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MIROSLAV HROCH'S CREATION OF A NATION AND THE UKRAINIAN EXPERIENCE

Using Miroslav Hroch's 3 points of his theory of nation creation on the Ukrainian case study beginning in the nineteenth century. This case study examines Ukraine's national evolution from both a political and cultural aspect and how these two culminated in Ukraine national identity during the twentieth century which many Ukrainians identified with not only those who lived in Poland and in the Soviet Union.

Keywords: Miroslav Hroch, national consciousness, Ukraine, twentieth century, national identity, national evolution

“Ukraine is Europe” was one of the original slogans of the 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine¹. This concept that Ukraine is an integral part of the European community has been examined within modern politics but does it hold sway in a historical understanding of nation building and national evolution? Does the evolution of the Ukrainian nation fit into the mold created by Miroslav Hroch, a leading Czech political theorist and historian who has refined the idea of European nation building?² Hroch believes that the nation is ‘a large social group characterized by a combination of several kinds of relation (economic, territorial, political, religious, cultural, linguistic and so on) which arise on... a specific compact land-area, and... the reflection of these relations in the consciousness of the people.’³ In order to establish a nation, Hroch further believed that there are three periods of national evolution: social and cultural revolution, a patriotic agitation movement that acquires a social and political character and finally a period of mass-mobilization and a world-wide integration of the nation.⁴ However, does Hroch's idea of nation creation hold sway for the Ukrainian example? What specifics does the Ukrainian experiment with nation

¹ “Євромайдан у Києві зібрав більше 100 тисяч людей” [Електронний ресурс] // Наші Новини. – 2013. – 24 листопада. – Режим доступу: <https://news.vash.ua/news/polityka/yevromaydan-u-kyuyevi-zibrav-bilshhe-100-tysyach-lyudey>

² Ernest Gellner has maintained that nationalism was primarily a political principle and a species of patriotism that was distinguished by its homogeneity, literacy and anonymity: Ernest Gellner // *Nations and Nationalisms*. – Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983. – P. 1, 138.

³ *Hroch M. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* / M. Hroch. – London, Columbia University Press, 1985. – P. 4–5.

⁴ *Ibidem*. – P. 22; John Breuilly Reviewed Work: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* by Miroslav Hroch, Ben Fowkes / John Breuilly // *The English Historical Review*. – 1986. – Vol. 101. – No. 399. – P. 446–447.

creation have and how did they manifest themselves in the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries? Furthermore, what was the outcome of this Ukrainian national experiment? These are the main problems and questions that this article tries to solve.

This article's goal is to use Hroch's ideas of the evolution of nations in explaining how Ukrainians dealt with their own identities within a political and cultural sense and within a wider context of the various empires that occupied Ukrainian lands: from Austro-Hungary to Tsarist Russia. It will explain just how Ukraine's national experiment was within the European norm and was only stopped due to external and foreign factors. And in this way, Ukraine as a nation should not be subordinated within the Russian world view but rather seen through the prism of a European growth of nations.

Miroslav Hroch was educated in the Marxist-communist educational system and some of this influence is still seen in his work, even after the fall of the communist experiment in Europe. For example, he still holds a very deep-rooted understanding of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle of the First World War. He, for example, does not accept that Ukraine achieved full independence with the declaration of the Ukrainian National Republic's Fourth Universal in 1918 and inserts the claim that Ukrainians never wanted independence from any empire be it Austro-Hungarian, Tsarist Russian or Soviet.⁵ This Marxist understanding is also clear in his denunciation of nationalism as something to "criticize and denounce...as a way of thinking and as a method of struggle" while regarding self-determination of nations as "the only just solution"⁶. In this instance, Hroch ignores that many nationalist groups (particularly Ukrainian ones) strove for national self-determination from occupying forces. However, that is another topic for another article. In general, Hroch's work has been glorified and criticized for his subtle treatment of Europe's nation building process and his delineation of it into three phases. There has been some criticism in Hroch's handling of his "ingredients". Gale Stokes, for example, questions Hroch's dependence on economic and social ingredients rather than political or ideological ones: Hroch's argument that politics and ideology do not matter but oppressive policies do invites questions about oppression itself – is it not a socio-economic form that is essentially a political category which excludes segments of the population from the benefits of political participation?⁷ Overall, the most important criticism of his work is by David Kirby who explains the most fundamental problem is that the arguments he advances "are not carried through into the third phase, that of the mass national movements...[and] the case remains unresolved"⁸. However, if one takes a more fluid interpretation of Hroch's phases of national revival, one can mold them to many examples, even ones that John-Paul Himka believes are too "agrarian, politically and economically backward" – those in East Central Europe⁹.

