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and the

Great East – European Revolution:

A Propos of Symonenko's Polemics

UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE GREAT EAST-EUROPEAN REVOLUTION: A PROPOS OF SYMONENKO'S POLEMICS.

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Ukrainian historiography has had a long and honourable course. Basing itself solidly upon the achievements of the chroniclers of the Kievan Ukraine, upon the writings of the Galician-Volhynian and Lithuanian eras, upon the fresh and resurgent Cossack historiography, upon the newer critical Ukrainian historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and embracing finally the contemporary Ukrainian historiography of the past two generations, Ukrainian historiography has lived and flowered through many favourable, but also many inauspicious periods. The present period, bearing to a great extent the weight of the Soviet regime, is probably the most unfavourable among those, but nevertheless Ukrainian historiography has continued to bring forth works of lasting value, integrating the present with the past, and, hopefully, illuminating new paths for the future.

The Great East-European Revolution, of which the Ukrainian Revolution is the quintessence, has fascinated Ukrainian historians ever since its inception by the revolutionary action of the Guard Regiments of Petrograd, prevailingly Ukrainian, and,

^{*} The journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Kommunist Ukrainy (in Russian), and Komunist Ukrainy (in Ukrainian) contained in the issue commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the events of 1917-1918 a critique of Ukrainian historiography and the Great East-European Revolution, by R. Symonenko: Symonenko, R., 'Fal'sifikatory ne unimayutsya', Kommunist Ukrainy, vol. XLII, no. 12, pp. 84-91 (in Russian); Symonenko, R., 'Fal'sifikatory ne uhamovuyutsya', Komunist Ukrainy, vol. XLII, no. 12, pp. 84-91 (in Ukrainian). An English translation appears as Symonenko, R., '"The Falsifiers Do Not Let Up": A Soviet Critique of Ukrainian Historiography and Its Studies of the Revolution', The New Review. A Journal of East-European History, Vol. VIII, No. 1-2 (30-31), pp. 37-50.

it appears, inspired by Ukrainian Social-Democrats. M. Hrushevsky, the great Ukrainian historian, author of several volumes of his monumental Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy, then, is the founder the Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution. Ukrainian historiography were forged in beginnings of shorter writings which, while dealing series of the historical problems in a popular fashion, cast the events in a larger framework of historical development. Among these were the pamphlets published during 1917, 'Who Are the Ukrainians and What Do They Want', 'The Ukrainian Question. Essays', 'Ukraine and Russia. Negotiations in the Matter of the New Way of Life' (published in Ukrainian or Russian).1 The historian in Hrushevsky is quite clear in 'Ukrainian Central Rada and Its Universals'.2 The erupting Russo-Ukrainian war is placed in the perspective of history and Revolution by a series of brilliant articles among which 'Purge by Fire' and 'The Ukrainian Independence and Its Historical Necessity' are to be noted. These were published in a collection Na porozi novoi Ukrainy, published in Kiev in 1918; these writing of Hrushevsky's were published in New York in 1918, laying the basis for the North American Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution.3 Hrushevsky's standard history Hyustrovana istoriya Ukrainy was republished in Kiev in 1918, while a new edition appeared in Winnipeg, Canada, in 1920 or 1921 containing a discussion of the new period of the history of the Ukraine from 1914 to 1919, and another edition appeared in Vienna in 19214; these contributed further to the development of studies of the Revolution in Ukraine, North America and Europe.

An interesting series of writings originated from the pen of Dmytro Dontsov. A 'History of the Development of the Ukrainian State Idea' appeared in Vynnytsya in 1917, or more likely in 1918, republished later in Lviv. A pamphlet on the international situation of the Ukraine, and Russia, appeared in Kiev in 1918, while general conclusions of the revolutionary experience appeared in 'Bases of Our Politics' (all items in Ukrainian). Dmytro Dontsov was no historian, but his works on the Revolution have influenced Ukrainian historiography, reinforcing in particular the state element as a historiographic problem.⁵ It should also be noted that the steady stream of memoirs on the Revolution

begins in 1918 with a pamphlet by Hr. Hetmanets on the Bolshevik terrorism in Kiev in early 1918.6

Ukrainian historiography was enriched in 1919 by the work of P. Haydalemivskyi, the first history of Ukrainian revolutionary political parties, published by the Ukrainian Military Mission in Salzwedel; while the biographic literature of the Revolution is begun by V. Koroliv in his work on Symon Petlura as a national hero, published in Prague in the same year. The first systematic study of the Ukrainian revolution appeared in the same year under the authorship of D. Dolynskyi as an almanac article. It was reworked by the same author as the first monograph on the topic and appeared in Winnipeg, Canada, in 1920 (after a probable prior appearance in Lviv) under the title 'The Struggle of the Ukrainian Nation for Freedom and Independence' (in Ukrainian), covering the events to 1920; while a supplement covering the events to the fall of 1921 appeared in an almanac in 1921.

Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution reached its full development in the final two years of the Revolution, 1920 and 1921. In these years, several journals were established publishing sizeable amounts of historical material, or exclusively historical material. Volya, a Ukrainian Socialist weekly, published occasional material, and reviews of historical books, beginning in 1919 in Vienna. Khliborobs'ka Ukraina, a conservative journal, published in Vienna since 1920, published a great deal of historical material, some of which is discussed below. Further journals established in the period were Nova Doba (Vienna, 1920). Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Vil'na Spilka (Lviv. 1921) Hrushevsky's Boritesva-Poborete (Paris, 1920), while the historical almanac Istorychnyi kalendar-al'manakh 'Chervonoi Kalyny' started appearing in 1921. Historical bibliography of the Revolution makes its debut in 1921 as well: I. Kalinovych published a bibliography of the Ukrainian Socialist and Communist literature.9

Monographic literature becomes important in this period, often intertwined with memoiristic and polemical elements. Among these are the studies of the military campaign of 1919-1920,10 and other literature. However, the truly important studies in this period, the studies which have influenced the

writing of history of the Revolution ever since, were the works of Khrystiuk, Doroshenko and Vynnychenko.

Khrystiuk wrote a four-volume study of the Ukrainian Revolution of which the first three volumes were published in 1921 and the fourth in 1922,11 under the imprint of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute organized by M. Hrushevsky. study is modestly entitled 'Notes and Materials on the History of the Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920' (in Ukrainian), but while it does give the various documents of the revolution in extenso, it presents in fact an interpretation of the Revolution, and a scholarly history. The work appears to have been done under the supervision of Hrushevsky. Khrystiuk pays particular attention to the Party of Ukrainian Socialists-Revolutionaries; his work is a useful compendium of information on the history of that party as well. Ukrainian Social-Democrats are covered less carefully, and, especially in the fourth volume, are dealt with in a partisan manner. Nevertheless, it is quite incorrect to state, as does Symonenko (page 86)12 in his critique that he attempted 'at any cost' to justify the policies of his party and to falsify the conclusions. Symonenko fails to refer to the wealth of factual information contained in the study. The main interest of the study, for Symonenko, appears to be not its scholarly importance. and the fact that it has been the basic source of information for countless historians in the Ukraine and elsewhere, but rather that it was said to contain a great many 'admissions' characterizing sharply the 'anti-popular nature of the Ukrainian bourgeoisnationalist parties', and the 'pitiful role of the Central Rada and its General Secretariat'. These were said to be connected with the compromising moods of certain parts of the émigré community in the early 1920s. In our estimation the reasons for interest advanced by Symonenko indicate the shallowness of his scholarly attitude, and hint at the narrow propagandist tasks of the critique.

