THE UKRAINIANS

An Outline History

by

Orysia Prokopiw, B.Ed., B.A.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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PREFACE

In the course of their high school studies, our Ukrainian-Canadian youth is time and again faced with an erroneous or biased interpretation of the history of Ukraine, the country of their forefathers, or of the role that their parents or grandparents have played in shaping their new Canadian homeland. This usually presents a difficult problem. By themselves, these young people might lack the knowledge of their historical background. At home, their parents might have some Ukrainian sources on the subject or subjects in question, but to consult them requires a degree of knowledge of Ukrainian that is usually beyond that of our Canadian youth. It is still not common to find English sources on Ukraine in our homes, and even the information on the existence of objective English sources cannot be easily ascertained either at the public or local Ukrainian libraries.

To remedy this situation, Calgary's Ukrainian Centennial Committee has commissioned Mrs. Prokopiw to write a book that will provide our youth with answers to these questions. Her book, with its concise presentation, lucid division of the material, and a wealth of authoritative sources in English, is very well suited to assist our youth in its needs.

ALEXANDER MALYCKY

It is indifferent to me, if I
Live in Ukraine or live there not at all,

.   .   .   .

But while I live I cannot bear to see
A wicked people come with crafty threat,
To lull Ukraine yet strip her ruthlessly
And waken her amid the flames they set - -
Sure, no indifference in me these wrongs beget!

Taras Shevchenko (1814 - 1861)

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ANCIENT HISTORY OF UKRAINE

The Invasions

The territory which is now Ukraine was inhabited from the Paleolithic (Old Stone) Age. A Neolithic (New Stone) culture evolved in the river valleys of central and western Ukraine as early as 4000 B.C. The Neolithic people were land-tillers and were engaged in struggles against nomadic invaders.

The first known invaders came to south-eastern Ukraine about 1000 B.C. and established a state which existed for three centuries. These were the Cimmerians, a people of the Indo-European language group. In the sixth century B.C., the Cimmerians were invaded by the Scythians who ruled for five centuries and these, in turn, were conquered by the Sarmatians who ruled for four centuries. Both the Scythians and the Sarmatians came from Central Asia and spoke the Iranian language of the Indo-European language group. These people established a military state and maintained favorable economic, cultural, and political relations with the Greeks who, in the sixth century B.C., had established colonies on the northern shore of the Black Sea.

In A.D. 200 the area was invaded by the Goths who established a state that existed for about four centuries. A wave of Asiatic invasions followed. The Huns maintained a state from 370 to 588; the Avars from 588 to 650; and the Khazars from 650 to 740. These belonged to the Altaic family of languages. The Khazars were outstanding in commercial development, in town building, and in serving as a bulwark against the spread of Islam into Europe.

The Early History of the Slavs

The Vistula river valley and northern Carpathian slopes were the common homeland of the Slavs until the sixth century A.D. when they divided into West and East groups.

During the epoch of the Asiatic invasions, the East Slavs (Antes) developed a state which existed from about A.D. 400 to A.D. 700. With the subsiding of the invasions they were free to advance without interference; and by the ninth century their society, culture, economy and commerce were well developed. Numerous towns emerged and Kiev, the town of the *Poliany* tribe, was growing in social, economic and political importance.

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By the eleventh century three distinct ethnic groups became discernible - - Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian. The Ukrainians descended from the *Poliany, Severiany, Derevliany, Bili Khorvaty* and *Ulychi* tribes and occupied central and western Ukraine. From the neighboring northern and northeastern tribes evolved the Belorussians and Russians.

ARAB COINS OF THE NINTH CENTURY AND BYZANTINE COINS OF THE TENTH CENTURY
FOUND IN UKRAINE

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Kievan Rus'*

In the ninth century groups of Scandinavian warriors and traders appeared in Kiev. Whether they came to invade or they were invited is not known, but their numbers were small and they soon were ethnically absorbed by the Slavs. A Scandinavian dynasty was established beginning with Prince Oleh in 882. Government and administration contained monarchal, aristocratic and democratic elements. The prince was ruler and military leader, the aristocracy advised the prince and a democratic city council influenced him in his decisions.

The century that followed was marked by military campaigns and established Kiev as the political centre of a vast Kievan Rus' Empire, a state which politically united the East Slavic tribes. During this century, too, the princes established relations with Byzantium, the center of culture, religion and trade.

Kievan Rus' reached its zenith under Prince Volodymyr the Great (980-1015)** who introduced Christianity from Byzantium in 988 and under Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054)** who continued religious expansion; fostered education, architecture and art; and established Kievan law and close relations with the West. Kievan civilization flourished as trade with Byzantium, the Balkans, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia and the Moslem peoples brought economic prosperity and urban development. Within mushrooming towns, Byzantine administration, art, architecture, thought and learning prevailed. A German chronicler, Adam of Bremen, wrote that Kiev was "able to compete with the throne of Constantinople and glorious Greece".[1]

Decline and Fall of Kievan Rus'

The gradual decline of Kievan Rus' is attributed to various causes. First, it was due to the vastness of the empire and the loose nature of the state. The empire extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea and from the Carpathian Mountains to the Oka River. Maintaining a centralized state proved very difficult and decentralization was ineffective in alleviating the problems. When the Kievan empire was divided into a confederation of

* pronounced Roos'. (s') indicates palatalized 's'.
** these are the ruling dates.

separate principalities, these principalities promoted their own interests, disregarding the whole. Each principality developed according to its own natural economy. The western and central tribes developed agriculture while the northern tribes maintained a forest economy based on hunting, fishing and trade. Ethnic, linguistic and socio-political differences emerged.

Constant nomadic raids impoverished the economy of the empire. Nomads from the East severed trade routes, plundered cities and agricultural lands, and abducted people for slaves. Economic decline was accelerated by a change in international trade routes after the Crusades and after the reopening of the Mediterranean to western trade.

Social conflict and princely feuds also brought the downfall of the empire. The crucial point of princely antagonisms occurred in 1169 when Kiev was sacked by the prince of Suzdal. (Suzdal was the northeastern principality which became the political centre of the Russian (Muscovite) people.) This plunder of Kiev a-roused the national feelings of the dynasty of Ukraine and marked the distinct separation of Kiev from its northern neighbors.