⁵ *Hroch M.* National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective / Miroslav Hroch // *Canadian Slavonic Papers*. – 1995. – Vol. 37. – N 3–4. – P. 298.

⁶ *Ibidem*. – P. 298.

⁷ *Stokes G.* Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Small European Nations by Ben Fowkes, Miroslav Hroch / G. Stokes // *The American Historical Review*. – Vol. 91, Issue 3. – 1986. – P. 625.

⁸ *Kirby D.* Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Small European Nations by Miroslav Hroch, Ben Fowkes / David Kirby // *The Slavonic and East European Review* Vol. 65. – N 2. – 1987. – P. 293.

⁹ *John-Paul Himka* Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations by Miroslav Hroch, Ben Fowkes // *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*. – Vol. 14. – N 1–2. – 1990. – P. 198.

Whether or not he likes to admit it, political nationalism is the inevitable outcome of Hroch's nation building concept¹⁰. The evolution of that nation (and the final by-product of nationalism) is conceptualized in three stages. The first period of the national struggle is "marked by learned observations and descriptions of what is (or is supposed to be) the nation, its language, its past, its mentality, way of life, etc"¹¹. For Ukraine, this period of scholarly interest in its collective past was also its period of struggle against absolutism. This period was defined by the romantic poetry produced predominantly by Taras Shevchenko who questioned Ukraine's position within the Russian Empire and called upon Ukrainians to unite against serfdom and oppression. Moreover, Oksana Kis has argued that the beginning of the nineteenth century created intellectual works "devoted to the study of an archaic worldview through the analysis of ancient beliefs, myths, legends in the ceremonial and ritual spheres"¹². This was the first intellectual exercise in nation forming, by examining the growth of the Ukrainian national consciousness through the ages – intellectuals began to link the Ukrainian present with a distinctively Ukrainian past and against the absolutist ideas of monarchy attached to the Austro-Hungarian and Russian imperialisms¹³. For Hroch this link to the past was usually to a medieval state, while many Ukrainians actually linked their statehood to that of the Cossacks and the medieval Kyivan-Rus¹⁴. This intellectual national expansion coordinated itself between those Ukrainian lands in the east under the Russian Empire and in the western parts which were under Austro-Hungary. The populist movement of the Ukrainian intellectuals began in the east in Kharkiv and Kyiv and gradually moved westward with the increase of Tsarist repression¹⁵. After this initial period, Ukrainian intellectualism became normalized and was sustained throughout Ukrainian society.

The Ukrainian fin de siècle of intellectualism was represented by the works of Lesia Ukrainka, Olha Kobylanska and Ivan Franko. Solomyia Pavlychko believes that the works of these authors "testified to a certain maturity of Ukrainian culture, the complexity of its discourse and the polyphonic nature of its artistic thought"¹⁶. This second stage of Ukraine's national and intellectual development became "instrumental to the emergence of a *national* historiography that could coherently present a synthesis of events on the *entire* Ukrainian ethnic territory"¹⁷. The cementing of a national identity and the spread of a national movement corresponds with Hroch's second phase which is predominated by a period of patriotic agitation which in Ukraine is more peasant-based rather than working class since Ukrainian

¹⁰ Hroch M. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. – P. 3.

¹¹ *Ejusdem*. National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective. – P. 284.

