

The Rise of Nationalism in Ukraine: Erich Fromm's Psychoanalytic Approach

*Ukrayna'da Milliyetçiliğin Yükselişi:
Erich Fromm'un Psikanalitik Yaklaşımı*

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Abstract

The article examines the phenomenon of Ukrainian nationalism through the lens of Erich Fromm's psychoanalytic approach, which holds that the traumatized psyche of an individual as a victim of capitalist and democratic systems is the reason for the spread of nationalist ideology. Nationalism itself is used by the individual and the group as an attempt to escape from an unbearable, traumatic reality. The article argues that an interdisciplinary approach is required for understanding the causes of nationalism spread. During the analysis, political, economic, and social elements must be considered through the lens of psychology.

Keywords: Ukrainian Nationalism, Psychoanalysis, Post-Soviet Nationalism, Erich Fromm, Psychological Defense Mechanisms

Öz

Bu makale, Ukrayna milliyetçiliği olgusunu, kapitalist ve demokratik sistemlerin kurbanı olarak bireyin travma geçirmiş psişesinin milliyetçi ideolojinin yayılmasının nedeni olduğunu savunan Erich Fromm'un psikanalitik yaklaşımı çerçevesinde incelemektedir. Milliyetçiliğin kendisi, birey ve grup tarafından dayanılmaz, travmatik bir gerçeklikten kaçma çabası olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bu makale, milliyetçiliğin yayılmasının nedenlerini anlamak için disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımın gerekli olduğunu savunulmaktadır. Analiz esnasında politik, ekonomik ve sosyal unsurlar psikoloji çerçevesinde ele alınmalı, diğer bir deyişle sözkonusu değişkenlerin bireyin ve bir grubun zihinsel durumu üzerindeki etkisi izlenmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ukrayna Milliyetçiliği, Psikanaliz, Sovyet Sonrası Milliyetçilik, Erich Fromm, Psikolojik Savunma Mekanizmaları

Makale Türü / Article Type Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article	Başvuru Tarihi / Submitted 07.03.2024	Kabul Tarihi / Accepted 28.05.2024
Bu makaleye atıf için / To cite this article Sarantseva, M. (2024). The Rise of Nationalism in Ukraine: Erich Fromm's Psychoanalytic Approach <i>Uluslararası Kriz ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Dergisi</i> , 8(1), 102-119.		

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century, it was assumed that the processes of globalization would inevitably change the world system, since the transformation of socio-economic and socio-cultural parameters seemed obvious. However, along with 'globalization', there were events that contradicted the globalists slogans. At the turn of the 1990s, the destruction of the bipolar geopolitical system appeared to open a Pandora's box with a new wave of national claims and ethnic hatred.

Many studies in the social sciences have been devoted to the topic of nationalism, but the 'mystery' of this social phenomena has yet to be explained. The difficulty in evaluating nationalism stems from its versatility. Many recognized researchers, including Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Craig Calhoun and others, emphasized the ambiguities, contradictions, and paradoxes of nationalism. Nationalism has been defined and analyzed as a political, economic and social phenomenon. Many approaches and theories have been applied to its study; nonetheless, scholars are still unsure of the causes behind the social masses' dedication to nationalism. It is still unclear why nationalism remains the dominant ideology of modernity, while other ideologies recede into the past.

The assumption of this research is that nationalism has such a strong influence on people's consciousness because of its deep psychologism. In other words, nationalism appeals to the unconscious needs of both individuals and masses. In this regard, it is argued that such a diverse phenomenon as nationalism requires an interdisciplinary approach, particularly social theories must be "enriched" with psychoanalytic methods in order to analyze individual and social motivations.

The issue of national self-determination, and consequently manifestations of nationalism, has grown especially acute in post-Soviet states. Following the demise of the USSR, the newly formed states were forced to create a new national identity by opposing their cultural identity with the Soviet Union and Russia identities and attempting to separate their historical experience from the USSR and the Russian Empire. Manifestations of nationalism are particularly evident in post-Soviet countries such as Ukraine and the Baltic states. During the period of its independence several events occurred in Ukraine, including the Orange Revolution, Euromaidan, the separation of the Lugansk and Donetsk Republics, and the ongoing military conflict with Russia, which influenced Ukrainian society's worldview. Despite the fact that Ukrainian nationalism is presented as a new phenomenon in today's media, as a reaction to the current situation, Ukrainian nationalism has much deeper historical and psychological roots. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine the socio-psychological foundations for the development of nationalist sentiments in Ukrainian society.

Psychoanalytic Theoretical Methods of The Social Phenomena Analysis

Nationalism studies within the framework of social sciences are as problematic as the phenomena of nationalism itself. Modern studies are unable to not only define nationalism, but also determine the nature of the phenomenon itself. For one group of

scholars nationalism is a political concept¹, while other group of researchers consider nationalism as an economic force, i.e. a “form of collective behavior based on the idea of one's own exclusiveness, and consequently the desire to redistribute benefits in their favor.” (Ilyasov, 1997:82) One of the most reputed scholars in the field of nationalism Benedict Anderson, emphasizes that, unlike other social phenomena, nationalism has a unique paradox. (Anderson, 2006:3) He even draws a parallel between nationalism and religious doctrines (for this reason he is not inclined to consider nationalism along with the other ideologies, or with other “-isms”) in terms of the degree of influence on an individual. Religion is distinguished from ideology by the fact that religion creates a continuity - a sense of connection not only with the living members of community, but also with those who have passed away or who have not been born yet. These factors, in contrast to ideology, were the reason for such spreading of religious doctrines. (Anderson, 2006:10)

