (names of historical personalities; literary characters; literary works, printed publications, toponyms; historical and architectural monuments).¹⁸

Other well-known classification was created by Vinogradov, who defined six groups of language realities:

1. Domestic realities (dwelling, clothing, food, types of labour, money, musical instruments, folk celebrations),
2. Ethnographic and mythic realities,
3. Realities of natural world (animals, plants, landscape),
4. Realities of the government and social life (actual and historic),
5. Onomastic realities (anthroponyms and toponyms),
6. Associative realities (colour symbols; folkloric, historic and literal allusions, language allusions, animalistic symbols, vegetative symbols).¹⁹

All classifications focus on non-equivalent vocabulary that contains national and cultural attributes and reflects its traditions and history. Defining and studying such a vocabulary facilitates understanding of people's life, historical and social changes.

In order to determine the reflection of Russian culture in a process of learning Russian in the Czech Republic, I carried out an investigation among students who study Russian in three Czech universities: Charles University in Prague (Faculty of Arts and Pedagogical Faculty), The Palacký University Olomouc (Faculty of Arts) and the University of Ostrava (Faculty of Arts). The survey involved 177 student respondents.

¹⁸ Иванова, Н. А., *Сопоставительно-типологический анализ безэквивалентной лексики (на материале русского, немецкого и французского языков)*, Москва 2004, 227. (Дисс. канд. филол. наук: 10.02.20.)

¹⁹ Виноградов, В. С., *Лексические вопросы перевода художественной прозы*, Москва 1978, 174.

The largest group consisted of students, who have learned Russian for over three years (135 people); the second group involved native speakers (33 people); the smallest group was composed of students who have learned Russian for less than three years (8 people), and those who have learned Russian less than one year (1 person).

The questionnaire consisted of three parts.

First Part

The aim of the first part was to find out whether students use Russian in their everyday communication and whether they are able to improve their language skills by themselves.

1.1. Students who have learned Russian for over three years (non-native speakers) have been living in the Czech Republic all their life (97 %), the rest of the students has been living in the Czech Republic from 9 to 18 years (3 %).

Most of the students started to learn Russian at school (80 %), some of them started to study Russian at secondary school (8 %) and others at the University (7 %). Fewer students began to learn Russian at home – with their families (2 %), with friends (1 %), at language courses (1 %), or by themselves (1 %).

As it turned out, the students are interested in reading/watching news in the mass media (newspapers, magazines, TV, radio) in Russian (yes – 68 %, no – 32 %), and in reading Russian news portals on the Internet (yes – 65 %, no – 35 %). Almost a half of the respondents usually communicate in Russian on social networks (yes – 41 %, no – 59 %), and speak Russian with their friends or relatives (yes – 51 %, no – 49 %). Hence, most students have an opportunity to improve their language skills in everyday communication, in addition to studying at the University.

In the first part of the survey students also answered how many hours per week they usually speak Russian. Most of them speak Russian from 2 to 10 hours per week (54 %), next group of students speaks less than 2 hours per week (35 %), while the smallest group uses Russian in everyday communication more than 10 hours per week (11 %). These results showed us that most students learn speak Russian principally at the University during their language classes.

1.2. Students who have learned Russian for less than three years (non-native speakers) have been living in the Czech Republic all their life (100 %).

Most of the students started to learn Russian at school (49 %), some at the University (38 %), or by themselves (13 %).

A half of the students search information in the media in Russian (yes – 50 %, no – 50 %). Most of them read news and find the information in Russian on the Internet (yes – 62 %, no – 38 %). Almost a third usually communicate in Russian on social networks (yes – 38 %, no – 62 %), and half of them speak Russian with friends or relatives (yes – 50 %, no – 50 %). This part of the questionnaire showed that there is no distinctive feature in the approach to learning Russian among students. Most students of this group neither use social networks for communication in Russian, nor read media in Russian, although it is one of the easiest ways to improve their language skills. These results may be explained by the limited level of their language competence and a lack of self-confidence in communicating with native speakers.

Most students who have learned Russian for less than three years speak Russian from 2 to 10 hour per week (62 %), more than 10 hours per week (25 %), and less than 2 hours per week (13 %). This shows that most of the group only speaks Russian in language classes, as do students from the previous group (see 1.1.).

