

# Ukraine's quasi-colonial status on the eve of World War I

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- Social, economic & cultural backwater
- Decline, then growth & Russification of cities
- Russian immigration to e. Ukrainian towns
  - Coal & iron ore mines; smelters
  - Ukrainians lack industrial skills of Russian counterparts
  - Large-scale foreign investment in east
  - 1897 census: 12% Russian, most in cities
- Cities: centres of Russification
  - Cultural chasm between villages & cities
  - Russian culture: attractive to educated classes. It was vibrant, complete & had state sanction & support

# Weaknesses of Ukrainian culture & of the national movement

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- Restrictions on Ukrainian culture
  - Strong at lower levels; weak at higher levels
- Official policy: Triune Russian nation
  - Great, Little & White (Bela) Russians
- Weaknesses in the Ukrainian social structure
  - Loss of leading social strata (ruling & cultural elites)
  - Small number of capitalists
  - Underrepresented in other urban professions
- Lack of a constitutional order & civil liberties
- National discrimination in school system
  - 18% literate in Ukraine; 13% of all Ukrainians literate
  - Illiteracy rate in villages: 91-96%

# 1905 revolution

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- Demonstrations in St. Petersburg (Jan. 1905)
- 1906 elections to 1st Duma: 95 from Ukraine; of these, 63 join Ukr parliamentary club (caucus)
- Ukrainian deputies demand cultural rights in 2nd Duma (1906-07)
- Organize Prosvita societies
- Political parties come out into the open
- Ukrainian press established & publishing begins
- Crackdown on Ukrainian activities (begin 1907)
  - Prosvita societies closed in 1910
  - Bans on Ukrainian-language publications enforced

# The Ukrainian national movement on the eve of World War I

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- Moderate parties merge to form apolitical Society of Ukrainian Progressives (1908)
- On eve of World War I, Ukrainian movement had completed only heritage-gathering stage
- Intelligentsia cut off from population at large
- State-imposed (imperial) nationalism
  - Schools, churches, army & other state institutions
- Cities: Russian-speaking milieu
- Ukrainian culture associated with backward, peasant culture
- Contrast with achievements in Galicia

# World War I

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- Weakness of Ottoman Empire (Sick man of Europe); nationalism; great power rivalry
  - Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, June 1914
- Central powers: A-H, Germany & Ottoman Turks
- Entente: Great Britain, France & Russia
- Ukrainians in A-H 1st to experience the war
  - August 1, 1914: Supreme Ukrainian Council
  - Declared loyalty to Austria
  - Appeal for united stand against Russian Empire
  - Called for volunteers: Ukrainian Sich Riflemen
- Russians capture Lviv in September 1914

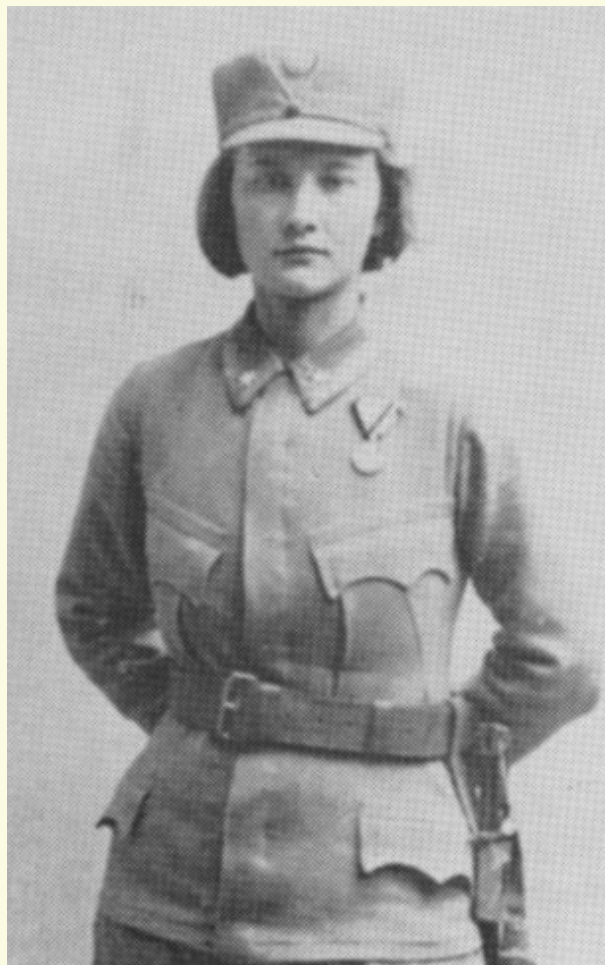
# Shevchenko Commemoration (2 April 1916)