In his analysis, Benedict Anderson emphasizes the psychological aspect of nationalism as a social phenomenon. It is psychologism that distinguishes the phenomenon of nationalism from other political doctrines and social concepts – an appeal to the unconscious, to the psychological needs of both an individual and a group, allows to create a bond not only at the group level, but also creates an emotional connection with previous and future generations. Therefore, the theoretical tools of political and economic sciences remain limited for analyzing nationalism. For this very reason the causes for the rise of nationalism and the motivations of its adherents remain a ‘mystery’ to nationalism scholars. In this light, this research paper suggests that topics concerning nationalism and its various manifestations should be approached through the lens of psychoanalytic theories. The framework of the current work does not allow the author to consider the entire range of theoretical developments in psychoanalysis. Therefore, in order to disclose the issue of nationalism in Ukraine, the certain psychoanalytic approach and concepts will be chosen.

The Concepts of Unconscious and Unconscious Drives

One of the main concepts of psychoanalysis is Unconscious. In 1967 Laplanche and Pontalis stated: “If Freud's discovery had to be summed up in a single word that word would, without doubt, have to be ‘unconscious’.” (Laplanche and Pontalis,1985:474) Psychoanalysis represented by Freud, for the first time presented the Unconscious as a category of analysis, rather than a specific philosophical concept, allowing to reveal this phenomenon and see the psyche of an individual from an absolutely different perspective. According to Freud the human psyche is mostly constituted by the Unconscious, and Consciousness is only a special mental function. As the Unconscious, Freud understood a part of the human personality where shameful, forbidden, and seemingly unacceptable to consciousness memories and emotions are hidden, being *repressed by consciousness*. (Freud,1920[1961]:18) In his work "The Unconscious" Freud writes: “(...) the conventional equation of the psychical with the conscious is totally inexpedient.” (Freud,1915[2005]:52) Thus, Freud was the first to state that a human being is not some

¹ For Ernest Gellner (1983, p. 1) nationalism “is a theory of political legitimacy”.

harmonious entity. An individual is split inside, he is in a constant struggle with his desires, memories, and emotions, while all this struggle does not occur in Consciousness. Moreover, this struggle within the Unconscious in each person is not a deviation, but the norm. (Freud,1915[2005]:53)

Drives that originate in the Unconscious and run from the Unconscious into Consciousness are one of the fundamental principles of psychoanalysis that Freud considered to be the basis for motivation. Freud defined the concept of drives as follows: “[drives are] the representatives of all the forces originating in the interior of the body and transmitted to the mental apparatus (...)” (Freud,1920[1961]:28) All human bonds, as well as aggression and non-aggression, are motivated by these unconscious sources of motivation.

Thus, there is a fundamental difference between the fundamentals of social and psychoanalytic theories. Within the framework of social sciences, particularly in the areas of political and economic studies, individuals are rational beings, and their motivations and actions follow a specific logic and, first and foremost, benefit. This position is opposed by psychoanalysis, which claims that an individual, as well as groups of individuals, are susceptible to irrational desires and aspirations, and that behavior and identification are explained by irrational motivations.

Erich Fromm: Nationalism As a Result of Escape Mechanisms

The approach developed by Erich Fromm and presented in his work "Escape from Freedom" is of particular interest within the context of this article. Fromm's conception is perhaps the most remarkable example of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of socio-psychological phenomena. Fromm begins his analysis with criticizing Freudian approach by stating that “he [Freud] and most of his disciples had only a very naïve notion of what goes on in society.” (Fromm, 1941[1969]:23)

Erich Fromm is convinced that despite unconscious desires and a certain personal or collective unconscious individual and groups of individuals (society) are influenced by economic, political, social and ideological systems as well. The political and economic structure, according to Fromm, has a direct impact on the mental state of the individual and society. The rise of the capitalism system, in particular, had huge psychological consequences for individual. With the rise of capitalism and the destruction of the old society came the free individual, who broke the primary ties with nature and his small ‘real’ community. With a sense of freedom, independence, and equality, the new man at the same time felt a deep sense of insecurity, powerlessness, hesitation, loneliness, and anxiety (it made the individual more alone and isolated and imbued him with a feeling of insignificance and powerlessness). (Fromm, 1941[1969]:128) Man is now threatened by superhuman forces, i.e., capital and the market. His relation to his fellows, to everyone who has become his potential rival, has become enmity and alienation, ‘free’ means lonely, isolated, and threatened on all sides. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:81)

Fromm’s perspective resonates with the Anderson's concept of "imagined communities". In the era of capitalism, the master or administration becomes a certain abstract figure. Using Anderson's terminology, communities have become imaginary and abstract, which, according to Fromm's statement, has increased individual feelings of insecurity and self-sufficiency. The individual has also lost his importance as a consumer. According to

Fromm, the value of the individual as a potential customer is very abstract, and the hypnotic effect of mass advertising compounds this sense of powerlessness and insignificance by blunting the individual's ability to think logically. According to Fromm, the individual feels no better as a voter in a system of political democracy. He is confronted by mammoth parties, which offer him a choice of two or three candidates that the individual himself did not nominate. The relations between all the participants of such a process are as abstract as most relations in the capitalist system. The political propaganda and tactics used by the press in the struggle for votes are not much different from advertising manipulation, which dulls the individual's ability to think critically. Fromm is convinced that despite the illusion of the importance of the individual and appeals to supposedly critical judgments, advertising and propaganda techniques are aimed at blunting suspicion in man, and only contribute to his self-deception as to the autonomy of his decisions. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:151)

In addition to these features, the scholar identifies several other characteristics of capitalist society. This list includes such phenomena as world wars, economic crises, and unemployment, increasing segregation and exclusion, exploitation, and the replacement of human relations with commodity relations. Thus, according to Fromm, the real benefits of capitalism are entirely negative; they liberate man from all belonging and make him lonely and intimidated.