¹² Кісь О. Жінка в традиційній українській культурі (друга половина ХІХ – початок ХХ ст. / О. Кісь. – Львів: Інститут народознавства НАНУ, 2008. – С. 18.

¹³ One of the first historical writings on Ukraine, for instance, was produced by Bohdan Didytskyj in 1858 and was titled Народна Історія Руси (Rusyn National History). Velychenko S. National History as Cultural Process / Stephen Velychenko. – Edmonton, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992. – P. 172.

¹⁴ Hroch M. National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective. – P. 295.

¹⁵ Yekelchuk S. Modernization, Nationalism and Socialism in Ukraine under the Russian Empire / Serhy Yekelchuk. – Melbourne, Monash University Press, 1995. – P. 20, 22, 25; George G. Grabowicz 'Mythologizing L'viv/Lwow: Echoes of Presence and Absence' / George G. Grabowicz // Harvard Ukrainian Studies. – 2000. – Vol. 24. – P. 318.

¹⁶ Павличко С. Фемінізм / С. Павличко. – Київ, 2002. – С. 128.

¹⁷ Velychenko S. National History as Cultural Process. – P. 176 (my own italics)

economy at this time was agriculturally dominated. This phase was also indicated by a shift from intellectual patriotism to peasant-based national identity for Ukrainians. John-Paul Himka has stated, "by 1900 the national movement had established such a strong base in the countryside that we can consider the second phase in the development of the national movement complete"¹⁸. After this time, the Ukrainian national movement represented the mass interest of all Ukrainians.

The third and last stage of a national movement is the impact of mass communication and a world-wide integration of the nation. This final stage, according to Hroch, coincides with the end of the First World War¹⁹. The rise of a mass Ukrainian national movement also coincided with the First World War and the war with the Second Polish Republic and Bolshevik Russia. By 1914, for example, Ukrainian national consciousness was clearly defined and Ukrainians were more determined than before to establish their own independent state²⁰. Unlike the trend of the Ukrainian populist movement, the idea of national self-determination was coordinated between eastern and western Ukrainians. The political formation of that determination was first expressed in 1900 when the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP) was founded in Kharkiv²¹. Furthermore, their main political ideological pamphlet, which declared "One, United, Indivisible, Free, Independent Ukraine from the Caucasus to the Carpathians", was the product of a Ukrainian lawyer from Kharkiv – Mykola Mikhnovsky – but was published in L'viv with the assistance of the Galician Social Democrats²². Members of the RUP included a young Symon Petliura who eventually achieved that Ukrainian independence under the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR). The national movement of this period also had a world-wide integration: it assumed many of the same militarist traits that were current in Europe at the time, especially in Bosnia and the First Balkan War²³. Engagement with issues affecting the wider world was also a characteristic of the UNR, who enforced laws and signed treaties on behalf of the whole Ukrainian population²⁴. The UNR acted on behalf of all Ukrainians – east and west. This national

¹⁸ Conversely, Hroch believes that the second phase of Ukraine's national development actually began in 1900 (*Hroch M. National Self-Determination...* – P. 285); *John-Paul Himka Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century / John-Paul Himka // Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988. – P. xxv.*

¹⁹ *Hroch M. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. – P. 22.*

²⁰ *Janusz T. 'Education of the Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in the Polish Republic, 1918–1939' / Janusz Tomiak; [ed J. Tomiak] // Schooling, Educational Policy and Ethnic Identity. – New York, European Science Foundation, 1991. – P. 192.*

²¹ *Motyl Alexander J. The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism / Alexander J. Motyl. – New York, Columbia University Press, 1980. – P. 10.*

²² *Головченко В. Російська "тюрма народів" / В. Головченко // Національне питання в Україні ХХ – початку ХХІ ст.: історичні нариси; [ред. рада: В. М. Литвин (голова), Г. В. Боряк, В. М. Даниленко, С. О. Довгий, С. В. Кульчицький та ін.]. – Київ: Інститут історії України НАН України, 2012. – С. 61–62.*