L: Olena Stepaniv (1892-1963)

R: Hanna Dmyterko (1893-1981)

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# World War I: Austrian-ruled Ukraine (Galicia and Bukovyna)

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- Hungarian units, retreating, commit atrocities
- Russians occupy Bukovyna in November 1914
- Russian cultural policy in Galicia-Bukovyna
  - Cultural institutions & cooperatives closed
  - Russian replaced Ukrainian in schools
  - Leaders arrested (Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky)
  - Mykhailo Hrushevsky arrested in Kyiv
- Russians driven out in June 1915
- Vienna: Union for Liberation of Ukraine (1915)
- General Ukrainian Council (May 1915)
  - Calls for independence of Ukraine on Russian lands; autonomy for Ukrainian lands in Austria; division of Galicia into Pol & Ukr pts



# World War I: Austrian-ruled Ukraine (Galicia and Bukovyna)

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- Germans & Austrians announce in 1916 intention to create Polish state from captured Russian lands
  - Austria promises Poles greater autonomy in Galicia
- Austrian parliament reconvenes in 1917
- Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (Ievhen Petrushevych) declares continued subordination to Poles in Galicia unacceptable
- April 1917, U.S. enters war: balance tipped
  - Declares war aims: principle of self-determination
- War weariness; collapse is near

# Ievhen Petrushevych (1863-1940)

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# Russian revolution 1917

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- March 1917 disturbances in Petrograd
  - Russia: backward & economically weak
  - Suffered great losses during the war
- Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies
- Tsar abdicates 15 March
- Provisional government; Constituent Assembly
- Dual power: Soviets & Provisional Government
- Bolshevik party led by Lenin gains adherents
  - immediate end to the war
  - all power to Soviets
  - factories to workers; land to the peasants.

# Revolution in Ukraine

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- Rev. period: March 1917-October 1920
- Watershed in Ukrainian History
  - Several attempts to establish an independent state
- Complex period: foreign interventions, peasant uprisings & civil wars
- 3 Ukrainian governments & 3 phases:
  - Central Rada (March 1917-April 1918); Hetmanate (April-December 1918); Directory & establishment of Bolshevik rule (January 1919-October 1920)
- Central Rada: Society of Ukrainian Progressivists & representatives of pro-Ukrainian organizations, associations & political parties

# Central Rada: From Association to Representative Body

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- Mykhailo Hrushevsky, elected president
- Rada transforms self into representative body
  - Ukrainian National Congress (April), & 1st Ukrainian Military Congress support Rada (May )
  - Membership dominated by left: Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (Volodymyr Vynnychenko); Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party (Mykhailo Hrushevsky); Ukrainian Socialist Federalist Party (serhii Iefremov), which was a moderate party
  - Calls for autonomy
  - Creation of 1 territorial unit from 9 Ukr provinces
  - Ukrainization of the school system
  - Creation of Ukrainian units in army

# Mykhailo Hrushevsky addresses supporters (March 1917)



# Rada Recognized as a Regional Government

- Tries to negotiate recognition & division of powers with Provisional Government
- Unilaterally issues First universal (June 23)
  - Proclaimed goal of autonomy within Russia
  - Calls for creation of a Ukrainian legislature
  - Proclaims confiscated lands of landowners & monasteries to be distributed by Ukrainian assembly
- Forms executive body: General Secretariat
- Prov. Gov. recognizes Rada's jurisdiction in 5 provinces
  - Rada reorganizes, accepting more minorities
  - Issues 2nd Universal July 16

## General Secretariat (June 1917)

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Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880-1951)  
Photo taken 1902

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# The Bolshevik Seizure of Power

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- November 6, 1917, Bolsheviks seize power
  - Council of People's Commissars: Vladimir Lenin (chairman), Leon Trotsky (Commissar of Foreign Affairs) & Joseph Stalin (Commissar of Nationalities)
- Rada condemned the Bolshevik coup
- Issued Third Universal November 20, 1917
  - Ukrainian People's Republic in federation with Russia
  - Called for distribution of estates to peasants
  - Introduced 8-hour work day
  - Announced intent to nationalize industries
  - Granted personal cultural autonomy to minorities
  - Announced intention to end the war