A psychological consequence of all these phenomena are feelings of intolerable powerlessness, loneliness, helplessness, and anxiety, which all together form a universal traumatic experience. Fromm refers to the psychological consequences of capitalism by the term "the burden of freedom," which, according to the scholar, is too heavy for the individual. Under such conditions, the individual attempts to avoid "freedom from" and its consequences by hiding behind the routines of daily life: career advancement, entertainment, and pleasures. Fromm states that such actions have only a momentary effect, therefore the individual is forced to look for various other ways to escape from negative freedom. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:157-158) Thus, the essence of Fromm's original psychoanalytic interpretation is the assumption that psychological mechanisms of escape (in other words, defense mechanisms) are inherent in the individual in a capitalist society. In his classification of the mechanisms of escape from freedom, Fromm, refers only to those that can have a social effect and the scholar structures them into three main groups: authoritarianism, which includes two main forms - masochism and sadism, the desire for destruction, and conformism of the automaton.

Authoritarianism: Masochistic and Sadistic Trends

In Fromm's conception, the fearful individual, under the pressure of the masochistic mechanism, searches for someone or something whom or what he can obey. He can no longer carry the burden of his Ego and desperately tries to find a sense of security at the cost of rejecting his exhausted, lonely, and powerless Ego. To free himself from negative freedom, he tries to get lost in something extraneous, alien to himself. A person in whom such a mechanism has been formed experiences an irrepressible desire to give themselves completely to some other person or activity. In other words, the masochistic defense mechanism involves, on the one hand, the loss of one's Ego and, on the other hand, the identification of one's Ego with some other person or thing. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:163-

165) It can also be some group united by a common idea or characteristic. In this regard, the phenomenon of nationalism discussed in this research may also be an example of a masochistic defense mechanism. Total submission to the national idea, cultural laws, and religious codes, in case they are effective for national identity, readiness to sacrifice everything for the nation - all these are characteristics of masochism in Erich Fromm's interpretation. The scholar explains this phenomenon as an attempt to become part of something larger and more powerful than himself. Such an individual is free from decision-making, responsibility for his destiny, and therefore from doubt. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:177)

The sadistic mechanism, as another form of authoritarianism, includes the irrepressible desire of man to free himself from a sense of loneliness and powerlessness by subjecting another person to himself and turning him into a helpless object of his will and wishes. This irresistible ambition, in its perverse form, is directed to humiliate that subordinate, to enslave him, to cause him suffering and anguish, knowing that he cannot resist or avenge himself. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:178) At first sight, the sadistic urge for unlimited power over another person is directly opposite to the masochistic one. However, it is possible to identify some common patterns. First, both the sadist and the masochist are completely dependent on the object. Secondly, both tendencies have an identical psychological cause - a person's inability to endure his own loneliness and the weakness of his personality. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:180)

Destructiveness

The second compulsive psychological mechanism considered by Fromm is the irrepressible desire for destructiveness. The desire to destroy is also an attempt to free oneself from an intolerable feeling of powerlessness and isolation. In this case, the solution comes down to destroying the world and thus eliminating the cause of the intolerable feeling. This irrational urge is not a reaction to something that deserves to be destroyed, but an inner need for destruction, hostility, and aggression. The compulsive-irrational mechanism of destructiveness is a Frommian reconstruction of the Freudian instinct of death with its aggressive and hostile desires. The mechanism of destructiveness, the impulse to kill, is regarded as a capitalist-determined mechanism of escape from unbearable negative freedom in this revised version. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:202-208)

Automaton Conformity

This mechanism consists, first, in the fact that the individual stops being himself and, second, in accepting the type of personality that the society in which he lives offers him. He becomes like everyone else, sinks into the masses as an individual, not distinguished from others, and becomes what society thinks he should be. Fromm compares this mechanism with protective coloring in animals. By abandoning his Ego and becoming a robot, like millions of other robots, man no longer feels loneliness and anxiety. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:208-230)

Fromm states that automaton conformity, as a defense mechanism, is the way out that the majority of normal individuals find in modern society. According to the scholar, this is the most common irresistible desire in capitalist bourgeois-democratic society. But it is also typical for fascism since the loss of the individual's Ego and its replacement by a

Pseudo-Ego leads to an aggravated state of anxiety bordering on panic. Thus, the individual is ready to submit himself to the new authorities that offer him security and release from doubts. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:233)

Fascism and Democracy in the Conceptual Thought of Erich Fromm

When scientists examine the causes of the spread of fascism, they typically take two opposed perspectives. Some argue that fascism is a purely political phenomena with economic underpinnings, i.e. is a result of German imperialism's expansionist tendencies. Others disagree, claiming that fascism is a psychological disorder rather than a societal phenomenon. Fromm opposes both of these one-sided approaches by stating that Nazism is a psychological problem, but the psychological factors themselves can only be understood when their formation under the influence of sociopolitical and economic factors is considered. Nazism is an economic and political problem, but without considering the psychological factors, it is impossible to understand how it gained power over a nation. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:233)