The collapse of the Kievan empire came with the Mongol (Tatar) invasion in 1240. The Tatars attacked Ukraine, Poland and Hungary. After they were checked by German, Polish and Bohemian armies, they established themselves on the Volga River and became overlords of the Russian (Muscovite) people. In Muscovy the "Tatar Yoke" lasted for 250 years, keeping this country in complete isolation from Europe and "led to stagnation and even regression" of the Muscovite state.[2]

The New State: Galicia (Halychyna) - Volhynia

Galicia-Volhynia, a western principality on the Dniester River, had risen to importance during the decline of Kiev. Its rulers had participated in Kievan affairs and had aided Kiev against the nomads.

After the Mongol invasion, the political centre was transferred from Kiev to Galicia-Volhynia, and from this centre attempts were made to centralize the Ukrainian part of the Kievan Rus' empire. With western allies, the state held out against Poland and Hungary. It promoted the development of Ukrainian culture and repopulated areas devastated by the nomads. Trade continued with Greece, Poland, Germany, Hungary and the Balkans. Foreign merchants and artisans were invited to settle; consequently, cities emerged in which Byzantine, Roman and Gothic architecture

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was emulated. German settlers received privileges of municipal self-government patterned on the German model, and this type of government was later introduced into Ukrainian towns.

Menaced by Tatars in the east, the Poles in the west, Hungarians in the south, and Lithuanians in the north, the Ukrainian state, by the end of the fourteenth century, could no longer maintain its independence. Poland conquered the west and Lithuania conquered the east.
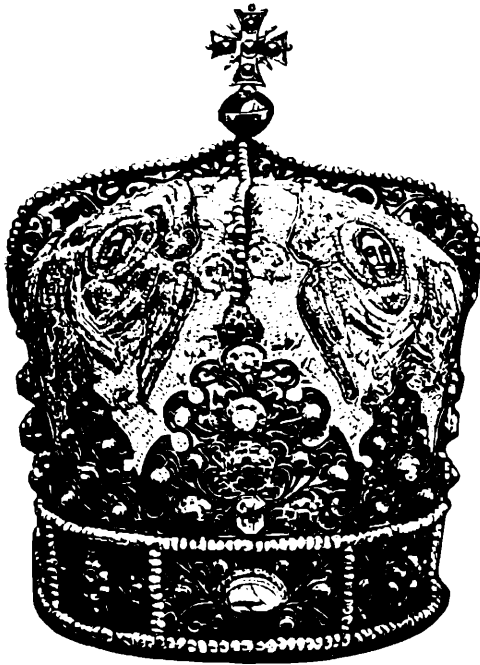
MITRE OF THE BISHOP OF PERE-
MYSHL, ACCORDING TO TRADITION FASHIONED
FROM THE CROWN OF KING DANIEL

DAWN OF THE MODERN AGE

Ukraine Under Lithuanian Princes

The Lithuanian dynasty brought all the Belorussian and the eastern Ukrainian lands under its sway at the end of the fourteenth century. Their suzerainty was peacefully accepted because the Lithuanian princes provided necessary protection against the Tatars.

The Lithuanians had no fully developed state machinery to superimpose; therefore they did not interfere with the existing order. Former administrators retained their positions. Belo-russians and Ukrainians entered the princes' service and armies, and were granted municipal self-government.

Lithuanians formed only one-tenth of the population of their state; thus, the culture of their subjects asserted itself. The princes adopted their subjects' military, administrative, financial and judicial systems and their religious faith. The Ukrainian language, with some elements of Belorussian, became the court language.

The subjects of the Lithuanian dynasty enjoyed two centuries of national development; but, Lithuania, weakened by wars with Muscovy and unable to provide a defence against the Crimean Tatars*, was forced to unite with Poland by the Union of Lublin, 1569. From this date, Poland began its domination over Ukraine.

The Formation of the Kozaks

After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453), Ukraine was threatened by the Turks. At the end of the fifteenth century Kozaks appeared as small defence units against the Tatars and Turks and as armed bands hunting, fishing and collecting honey in the wild steppes. About 1550, the Kozaks, under the leadership of Vyshnyvetsky (Bayda), built a permanent fortress on the island below the Dnieper rapids. This, the Zaporozhian Sich, became the political centre of the Zaporozhian Kozaks.

The Kozaks were organized on the basis of equality. The Hetman (commander-in-chief) was elected by the Kozaks in a general assembly (*Rada*). He had the power of life and death in military expeditions. Regimental divisions were controlled by

* Tatars who settled in Crimea after the withdrawal of the Golden Horde from Russia.

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polkovnyky (colonels); *sotnyky* and *otamany* commanded smaller groups. There were *osavuly* (messengers) and a *pysar* (secretary).

Foot, horse, and naval regiments constituted the Kozak army. In naval expeditions speedy little boats - - *chayky* (seagulls) - - successfully attacked Turkish fleets on the Black Sea and Turkish coastal towns. Kozak weapons included swords, sabres, spears, bows and arrows, *topir* (a type of axe), muskets and cannons. Fully established, the Zaporozhians took the offensive against the Turks and Tatars.

Polish Oppression and the Rise of the Kozaks

After the Union of Lublin (1569) and the subsequent Polish exploitation of Ukraine and its people, the Kozak numbers grew very rapidly. Men chose to join the Kozak ranks to escape Polonization and serfdom, and to avenge their lost freedom and oppression. The Kozaks began to force the Polish landlords in Ukraine to recognize Kozak authority. Soon Poland led a punitive war against the Kozaks and forced them to meet Polish terms. When Poland was involved in wars, however, she called on Kozak aid. To regain some concessions from the Polish Crown, the Kozaks aided Poland in Moldavian, Livonian, Turkish and Muscovite wars. The Kozaks also continued their naval raids and freed Christian captives from Turkish slave camps on the Black Sea coast.
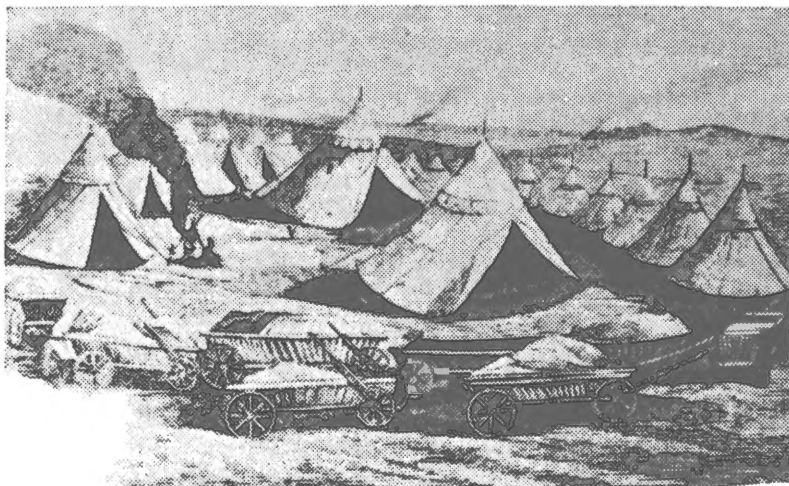
CAMP OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN KOZAKS

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THE KOZAK-HETMAN STATE

Independence

Poland continued to launch surprise attacks on the Kozaks. Polish rule in Ukraine became more oppressive. National, socio-economic, and religious conditions became worse. As a result, several revolts against the Poles were staged in Ukraine. Victory was finally achieved by the great Kozak uprising of 1648, led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. An independent Ukrainian Kozak-Hetman State was established.

