

DOI: 10.46340/ephd.2020.6.1.10

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«BODY POLITICS» AND UKRAINIAN IDEOLOGIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: D. DONTSOV, V. LYPYNSKYI

This article is an attempt to determine the probable dependence degree between the state images as a body (the so-called «body politics»), which are reflected in the texts of the significant representatives of the Ukrainian intellectual elite in the first half of the twentieth century and various factors of political (ideological) and biological (generational) order. In order to find out the extent of this dependence within the framework of one decisive generation, the conceptual texts of two striking representatives, standing on different ideological platforms, were selected: V. Lypynskyi born in 1882 («conservative centrism») and D. Dontsov born in 1883 (integral nationalism). In the case of «body politic» identity within one biological generation (V. Lypynskyi and D. Dontsov) it is concluded that its dependence on the cohort factor. In case of divergence – from ideological. Research is primarily based on a quantitative approach, which is usually ignored in traditional «body politic» studies.

Keywords: «body politics», Ukrainian ideologies, D. Dontsov, V. Lypynskyi, state, generation.

Introduction. The theoretical basis of the study has several conceptual complications. The first concerns the «body politic» definition – the category that is included in the title of the article. Inasmuch as «body politics» is a kind of latent information, the researcher in this case uses the practice of content analysis.

Body and corporeality metaphor served as one of the most ancient images that, at least since the Middle Ages, formed models for the state designation, territory etc. Therefore, being involved in a meaningful space of ideas about the state and power, the body acted as one of the influential and determining political categories. It was included in the political discourse.

In fact, the change in perceptions of body and corporeality over the centuries has led to changes in perceptions of related images of state and politics. These ever-changing perceptions about the body continued to shape the state image, society and politics, also in the 19th century. A prominent example here is G. Spencer's well-known theory, which, based on the modern «scientific» conception of the body as closed, explained in this way the functioning of society and politics. In the second half of the 19th century the formation of a modern concept of Ukraine as a historical, cultural and political reality, which realized itself as a result of the events of 1917-1920s – in the writings of prominent Ukrainian intellectuals – historians and at the same time politicians – first of all, M. Kostomarov, V. Antonovich, D. Doroshenko, M. Drahomanov, M. Hrushevskyi, etc.

However, today there is almost¹ no researches in the field that would consider the impact of «body politics» on the formation of ideas of national intellectuals about the historical past and political modern Ukraine. The «body politic» discipline has been formed by the models developed in the historiography of the transatlantic humanities multidisciplinary space. It is associated with the so-called «anthropological turn» and «turn to corporeality». One of the influential areas of research in this field is the study of «body politics» in the texts of leading thinkers who defined the political and intellectual landscape of their countries, and not just them.

¹ Interesting enough is V. Masnenko's study about visual anthropomorphic mainly within V. Lypynskyi's intellectual biography. On the basis of V. Lypynskyi's epistolary heritage, the author singled out the main images of V. Lypynskyi's physical self-reflections, noting that they were somehow related to cultural codes, such as Don Kikhot's character, or B. Khmelnytskyi real image (what about B. Lepkyi claimed). Instead, we propose to look at the anthropomorphic categories of V. Lypynskyi through content-analytic calculations of his printed academic and nonfiction publications. (See: **Masnenko, V.** (2015). «Rizni oblychchia odnogo myslytelia: vizualizatsia tilesnosti v samoprezentatsii Viacheslava Lypynskoho». Kolesnyk, I. (2015). Eidos. Almanah istorii ta istorychnoi nauky, 8, 129-154).

By the «body politics»¹ definition we mean the anthropomorphic metaphor of the state – contextual textual lexical units that figuratively represent body of the state. The state anthropomorphization occurs through the reference to the Christ's body, the servant's body of God.

The metaphorical «body politic» template is actively involved in qualitative investigations of specific historical events. In our opinion, the anthropomorphic interpretation of certain social phenomena testified to the following forms of political domination:

- 1) gender²;
- 2) theological³;
- 3) tonatological⁴;
- 4) physiological⁵.

The purpose of our study is to determine the dependence degree «body politic», which occurred in the relevant texts of Ukrainian political conceptualists in the first half of the 20th centuries from two factors: the certain biological generation on the one hand, and relevant state ideologies on the other.

