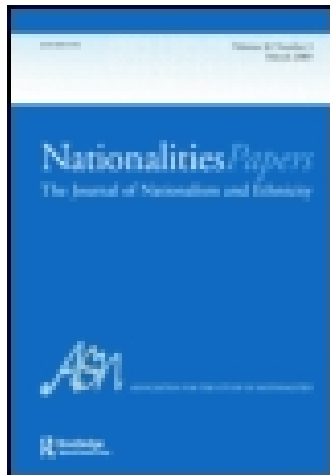


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## Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cnap20>

### The present state of Ukrainian historiography in soviet Ukraine: A brief overview

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Published online: 19 Oct 2007.

To cite this article: Lubomyr R. Wynar (1979) The present state of Ukrainian historiography in soviet Ukraine: A brief overview, *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 7:1, 1-23

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00905997908407849>

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## THE PRESENT STATE OF UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SOVIET UKRAINE: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Lubomyr R. Wynar

*"To write history well, one must live in a free society."*

— Voltaire to Frederick the Great

Historiography, as a special historical discipline, is defined as a history of historical scholarship reflecting the development of historical thought. In the context of this definition the study of modern Ukrainian historiography is directly related to the analysis of present historiographical trends, historical concepts, the conditions under which the discipline developed, the role of Ukrainian historical research centers in Ukraine and the West, the nature and scope of historical serials, critical evaluations of contributions of individual historians, as well as the study of characteristics of various historical schools. In my opinion, the older definition of historiography as the history of historical writings is too narrow and sometimes results only in critical or enumerative historical bibliography covering writings of individual historians.

It is not within the scope of this inquiry to cover the vast topic of current Ukrainian historiography,<sup>1</sup> a topic which is not manageable due to the space limitation and the complexity of the subject matter. The objective of the author is to share some observations on trends in Ukrainian Soviet Historiography after World War II as related to the aforementioned definition of the discipline, with a brief introduction to modern Ukrainian historiography. Ukrainian auxiliary historical sciences and historical studies related to foreign countries are excluded.

### I

#### HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Although Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908) may be considered as a founder of modern Ukrainian historiography through documentary research and the training of a number of noted historians, the actual founder of the national school of Ukrainian historiography was his able student Mykhailo Hrushevskyi (1866-1934), who is accepted as the most outstanding Ukrainian historian in this century. "The most meritorious value of Hrushevsky's work for Ukrainian historiography," writes Dmytro Doroshenko, "lies in the fact that he established and presented to the scholarly world a well-based scheme of the history of Ukrainian people

throughout the whole territory they inhabited and throughout their national development, and that he proved the continuity and integrity of this process.”<sup>2</sup> The cornerstone of Hrushevskiy’s scheme of East European history is the thesis that there exist clear distinctions among the histories of the Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian peoples. Since these three East European peoples unquestionably maintained their ethnic, political and cultural identities, they should, therefore, be studied as separate national entities. Hrushevskiy rejected, on the basis of archaeological and historical research, the scheme developed by Russian historians (N. Karamzin, V. O. Kluchevsky, and S. Soloviev) stressing the idea of an “all Russian history” and an “all Russian nationality.” He offered an analytical and synthetic approach toward the Ukrainian historical process and formulated historical terminology pertaining to the various periods of Ukrainian history.<sup>3</sup>

Hrushevskiy’s historical heritage is of such magnitude that it directly influenced the past and the present development of Ukrainian historical scholarship both within and outside Ukraine. At the same time it should be pointed out that Hrushevskiy, author of over 2,000 works, above all of the fundamental *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy* (10 vols., 1898-1937), was the chief organizer of Ukrainian scholarly institutions and the promoter of historical research. As head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1897-1914) and the Ukrainian Scholarly Society in Kiev (1907-1918), the direct predecessor of the Ukrainian Academy of Science founded in Kiev in 1918, he laid solid foundations for Ukrainian historical scholarship prior to World War I.<sup>4</sup> The second period of Hrushevskiy’s scholarly and organizational activities covers the years 1924-1930, after his return to Kiev from abroad in order to continue his historical work in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. There he initiated the historical journal, *Ukraina*, and a number of other scholarly publications, established a Scientific Research Chair of Ukrainian History at the Academy, and was the chief promoter of Ukrainian historical studies. Hrushevskiy was responsible for the rise of a new generation of Ukrainian historians in West and East Ukraine, educated under his guidance in Lviv and Kiev, who have directly contributed to the further development of Ukrainian historical studies in Ukraine and in the West after the Second World War.<sup>5</sup> Hrushevskiy’s historical concepts have thus indirectly influenced the present state of Ukrainian historiography. It should be pointed out that during Hrushevskiy’s activity in the 1920s in Soviet Ukraine there also existed other historical centers headed by such noted historians as Bahalii (social-economic school in Kharkiv), M. Vasylenko (historical-legal school in Kiev) and M. Slabchenko (Odessa).<sup>6</sup> Alexander Ohloblyn, one of the contemporaries of this period, states that all the historical centers maintained scientific organizational contacts and, with the exception of the Marxist school headed by M. Iavorskyi, the “entire Ukrainian historiography of the twenties in the Dnieper Ukraine, in Galicia and abroad, subscribed to identical ideological Ukrainian national positions,