²³ *Motyl Alexander J. The Turn to the Right... – P. 8.*

²⁴ This includes the Warsaw Agreement of 1920 which allied the UNR and Poland against Bolshevik Russia. *Palij M. The Ukrainian-Polish Defensive Alliance, 1919–1921 / Michael Palij. – Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1995. – P. 70–71.* It should also be added that this unity of east and west was at the very beginning of its existence: it was only in 1905, for instance, that the

unity was a product of the emergence of a coordinated national movement prior to the creation of the UNR which was sustained by voluntary recruits who thought of themselves as Ukrainians. This was the final stage of developed nationalism in Ukraine. However, there was an almost outright elimination of the Ukrainian national movement in eastern Ukraine during Soviet rule. This elimination began as early as 1922 with the “Regulation on Higher Education” Acts which abolished the autonomy of higher educational institutions and saw the arrests of professors who were identified as “bourgeois nationalists” all over eastern Ukraine²⁵. This decimation was finalized in the 1930’s with Stalin’s final elimination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the near-liquidation of the Ukrainian peasantry²⁶.

In addition to political nationalism, one can use Hroch’s idea of nation creation to cultural nationalism which also existed throughout modern Ukrainian history. The concept of a cultural uniqueness that is influential in shaping the national character of a people was first noticed by Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) when he theorized that each historic division of humanity has its own cultural character: a kind of “national soul” that implants into each individual “a particular national culture”²⁷. Ernest Gellner further argues this when he states that nationalism is actually maintained by culture: ‘In its extreme version, similarity of culture becomes both the necessary and the sufficient condition of legitimate membership’ in a nation²⁸. Much like Ukrainian political nationalism, Hroch’s three stages can be applied to the progress of Ukrainian cultural nationalism. During the first stage of the cultural movement, the peasantry became vital for understanding the ethos of Ukrainian culture and began to separate the Ukrainian language from Russian and Polish²⁹. The western Ukrainian center of the national movement became L’viv – under the Austro-Hungarian parliamentary system, Ukrainians were actually heard rather than silenced, as was the case in Tsarist Russia. It was here that the populist movement from eastern Ukraine began its spread westward and helped form the cultural, educational and social elements of Ukrainian nationalism that would be so influential during the interwar years, namely the Prosvita society and various sporting organizations³⁰. The second phase reinforced the evolutionary nature of the Ukrainian national movement by using the cultural likeness of Ukrainians to spread a certain national identity that was based on Ukrainian peasant characteristics. Himka believes that during this time, “the peasants developed and created a culture with no *national* purpose in mind; the intellectual codified the culture and endowed it with political, self-differentiating symbolism; then they returned it to the

Prosvita society was allowed to establish reading rooms in eastern Ukraine. *Головченко В.* Російська “тюрма народів”. – С. 71.

²⁵ Боротьба з українським націоналізмом // Політичний терор і тероризм в Україні. XIX–XX ст. Історичні нариси / Д. В. Архїрейський, О. Г. Бажан, Т. В. Бикова та ін.; [відп. ред. В. А. Смолий]. – Київ: Наук, думка, 2002. – Р. 267.

²⁶ *Єрїменко Г.* Національні відносини в радянській Україні (1923–1938) / Г. Єрїменко, Л. Якубова // Національне питання в Україні XX – початку XXI ст. – С. 220.

²⁷ Carlton Hayes *Nationalism: A Religion*. – New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. – Р. 67.

²⁸ *Gellner E.* *Nationalism* / Ernest Gellner. – New York: New York University Press, 1997. – Р. 3–4.

²⁹ *Павличко С.* Націоналізм, сексуальність, орієнталізм: складний світ Агатангела Кримського / С. Павличко. – Київ, 2000. – С. 263.

³⁰ *Якубова Л.* Українські землі в складі Російської та Австро-Угорської імперій (XIX ст.) / Л. Якубова // Національне питання в Україні. – С. 47, 52.

peasants who integrated this revised and symbolized culture into their own³¹. It was in this way that a national culture began to be recognized by not only the Ukrainian intellectuals but also the Ukrainian peasants – it was now a mass cultural movement.