Drawing from the above, it seems that the students who have learned Russian for more than three years and less than three years (non-native speakers) need to increase their motivation to learning Russian as a foreign language in and out of class.

1.3. Native speakers have been living in the Czech Republic less than 5 years (16 %), from 5 to 10 years (34 %) and for over 10 years (50 %).

Most students began to learn Russian in their families (76 %), fewer began to learn Russian at school (24 %).

Native speakers read the media in Russian (yes – 94 %, no – 6 %), and read news and find information in Russian on the Internet (yes – 94 %, no – 6 %), usually communicate on Russian in social networks (yes – 90 %, no – 10 %), and speak Russian with their friends or relatives (yes – 95 %, no – 5 %).

Most students in this group speak Russian more than 10 hours per week (44 %) and continuously (34 %). The rest of them speak Russian from 2 to 10 hour per week (13 %) and less than 2 hours per week (9 %). Students in this group use Russian as the main means of communication, which allows not only to maintain their Russian communication skills, but also to exchange cultural codes with their interlocutors.

Second Part

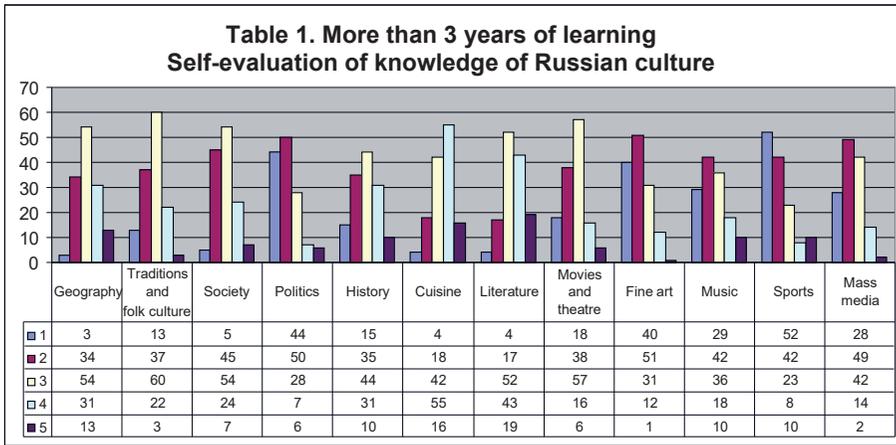
The aim of the second part of the survey was to ask students to evaluate themselves in terms of their knowledge of Russian culture and reality. There were offered twelve areas: geography, traditions and folk culture, society, politics, history, national cuisine, literature, movie and theatre, art, music, sports, and media. They were

asked to rate their knowledge from 1 to 5, where 5 was the best knowledge of the subject and 1 was the poorest (Table 1).

Students, who have learned Russian for over three years believe to have better knowledge about *traditions and folk culture, cuisine and literature*.

Average knowledge index emerged in connection with *geography, history, movies and theatre* and in *society*.

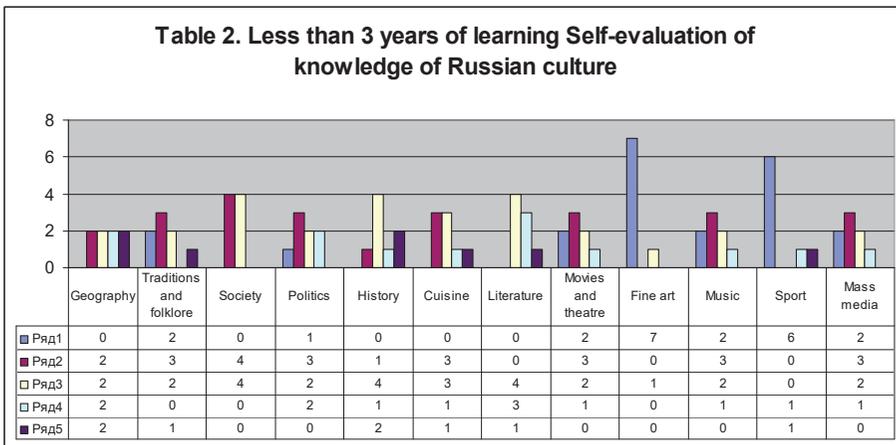
The poorest knowledge, as indicated by the respondents, is about *politics, music, fine art, sports and media*.