Although Ukraine's independence was confirmed by Poland, in practice it was not accepted, and wars continued. Khmelnytsky's army weakened and his only ally, the Crimean Khan, was unreliable, betraying Ukrainian interests in favor of the Poles, ruining Ukrainian lands and abducting people. Khmelnytsky needed a major ally and the *Rada* chose to ally with the Muscovite Tsar "who belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Faith".[3] The tsar and his council agreed to an alliance "out of respect for the same faith" and "because of Muscovy's danger from Poland, Lithuania, the Turks and the Tatars."[4] The military alliance was signed in Pereyaslav in 1654.

Muscovy (Russia) Violates the Pereyaslav Agreement

The Ukrainian-Muscovite alliance went through its test immediately in the Polish-Ukrainian War, 1654-56. The first year of the war was disastrous. Many lives were lost (Ukrainian and Muscovite) and Ukrainian land was devastated. Another ally was necessary, therefore, Khmelnytsky turned to Sweden. Ukraine, Muscovy and Sweden joined against Poland, but the Muscovite contingent, in capturing Ukrainian cities from Poland, insisted that these cities take an oath of allegiance to Muscovy. Thus, while the Pereyaslav Agreement was a military alliance from the Ukrainian standpoint, the Muscovites had interpreted it as Ukrainian vassalage.

Another violation followed in 1656 when Muscovy entered negotiations with Poland in regard to a war against Sweden. (But the Pereyaslav Agreement had been signed against Poland, and Sweden was Ukraine's ally.) Furthermore, Ukrainian delegates were not allowed to participate in these negotiations.

Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitzky entering the capital of Ukraine-Kyiv in triumph in 1649

Most serious were the events which followed Khmelnytsky's death (1657). To establish Muscovite dominion over Ukraine, the Muscovites presented a falsified Pereyaslav Agreement to the new Ukrainian Hetman in 1659.

The falsification of the Pereyaslav Agreement has led to intensive scholarly research. The majority of scholars (Russian and Ukrainian) do agree that the original articles of Pereyaslav were falsified to restrict the rights and liberties of the Kozaks. A detailed study by Professor Yakovliv has proven this beyond any doubt.[5] W. E. D. Allen agrees with the Ukrainian historian Hrushevsky, and in part with the Russian historian Myakotin that "an examination of the different clauses . . . does not convey the impression that the Ukraine was then conceived by the representatives of the Ukraine as a 'vassal' but independent country".[6]

The Ruin

Muscovy became a major threat to Ukraine. Sweden, weakened by her own affairs, concluded peace with Muscovy and Poland. Again Ukraine had no ally. The new Hetman, Ivan Vyhovsky, entered peace negotiations with Poland which resulted in the Union of Hadiach, 1658, forming a federation of autonomous states - - Ukraine, Lithuania and Poland.

Muscovy declared war on Ukraine but was defeated by the Kozaks near Konotop. In 1667, however, after a Muscovite-Polish war and the subsequent Treaty of Andrusiv, Poland and Muscovy divided Ukraine at the Dnieper. Ukraine, west of the Dnieper, went under Polish rule; and Ukraine, east of the Dnieper, went under Muscovite rule.

Ukraine entered that period of history known as "the Ruin", for it was divided not only territorially but, also, in allegiance. Revolts raged against Poles, Muscovites, and against the Ukrainian hetmans for bringing about that state of affairs. There was social conflict and Kozak dissensions. The constant warfare that coincided with the Turk and Tatar raids exhausted Ukrainian lands and decimated the population.

The Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709)

The period of the Kozak-Hetman state is one of the most important periods in Ukrainian history. The Kozaks not only provided the professional military structure of Ukraine; they also

contributed much to the preservation of the spirit of independence, to the maintenance of Ukraine as an independent economic entity, and to cultural development. Ukrainian cultural influences travelled beyond Ukraine, they spread throughout the Russian Empire and to the Danubian and Balkan countries. During the hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa, an unparalleled degree of cultural development occurred. Hetman Mazepa built churches and schools, restored medieval temples, and contributed to the development of the Kievan Academy (University) and to the development of many industries.

Against the most trying background of "the Ruin", Hetman Mazepa held the autonomy of eastern Ukraine until 1709. For twenty years he held a pro-Muscovite and anti-Polish policy aiding Muscovy in wars against the Turks, Crimea, and against Sweden in the Great Northern War. The Tsar's policies were detrimental to Ukrainian interests, however, and the wars laid heavy burdens on Ukraine and on its population. Consequently, Mazepa allied with Sweden against Peter I of Muscovy. The forces clashed at Poltava in 1709 where Peter I defeated the united armies of Charles XII of Sweden and Mazepa.

CHURCHES BUILT BY MAZEPA, FROM AN ENGRAVING OF I. MIHURA, 1706

Aftermath of Poltava

After the Battle of Poltava, Tsar Peter I took his revenge on Mazepa's capital, Baturyn. Some 18,000 inhabitants were killed and the city was burned.[7] Hetman Mazepa, with Charles XII, escaped to Turkish territory.

The powers of the Ukrainian hetmans were curtailed and many of the Kozaks became forced laborers on the construction of St. Petersburg, and of various canals and fortifications. Thousands perished. In evaluating the reign of Peter "the Great" of Russia, historians acknowledge that although he built a vast empire,

intolerance, violence and compulsion became the distinguishing traits of the new regime, and St. Petersburg - - built . . . at a cost of lives far exceeding that of Poltava - - became its fitting symbol.[8]

THE CHANGE OF TERRITORIAL NAMES

Historical Confusion

Until the Battle of Poltava, "Muscovy" was the title of the political centre of the Russian or Muscovite people. After acquiring Eastern Ukraine, Peter I changed his title from "Tsar of Muscovy" to "Emperor of Rus'" (Rus' originates from Kievan - Rus') and from "Emperor of Rus'" to "Emperor of Russia". Muscovy became "Great Russia" and the name Ukraine was replaced with "Little Russia". A "Little Russian Board" composed of Russian officers was sent to rule Ukraine.

