

UKRAINE IN THE CONCEPT OF A NEW POLITICAL THOUGHT BY YEZH Y GEDROYTS

Summary. *The purpose of the work is the reproduction of documentary sources of the concept of Ye. Gedroits's new political thought. The research methodology uses the tools of the method of documentary reconstruction, which is based on general scientific methods: logical method, analysis, synthesis, grouping and systematization, system approach, method of visualization of research results. The application of the method of documentary reconstruction allowed reproducing the basic provisions and forming a holistic scientific concept of Ye. Gedroits's new political thought based on his statements scattered in retrospective documentary sources. The scientific novelty of the work is the use of the method of documentary reconstruction to reproduce the concept of a new political thought by Ye. Gedroits. Documentary reconstruction confirms that in the concept of Ye. Gedroits's new political thought the Ukrainian component has a particularly important position, because it contains geopolitical, security, historical and political, territorial, and cultural aspects.*

Key words: *document, documentary reconstruction, documentary information.*

УКРАЇНА В КОНЦЕПЦІЇ НОВОЇ ПОЛІТИЧНОЇ ДУМКИ ЄЖИ ГЕДРОЙЦЯ

Анотація. *Метою роботи є відтворення за документальними джерелами концепції нової політичної думки Є. Гедройця. Методологія дослідження використовує інструментарій методу документальної реконструкції, що ґрунтується на загальнонаукових методах: логічному методі, аналізі, синтезі, групуванні та систематизації, системному підході, методі візуалізації результатів дослідження. Застосування методу документальної реконструкції дало змогу відтворити базові положення та сформувати цілісну наукову*

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The formation and peculiarities of the implementation of the European Union's Eastern policy

концепцію нової політичної думки Є. Гедройця на основі його висловів, розпорошених у ретроспективних документальних джерелах. Наукова новизна роботи полягає у використанні методу документальної реконструкції для відтворення концепції нової політичної думки Є. Гедройця. Документальна реконструкція свідчить про те, що в концепції нової політичної думки Є. Гедройця український компонент займає особливо вагомій позиції, оскільки містить геополітичний, безпековий, історико-політичний, територіальний, культурний аспекти.

Ключові слова: документ, документальна реконструкція, документальна інформація.

Documentary sources show that among the key positions of the concept of the future independent Poland, presented for decades by Yezhy Gedroits (from Polish – Jerzy Giedroyc), the Polish journalist and the editor of the Parisian magazine “Kultura”, was the idea that there is no independent Poland without independent Ukraine. Ye. Gedroits, in demonstrating a state-owned way of thinking, called for a search for mutual understanding between the Polish and Ukrainian people, and establishment of partnering relationships despite challenging pages of common history. He considered it necessary to establish an interstate dialogue to build equal and mutually beneficial relations between independent Poland and independent Ukraine in the future. Ye. Gedroits's concept implies the pro-Ukrainian nature of Polish media as a key factor in the establishment of modernist geopolitical positions of Poland. Supporting Ukraine in its European context, its European integration, its membership in the Euro-Atlantic structures is becoming relevant today, which is the subject of both the civilizational choice of Ukraine, and the choice of geopolitical strategies of European countries and, in particular, Polish state being dynamic in its development.

The issues, which will be studied in this paper, are as follows:

1. Testing of documentary reconstruction methodology.
2. Studying, systematization and generalization of certified, but scattered in retrospective documentary sources scientific knowledge.
3. Representation of Ye. Gedroits's views as an integral system of new scientific knowledge.

The remarkable personality of Ye. Gedroits, his way of comprehension of social and historical processes has invariably attracted the public's attention.