centering its main attention and its research on the problems of Ukrainian statehood in its historical development in all its manifestations: political, economic, cultural and national.”” But after Stalin’s first major political assault on the Ukrainian national revival, the historical institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were eliminated and destroyed, and many Ukrainian historians were arrested, deported, or physically liquidated. Ukrainian independent historical research was terminated, and the new period of Soviet historiography in Ukraine was inaugurated under the direct guidance and supervision of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

## II

### UKRAINIAN SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

The study of Ukrainian Soviet historiography is a complex subject directly related to the political situation in the USSR and Soviet Ukraine. The major role of Soviet “historical scholarship is . . . to assist the party in its task of promoting Communism at home by elaborating a credible theory according to which developments in all societies must conform to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine today and tomorrow . . . in short, the historians are called upon to make a vital contribution in the realm of scholarship to the continuing propaganda campaign in which the party is engaged.”” Ukrainian historians and historical research institutions are inseparably linked with the official line of the Communist Party and are deprived of independent historical research; their historical studies generally reflect dogmatism, distortions, schematism, and conformity. In reality there is no impartial historical scholarship in Soviet Ukraine, but instead one finds an enslaved and prescribed “historical science” which is alien to the concept of independent historical inquiry. Ukrainian Soviet historiography reflects the shifting and zigzagging line of the communist Party in Moscow and Ukraine and accordingly follows cycles of political purges and thaws. It is primarily within this context that I shall comment on the major concepts of Ukrainian Soviet historiography and the present status of historical studies in Ukraine, not overlooking some positive achievements of Ukrainian historians despite political conditions after World War II.

### PERIODIZATION OF UKRAINIAN SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ITS OFFICIAL HISTORICAL CONCEPTS

For the sake of convenience, Ukrainian Soviet historiography may be divided into several periods. The years 1920 to approximately 1930 constitute the period of national Ukrainian historiography briefly discussed in the preceding section. During the 1930s, due to Stalin’s political persecution

of Ukrainian historians, followers of Hrushevskyyi, Bahalii, Slabchenko, Iavorskii and others, independent Ukrainian historiography ceased to exist, and the major scheme of Ukrainian Soviet historiography had not yet developed. Soviet historians, preoccupied with undermining Hrushevskyyi's scheme, interpreted Ukrainian history according to the Communist party line on the national question, showing the friendship and unity of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. Also, in order to justify tsarist colonial policy and imperialism, the formula of the "lesser evil" was developed,<sup>9</sup> and the concept of "Soviet patriotism" was introduced. Following the brief relaxation of party control during World War II, Ukrainian historians after 1945 attempted to develop a Soviet concept of Ukrainian history supervised by Soviet Russian colleagues. The postwar period of Ukrainian historiography may be subdivided into separate phases which reflect the shifting policy of the Communist Party in regard to the national question and the changes in Soviet political leadership in Moscow and Kiev.

The years 1945 through 1954 belong to the Stalin era and are followed by the destalinization period in Ukrainian historiography, which officially began in 1956, lasted approximately until 1966, and continued as the so-called "Shelest era" (1963-1972); this last is the short breathing spell during de-stalinization and identified by some historians (e.g. J. Pelenski) as a "revival of controlled Ukrainian autonomism" as well as the revival of Ukrainian historical studies. The post-1972 years are the present phase, which reflects the new political purge of Ukrainian historians and the destruction of Ukrainian historical scholarship in Soviet Ukraine. The emphasis in this article is on the post-Stalin era, because it represents significant developments in current Ukrainian historiography and in the attitudes of Ukrainian historians toward the official concepts of Ukrainian history.