Students, who have learned Russian for less than 3 years, indicated better knowledge about *cuisine, history and literature*.

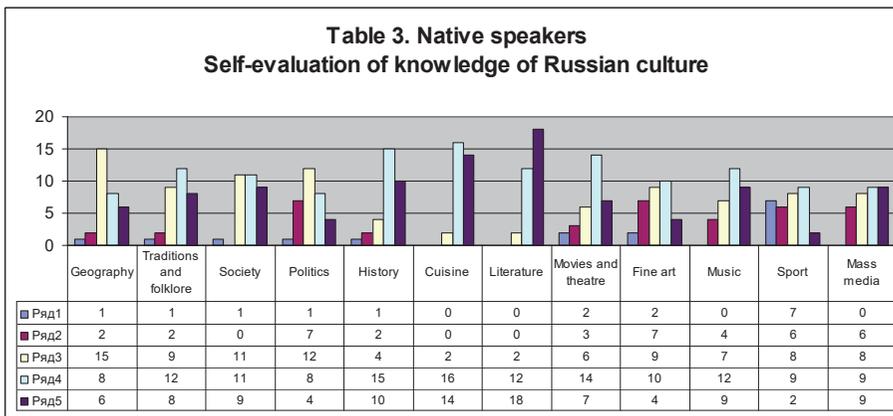
Average knowledge index emerged in connection with *geography, traditions and folk culture* and in *society*.

The worst knowledge as students have pointed out they have in *politics, movies and theatre, music, fine art, sports and in media*.



Native speakers of the Russian language denoted that they have better knowledge in *geography, traditions and folk culture, history, society, movies and theatre, music, cuisine and literature.*

Average knowledge index among native speakers concerns *politics, fine art and media.* The poorest knowledge among native speakers only concerns *sports.*



Third Part

In the third part of the survey students wrote names or titles in different spheres of a culture. The aim was to identify realities important for the students who have learned Russian. The eight categories related to Russian culture included:

1. Well-known historic events connected with Russia.
2. Names of Russian holidays.
3. Russian cuisine (dishes and drinks).
4. Writers, poets and literary works.
5. Musicians, singers and composers.
6. Movies, actors or directors.
7. Popular sports.
8. Famous politicians.

Part 3 of the survey focused on the largest group of students, who have learned Russian for over three years (135 people).

Among the well-known historic events connected with Russia, students identified the Great Patriotic War (55 answers), Russian Revolution of 1917 (51 answers), the Christianisation of The Kievan Rus' (33 answers), the Decembrist Revolt (29 answers), Napoleonic Wars (29 answers) and World War II (28 answers). Other most significant historical events as identified by the respondents include the World War I, the Disintegration of the USSR, the Distemper and Perestroika.

The most famous historic personalities for the students were Peter the Great, Ivan the Terrible, Ekaterina the Great, Stalin and Lenin.

The most important Russian holidays were identified as Christmas (113 answers), New Year (108 answers), Easter (98 answers), Victory Day (75 answers), International Women's Day (58 answers), Defender of the Fatherland Day (40 answers) and Maslenitsa (31 answers).

Key dishes as identified within Russian cuisine were borscht (118 answers), shchi (92 answers), blini (89 answers), pelmeni (86 answers), pirozhki (36 answers), ukha (33 answers). The well-known Russian drinks are vodka (81 answers), kvas (43 answers) and tea (38 answers).

Students were able to list a number of Russian writers, poets and their literary works. On the top of the list can be found such names as Pushkin (127 answers), Dostoevsky (91 answers), Gogol (84 answers), Tolstoy (81 answer), Lermontov (80 answers), Chekhov (69 answers) and Akhmatova (37 answers).

Among the well-known names in music, they listed Tchaikovsky (82 answers), Vysotsky (45 answers), Okudzhava (26 answers), Shostakovich (19 answers) and Pugacheva (13 answers).

In the domain of movies, identified such classics of Russian cinema as: *Walking the Streets of Moscow* (36 answers), Andrei Tarkovsky (30 answers), *The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!* (29 answers), Nikita Mikhalkov (26 answers), *Mirror* (25 answers), *Morozko* (25 answers) and *Stalker* (24 answers).

Among popular sports in Russia, students listed hockey (124 answers), figure skating (65 answers), football (46 answers), tennis (30 answers), skiing (22 answers), etc.

