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**Petro IVANYSHYN**

*PhD hab. (Philology), Professor; Head of the Department of Ukrainian Literature and Theory of Literature, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (pivanyshyn@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-9624-0994

**Iryna DMYTRIV**

*PhD hab. (Philology), Associate Professor; Associate Professor of the Department of Ukrainian Literature and Theory of Literature, Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 24 Ivan Franko Street, Drohobych, Ukraine, postal code 82100 (ira.myrna@gmail.com)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-0937-1070

**Jan GRZESIAK**

*Dr hab. (Pedagogy), Professor; Department of Social Sciences, State Higher Vocational School in Konin, 1a Przyjaźni Street, Konin, Poland, postal code 62-510 (jan.grzesiak@konin.edu.pl)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0003-2898-4075

**Петро ІВАНИШИН**

*доктор філологічних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри української літератури та теорії літератури Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (pivanyshyn@gmail.com)*

**Ірина ДМИТРІВ**

*кандидат філологічних наук, доцент, доцент кафедри української літератури та теорії літератури Дрогобицького державного педагогічного університету імені Івана Франка, вул. Івана Франка, 24, м. Дрогобич, Україна, індекс 82100 (ira.myrna@gmail.com)*

**Ян ГЖЕСЯК**

*доктор галібітований (педагогіка), професор кафедри соціальних наук Державної вищої професійної школи в Коніні, вул. Пзіязні 1а, м. Конін, Польща, індекс 62-510 (jan.grzesiak@konin.edu.pl)*

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## THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM IN THE WORKS OF DMYTRO DONTSOV: MAIN ASPECTS

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to consider some important propaedeutic aspects of the interpretation of the Vistnyk cultural nationalist concept, appealing to the experience of the founder of the Vistnyk tradition – the famous philosopher, publicist and editor Dmytro Dontsov. **The Methodology***

**of the Research.** Taking the purpose and tasks of the study into account, the methodological basis is clearly interdisciplinary. The epistemological potential of national philosophy as a philosophy of national existence, national science as a theory of nation, hermeneutics as a theory and practice of interpretation and post-colonialism as the interpretation of cultural phenomena from the standpoint of anti- and post-imperial consciousness is used in the work. **The scientific novelty** is that on the basis of the national hermeneutic generalization and working definition of the concept of a cultural nationalism, a propedeutic outlining of this phenomenon in the discourse of the founder of the Vistnyk tradition of Dmytro Dontsov has been proposed. **The Conclusions.** The study covers the concept of cultural nationalism in general and outlines the most important elements of the concept of cultural nationalism within the ideology of D. Dontsov's willed nationalism. It is about the cultural dimension of the concepts of nationalism and national idea, national identity and national imperative. Other elements of the conception of the thinker also need more clarification: aesthetics, traditions, historiography, the national way of interpretation, religion, the system of values, the national Church, the religiosity of nationalism, the civilizational choice of Ukrainian, the national ideal, etc. The Dontsov's concept has an exceptional historical and genetic importance, as it has in a decisive way influenced the emergence of the ideological basis of such unique cultural and historical phenomena in the interwar period, such as *vistnykivstvo* and organized nationalism.

**Key words:** Dmytro Dontsov, nation, culture, nationalism, imperialism, international cooperation, multicultural education.

