

UKRAINE



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Cover photo:
*The sunflower is
considered the national
flower of Ukraine.*

UKRAINE

Its Land and Its People

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Ukrainian immigration to the
United States.

Map of Ukraine

If you were asked to name the second largest country in Europe, your answer most likely would be France or Germany. You might be surprised to find out, however, that neither answer is correct. The country in that position is Ukraine, a rich and populous state, but one about which most of the world knows little. The purpose of this pamphlet is to tell you something of Ukraine, its history and culture, its land and its people.





Located to the north of the Black Sea, Ukraine is the U.S.S.R.'s second most populous and second most industrially developed republic. It encompasses 232,000 square miles—an area larger than all of England, Ireland, Denmark, Belgium, Iceland, Austria and Greece combined. Except for the Carpathian Mountains to the southwest and the Black Sea to the south, Ukraine has no natural barriers and consequently has been the subject of frequent invasions by her neighbors.

Ukrainian topography consists primarily of vast plains and plateaus which seldom reach an elevation 1000 feet above sea level. The northwestern part of the country is an area of mixed forests and many lakes and rivers. This is the Polisia district of Ukraine, in the Pripet River basin, a land of extensive fens and marshy meadows. In Spring, this poor and yet strangely beautiful part of Ukraine becomes one wide lake with only trees and huts showing above water. To the south along the right bank of the Dnieper River which runs almost through the middle of Ukraine, from north to south, one finds that the elevation steadily increases, the number of rivers declines and a series of plateaus unfold before one. Low hills and steep rocky ravines are characteristic of this part of Ukraine. Along the eastern, left bank of the

Mountains

Dnieper is a low plain which increases in elevation as one moves from the river eastward.

All traces of trees disappear on either side as one moves south along the Dnieper. The elevation steadily declines; the few rivers become quite shallow. This is the famous fertile steppe region which stretches from the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains, along the shores of the Black and Azov Seas and into the steppes of Soviet Central Asia.

The highest elevations in Ukraine occur in the Carpathian Mountain range. Greatly beloved by the Ukrainian people, the Carpathians are extremely picturesque, with large grassy pasture lands lying high above the forested lower slopes and cut by swift, clear rivers running between steep, rocky banks. The highest peak in the Ukrainian Carpathians is the Hoverlia which reaches an elevation of 6,800 feet. The steep mountainous coast of Crimea in the Black Sea and the portion of the Caucasus within the Ukrainian ethnic territory (but outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic) are the only other regions where elevations rise over 1000 feet.

Rivers

The biggest and most beloved of the Ukrainian rivers is the Dnieper which is famous in Ukrainian history and literature. It is the third largest river in Europe and serves as a great source of hydro-electric power. Other major rivers in Ukraine include the Dnister, the Prut, the Donets, and the Buh (Bug). Rivers and streams abound in most of Ukraine, except in the south where irrigation is necessary to counteract the searing droughts that sometimes hit the region. Most of the streams, tributaries and rivers of the north empty into the few main rivers and flow southward into the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

Climate, Flora and Fauna

The climate of Ukraine is generally continental with cold winters and warm, dry summers. In the Carpathians, the climate is Alpine, whereas along the coast of the Crimea and the Subcaucusus, the climate is similar to that of the Mediterranean. Here one also finds the typical Mediterranean vegetation. Beyond the steppe zone, the flora includes oak trees and some pine, especially along the sandy river valleys. Moving northwestward, one finds beech, larch, birch, ash, and alder, in addition to pine. In the green Carpathians, spruce and fir abound. The relatively mild, continental climate and the extremely fertile soil of Ukraine, especially the "black earth" regions of the south, make her one of the best agricultural areas in the world. Called the "wheat basket" of Europe, Ukraine is also known for the production of a wide variety of other grains and for extensive vegetable and fruit cultivation. Two of her more important agricultural products are sugar beets and sunflowers.

Natural Resources and Industry

Ukraine is very rich in such natural resources as coal, iron, oil, natural gas, manganese, titanium, mercury, magnesium and other precious metals. These are found in quantities sufficient not only for the needs of Ukrainian homes and industries, but also for export. Ukraine's iron reserves make up 13.6% of the total world reserves. Her iron ore is imported by East European countries as well as by Western Europe and Japan. As late as 1968, 34% of the coal production in the U.S.S.R. came from Ukraine. Some 25-30% of total world reserves of manganese ore are located in Ukraine, again giving her a valuable export commodity. Eight percent of the total world reserves of mercury, 2.5% of petroleum and considerable deposits of other minerals are found in Ukraine. Chemical minerals and refractory and construction materials are also in sufficient supply. It is not surprising, then, that Ukraine is also an industrial state. In terms of natural resources and industrial output, Ukraine now occupies second place in the Soviet Union behind the Russian republic. The bulk of Ukraine's heavy industry, such as coal mining, iron and steel production, the chemical industry and heavy machine construction, is found in the Donets-Dnieper region which produces about three-fifths of the total gross industrial output in Ukraine. Most of the processing and consumer industries related to agriculture are found in the southwest. The electric power industry is also highly developed in Ukraine: in 1968 it produced 18.2% of the total kilowatt hours in the U.S.S.R. In addition, Ukraine contributes nearly 90% of all Soviet diesel production.

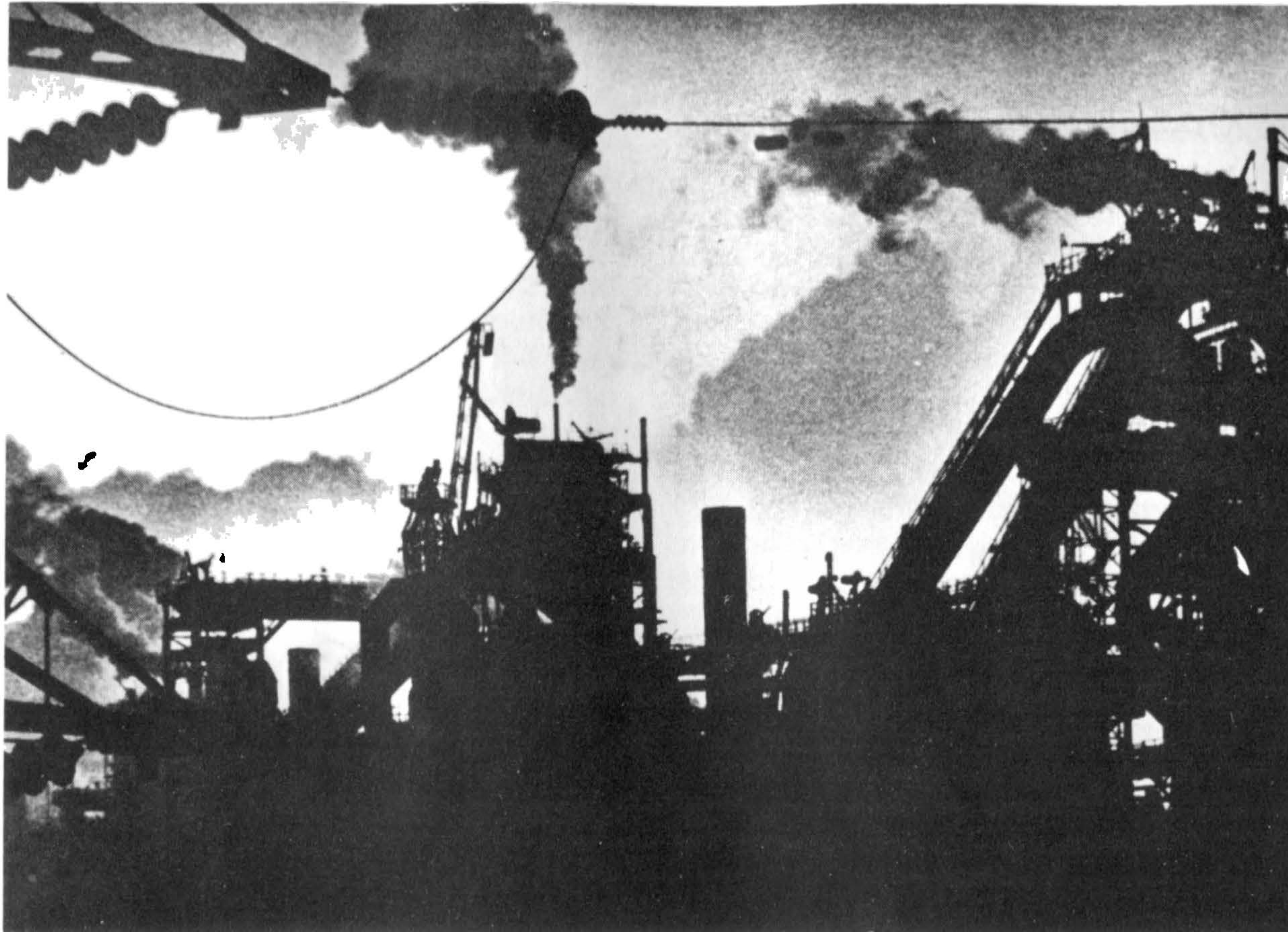
National Symbols

The trident, derived from the three-pronged spear of the sea god Poseidon (or Neptune), is the national symbol of free Ukraine. It appeared as an official symbol as early as the 10th century.