A huge layer of Ukrainian national memory is associated with the name of Ye. Gedroits. For decades of his activity, Ye. Gedroits was in the orbit of the

Ukrainian cultural and literary space, and clearly and ardently protected his national identity. In the 1950s, with the aim of compiling and publishing an anthology of Ukrainian literature of the 1920s – 1930s, Ye. Gedroits used the advice of the prominent Ukrainian linguist Yurii Sheveliov to choose the Ukrainian literary critic Yurii Lavrinenko as the compiler of this anthology. It was in a letter to Yu. Lavrinenko of August 13, 1958 that Ye. Gedroits first used an expression, which became widely used in the Ukrainian public use due to its accuracy regarding the fate of the Ukrainian renaissance of the 1920s – the “Shot Revival”². In 1959, the Literary Institute (Instytut Literacki), headed by Ye. Gedroits, issued an anthology “Shot Revival 2008” in Paris on the initiative and at the expense of Ye. Gedroits. Even in exile, Ye. Gedroits had a significant influence on the formation of the Polish political thought by editing the *Kultura* magazine (1947–2000, Paris), giving interviews or speaking with the political situation reviews, which were published in the press in Poland, mostly after 1989. His journalistic archive, preserved in the form of clippings and manuscripts, formed the basis of the book “Giedroyc’s folders” (“Teczki Giedroycia”), prepared for publication by Prof. Iwona Hofman and Leopold Unger, and published due to the efforts of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University (Lublin) and the Literary Institute (Paris)³.

Ye. Gedroits’s very special role in forming the system of values of the Ukrainian-Polish relations resulted in the translation into Ukrainian of the most important expressions of the editor placed in the “Giedroyc’s folders” and the publication of this collection entitled “From Editor’s notes” in 2013 within the framework of the “Ukraine Incognita” project which was embodied by the “Library of the newspaper “Day”⁴. The source base of the selected expressions of the distinguished journalist and editor have become the interviews, articles, published in the Polish mass media during the 1980s

² Berdykhovska, B. (2008). *Yezhy Gedroits ta ukrainska emigratsiia. Lystuvannia 1950–1982 rokiv [Jerzy Giedroyc and Ukrainian emigration. Correspondence of 1950–1982]*. Kyiv: Krytyka, 752 p. (in Ukrainian).

³ Hofman, I., Unger, L. (eds.) (2010). *Teczki Giedroycia [Giedroyc’s folders]*. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodoskiej; Paris: Instytut Literacki, 352 p. (in Polish).

⁴ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor’s notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, 80 p. (in Ukrainian).

and 1990s: “Dziennik Polski”, “Czas Kultury”, “Magazyn Tygodniowy”, “Polityka”, “Powściągliwość and Prazą”, Rzeczpospolita, Spotkania, Przekroj, “Wpost”, “Wiadomości Polskie” (Stockholm), “Trybuna”, “Głos Poranny”, “Continent” (Paris), “Fifth Channel” of the Polish Radio, Polish service of the “Radio “Free Europe”, TV Channel “TVP”.

The “From Editor’s notes” collection is a kind of the author’s digest, which contains the main ideas of Ye. Gedroits about the fate of the homeland at a turning point – the period of the establishment and consolidation of Poland as a sovereign democratic, European state, aimed at dynamic development in the sociopolitical and economic fields. Systematized and generalized expressions by Ye. Gedroits, addressed to his contemporaries, formulate a diverse concept, which, in our opinion, could be called the concept of a new political thought “The Historical Chance of Poland”. These very words – “Poland has a huge chance”⁵ – the author repeatedly uses to emphasize the uniqueness and originality of the historical moment – Poland’s ability to become a strong European state. An autobiographical work by Ye. Gedroits “Autobiografia na cztery ręce” edited by Krzysztof Pomian and with containing his preface, which was repeatedly republished in Poland both during life and after the death of the thinker, has an important public interest⁶. Ye. Gedroits thought through his life and creative career, in particular as the editor of the journal “Kultura”. The memoirs illustrate photos from the archive of the Literary Institute. The remarkable axiological significance of this memoir work is evidenced by its reprinting by the Guardian Society

⁵ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatki Redaktora [From Editor’s notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 22 (in Ukrainian).