Vynnychenko wrote his three-volume memoirs of the Revolution, under the title 'Rebirth of the Nation' (in Ukrainian); these were published in 1920. Vynnychenko was an old Ukrainian Social-Democrat, the first Prime Minister of the Ukrainian state, from its inception to the proclamation of independence. A man of vacillation, he left the governmental institutions of

the Republic after the formation of the new Socialist-Revolutionary government in early 1918, and returned to private life. Undergoing another change of heart during 1918, he returned to public life as the head of the Directorium of the Ukrainian Republic in late 1918, leaving the government again in early 1919, and going to Western Europe. At one time, Vynnychenko reached agreement with the Russian government and was, for a few weeks, the head of Soviet government in the Ukraine, leaving it abruptly and withdrawing again to France. Vynnychenko's political merry-go-round is of great importance in the evaluation of his memoirs as a historical source. His personal hatred of Symon Petlura, a colleague in the government, is another element complicating the issue of the reliability and value of his memoirs. Naturally enough, Social-Democrats (except Petlura) appear in a favourable light through the events of 1917 and early 1918; foreign powers, including the Russian Bolshevik state, are assigned the major portion of responsibility for the untoward events of early 1918, while the Socialists-Revolutionaries are accused of kowtowing to outside interests. The latter parts of the memoirs appear to be primarily a philippic against Petlura, containing at the same time some valuable information on diplomacy of the Republic. Vynnychenko's memoirs have been used critically by all reputable Ukrainian historians. According to Symonenko such 'admissions' are not to the taste of the 'contemporary falsifiers', who are said, as often as not, to 'lose self-control' while approaching that book. This is quite incorrect, even allowing for extravagance of expression. Vynnychenko's study is simply a historical source and is treated as such. Bolshevik historians have been approaching the memoirs quite uncritically, with Symonenko being no exception, culling out certain parts and presenting them as necessary truths when such statements are acceptable, even when research has established the incorrectness of a particular statement of Vynnychenko. On the other hand, Vynnychenko's 'unacceptable statements' are completely ignored. Thus, Symonenko cites as truth Vynnychenko's assertion that the 'majority of the Bolshevik forces [at Kiev, in February 1918 — O.S.P.] consisted of our own soldiers' (page 87), without expressing reservations. The study by this writer. reviewed by Symonenko in the same critique, contains a detailed

analysis of the origin of the troops attacking Kiev, coming to the conclusion that any Ukrainian element among the troops was quite insignificant.¹³ Symonenko need not accept the conclusions of this writer, and somewhat similar conclusions of many other writers, but it should be obvious that the uncritical acceptance by Symonenko of Vynnychenko's statements as 'cynically frank admissions' cannot be justified.

Dmytro Doroshenko, a man with a fine historical education and achievements as a serious historian, published in Khliborobs'ka Ukraina, in 1920 and 1921, larger studies dealing with the Revolution. His article on the foreign policy of the Ukrainian State in 1918, and particularly his 'Notes on the History of 1918 in the Ukraine'14 (in Ukrainian) appeared in that conservative journal. The 'Notes' in particular are important as they are followed by his outstanding two-volume history of the Ukraine in 1917-1918. In Doroshenko, we have the presentation of a conservative interpretation of the events, coloured in many instances by personal predilections of the author, in view of his active role in some of the events. Symonenko's response to Doroshenko is quite intemperate: the historian who is one of the main Ukrainian historians in the contemporary era is dismissed altogether, while Symonenko states that he 'supplied the filthy propagandist kitchen of Hitler's Reich with "historical elaborations" '(page 85). If Symonenko is not whistling in the dark, he may have in mind the excellent study by Dmytro Doroshenko on German-Ukrainian relations, published in Leipzig in 1941, dealing with relations from the earliest times to the post-World War I period. 16 It should be noted that no other general study of German-Ukrainian relations is available. Symonenko's statement in regard to Doroshenko is without any worthwhile foundation, and is a disgraceful statement for a historian to make, while the tone is quite unacceptable.

It should be mentioned that the work by Khrystiuk was supplemented by a study of Western Ukraine in the Revolution by M. Lozynskyi, which was issued as Volume V of the 'Notes' published by the Ukrainian Sociological Institute.¹⁷ In this manner the study of Galicia was integrated with the study of the rest of the Ukraine in the Revolution.

So far nothing has been said about any Bolshevik historiography of the Revolution. The simple fact of the matter is that it was virtually non-existent. Not a single even half-way scholarly study of the Ukraine in the Revolution was published in the period. It should be noted that not one historian, even stretching the term to include any journalist, political commentator, or writer, appears to have written a line of Bolshevik interpretation of history. What we have is a few pamphlets by Bolshevik party functionaries presenting memoirs, and in one or two cases fulfilling propaganda tasks. The latter is the case in the only study approaching in form a historical work. Ivan Kulvk's 'Review of the Revolution in the Ukraine, Part I, (March 1917 - April 1918)' published (in Ukrainian) in 1921, the pamphlet covering 40 pages. The study, in part memoiristic, had been written on order, according to the author, for foreign propaganda, and when the original plans failed to be realized, it was republished in the existing form. No other parts appear to have been written by that writer. who was a party functionary Kievan region. The pamphlet of 20 pages by M. Ravich-Cherkasskiy, a party functionary in Katerynoslav, on Makhno and the Makhnovites, published in 1920, appears to almost exclusively polemical.18 This appears to be all the literature published (though some very obscure items might still be unearthed), except for largely memoiristic pamphlets of the Party functionaries, written for the usual reasons for which memoirs are written: to have one's say, to justify one's policy, to advance one's position by pointing out achievements, and so forth. The memoirs in question have value as sources of information, but they do not constitute the development of a historiography. These are Bosh's 'National Government and the Soviet Power in the Ukraine' (in Russian), published in Moscow in 1919, Latsis' memoirs of the activity of the Cheka in the Ukraine led by him, and Petrovsky's 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in the Ukraine' (in Russian), published in Moscow in 1920. The pamphlet was translated into Ukrainian and published in New York in 1921, but unlike Hrushevsky's publication of 1918, which was followed up by other publications, Petrovsky's remained an episodic event.19 Much shorter memoirs, a few pages each, are extant, written by Mayorov, Zatonskyi, Skrypnyk, and

again Kulyk, all party functionaries: likely a small number still remain to be found.²⁰

A journal entitled Armiya i Revolyutsia (in Russian) was established in 1921. While some Ukrainian-oriented material, mentioned above, was published in it, it was not primarily Ukrainian, but was rather concerned with the 'army and revolution' of the new Russian state in general.

It should be noted that almost nothing had appeared before 1919, while the first study approaching the historical form, Kulyk's, appeared only in 1921. In addition to the strictly Bolshevik material, polemical material is available written by former disgruntled Bolsheviks, anti-Bolshevik, or at least, anti-Leninist, at the time of the writing: while being a source of information these writings also did not contribute to the development of a Bolshevik historiography. These are the works by Shakhray, a former head of the Soviet government of the Ukraine, 'Revolution in the Ukraine', and again by Shakhray, and Mazlakh, a Party colleague, 'To the Moment (What Is Happening in the Ukraine and with the Ukraine)'. Both books, in broken Ukrainian, published in Saratov in 1919,²¹ were largely polemical, accusing Lenin's party and government of being motivated by Russian chauvinism and anti-Ukrainian prejudices.

Thus, the period of the Revolution is characterized by the establishment of the main lines of Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution, with the main direction established by M. Hrushevsky and Pavlo Khrystiuk, underlining the creative element in the Revolution, and the subsidiary direction, an important one nevertheless, emphasizing the conservative element, established by Doroshenko, and some other directions. Bolshevik or Marxist historiography of the Revolution in the Ukraine is non-existent.

Ukrainian historiography continued normal development on the basis of the main directions developed in the period of the Revolution. New periodicals were established in the subsequent period, some specifically historical and some publishing a considerable amount of historical material. Of interest are Nova Ukraina (Prague, 1922), edited by M. Shapoval; Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk, which had been appearing since 1898 under the leadership of Ivan Franko and M. Hrushevsky, and now appearing again in 1922, led by D. Dontsov; Tabor, published in Kalisz from

1923 by members of the interned Army of the Ukrainian National Republic: Tryzub established in Paris in 1925 by Symon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian governmental institutions in exile; Nova Kul'tura, established in Lviv in 1923; Rozbudova natsii and Natsional'na dumka both appearing in Prague somewhat later. All of these journals published a considerable amount of memoiristic literature, as well as material on the constitutional, military and general history of the Revolution in the Ukraine. There are excellent historical journals, dealing with the history of the Ukraine in the Revolution, either entirely, or to a great extent. The periodical Za derzhavnist', publishing material of primarily military history of the Revolution, was established in 1925 in Kalisz; publication was suspended with the outbreak of the war in 1939, but was resumed in the 1960s. In all 11 volumes were published, containing hundreds of memoirs, articles and documentary collections. Another major historical journal was Litopys Chervonoi Kalyny, established in the late 1920's in Lviv, and appearing to 1939. The collection is a treasure trove for Ukrainian revolutionary history, containing among other things excellent bibliographies on the subject. Pratsi of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute appeared in Warsaw from 1930 to 1939 under the editorship of R. Smal-Stocki. Among its 48 volumes, a great many dealt with Ukrainian history; particularly valuable is the collection Spomyny, containing memoirs of the revolutionary Ukraine, and the multivolume memoirs by Lototskyi, collections of documents on the Russo-Ukrainian war of 1920 by Salskyi, and similar material on the Winter Campaign (Zymovyi Pokhid) by Dotsenko.