The flag of free Ukraine is made up of two horizontal stripes, the upper one light blue and the lower yellow. The blue symbolizes the open sky and the yellow the golden wheat of Ukraine. Under the present Communist regime, the official flag of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is a red and blue one with a hammer and sickle insignia.



Population and Cities



Above: An example of one of the industrial cities in Ukraine, Zaporizhia is known as a metallurgy center.

Right: The Hutsuls, native to the Carpathian Mountains in Western Ukraine, constitute a unique segment of the Ukrainian population. The two men here are calling to neighboring villagers on the trembita, a plaintive-sounding horn used to signal the occurrence of some important event.

In 1970, the population of Soviet Ukraine was over 47 million people; of these over 35 million were ethnic Ukrainians. At the same time, the total number of Ukrainians in the whole of the Soviet Union was close to 48 million. (Today another 2.5 million Ukrainians live outside the Soviet Union, with concentrations in the U.S. (1,000,000), Canada (500,000) and South America (200,000) and the rest mostly in Europe and Australia.) Although most of the population in Ukraine today live in towns and cities, about one half of the ethnic Ukrainians still reside in rural areas. The capital of Ukraine is Kiev, the third largest city in the Soviet Union, after Moscow and Leningrad. One of the oldest cities in Eastern Europe, Kiev has a population of about 1.6 million. Situated on the banks of the Dnieper River, this beautiful city, once the political and religious center of a vast and flourishing medieval kingdom, remains the hub of the cultural and intellectual life in Ukraine. Other major cities include Kharkiv, the industrial capital of northeastern Ukraine; Odessa, the great port city on the Black Sea; Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia, industrial and electric power centers on the lower Dnieper; and Lviv, the most important urban center in Western Ukraine (Galicia).



Language and Literature

The Ukrainian language is an independent and original unit of the Slavic group of Indo-European languages. Although all Slavic languages possess certain common features, they are just as distinct from each other as German is from Swedish or Dutch, and each has unique grammatical and vocabulary differences. The following examples of some basic words show how much the various Slavic languages sometimes differ from each other:

	Ukrainian	Russian	Polish
<i>child</i>	dytyna	rebenok	dziecko
<i>pretty</i>	harnyy	krasiviy	piekny
<i>to eat</i>	yisty	kushat	jesc
<i>moon</i>	misiats	luna	ksiezyts

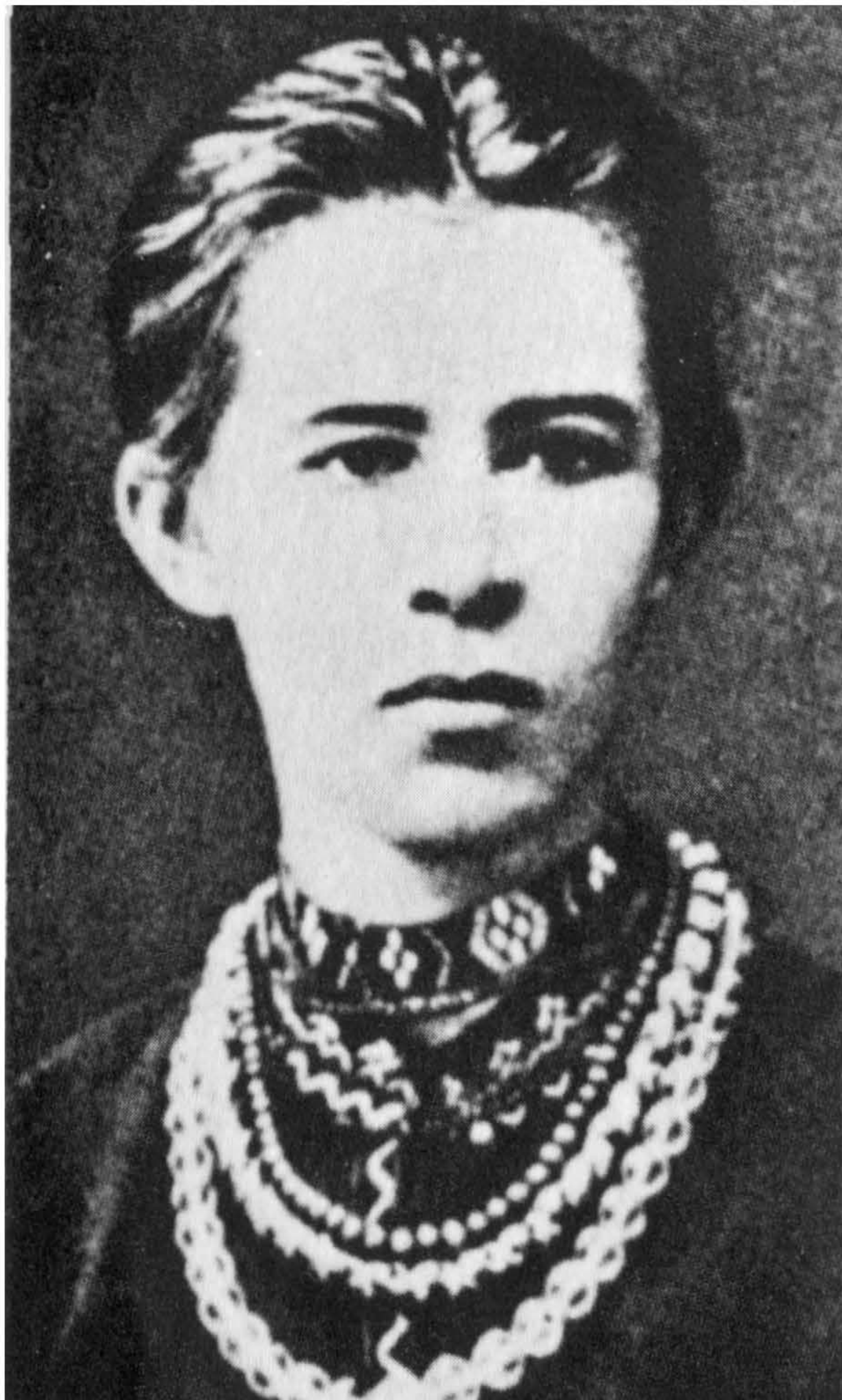
Until the 16th century, the Ukrainian written language was Church Slavonic, and the themes in Ukrainian literature were primarily religious. The next two centuries witnessed a gradual shift from the use of Church Slavonic to the vernacular, and by the beginning of the 19th century, the vernacular was fully adopted and developed by Ukrainian writers as a literary language. The leading role in this development was played by a Ukrainian poet of genius Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). In the years following Shevchenko, Ukrainian literature reflected the vitality of its continental counterparts as it moved through its own schools of realism, neoclassicism, symbolism and impressionism. Among the other outstanding Ukrainian literary figures are the poet, novelist, short-story writer, Ivan Franko (1856-1916); the poet Lesia Ukrainka



Above: Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794), the greatest Ukrainian philosopher, held that the universe could be comprehended only through man's knowledge of himself.

Right: Taras Shevchenko, the national poet and "father" of modern Ukraine. One of several statues in his honor in the free world, this one is located at 22nd and P Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C.