The collapse of the monarchy, inflation in 1923 the depression of 1929 destroyed all middle-class cash savings and all their hopes for a better future. The middle class felt powerless over capital and monopolies, which, in turn, increased the feelings of loneliness and worthlessness inherent in individuals. From 1918 to 1930 The state of apathy and inner weariness that was especially typical for the German working class, whose economic and political situation steadily degraded. In this regard, a significant part of German society has formed an authoritarian defense mechanism. This was expressed by the fact that the middle class was filled with the desire to submit to a force that offered some hope, and at the same time to rise above someone weak and powerless. Hitler's ideology satisfied the needs of the lower middle class, and Hitler acted as the messiah of the middle class, which, incidentally, created it, psychologically raised the middle class from oblivion, and turned it into a powerful force to fight for imperialism. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:246)

According to Erich Fromm's statements, democracy, however, has equally negative impact on psychology of society and individual. In a democratic society, we are confronted with the individual's insignificance and powerlessness, which acts as a breeding ground for fascism. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:265-266) As a result, the individual turns to conformism and becomes a human machine, losing his "Self".

For centuries, humanity fought for its freedom, but one shackles were replaced by others: the predominance of the church was replaced by the dominion of the state, then by the dominion of conscience, and finally by the dominion of sense and public opinion. As a result, the individual renounces his "Self" and lives according to generally accepted standards. The individual becomes only a reflection of others' expectations and can have confidence in the future only if behavior complies with the expectations of others.

According to the scholar, the modern democratic system suppresses the spontaneous manifestations of human feelings and his ability to think and forms his conformist traits. Fromm identifies several "ways" of suppressing feelings and turning an individual into a "machine." Firstly, the development of conformist trends is facilitated by education, which is aimed at suppressing hostility and antipathy. One of the main ideas of the educational process is to eliminate antagonistic reactions. A wide range of spontaneous

emotions is suppressed and replaced by a standardized expression, or pseudo-emotions. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:267) Fromm also notes the role of modern psychiatry in the process of suppressing human emotions. Based on Freud's research, psychiatry today is a tool through which general trends are formed, aimed at manipulating an individual. Psychiatry identifies a normal personality "which is never too sad, too angry, or too excited." (Fromm, 1941[1969]:272) This form of manipulation is more dangerous, since before "(...) the individual knew at least that there was some person or some doctrine which criticized him, and he could fight back. But who can fight back at 'science'?" (Fromm, 1941[1969]:272)

Further, Fromm notes the modern education system as one of the ways to impede original thinking. Within the framework of school education, an adolescent starts to receive ready and evidence-based knowledge; at the same time, any attempts at independent thinking are discouraged. Thus, our entire system of mentoring and education imposes certain external patterns of thoughts and feelings on a person and lays the foundation for the development of a machine person. (Fromm, 1941[1969]: 267-270, 272-274)

The targeted destruction of any structured picture of the world through radio, cinema, and newspapers (in modern realities these are television, the Internet, and social networks, which in this regard have an even more destructive effect) has the same effect. For example, reports of city bombings and deaths of hundreds of people are interrupted or adjacent to advertisements for various products. As a result, the individual loses interest in everything he hears and sees. Emotions and critical reasoning become stalled, resulting in complete indifference. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:276-277)

Modern man wears a mask of well-being, but in fact he is unhappy and on the verge of despair. The life of an individual takes a shade of automation, and the meaning of life is lost in many ways. There is a certain danger here: a person is ready to accept any ideology for the promise of an exciting life and visible order. According to Erich Fromm, this state of affairs may as well create an advantageous situation for the emergence of fascism. (Fromm, 1941[1969]:282)

The Historical, Political and Economic Background for the Rise of Ukrainian Nationalism

Despite the presence of a nationalist element in Ukraine, the events of 2013-2014 served as a trigger for the development of ideologies of nationalism. The nationalist rise has had a tremendous impact not just on current events, but also on Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy over the years after the USSR's demise. Because of this damaging influence, Ukraine has withdrawn from numerous post-Soviet integration programs. The nationalist stratum exists in all civilizations; nevertheless, the unique feature of Ukrainian nationalism is that nationalists have gained governmental and military power. Unlike in other European countries, Ukrainian nationalist movement is defined by the concept of isolation and exclusivity. Ukrainian nationalism is unique in many ways. It is distinguished for his sometimes paranoid character, and in some cases unbridled aggression. In addition, his philosophy has become Ukraine's state ideology. In this regard, an analysis of the fundamental reasons of the growth of this social phenomenon in Ukraine is essential.

After considering Fromm's psychoanalytic approach to nationalism analysis, discussion of the topic of nationalism in Ukraine should begin with consideration of political and economic elements and their premises, as they influence society's psychological state.

Historical Background of Ukrainian Nationalism

Despite the fact that contemporary Ukrainian nationalism is portrayed as a phenomenon that is unique and natural to the entire country, Ukrainian nationalism in its modern manifestation is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Ukrainian nationalism has four origins. Each of these patterns emerged independently and, more importantly, for various reasons. The different lines of Ukrainian nationalism development can be the reason which lies under the internal conflict between citizens who have different ideas about the Ukrainian nation and understand what it means to be a Ukrainian in different ways.