Several major ideological concepts of the more recent Soviet Ukrainian history should be stressed:

1. *The conception of unity* is the major historical thesis in Soviet historiography and relates to the historical processes of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, who trace their origin to the ancient Russian people who founded the first Russian State — Kievan Rus'.<sup>10</sup> This major thesis is reflected in all official historical text books including *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR*, vol. 1 (1953); A. K. Kasymenko, ed., *Istoria Ukrains'koi SSR*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (1956); K. Dubyna, ed., *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR* (Kiev 1967), and the most recent *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR*, ed. A. H. Shevelev, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1977). As can be seen, this thesis was advocated in all official texts on Ukrainian history from 1953 through 1977, regardless of various subperiods of Ukrainian Soviet historiography. In the context of this hypothesis, the formation of Ukrainian and Belorussian nationalities is placed in the 14th and 15th centuries.

2. *The theory of "reunification"* of the Ukrainian people with the

Russians and the *concept of the "great friendship"* among various nations within the Soviet Union constitute another cornerstone in the Soviet interpretation of the Ukrainian historical process. According to this theory the Ukrainian people strove for reunification with Russia during its historical development. Thus, in this context the Pereiaslav Treaty by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi is interpreted as fulfilling their centuries-old hopes for the union with Russia. According to the official Soviet historical interpretation in 1956, "the Ukrainian people, by tying their fate forever to that of their older brother, the fraternal Russian people, in whom they always saw their protector and ally, saved themselves as a nation."<sup>11</sup> This is supplemented with the general concept of friendly relations between Russian and non-Russian peoples, which Lowell Tillett correctly labels as one of the great myths of Soviet historiography.

3. *The concept of "elder brother" and Russian superiority.* The doctrine of Russia as "elder brother" and Russian leadership is clearly formulated in a number of Russian and Ukrainian historical treatises and summarized in one of the propositions of the Pereiaslav Theses: namely, "Throughout its entire history the Russian people had been the senior brother in the family of the East Slavic People"; and "The centralized Russian state played a tremendous role in the historical destinies of the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and other people of our country." This concept is still used in Soviet Ukrainian historiography to justify the political and cultural unity of the Russian and Ukrainian nations.<sup>12</sup>

4. *The condemnation of the "bourgeois-nationalist" conception of Hrushevskyi and his followers.* During the purges of the 1930s and after World War II, the Communist Party accused a number of Ukrainian historians of "national deviations," "ideological mistakes" and sharing Hrushevskyi's "nationalistic interpretation of Ukrainian history." Soviet official historians interpret Hrushevskyi's historical scheme and concepts as "hostile," "reactionary," and a "threat" to the Soviet historical dogma of unity and friendship of Russian and Ukrainian peoples. According to their view Hrushevskyi and his followers falsified the "real history of Ukraine." One of the major tasks of Ukrainian Soviet historiography is to expose these nationalist views and to discredit Ukrainian historians in the West.<sup>13</sup>

5. *Concept of "Soviet people" and the complete merger of nations in the Soviet Union.* On October 7, 1977 the new constitution of the USSR was adopted at the seventh (special) session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This official party document advocates the confluence of nations within the Soviet Union and the creation of the new historical community — "the Soviet people." It is evident that the new constitution reflects the older concept of the Communist Party proclaimed earlier by Khrushchev at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU (1961), and this new historical entity is based on a "common socialist motherland — the USSR, a common economical base — the socialist economy, a common socialist class structure, the

common Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a common goal — the structure of Communism, and many common spiritual and psychological features.”<sup>14</sup> Brezhnev incorporated this concept in the constitution, stressing that in the USSR “a developed socialist society has been built.”<sup>15</sup> This doctrine, which has as its goal the complete merging of various nationalities in the Soviet Union, is most dangerous, not only to the development of Ukrainian historiography in Soviet Ukraine, but to the survival of the Ukrainian people as a nation. In its decree commemorating the sixteenth anniversary of the establishment of Communism in Ukraine, the Communist Party stresses the “universal development and obligatory confluence of nations and nationalities of the country according to the successful Leninist national policy,”<sup>16</sup> and A. H. Shevelov, the new director of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, enthusiastically elaborated on the “emergence of the new historical community — the Soviet people.”<sup>17</sup> As a result, Ukrainian historical research since 1972 has been undergoing a new purge, with no positive prospect for the future. In reality, this new political concept is an extension of the theory of unity and the “reunification” concepts of 1954 and, in fact, represents the reincarnation of the “official scheme” of Russian history of the 19th century which was based on the hypothesis of an “all-Russian history” and an “all-Russian” nationality.