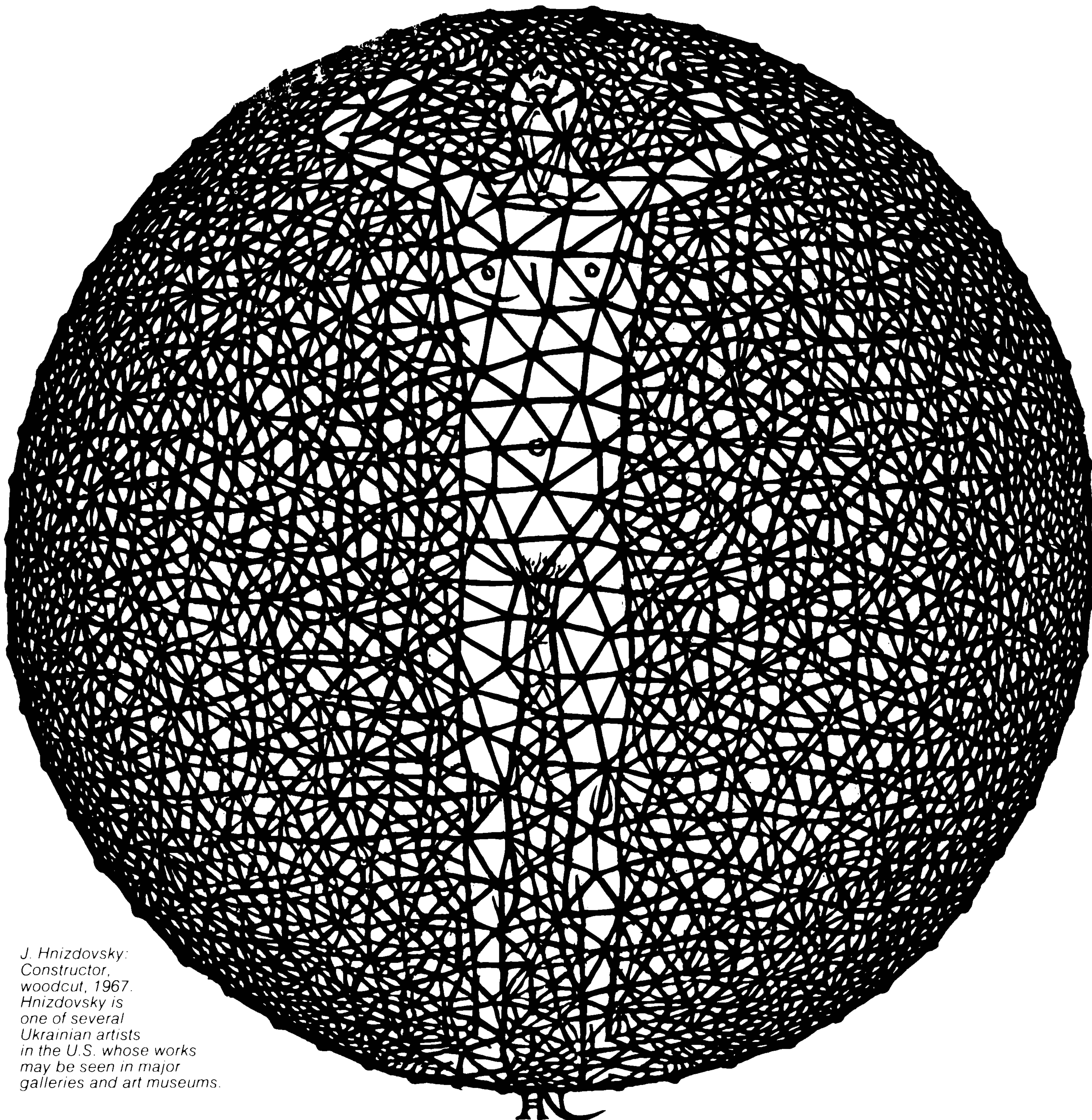


*Ukrainian poet,
Lesia Ukrainka.*



*Ivan Franko, poet, novelist,
short-story writer.*

(1871-1913); novelists Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky (1864-1913); Volodymyr Vynnechenko (1880-1951); Vasyl Stefanyk (1871-1936); and, in the early Soviet period, Pavlo Tychyna (1891-1933); Maksym Rylsky (1895-1942); Mykola Khvylovy (1893-1933); and Volodymyr Sosiura (1898-1937). The Stalinist era restricted all real creative literary output in Ukraine, but since the 1960's, a score of young, talented writers have appeared.



*J. Hnizdovsky:
Constructor,
woodcut, 1967.
Hnizdovsky is
one of several
Ukrainian artists
in the U.S. whose works
may be seen in major
galleries and art museums.*

Cultural Life

The cultural life of the Ukrainian people is rich and varied. From their pagan ancestors they have inherited a legacy of folk customs, rituals, and rites for every occasion and time of year. With the introduction of Christianity, these traditional customs were combined with religious practices and beliefs, but they have retained all the beauty and charm of the pre-Christian era.

Of special note are the Easter rituals which combine religious mysticism and Christian exaltation with the celebration of Spring. Nowhere is this fusion of pagan and Christian traditions better exemplified than in the famous Ukrainian decorated Easter eggs or *pysanky* (from the verb *pysaty*, to write). The unique decorations—made on raw eggs through a laborious wax-dye method—include Christian symbols, like the Cross, and stylized animal and plant motifs symbolic of fertility and long life. One Christian legend maintains that after Simon had set his basket of eggs on the roadside when he went to help Christ carry the Cross, he returned to find, not eggs, but beautifully decorated *pysanky* in his basket instead.

For another ritual in celebration of Easter and Spring, Ukrainian girls and boys dress in their brightly-colored embroidered folk costumes to perform the *hahilky*, a series of songs accompanied by dance-like steps outside church after service on Easter Sunday.

Christmas rituals also combine Christian and pre-Christian elements, especially in the singing of Ukrainian Christmas carols. Wedding rites in Ukraine also have traces of medieval and pre-Christian influences.

Music has always been an essential part

of Ukrainian folk culture, and Ukrainians, who have songs for every occasion, will break into song at the slightest opportunity. Since the 16th century, songs and ballads have often been accompanied by a lute-like instrument called the *bandura*.

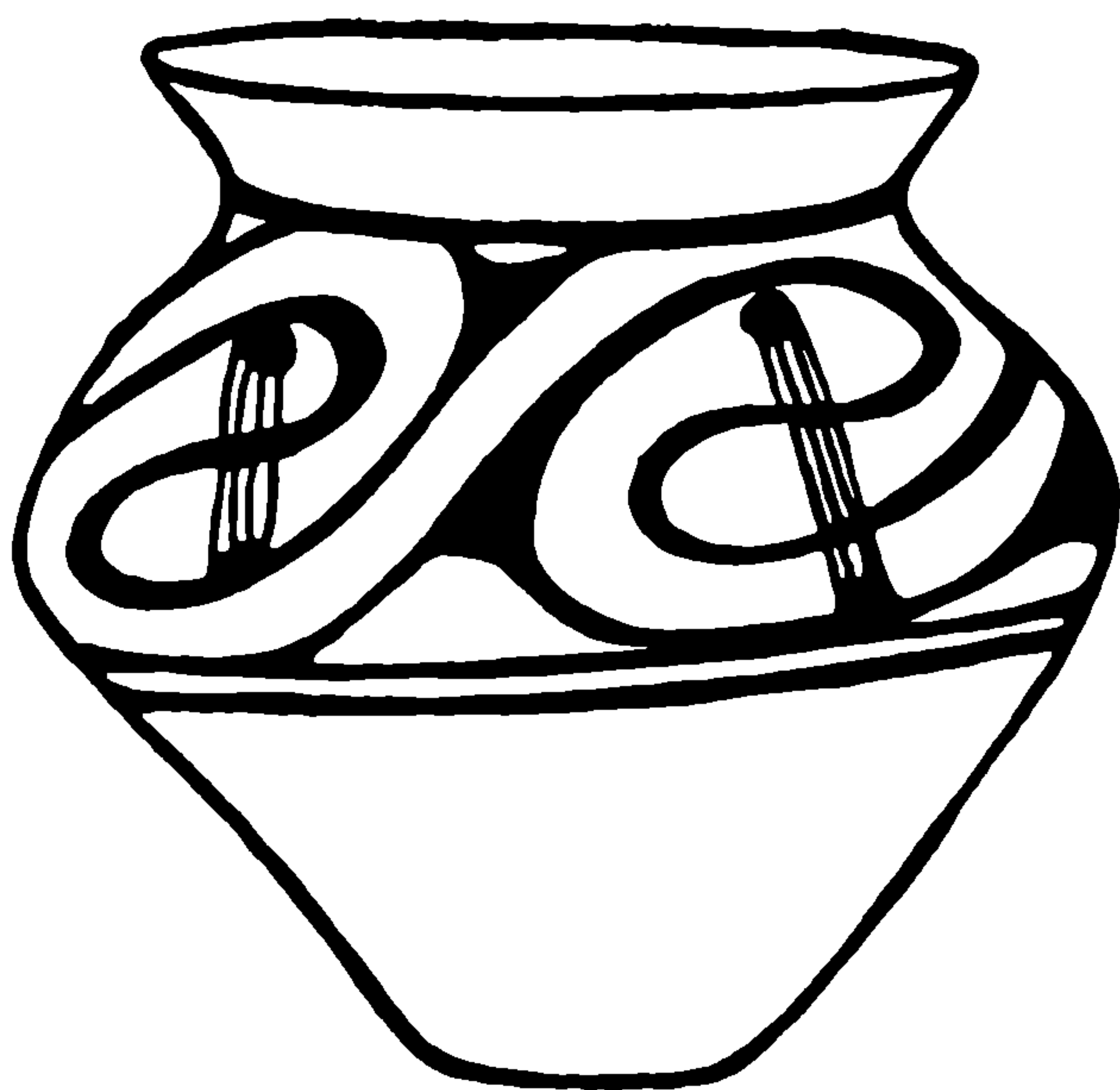
Bandura players are highly esteemed by all segments of the Ukrainian population, and *bandura* ensembles are still the favorites of Ukrainians everywhere. In addition to its folk origins, Ukrainian musical culture was associated from the 11th to the mid-18th century very closely with church music. Ukrainian secular music dates to the second half of the 18th century and developed under the guidance of young Western-educated composers such as Maksym Berezovsky, Dmytro Bortainsky and Artem Vedel. Bortiansky (1751-1825) was an especially gifted musician. A master of choral technique, he also enjoyed a considerable reputation in Europe as a prolific composer of operas, sonatas for the piano, works for chamber ensembles, and vocal concertos. The outstanding musical figure of the 19th century was the composer Mykola Lysenko (1842-1912) who gave Ukrainian classical music its character by incorporating folk-songs into his many and varied compositions. This tradition was followed by such outstanding 20th century Ukrainian composers as Cyril Stetsenko (1883-1922), Mykola Leontovych* (1877-1921) and Alexander Koshyts (1875-1945).