The algorithm of our actions consists of two theses verification:

- 1) If within the cohort, in particular in the texts of its significant representatives, «body politics» coincide, then a conclusion is drawn about its' dependence on the factor of biological generation.
- 2) If we have the opposite situation, then we conclude that they is dependent on ideology.

The main for this research quantitative approach is implemented in the cliometric method of processing text arrays – by appropriate quantitative content analysis. Provides an opportunity to outline the «body politic» of the relevant biological generation' intellectual program.

Principles of sampling and word processing. To highlight the categorical core of «body politic» in the biological generation's intellectual program⁶ with a focal date of 1882 y. b.:

- 1) We select digitally digitized PDFs by synchronous and chronological criteria, the publications of which are at the appropriate stage of socialization⁷.
- 2) Thematic affinity of texts – history and politics.
- 3) Style affinity of texts: scientific, non-fiction style.
- 4) One word order of the total sample volume is 367000 ± 15000 words.
- 5) For the initial (basic) analysis, the top-10 parameters were selected from 31 test – sorted by word density in descending order, defined as a percentage of the total number of words and counted in Microsoft Excel. By parameter we mean both the whole word and part of it with all possible (specified) variants

¹ We came to such contextual conclusion by examining a complex of interdisciplinary, historically-oriented academic texts, which contains the metaphorical «body politic» template, both in the titles and in the text main body, de-facto formalizing terminology usage and constructing it accordingly.

² About gender form see here: 1) **Begoña Aretxaga** (2001). The Sexual Games of the Body Politic: Fantasy and State Violence in Northern Ireland. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 25 (1), 1-27; 2) **Emily Fox Kales** (2003). Film Review. Body Double as Body politic: Psychosocial Myth and Cultural Binary in Fatal Attraction. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 84 (6), 1631-1637; 3) **Nayanika Mookherjee** (2008). Gendered Embodiments: Mapping the Body-Politic of the Raped Woman and the Nation in Bangladesh. *Feminist Review*, 88, 36-53.

³ About theological form see here: 1) **Barry Harvey** (1997). The Body Politic of Christ: Theology, Social Analysis, and Bonhoeffer's Arcane Discipline. *Modern Theology*, 13 (3), 319-346; 2) **Patrick Hanafin** (2000). D(en)ying narratives: death, identity and the body politic. *Legal Studies*, 20 (3), 393-408; 3) Andreas Musolff (2010). *Metaphor, Nation and the Holocaust: The Concept of the Body Politic*. New York, London: Routledge.

⁴ About tanatological form see here: 1) **Remy Bazenguissa-Ganga** (2011). The Bones of the Body Politic: Thoughts on the Savorgnan de Brazza Mausoleum. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35.2, 445-452. 2) **Anne Fausto-Sterling** (2000). *Sexing the Body Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books.

⁵ About physiological form see here: 1) **Norbert Peabody** (2009). Disciplining the Body, Disciplining the Body-Politic: Physical Culture and Social Violence Among North Indian Wrestlers. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51 (2), 372-400; 2) **Katherine Bootle Attie** (2008). Re-membering the Body Politic: Hobbes and the Construction of Civic Immortalit. *ELH*, 75 (3), 497-530.

⁶ An intellectual program is a creative rational response to a collective biological cohort of a «catastrophic» life experience that falls on the «formative years» of a generation and is «fixed» in their scientific and journalistic texts.

⁷ These texts demonstrate the genesis of theoretical / practical programs of political content during the first (26-40) second stage of socialization (41-59 +) years of the cohort's lifecycle – in our case it is calendar from 1909 to 1924 (+), since both are significant subject of generation acts were born in 1882/3, which creates us an «ideal situation» to investigate.

of the word usage of the experimental text array. Further analysis of the obtained data is mediated to the textual array and is constructed on basic analysis.

Table conventions:

1. «-parameter-» is a kind of simple search that searches for a word / letter combination as a fragment of a symbol line.

2. «parameter» – a kind of simple search as a whole word.

3. «parameter 1 [_, x, y-, z], parameter 2» – a complex search query consisting of two or more queries, where x, y-, z is an additional symbol / symbol line that defines parameter 1 in English. «_» Means parameter 1 remains unchanged. The result is the sum of all parameters. A hyphen converts a specific query as a word fragment search.