## КОНЦЕПЦІЯ КУЛЬТУРНОГО НАЦІОНАЛІЗМУ У ТВОРЧОСТІ ДМИТРА ДОНЦОВА: ОСНОВНІ АСПЕКТИ

**Анотація.** **Мета дослідження** – розглянути окремі важливі пропедевтичні аспекти тлумачення вісниківської культурно-націоналістичної концепції, звертаючись до досвіду основоположника вісниківської традиції – відомого філософа, публіциста, редактора Дмитра Донцова. **Методологія дослідження.** З огляду на мету і завдання дослідження, методологічна база виразно інтердисциплінарна. У роботі використовується гносеологічний потенціал націософії як філософії національного буття, націології як теорії нації, герменевтики як теорії та практики інтерпретації та постколоніалізму як інтерпретації культурних явищ з позиції анти- і постімперської свідомості. **Наукова новизна** полягає в тому, що на основі націософсько-герменевтичного узагальнення та робочого дефініціювання поняття культурного націоналізму запропоновано пропедевтичне окреслення цього феномена в дискурсі основоположника вісниківської традиції Дмитра Донцова. **Висновки.** У студії висвітлено поняття культурного націоналізму взагалі та окреслено найважливіші елементи концепції культурного націоналізму в межах ідеології вольового націоналізму Д. Донцова. Йшлося про культурні виміри понять націоналізму та національної ідеї, національної ідентичності та національного імперативу. Докладнішого висвітлення потребують також інші елементи концепції мислителя: естетики, традиції, історіософії, національного способу інтерпретації, релігії, системи вартостей, національної Церкви, релігійності націоналізму, цивілізаційного вибору українства, національного ідеалу та ін. Донцовська концепція має виняткове історико-генетичне значення, оскільки визначальним чином вплинула на постання ідейного базису таких унікальних культурно-історичних феноменів в межах доби між світовими війнами, як вісниківство та організований націоналізм.

**Ключові слова:** Дмитро Донцов, нація, культура, націоналізм, імперіалізм, міжнародна співпраця, полікультурна освіта.

**The Problem Statement.** In the context of the contemporary situation of development of native humanities studies, there is sometimes a lack of historical retrospective – a meaningful view at the previous interpretive tradition. This is clearly noticeable in the light of the interdisciplinary methodology of recent postcolonial criticism, which does not always realize the importance of anticolonial national centric intentions of previous cultural and historical experiences: romanticism, Ukrainophilism, early modernism, *visnykivstvo* etc., for

its own hermeneutic basis. Actually, the latter, in our opinion, seems especially significant and conceptual, from the view of its heuristic potential.

**The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches.** Despite the presence of a large number of studies of *vistnykivstvo* as a cultural, historical and ideological-aesthetic phenomenon (O. Bahan, Ya. Dashkevych, M. Ilnytskyi, S. Kvit, V. Kachkan, H. Klochek, Yu. Kovaliv, V. Kolkutina, M. Krupach, V. Prosalova, R. Rahmannyi, T. Salyha, H. Svarnyk, etc.), however, in our opinion, in the post-imperial period there is a lack of interpretations of its philosophical-hermeneutic and methodological-conceptual component. (At the same time, it is necessary to avoid “the distorted notions about the nationalist (traditionalist) philosophy and aesthetics” (Bahan, 2009, p. 673) and doubtful interpretations of *vistnykivstvo* from the standpoint, according to S. Kvit, of the “Ukrainophobic academic international” (Kvit, 2013, p. 15)). It is, specifically, about the concept of cultural nationalism as a fundamental attribute of thinking and a way of interpreting reality within the consciousness of any creator-intellectual – ideologist, philosopher, artist, scholar, publicist, teacher, etc. – of the national-centric type. It is no by chance that modern national science emphasizes that “at the broadest level, nationalism should be considered as a form of historical culture and civic education” (Smit, 1994, p. 99).

The ideas and views expressed in the scientific works of Dmytro Dontsov are the subject of further scientific research in terms of nationalism (Grott, 2002; 2004; 2008).

**The Purpose of the Article.** Taking into account the brief sizes of this reflection, we’ll try to consider only some of the important propaedeutic aspects of the interpretation of the *Vistnyk* cultural nationalist conception, appealing to the experience of the founder of the *Vistnyk* tradition – the famous philosopher, publicist and editor Dmytro Dontsov. Herewith we’ll use the methodological potential of national philosophy, national science, hermeneutics and post-colonialism.

**The Basic Material Statement.** Based on the congenial to the *vistnykivstvo*’s thinking methodological experience of national philosophical (national-existential) hermeneutics, we briefly outline the understanding of nationalism in the context of the theory of basic social worldviews or fundamental ideologies. Moreover, the understanding of nationalism as precisely the worldview of “the self-powerful of the nation” (elucidated in detail in the treatise “Nationalism” (1926)) is also dominant to the Dontsov’s philosophy.