#### UKRAINIAN SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ITS CHANGE IN THE POST-STALIN ERA

The new trend in Ukrainian Soviet historiography is directly associated with the denunciation of the “cult of personality” by party officials and Russian historians during the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956. In his congressional speech, Anastas Mikoyan considered Stalinist Soviet historiography as the “most backward sector of our ideological work” and also criticized the interference by Russian historians in the work of historians of Union republics. He advised Ukrainian historians to “write a rather better history of the emergence and the development of Ukrainian socialist state than the Moscow historians who undertook the job, but who would perhaps have been better advised not to.”<sup>18</sup> Anna Pankratova, the dean of Stalinist historians and the chief editor of *Voprosy istorii*, made during the same Congress critical remarks concerning the dogmatic nature of Soviet historiography, which resulted in an oversimplified interpretation of historical developments and events. Similar criticism by other Russian historians led to a limited relaxation of party control over historians and their writings. The basic question to be raised is this: How did Ukrainian Soviet historians respond to this new challenge and opportunity? Their reaction was swift and daring. Following the example of Russian historians, they challenged Stalinist interpretation of Ukrainian history and demanded

the rehabilitation of some political leaders and “bourgeois” Ukrainian historians condemned by the Stalinist regime. At the same time they stressed the necessity of the publication of a new Ukrainian historical periodical<sup>19</sup> and the establishment of a Ukrainian historical association.

The comments of O. K. Kasymenko, the director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR, presents a clear summary of the attitudes of Ukrainian historians during this period:

*Immeasurable harm has been done to the study of history in the Ukraine by the cult, as a result of Stalin's tyranny in the handling of important historical events, the biased interpretation of his own role, and cultivation of subjectivity in the works on the history of Ukraine. He is responsible for all sorts of distortion of historical truth.*<sup>20</sup>

The denunciation of Stalin's personality cult influenced several important developments in Ukrainian Soviet historiography after 1956, and especially during the so-called “Shelest era” (1963-1972). It is interesting to note that Shelest, the Communist leader of Ukraine during the 1960s, was charged by the Communist Party with a number of ideological deviations, including the glorification of Ukrainian Cossack history and a “neglect of the fundamental assumption that the history of Ukraine, following the so-called ‘reunification,’ cannot be treated outside the framework of that of the Russian state.”<sup>21</sup> Although I am not ready to compare Shelest to the Ukrainian hetmans (I. Skoropadskyi and P. Polubotok), as does Pelenski in his article, nevertheless Ukrainian historical scholarship during Shelest's time had its opportunity to expand and improve in quality. Shelest's cooperation and relationship with Ukrainian Soviet historians requires special investigation and is outside the scope of this article. During this period the following changes are noted in historiography: 1) The expansion of historical research centers and the creation of new historical periodicals; 2) The broadening of the scope of research, in part by easier access to historical sources; 3) Attempts by some Ukrainian historians to challenge several established concepts of Ukrainian Soviet historiography; 4) The increased administrative supervision and control of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and its historical sections by the central Russian Academy of Sciences of the USSR. All of these topics in themselves require future careful examination and evaluation, which, unfortunately, is impossible at the present time. However, it should be stated at the outset that this new subperiod of Ukrainian historiography did not end party involvement in historical research, and the “thaw” was of short duration. In this respect the period represents an interesting historiographical case study but as such cannot be said to represent the whole post-World War II Soviet Ukrainian historiography.