It was not until Moscow saw itself in a position to make itself the heir of Kiev in the eyes of the world that it pre-empted very definitely the name of Rus', proclaimed that Rus' was Russia, and dangled it before the eyes of the world to win belief that both Kiev and Moscow belonged together under the aegis of Moscow and St. Petersburg.[9]

Henceforth, Russian history was written by Russian historians who disregarded the origin and the medieval history of the Ukrainian people and thereby created much confusion in the histories and identities of the two separate peoples. In Russian history textbooks, Kievan Rus' is renamed Kievan Russia and the history of Kievan Rus' is the history of the Russian people. It is disregarded that Kiev and central and western Ukraine were the homeland of the Ukrainian people and that in any empire the people of the capital city and proximity constitute its government and administration.

UKRAINE IN THE TSARIST EMPIRE (1775-1917)

In 1775, the Russian Empress Catherine II annihilated the Kozaks, burned the Sich, made the Zaporozhian territory a gift for her favorites and established foreign colonies on it. Autonomous institutions and the freedom of the individual were abolished in Ukraine; the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was subordinated to the Muscovite Patriarch; a Russification policy was enforced; and serfdom, at its zenith in Russia, was expanded to Ukraine. By 1800 Ukraine was but a Russian colony, ruthlessly exploited and oppressed. The spirit of independence could not be stifled, however. The last vestiges of freedom had hardly been crushed when a Ukrainian national revival appeared, particularly in the form of a literary renaissance. Writers and poets protested against the despotic imperialistic tsarist policies and against serfdom, thus playing a role in events which led to the abolishment of serfdom in 1861.

The tsarist government opened hostilities against the national movement, and many authors were arrested and exiled, including the greatest Ukrainian poet and painter Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). His collection of poems, *Kobzar,* depicts Ukraine's struggles for independence, describes social conditions under serfdom and denounces Russian despotism and imperialism. He was arrested and forced to serve in the Russian army in Asia, with the tsar's order: "Under the strictest supervision with the prohibition of writing and drawing".[10]

Shevchenko's contemporary M. Hohol (N. Gogol) (1809-1852), a Ukrainian, wrote in the Russian language and became a great "Russian" writer. Although he did not write in Ukrainian, he contributed to the popularizing of Ukraine. He first gained fame with his *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka,* which he based on Ukrainian folklore. His novel *Taras Bulba* portrays the struggle between Ukraine and Poland. His works on Russia criticize the social conditions under the Tsarist government, as for example, *Dead Souls* which gives a "devastating, realistic and satirical picture of rural Russia under Nicholas 1."[11]

As Ukrainian national organizations increased, the tsarist government enforced tighter laws against them. In 1863 the Russian Minister Valuev issued a report that "there has not been, is not, and never can be" a Ukrainian language. At this time he prohibited the publication of Ukrainian books. In 1876 a law forbade the importation of Ukrainian publications, as well as translations, public lectures and theatrical and musical perform-

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ances in Ukrainian.[12]   As a result, the Ukrainians transferred their publishing activities to Western Ukraine which was under Austrian domination and where the publication of Ukrainian literature was permitted.   Nevertheless, the cultural movement, in that part of Ukraine which was in the Russian empire, did not halt.   Many continued to write in Ukrainian, as for example, M. Starytsky, P. Kulish and L. Ukrayinka.   The latter, throughout her works, appealed to her countrymen and to all oppressed peoples to rise against tyranny.
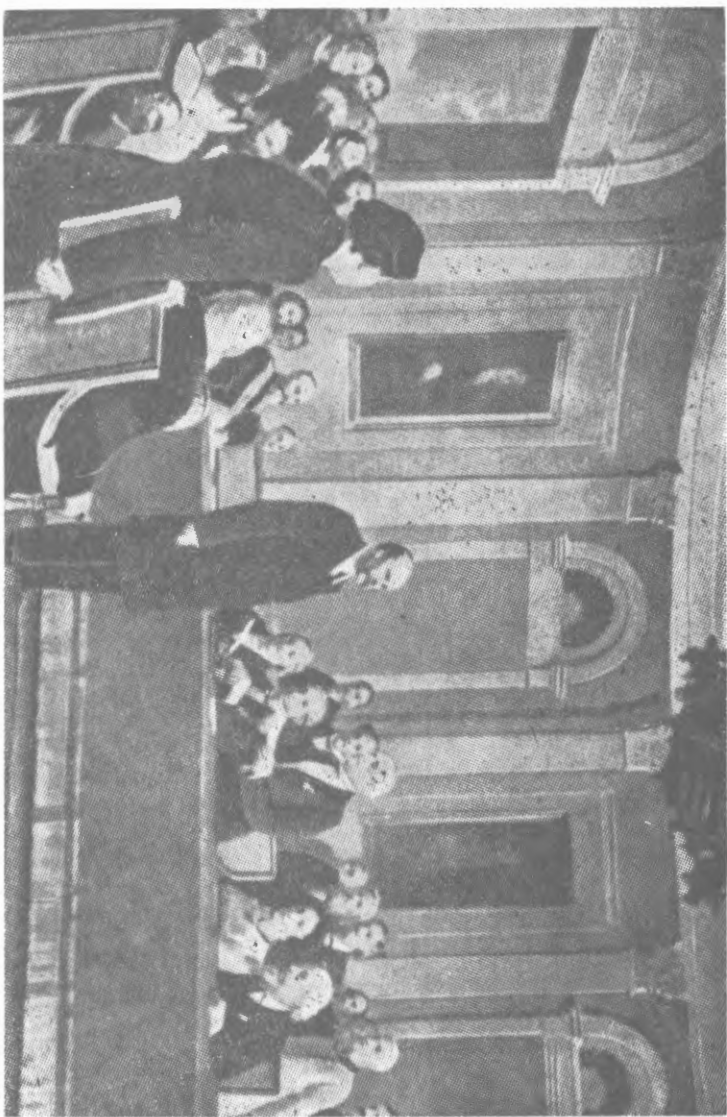
Taras Shevchenko,
Receiving his Academic Degree in Fine Arts, 1860.

WESTERN UKRAINE LANDS
(GALICIA, BUKOVINA, CARPATHO-UKRAINE)

Under Austria and Hungary (1772-1918)

With the weakening of the Polish crown and the strengthening of the Polish gentry, serfdom and Polonization in Western Ukraine became more ruthless. Peasant disturbances flared into serious Ukrainian Haydamaky revolts in 1734, 1750, and 1768, but were suppressed by the Poles with Moscow's aid.