# Announcement of Third Universal (November 20, 1917)



# Ukrainian People's Republic (1917-18)



# Bolsheviks try to oust the Rada: Ukraine invaded

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- Announce date for Ukr. Constituent Assembly
- In December elections to all-Russian Const. Assembly, Ukr parties get 70% of votes
- Bolsheviks issue ultimatum December 17
- All-Ukrainian Congress of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' deputies support Rada
- Kharkiv Congress of Soviets declares formation of Soviet Ukrainian government December 25
- Soviet Russian army arrives in Kharkiv; joined by local Red Guards & other sympathizers, they march on Kyiv

# Declaration of Independence & Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

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- Symon Petliura (later commander of Ukraine's armed forces) & battalion of Sich Sharpshooters, ex Galician POWs (led by Ievhen Konovalets)
- 4th Universal: declares independence (Jan. 22)
  - Negotiate an immediate peace
  - Nationalize forests, minerals, commerce & banks
- Bolsheviks capture Kyiv February 9
- Negotiate with Germany & Austria-Hungary: Ukraine signs Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Feb. 9
  - Soviet Russia & Central Powers recognize Ukraine
  - Russia agrees to sign separate treaty w. Ukraine
  - Austria agrees to create a Ukr. province in Austria

L: Symon Petliura (1879-1926)

R: Ievhen Konovalets (1891-1838)

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# Installation of the Hetmanate

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- Ukraine agrees to deliver grain & foodstuffs
- Rada also asked for military assistance
- Backed by German & Austrian troops, Soviet forces driven out of Kyiv by March 1
- Germans deposed the Rada on April 28 & install the Hetmanate: Pavlo Skoropadsky
  - Ukrainian Congress of Landowners welcome change
- Marked sharp turn to the right
  - favours traditional elites of Ukraine: large landowners, manufacturers, commercial & industrial interests; administrators; Orthodox church hierarchy



L: Skoropadsky meets German Kaiser  
R: Skoropadsky with family (1918)



# The Hetmanate: some policies & characteristics

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- Most supporters highly Russified
- Restores pre-revolutionary land holdings
- Gave German forces authority to protect landowners & collect grain from peasants
- Government was a dictatorship, where German high command had the final word
- Most Ukrainian parties & Russian left wing parties refused to cooperate
  - Ukr. opposition: Ukrainian National (State) Union
- Appointed largely Russified Ukrainians to head ministries & administration

# Graycoats on parade (Kyiv 1918)



# Creating an intellectual and educational infrastructure

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- Ukrainization of schools & publication of texts
- Opens 2 Ukrainian-language universities
- Ukrainian-language departments established at existing universities
- Establishment of Academy of Sciences, National Library & National Archives
- Defeat of Central Powers on western front
  - Skoropadsky negotiates with Ukr. opposition, Entente (French in Odessa) & anti-Bolshevik Russian whites
  - Abandons statehood: declares a federative union with a non-Bolshevik Russia on November 14

# The Directory, anarchy & the Bolsheviks

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- November 11, 1918: World War I ends
- Ukrainian opposition organizes uprising
  - Directory: Volodymyr Vynnychenko & Symon Petliura
  - Proclaims re-establishment of Ukrainian People's Republic
  - Directory never able to establish control
  - Vynnychenko: called for distribution of land held by large landowners, the church and state to peasantry
  - Declaration of union with West Ukrainian People's Republic (January 22, 1919)
- Ukrainian left splinters
  - Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries - Fighters (borotbisty); partisan leader Otaman Hryhoriiv

# Ukraine: 1918-19



## Second period of Bolshevik rule

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- Bolsheviks of Ukraine form Communist Party (bolsheviks) of Ukraine - CP(b)U in April 1918
  - Subordinate to Russian party & faction ridden
- December 1918, launch invasion
  - Ruled from February - August 1919
  - Little sympathy for Ukrainian cultural aspirations
  - Headed by a Bulgarian, Khristian Rakovsky; had largely Russians/Russified Ukrainians in government
  - Tried to form communal state farms
  - Confiscation of grain to feed the city & Red Army
  - Provoked a peasant revolt against Soviet rule; at best, held major cities in 1919