Imperial Nationalism

The first type of Ukrainian nationalism started to form in the middle of the nineteenth century on the territory of two empires: Russian and Austrian (later Austro-Hungarian). Except for Galicia and Transcarpathia, Russia united almost all territories of modern Ukraine within its borders after actively participating in the partitions of Poland. The annexed lands were heavily influenced by the local political elite, whose political and cultural views were shaped by Polish traditions. One of the outcomes of these events was the rise of "Ukrainophilism" in Russia. The first activity of the emerging Ukrainian national movement was the promotion of ideas of cultural identity and the development of interest in the Little Russian traditions, particularly in the local language. (Balashchenko and Tsimbalova, 2018:70) It is necessary to note the presence of the Polish factor influenced the development, strengthening, and dissemination of ideas about the uniqueness of Ukrainian ethnic group. During the 1918-1931 uprisings Poles tried to use the Ukrainian factor in their political interests. (Balashchenko and Tsimbalova, 2018:71)

Thus, a distinguishing feature of imperial type of Ukrainian nationalism is its artificial roots. National ideas were spread "from above" by Western political elites and ideologists, rather than "from below" by ethnic group representatives who, realizing their cultural and linguistic differences, decided to fight for the expansion of their rights and freedoms. To put it another way, Ukrainian imperial nationalism was an elitist project that spread throughout cities, especially Kiev.

Proletarian Nationalism and Ukrainization Policy

Ukrainian nationalism in the USSR received a powerful impetus within the framework of the Korenization (Korenizatsiia policy), or Ukrainization, policy. Ukrainization meant that, in addition to territorial expansion (Sloboda Ukraine, Donbass, Novorossiia), the focus was on Ukrainization in personnel policy, education, and culture. Since the rural population was Ukrainian-speaking, and the urban proletariat was marked by "Russification", emphasis was placed on avoiding the potential threat of ethnic conflicts. (Degtyarev, 2018:112)

However, Ukrainization caused rejection and discontent among the urban population. Ukrainization resulted in the development of a syndrome of negative historical memory in political elites in socialist Ukraine, rather than the antithesis of Galician "Bandera" nationalism. The policy of planned, official Ukrainization ended in 1932-1933. Following

that, the party's Moscow Central Committee repeatedly criticized the "Ukrainian comrades" for "manifestations" of nationalism. (Goncharov,2015:238)

Some modern researchers and specialists on the Ukrainian issue reasonably assume that the USSR's national policy provided the basis for the current conflict in Ukraine. According to this perspective, the party-state leadership of Soviet Russia cut and redrawn the country's administrative borders for purely ideological reasons. Joseph Stalin in his speech at the X Congress of the RCP (b) acknowledges that the transfer of parts of Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, and the Donskoy Army Region in 1920, which formed Donetsk province as part of the Ukrainian SSR, is regarded as the transfer of millions of Russian residents under the authority of another state - "under the leadership of another, newly created "titular" nation." (Goncharov,2015:237) Representatives of this viewpoint genuinely think that the sociopolitical conflict in the Donbas in 2014 is the result of the Soviet and post-Soviet policy of Ukrainization.

Galician Type of Nationalism and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Under the influence of external factors such as the First World War, the Russian revolution, the formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) and Western Ukrainian People's Republic (WUPR), and their subsequent political failure, Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia begins to reach the socio-political level. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), led by E.M. Konovalts, was founded in Vienna in 1929 on the foundation of several small nationalist organizations. The League of Ukrainian Fascists (SUF) joins the organization during its formation. As the main ideology, the OUN accepts the ideas presented in D. Dontsov's book "Nationalism" (1926), where he presents the concept of Ukrainian integral nationalism which is based on the principles of social Darwinism and leadership, as well as the division of races into lower and higher classes. (Dontsov, 1926[2019]:20) M.O. Stsiborskyi, another prominent OUN ideologist introduced a theoretical model of the Ukrainian totalitarian state in his book "Nationocracy" (1935). According to Stsiborskyi, the future Ukrainian state should have been dominated by the nationocracy model - the regime of domination of the nation in its own state, carried out by the power of all socially useful stratum. (Stsiborskyi, 1935[2016]:6) The greatest increase in OUN supporters was observed between the two world wars, particularly on territories belonging to Poland. The difficult socio-political situation and repressive Polish policy towards national minorities in this region fueled the desire for national self-determination and the defense of national rights. In order to implement the ideas of independence, Ukrainian nationalists sought international support and saw Fascist Germany as their main ally. (Rossolinski-Liebe,2015:2-4)

Political Situation: Instability of Domestic and Foreign Politics

The origins of modern Ukrainian foreign and domestic policy should be sought in the early 1990s. The Ukrainian elite interpreted the fall of the USSR and independence differently. The alliance of party nomenclature and nationally oriented politicians used new guidelines for the development of the Ukrainian state as a foundation, implying a course of national revival and a break with the Soviet past. However, Ukraine's so-called peaceful divorce within the USSR did not end with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The process of separating the former multinational people was already ongoing at the

Ukrainian state level. In these circumstances, the nationalist ideology has become widely spread. (Zhiltsov,2020)

Since the country's independence, the political situation in the country has been marked by a number of issues, the solutions to which have yet to be found. The problem of Ukraine's territorial and state structure, the struggle for power taking place in the midst of a sharp deterioration in the economy, and foreign policy issues have determined and continue to determine the development of the Ukrainian state.