Memoiristic literature continued to appear in large quantities; particularly interesting were the memoirs by Halahan, Petriv, D. Doroshenko, Dudko, H. Hryshko (on events in Odessa), Sereda (on military events in Kiev), Shramchenko (on navy matters), M. Zaliznyak, Sevryuk (on Brest-Litovsk negotiations),²² and Shulhyn. In the field of general history and of monographic literature, the work of Borschak, Ivan Kryp'yakevych, and again Doroshenko should be particularly noted. Establishment of Ukrainian revolutionary historical studies in France is connected with the name of Borschak, and of course Hrushevsky. About the same time that Hrushevsky published La lutte sociale et politique en Ukraine (1917-1919), that is in 1920, Borschak published L'Armée

ukrainienne. Une histoire de trois ans. This was followed by a study of the Ukrainian peace of Brest-Litovsk, in 1929, and the study of the Ukraine at the Peace Conference, in 1935, which had appeared originally in the French periodical Le Monde Slave.23 Kryp'yakevych wrote historical articles on the Revolution in the early 1920s in Trybuna Ukrainy, a conservative journal, while in the mid-1930's he edited a fundamental history of the Ukrainian Army, and just as solid a general history of the Ukraine,24 both contributing further to the development of Ukrainian historical revolutionary studies. It should be noted that later attempted exploitation of Ivan Kryp'yakevych by Soviet authorities did not bear fruit: he failed to condemn his earlier revolutionary writings, while limiting himself to the monographic study of earlier history. Doroshenko continued research and publication on history of the Ukraine in general, and the revolutionary Ukraine in particular. His history of the Ukraine covering 1917 and 1918, referred to above, was published in this later period. A study of Ukrainian political activity in the period immediately prior to the Revolution appeared in 1936. A general history of the Ukraine containing chapters on the history of the Revolution appeared as well.25 Dotsenko's studies on the Ukrainian Revolution should be noted.

In the Ukraine under Russian occupation silence continued to reign. The slightest manifestations of Ukrainian culture were suspect; under such circumstances, Ukrainian historiography could not develop. A journal devoted to studies of history of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, and of the Bolshevik activity in the Ukraine in the Revolution, was established in late 1922, Letopis' revolytsii. It is characteristic that this journal was in Russian, as was the overwhelming majority of other items published in the early 1920s. The journal continued to appear to 1933, with some 50 thick issues being published. It contains a great many memoirs by various Bolshevik Party members dealing with their role in the events in the Ukraine, with the authorship apparently limited almost exclusively to members of the Party. It also contains a great many documents, and, in the later issues, historical articles. Marxist historiography of the Revolution had to wait until 1923 when the first scholarly study (in Marxist terms) of the Revolution appeared from the pen of Matviy Yavorskyi, Revolyutsia na Ukraini v ii holovnishykh etapakh, a pamphlet

of 80 pages. This had been preceded, a year before, by his article on some aspects of the history of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine. A study of the Ukraine in the pre-revolutionary period appeared in 1924 and 1925 in three parts, while a general Marxist interpretation of history of the Ukraine appeared in 1928. The history of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine is a well-studied subject in this period; the first serious monographic study appeared in 1923, by Ravich-Cherkasskiy, a Bolshevik Party functionary in Katerynoslav, to be followed, in particular, by a study by Popov which went through several printings. The first publication on the subject was an 18-page historical pamphlet by Kulyk.

Ukrainian historical studies received a certain limited freedom in the middle 1920s, with the first of the intermittent periods of partial relaxation. Their development was much furthered by the arrival of M. Hrushevsky, Khrystiuk and some others in the Ukraine. However, historical studies in the history of the Revolution failed to gain even that limited freedom available to other fields of history. The one important consequence was that the studies published by Khrystiuk and others, in free conditions, became available much more freely than before. This was also a necessity for the Bolshevik regime at the time, as only through acquaintance with the free Ukrainian scholarship were the Marxists able to pass beyond political generalities and into the field of true history, in the general problem of the Ukrainian Revolution. Marxist historians failed to create any serious school of Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution; their works are few and far between. They were practically nonexistent outside of the Ukraine under Russian rule (just as today, when not one Marxist Ukrainian historian is known among hundreds of historians). The Ukrainian historical Marxist school was destroyed by Soviet authorities. Many of the Marxist historians met a violent end: this is true, in particular, of Yavorskyi himself, who was exiled to the Solowky Concentration Camp and from there to parts unknown. According to S. Pidhainy, a historian who met Yavorskyi in the camp, Yavorskyi declared that the pogrom of Ukrainian historical science had begun in 1929, after the first Conference of Marxist Historians. Yavorskyi had broken with the Communist Party, declaring in 1937 openly that it had been his misfortune

to belong 'to the most miserable party in the world, the Communist Party'. The was primarily the propagandists and not historians among them who survived the persecution and returned to writing Bolshevik history of the Revolution: this is true, for instance, of Rubach, one of the older Marxist historians. Rubach was able to write before the persecution that there existed a genuine 'national front uniting Ukrainians' in the period he was discussing (December 1917 — January 1918), 'starting with Constitutional Democrats and Liberals and finishing with the genuine representatives of the national-revolutionary elements of the peasantry', which front had not been split by the Bolsheviks. Rubach writes quite differently in 1967, stating that some congresses in January and February 1918 showed that the 'overwhelming majority of people's masses supported the Soviet power, against the bourgeois nationalist Central Rada'. 29

Destruction of Ukrainian historical science in general, and of Ukrainian historians in the Ukraine under Russian occupation. was carried through in the later period by means of executions of historians, their incarceration in prisons, and exile to concentration camps, their removal from scholarly activity, and related administrative measures. The destruction is without parallel in world history. The magnitude of the tragedy is not known in its true dimensions, which itself is a terrible event: the dissappearance of history and historians, without a history. A list of two hundred and eighteen names is found in the appendix to this article: these are the better-known historians who were persecuted by the Soviet regime. The vast majority of them are dead by Soviet terrorism. The years of death of many are not known, nor are in most cases the places where they died and were buried. Their names, with few exceptions, are not recorded in any Soviet encyclopedia or directory. Their works are proscribed, such that have been published; the unpublished works are hidden, or have perished they cannot be found in any Soviet bibliography. In the cases of those historians who were not imprisoned or destroyed, the public removal from scholarly work meant, for the most part, the end of their usefulness as historians, and their total loss to historiography. Clio may weep for them as much as if they were dead.

Symonenko wrote in his critique that 'bourgeois pseudoscholars' have attempted the 'creation of their own historiography' abroad (page 85). The reason why Ukrainian historiography has to be developed abroad for the sake of the Ukraine and the world is simply that historiography in the Ukraine under Russian occupation has been virtually destroyed, while on the other hand, North American Ukrainian historiography is well-based, and the historiography of the Revolution in particular is based on the truly solid ground of serious development, the work of Hrushevsky, Khrystiuk, Doroshenko, Dolynskyi and many others.

While Ukrainian historiography, particularly that of the less politically-sensitive fields, has been showing signs of further life, in spite of the Soviet regime, particularly in the earlier 1960s, the relaxation has been quite minimal, and quite non-existent in certain fields such as that of the Revolution, always subject to a check and carefully supervised by the authorities. Thus, very recently, a talented archaeologist and historian of the early Ukraine, Braychevskyi, has been removed from his position. The accusation by Symonenko in regard to the creation of 'own historiography ' is also specious from another point of view. Ordinarily, historiography at home is enriched by historiography abroad. Studies of French history abroad, for instance, find the greatest possible encouragement by the French historians at home. The advantages of course are immense: proximity to foreignbased sources abroad, a certain detachment from particular entrenched vested interests of the historiography at home, intimate and direct knowledge of methods of study abroad, and so forth. Symonenko's disapproval is not based on scholarly grounds nor on the grounds of the welfare of historiography; rather its grounds are directly and narrowly political, connected with the assumed necessity for the Russian Soviet rule to survive in the Ukraine. In other words, the interest is that of a propagandist for a particular political regime, a position even more questionable in view of the fate of Ukrainian historiography, and of the Ukraine itself under that regime.

The main locus of activity in Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution passed to the North American continent with the outbreak of the World War II, and has remained there ever since. Ukrainian historiography of the Revolution has not existed at all in the Ukraine in the Soviet Union from the early thirties on; together with other lights, it disappeared in Western Ukraine with the establishment of the Russian regime there in 1939. Ukrainian historiography suffered greatly through the war events in Western Europe. In addition to the usual dislocations occasioned by the war, the main centres of Ukrainian historical activity in Europe, in Prague, Warsaw, and Paris were overtaken by the establishment of the Hitlerite power, a power inimical to the development of Ukrainian historical studies in general, and of Ukrainian revolutionary historical studies in particular. One of the victims of the Nazi rule was the Symon Petlura Library in Paris, extremely rich in historical sources for the Ukrainian revolution, which perished; the other great loss was that of the Ukrainian historical museum in Prague which fell into Soviet hands and whose rich historical sources on the Revolution were thus withdrawn from scholarly use. However, a recovery in the historical studies of the Revolution has taken place in Western Europe.