Dancing has always been a vital element of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainian folk

* Author of the "Carol of the Bells," a popular Christmas carol heard in the U.S. today.

dancing dates to the pre-Christian era; in time the ancient ritual and cult dances of this period merged with Christian rites and reflected the church and seasonal calendars. During the Middle Ages, such ritual dancing slowly developed into folk dancing, which, next to singing, became the most common and popular entertainment of the Ukrainian people. From these dances there emerged a great diversity of forms and choreographic techniques. In the late 19th century, native folk dancing was incorporated into Ukrainian operas and dramas and became an inherent part of Ukrainian stage productions. Today Ukrainian folk dancing is further popularized by numerous professional and amateur dance groups in Ukraine as well as in other countries. There is hardly a major city in the world that has not been visited in the last few years by the State Dance Ensemble of the Ukrainian S.S.R. under the direction of Paul Virsky. Everywhere its performances of stylized Ukrainian folk dances have been received with singular critical acclaim.

Folk handicraft arts in Ukraine are especially well developed, varied and colorful. Aside from *pysanky*, such handicraft arts as intricate woodcarving and inlay, ceramics, embroidery and weaving, as well as other decorative arts have been extensively preserved and developed. Ukrainians especially love to embroider and use embroidery not only in their native dress but also in adorning other clothing, pillow cases, tablecloths, dresser scarves, curtains, and altar cloths. The designs used, generally geometric or stylized floral ones, are done in brightly-



This vase displays the typical spiral "S" design found on Trypillian ceramic ware. The Trypillians were ancient precursors of Ukrainians from Neolithic times who lived near present day Kiev.

colored thread, often with the colors of red or orange and black predominating. As with ceramics, embroidery designs vary from region to region, and even individual villages have their own specific traditional patterns, stitches, and color preferences.

Another well-known aspect of Ukrainian art is that of church architecture. Church architecture was highly developed not only in medieval Kiev, but also throughout even the remotest regions of Ukraine where expert woodcraftsmen made magnificent wooden structures using only primitive hatchets, planes and wooden pegs for nails. Whereas great stone edifices, such as the St. Sophia Cathedral of the 11th century, were built in the Byzantine style, those churches erected in the 17th and 18th centuries, the golden age of Ukrainian art, were a combination of traditional Byzantine art and Western influences that resulted in the unique style known as Cossack baroque. Of particular interest are the wooden village churches found today in some parts of Ukraine; many of these country churches have distinctive bell towers separate from the church. Unfortunately a great many of the wooden and other churches have been destroyed by the Soviet regime. Though the basic features of wooden church architecture were developed in the Princely Era (the 9th to 13th century), only those of the 16th century have survived. Fine replicas of Ukrainian wooden churches have been recently constructed in the U.S., particularly in Hunter and Kerhonkson, New York, and in Glen Spey, New Jersey.

The frescoes and mosaics that adorn the

interior of the religious shrines of the 10th through the 13th century in Ukraine are among the finest examples of medieval Byzantine art. Equally highly developed was the art of painting icons. Some of the finest Kievan icons, which were usually painted on wooden panels, have been appropriated by the Soviets for museums in Russia. A few still remain in Ukraine, but many were lost in the period of the Mongol invasions. The tradition of icon painting and frescoes established in the Princely Era continued through the 14th to 16th centuries. Ukrainian artists worked not only in Ukraine, but in neighboring countries, such as Belorussia, Poland and Lithuania where their art was greatly admired and emulated. As in architecture, the painting of the Baroque Period of the 17th and 18th centuries combined traditional elements with Western influences, especially those of the Flemish artists. The strong Western orientation continued into the 19th century and moved increasingly further away from Byzantine iconography. Unfortunately, Ukrainian artists—who had been so instrumental in introducing Western trends into Tsarist Russia—usually had to work in St. Petersburg and were unable fully to develop their talents in Ukraine due to political and economic pressures. The most famous painter of this school was Ilya Repin whose depictions of Cossack life were not only favorites in his day but are still admired today. Although under the influence of Western Europe, Ukrainian artists of the mid and late 19th century, led by the poet-artist Taras Shevchenko, succeeded in expressing Ukrainian themes and at the same time in creating their own form of realism. From

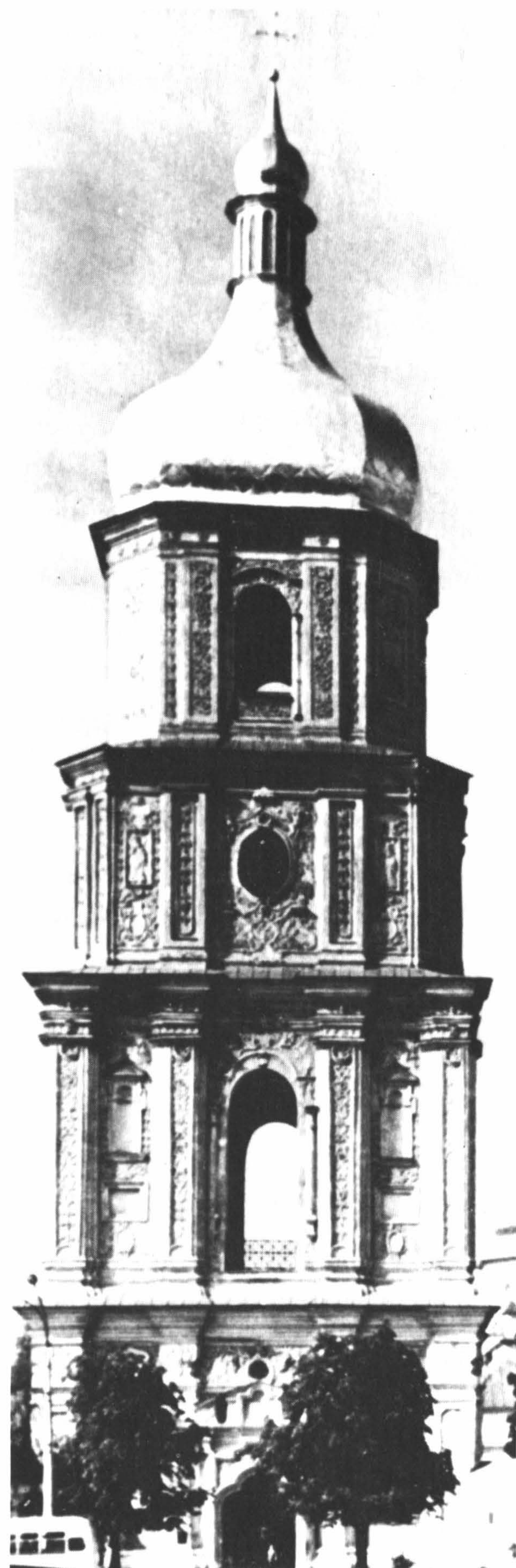


*The ram is a favorite motif
of Ukrainian ceramic art.*

Below: The most famous church in Ukraine, the beautiful many-domed St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev dates from the 11th century and is known for its magnificent frescoes and mosaics.