# The peasant revolution

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- Peasants: formed independent military units
  - Guerilla warfare: attack landowners & German army
  - Alternate: neutrality, pro-Directory or pro-Bolshevik
  - Peasant commanders: Otamany
  - Perceived themselves to be descendants of Zaporozhian Cossacks or haidamaky
  - Some are little more than small bands that pillaged and robbed local landowners
  - Otaman Hryhoriiv & anarchist Nestor Makhno
  - By April 1919, Hryhoriiv and Makhno, turn against the Bolsheviks
- Bolsheviks lose Kyiv in August to Russian Whites



L: Nestor Makhno (1889-1934)

R: Makhnovist banner: “Death to all who stand in the way of working people obtaining freedom”

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# The Russian Whites & Ukraine

- Centres of power at periphery: Baltic region, Siberia & Don Cossack regions
  - Led by General Anton Denikin
- Intervention by the Entente
  - Support the Whites & rid world of Bolshevism
  - French had landed in Odesa in December 1918
- Directory was in western part of Right Bank
- Symon Petliura now leads government
- Entente supports Whites & Russia with Ukraine
  - Denikin was opposed Ukrainian aspirations
  - During campaign, had arrested Ukrainian activists & returned property to large landowners.

# Petliura & Poland

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- Polish-Ukrainian war: Poland & West Ukrainian People's Republic (November 1918)
  - Galician Ukrainian army, a disciplined fighting force
  - Losing war: driven into central Ukraine in July 1919
- Western Ukrainian leadership:
  - Saw Poles as foremost enemy
  - Favour cooperating with Whites against Bolsheviks
  - Expected Entente would support them
- Petliura:
  - Knew he could expect no help from the Entente
  - Would not cooperate with the Whites
  - Sought to come to terms with the Poles

# The Polish-Ukrainian Alliance

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- Peasant uprisings weakened the Whites
- Galician Army reluctant to fight Whites
- Petliura's forces pushed into NW Ukraine
- Cent. Ukraine under Bolsheviks by Feb. 1920
- Treaty of Warsaw (April 1920)
  - Recognized Galicia & W. Volhynia's as Polish
  - Poles & Petliura's forces attack Bolsheviks & capture Kyiv in May 1920
  - Bolshevik June counteroffensive routs Poles
  - Soviet Russia & Poland sign truce in October 1920.
  - Small-scale resistance continues into 1921
  - Political exile: Poland, France, Canada, U.S., etc.

# Petliura & the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1919

- Pogroms: violent attacks against minorities
- Symon Petliura blamed by Jewish writers
  - Killed in 1926 in Paris by a Jewish assassin
- Central Rada:
  - attempts to include minorities; cultural autonomy
- Directory:
  - Never established control in Ukr. Territories
  - Little control over peasant forces
  - Petliura tried to stop pogroms by troops nominally under his command
  - Hanna Arendt, *Eichman in Jerusalem*
  - Poisoned Jewish-Ukrainian relations to this day

# Western Ukrainian People's Republic

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- Woodrow Wilson's 14 point peace plan
  - Autonomy for peoples of Austria & Self-determination
  - Support for Polish state
- 16 October 1918 Manifesto by Emperor Charles
  - Proposed transformation of Austria into federal state
  - Ukrainian National Council (Ukrainska Narodna Rada)
    - Ievhen Petrushevych, president
  - 18 Oct. proclaims Ukrainian state within Austria , consisting of e. Galicia, Bukovyna & Transcarpathia
  - November 1: demands Austrian viceroy cede authority & proclaims independence

# Polish-Ukrainian war (1918-19)

- Polish-Ukrainian war begins November 1, 1918
  - Romanians occupy Bukovyna Nov. 11
  - Transcarpathia never under Ukrainian control
- Ukrainians driven out of Lviv by November 21
  - Government in Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk)
  - Approves unification with e. Ukraine January 1919
- Organize Galician Ukrainian Army; push back Poles & surround Lviv in February 1919
- Pro-Polish sympathies among Entente powers at Paris peace conference
- General Haller's army arrives from France & drives Galicians into c. Ukraine in July 1919





# Reasons for failure to achieve statehood

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- Petrushevych declared dictator
- Fails to agree with Petliura on common goals
- End of 1919, Petrushevych in Vienna
- 1920: UNR & ZUNR create governments in exile
- Reasons for failure to achieve statehood
  - Insufficient consciousness of national identity
  - Political inexperience & mistakes of leadership
  - Lack of cooperation between Galicians & Ukrainians
  - Invasions by Bolsheviks & White Russians
  - Indifference or opposition of Entente powers
  - Little support or hostility from minorities
  - Fail to resolve land question & gain peasant support