It is on the North American continent that we find the main collections of archival and printed material dealing with the Great East-European Revolution in the Ukraine, being built up since the war. The main collection is that of the D. Antonovych Archive Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in New York, established in the late 1940's, on the basis of the earlier work in Europe. 30 A vast collection at the Museum of pamphlets and books published in the period of World War I and the Revolution and since, those of Andriy Zhuk, Oleksandr Skoropys-Yoltukhivskyi, Nykyfor Hirnyak (on the Ukrainian Galician Army), Svyatoslav Shramchenko (on the fleet) should be noted, while the manuscript collections of Nykyfor Hryhoryiv and Volodymyr Doroshenko are also important. Outstanding are the collections of the archives of Symon Petlura and Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Important material for the history of the Revolution are the collections of periodical material, Vistnyk of the Union of Liberation of the Ukraine. Visti of the Ukrainian Central Rada, and Visti of the Ukrainian Military General Committee Boritesya-Poborete, Volya, Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk and Vistnyk, Tryzub and many others. Some important material is found in the Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland, in the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago, in the Ukrainian War-Historical Museum in Toronto, Canada, and in the Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts

and Sciences in Canada, in Winnipeg. Some worthwhile material is contained in the library of the Jewish Scientific Research Institute (YIVO) in New York. The archives containing the Ukrainian material relating to the Revolution which had survived in the Ukraine and had been kept, inaccessible to the public, in the Academy of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in Kiev, have perished for the most part, in the fire set by means of magnesium strips by an arsonist, probably with official connivance: the records of the Ukrainian Central Rada, among others, have been destroyed completely. Other archives in the Soviet Union dealing with the Revolution in the Ukraine are not accessible to research. Important collections of archival material. of periodicals, and books on the subject have been built at McGill University, Columbia University, and the University of New Brunswick.31 A particularly full lection is at Youngstown State University.32 Some important material is found at the Hoover Institute at Stanford, the Library of Congress, New York Public Library and Cleveland Public Library. Also important are the libraries of various Ukrainian societies in the United States and in Canada, and some private libraries.33

The newer studies of the history of the Ukrainian Revolution had been given a new impetus on the North American continent by the publication in Boston, in the English language, of Hrushevsky's history of the Ukraine containing material dealing with the revolution; it should be noted that the history of the Ukraine by Doroshenko had been published somewhat earlier in Edmonton, Canada.³⁴ A study by W. E. D. Allen, The Ukraine: A History appeared in 1941 in England, containing chapters dealing with the Revolution; the latter were written in a careless journalistic fashion.³⁵

The interest in Ukrainian studies culminated on the North American continent with the establishment of The Ukrainian Quarterly in 1944, whose first issue contained an article by Chubaty, "The National Revolution in Ukraine (1917-1919)" pointing out the national and democratic character of the Revolution. Problems of the Ukrainian Revolution remained an abiding interest of the journal.

The Ukrainian Quarterly was the first of a series of journals in North America and in Europe publishing material on the revolutionary history. Visnyk: Suspil'no-politychnyi misyachnyk began appearing in New York in 1947, publishing both memoirs and articles on the Revolution. Visti: Orhan viyskovopolitychnoi dumky, established in Munich shortly after, published a great deal of original material on the Revolution: its 18 annual volumes constitute the most important single source on the history of the Revolution, of the after-war period, underlining the military aspect. Two other journals published by former soldiers of the Ukrainian armies should be noted as they contain a great deal of memoiristic material: these are Visti kombatanta, appearing in New York since 1961, and Dorohovkaz: Orhan voyatskoi dumky i chynu (earlier known as the Byuleten' Soyuzu Buyshykh Ukrains'kvkh Voyakiv u Kanadi) appearing in Toronto, Canada, since the 1950s. Some material had also appeared in Novyi Litopys. appearing in Winnipeg since the early 1950s, and in Litopys Volyni where some regional Volhynian material was published.

The mid-1950s saw a resurgence in Ukrainian studies, and in Ukrainian revolutionary studies as well. A bibliographic journal entitled Biblos was established in New York, while a new journal publishing revolutionary material, among other, was established under the title Vil'na Ukraina. Vyzvol'nyi Shlyakh and Ukrainian Review were established in London; in the material on the revolution published in them the problem of the state in the Revolution appears to be the centre of attention. In Germany Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, and the publications of the Institute for the study of USSR, Ukrains'kyi zbirnyk, Ukrainian Review, and the series, returned quite often to the study of the Ukrainian Revolution.

Soviet authorities in the Ukraine had finally sanctioned the publication of a Ukrainian historical journal, which began appearing in 1957 under the title of Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal. It should be noted that the pogrom of the Ukrainian historical studies had been so extensive that not a single Ukrainian historical journal had survived past 1933 in the Ukraine under Russian occupation, while West-Ukrainian historical journals were destroyed after occupation of these territories. Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal publishes memoirs and articles dealing with the

events of the Revolution of relatively little value: the heavy hand of the party is noted in almost all the material. Even Marxist historians, such as Yavorskyi, are suspect, with their interpretations and research findings being kept out of the journal. The elementary level of studies of the Revolution of this journal is denoted by the fact that it was only very recently (in 1967) that Litopys revolvutsii was discussed as a possible source of material for historians, and even in the discussion of that source only the more acceptable names were mentioned. Of course for Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal there is no question of countenancing any use of Khrystiuk, or Doroshenko.

The 1960's are characterized by the establishment of scholarly journals paying attention to the Ukrainian history of the Revolution to a greater or lesser degree. The New Review: A Journal of East-European History was established in 1961 in Toronto; it is being edited now at Youngstown State University and McGill University. It has been publishing articles on the history of the Ukrainian Revolution, and reviews, since the earliest issues. Collections of documents dealing with the Revolution have also been published, such as those dealing with the mission of Douglas Jenkins, American consul in Kiev in early 1918, and the mission of DeWitt C. Poole, emissary to the government of the Don Army Territory. L'Est Européen: Problèmes actuels - Notes historiques, established in Paris somewhat later has been publishing materials on the Revolution. Ukrains'kyi istoryk: Zhurnal Ukrains'koho Istorychnoho Tovarystva, the latest historical journal to be established, appeared in Denver in 1964, and is now being published by the Ukrainian Historical Association, in Bowling Green; it has been paying increasing attention to Ukrainian revolutionary historical studies with the approach of the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution. This journal has published articles and reviews of recent historical literature on the Revolution, discussing in particular the studies criticised by Symonenko in his polemics; a special issue has been dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution.

Some bibliographic material has been published in the postwar period in the Free World: nothing worthy of mention has appeared in the field in the Soviet Union since 1934. Lawrynenko's bibliography, published in New York, dealing with 'Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy towards the Ukraine', contains a useful, yet limited bibliography of the Revolution.³⁷ Some general reference is found to the revolutionary material in the main Ukrainian historiographies, those by O. Ohloblyn, by D. Doroshenko and by B. Krupnytskyi.³⁸ Bibliographic works of S. Ripetskyi on the Sich Sharpshooters should be noted.

Memoiristic literature in the post-war period is not quite as rich as in the earlier one; nevertheless, important memoirs have appeared. Among these are Mazepa's, giving a great deal of information, particularly on the events of late 1919 and 1920. Kovalevsky's memoirs give information on general policy of Ukrainian governments, in particular in agrarian affairs. A former minister of the government, imprisoned by Hetman's regime, Kovalevsky paints a full and interesting picture of the events of the Revolution. Udovychenko's memoirs are strong on military matters. Memoirs of Tsehelskyi give some information on events in Western Ukraine, and on the question of re-union of the Ukraine, from the standpoint of rather narrow provincial interests of Galicia. Vasyl Ivanis supplies a very personal view of the revolutionary events in the Kuban region of the Ukraine. In biography, the person of Symon Petlura has been studied by several authors; biographies of Isaak Mazepa and some other persons have appeared.39 Little memoiristic material has been published in the period in the Soviet Union, and what has been published is of little value. The collection of memoirs edited by Aleksyevev, for instance, was to a great extent a bowdlerized edition of material published earlier in Letopis' revolytsii and elsewhere. The politically inspired rewriting was described as 'abbreviating'.40

Ukrainian historiography of the post-war period is characterized primarily by excellent original works based on primary material, whether archives, published documents, or memoirs of the previous era, developing also on the basis of the main direction of research established in the period since the Revolution.