In the last domain students identified such politicians, as Putin (132 answers), Medvedev (94 answers), Lenin (31 answer), Stalin (29 answers), Yeltsin (26 answers), Gorbachev (23 answers), Brezhnev (22 answers), Khrushchev (20 answers), Lavrov (18 answers).

The most difficult categories were *sports*, *movies* and *music*, where some students didn't answer anything or identified only one or two words or names.

Conclusion

The results of the survey showed what subjects of the Russian culture are well-known for students who learn Russian as a foreign language, and what domains of Russian culture should receive particular attention in the learning process. In our opinion, students' knowledge of Russian cultural realities is insufficient. It is necessary to propose the way of enhancing knowledges of the Russian culture in the process of teaching Russian as a foreign language.

One of the solutions of this problem can be the inclusion of mass media texts (newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, internet) to the process of language learning. Media sources offer contemporary knowledge about the country, including political, socio-economic, historical and cultural components. In such texts, students can find socio-political vocabulary, terminology, everyday conversations, dialect, slang, etc. Words and expressions from the different mass media should help students to understand modern reality of a country. Media texts are the basis of mastering lexical composition, syntactic constructions, understanding stylistic features of a foreign language. Moreover, they can increase the motivation to study Russian language and its active use in everyday life.²⁰

Media language reflects social and historical features of contemporary Russian language, its modality and cultural specifics. That is why it seems important to create a collection of texts which provide understanding of national and historical facts, increase cultural-linguistic competence and implement the principle of effective dialogue between different cultures.

The results of the study were a basis for the developing of a website www.rulang.info for Czech students and teachers of modern Russian language on levels B1–C2. The multipurpose content of the website can be supplemented in any time. The site has four sections: Texts, Vocabulary, Media and Russian language and culture.

The first section contains collection of texts with cultural-linguistic orientation from Russian mass media on different topics: living, traditions and holidays, national cuisine, family and friends, literature, music, art, theatre and cinema, etc. All texts contain actual vocabulary and phraseology used in modern everyday communication. These texts help students to improve their language skills and understanding of the writing style. They also show language processes in contemporary Russian: assimilation of foreign words, using of slang, dialect words, abbreviations, etc. Texts were not adapted, but they were selected according to the topic, specific vocabulary and simplicity of syntactic constructions.

The second section of the website (Vocabulary) contains a list of words, word combinations and phrases, which are used in texts in Russian mass media nowadays. The vocabulary helps students to understand non-prepared speech and non-adapted texts. Its content also represents different concepts which are important for Russian culture and history. With the adoption of the vocabulary and understanding the main concepts of Russian culture students can effectively enter into intercultural communication.

²⁰ Рычева, Е. А., *Анализ текстов СМИ на занятиях по русскому языку как иностранному: лингвокультурологический аспект*. [online: <<http://www.ling-expert.ru/conference/langlaw6/rycheva-e.html>>, cit. 2016-11-21].

The third part contains a list of Russian media sources, where learners and teachers can find different texts for their needs. The media sources are divided into several parts: information portals, news-agencies, social and political media, economic and law media, high-tech and scientific media, sports news, religious media, etc. In every subsection, links to specific media are accompanied by description of the source for easier navigation for learners and teachers.

The fourth part contains a list of various sources linked to the study of Russian culture and language (for example, the innovative multimedia project Russia provides information about key concepts of the Russian culture and mentality).

The proposed mass media materials represent various language contexts, raise questions relevant to particular student audience, stimulate discussions and simulate different language situations. Media texts motivate students to learn Russian language and culture and provide an opportunity for self-assessment and self-control in the process of learning a foreign language.

ABSTRACT

Cultural Aspect in Learning Russian as a Foreign Language

Ekaterina Rycheva

The paper analyses specific representation and reflection of culture in the process of learning Russian as a foreign language. It identifies some theoretical questions concerning the interrelation and mutual influence between culture and language. It shows the necessity of learning of a foreign language in connection with culture of a country, as it also helps students to be engaged into cross-cultural dialogue. The article presents results of a survey conducted among Czech students who study Russian as a foreign language. It justifies the use of mass media texts in the process of teaching Russian as a foreign language.

Key words: Russian as a Foreign Language, Russian Culture, Cultural Aspect, Communication, Language Learning, Survey.

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