4. A symbol means a number, a letter (Cyrillic or Latin) or a punctuation mark.

Errors:

1. For every 15 results of a simple or complex parameter query, there can be about two false ones.

2. The sample is not a general population because of the availability of digitized texts.

The qualitative approach consists of:

1) The qualitative content analysis is implemented through the historical-comparative method of quantitative calculations obtained and allows to draw conclusions regarding the influence of body politics on Ukraine state conception in the end of the 19th – early 20th centuries.

2) The generational theory¹ is based on the fact that, since a particular biological generation has a collective traumatic experience, the response to these events should be similar and result in a single social generation (intellectual or political generation). This approach allows you to distinguish between the socialization periods of the relevant biological cohort² and to create a formalized collective body politic based on them.

For this, we choose the texts of two prominent humanities, representatives of two different political ideologies, united by birth in the territory of modern Ukraine, one biological generation, that is, they have a common zone of birth dates: V. Lypynskyi was born in 1882, D. Dontsov – 1883.

It is quite obvious that they are united by a common determining period in their socialization. At the same time, they are separated by rather different political ideologies in Ukraine in the second half of the 19th- early 20th centuries. Historiography identifies V. Lypynskyi as a Ukrainian conservative centrist³, and D. Dontsov as a Ukrainian integral nationalist.

V. Lypynskyi's conservatism does not deny the entirely national-oriented state model of Ukraine, just as integral nationalism allows elements of a monarchical form of government. V. Lypynskyi's state concept approves of elitism, while D. Dontsov tends to the opposite – egalitarian. The difference is also in the way⁴ of achieving the national-state project. Conservatism saw an evolutionary way, through the gradual limitation of the monarchy. Integral nationalism – through a dramatic change of power – that is, revolution. It should be noted that to some extent, Ukrainian conservatism inherited the dead body of the Russian Empire through of the idea of monarchy, but referred not only to the monarchical form of government, but also to the republican one.

The tabular data testify, in the texts of both D. Dontsov and V. Lypynskyi, that the images of the corporeal are saturated with vocabulary that refers to physical death, which is inherently necrophilic. We have 80% percent of the coincidences of the top-10 contextual word forms between D. Dontsov's and V. Lypynskyi's texts and 90% of the D. Dontsov's texts that belong to different stages of socialization. The question arises: are national-state constructs of nationalism and conservative centrism effective if the nation commits physical suicide? The problem is a subject field for further interdisciplinary research.

¹ About generational theory see here: 1) **Marias, J.** (1967). Ortega and His Philosophy of Vital Reason. *History of philosophy by Julián Marias*. N.-Y.: Dover Publications, 459; 2) **Strauss, W.** (1997). *The Fourth Turning: An American Prophecy*. New York: Broadway Books, 60; 3) **Vashchenko, V.** (2016). (Ukrainian) istori, politychni. heneratsii ta (radianska) vlada: nova analitychna struktura radianskoi istorii. *Istori i Vlada. Kolektyvna monohrafiia*. Kyiv: Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 88-94.

² About cohort definition see here: **Ryder, N.** (1965). The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change. *American Sociological Review*, 30 (6), 844, 845, 847, 849.

³ In our opinion, V. Lypynskyi's political program, interpreted by I. Lysyak-Rudnitsky, can be defined as conservative centrism. (See **Lysyak-Rudnitskyi, I.** (1994). *Lypynskyi Viacheslav*. Kyiv: Osnovy, 2, 143-147. [in Ukrainian])

⁴ According to José Ortega-y-Gasset, so-called «cumulative» and «polemical» generations can be defined depending on the balance of the content of the inherited and the own in the generation (See: **Orteha-i-Hasset, H.** (1994). *Tema nashoi doby. Vybrani tvory*. Kyiv: Osnovy, 319. [in Ukrainian]).

Table 1

D. Dontsov's (1883-1973) public texts between 26-40 y.o. (1909-1923)

№	Parameter (contextual word form)	Text size, words	Separate number of repetitions	Total number of repetitions	Percent, %
1	-mert-	196432	120	120	0,06%
2	-holov[a-, i-, o-, u, y-], holiv	196432	19-6-15-34-22-8	104	0,05%
3	ruk [a, tsi, y, ah, my]	196432	6-5-7-33-41-11	103	0,05%
4	orhanism-, orhan[y, iv, a, u]	196432	39-11-9-11-0-14	84	0,04%
5	-krov-, -kryvav-	196432	35-21	56	0,03%
6	serts-	196432	42	42	0,02%
7	och[i, ei, am-], ok-[o, u]	196432	22-6-0-5-0	33	0,02%
8	noh[a-, zi, u, y], nih	196432	0-22-1-2-4-3	32	0,02%
9	til[a, i, o-, u, es, om]	196432	1-7-0-12-0-1-9	30	0,02%
10	chol-[o, om, a ,u, i], lob[a,i]	196432	3-1-1-0-22-2-0	29	0,01%