### HISTORICAL RESEARCH CENTERS, NEW HISTORICAL SERIALS, AND HISTORIANS

The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR — with its Institute of History (founded in 1936), and the Institute of Archeology (founded in 1938) — constitutes the principal historical research center in Soviet Ukraine.<sup>22</sup> In 1947 the Institute of History consisted of five sections covering various periods of Ukrainian history, and in 1951 the Academy's Institute of Social Sciences, with its historical section headed by I. Krypiakevych, was opened in Lviv. In the following years the institute expanded with the creation of several new sections, which included the department of historical auxiliary sciences, historiography and historical sources, history of the people of USSR, and others. In 1972 the Institute consisted of 17 historical sections. The main emphasis of the Institute's research was placed on the study of the Soviet period of Ukrainian history and the Communist Party, which also constituted the research domain of the Institute of History of the Party of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine. The multiplication of historical research units within the Academy of Sciences is related to the political changes which occurred after Stalin's death. However, as early as 1963 the Kiev Academy of Sciences was placed under the supervision of the Central Academy of Sciences of the USSR and lost its nominal independence. Professor Pritsak considers this action as a new "Valuev-like order" which degraded the status of the Ukrainian National Academy to a "division of the Russian Academy of Sciences, i.e., Academy of Sciences of the USSR."<sup>23</sup> However, this national academy status was, in actuality, lost in the 1930s when *Ukrains'ka Akademia Nauk* was changed to *Akademia Nauk Ukrains'koi SSR* (1936) thus destroying independent Ukrainian scholarship.

After the Second World War a number of noted historians worked in the Historical Institute of the Academy, including I. Krypiakevych, V. Holobutskyi, M. Marchenko, I. Hurzij, V. Diadychenko, O. Apanovych, F. Shevchenko, K. Huslysty, O. Kasymenko among others. They represented various generations of Ukrainian historians and consisted of party and nonparty members; however the dominant role was played by historians who were the members of the Communist Party. Despite political pressure and frequent accusations by party officials concerning their "deviations" and "ideological mistakes" many historians were able in the 1950s and 1960s to revitalize historical studies through expansion of history curricula and research. In this connection a number of chairs of history were established at the Ukrainian universities in Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovs'k, Chernivtsi, Donetsk and Uzhorod. The permanent Seminar in Auxiliary Historical Sciences was established at the Central State Historical Archives in Lviv (1961). This rapid mushrooming of historical curricula and research at Ukrainian universities and at the Academy of Science much increased historical research as well as the number of Ukrai-

nian historians.

Another very important development in Ukrainian historical research during the "destalinization process" was reflected in a number of new historical serial publications. In July, 1957, the first issue of the *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal (UIZh)* appeared under the editorship of F. P. Shevchenko, a specialist in Ukrainian Cossack history. *UIZh* which is the official organ of the Institute of History and the Institute of History of the Party of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine is devoted to the history of Ukraine, the Soviet Union and foreign countries. The establishment of this new Ukrainian historical journal signaled the beginning of a new era in Ukrainian historiography. It is unfortunate that most of the material in *UIZh* is devoted to the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the Soviet period of Ukrainian history,<sup>24</sup> and that since 1972, following F. P. Shevchenko's dismissal from the post of chief editor, *UIZh* has been converted into a purely propagandistic organ of communist ideology.

Other historical serials included: *Z istorii zachindnoukrains'kych zemel 1957-1960 (On the History of Ukrainian Lands)* which continued as *Z istorii Unkrains'koi RSR 1960-63 (On the History of Ukrainian SSR)* under the editorship of Ivan Krypiakievych; a new serial, *Istorychni dzerela ta ikh vykorystannia, 1964-72 (Historical Sources and Their Utilization)*, sponsored by the Institute of History and the Central Archival Administration, on the initiative of Krypiakievych and F. Shevchenko at Kiev. This second publication was instrumental in the rebirth of Ukrainian historical auxiliary sciences and contained many valuable historical materials. It ceased to exist in 1972 due to renewed political pressures.<sup>25</sup> *IDZV* was replaced with two new serials, *Vitchyzniana istoria (Fatherland History, 1975-)* and *Istoria zarubiznykh krain (History of Foreign Countries, 1974- )*, both of which follow the new political guidelines prescribed by Brezhnev's Communist Party. In addition to the above mentioned titles the Institute of History initiated in 1968 an annual, *Istoriografichni doslidzennia v Ukrains'kii RSR (Historiographical Studies in Ukrainian SSR, 1968-1972)*, and the Institute of Archaeology inaugurated in 1971 *Seredni viky na Ukraini (Middle Ages in Ukraine)*.<sup>26</sup> Both of these publications were edited by F. Shevchenko. *Kyivs'ka staryna (Kievan Antiquity)* also appeared in Kiev in 1972, sponsored by the Institute of Archaeology.