⁶ Giedroyc, J. (1994). *Autobiografia na cztery ręce (Archiwum “Kultury”)* [*Autobiography for four hands (Archives of “Culture”)*] / ed. by K. Pomian. Warszawa : Czytelnik, 325 p. (in Polish).

Giedroyc, J. (1996). *Autobiografia na cztery ręce (Archiwum “Kultury”)* [*Autobiography for four hands (Archives of “Culture”)*] / ed. by K. Pomian. Warszawa : Czytelnik, 340 p. (in Polish).

Giedroyc, J. (1999). *Autobiografia na cztery ręce (Archiwum “Kultury”)* [*Autobiography for four hands (Archives of “Culture”)*] / ed. by K. Pomian. Warszawa : Czytelnik, 388 p. (in Polish).

Giedroyc, J. (2006). *Autobiografia na cztery ręce [Autobiography for four hands]*. Warszawa: Olesiejuk, 390 p. (in Polish).

over the Literary Institute's Archives in the city of Perugia, Italy in 2010⁷. In a review of "Autobiografii na cztery ręce", Czesław Miłosz writes that Ye. Gedroits is one of the great historians who deserve to be honored by his contemporaries. His autobiographical history, as well as memoirs about a pleiad of writers, publicists, scientists, united by the collaboration in "Kultura" is of a significant interest. Ye. Gedroits's prediction about the development of social life, in particular the collapse of the Soviet state, was confirmed by political events. It influenced the assessment of the role and achievements of "Kultura" today. Although, as C. Miłosz points out, public recognition came later, not in his lifetime⁸.

The creative achievement of the editor Ye. Gedroits and of the *Kultura* magazine headed by him is of great importance, which determines the attention and interest of his contemporaries. Famous Ukrainianist and cultural historian Bogumiła Berdychowska works well for its preparation for publication and popularization. She prepares for publication the epistolary papers of the editor and his entourage, systematizes the most important articles, published in the journal, and presents them to society as a holistic political and cultural concept.

B. Berdychowska arranged a collection of letters of the philosopher and culturologist Ye. Gedroits to the figures of Ukrainian emigration, whom he held correspondence with during 1950–1982. There are letters to the leading representatives of the Ukrainian literary emigration: Bohdan Osadchuk, Borys Levytskyi, Ivan Lisiak-Rudnytskyi, Yurii Sheveliov, Yurii Lavrinenko, Ivan Koshelivets, Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytskyi⁹.

B. Berdychowska prepared the Ukrainian edition of the anthology "Space of freedom: Ukraine on the pages of the Parisian "Kultura". The

⁷ Giedroyc, J. (2010). *Autobiografia na cztery ręce [Autobiography for four hands]*. Warszawa: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Archiwum Instytutu Literackiego w Paryżu, 400 p. (in Polish).

⁸ Miłosz, Cz. (2001). O "Autobiografii na cztery ręce" Jerzego Giedroycia [About Jerzy Giedroyc's "Autobiography for four hands"]. *Gazeta Wyborcza – Wyborcza daily*. Retrieved from: <http://wyborcza.pl/1,75410,327998.html?disableRedirects=true> (in Polish).

⁹ Berdychowska, B. (2008). *Yezhy Gedroits ta ukrainska emigratsiia. Lystuvannia 1950–1982 rokiv [Jerzy Giedroyc and Ukrainian emigration. Correspondence of 1950–1982]*. Kyiv: Krytyka, 752 p. (in Ukrainian).

collection includes articles of the Polish and Ukrainian authors thematically related to Ukraine about the historical and contemporary issues of the Polish-Ukrainian relations in political and cultural aspects. These materials were published on the pages of the Polish emigration magazine “Kultura” for a long time – during 1949–1977, which were not marked by the best features in the relations between the two peoples. However, in the opinion of the compiler, the magazine greatly served the affirmation of the intellectual and moral atmosphere, where the foundations of the present-day Ukrainian-Polish relations were formed. The publication was prepared and made within the cultural program of the Year of Poland in Ukraine and the Scientific and Publishing Project of the Institute of Critics (Ukraine) with the support of the International Cultural Cooperation Center of the Adam Mickiewicz Institute (Poland) and the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University (USA). The Literary Institute (France) granted permission to publish the materials contained in this publication¹⁰.