Poland's downfall culminated in the partitions of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1772, 1793, and 1795. (The first two partitions included Western Ukrainian lands which were under Poland at the time.) Austria acquired Galicia (Halychyna) and Russia acquired the remainder of Western Ukraine. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1774, Austria occupied Bukovina, which had been annexed by the Turkish Empire earlier. Carpatho-Ukraine (south of the Carpathians) was in the Kingdom of Hungary from medieval times.

Conditions in the Austrian Empire were more favorable than in the Russian or Polish regimes. The Austrian government improved the economic and legal position of the people and did not interfere with the Ukrainian national development.

In Galicia, the struggle of Ukrainians for national and political rights was met with constant opposition by Polish representatives in the Austrian parliament. But with such Ukrainian leaders as the writers P. Kulish, M. Drahomaniv, M. Shashkevych, I. Franko, the historian M. Hrushevsky and others, Ukrainians in the Austrian Empire made great strides in national development.

The Ukrainian national revival flourished in Bukovina, as well, despite the Rumanian majority there, and although Carpatho-Ukraine experienced Hungarian oppression, the national movement under the auspices of I. Franko and M. Drahomaniv spread to that province also.

THE UKRAINIAN STATE (1917-1920)

How Independence Affected Russia

While the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917 were social revolutions, the Ukrainian counterparts were both social and national in character. Immediately after the Tsarist and the Austro-Hungarian empires had toppled, the Ukrainians established the National Ukrainian Republic and on January 22nd, 1918, proclaimed complete independence from Russia.

Ukraine's independence had a disastrous effect upon Russia's economy, for in Ukraine "was concentrated most of Russia's coal and iron production", a great part of Russia's industrial equipment, "almost all the country's sugar factories", and "abundant crops of grain and other farm products, sorely needed by the starving Russian cities".[13]

Ukraine's independence, also, had a disastrous effect upon the success of the Bolshevik world revolution, as admitted by Lenin, on May 22, 1918:

> . . . lack of fuel, after the separation from us of a country rich in fuel (Ukraine), the catastrophe of railroads which are threatened by a standstill - - these are the factors which create difficulties for the revolution . . . [14]

On March 17, 1920, Stalin stated that

> without Ukrainian iron . . . our only source of ore, pig iron and finished products, the work of the revolution was lost; . . . without Ukrainian grain to feed the workers, industrial recovery could not be accomplished . . . 'Lack of grain,' Stalin declared, 'is our chief handicap and the chief cause of our industrial paralysis'.[15]
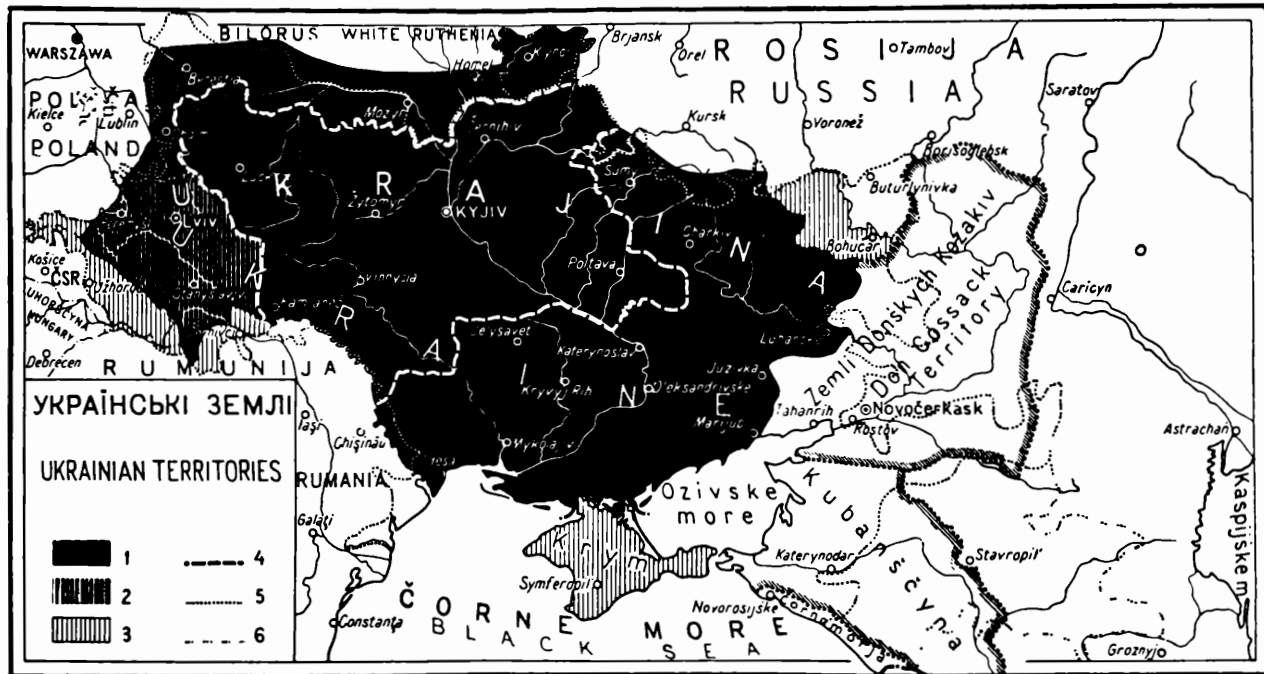
THE UKRAINIAN LANDS IN 1914–20

(1) the Ukrainian State in 1918–20; (2) the Western Ukrainian National Republic; (3) territories temporarily incorporated in the Ukrainian state in 1917–19; (4) the boundaries of autonomous Ukraine in August, 1917; (5) the boundaries of the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory; (6) the Ukrainian ethnic territory including the area of mixed population.

WORLD WAR I

The Struggle for Ukraine

Ukraine was not destined to maintain its independence. During the war, the Ukrainian state experienced German interference in economic and government affairs and defended itself in an unequal struggle against the invading Polish, Rumanian, Russian Bolshevik, and Tsarist armies. Consequently Soviet Russia acquired central and eastern Ukraine; Poland acquired western Ukraine lands; Rumania acquired Bukovina and Bessarabia; and Carpatho-Ukraine was incorporated into Czechoslovakia.*

* Carpatho-Ukraine was invaded by Hungary in 1938 and remained within that state until 1944 when it was incorporated into the Ukr.SSR.

THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (1919-1941)

Formation

In January 1919 the Bolsheviks imposed the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the people. Nationalization of land and industry, the abolishment of private trade, compulsory labor and Russification were underway. With the aid of political police, the Ukrainian political, economic, trade union and cultural organizations, and schools were being eliminated or absorbed. Russia's need for food resulted in the removal of an ever-increasing amount of grain from Ukraine. Besides fulfilling the Soviet government grain quota, Ukraine suffered from devastating raids of Russian detachments that "seized everything in the way of food and supplies . . . and, in the case of opposition . . . shot the peasants".[16]

In 1921, Stalin introduced his concept of "voluntary union" because Central Russia could not "hold out long without the assistance of border regions which abound in raw materials, fuel and foodstuffs."[17] On December 30, 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. According to Stalin the union was necessary because of "general interests of defence", the "necessity of restoring productive facilities destroyed by the war", the "necessity of supplying assistance to the Soviet Republic",[18] and of the need to unite the proletariat of the republics.[19] Ukraine led the opposition to this centralistic move, but in vain. Theoretically, the Soviet constitution granted the republics local autonomy; but in practice, Moscow remained the centre of administration and control.

Ukrainization and Cultural Revival

At the Party conferences, discussion flared about the Russian chauvinism and the lack of Bolshevik sympathy in Ukraine. These discussions led to the decreeing of the Ukrainization policy in 1923 - - a policy by which the Communists hoped to gain popular support from the Ukrainian population because it elevated the Ukrainian language to position of equality with the Russian, allowed its use in school instruction and as a medium of communication in printed materials, and somewhat increased Ukrainian participation in local affairs. This policy eventually resulted in a Ukrainian scholarly revival and a literary renaissance; but, in 1927, anti-Ukrainization forces were successful in re-elevating the Russian language to its former status and Stalin quickly abated the national movement by the infamous purges.

The Decade of Mass Terror (1929-1939)

Tension in Ukraine reached a peak during the period of the first Five Year Plans and the consequent forceful drive for collectivization. Because mass collectivization was met with peasant resistance, decrees in December 1932, enforced the liquidation of all such opposition.[20] Amongst the abhorrent methods of exterminating peasant resistance was the deliberate, man-made famine of 1932-33 which took five million to seven million lives.[21]

In January 1933 Stalin denounced the Communist Party of Ukraine (CP(b)U) for failing to fulfill the bread quota that was demanded by Moscow,[22] and between January and October, 27,000 or 21.6 per cent of the total (CP(b)U) membership was liquidated as "class enemies and unstable and demoralized elements".[23]

Genocide was also applied to the Ukrainian intelligentsia which was falsely blamed for the improper functioning of industrialization and collectivization and charged with subversion and connivance with foreign powers to separate from Russia.[24]

Ukraine's Contribution to the Five Year Plans (1928-1941)

The first three Five Year Plans (1928-41) aimed at industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and state control of all aspects of life. They were pushed by the secret police and the army; and, according to the Soviet standpoint which disregarded the loss of human lives, they were very successful.

Soviet officials reported that the success of the plans depended upon Ukraine's resources. During the First Plan, Stalin stated that "the entire Soviet industry and . . . economy was dependent exclusively on the coal and iron of the Ukraine".[25]

The report on the Second Plan stated that Ukraine was "one of the decisive districts of the Union in coal, metallurgical, machine building and chemical production"; that in electrical construction it was the largest in the Union; and also, that Ukraine was the largest agricultural region of the Union.[26] Yet, at this time, the Ukrainian peasantry underwent a famine.

In the Third Plan Ukraine "remained the fundamental coal-metallurgic base of the U.S.S.R., and one of the main regions of chemical, machine building, food and light industry, grain and technical cultures and livestock".[27] Before World War II, Ukraine supplied more than half of the Soviet Union's coal, 60 per cent of all iron ore and cast iron, 50 per cent of all steel",[28] and was "one of the largest granaries of the U.S.S.R. and produced about 50 per cent of the winter wheat and 74 per cent of the sugar beet crop of the Union."[29]

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE CP(b)U

The CP(b)U originated from small, uncoordinated groups of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (R.S.D.R.P.(b) which functioned in some industrial cities in Ukraine. On the eve of the revolution there were about 1,060 active members of which only a very small percentage was Ukrainian.[30]

The Soviets introduced various policies to increase the numerical strength of the CP(b)U. The transfer policy was begun in 1919 and was followed throughout the Party's history. By this policy members of the Communist Party of Russia and Party members from various corners of the USSR were dispatched to Ukraine to organize and to lead the CP(b)U and the government in Ukraine.[31]

By the absorption policy of 1920 some Ukrainian leftist groups were amalgamated into the CP(b)U. Of major importance was the absorption of the *Borotbisty* who gave the non-Ukrainian CP(b)U some Ukrainian character. A few of its leaders held some governmental posts in Ukraine and gave rise to national communism.

The Ukrainization policy which was decreed in 1923 also increased the numerical strength of the CP(b)U, as indicated by the following table on the national composition of the CP(b)U.

1922 (Total Membership - 54,818)[32]		1926 (Total Membership - 151,939)[33]
Russians	53.6%	37.4%
Ukrainians	23.3%	43.9%
Jews	13.6%	11.2%
Poles	2.6%	1.9%
Others	7.1%	5.6%

Increases in Party membership were continually offset by purges - - in 1921, 1928-30, 1933, 1937-8, and 1945-6.[34] However, because of the influx of non-Russians into the CP(b)U by the transfer policy, the numbers grew and the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine remained, for the most part, a transplanted, imposed, and ethnically-alien party.[35]

Post World War II

After World War II the numerical strength of the CP(b)U increased as a result of the expansion of the Party network. In Khrushchev's period there was a significant change in the nationality composition of the CP(b)U. According to 1958 data it was as follows:

Percentage of Party Members		Percentage of Total Population, UkrSSR[36] (January 15, 1959)
Ukrainians	60.3	76.8
Russians	28.2	16.9
Others	11.5	6.3

Thus the character of the CP(b)U changed, but the Ukrainian representation was still low in comparison with the percentage of Ukrainians of the total population of Ukraine. The Ukrainian element was not fully represented, and the CP(b)U still favored the Russian and other minorities.

Ukrainian participation in leading posts and in the rank-and-file grew at a snail's pace and reached larger proportions only after the war;[37] however, it has still not achieved a share proportional to its share of the total population of the republic. The first Ukrainian to serve as the First Secretary of the CP(b)U was appointed as late as 1953.