The initiation of several historical serials during 1957-1971 directly influenced the scope, quality and quantity of historical research in Ukraine. The year 1972 was the cut off date for all of the above mentioned titles with the exception of the *UIZh*. It makes a sharp departure from the historiographical developments of the 1960s and coincides with the removal of P. Shelest from his post of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Pelenski correctly observes that the removal of Shelest from his post had a far-reaching effect on "organizational repercussions for Ukrainian historical scholarship".<sup>27</sup> The closing of

several Ukrainian historical serials and the removal of Shevchenko from his editorial post in *UIZh* in 1972 clearly indicates that Ukrainian historical scholarship suffered a severe setback and historians were exposed to the new purges and hardships. At the time a few significant developments in the organization of research took place caused by Russian administration and control of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and its historical sections. Since 1963 they have been under the direct supervision of the Social Sciences Section of the Union Academy in Moscow (Academy of the Sciences of the USSR). In 1977 following the request of M. V. Nechkina, the director of the Bureau of the Scientific Council of the Historical Section of the Union Academy, the new historiographical coordinating regional section of the Moscow Bureau was created in Ukraine headed by A. H. Shevelev, who is the present director of the Historical Institute of the Ukrainian Academy. According to *UIZh* this new coordinating research unit was created as a result of "stronger and deeper" relationships between Ukrainian and Russian historians.<sup>28</sup> This new development signals the reemergence of stronger Russian control of Ukrainian historical research for the present and future.

#### THE SCOPE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

After 1956 Ukrainian historians gained greater access to archival materials which made possible publication of various collections of documents and in many instances improved their own research, which was executed on a broader source basis. Another positive feature during this period is the publication of multi-volume encyclopedic reference works, including 17 volumes of *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopedia* (1960-1965); 3 volumes of *Ukrains'kyi entsyklopedychnyi slovnyk* (1966-1968); 4 volumes of *Radians'ka entsyklopedia istorii Ukrainy* (1966-1972); and the comprehensive 26-volume *Istoria mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR (A History of Towns and Villages of Ukrainian SSR, 1967-1974)* — all published in the Ukrainian language. These publications represent a unique undertaking by historians in cooperation with other scientists and fill a large gap in historical reference literature according to the prescribed political formula. Ukrainian historians were not successful in publishing a comprehensive retrospective bibliography of Ukrainian history nor the first Ukrainian historical atlas, although these two projects were advocated by Ivan Krypiakevych and other historians back in 1956. Another area of special interest for Ukrainian historians is the publication of historical sources. The Archaeographical Commission of the Academy initiated a new series, "Sources for Ukrainian History" and published *Litopys Samovydtisia* (Kiev, 1970) and *Lvivs'kyi Litopys i Ostrozskyi Litopysets*, just to mention two publications of historical sources, in addition to other published collections of documents. This series is no longer published. During this period several descriptive catalogues of historical documents in Ukrainian archives

as well as a number of general and specific historical survey texts were also published.<sup>29</sup> Since space does not permit the presentation of a detailed account of all significant trends and publications covering various topics of Ukrainian history during its brief revival in the 1960's and 1970's, a few generalizations on them are in order — especially on two periods which pertain to Ukrainian medieval and Cossack history — which according to the Soviet historical periodization belong to feudal history.

1. *Medieval Ukrainian history* has been the most neglected area of Soviet Ukrainian historiography. This subject is shared to a certain extent by Ukrainian archaeologists and historians. I. M. Shekera, M. I. Braichevskyi, P. Tolochko, V. Dovzenok and I. M. Hapusenko published several monographs on it in the 1960s. Since this period also covers to a major extent the question of the ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian peoples, it has been the research domain of the Russian historians (B. Grekov, B. A. Rybakov, M. N. Tikhomirov, V. T. Pashuto and others). In general Ukrainian historians follow the official concept of the common origin of the Rus' State as well as the Marxist periodization with two major sociohistorical formations: (a) The emergence and the development of feudal relations among Eastern Slavs and the ancient Rus' state (6th — 12th centuries); (b) The period of the feudal division of Rus' into smaller parts (12th — 13th centuries). The formation of the Ukrainian nationality usually is placed in the 14th and 15th centuries. In Soviet Ukrainian historical textbooks the medieval period (Kievan and Galician Volhynian states) is presented only in very brief chapters.<sup>31</sup> The official concept of the common origin of the Ukrainians and the Russians is linked directly to the "reunification concept" of the two nations in the 17th century, and is now in line with the official party doctrine on the creation of the new historical entity — the "Soviet People."