In general, this is about the distinguishing between three fundamental ideological concepts: imperialism, cosmopolitanism and nationalism according to the nation and freedom as invariable values in the collective being. Imperialism (colonialism) and its hidden variant – cosmopolitanism – should be regarded as one of the two basic types of social worldview – the ideology of national non-freedom, the enslavement of one nation by another. Nationalism, on the other hand, is another major type of public worldview – the ideology of national freedom, that is, the strategy and practice of developing a free national existence. Imperialism (obviously) and cosmopolitanism (more covertly) affirm a predatory, nihilistic, devastating type of being, where calculative, shopkeeper, anti-existent thinking is dominated, where one becomes a slave of his pride, his selfishness and, at the same time, the master of the being and the slave of the other masters. Nationalism forms a caring, existentially-protective type of existence, where the existential-historical thinking is affirmed, where a person is a caring, free shepherd of being (in more details this theory has been interpreted in previous works: “National-existential Interpretation (Basic Theoretical and Pragmatic Aspects)”, “Freedom of the Nation”, “Ideological Foundations of Ukrainian Statehood”, “Concept of National

Revolution in Stepan Bandera's Political Philosophy", "National Revolution in Neo-Colonial Situation", "Ideological Sources of Geopolitics: National philosophy aspects", etc.).

In political theory and national science of the recent period, the famous American political scientist and geopolitist Samuel Huntington in his work "Who are we? Challenges to American National Identity"(2004) (Huntington, 2004) the most clearly differentiated three antagonistic worldview systems of imperialism, cosmopolitanism and nationalism. He described them as the three main ideological ways of state-building in the United States, but it is obviously that these strategies are not of local but universal theoretical significance, as they concern to any state. The first strategy is imperial (to transform the world into America, dissolve it in itself), the second strategy is cosmopolitan (to transform America into a world, dissolve into it), the third – nationalist (America must remain America, preserving its national originality, identity and sovereignty).

If in political theory is about three basic, that are difficult to combine, concepts of power and state-building strategies (imperialistic, cosmocratic and natiocratic), then in the sphere of national existence as a structured spiritual system, these three concepts concern to cultural, economic, educational, scientific, religious, artistic, linguistic and other levels. Accordingly, cultural imperialism is distinguished as a world-view instruction of imposing to other peoples their own cultural (or pseudocultural) products with the purpose of eroding spiritual tradition, denationalization and enslavement. Cultural cosmopolitanism means the hidden (or unconscious) imperial strategy, the ideological instruction of cultural inferiority, denationalization, which foresees the destruction of own national originality and statehood, the subordination of one's spiritual values to the values of a "higher" metropolitan (as universal, global) tradition. Herewith cultural cosmopolitanism is often masked under altruistic or democratic slogans – as if it was "an effort of creating a world culture that is based based on the ideas of equality and freedom" (Gibernau). However, the consequences of cosmopolitan ideas are clearly imperial. For example, concerning Russia's contemporary aggressive policy it is about the creation in the dependent countries by the means of culture the imperial "Russian peace", while the "soft power" of the modern West, through "hybrid cosmopolitan culture", confirms a globalist "new imperialism." (Smit, 2006, pp. 33, 38). Instead, cultural nationalism emerges as a worldview position focused on preserving and developing its own cultural identity as a "sacred foundation" of the nation (Smit, 2009, p. 66), as the foundation of national freedom and statehood, as well as the basis of parity international dialogue.

Much about the complex relationship between imperialism, cosmopolitanism, and nationalism is discussed in contemporary national science and literary studies (particularly in post-colonial criticism). For example, Edward Said examined Orientalism as a cultural (often academic) way of the West to rule over the East, but "not a truthful discourse about the East". There fore, Orientalist "general ideas" are "throughout imbued with the doctrines of European highness, all kinds of racism, imperialism, and so on."(Said, 2001, pp. 17, 19). Here with, an American researcher of Palestinian origin also pointed out to the active use of the cosmopolitan method of enslavement of the peoples of the East on the example of Lord Cromer's instructions in reference to the colonized by the British Indians, Egyptians, Zulus, etc.: "although we will never be able to awaken in these people a sense of patriotism, akin to one based on the proximity of race or commonness of language, we may be able to foster original cosmopolitan devotion based on a sense of respect, which naturally appears towards people, endowed with higher talents and inclined to unselfish behavior, and on a sense of gratitude for the good that has already been done, and for what they hope."(Said, 2001, p. 54).