Despite a number of transition-period problems, relative stability and predictability were hallmarks of independent Ukraine during the presidency of L. Kuchma. His political system ensured the effectiveness of the state apparatus, the adequacy of decisions made, and the rigor with which they were carried out. The "Orange Revolution" of 2004 exacerbated problems that had previously gotten worse every year and threatened Ukraine's existence. The "Orange Revolution" of 2004 intensified the country's political conflict, and the constitutional reform put into effect in March 2006 marked the beginning of the emergence of nationalist forces into the first positions. The return of the Ukrainian Constitution to its 1996 edition in 2010 and the playing of the "card" of Ukrainian nationalism had a negative impact on Ukraine's political development. Political struggle has escalated, and external pressure has increased. (Ilinova,2018:91-92) The consolidation of the Ukrainian opposition began at the end of 2013 with a decision to refuse to sign the Association Agreement. The opposition seized power in Ukraine, in February 2014. New government was formed and Ukraine held early presidential elections in May 2014. Western countries supported the opposition's actions, having learned from the geopolitical blunders of former Ukrainian presidents and relying on nationalists whose ideology opposes any rapprochement with Russia. (Ilinova,2018:92)

For these reasons, the 2014 coup d'etat and military conflict in the Donbass were unavoidable consequences of an unresolved interregional conflict. This marked the end of the peaceful coexistence of regions whose populations held diametrically opposed views on the country's history and future. (Zhiltsov,2020) Thus, the absence of a mechanism for balancing the interests of individual regions negatively affected Ukraine's development. The new regional policy, the federalization of the country, could, if not completely solve the problem, at least minimize the contradictions.

The 2014 political crisis has brought the issue of Ukrainian federalization back to the forefront. The new authorities opposed Ukraine's federalization, believing that the "real Ukraine" could only have a nationalist ideology. The authorities in the southeastern regions, on the other hand, were slow to support the transition to a federal structure. One of the primary reasons for the south-eastern regions' passivity was a lack of political forces capable of initiating the country's federalization. (Filippov,2014:1) In general, during the entire period of independence, federalization ideas were in demand whenever the nationalist elites of the western regions went on a "campaign" to Kiev and attempted to subjugate the country's east to their influence.

The desire to maintain the Ukrainian state's unitary structure did not solve the problems, but only postponed them. Meanwhile, the country's territorial integrity was threatened by the unitary status, prompting the regions to defend their interests. Despite this, the

nationalist forces that came to power ignored regional diversity, insisting on maintaining the unitary structure. (Zhiltsov,2014:30)

After the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine, like any new state with no prior experience of independence, encountered significant difficulty in defining state and national interests, as well as foreign policy priorities. This explains why, for the past 30 years, the republic's foreign policy has been marked by instability, lack of continuity in several sectors, and has relied heavily on the positions of political and economic elites in power in the country at various times. (Belashchenko,2022)

For Kiev, the 1990s were a period of gradual rapprochement with European and Euro-Atlantic structures and the establishment of new relations with Russia. Historians differentiate two major tendencies of Ukraine's foreign policy in this regard: eastern (Russian) and western (relations with the EU and NATO states). Since modern Ukraine is in a favorable geopolitical location, military and political control over its territory has a substantial impact on the situation in Central and Eastern Europe. As a result, it becomes a negotiating piece in the game of stronger states. According to a number of experts, Ukraine is both a "stake in the game" in interested parties' strategy and a buffer state placed between East and West. (Kasyanov,2007:104)

During L. Kuchma's administration (1994-2004), Ukraine starts to follow a 'multi-vector' route in its foreign policy, which involved maneuvering between the interests of the EU, Russia, and the United States, and it took into account not only the different mentalities of the southeastern and northwestern regions, but it also allowed the Ukrainian state to pursue a policy based solely on pragmatic economic interests. (Romashenko,2012:69) The multi-vector approach partially justified itself due to the peculiarities of Ukraine's development, geographical location, and internal structure, allowing Kiev to successfully balance not only the interests of its closest foreign policy partners, but also the moods of the country's population in different regions. However, the lack of clearly defined priorities and orientations exposed multi-vector policy to the necessity to develop a long-term strategy in the international arena. The multi-vector path has become one of the causes aggravating and consolidating internal conflicts between the country's west and east. (Belashchenko,2022)

In 2004 new president V. Yanukovich was intended to continue the course of L. Kuchma and V. Yushchenko, who symbolized the orientation to the "pro-Western" path and the "European choice". The "orange revolution" that erupted after the results of the second round were announced plainly revealed the split in Ukrainian society, which was really divided evenly during the voting. (Belashchenko,2022)

After the orange revolution, during the presidency of V. Yushchenko, Ukraine has reduced its participation in the work of CIS institutions, as well as in the development of regional integration processes. Ukraine also claimed the role of primary mediator between the EU and the Eastern Partnership program. This project was viewed by Kiev as a means for rapprochement with the European Union, a necessity for which the Ukrainian leadership constantly underlined. (Kuryliov,2013:130) The increased intensity of the EU's initiatives in the post-Soviet region has resulted in the "dilemma of integrations," or competition between European and Eurasian projects. In these circumstances, Ukraine attempted to take advantage of all of the benefits of cooperation with Brussels by acting

as an ambassador of European ideals and values, a link between the European Union and the post-Soviet space. In general, Ukraine shifted its policy toward the post-Soviet area under Yushchenko, decreasing the amount of collaboration with the region's governments or, in the case of Russia, drastically worsening bilateral relations. (Belashchenko,2022)

In 2010 Viktor Yanukovych won a hard-fought victory, with the overwhelming supporting of the electorate of Ukraine's eastern and southeastern regions, usually considered "pro-Russian." The next president's foreign policy platform was largely centered on provisions aimed at changing the character of relations with Russia and the member states of the CIS and restoring mutually beneficial cooperation with them. At the same time, Yanukovych intended to maintain the same level of interaction with the US, the EU, and other Western partners, as well as to contribute to the formation of a common market between the European Union and the post-Soviet space (via the CIS or the Eurasian integration project). (V. Yanukovych's election campaign,2009)