Some most significant fragments of the anthology were reprinted in electronic resources. Thus, the following lines were printed in “Slovianske chtyvo”: “Kultura”, which was published in during 1947–2000, was not only the most important magazine of Polish emigration, not only one of the most prominent and most interesting phenomena of Polish culture of the 20th century, but also a true a phenomenon of post-war European intellectual life. Although the Parisian magazine was associated with the most important names of the Polish intellectual life of the post-war period, as well as some of the most prominent figures of European culture, nobody doubts that it was, as a matter of fact, the author's work of one person, Ye. Gedroits¹¹.

The anthology “Space of freedom: Ukraine on the pages of the Parisian “Kultura” edited by B. Berdychowska, awoke an echo in journalistic circles.

¹⁰ Berdykhovska, B. (ed.) (2005). *Prostir svobody: Ukraina na shpaltakh paryzkoï “Kultury”* [Space of freedom: Ukraine on the pages of the Parisian “Culture”], transl. from Polish. Kyiv: Krytyka, 527 p. Retrieved from: <http://194.44.152.155/elib/local/sk802006.pdf> (in Ukrainian).

¹¹ Berdykhovska, B. (2009). *Ukraina v zhytti Yezhy Gedroitsia i na storinkakh paryzkoï “Kultury”* [Ukraine in the life of Jerzy Giedroyc and on the pages of the Parisian “Culture”]. *Slovianske chtyvo – Slavic reading material*. Retrieved from: <http://slovsvit.at.ua/load/39-1-0-51> (in Ukrainian).

Natalia Sniadanko, presenting the collection, emphasizes the expressive, extraordinary, controversial statements of the editor of “Kultura” at that time. She writes: “Ye. Gedroits, in addition to the famous concept of the ULB (Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus) and the first attempts to discuss the painful issues of Ukrainian-Polish relations, to which both states are slowly coming back only now, is the author of not less proverbial and oft-quoted phrase: “Independent Ukraine is more important for us than joining NATO”, whose courage at the time does not have to be explained”¹².

Ye. Gedroits was repeatedly interviewed for promotion of his humanistic, political positions, in particular Polish journalists Leszek Szaruga and Joanna Szwedowska included a conversation with him on the pages of the *Nowaja Polska* magazine. The key idea of the interview has been aphoristically articulated: “My testament: to bet on culture”¹³.

Memoirs devoted to Ye. Gedroits consist of publications of various genres: books, articles, interviews, memoirs, published on the pages of numerous magazines, information resources.

The most prominent and well-known co-authors, colleagues and friends of Ye. Gedroits compiled a memorable collection of memoirs “Jerzy Giedroyc: Editor. Politician. Person” (“Jerzy Giedroyc: Redaktor. Polityk. Człowiek”), issued by the Guardian Society over the Literary Institute’s Archives in Paris and the publishing house of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska Lublin University. Carefully selected texts, photographs allow us to understand and comprehend the phenomenon of the titanic personality of Ye. Gedroits as editor, politician, person, one of the greatest Poles of the twentieth century¹⁴.

Memoirs on the formation of ideological, civilizational positions of Ye. Gedroits in the context of difficult political processes of the twentieth

¹² Berdykhovska, B. (ed.) (2005). *Prostir svobody: Ukraina na shpaltakh paryzkoï “Kultury”* [Space of freedom: Ukraine on the pages of the Parisian “Culture”], transl. from Polish. Kyiv: Krytyka, 527 p. Retrieved from: <http://194.44.152.155/elib/local/sk802006.pdf> (in Ukrainian).