A well-known Ukrainian nation-scientist and literary scientist Stephanie Andrusiv is one of the first, whose detail was written about cosmopolitanism as the newest imperial method of denationalization on the example of liberalist strategy of mondialism: “It is imperialism without empire, that is, without its external attributes, which also seeks to subordinate peoples and territories through internal demoralization, transforming people into mass without ethnic and national consciousness, without traditions and roots – in the so-called non-national society, which is easy to exploit economically. Cosmopolitanism is the most effective and the most tried and tested means of its affirming and spreading in the world, and outwardly attractive rhetoric about the superiority of human rights over the rights of nations (as if a person is possible outside the community or there are no individual rights that can be realized only in a collective – ethnic group), about the superiority of the universal (“international”) over the national, ethnic, and in Ukraine – the importunate persuasion of the Ukrainians, who make up more than seventy percent of the population, in that as if “the national idea has not worked” in the present state building, so it is necessary to form not “an ethnic”, but “a political nation”(as if an ethnic nation cannot be a political one). In fact, it is about that in Ukraine there were not exactly a Ukrainian nation, because as though progressive “political” instead of backward, regressive “ethnic” in the Ukrainian context means “non-Ukrainian” (read “Russian”, exactly “Russian-speaking cosmopolitan”) against compromised, marginalized “Ukrainian” (“ethnic”) (Andrusiv, 2000, p. 20).

Cultural nationalism or nationalism in culture is the most effective answer to imperial-cosmopolitan strategies and practices in the cultural field, as nationalism and post-colonialism affirm. At the same time, it is considered not only as a national consciousness and sense, not only as “an ideological movement for the achievement and affirmation of independence, unity and identity of the nation”, but also as “a form of culture”– “the cultural doctrine of the nation and the will of the nation” (Smit, 1994, p. 80). It is no by chance that Australian literary scholar Simon During considered nationalism primarily as “cultural nationalism” because, “What protects against cultural, economic and military invasion of imperialism as not a culture?” (During, 1996, p. 566). In this sense, cultural nationalism emerges as a worldview position of the creators of national culture, which cultivates and affirms national identity (more broadly, the national idea), gives reasons for its true interpretation and artistic expression, and only through this foresees opposition to imperialism or cosmopolitanism (Ivanyshyn, 2005, p. 77).

One of the most eloquent examples of cultural-nationalist discourse can be found in the Ukrainian anti-colonial national philosophical tradition, specifically in the creative work of *vistnykivtsi*. The hermeneutic and publicist experience of D. Dontsov as the founder of the *vistnykivska* tradition in this case is very eloquent.

First of all, it is important to realize that, on the base of previous national-centric tradition, D. Dontsov works out his own variant of nationalism –“volitional” (or “valid”), which will mostly form the basis of the ideology of the OUN. For him, as a thinker, nationalism (“the self-powerful of the nation”) emerges as a “national ideology”, that is, a *social worldview* of the development of sovereign “peoples-nations”, opposed to the Provencal as “the worldview of the decline” of “peoples-provinces” (Dontsov, 2014, pp. 24–25). In the preface to the third edition of the treatise “Nationalism” (1966), the author emphasizes on a number of basic ideas of his work: confrontation with Drahomanov’s Little Russian’s conception, affirmation of the need for state independence, negation of socialism. The treatise answers three basic questions of any national liberation movement: 1) “what?” (“independence and complete separatism”

from Russia), 2) “how?” (“struggle”, “national revolution against the Muscovy”), 3) “who?” (“a man of a new spirit”). Herewith, the spiritual sphere played an important role, since the thinker is talking about a strategy of “complete gap with all Russia, and culturally – complete opposing to the whole spiritual complex of the Muscovy” (Dontsov, 2014, pp. 20–21).

Even the formulation of the pivot for the national-centric consciousness of the *national idea* is directly based on the tradition of artistic culture, because follows from the poetry of Taras Shevchenko. The philosopher formulates it as “the idea of state independence” and substantiates it as follows: “It has become an axiom of our thinking, the first demand of politics, the regular task of the day. This idea was nothing but a paraphrase of Shevchenko’s “own power in the own home.” For the nation to be sovereign, for it to have the authority on our land, for no one, no stranger to have power on that land.” (Dontsov, 2015, p. 87). Except the political and economic, the other elements of the Ukrainian idea formulated by D. Dontsov have a cultural character: “sovereignty” in politics, “Church that is free from the state” in religion, “Occidentalism” in culture, “free initiative and growth” in economic life (Dontsov, 2014, p. 177).