The fundamental shift in Ukraine's foreign policy toward Western countries was triggered by changes in the country's power balance. Representatives of nationalist movements have strengthened their positions in the corridors of power, and the mood of people in the regions has altered, particularly in the south-east, where the share of the population adversely associated to Russia has increased. This was the result of official Kiev's policies, which for a long time encouraged the spread of nationalist ideas and supported the growth of anti-Russian sentiment. (Zhiltsov,2015:10)

Vladimir Zelensky as a presidential contender, stated his willingness to make significant changes in foreign policy. It was about improving relations with Russia, and V. Zelensky declared to end the conflict in the Donbas. The internal alignment of forces had a significant impact on V. Zelensky's position. Following his election, V. Zelensky encountered strong opposition from nationalist elements that opposed normalization of Russian-Ukrainian relations and the resolution of the Donbas conflict on the basis of the Minsk agreements. Granting Donbass special status, as stipulated in the Minsk agreements, might lead to the consolidation of regional elites. Despite the Ukrainian state's unitary basis, regional elites were interested in changing the nature of relations with Kiev. The issue of federalization of the country would resurface in this scenario. V. Zelensky, however, preferred to avoid confrontation with nationalist movements. (Zhiltsov,2021:192)

Economic Situation: From Golden Age to Devastation

Even before the collapse of the USSR, many world economists noted a rare fusion of Ukraine's educational, scientific, and industrial potentials, unique agricultural opportunities, Black Sea and Azov ports, a developed transport complex, and geographical location. On the eve of independence with its third-largest nuclear potential, means of its delivery to almost anywhere in the world, and its own aviation and rocket engineering bases, Ukraine was a strong economy that, according to the World Bank classification, was in the highest subgroup of middle-income countries. If the average per capita income of the countries in this group in 1990 was \$1,297, it was \$1,570 in Ukraine. Furthermore, Ukraine was one of the top thirty largest economies in the world in 1989, similar to Ireland today. (Khazin,2017)

In the subsequent period, according to the description of the Ukrainian researcher and economic expert Sergey Korablin, Ukraine began following Russia to copy the "shock therapy" of Poland, trying to build a market economy similar to the Western one in "500 days". (Korablin,2020) The ten principles of the Washington Consensus were declared the key to economic success, implying that mass privatization, deregulation, and liberalization should occur as soon as possible. The state had to relinquish the center stage to the market, the best representative of which was foreign business. The concept of national interest has vanished. The issue of sustainable growth, technological development, and marketing of national products has become an anachronism, as they should now be provided automatically by the market. The outcome of such illusions exceeded all expectations. Only two of the 166 countries for which the World Bank provides real GDP data from 1990 to 2018 experienced a decline: Ukraine (-36.1%) and Georgia (-0.8%). The rest of the world has grown over time: global GDP has increased by 2.2 times, high-income countries' GDP has increased by 1.8 times, middle-income countries' GDP has increased by 3.4-3.7 times, and the poorest countries' GDP has increased by 2.9 times. Even before the outbreak of the 2014 war, Ukraine had a marginal anti-record: its real GDP fell by 30.1% between 1990 and 2013. (Arbuzov,2017:123)

Analysts conclude that the country's economy is in a state of macroeconomic instability caused by a deep economic crisis. Inflationary processes, devaluation of the national currency, and, as a result, a significant decrease in the level of welfare of the population, accompanied by a high level of unemployment, are factors exacerbating the crisis. The Ukrainian economy's exponentially growing reliance on IMF lending limits it to the interests of the EU and the IMF, with a focus on raw materials. The rise in state and state-guaranteed debts, the structure of which is dominated by foreign currency funds borrowed at high interest rates, as well as relatively small amounts of gold and foreign exchange reserves, the majority of which are borrowed funds, make the country's situation potentially defaulted. (Galtsova,2018:31-33)

It is obvious that the outbreak of armed conflict on Ukrainian territory seriously impacted the country's economy. According to World Bank estimates, the country's GDP could be reduced by 45% by the end of this year. This forecast assumes a massive drop in imports and exports as a result of trade disruptions, a collapse in the public and private sectors, and a significant drop in household spending. Depending on how long the war lasts, the proportion of the population living below the current subsistence minimum could reach 70%. Analysts predict that the economy will grow by 5% or more by 2025, but GDP will still be significantly lower than it was before the military operation began. (RBC,2022)

Nationalism In Ukraine: A Psychological Problem

According to the basic provisions of Erich Fromm's psychoanalytic approach in order to understand the causes for the rise of nationalist ideas in Ukraine, it was required to grasp the political and economic situation, as well as historical background. Within the framework of an academic paper, it is difficult to assess all of the political and economic criteria of the state's thirty-year existence, as well as to analyze the historical process. Even a superficial examination reveals that all of these areas within the framework of the Ukrainian state are marked by inconsistency and instability.

Considering first and foremost the historical evolution of nationalist ideology, it is clear that Ukraine lacked a cohesive national concept. Since the end of the nineteenth century, several national conceptions have been opposed to each other on Ukrainian territory, the majority of which were imposed by the ruling elites or the prevailing ideology. In this regard, it is difficult to state that there is a shared understanding of the Ukrainian nation. This confrontation is still present in Ukrainian society, and it led to the consequences that we observe today, i.e. the opposition of Western and Eastern regions. A small number of nationalists, followers of the OUN, which pushes nationalist ideals at the state level, wields considerable power over state structures.