Right: The Bell Tower of St. Sophia Cathedral, Kiev. Characteristic of churches in Ukraine, the belfry is separate from the main church structure.

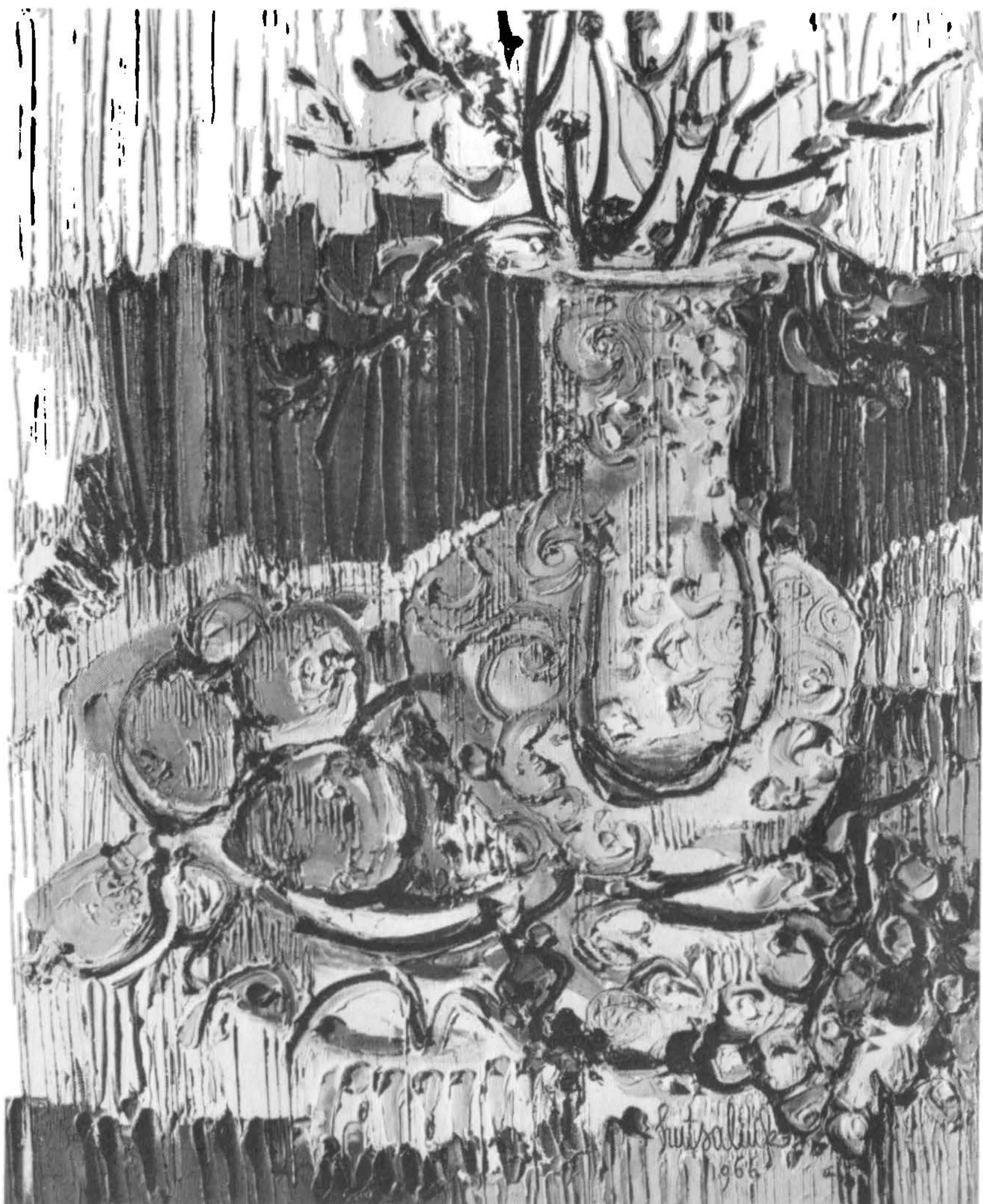


The center of Ukrainian Catholicism, the Cathedral of St. Yuri in Lviv, dates from 17th century and is an example of rococo architecture.



The Church of St. Yuri in Drohobych dates from the 17th century and is a famous example of Ukrainian baroque architecture. The all wooden structure contains no nails and is held together with wooden pegs.





Above: L. Hutsaliuk: *Nature morte*, oil, 15" x 18", 1966.

Right: H. Kruk: *The Bandura Player*, sculpture.



that time on, Ukrainian artists, while still retaining native themes, for the most part have followed Western developments in art. Even in Soviet Ukraine, where artistic expression is forced into the mold of "socialist realism," Ukrainian artists have asserted their originality and dedication to their native traditions, particularly during the relatively liberal era of the 1920's and again in recent years.

The late Alexander Archipenko, an outstanding American sculptor of Ukrainian descent, is one example of a modern artist whose works often reflect his Ukrainian roots.



*A. Archipenko: Reclining,
bronze, 18", 1922.*



Religion

Since the introduction of Byzantine Christianity in 988, most Ukrainians have belonged to the Orthodox Church. In 1596, while retaining their traditional Eastern rituals, a number of Ukrainian bishops, clergy and faithful joined in a union with Rome to create the Uniate or Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Until the mid 17th century, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church remained subject only to Constantinople and was independent of the Patriarch of Moscow. After the incorporation of most of Ukraine into the Russian Empire, however, the Orthodox Church fell under Russian control, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was banned outright. The Ukrainian Catholic religion continued to exist and to expand in that section of Ukraine which was part of the Austrian Empire. It was from the ranks of the Ukrainian Catholic clergymen—who, like the Orthodox clergy, were allowed to marry—that the leaders of the national renaissance of the 19th century emerged in Western Ukraine.

With the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state in 1918, an

independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church was formed. However due to Communist persecution, its activity was soon limited to outside the Soviet Ukraine. A similar fate befell the Ukrainian Catholic Church after World War II, when Soviet troops occupied Western Ukraine. Bishops and clergy of both faiths were imprisoned, killed or exiled to certain death in labor camps, and the faithful were allowed to worship more or less freely only by converting to the official Russian Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, both faiths have continued to flourish among Ukrainians abroad, while the Ukrainian Catholic Church continues to exist underground in the Soviet Union in spite of constant persecution.



Far left: *The Great Panagia (detail)*, 12th century, Kievan School. This is an example of Ukrainian iconography.

Main gate of the Troistka Church, Kiev.



History

The First Ukrainians

The Ukrainians belong to the great family of the Slavic people who settled Eastern and Central Europe from prehistoric times. The Slavic tribes living in the area of present day Ukraine (in the 9th century, A.D.), built a state called **Rus**, on the banks of the Dnieper River and its tributaries. The capital of the realm was Kiev, and thus historians refer to it as **Kievan Rus**. The ruling dynasty and a part of the princely retinue were of Norman origin.

The economic wealth and social power of the ruling class of early **Rus** derived from the great trade that flowed along the river system from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Byzantine Empire in the south, as well as from the booty and tribute collected by the bellicose princes.

The conversion of the people of **Kievan Rus** to Byzantine Christianity in the late 10th century profoundly affected the state. Within a century, **Rus** was transformed from a semi-barbaric military country into a civilized medieval state and the leading power in Eastern Europe. Christianity also was instrumental in destroying traditional tribal differences and in uniting the ruling class (the princes and their retinues) with its people. Paradoxically, however, this development of a unified people from a previous collection of tribes in the end helped to destroy **Kievan Rus**. As long as the ruling class lived in the sea of what it deemed to be a hostile populace, its welfare depended on its own internal unity and obedience to the Grand Prince residing in Kiev. Now the many princes, especially those living on the perimeter of the realm, increasingly identified their

own interests with those of the particular populace they governed and not with those of the central government in Kiev. Although tribal differences had broken down by the 11th century and Christianity had imposed a uniform civilization upon **Kievan Rus**—regional differences became increasingly more apparent. Thus the Slavs in the northern parts of the state, and especially those in the expanding north-east who had intermixed with the native Finnish tribes there, began to exhibit marked differences—linguistic, cultural and social—from those occupying the central areas around Kiev. During the late Middle Ages, these differences among the various groups of Eastern Slavs were sufficiently great to identify them as three separate peoples, the Belorussians (White Russians) in the northwest, the Russians (Muscovites) in the northeast, and the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) in the heart of **Kievan Rus**.