WESTERN UKRAINE UNDER POLAND - BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

After World War I Poland annexed Galicia, the Kholm area, Pidliashia, Western Volhynia and Western Polisia. By the Treaty of Riga, the Polish government was to recognize the autonomy of Galicia and to respect the religious rights of the Ukrainians. The League of Nations and the Polish Constitution of 1921 guaranteed the Ukrainians equality under the law, and the right to their own schools and to the use of their own language in public life and in elementary schools.

History repeated itself, however, as the Polish government immediately embarked on a Polonization program and on the violation of Ukrainian rights. Galicia was renamed "Eastern Little Poland" and the Ukrainians renamed "Ruthenians". Many Ukrainian institutions, organizations, schools, and publishing houses were abolished. Many Orthodox churches were destroyed and their population terrorized. Mass arrests, torture, imprisonment and deportations were methods employed to convince the population to yield to Polish domination.

Ukrainians continued their struggle for the re-establishment of autonomy and formed various groups that fostered national development. As more repressive measures were instituted against them, resistance found expression in revolutionary acts instigated by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists formed in the 1920's under the leadership of E. Konovaletz. When he was assassinated by a Communist agent in Rotterdam in 1938, leadership was assumed by Col. A. Melnyk.

In the 1930's the Polish anti-Ukrainian policy strengthened; and although Polish terrorism and injustices were condemned by the Vatican and by the League of Nations, the protests went unheeded.

UKRAINE IN WORLD WAR II

Soviet Occupation and Retreat

In September 1939, the Red Army occupied Western Ukraine. The Soviets immediately undertook nationalization of land and industry and the re-organization of administration. In June 1941, Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R. and the Red Army was forced to retreat from Ukraine. In the retreat, Stalin and Khrushchev ordered the destruction of Kiev, of public buildings in other large cities, of important industries, railroads, food storages, harvests, grain reserves, water reservoirs and other resources. They also ordered the evacuation of equipment to the Urals and Central Asia. About 850 large industrial establishments were moved to the East[38] and the grain storages carried the Soviet Union through its first winter.[39]

People, too, were forced to evacuate, especially the intelligentsia, lest the Germans favor the Ukrainian cause. About 3,800,000 people were evacuated to industrial centres in the Urals, Siberia and other parts of Asia.[40] Those who resisted evacuation were forced into the Red Army or exterminated. In jails, prisoners whose imprisonment was over three years were shot;[41] the rest were evacuated and in several cities prisons were burned with prisoners in them.

ONE OF THE CHURCHES IN PECHERSKA LAVRA, DESTROYED
BY SOVIET TROOPS

26

German Occupation and German Military Government

In July 1941 the German military government was established in Ukraine. In the hope that the Germans would support the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the leadership of A. Melnyk, made immediate attempts to rebuild the Ukrainian national economy and cultural life. The attempts were in vain, for it was soon evident that Ukraine was to become a German colony. A plan was established by the Germans to transform Ukraine into a German food base. Ukrainian nationalist leaders were arrested and Nazi terror ensued in mass deportations to concentration camps, in forced labor, and in mass exterminations.

In 1942 the OUN organized the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which undertook guerilla warfare against the Germans and against Communist guerillas.

German Retreat and Communist Re-occupation

In 1943 the Red Army forced the German retreat. Ukraine again became the "zone of destruction", but this time under Hitler's orders. By October 1944 all of the former Ukrainian territory was under the Communists, and soon, the Ukrainian insurgents were crushed.

At the end of the war, two to three million Ukrainians (prisoners of war, forced laborers and evacuees) were in Germany and Austria.[42] On Stalin's request at the Yalta Conference, the majority were returned to the U.S.S.R., often by force on the part of British, French and American troops. (In 1946 there were about 200,000 Ukrainians in Western Europe who had avoided repatriation[43]. These, later, emigrated to various parts of the free world.)

POSTWAR UKRAINE

Until Stalin's death in 1953, mass terrorism continued. Any resistance to the Soviet regime met with liquidation. There was also a high degree of Russian chauvinism: everything Russian was declared superior while everything Ukrainian was declared to be of Russian origin or an imitation of the Russian.

Krushchev's police state was somewhat milder. In denouncing "Stalinism" in 1956, Khrushchev disclosed that Stalin had tried to liquidate the Ukranians as he did the Crimean Tatars, Chechens and Ingushes, but the extermination of some 40,000,000 people proved impossible.[44]

The histories of the Soviet Union nationalities "had to be rewritten again to demonstrate that the incorporation of minority nationalities into the Russian state was a positive good . . . ."[45] In 1954 Moscow issued a theory of an "original linguistic political and racial union" which stated that Russia was responsible for the origin of three Eastern Slavic nations - - Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia - - and that therefore, the Russians could call Kiev "the oldest Russian city".[46]

Russification continues, but "a kind of cultural autonomy" has been granted to the nationalities "stating that their cultures should be 'national in form, and socialist in content'", that is languages and cultures must fit into Soviet-Marxism.[47] The nationalities have no ideological, political, social or economic independence.[48]

Ukraine continues to contribute a major share to Soviet economy. On the fulfilment of the Fourth Five Year Plan in 1951, it was reported that in coal, oil, metallurgic, electrical and other industries, Ukraine's share exceeded the pre-war output.[49] According to data of 1958, Ukraine ranked third in the world production of coal, second in cast iron and third in steel.[50] In 1961 Ukraine's wheat harvest surpassed that of Canada and the European countries; in natural gas and in the manufacture of agricultural machinery and power transformers, Ukraine was the foremost in Europe.[51] Ukraine ranks second in the world in sugar industry[52] and first in manganese ore.[53] According to the current Five Year Plan, Ukraine contributes a great share of natural resources and various equipment to Poland's economy.[54]

In the field of science, "it is a common error to designate all scientific work in the Soviet Union as Russian. In . . . Ukraine science is pursued no less avidly than in . . . Russia".[55] In 1958

the Soviet Magazine Vitchyzna (vol. 1, p. 208) reported that there were 138 universities, colleges and other institutions of higher learning in Ukraine and 438 scientific research centres employing 32,000 research workers. The Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Science alone has 50 scientific research centres and a staff of 9,000. It publishes 14 scientific periodicals in Ukrainian in addition to many books and other scientific publications in that language.[56] Ukrainian scientists pioneered and developed various scientific undertakings in the Soviet Union;[57] but, it makes no difference in what field we find achievers, whether in astronautics (as A. Popovych) or in the field of sports*, their origins are silenced to win belief in Russian superiority.

