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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, her 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-літтювіддню 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-ukrayinska-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. Gaczowski, 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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