The third stage of cultural nationalism sees the peasantry formulating “its material interests in demands for national self-determination [and] the maintenance of national culture”³². For the Ukrainians, this culminated in the active participation in the fight for Ukrainian independence in 1917. The cultural nationalism of these Ukrainians helped the Ukrainian armies gain support from the peasantry and their mass national consciousness propagated the idea that this particular peasantry was an obstacle to Soviet and Polish domination after the failure of Ukrainian independence.³³ For western Ukrainians living in the interwar period, their nationalism was cultivated by its traditions and customs and its want of self-governance grew stronger throughout this time period.³⁴ This cultural nationalism, alongside Ukrainian political nationalism culminated in what Marta Dyczok has described as the recognition of Ukrainians “as a separate national group” during the 1920s.³⁵

Ukrainian cultural nationalism comes through the peasantry – it is from this social group that the Ukrainian ethos has evolved. Peasant collective action has been discussed by numerous theorists including Michael Taylor who has argued that peasant collective action, especially in revolutionary wars and rebellions, has been based on the community where it was “rational for the large numbers of peasants... to participate”³⁶. For him, a pre-existing rural community allows a group of people to participate in violent struggles³⁷. Before this collective action is exercised however, a community has to exist. Organizations and networks must be able to mobilize around “a distinct set of issues and a common collective identity” before there is any collective action.³⁸ This distinct common collective identity was already forged by the inter war years and it was because of this that identity became an important aspect in the national development - and consequences of that development - under Poland and the Soviet Union.

This distinct national identity which was developed through Hroch's three stages, allowed the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) to become active during the interwar years and also allowed the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO) to

³¹ *Himka*. Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century. – P. 196.

³² *Hroch M.* Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. – P. 152.

³³ *Гриценко А.* Українсько-польське протистояння / Аделіна Гриценко // Політичний терор і тероризм в Україні. XIX—XX ст. Історичні нариси; *Север А.* Спецназ КГБ. Гриф секретности снят! / А. Север. – Москва: Єксмо, 2008. – С. 379.

³⁴ *Рубльов О.* Національне питання в II Речі Посполитій / О. Рубльов // Національне питання в Україні. – С. 282.

³⁵ *Dyczok M.* The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees / Marta Dyczok. – New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. – P. 9.

³⁶ *Taylor M.* 'Introduction' / Michael Taylor; [ed. M. Taylor] // *Rationality and Revolution*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. – P. 2–3.

³⁷ *Ejusdem.* 'Rationality and Revolutionary Collective Action' // *Rationality and Revolution*. – P. 77–78.

³⁸ *Hrycak A.* 'From Global to Local Feminisms: Transnationalism, Foreign Aid and the Women's Movement in Ukraine' / Alexandra Hrycak // *Sustainable Feminisms*. – Vol. 11. – 2007. – P. 80.

become the most populous during the interwar years within Polish politics.³⁹ However, the importance of a distinctively Ukrainian cultural identity found its emphasis in the cultural organizations that thrived during the same time as the UNDO. These included, but are not limited to, Plast, the Prosvita society and the Ukrainian Women's Union⁴⁰. The role of these cultural organizations in the spread of cultural nationalism throughout western Ukraine has been highlighted elsewhere. Many of these historical studies have highlighted the history of the Prosvita society, for example.⁴¹ Others recount the influence of the Ukrainian Women's Union in the active promotion of the Soviet Ukrainian Holodomor in 1933.⁴² Or the interconnectivity of the Ukrainian Women's Union and Ukrainian nationalism and the role of this upon the women of the interwar years.⁴³

However, both political and cultural nationalism worked in tandem with each other during the interwar years and both were as influential as the other. Both of these types of nationalisms influenced Ukrainians in various and different ways. The political nationalist values that were formed during the First World War were passed down from that generation to the next one that was active during the Second World War - namely those Ukrainians who joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and this particular cultural nationalism created a strong sense of a Ukrainian national identity throughout western Ukraine. Moreover, the strong Ukrainian national identity that existed in the interwar years was also cemented through the cultural nationalism that was widespread throughout western Ukraine. This, above political nationalism, was what identified Ukrainians as different from those other nationalities that might have cohabited their villages and cities.