As the local princes became more concerned with their own principalities, their allegiance to the Grand Prince of Kiev and their desire to preserve a unified **Rus** state declined. By the 12th century, new and independent principalities arose on the former territory of the Kievan realm; the Halych-Volhynian (Galician-Volynia) principalities in the West; the principality of Novgorod in the north, and the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal—later Muscovy in the northeast. The differences and the hostilities between the new principalities in the northeast and **Kievan Rus** proper reached such proportions by the mid-12th century that a prince of Suzdal attacked and devastated Kiev in 1169.

The unity of **Kievan Rus**, already

Far left: A golden, decorative comb, the work of the highly skilled Scythians who lived in Ukraine in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C.



Left: Princess Olha, known as the first woman—and the first Slavic—ruler of Kievan Rus, reigned in the mid-10th century. She was the first Kievan ruler to convert to Christianity.

Right: This view of the Dnieper River shows the famous statue of St. Volodymyr, the Grand Duke of Kiev who brought Christianity to Kievan Rus.

undermined by sectional strife, was further weakened and ultimately destroyed by the Tatar invasion in the mid-13th century. In 1240, the Tatars delivered the final blow to the disintegrating medieval state of **Kievan Rus** by capturing and sacking the city itself. With the fall of Kiev, the principalities of Halych and Volhynia became the new political centers on the territory of Ukraine. Halych Volhynia, united since 1199, grew in power extending its suzerainty over Kiev itself. However, with the death of the last member of the Halych-Volynian princely dynasty in 1340, Ukrainian lands fell under the domination of Lithuania and then of Poland in 1569. Particularly hard was the Polish domination. The Ukrainian peasantry was enserfed and suffered under the harsh reign of the Polish nobility. The Ukrainian nobility was gradually Polonized under pressure from the Polish government and the Roman Catholic Church. Only a minority of Ukrainian noblemen remained loyal to their people and to the Orthodox Church. These nobles established centers of Ukrainian culture on their own estates and helped to preserve Ukrainian educational and religious institutions.

Ukrainian Cossacks The Heroic Age

In the 16th century, there appeared yet another group that undertook the defense of the Ukrainian people; these were the famous Cossacks. The original Cossacks were adventurous serfs who had fled their masters and banded together in the southern Ukrainian steppes, a no-man's land between Poland, Muscovy, and the Crimean Tatars. By the end of the century,



the Cossack host was large and strong enough to offer protection to the growing communities of free peasants who had escaped serfdom and were now settled all along the southern Dnieper region. In 1557, the Cossacks built a permanent fortress, the Zaporozhian Sich, where they lived in a strict military brotherhood. From the Sich they launched their successful raids against the Crimean Tatars and the Turkish Empire and continued to protect the free peasantry of southern Ukraine against Polish landlords and Tatar slave traders. Soon their unsurpassed horsemanship, their bravery, and their military skill won renown throughout Europe, and the Cossacks were hired as mercenaries by European rulers. The Polish kings also began to use Cossack detachments in their armies. These "registered" Cossacks were exempt from taxation and were permitted self-government in their lands. The great majority of the Cossacks remained outside government service, however, and at the end of the 16th century they joined with the bulk of the Ukrainian peasantry in a series of bloody revolts against the yoke of Polish nobility. These uprisings, in which economic, social and national elements were fused, reached their climax in the Cossack War of 1648. Led by Hetman (General) Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks, after a series of stunning victories over the Polish armies, became the masters of Ukraine. Believing in the possibility of a Polish-Ukrainian Commonwealth with the king at its head, Khmelnytsky signed a peace treaty with the Polish king in 1649 that left the administration of most Ukrainian lands in the hands of



the Ukrainian Orthodox gentry, but allowed the Polish landlords to retain their former possessions. Once again friction between the Polish nobility on the one side and the Ukrainian peasants and Cossacks on the other led to open warfare in 1651. The Polish nobles, who in the meantime had rebuilt their armies, were now bent on the complete destruction of Ukrainian autonomy and Cossack freedoms. His dream of a union between Ukrainians and Poles destroyed by Polish intransigence, Khmelnytsky sought to sever Ukraine from Poland altogether. It was in pursuing this plan that he agreed to place Ukraine under the protection of the Muscovite tsar.

The Treaty of Pereyaslav, concluded between Ukraine and Russia in 1654, began a new chapter in the history of Ukraine. Almost immediately, misunderstandings between Russia and Ukraine arose. The Cossacks saw the Treaty only as a military expedient in their struggles

The statue of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the famed Cossack Hetman, who established an independent Ukrainian Cossack state in the 17th century.

against Poland, but one that in no way affected their independence. On the other hand, the Russian government from the beginning attempted to undermine the spirit of Pereyaslav and to subvert Ukrainian independence. As a result, Khmelnytsky began to seek out other allies, but his search was cut short by his death in 1657. No strong leader emerged to take Khmelnytsky's place, and a period of chaos and civil strife ensued. The protracted war between Poland and Russia that followed the Pereyaslav Treaty split the Cossacks and the entire Ukrainian population on the issue of whom the Ukrainians should support and seek for protection—the Russians, the Poles or the Turks. In 1667, the Russo-Polish war ended with the Treaty of Andrusovo, according to which Ukrainian territory on the right or western side of the Dnieper River remained under the supervision of the Polish crown while the area on the left side of the Dnieper was placed under the protection of the Russian Tsar. Though the two parts of Ukraine were granted autonomous status, in fact both Russia and Poland followed policies which served to weaken Ukrainian autonomy. On the Russian side, Moscow gradually increased its control over Ukrainian lands by stationing Russian troops there and by forcing the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to recognize the supreme authority of the Patriarch of Moscow. Although the Russo-Swedish War of the first decades of the 18th century offered Ukraine an opportunity to free itself from Russia when Ukrainian hetman Mazepa joined with the Swedish king Charles XII, the Russian victory over their combined forces at

Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Ukraine, whose efforts to free Ukraine from Moscow's domination were doomed by the Russian victory at Poltava in 1709.

Poltava in 1709 left Ukraine at the mercy of the Russian tsar.

Equally unfortunate was the fate of the Ukrainian land within the Polish state. The disintegration of the royal authority in Poland in the 18th century and the brutal treatment of the peasantry by the Polish nobility resulted in bloody peasant uprisings and in the devastation and depopulation of these lands which led to the total disorganization of the Polish state. Only in the southern reaches of the Dnieper region around the Cossack fortress of the Sich did the Ukrainian people continue to live a free life. But soon even this remote part of Ukraine fell prey to the powerful and expanding Russian state. In 1775, Catherine II destroyed the Sich, dispersed the freedom-loving Cossacks, and enserfed the remaining Ukrainian peasantry.

Following the partitions of Poland (1772-1793-1795), most of the Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Russian Empire, while the western portion of Ukraine was absorbed by the Austrian Empire. Thus, by the end of the 18th century, all remnants of Ukraine's autonomy were annihilated and her lands became simply the provinces of the two great empires.

Ukraine Reawakens

The 19th century was a critical one for the Ukrainian people. As the previous century closed, Ukraine was deprived of the last vestiges of her autonomy; at the same time, most of the upper segment of her society, in search of the privileges and status of nobility, abandoned their people and became either Russified or



Polonized. And yet it was at this very juncture that the idea of Ukrainian nationhood began a phenomenal revival. Under the influence of the Romantic and Liberal ideas which were penetrating the Russian Empire, young Ukrainians began to show a great deal of interest in the history and traditions of their people. Out of their numbers emerged the intellectuals, writers, artists and teachers who led the Ukrainian national movement throughout the 19th century. The most outstanding of these was the ex-serf, Taras Shevchenko, who became a poet, playwright, painter, social critic, and patriot, and exercised an immense influence on his contemporaries in the development of a Ukrainian national consciousness.