Only the *new political elite* (the “aristocracy”) is able to incarnate the national idea of Ukrainians into life. For D. Dontsov – they are idealistic, heroic, Cossack, chivalrous people, people of “warlike and lordship spirit”, the *vistnykivskyi* type of individual. The elitist type of national man lives by “high ideas that make the soul noble.” The type of ordinary man, sometimes just a servile, “unprincipled, weak-willed, unscrupulous man with the slogan “it’s no business of mine” or the desire to adapt to all “circumstances” and to any power that has fallen down on him” is opposed to it (Dontsov, 2015, pp. 92–96). Here it is important for the thinker to give an understanding of the destructiveness of the imperial ideology of the invaders. Because it was important for them not just to overcome Ukraine militarily, but to “kill her proud and independent spirit in her sons” (Dontsov, 2015, p. 83). It is exactly about cultural imperialism.

The cultural cosmopolitanism of the Little Russians and Provencals from the number of Socialists and Liberals is another important danger in the sphere of spiritual values. Their unprincipledness and unscrupulousness, skepticism and cynicism, according to the essayist, in its essence conceal a slave mentality, a willingness to worship “alien gods”, alien enslaving doctrines: “Man and community establish their own laws, axioms of life or fall down as a sacrifice of stranger pharaoh who brings his own laws that are foreign to that community” (Dontsov, 2015, pp. 85–86). It is not by chance that before the First World War, the thinker states above all the spiritual, cultural and outlook decline of the Ukrainian elite, her ailment with national “hermaphroditism”, her marginality: “Every even superficial observer of the Ukrainian movement in Russia must be struck by a strange fact: on the one hand, the doubtless progress of this movement, the capture by it every time the wider layers of society, on the other hand, the threatening decline of political thought in the circles of ideological leaders of bourgeois Ukrainians. The level of political maturity of modern Ukrainians is not only lower than that on which Ukrainians was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it cannot be compared even with the ideas of Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood” (Dontsov, 1911, p. 5).

A national imperative is the fundamental idea for a nationalist worldview. D. Dontsov introduces this term into the Ukrainian metadiscourse in the treatise “Nationalism” (1926). It is an idea as a categorical order that takes shape nationally and Christian-oriented thinking, permeates in the creative work of the thinker and serves as the basic reason for knowing and evaluating any reality, especially cultural ones. We see the corresponding formulations

throughout all the creative work of the political philosopher. For example, in the essay 1922 "To the old gods!" the author indicates that "only then a nation can keep its balance when will derive the rules of its life not from the sectarian commandments, but from the concepts and ideas that have arisen in the continuous struggle of generations for the preservation of ancestral land and family" (Dontsov, 2012, p. 63). In "Nationalism" it is about that the decadent, cosmopolitan, Provencal nationalism "did not know national postulates as something that was not discussed, was not a thing of faith, dogma. The imperatives of the nation were not categorical, only hypothetical imperatives..." (Dontsov, 2014, p. 65).

At the same time, the essayist clearly expresses the cultural component of the Provencal (drahomanivstvo) and true, valid nationalism through the following fundamental oppositions of the leading maxims: "The principles of valid nationalism, which everywhere emphasizes the moment of will, power and aggression, are an objection before-present foundations of "the mind", "spontaneity" and "mutual understanding", which are a complete contradiction of drahomanivstvo. The foundation of the latter were "rationalism in culture, federalism in the state, democracy in the community". The valid nationalism says: organic and faith is in culture, ownership is in the state, leadership, hierarchy are in the community. There the "happiness of the mass" was the essence of life, the class struggle was the life form, the infidelity was the life spirit. In valid nationalism, the essence of life is the activity and mighty of the nation, the life form is a national struggle, and the spirit of life is "romance", faith. There, patriotism was a "heavy yoke", not a "sentiment", here it should become a "sentiment", an own impulse, a passion outside of which there is neither happiness nor luxury" (Dontsov, 2014, pp. 176–177).