The first post-war works of Ukrainian historiography were new editions of important works of the inter-war period. Thus, a section from the history of the Ukrainian army, edited by Krypyakevych, written by Stefaniv and pertaining to the Revolution was re-published in 1947. The history of the Ukraine edited by the same Kryp'yakevych was re-published on the North American

continent in 1948.⁴¹ An original work of Panas Fedenko, Ukraine: Her Struggle for Freedom, appeared in 1951 in Germany, while a study by Lev Shankowsky, Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times, discussing the Revolution, appeared in Edinburgh about the same time. A more popular work by Clarence Manning, Twentieth Century Ukraine, appeared in New York at the same time. These three writers, then, share the honour of beginning the newer studies of the Ukrainian Revolution. It should also be noted that the history of the Ukrainian Army edited by Ivan Kryp'yakevych (and B. Hnatevych) was re-published in Winnipeg in 1953.⁴²

In the Ukraine under the Soviet occupation, some material was published by Zahorskyi, Pavlyuk, and Suprunenko, as well as Bohodyst on Western Ukraine, but the leading person is found to be Likholat, who wrote on the defeat of the Directorium in the Ukraine. Likholat followed up his work by a book of some 600 pages, in 1954, on the 'defeat of the nationalist counter-revolution in the Ukraine',43 a book since condemned as servile in the Soviet Union, and which indeed is quite worthless. Lacking any serious documentation, the book appears to be primarily an inflated political tract. However, Likholat's works appear to have been the official interpretation of the Revolution. It is also in this period that documentary collections appeared on the events in the Kharkiv gubernia, and on the events in the Ukraine in general. in the books edited by Demkiv and Korolivskyi. The latter works by Korolivsky became the basis for his three-volume collection of documents of the events of 1917-1918 published in 1957. The methodology of selection is roughly the same: the documents have been selected with the view of demonstrating the mass base of the Soviet regime in the Ukraine, the mutual hostility between the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian government, and other political imperatives under which historical science labours in the Soviet Union today. It should be noted that the same methodology has prevailed in the Soviet Union ever since. Thus, Korolivskyi has edited a multi-volume collection of documents covering the events of the subsequent period, 1918-1920, in 1967, according to the same principles, with only a slight relaxation of political control.44 It should also be mentioned that parallel collections with the same faulty methodology had been issued in 1957 for various regions of the Ukraine, and on the history of the Bolshevik party in 1917-1918.⁴⁵ These collections, despite their number, contributed very little to knowledge of the events in the Ukraine, with most of the material being trivial, and with important documents of the Revolution often missing.⁴⁶

We find further development of the study of the Great East-European Revolution in the Ukraine, on the North American continent, in the publication of Reshetar's The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920. A Study of Nationalism, 47 in Princeton in 1952. The work contributed little that was new to our knowledge of the Revolution. No archival sources had been used, with the chief sources being Khrystiuk, Doroshenko and Mazepa. Its chief value was to introduce the subject of the Ukrainian Revolution into the general program of North American studies in East-European history. It is probably correct to state that previous to the publication of Reshetar's study the subject of the Ukrainian revolution had been considered as overly political, emotion-laden and, on the whole, somewhat unacceptable as a scholarly subject; this was due to the innate conservatism of some leading universities, their traditions of Russian studies, the relative ignorance of the Ukrainian language, and the somewhat low level of East-European historical studies in the North American universities characteristic of that time. As so often before, the impetus for progress in historical studies had not occurred under the leadership of the universities, but quite on the contrary, it had come from the general cultured public.

The work of Reshetar was followed up by many others. It should be noted that while a great deal of value has been contributed by these, there are certain exceptions. The work of Adams, for instance, contributed little to our knowledge. His study of the Bolshevik policy in the Ukraine in 1919⁴⁸ is based upon a very limited selection of sources: memoirs of Antonov-Ovseyenko and some material from Letopis' revolvutsii appear to be the chief sources of the study. Whole pages of easily accessible material are cited unnecessarily, such as the lengthy direct-wire conversations of Grigoryev. The study fails to present a coherent picture of the revolutionary Ukraine, while undue preoccupation with Vatsetis' conflicts distorts the view of the Bolshevik policy.

The period since the mid-1950s is the period of further strong development of studies of the Ukrainian Revolution both as an academic subject researched in the course of studies for scholarly degrees and as the subject for gifted historians outside the universities. Numerous writers continued writing in the field. The work of Matviy Stakhiv, Stepan Ripetskyi, Lev Shankowsky, the work of Semen Pidhainy, Yuriy Borys, Vasyl Markus, Robert Sullivant, Dmytro Dontsov, Sydir Yaroslavych, Borys Martos, Stepan Horak, Panas Fedenko, Oleh Fedyshyn, R. Yakemchuk, Lev Bykovskyi, I. Nahayewsky, Volodymyr Doroshenko, Yurchenko, M. Zaklynskyi, Theophil Hornykiewicz, Andriy Zhuk, V. Holub, V. Kedrovskyi, Petro Mirchuk, Illya Vytanovych, Arkadiy Valiyskyi, Solomon Goldelman, Yakiv Zozulya, M. Kurakh, Mykola Bytynskyi, M. Martynets, Vasyl Zadoyannyi, V. Trembitskyi, Roman Mlynovetskyi, Vasyl Prokhoda, and, hopefully, the work of this writer, and of many others, have contributed to further development of Ukrainian historiography of the Great East-European Revolution. It is not our intention to examine in detail the multitude of research, some of it still in progress today.49

On the other hand, the work on the subject proceeding in the Soviet Union since the mid-1950s is still of very little value to any historiography. In the period since the heyday of Likholat some minor changes, often reversed, have taken place in historiography. But on the whole, it still must be stated that although some worthwhile work appears to have been done in some less sensitive fields (the removal of Braychevskyi being a grave portent for the future),50 in the field of historiography of the Revolution creative, truly historical work is still largely non-existent, with few, if any, indications of change in the future. The terrible waste of human resources in the waste-land of the revolutionary historical studies, such as it is today under the weight of the Russian Soviet regime in the Ukraine, becomes particularly clear in the examination of the volumes produced for the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution.51 Beautifully manufactured volumes, such as Peremoha zhovtnevoi revolyutsii na Ukraini containing the standard phrases only little different from those penned by Likholat and such writers, are a pathetic sight. The slightest deviation from the approved lines in the interpretation of the revolutionary events is still being sharply condemned, as occurred recently in the condemnation of Suprunenko's treatment of Borotbists in his study of the military struggles in the Ukraine. The critique of Ukrainian historiography by Symonenko, an author of several works, with its propagandistic excesses, its innuendo, its tone unbecoming to a cultured person, much less a historian, is still another, though a very minor indication of the tragedy of Ukrainian historiography.

Ukrainian historiography of the Great East-European Revolution, based primarily on the work of historians in the United States of America, Canada, and Western Europe, is, however, basically healthy and flourishing. It is certain to become a true adornment of general Ukrainian historiography, continuing the work of the Kievan chroniclers and the Cossack historians, who also, admittedly, had to see some bad times.

FOOTNOTES

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- ⁴⁴ Demkin, I. (ed.), Khar'kov v Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii. Sbornik dokumentov, Kharkiv, 1947; Korolivskiy, S. M. (ed), Pobeda Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii i ustanovlenie sovetskoy vlasti na Ukraine, Kiev, 1951; Korolivskiy, S. M. (ed.), Podgotovka Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii na Ukraine, Kiev, 1955; Korolivskiy, S. M., Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya sotsialisticheskaya revolyutsiya na Ukraine, 3 vols., Kiev, 1957; Korolivskiy, S. M. (editor-in-chief), Grazhdanskaya voyna na Ukraine 1918—1920, 3 vols. in 4, Kiev, 1967.
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- 46 For similar provisional conclusions see the review by Shankowsky of Grazhdanskaya voyna na Ukraine 1918 1920, Ukrains'kyi istoryk, vol. IV (1967), 3-4 (15-16), pp. 127-30.

- 47 Reshetar, J. S., The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917—1920. A Study of Nationalism, Princeton, 1952.
- 48 Adams, A. E., Bolsheviks in the Ukraine: The Second Campaign 1918—1919, New Haven, 1963.
- ⁴⁹ R. Symonenko discusses in his critique two recent works on the Ukrainian Revolution: Pidhainy, Oleh Semenovych, The Ukrainian Republic in the Great East-European Revolution, vol. I, The Formation of the Ukrainian Republic, Toronto New York, 1966; Nahayewsky, I., History of the Modern Ukrainian State 1917—1923, Munich, 1966. These have been reviewed recently in detailed review articles by Lev Shankowsky.