Ukraine was clearly incredibly unstable in terms of domestic and foreign policy during its independence. It is obvious that the country, with each new change of government, was moving in a different direction. It is possible to say that the state was torn between the Western and Eastern (CIS and former Soviet countries) foreign policy directions. Domestic politics were similarly characterized by severe instability. This includes internal political issues related to the struggle of political elites who use ethno-national instruments as political weapons. According to many Ukrainian experts, since 2010 there has been a reduction in democracy and a return to semi-authoritarian methods of government. Some experts define the political regime of Ukraine as a specific hybrid regime of neo-patrimonial democracy, where the main motive for the behavior of political actors is the "rent-seeking". Political actors formally compete within the framework of electoral mechanisms (for the position of president and a parliamentary majority), but the meaning of their activity is "state capture." (Fisun,2010:69-74) Other analysts define Ukraine's political regime as an autocracy that has deteriorated since the election of Vladimir Zelensky.

As the above brief analysis of the country's economic situation demonstrates, the Ukrainian state did not happen after 30 years of independence. Economic analysts are quite negative about Ukraine's future, claiming that it will be difficult to regain its economic potential. According to analysts, the fundamental cause for that recession is the breakdown of economic relations with Russia. The Ukrainian and Russian economies functioned as a single organism as part of the USSR and the Russian Empire, and the rupture of historically established and ties, along with a lack of alternatives, resulted in the complete collapse of the state's economic system.

All of the characteristics of Ukrainian state considered above are objective. The psychoanalytic approach however inclined to consider human nature as irrational, driven by unconscious desires and motivations. Individuals and societies both react to their environment. These reactions in turn are rooted in unconscious and defined by defense mechanisms of psyche. According to Fromm capitalism and democracy themselves are traumatic for individual and social psychology. This effect has been exacerbated in Ukraine by the country's economic and political instability. A distinguishing feature of Ukraine is that it was a part of the USSR during the twentieth century, where, according to Fromm, there were more stable conditions for the human psyche - a strong ideology, socialist economy, social equality, and a lack of private property. All of these factors did not create a competitive environment as in capitalism. The abrupt transition from communist ideology to democracy and capitalism, neither of which presuppose the existence of clear ideological principles, have formed a certain "ideological emptiness".

A whole generation was forced to adapt to new realities after suddenly losing the ideological and moral principles that had guided them for all their life. There was obviously an urgent need to fill this gap. Instead of communist doctrine, the governing elite offered nationalism (pursuing their own interests). A broken individual, who lost everything he believed in, easily embraced the proposed alternative.

Ukraine was a leading country during the Soviet period, and such a serious economic and social decline caused immense damage to the nation's self-esteem. This is precisely the circumstance that fosters the growth of nationalist beliefs. The ideology of nationalism translates the ideas of superiority and strength of the Ukrainian nation, which fully satisfies the traumatized narcissistic needs of the individual. It also provides the figure of the culprit of "all the troubles" - the USSR, Russia and the Russians. The concept of a "scapegoat" provides channels for the release of public aggression outside of the group, allowing national unity to be preserved. Furthermore, nationalism ideology provided an alternative to Soviet identity by establishing its own community. All of these processes have accelerated under the influence of economic and political factors.

According to Fromm's theory, extremely traumatized Ukrainian society was in search of something that it can obey. Its own Ego was lost, therefore there was a need for identification with someone/something other – other ideology. Thus, the rise of nationalism is a clear manifestation of masochistic escape mechanism. The situation in modern Ukraine is very similar with the situation of Germany described by Erich Fromm. On the other hand, in order to avoid feeling of anxiety, uncertainty and powerlessness caused by the new state order and circumstances the individual decides unconsciously to abandon Ego and join the majority. Modern Ukraine is a vivid example of what Fromm called the 'burden of freedom'. After receiving a 'freedom from' the individual becomes lonely, which is psychologically unbearable. In this case, both the individual and the group are desperately looking for something they can devote themselves to in order to feel meaningful, to feel continuity with others.

Thus, it is possible to state that, following the demise of the Soviet Union, Ukraine is not only in a political and economic crisis, but also in a psychological one. It has been traumatized by the sudden change in state structure and the effects of this transition. The struggle for power by political elites using national slogans only adds to society's neuroticism. As a result, the rise of Ukrainian nationalism is a symptom of society's protective mechanisms and a desire to escape a harsh reality.

Conclusion

The main aim of the current article was to analyze the reasons behind the rise of nationalism in Ukraine from the perspective of psychoanalysis, namely the Erich Fromm's psychoanalytic approach. The analysis has shown that Ukrainian society is profoundly psychologically traumatized by the collapse of the USSR, the transition to a democratic state system and a capitalist economy, and, as a result, by economic and political deterioration. Thus, the motivations for supporting nationalist ideology are unconscious defense mechanisms, which Fromm referred to as authoritarianism and automaton conformity. In this situation, nationalist ideology fills the ideological gap left by the fall of the communist system while also contribute to an escape from an unbearable reality. Nationalism at the same time satisfies the broken and traumatized group

narcissism, by offering the idea of superiority of nation. The unstable domestic political climate, as well as the ruling elites' struggle for power, and the use of media and educational system in transmission of nationalistic ideas, only contribute to the spread of nationalist sentiments.

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