¹³ Sharuga, L. (2001). Moy zavet: delat’ stavku na kul’turu. S Ezhi Gedroytsem besedyut Leshek Sharuga i Ioanna Shvedovskaya [My testament: to bet on culture. Leszek Sharuga and Joanna Shvedovska talk to Jerzy Giedroyc]. *Novaia Polsha – New Poland*, no. 3(18), pp. 3–6. Retrieved from: <https://novpol.org/pdf/2001/03.pdf> (in Russian).

¹⁴ Pomian, K. (ed.) (2001). *Jerzy Giedroyc: Redaktor. Polityk. Człowiek* [Jerzy Giedroyc: Editor. Politician. Person]. Lublin: UMCS, 302 p. (in Polish).

century, against the background of his editorial activity in the magazines “Rebellion of the young” (later “Politics”), “Kultura”, were published by the writer and historian Bohdan Osadchuk, the winner of the highest governmental award of Poland – Order of the White Eagle. In the first lines of his memoirs he writes: “Apparently, this is a rare case in the world history, when a person who lives in exile far from his native land has led to a radical change in interethnic relations: from hostility to cooperation”¹⁵.

Piotr Mitzner, a Polish poet, journalist, theatre historian, a German translator, reveals in his memoirs the peculiarities of Gedroits's personality as a colleague, notes the enormous influence of his personality: “Now, when I read his letters, I understand why they say the “Editor” about him. Not only because he chose this occupation and headed the magazine for half a century, but also because he really edited people who participate in the “Kultura” as well, although they were not always yielded to that. To some extent, I also feel that I was edited by Gedroits”¹⁶.

O. Hnatiuk believes that Ye. Gedroits is ranked high in Polish culture and political thought. He was one of the indisputable authorities that he gained due to his independence from the movers and shakers, due to his state-owned thinking and his hard work in favor of Poland, what is more, in favor of Ukraine, since Ye. Gedroits believed that the existence of the strong Ukrainian state was in Poland's public interests. Actually, we have to be indebted to Ye. Gedroits that Poland was the first to recognize the independence of Ukraine¹⁷.

¹⁵ Osadchuk, B. (2004). Mriia Yezhi Hedroitsa: “Polityka” i “Kultura” v polsko-ukrainskykh vzaiemynakh [Jerzy Giedroyc's dream: “Politics” and “Culture” in Polish-Ukrainian relations]. *Den – Day*. Retrieved from: <https://day.kyiv.ua/uk/article/podrobici/mriya-iezhi-gedroyca> (in Ukrainian).

¹⁶ Mytsner, P. (2006). Redaktor [Editor]. *Novaia Polsha – New Poland*, no. 9, pp. 13–15. Retrieved from: <https://novayapolsha-pdfs.fral.digitaloceanspaces.com/2006/09.pdf> (in Russian).

¹⁷ Hnatiuk, O. (2006). Sto rokiv samotnosti. U lypni mynaie sto rokiv vid dnia narodzhennia Yezhy Giedroitsia. U veresni mynaie shist rokiv vid dnia yoho smerti [One hundred years of loneliness. In July, Jerzy Giedroyc's birthday will be one hundred years old. September marks six years since his death]. *Dzerkalo tyzhnia – Mirror of the week*. Retrieved from: https://dt.ua/CULTURE/sto_rokiv_samotnosti_u_lipni_minae_sto_rokiv_vid_dnya_narodzhennya_ezhi_gedroitsya_u_veresni_minae_s.html (in Ukrainian).

N. Horbanevska mentions the relationship between Ye. Gedroits and Czesław Miłosz, the Polish poet, translator, writer, winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature of 1980, the righteous man of the world. She emphasizes that it was Gedroits who helped the immigrant Cz. Miłosz by providing the opportunity to publish his works in “Kultura”, and in its publishing house – publish books for which the poet was awarded the Nobel Prize¹⁸.