The present writer's study was reviewed in the article in Ukrains'kyi Istoryk, vol. IV, no. 1-2 (13-14), published in English as Shankowsky, L., 'A Study of the Ukrainian Republic in the Great East-European Revolution', The New Review. A Journal of East-European History, vol. VII, no. 4 (29), pp. 47-54. The work by Nahayewsky was reviewed as Shankovs'kyi, L., 'Zamitky do pratsi o. I. Nahayevskoho: 'History of the Modern Ukrainian State 1917-1923'...', Ukrains'kyi istoryk, vol. IV, no. 3-4 (15-16), pp. 116-122. Among other studies on the Revolution published for the fiftieth anniversary are the following: Stakhiv, M., Ukraina v dobi Dyrektorii UNR, 7 vols., Scranton, 1962 -1966; (reviewed by Prokhoda, M., 'Uvahy do pratsi Matviya Stakhova: Ukraina v dobi Dyrektorii UNR', Ukrains'kyi Istoryk, vol. IV, no. 1-2, pp. 91-102). Ripets'kyi, S. (ed.), Za volyu Ukrainy. Istorychnyi zbirnyk U.S.S., New York, 1967; Hornykiewicz, Th. (ed.), Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914-1922, deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergruende, vol. I-II, Philadelphia, 1966; Mirchuk, P., Ukrains'ka derzhavnist 1917-1920, Philadelphia, 1967; Stakhiv, M., Ukraine and Russia. An Outline of History of Political and Military Relations (December 1917 - April 1918), New York, 1966; Ukrainians and Jews: A Symposium, New York, 1967; Zadoyannyi, V., Za Ukrainu, vol. I, New York, 1966; Zozulya, Ya. (ed.), Velyka ukrains'ka revolyutsiya. Kalendar istorychnykh podiy za lyutyi 1917 - berezen' 1918 roku, New York, 1967; Maystrenko, I., Storinky z istorii Kommunistychnoi Partii Ukrainy, New York, 1967. Some studies and collections have been been republished for the anniversary, Gol'del'man, S. I., Zhydivs'ka natsional'na avtonomiya v Ukraini 1917 — 1920 rokiv, 2nd ed., Munich, 1967; Dotsenko, O., Zymovyi pokhid (6 XII. 1919 -6. V. 1920), 2nd ed., New York, 1967; Tyutyunnyk, Yu., Zymovyi pokhid 1919-1920, 2nd ed., New York, 1966; Shakhray, V., and Mazlakh, S., Do khvyli. Shcho diyet'sya na Ukraini i z Ukrainoyu, 2nd ed., New York, 1967. It also should be noted that numerous memoirs were published or re-issued for the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution. Of particular interest are the memoirs of O. Lotots'kyi, V. Kedrovs'kyi, Yuriy Artyushenko, Osyp Stanimir, Yevhen Onats'kyi among others.

⁵⁰ A new wave of persecution, the extent of which is not completely clear, appears to have been unleashed in late 1965. A great deal of infor-

mation on it appears in the collection edited by V. Chornovil, Lykho z rozumu (Portrety dvadtsiaty 'zlochyntsiv'), Paris, Persha ukrains'ka drukarnia u Frantsii, 1967; The Chornovil Papers: the Misfortune of Intellect, Toronto-New York, McGraw-Hill, 1968. Also see the review by this writer in The New Review, Vol. VIII, No. 1-2 (30-31), pp. 80-84.

Velykoi Zhovtnevoi sotsialistychnoi revolyutsii na Ukraini, vol. I, Kiev, 1967; Rubach, M. A. (ed.), Peremoha Velykoi Zhovtnevoi sotsialistychnoi revolyutsii na Ukraini, vol. II. Vstanovlennya Radyanskoi vlady na mistsyakh, Kiev, 1967: the same study with some additional material appeared in Russian, Pobeda sovetskoy vlasti na Ukraine, 2 vols., Moscow, 1967; Korolivskiy, S. M. (ed), Grazhdanskaya voyna na Ukraine 1918—1920. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov, 3 vols. in 4, Kiev, 1967; Skaba, A. D. et al. (eds.), Ukrains'ka RSR v period hromadyans'koi viyny 1917—1920 rr. V tryokh tomach, vol. I, Kiev, 1967; Lykholat, A. V., Zdiysnennya lenins'koi natsional'noi polityky na Ukraini, Kiev, 1967; Korets'kyi, V. M. et al. (eds.), Ukrains'ka RSR na mizhnarodniy areni. Zbirnyk dokumentiv (1917—1923 rr.), Kiev, 1966, and others.

APPENDIX. A LIST OF UKRAINIAN HISTORIANS REPRESSED BY SOVIET AUTHORITIES

The names of Ukrainian historians repressed by Soviet authorities. given below, two hundred and eighteen in number, have been gathered primarily from the list in a study by Natalya Polonska-Vasylenko published in 1962: Polonska-Vasylenko, N., 'Istorychna nauka v Ukraini za Sovyets'koi doby ta dolya istorykiv', in Zbirnyk na poshanu ukrains'kykh uchenykh znyshchenykh bol'shevyts'koyu Moskvoyu, ed. by Ovcharenko, M., Paris -Chicago, 1962, (Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Shevchenka, vol. CLXXIII), pp. 7-111. The information contained in the list of the above study was supplemented by the original information contained in the studies and memoirs by Semen O. Pidhainy, published in the late forties and fifties: Pidhainy, Semen O., Ukrains'ka inteligentsiya na Solovkakh, Spohady 1933 -1941, Neu Ulm, 1947; Pidhainy Semen O., 'Solowky Concentration Camp' in Pidhainy, S. O. (ed.), Black Deeds of the Kremlin, 2 vols., Toronto-Detroit, 1953 - 1958, vol. I, pp. 20-41; Pidhainy, Semen O., 'Portraits of Solowky Exiles', in Pidhainy, S. O. (ed.), cp. cit., vol. I, pp. 326-367; Pidhainy, S. O., Nedostrilyani, 2 vols., n. p., 1949; Pidhainy, S. O., Islands of Death, Toronto, 1953.

Other valuable sources of information on the fate of the historians were the studies by Ohloblyn and by Krupnytskyi: Ohloblyn, O., 'Ukrainian Historiography 1917-1956', The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and

Sciences in the U. S., vol. V-VI, no. 4 (18) — 1, 2 (19-20), 1957, pp. 305-452; Krupnytskyi, Borys, Ukrains'ka istorychna nauka pid Sovyetamy (1920—1950), Munich, 1957. The basic source on the Ukrainian archaeologists was the study by M. Miller, one of the foremost Ukrainian archaeologists: Miller, M., 'Dolya ukrains'kykh arkheolohiv pid Sovyetamy', in Zbirnyk na poshanu ukrains'kykh uchenykh znyshchenykh bol'shevyts'koyu Moskvoyu..., pp. 112-126. The information supplied by Polonska-Vasylenko on literary historians was supplemented by the data given by Bohdan Kravtsiv: Kravtsiv, B., 'Rozhrom ukrains'koho ukrainoznavstva 1917-1937 rr.', in Zbirnyk na poshanu ukrains'kykh uchenykh znyshchenykh bol'shevyts'koyu Moskvoyu..., pp. 217-308.

Some additional information is found in the history of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences by Polonska-Vasylenko published in the 1950s: Polonska-Vasylenko, Natalya, Ukrains'ka Akademiya nauk (Narys istorii), 2 vols., Munich, 1955-1955. The history of the Academy, published recently in the Soviet Union, fails to refer to the persecution of the historians, members of the Academy, (see Akademiya nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, Istoriya Akademii nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, 2 vols., Kiev, 1967). In fact the history in question, while purporting to give biographies of members of Academy (vol. II, pp. 175-479), fails to give biographies of the following historians, members of the Academy: V. M. Ihnatovskyi, K. M. Kharlampovych, O. O. Malynovskyi, F. I. Myshchenko, M. Ye. Slabchenko, M. P. Vasylenko, M. I. Yavorskyi, S. O. Yefremov, V. O. Yurynets. These names are found in the list below.

It should be noted that Natalya Polonska-Vasylenko, the main compiler of names and information presented in this appendix, is one of the foremost living Ukrainian historians. Her published work extends over a period of almost sixty years. Olexander Ohloblyn has devoted a study to this outstanding historian: Ohloblyn, O., Natalia Dmytrivna Polonska-Vasylenko, Munich, 1965. The incomplete bibliography of her published work consists of 168 titles.

Antypovych, Kost Yerofeyevych, 1899, historian, exiled 1934.

Babenko, Volodymyr, archaeologist, discoverer of the Saltiv Culture, exiled in 1937.

Baran-Butovych, S., archaeologist, exiled.

Baranovych, Oleksa Ivanovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1934. Barvinskyi, Viktor Oleksandrovych, 1885, historian, exiled 1937.

Bazylevych, Oleksander Mytrofanovych, 1893-1942, historian, imprisoned 1923, again 1932, exiled 1935, executed by Germans on a denunciation 1942. Bezvenhlynskyi, Borys Petrovych, 1893, archaeologist, exiled.

Bilyi, Volodymyr Vasylyovych, 1894, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Boltenko, Kost, archaeologist, exiled.

Boltenko, Mykhaylo Fedorovych, 1888, archaeologist, exiled 1933, released after a term of 5 years.

Borysenok, Stepan Hnatovych, 1891, legal historian, exiled 1937.

Bovanenko, Dmytro Yevmenovych, 1900, historian, exiled 1938.

Briling, archaeologist, exiled.