In conclusion, the partial ending of the Ukrainian experiment with nation creation can be seen in 1918 with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which established a peace between Poland and the Soviet Union and divided the Ukrainians lands between Warsaw and Moscow. This split stopped the evolution of a unified Ukrainian national consciousness. The Ukrainian national evolution within Poland moved into a much more nationalist element particularly

³⁹ *Motyl Alexander J.* Revolutions, Nations and Empires. – P. 79–80; *John A. Armstrong* // Ukrainian Nationalism. – Littleton, Ukrainian Academic Press, 1980. – P. 20–22; *Лисенко О.* Друга світова війна як новий вимір терору і тероризму / О. Лисенко, Т. Бронська // Політичний терор і тероризм. – С. 605; *Веденєєв Д.В.* Прояви терору і тероризму в протистоянні радянської влади та ОУН і УПА в західноукраїнському регіоні післявоєнної доби / Д. В. Веденєєв, О. Є. Лисенко // Політичний терор і тероризм. – С. 745, 747.

⁴⁰ *Budurowycz B.* Poland and the Ukrainian Problem, 1921–1939 / Bohdan Budurowycz // Canadian Slavonic Papers. – Vol. 25, Issue 4. –1983. – P. 487; *Wysocki R.* Organizacja Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów w Polsce w latach 1929–1939 / Roman Wysocki. – Lublin: Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2003. – P. 147; *Snyder T.* Sketches from a Secret War / T. Snyder. – New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. – P. 69.

⁴¹ *Зуляк І.* Діяльність “Просвіти” в західній Україні в міжвоєнний період / І. Зуляк. – Тернопіль, 2005; “Просвіта” на Волині: минуле і сучасне: зб. наук. ст., док. і матеріалів / [за ред. В. К. Барана. – Луцьк, 2001; Просвіта Івано-Франківська / [ред. В. Бойко]. – Івано-Франківськ, 2000; *Even John A. Armstrong* equated the Prosvita society with the OUN: Armstrong / John A. Even // Ukrainian Nationalism. – P. 66.

⁴² *Папуга Я.* Західна Україна і Голодомор / Я. Папуга. – Львів: Вид-во “Астролябія”, 2008. – С. 153.

⁴³ *Bohachevsky-Chomiak M.* Feminists Despite Themselves / Marta Bohachevsky-Chomiak. – Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988. – P. 197.

perpetrated in an extreme element by the OUN and within the wider-democratic sphere by the UNDO. While in eastern Ukraine, communist forces managed to destroy even committed Ukrainian communists that viewed national statehood as being centered in Kyiv and not Moscow. With the 1939 invasion of the Soviet Union of western Ukraine came the complete end of the Ukrainian nation creation because national issues, policies and even cultural processes were controlled by Moscow rather than by Ukrainians themselves. However, Hroch's ideas on nation creation and the evolution of the Ukrainian nation from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries align – even if certain modifications need to be made. A peasant oriented people who were connected by their mutual cultural traits that overcame absolutist understandings of statehood to such a degree that it undermined one of the strongest empires in Europe. From this came a people united over a political nation that was slowly beginning to integrate itself into Europe. By combining the cultural and political, one can understand the development of the Ukrainian nation in the eighteenth and early twentieth century.

Лариса Зарічняк. Теорія творення нації Мирослава Гроха та український досвід

У статті проаналізовано становлення української нації, відповідно до теорії націєтворення чеського історика Мирослава Гроха, який поділяє процес національного будівництва в Європі на три етапи. Дослідник розглядає національну еволюцію України, починаючи з XIX ст., від культурного та політичного націоналізмів, на основі яких впродовж XX ст. сформувалася національна ідентичність українців, які проживали по обидві сторони Збруча.

Ключові слова: Мирослав Грох, національна свідомість, Україна, двадцяте століття, національна ідентичність, національна еволюція.