A number of brilliant articles about Ye. Gedroits belong to the Ukrainian publicist Vitalii Portnikov¹⁹. He accurately emphasized the real complexity of the tasks that the editor set himself: “He was not afraid to create his Poland without a brush, but a scalpel, release the views to public, obviously offensive to “patriots” <...> How much focused on the future he had to be to begin to create – even with the publications of the “Shot Revival” writers – the European image of Ukraine, when Ukrainian emigration was obviously incapable of being unprovincial!”²⁰.

The personality of Ye. Gedroits became the object of comprehension by the modern intellectual elite. Historian, Professor Rafal Gabelsky of the University of Warsaw said that the ideas of the editor had a huge impact not only on political thought, but also on policy. The professor noted the deep ideological roots of Ye. Gedroits’s convictions, as evidenced by the idea of Eastern politics, which he preached as the editor of the pre-war “Bunt młodych” magazine and post-war “Kultura” magazine. This idea was the idea of the Polish-Ukrainian union. Ye. Gedroits formulates the Polish geopolitical idea back in the 1950s. The phenomena of Ye. Gedroits and of “Kultura” can be considered as:

Gedroits’s vision of building new relations between Poles and Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians is based on the thesis about the collapse of the

¹⁸ Horbanevskaia, N. (2004). Chelovek-epokha [Person-epoch]. *Novaia Polsha – New Poland*, no. 9, pp. 6–9. Retrieved from: <https://novayapolsha-pdfs.fral1.digital-oceanspaces.com/2004/09.pdf> (in Russian).

¹⁹ Portnikov, V. (2001). Zhovten. Hedroits [October. Gedroits]. *Dzerkalo tyzhnia – Mirror of the week*. Retrieved from: https://dt.ua/SOCIETY/zhovten_gedroyts.html (in Ukrainian).

²⁰ Portnikov, V. (2000). Veresen. Hedroits [September. Gedroits]. *Dzerkalo tyzhnia – Mirror of the week*. Retrieved from: https://dt.ua/SOCIETY/veresen_gedroyts.html (in Ukrainian).

USSR; he does not write, of course, when this would happen, but history has proved the correctness of his thesis and vision;

the ideas articulated by a small intellectual environment on the pages of the magazine could be embodied in the political practice;

Gedroits's awareness of the need to recognize the already existing borders, which provides opportunities for Polish-Ukrainian dialogue. He perceived "Kultura" as a place for meetings, sharing of thoughts, discussions. Ye. Gedroits invites Ukrainian writers and publicists to cooperate with the Parisian "Kultura" in order to show the willingness and readiness of the Polish party to dialogue and to clarification of the historical, territorial issues that are unclear, unpleasant, and painful in the views of both countries²¹.

The name of Ye. Gedroits as a humanist thinker is recognized and honored in wide public and scientific circles of Ukraine. His achievements are of interest not only in the referenced aspect – social-communicative, literary or political, but also have a significant scientific value. The heritage of Ye. Gedroits was comprehended and reproduced in the academic and domain-specific encyclopedias of Ukraine²².

The research of Ye. Gedroits' standpoints as the editor documented in numerous articles confirms that the idea of the necessity of the pro-Ukrainian nature of the Polish mass media is crystallized through the prism of the national and geopolitical needs of Poland itself: through the rethinking of the historical heritage, the vision of the present and the prospects of development. The starting basis for Ye. Gedroits's concept of the "historical chance

²¹ Oliinyk, N. (2010). In memoriam. Yezhy Giedroits (1906–2000) [In memoriam. Jerzy Giedroyc (1906–2000)]. *Polskie Radio – Polish Radio*. Retrieved from: <http://www2.polskieradio.pl/eo/dokument.aspx?iid=140594> (in Ukrainian).

²² Bednarek, Ye. (2011). Giedroits Yezhy [Giedroyc Jerzy]. *Politychna entsyklopediia [Political encyclopedia]* / Yu. Levenets, Yu. Shapoval et al. (eds.). Kyiv: Parlamentske vydavnytstvo, pp. 172–173 (in Ukrainian).