Brodskyi, Davyd Petrovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Buda, Serhiy Oleks., 1866-1942, literary historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Buzhynskyi, Mykhaylo Mykh., historian, removed from scholarly work 1933. Buzhynskyi, O., literary historian, exiled.

Chechot, Oleksander Modestovych, historian of the common law, imprisoned, died in prison 1934.

Cherkaskyi, Irynarkh Yuvenaliyovych, legal historian imprisoned 1934, imprisoned again 1941, died 1941.

Chirvak, Korniy, director of the Museum of Slobidska Ukraine, exiled 1934.

Danylov, Volodymyr Valeriyanovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1934.

Dem'yanchuk, Vasyl Klymovych, orientalist, exiled 1933.

Denysenko, Vasyl Semenovych, ethnographer, exiled 1937.

Dmytrov, L. D., archaeologist, exiled 1933.

Dobrov, Oleksander Solomonovych, 1901, legal historian, exiled 1934.

Dobrovolskyi, Arkadiy, achaeologist, removed from scholarly activity 1934.

Drob'yazko, A. L., historian of the common law, exiled 1933.

Dronnykov, Volodymyr Klavdiyovych, historian of the common law, exiled 1931.

Dubrovskyi, Vasyl Vasylyovych, 1897, historian, exiled 1934, released after a term of 5 years.

Ernst, Teodor Lvovych, 1891, art historian, inspector of monuments of the Kiev oblast, exiled 1933, released 1937.

Fedorenko, Pavlo Kostyantynovych, historian, exiled 1937.

Fride, Mariya, archaeologist, exiled.

Halant, Illya Volodymyrovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933. Hantsov, V., historian, imprisoned 1933.

Havrylenko, Teodor Matviyovych, historian, exiled 1937.

Herasymenko, V., literary historian, exiled in mid-1930s, released.

Hermayze, Osyp Yur., 1892, historian, imprisoned 1929, exiled to the Solovky concentration camp 1930.

Hilyarov, Serhiy Oleks., 1887, art historian, imprisoned 1934.

Hlushko, Sylvestr Vasylyovych, 1896 - 1938, historian, exiled 1934, killed 1938.

Hlyadkivskyi, Pavlo Semenovych, historian, exiled 1934.

Hnip, Mykhaylo, historian, exiled 1934.

Hoban, Mykola Vasylyovych, 1899, historian, exiled 1933, released, returned to scholarly work as a historian of Kazakhstan.

Hrakhovetskyi, Dmytro Denysovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1932.

Hrekov, Vasyl Oleks., 1884, historian, executed in mid-1930s.

Hrinchenko, Volodymyr, archaeologist, discoverer of the Kichkas Treasury, exiled 1937, released after the war.

Hrunin, T., orientalist, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Hrushevska, Kateryna Mykhaylivna, 1900-1953, social historian, exiled 1937.

Hrushevska, Olha, 1877, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Hrushevsky, Mykhaylo Serhiyovych, 1866-1934, historian, member of Academy, exiled from the Ukraine 1931.

Hrushevskyi, Oleksander Serhiyovych, 1877, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933, exiled 1937.

Hryshchenko, M., historian, exiled 1934.

Hryshko, Vasyl Todosyovych, 1897, legal historian, removed from scholarly work 1934.

Hurevych, literary historian, repressed 1933.

Ihnatovskyi, Vsevolod Mykhaylovych, member of the Academy, president of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, historian, suicide previous to expected imprisonment 1931.

Ivantsov, Ivan, archaeologist, arrested 1939, killed by the Germans 1942.

Ivanytskyi, Vasyl Fedorovych, 1881, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Ivanytskyi-Vasylenko, Serh. Mykhaylovych, 1884, legal historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Kaminskyi, T., archaeologist, head of the Olbia archaeological foundation, exiled.

Kaminskyi, Vasyl Mykhaylovych, historian, exiled 1934.

Kaminskyi, Vyacheslav Arsenyovych, 1869-1934, ethnographer, imprisoned 1934, died in prison.

Kamyshan, Oleksander Mykol., historian, imprisoned 1934.

Karachkivskyi, Mykhaylo Fedorovych, 1899-1950, historian, removed from scholarly work 1932.

Kasymenko, O., historian, exiled 1934, released, allowed to resume scholarly activity.

Kezma, Taufik Havrylovych, 1882-1958, orientalist, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Kharlampovych, Kost Mykhaylovych, 1870-1932, member of the Academy, church historian, removed from scholarly work 1928.

Khodak Yakym, historian, removed from scholarly activity 1934, prohibited from work in humanities.

Kiraniv, Todos, archaeologist, suicide previous to expected imprisonment.

Klymenko, Pylyp Vasylyovych, 1880, historian, exiled 1936.

Kochubiy, archaeologist, exiled.

Kolessa, Filaret Mykhaylovych, 1871-1947, member of the Academy, ethnographer, dismissed from the Academy 1934, reinstated 1939.

Koperzhynskyi, Yevhen Oleks., ethnographer, literary historian, exiled 1934, released, has not published in the Ukraine since.

Korduba, Myron, historian, persecuted by Soviet authorities after the war.

Kordysh, Neonila Leontivna, 1902, archaeologist, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Kornylovych, Mykhaylo Ivanovych, 1870, historian, exiled 1937.

Korshak, Kyrylo, archaeologist, exiled 1937.

Korshak, Petro, archaeologist, exiled 1934.

Kostashchuk, Vasyl Mok., historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Kotsyubinska, Nina A., art historian, exiled.

Kovalenko, archaeologist, exiled.

Kovalivskyi, A., historian, orientalist, imprisoned in mid-1930s, released 1938, has not published in Ukrainian since.

Kozachenko, Anton Ivanovych, historian, exiled 1937.

Kozar, Pavlo Antonovych, archaeologist, imprisoned several times after 1930, exiled from the Ukraine.

Kozlovska, Valeria Yevhenivna, 1886-1956, archaeologist, removed from scholarly work 1933, left scholarly pursuits altogether.

Kozorys, ethnographer, exiled 1935.

Kozub, S., literary historian, exiled 1934.

Kozubovskyi, Fedir Andriyovych, archaeologist, imprisoned 1938, became insane, executed by the Germans with other insane in 1942.

Kravchenko, Vasyl Heorhiyevych, historian of the common law, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Kravtsov, Dmytro Ye., historian, removed from scholarly work 1932.

Krister, Arnold Edmundovych, historian of the common law, exiled 1937.

Krokos V., archaeologist, imprisoned 1936, committed suicide in prison.

Krymskyi, Ahatanhel Yukhymovych, 1871-1942, member of the Academy, Permanent Secretary of the Academy, historian, orientalist, deported 1941.

Krysin, Yuriy, archaeologist, imprisoned 1933.

Kryzhanivskyi, Borys, archaeologist, exiled.

Kurinnyi, Petro Petrovych, 1894, archaeologist, investigator of the Tripillian Culture, imprisoned 1933.

Kurts, Borys Hryhorovych, 1890, exiled 1937.

Kushnirchuk, Kindrat Ivanovych, historian, exiled 1933.

Kuzmin, Yevhen Mykhaylovych, 1871, art historian, exiled 1934.

Kvitka, Klyment Vasylyovych, 1880, ethnographer, exiled 1937.

Kysil, Oleksander Oleks., 1889, ethnographer, exiled in the 1930s.

Kyyanytsya, P. A., historian, executed 1933.

Lazarevska, Kateryna Oleks., historian, removed from scholarly work 1933. Leshchenko, A., archaeologist, exiled 1933. Levchenko, Mykola Zakharovych, 1900-1934, historian, ethnographer, exiled 1933, committed suicide.

Levytskyi, Vasyl, historian, exiled, at the Solovky concentration camp 1935. Liberberg, Yosyp Izrailovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1935, imprisoned 1937.

Loziyev, Pavlo Nechyporovych, orientalist, exiled 1933.

Lozovyk, Hryhoriy Naumovych, orientalist, exiled 1935.

Lyubkin, S. N., historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Lyubynskyi, Mykola, historian, exiled.

Mahura, Sylvestr Sylvestrovych, archaeologist, exiled 1933.

Makarenko, Mykola Omelyanovych, archaeologist, exiled 1935.

Makovskyi, Fedir, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Malecha, N., archaeologist, exiled 1934.

Malynovskyi, Onykiy Oleks., 1868-1935, member of the Academy, legal historian, imprisoned 1920, removed from scholarly work later.

Mamontiv, Ya., literary historian, repressed.

Manzyuk, Ivan Danylovych, historian, exiled 1933.

Marchenko, Mykhaylo Ivanovych, historian, imprisoned 1941, released, allowed to return to scholarly work.

Markovskyi, Yevhen M., 1893, literary historian, imprisoned 1932.

Martens, Henrikh, archaeologist, executed.