Despite the rather harmless, predominantly cultural nature of the Ukrainian movement, the Russian tsarist government used every means possible to suppress it. A policy of harassment and persecution was instituted against the leading Ukrainians who, like Taras Shevchenko in 1847, were imprisoned and exiled. When such methods proved ineffective, the tsarist government resorted to the complete prohibition of any expression of Ukrainian national consciousness. In the years from 1863 to 1876, all publications, plays and concerts in Ukrainian were forbidden; all social and academic Ukrainian societies were disbanded, and their leaders were arrested. Nevertheless, though it succeeded for a time in curtailing the Ukrainian national movement, the tsarist government could not stamp out the natural desire of the Ukrainian people to cultivate their own traditions, customs, and language—in short, their desire to

assert a separate Ukrainian nationality. A series of secret Ukrainian societies grew up in such centers as Kiev and Kharkiv, and in most of the universities of the Empire, as the movement assumed an increasingly broader base. In the second half of the 19th century, young Ukrainian patriots began to spread their ideas among the masses of the peasants and workers by distributing books and pamphlets in Ukrainian and by organizing reading circles and clandestine groups.

The awakening of a Ukrainian national consciousness in Western Ukraine in the mid-19th century was of particular importance for the further growth of the national movement. At the end of the 18th century, as a result of the partitions of Poland, these Ukrainian lands became part of the Austrian domain. Dominated by the culturally more sophisticated and socially superior Poles, the Ukrainian populace lagged behind the Poles in the development of their national consciousness. Only in the 1830's did the first signs of a national revival in Western Ukraine appear. Young Ukrainian intellectuals began to exhibit a growing interest in the study of their native history and culture. This cultural and intellectual movement assumed a political character when revolutions swept the Austrian Empire in 1848. Remaining loyal to the Emperor, Western Ukrainians formed their first modern political organization (the Supreme Ukrainian Council), organized a national guard, sent delegates to the Slavic Congress in Prague and to the newly established Parliament in Vienna, and put forth a series of demands. Among these were a call for an administrative division between the

Ukrainian and Polish ethnic territories within the Austrian Empire, and for the promotion of a separate Ukrainian cultural and national development.

Suppression of the revolutionary constitutional movement throughout the Austrian Empire also brought to an end this first attempt of the Western Ukrainians to assert their national consciousness. Only with the restoration of the constitutional government in the 1860's did the Ukrainian movement revive and become increasingly active. A number of Ukrainian cultural and educational societies came into being, the number of books, journals and newspapers in Ukrainian multiplied, and Ukrainians were again able (despite the obstacles imposed upon them by the Poles, who—with the support of Vienna—controlled the administration of Western Ukraine) to send their representatives to the Austrian Parliament and the provincial assembly. Becoming increasingly more politically conscious, Western Ukrainians founded their first political parties in the last decade of the 19th century. Within a decade, Ukrainians in the Russian Empire also began organizing their own political parties and establishing national programs, especially after the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the establishment of a limited constitutional system in the Empire.

From World War I to World War II an Era of Great Hope and Great Disappointment

The Russian Revolution in 1917 and the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918 as a result of World War I presented Ukrainians with a new opportunity. In

April 1917, a National Ukrainian Assembly met in Kiev, and in November, it proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic to be federated with the other republics in Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia and formed a rival Ukrainian, Communist government with the aid of Russian troops in Kharkiv, the National Assembly proclaimed in Kiev, on January 22, 1918, the complete independence of Ukraine. In the civil war that ensued, Ukrainians had to fight not only the Communist forces but also the so-called Whites, whose goal was the restoration of the old Russian Empire. Meanwhile, in November 1918, as the Austrian Empire disintegrated, the Ukrainians there proclaimed the independent Republic of Western Ukraine. Immediately, they were involved in a war with the Poles who wanted to incorporate Ukrainian lands into the newly established Polish state. Although in January 1919 a union was established between Western and Eastern Ukraine, the new Ukrainian state could not successfully resist the aggression of both the Red and the White Russian forces as well as the hostile Poles in Western Ukraine. Backed by the Allied powers, Poland annexed the Western Ukrainian territory, while the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, established and supported by Russian troops in Eastern Ukraine, became in 1923 one of the republics of the newly formed Soviet Union. Despite the fact that no lasting independent Ukrainian state emerged, the post-World War I period witnessed a phenomenal growth of Ukrainian nationalism. Between the two world wars, all segments of Ukrainian



*Symon Petliura
(1879-1926). Ukrainian
military leader and the
Chairman of the Ukrainian
Directorate (1919).*

society were united in their aspirations for an independent Ukrainian state. Even Ukrainian Communist leaders demanded that the Ukrainian language and culture prevail in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Demands of the Ukrainian Communist leadership for independence not only in internal but in foreign matters as well brought on the severe repression of Ukrainians in the Stalin years. The process of Ukrainization was stopped, and the policy of Russification was reintroduced, followed by the arrest, exile and execution of prominent Ukrainian leaders, both non-Communist and Communist. The purges of high government and party officials continued throughout the 1930's and resulted in the death of two premiers of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and in the suicide of other leading Ukrainian Communists. Not only were party officials included in the Stalin terror, but the whole upper stratum of Ukrainian society was decimated in prisons or in exile. Millions were deported to Siberia to provide the labor force for Soviet industry, and millions of Ukrainian peasants died in the artificially induced famine of 1932-1933.

In Poland, Ukrainians were denied the autonomy that the Polish government had agreed to in the post World War I settlements. Ukrainians were excluded from all administrative positions and were hampered in their attempts to develop their own educational and cultural programs. As a result, an underground Ukrainian Nationalist Organization came into being and received the wide support of the Ukrainian populace.

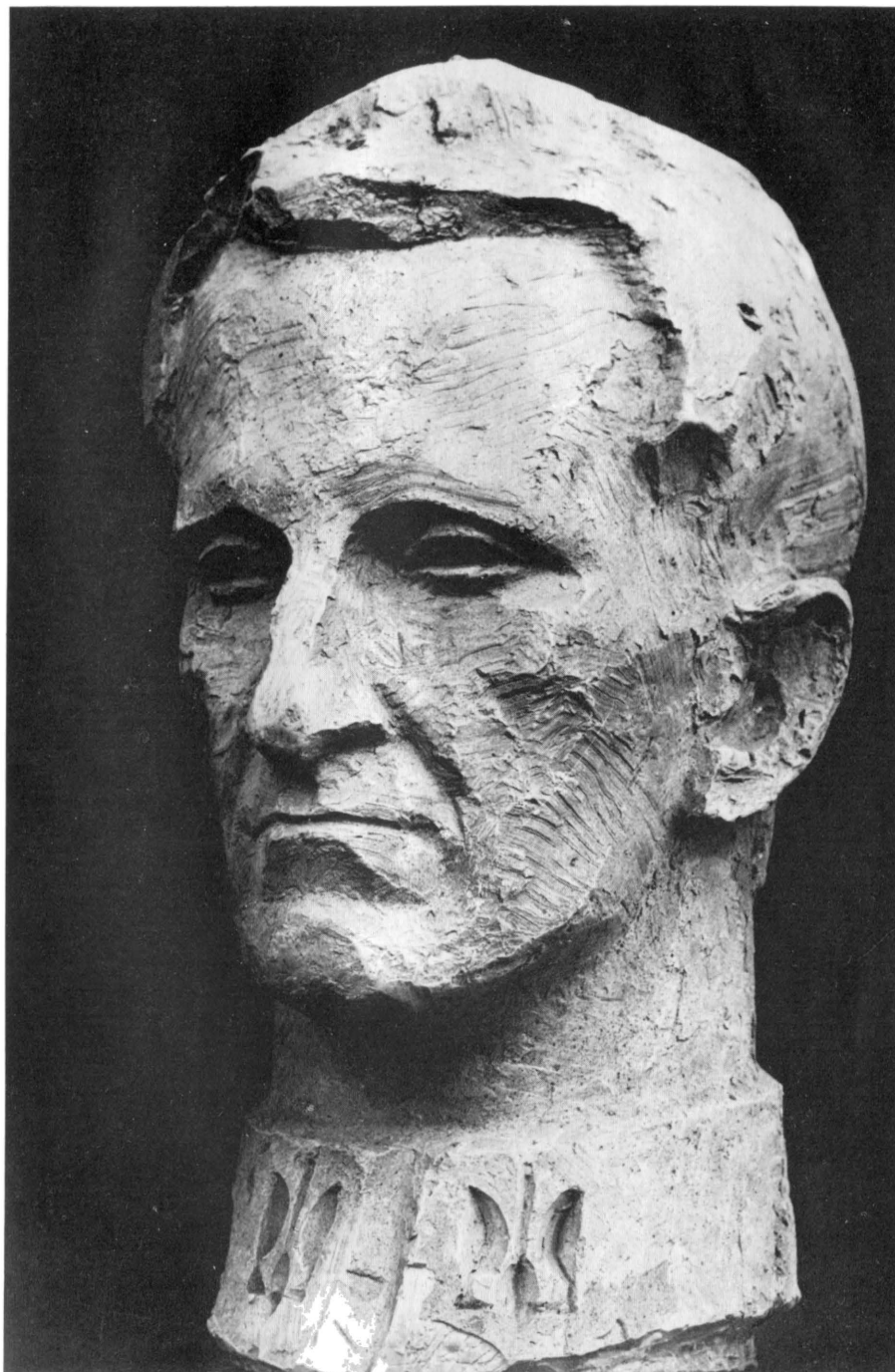
When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, Ukrainians looked upon this event as an opportunity to realize their dream of an independent Ukraine. In June of that year shortly before the German troops occupied Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, Ukrainian Nationalists there proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian state and offered Germany their help in fighting the Soviet Union. The Germans turned down the offer, arrested the Nationalist leaders, turned Ukraine into a German colony, and deported thousands of young Ukrainians to work in German war industries. Disillusioned, the Ukrainian people turned to guerrilla warfare against the Germans. The leadership in this enterprise was assumed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) formed by Ukrainian nationalists. When the Soviet troops reoccupied Ukraine, the guerrilla warfare was then directed against the Russians. Ukrainian underground resistance was particularly strong in Western Ukraine and the Carpathian region where guerrilla warfare continued until 1952.