Rublov, O. (2004). Giedroits Yezhy [Giedroyc Jerzy]. *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy [Encyclopedia of the history of Ukraine]*, in 10 vols. / V. Smolii et al. (eds.). Kyiv: Naukova dumka, vol. 2, pp. 267–268 (in Ukrainian).

Rublov, O. (2007). Giedroits Yezhy [Giedroyc Jerzy]. *Entsyklopediia suchasnoi Ukrainy: elektronna versii [Encyclopedia of modern Ukraine: electronic version]* / I. Dziuba, A. Zhukovskiy, M. Zhelezniak et al. (eds.). Kyiv: Institute of Encyclopedic Research of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Retrieved from: https://esu.com.ua/search_articles.php?id=25539 (in Ukrainian).

of Poland” is an assessment of the real state of Polish social and political thought. Without aiming to create a comprehensive, large-scale picture of Poland’s political life, the editor and the journalist in his journalistic works published at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s in various Polish mass media, marked painful benchmarks of the Polish domestic and foreign policy with individual strokes – accurate assessments, comparisons, reflections, and suggestions. He builds a scale of measurement at these benchmarks – a promising scale for the development of Poland. The basic starting provisions for the documentary reconstruct of the concept of Ye. Gedroits’s new political thought is the assessment of the historical heritage inherited by Poland and Ukraine, modernization of the views of the painful pages of the past, which unites the Ukrainian and Polish peoples and requires realistic understanding.

Ye. Gedroits, shaping his ideological system of values based on the national historical heritage, on the deep roots of Polish culture and spirituality, however having the opportunity to observe the development of Polish political thought from the shores of the European and global information space, spoke his words to the Polish reader, displaying civic stances in a dualistic way. His dualism is manifested in dogmatic patriotic statements about his belief that the Poles are a strong people who can withstand many things and have great potential²³. At the same time, Ye. Gedroits critically (even with irony or sarcasm) reviews the historical experience of Poland and the flaws of the national consciousness of the Poles²⁴, which prevented understanding of the geopolitical role and place of Poland in the modern world. Ye. Gedroits defined the archaic Polish political thought as an obstacle to Poland’s growth between late 1980s and early 1990s²⁵. He has repeatedly spoken about the mistakeness of imperialistic in its nature Pilsudski’s concept about the federation of Poland with Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania²⁶. He meant that the political

²³ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor’s notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 19 (in Ukrainian).

²⁴ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor’s notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 19 (in Ukrainian).

²⁵ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor’s notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 20 (in Ukrainian).

²⁶ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor’s notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 18, 20 (in Ukrainian).

concepts of the early 20th century, which have lost their relevance and correspondence to the realities of the late twentieth century long ago, remain attractive among the ordinary citizens and the Polish elite. These included the concept of Prometheism, which provided for the creation of a common federal state of Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine, which would realize the goal of creating safe eastern borders from Russia. The restoration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the form of a superpower was supported by the theorists from the environment of J. Pilsudski²⁷. The concept of the national democracy of R. Dmowski, who relied on the idea of the Polish nationalist movement, was the same way archaic for the late twentieth century.

Documentary sources are indicative of the fact that Ye. Gedroits considered the idea of federalization to be deeply wrong, calling it “our constant mistake”, which is a significant obstacle to mutual understanding between peoples from both the point of view of state-building principles and mass consciousness. The advancement of federalist slogans is perceived by independent states to the east of Bug as masking virtually imperialistic intentions²⁸. Federalistic aspirations level off the great opportunities of the foreign-political situation in Poland, which was absent for centuries. This was due to the failure of the leadership to see the role and place of Poland²⁹; the lack of proper functioning of power centers³⁰; the lack of capacity for Poland to realize its potential through the inferiority complex, ignorance and attempts to reach the door of the great powers³¹; the vulnerability of Poland's international standing, which gave rise to consider Poland as a burdensome partner,

²⁷ Henyk, M. (1997). Kontseptsii federalizmu u skhidnii politytsi Polshchi (1918–1920) [Concepts of federalism in eastern politics of Poland (1918–1920)]. *Slavistychni studii – Slavic studies*, vol. 1, pp. 153–158 (in Ukrainian).