Melisavlevych, numismatist of the Odessa Museum, imprisoned, died in prison.

Melnyk-Antonovych, Kateryna Mykolaivna, 1867-1942, archaeologist, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Mirza-Avak'yants, Natalya Yustynivna, 1889, historian, exiled 1938.

Miyakovskyi, Volodymyr Varlamovych, 1888, literary historian, exiled 1930.

Mohylyanskyi, Mykhaylo Mykhaylovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Molchanivskyi, Feodosiy Mykhaylovych, archaeologist, exiled 1934.

Moshchenko, Kost Vasylyovych, 1876, art historian, exiled 1933, returned 1938.

Muzychka, A., literary historian, exiled.

Myshchenko, Fedir Ivanovych, 1874, member of the Academy, Byzantologist, church historian, removed from scholarly work 1928.

Narushevych, historian, exiled 1930 to the Solovky concentration camp, sent to another camp 1937.

Nazarets, Oleksa Ivanovych, historian, exiled 1935.

Nechyporenko, Prokip Ivanovych, historian, exiled 1935.

Nosov, Anatoliy Zynoviyovych, 1883, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Novytskyi, M., literary historian, exiled 1933, released 1956.

Novytskyi, Viktor Izmaylovych, 1884, legal historian, exiled 1933, exiled again 1938.

Ohloblyn, Olexander Petrovych, 1899, historian, imprisoned 1930, released, removed from scholarly work, returned to scholarly activity.

Okinshevych, Lev Oleksandrovych, 1898, legal historian, removed from scholarly work 1934.

Onyshchuk, Antin Ivanovych, 1885, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Otamanovskyi, Valentyn Dmytrovych, 1893, legal historian, exiled 1930.

Parkhomenko, Volodymyr Oleks., historian, ordered to leave the Ukraine 1929.

Perets, V. M., 1870-1935, member of the Academy, literary historian, exiled 1934.

Petrovskyi, Mykola Neonovych, 1894-1951, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Petrun, Fedir Ostapovych, historian, exiled 1934.

Pidhainy, Semen Oleksandrovych, 1907-1965, historian, exiled 1933, released after a term of 8 years.

Plevako, Mykola P., literary historian, exiled, killed.

Plevako, Oleksander Antonovych, historian, economist, exiled 1938.

Polonska-Vasylenko, Natalya Dmytrivna, 1884, historian, removed from scholarly work 1934.

Popov, Pavlo Mykolayevych, ethnographer, literary historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Pototskyi, Pavlo Platonovych, museum curator, imprisoned 1930, died in prison.

Pylypenko, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Revutskyi, Dmytro Mykolayevych, ethnographer, imprisoned 1937.

Romanovskyi, Victor Oleks., 1893, historian, exiled 1934, released in 1950s, returned to scholarly activity.

Rubach, Mykhaylo, historian, exiled 1937, released, returned to scholarly activity.

Rudynska, Yevheniya Yakovivna, historian, exiled 1934.

Rudynskyi, Mykhaylo Yakovovych, archaeologist, exiled 1934, released after the war, died 1957.

Rulin, Petro Ivanovych, historian, exiled 1937.

Ryabinin-Sklyarevskyi, Oleksander Oleks., historian, exiled 1934.

Rybynskyi, Basyl Petrovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933. Sadovyi, archaeologist, arrested 1933, died in prison.

Savchenko, Fedir Yakovovych, 1892, historian, exiled 1934.

Savchenko-Sakun, Yevhen V., historian of the common law, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Shamray, Ahapiy, literary historian, exiled mid-1930s, released.

Shamray, Hanna Serhiyovna, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Shamray, Serhiy Viktorovych, 1900-1938, historian, exiled 1932, exiled again 1938, died in exile.

Shchepotyev, V. O., literary historian, ordered to leave the Ukraine 1928, imprisoned 1930.

Shcherbakivskyi, Danylo Mykhaylovych, 1887-1927, ethnographer, suicide in the course of official persecution.

Shchurat, Vasyl Hryhorovych, 1871-1948, member of the Academy, literary historian, dismissed from the Academy 1934, reinstated 1939.

Shevchenko, Lyudmyla Prokopivna, ethnographer, removed from scholarly activity 1933.

Shmit, Fedir Ivanovych, member of the Academy, head of the Archaeological Commission of the Academy, imprisoned, sent to Alma-Ata.

Shtepa, Kost Todosyovych, 1896-1958, historian, imprisoned 1938.

Shteynvand, numismatist, arrested 1934, released after 1939.

Shulhyna, Lidiya Savyshna, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Shuran, Pavlo, historian, exiled 1934.

Skarbek, historian, imprisoned 1933.

Slabchenko, Mykhaylo Yelys., 1882, member of the Academy, historian, imprisoned 1929, at a concentration camp on Kola Peninsula to 1941.

Slabchenko, Taras Mykhaylovych, historian, exiled 1930.

Smolych, Petro, archaeologist, fled during the wave of arrests in his museum (Dniprelstan Museum) and disappeared.

Smolynska, Yevheniya Serhiyevna, historian, exiled 1934.

Smyrnov, Pavlo Petrovych, 1882, historian, imprisoned 1923.

Sosenko, Petro Ksenofontovych, legal historian, exiled 1934.

Spaskyi, Yuriy Yuriyovych, archaeologist, exiled 1937, released after the war. Starytska-Chernyakhivska, Lyudmyla Mykhaylivna, historian, literary historian, imprisoned 1929, released, executed 1941.

Stashevskyi, Yevhen Dmytrovych, 1888-1938, historian, imprisoned 1938, died in prison.

Stepanov, Ivan Symonovych, historian, imprisoned 1934.

Stepanyshyna, Oksana Mykhaylivna, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Studynskyi, Kyrylo Osypovych, 1868-1941, member of the Academy, literary historian, deported 1941, died in the deportation.

Symashkevych, Mykola Savylyovych, historian, executed 1920.

Synhalevych, Fedir Mykolayevych, ethnographer, executed 1941.

Taranushchenko, S. A., art historian, director of a museum of art, exiled 1934. Tarasenko, M. O., literary historian, exiled 1934.

Teslya, T., archaeologist, imprisoned 1933.

Tkachenko, Mykola Mykhaylovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1933, allowed to return to scholarly activity.

Tovstolis, Mykola Mykolayevych, historian of the common law, exiled 1934. Tratsevskyi, Mykola Mykhaylovych, historian of the common law, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Tyshchenko, Mykola Fedorovych, historian, imprisoned 1937.

Vasylenko, Mykola Prokopovych, 1889-1933, member of the Academy, historian, legal historian, imprisoned 1924.

Vaynshteyn, V. P. [Weinstein, V. P.] historian, removed from scholarly work 1933.

Vodolashchenko, Olha, historian, exiled 1937.

Voloshyn, Kost Vasylyovych, ethnographer, exiled 1937.

Voznyak, Mykhaylo Osypovych, 1831-1954, member of the Academy, literary historian, dismissed from the Academy 1934, reinstated 1939.

Vrona, Ivan Ivanovych, art historian, exiled 1937.

Yakymovych, Serhiy Tymofiyovych, ethnographer, exiled 1937.

Yaroshevych, Andriy Ivanovych, historian, executed 1941.

Yasynskyi, M., historian, removed from scholarly work 1934.

Yavornytskyi, Dmytro Ivanovych, 1855-1940, member of the Academy, founder and director of the archaeological museum in Dnipropetrovsk, removed from the museum 1934.

Yavorskyi, Matviy Ivanovych, 1385, member of the Academy, historian, exiled 1931, at the Solovky concentration camp to 1937, moved to Ukhta-Pechora camps.

Yefremov, S. O., member of the Academy, literary historian, imprisoned 1930, exiled.

Yevfymovskyi, Volodymyr Stepanovych, historian, removed from scholarly work 1931.

Yezerskyi, Yevhen Mykhaylovych, 1885-1942, historian of the common law, removed from scholarly work 1933, imprisoned 1938.

Yurkevych, Viktor Dmytrovych, 1893, historian, exiled 1937.

Yurynets, Volodymyr Oleksandrovych, 1891, member of the Academy, legal historian, imprisoned 1933.

Zaborovskyi, archaeologist, exiled.

Zahlada, Nina Borysivna, ethnographer, exiled 1937.

Zahorovskyi, Yevhen Oleksandrovych, historian, exiled 1934.

Zakharevych-Zakharevskyi, Mykola, numismatist, killed in early 1930s by NKVD.

Zaklynskyi, Rostyslav Romanov., museum curator, exiled 1933.

Zerov, M., literary historian, imprisoned 1935, exiled to the Solovky concentration camp, moved to another camp 1937, died in camp 1941.

Zhukovska, Mariya Arkadiyivna, ethnographer, exiled 1934.

Zummer, Vsevolod Mykhaylovych, art historian, exiled 1934.