In such important spheres of national-existential hermeneutics and culture as art and literature, in the creative work of D. Dontsov national imperative forms a number of important and well-thought-out systems: national philosophical aesthetics (as the theory of the beautiful), national-existential hermeneutics (as the theory and practice of interpretation), national-centric theory of literature and literary criticism, which, despite of the available researches (S. Kvit, O. Bahan, V. Kolkutin, etc.), needs more detailed interpreting in the light of its concept of cultural nationalism. Here we allow ourselves to pay attention to the clear combination of national and Christian aspects of national order in the literary sphere. Distinguishing between the art (and, accordingly, the writing) of materialism, nihilism, decadence and great, noble, heroic art, D. Dontsov emphasizes on its Divine character: "There is also a second literature that, with a knife, reproaches evil and filth, forming everything high, pure and noble, all the virtues of our Divine Self, not for idyll or pleasure, only for the struggle for high aims, higher than our physical self ... This is a literature that forms the character, worldview, thought, soul and spirit of man and society, which we want it to be a Christian society not only from the name, but in essence". (Dontsov, 1949, p. 12).

On the other hand, he constantly emphasizes on the national-spiritual role of literature, its national-forming character. This is what is said in the preface to the post-war edition of collection of the essays "Two Literatures of Our Age" (1958). Since national existence is directly dependent on the quality of the national elite, on its outlook ("ideas of truth, good and beauty"), it must be admitted the key role of the great, human-forming and national-forming literature, which exactly forms this guiding world outlook, that is, to admit "the great role of literature in the spiritual and political forming of man and nation." (Dontsov, 1958, p. 5).

**The Conclusions.** In this study, we tried to cover the concept of cultural nationalism in general and dotted outline only some the most important elements of the concept of cultural nationalism within the ideology of D. Dontsov's willed nationalism. It was about the cultural dimension of the concepts of nationalism and national idea, national identity

and national imperative. Other elements of this conception also need with enlisting broader analytical contexts more clarification: aesthetics, traditions, historiosophy, the national way of interpretation, religion, the system of values, the national Church, the religiosity of nationalism, the civilizational choice of Ukrainian, the national ideal, etc. Herewith we should realize that this Dontsov's concept has an exceptional historical and genetic importance, as it has in a decisive way influenced the emergence of the ideological basis of such unique cultural and historical phenomena in the interwar period, such as *vistnykivstvo* and organized nationalism. Without taking into account the system of cultural nationalism of D. Dontsov it seems hardly possible to grasp objectively the originality and versatility of *visnykivstvo*, the spiritual-historical meaning of nationalist ideology.

The processes of globalization and systemic transformations, especially in the system of functioning of the European Union, pose challenges to the contemporary information society, and even more recently, in the recent period of escalating national conflicts in many countries of the world. With the creation of the autonomous state of Ukraine at the end of the 20th century, after the Second World War and a series of transformations in the structures of the USSR, new conditions were created for the strengthening of scientific and cultural cooperation between the nations of Poland and Ukraine.

The efforts of D. Dontsov to mutual recognition of national identity in multidimensional international cooperation deserve to be emphasized. In this context, in recent decades there has been a lot of evidence of cooperation between nations in Polish-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Polish relations, covering a wide range of scientists, socio-cultural activists and business. One of the examples of such cooperation are the cooperation agreements between the Universities in Drohobych and Uzhhorod, and the State Higher Vocational School in Konin (Grzesiak, 2019; Wensierski, Zymomyra, 2006).

Interpersonal contacts between science and culture workers make it possible to enrich the achievements of science, for example about education or culture, both in Poland and in Ukraine through dialogues and discourses (including publications). Representatives of both nations, in the spirit of friendship and respect for the right of each nation to autonomous self-determination, contribute to the multiplication of the achievements through scientific and multicultural research that is not subject to politicization and does not undermine the value of truths. This is an extraordinary benefit to the areas of civic and patriotic education on the scale of each nation and state, and more broadly on an international scale.

The team of authors of this article proves the importance of combining the historical heritage as a tradition with current challenges and stands for care and actions aimed at an ever wider implementation of good – truth – peace for every person and every nation.

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