²⁸ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor's notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 18 (in Ukrainian).

²⁹ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor's notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 21 (in Ukrainian).

³⁰ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor's notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 21 (in Ukrainian).

³¹ Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor's notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT “Ukrainska pres-hrupa”, p. 22 (in Ukrainian).

which could cause complications with Russia, which is undesirable for the West and America³².

Thinking of factual and documentary information about the historical experience of Poland (majestic and tragic), Ye. Gedroits makes objective conclusions about the past, gives a realistic assessment of the present, offers pragmatic principles for building the state's future. He consistently produces and develops the ideas that are devoid of bondages and stereotypes of the past, suggests an algorithm for Poland's future path through establishing an informational and cultural exchange between the Polish and Ukrainian peoples, establishing inter-state communicational interaction and cooperation.

Documentary reconstruction of Ye. Gedroits's position under journalistic articles published at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s shows that he actively expressed his vision of ways of social development in Poland, emphasizing the need for the formation of the new Polish political thought. Summarizing the statements of the editor, one can formulate his vision of the fundamental principles of the new Polish political thought: the creation of conditions in which national political thought can develop; the adaptation of political thought to the current state of affairs, rather than relying on the past, on the irrelevant political concepts of the early twentieth century; acquiring dynamic, interactive features in politics; a sense of modernity and entry into social space and social time of the European level.

According to B. Berdychowska, the Ukrainian strategy of Ye. Gedroits consisted of several elements: a discussion on the issue of borders; a reflection on the historical heritage and a critical analysis of the Polish-Ukrainian past; systematic monitoring of changes in Ukraine and attempts to influence the processes that are taking place there; efforts to consider the Ukrainian issue at the international level; the widest representation of Ukrainian culture³³.

The documentary reconstruct of Ye. Gedroits's concept defines the actually "Polish" niche in geopolitical European interaction, covering the three main vectors, the organic component of each of which is the strategy of relations with Ukraine:

³² Gedroits, J. (2013). *Z notatok Redaktora [From Editor's notes]*, transl. from Polish ed. by L. Ivshyna. Kyiv: PrAT "Ukrainska pres-hrupa", p. 22, 23 (in Ukrainian).

³³ Berdykhovska, B. (2008). *Yezhy Gedroits ta ukrainska emigratsiia. Lystuvannia 1950–1982 rokiv [Jerzy Giedroyc and Ukrainian emigration. Correspondence of 1950–1982]*. Kyiv: Krytyka, 752 p. (in Ukrainian).

1. Eurointegration vector, which involves the construction and development of partnership with the West.

2. Central European vector aimed at the development of regional integration and stability.

3. Eastern vector, which involves achieving the positions of regional leadership through the introduction of a dynamic policy, a radical revision of the principles of relationship with the eastern powers, preservation of security positions.

Ye. Gedroits, thinking through the status initial and perspective positions of Poland, and representing them in the Polish and emigre media, formulated the concept of a new Polish political thought. The concept of Ye. Gedroits's new political thought, published on the pages of the Parisian magazine "Kultura" and the Polish emigre mass media, testifies to the pro-Ukrainian nature of the Polish mass media and corresponds to the cardinal interests of Polish society:

representation of Ukraine's interests in Eurointegration spaces is a significant component of Poland's acquisition of a new geopolitical status;

support of Ukraine as a strong and independent state is an important factor in securing Poland from the aggressive and imperial Russia's attacks;

Ukraine's inclusion in the Central European integration structures will strengthen the processes of regional economic cooperation, the formation of new economic projects, the domination of European values in the region; integration of Polish and Ukrainian culture, literature in the European context will promote mutual understanding and good neighborliness of the peoples.

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