After World War II, most of Western Ukraine was incorporated into the Ukrainian S.S.R. The rest of it was ceded

to Poland, and the Ukrainian population living there was forcibly resettled in the Soviet Union or in the former German territories that now belonged to Poland.

Ukrainians bore a major share of the suffering in the post war repressions instituted by the Soviet government. Thousands were arrested, killed and exiled, and Ukraine itself was settled by an increasingly larger number of ethnic Russians who occupied most of the important positions there.

*Taras Chuprynka
(pseudonym of Roman
Shukhevych) was the
leader of the Ukrainian
Insurgent Army (the UPA)
which fought the Soviet
regime in Ukraine after
World War II. He was
killed by the Russians in
March 1950.*



Ukraine Today

When one takes a closer look at today's Ukraine, one is faced with a paradox. It is a fully developed country, with clearly defined territory, a constitution, a government, a full system of education from nursery schools to universities and research centers, theaters, motion picture industry, radio and television networks, newspapers, magazines, and book publishing houses. It has top calibre athletes, athletic teams and modern sports facilities.

And yet most of the policy decisions relating to its territory, the composition of its government, the subjects taught in its schools, the content of its media are made not in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, but in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union of which Ukraine is one of fifteen constituent republics. Specifically, the major decisions are made at the headquarters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which in fact runs the whole country.

Thus Ukraine is akin to a fully assembled automobile atop a car transporter on its way from the plant to a dealer's showroom. Ukraine, like that brand new car with some gasoline in its tank, is *capable* of traveling on its own, but as long as it is anchored to the trailer of the car transporter, it travels only in the direction decreed by the driver in the cab—in this case, the general secretary of the Communist Party.

Ukraine's constitution provides for the exchange of diplomatic and consular representation with foreign countries. In fact, however, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as it is formally known, has its own Foreign Ministry, but maintains no embassies abroad. It has only two

permanent missions—in New York at the United Nations headquarters and in Paris at UNESCO. Its other diplomatic and consular obligations are handled by the Soviet Union's diplomatic posts where Ukrainians may be working among the Soviet foreign service personnel.

Ukrainian athletes compete and win medals in the Olympic Games, but they do so not as representatives of Ukraine or even the Ukrainian S.S.R., but as Soviet athletes.

It is not that the taxpayers of Ukraine cannot afford to maintain their own diplomatic missions abroad. It is not that they do not want to have their separate Olympic teams represented at the Games. It is simply because the rulers of the Soviet Union choose not to let the Ukrainians have either the missions or the Olympic teams, or for that matter their own currency, postal service, airline, or armed forces.

But unlike a developing country, newly emerged from the grasp of a colonial power, Ukraine is a part of one of the last colonial powers on our planet.

How is this paradoxical state of affairs maintained?

The Soviet system maintains the *status quo* by a sophisticated propaganda machine on the one hand, and a brutal terror machine on the other. The propaganda machine is able to support, encourage, and justify national liberation movements around the world and at the same time continuously brainwash the Ukrainians and more than a hundred other nationalities of the Soviet Union to think that they have achieved national liberation and that it is in their interest to



Vasyl Symonenko (1935-1963) one of the most influential contemporary Ukrainian poets and the leading member of the dissident movement in Ukraine in the 1960's.

stay together and be part of a super-power. Calls to Soviet patriotism, which is frequently indistinguishable from Great Russian chauvinism, and an elaborate system of material rewards for this loyalty are all vestiges of the propaganda machine. Loss of livelihood, arrests, long sentences in hard labor camps or mental institutions, and sometimes even death are the answers of the terror machine to any who exhibit signs of disloyalty, also known as anti-Soviet propaganda.

Russification of Ukraine, often practiced in more subtle ways, continues unabated. The settling of large numbers of Russians in Ukrainian cities with the simultaneous "voluntary" migration of Ukrainians into the Asian areas of the Soviet Union has not ended; moreover, pressures have been brought on Ukrainians to attend Russian-language schools, as only those who attend these schools can hope to advance their careers. Ukrainian national culture has been relegated to an inferior, provincial status or has been so distorted as to make it adhere more closely to the Russian pattern. The number of periodicals, newspapers, and books in Ukrainian is artificially held down.

The process of Russification has not gone unchallenged. Indeed it has spurred a strong reaction in Ukraine among Ukrainian intellectuals, writers, artists, professional people and students who resent the dominant position that Russians hold in Ukraine. They have been protesting the denial of their civil rights, and especially of intellectual liberty as well as the denial of the state rights of the Ukrainian Republic that are granted it by the Soviet Constitution.

Soviet labor camps are heavily populated by Ukrainians. Until the early 1950's, when the Ukrainian resistance movement was still active, many Ukrainian men and women were sent away for engaging in an armed struggle. Many have faced execution squads; many have perished from undernourishment and bad living conditions. Perhaps the most dramatic example of terror occurred in 1953 when nearly 500 Ukrainian women who had gone out on strike in a Soviet labor camp were crushed to death by tanks brought in to restore order.

But the 1960's and early 1970's saw new waves of younger Ukrainians, born and raised within the system, exiled to the labor camps not because they took up arms, but because they dared to discuss the political alternatives for Ukraine, or simply because they expressed critical views of the prevailing system in Ukraine.

The Soviet system is so sensitive to maintaining the *status quo* that it not only weeds out and imprisons a group of Ukrainians who begin discussions about the possibilities of forming another political party, or a historian who writes an essay about the officially sanctioned destruction of Ukrainian historic sites, but it does not hesitate to eliminate from the position of power one of its own pillars. In 1972, when Petro Shelest, the Communist Party chief in Ukraine and member of the ruling center in Moscow began to display some independent and pro-Ukrainian tendencies, albeit minimal by Western standards, his colleagues, led by the *de facto* dictator of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, quickly retired him and placed an apparently more trustworthy man—

Volodymyr Shcherbytsky—in his place.

Despite the sophisticated propaganda machine, however, despite the harsh terror, today's Ukraine remains an area of turmoil and dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. Understandably, this turmoil and dissatisfaction are not always widespread. Some observers refer to Ukraine as the "soft underbelly" of the very powerful Soviet Union. Unlike in 1917, when it proclaimed its shortlived independence, Ukraine today is a fully developed country with its cadres of specialists in all fields, its natural and industrial resources. It is a fully assembled, expensive automobile atop a trailer of a car transporter.

It still needs a driver to take it in its own direction.

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Left: *The Goddess*,
Ceramic sculpture by
S. Gerulak

Top right: *Ukrainian
pysanky*

Bottom right: *Ukrainian
embroidered decorative
pillow*

UKRAINE