Table 2

D. Dontsov's (1883-1973) public texts since 41 y.o. (1924+)

№	Parameter (contextual word form)	Text size, words	Separate number of repetitions	Total number of repetitions	Percent, %
1	-mert-	157774	116	116	0,07%
2	-krov-, -kryvav-	157774	85-21	106	0,07%
3	ruk [, a, tsi, y, ah, my]	157774	15-7-4-28-22-3	79	0,05%
4	-serts-	157774	76	76	0,05%
5	-holov[a-, i-, o-, u, y-], holiv	157774	10-7-5-20-20-2	64	0,04%
6	orhanism-, orhan[y, iv, a, u]	157774	41-7-7-3-4	62	0,04%
7	til[, a, i, o-, u, es, om]	157774	0-10-7-13-1-16-5	52	0,03%
8	och[i, ei, am-], ok-[o, u]	157774	28-2-0-10	40	0,03%
9	kastra-, skope-, ievnu-, impotent	157774	12-0-10-4	26	0,02%
10	chol [o, om, a ,u, i], lob[a,i]	157774	6-1-2-0-9-1-0-1	20	0,01%

Table 3

V. Lypynskiy's (1882-1931) public texts (all time)

№	Parameter (contextual word form)	Text size, words	Separate number of repetitions	Total number of repetitions	Percent, %
1	ruk [, a, ah, y, u], rukamy, rutsi	382203	35-16-77-89-32-32-0	281	0,07%
2	-mert-	382203	272	272	0,07%
3	-holov[a-, i-, o-, u, y-], holiv	382203	45-16-32-34-62	189	0,05%
4	-krov-, -kryvav-	382203	112-3	115	0,03%
5	chol[o, om, a ,u, i], lob[, a,i, u]	382203	19-0-7-0-76-0-1-0-0	103	0,03%
6	til[, a, amy, i, o, u, e-]	382203	1-7-0-2-20-0-23	53	0,01%
7	-serts-	382203	52	52	0,01%
8	-hvorob-	382203	51	51	0,01%
9	zhyv[,yi ,yh ym], -ozhyv-, -ozhyvl-	382203	1-11-10-8-11-3	44	0,01%
10	orhanism-, orhan[, y, iv, a, u]	382203	33-3-1-5-0-1	43	0,01%

Conclusion. Our studies, in particular the «body politic» and, accordingly, the state found in the texts of the most prominent representatives of the two state ideologies and latently present in their structures, revealed quite extent destructiveness (self-destruction). This is probably one of the reasons why the ideologies which outwardly proclaim the cult of a strong Ukrainian state at the level of metaphors, which are most significant to the state (metaphor of corporeality), have quite opposite (negative) meanings and senses concerns statehood.

Different political ideologies are represented not by identical but nevertheless similar «body politic» regimes. This fact pushes the author to think, that within one generation, different political ideologies in the first half of the 20th century to some extent trace one imperative core – a program of self-destruction of failing social constructs. Most likely the Ukraine concept is influenced first by the cohort factor and then by the ideological factor. Thus, within one biological generation, two different social generations were formed. The D. Dontsov's nationalist generation, is undoubtedly a mirror, that is, a copying response to the challenges between the First and Second World Wars.

These challenges were a group of societies that in the first half of the 20th century proved incapable of progressive development, but were programmed for self-destruction. On the territory of Ukraine in the first half of 20th century these were Soviet and German totalitarianisms who had such body politics regime that created disabled states (ex-empires) that had phantom pains of cut off parts («hands», «legs») and had desire to recover their lost limbs. At the same time, the V. Lypynskyi's restrained generation of conservative centrists did not offer a viable statehood model.

Thus, given that the modern Ukraine of the 21st century is a weak state construct, the «body politics» study in models of statehood spelled out in the texts of Ukrainian intellectuals in similar circumstances at the early 20th century is as relevant as ever.

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