* In 1962, there were 14 Ukrainian world champions who were recorded as Russians.

NEW BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KHARKIV

THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Theory and Practice

According to the Soviet Constitution, the Soviet Union is a 'federal state' formed on the basis of a 'voluntary union' of 'equal Republics' which are 'free', 'autonomous', 'sovereign' and have the 'right to secede'. In practice, however, the Soviet Union is "organized as a tightly centralized monolithic system".[58]

This brief survey of Ukraine serves as an example of the 'equality', 'freedom', 'autonomy' and 'sovereignty' that all the Soviet Union Republics experience. The Ukrainian case, also, illustrates how 'voluntary' was their 'union', what right they have to 'secede' and how "the Soviet regime used the power of the Red Army to prevent secession to reconquer those areas . . . which took the Bolshevik position seriously and tried to secede".[59]

All of the republics in the Soviet Union have Foreign Ministers and the Constitution grants them the power to engage in diplomatic relations and to sign international agreements. In practice, however, such diplomatic powers are not exercised.[60] Ukraine and Belorussia are members of the United Nations, but their membership only serves to give two additional votes to Russia. The Constitution also grants the Republics the right to maintain separate troops, but, no Republic has a Defence Ministry, a Defence Minister or a separate army.[61]

Not only the principles of federalism, but many "principles of the Soviet Constitution can be dismissed as transparent propaganda cliches which are essentially meaningless."[62] Therefore, the Soviet Constitution performs the function that any constitution performs, but, in addition, "it serves as a propaganda document for export abroad".[63]

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

Three Phases of Immigration

The population of Ukraine is about 44.5 million. There are about 2,000,000 Ukrainians in the Free World. Over a half-million are settled in Canada, with almost 300,000 living in the Prairie Provinces.

The first phase of Ukrainian immigration began in 1891 and lasted until World War I. The settlers of this period were mainly agriculturalists who emigrated from Galicia and Bukovina (then in the Austrian Empire) in search of better economic, social and political conditions, especially for their children. The profound appreciation of the freedom that they encountered in Canada is evident in this verse of a poem, written by M. Gowda, which appeared in the *Boston Transcript*, October 17th, 1905.

To Canada

O free and fresh-home Canada! Can we
Born o'er seas, call thee our country dear?
I know not whence, nor how that right may be
Attained through sharing blessings year by year.
From ancient worlds by wrong opprest we swarmed
Many as ants, to scatter in thy land;
Each to the place you gave, aided, unharmed,
And there we fear not kings nor nobles grand.[64]

These first settlers initiated the Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches in Canada and their adjoining organizations. In 1913 at Chipman, Alberta (the first Ukrainian pioneer settlement in Canada)

. . . it was resolved, that while we are proud of the country of our birth, and desire to keep before us its highest ideals, we recognize that in this, our adopted country, we citizens are accorded all the rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship and that we believe it our duty to work in harmony with all our fellow citizens to build up a united and prosperous nation without distinction of race and creed.[65]

Guided by such principles, the first immigrants actively participated in Canadian public affairs, particularly in the educational and political fields. The first Member of Parliament from Alberta, of Ukrainian descent, was elected in 1913. During the First World War 12,000 to 15,000 Ukrainians joined the Canadian forces and Philip Konoval was honored with the Victoria Cross.[66]

The establishment of an independent Ukrainian Republic in 1918, activated the Ukrainians in Canada. They formed various benevolent organizations to aid the country of their birth. After the occupation of Ukraine by Poland and by the Bolsheviks, U-krainians in Canada called numerous protest meetings and sent a delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. They gave financial support to the Ukrainian Government-in-Exile in Europe and to those who wished to emigrate to Canada.

The second phase of Ukrainian immigration lasted from 1922-1945. It consisted of political refugees, intellectuals, and an agricultural majority, mainly from Galicia and Bukovina who escaped the economic, social and political conditions under Poland. This period in Ukrainian Canadian life (1922-1945) marked an acceleration in organizational activities that promoted education and national and cultural development. The Ukrainian press and libraries grew; from the early basic organizations ·branched women's and youth associations; and institutes were founded to provide residential facilities to students attending universities and other institutions of higher learning. The Canadian Ukrainian Committee was established and continues to be at the apex of these multi-organizational activities, conjoining the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant communities, thus consolidating the Ukrainians in Canada. There were sports clubs too, and aviation training courses that encouraged their members to join Canadian militia units. During World War II, 35,000 Ukrainians joined the Canadian forces: in proportion to the ethnic population, soldiers of Ukrainian descent composed the largest percentage.[67]

The third phase of Ukrainian immigration, 1947-1965, consisted of refugees that refused repatriation after the war. They came from all parts of Ukraine, consisted of a higher percentage of intellectuals, and were predominantly an urban group.

Their Participation in Canada's Development

First, tribute is paid to the Ukrainian pioneers, the "sons of the soil," who,

by their industry, tenacity and resourcefulness . . . carved out of the lonely, unbroken prairie, a new life for themselves and new wealth for their adopted country. That country is now the better and stronger for them.[68]

The Ukrainian pioneers also brought the Red Fife wheat from which Marquis wheat and many other strains have been produced.[69] Many Ukrainian farmers attained national and international awards for their grain products and among Ukrainians there is a "relatively high proportion of Canadian agricultural scientists of national and international renown . . . ."[70]

In the sphere of politics, 74 persons of Ukrainian origin have served in the legislatures of the Prairie Provinces, in Ontario, in the House of Commons and the Senate. They have produced five Cabinet Ministers in four provinces and in the federal government, and some outstanding speakers.[71]

There are many teachers of Ukrainian origin in Canadian schools, as well as school superintendents, and professors at Canadian universities. Although a majority of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is in the educational field, they are also found in all other professions, including the judiciary.

Ukrainians have made a generous contribution to the field of Canadian culture. Ukrainian literature is rich and abundant. There have been over 100 Ukrainian authors in Canada.[72] The Ukrainian press, too, is very active. Periodical publication is "by far the highest in any language other than English and French".[73] Canadian universities offer Ukrainian language and literature courses in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and the Ukrainian language is taught in many Canadian high schools.

"Ukrainians can claim precedent as the world's most persistent fighters for freedom."[74] Their "love of land . . . passion for freedom . . . belief in democracy, these have been captured and expressed in . . . poetry . . . songs and . . . dances. These are now part of Canada's heritage".[75]

DEDICATED TO THE PIONEER UKRAINIAN SETTLERS
ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY
IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA.
SEPTEMBER, 1951   UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE

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