The most serious attempt to reject the Soviet theory of the common origin of Ukrainian and Russian nations was undertaken by M. Braichevskyi, an able archeologist and historian. In his monograph, *The Origin of Rus'* (1968), Braichevskyi rejected the formula of the "Ancient Rus' nationality," and stressed (p. 189) that during the Kievan period there emerged three distinct nationalities:

Without doubt the center of the formation of the Ukrainian people was the wooded steppe regions of Poliany; for the Russians — the upper reaches of Dnipro, the Oka and Volga rivers; and for Belorussians the regions of the Drehovychi and Polochane . . . In this connection it seems that the formula: 'Ancient Rus' nationality' — common ancestor of Russian, Ukrainian people, is an unfortunate one.

His formulation of the ethnogenesis of these three East European nations was in direct contradiction to the official interpretation of East European

history and the Party's thesis concerning the "single root of the ancient Russian people who founded the early Russian state" (from "Pereiaslav Thesis" I, 1954). At the same time Braichevskyi was one of the chief defenders of the preservation and restoration of Ukrainian historical monuments in Kiev which were systematically destroyed by the government (St. Michael Cathedral of the 11th century; St. Nicholas Monastery of the 17th century; Chernihiv; the bell tower of the Holy Friday Church; and other places). In discussing Khotyn castle of the 13th century, he stated that it was built under "the Ukrainian Prince Danilo of Galicia," thus applying the designation of "Ukrainian" to one of the leading figures of Medieval East European history.<sup>32</sup>

To my knowledge, Braichevskyi's historical concepts were not promoted by other Ukrainian historians in their publications. However, his courageous challenge to official interpretations of medieval history affords *prima facie* evidence that in the 1960s Ukrainian Soviet historians had an opportunity to express their "unorthodox" views pertaining to the origin of the Ukrainian people, Ukrainian medieval history, and even historical terminology. It seems that Braichevskyi's colleagues were afraid to take a firm stand on this subject and the standard Soviet scheme prevailed in Ukrainian historiography during the "Destalinization era".

2. *History of Ukrainian Cossacks.* Ukrainian Cossack history is one of the popular topics in Ukrainian Soviet historiography. According to the official scheme this period contains the following phases:

(A) The development of feudal conditions of serfdom and the struggle of the masses against national and social oppression in the 15th and 16th centuries; the shaping of Ukrainian nationality.

(B) The strengthening of serfdom and of national oppression in Ukraine in the first half of the 17th century.

(C) The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people (1648-1654); the reunification of Ukraine with Russia.

(D) The socioeconomic development and political situation of Ukraine after reunification with Russia (2nd half of the 17th century) and the intensification of feudal serfdom pressure in Ukraine at the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century.

(E) Feudal serfdom in the second half of the 18th century and the origins of capitalism in Ukraine.

This periodization was adopted in various official historical textbooks by O. K. Kasymenko, V. A. Diadychenko, F. E. Los, and others. The basic feature of this scheme is the adaptation of the Ukrainian historical process to Russian history with as its culminating point, the "reunification of Ukraine with Russia" in 1654. In 1954, during the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty (1654), the Central Committee of the

Communist Party elaborated on this concept in an official treatise titled "Reunification of the Ukraine with Russia", thus further stressing the eternal friendship between Ukrainians and Russians as reflected in the political, economic, and cultural relationships between these two peoples in the 17th and 18th centuries. Soviet historians do not acknowledge the existence of the Cossack Hetman State during this period.

After 1956 I. Krypiakevych, F. Shevchenko, K. I. Steciuk, O. M. Apanovych, A. I. Baranovych, D. Boiko, D. Myshko, V. Diadychenko and a number of other historians<sup>33</sup> attempted to challenge various parts of this official interpretation of Cossack history and its terminology. In this respect the term "reunification" was replaced with "annexation" (F. P. Shevchenko) or "union" (F. Los), and the concept of the "people's liberation war" was replaced with "national liberation war" (I. Krypiakevych, I. D. Boiko, M. O. Apanovych). Some historians also stressed the colonial character of the tsarist policy toward Ukraine (A. Diadychenko) and the liquidation of Ukrainian autonomy by the tsarist government (I. D. Boiko). At the same time historians stressed the role of Ukrainian *bratstva* (M. Apanovych, M. Medynsky) as centers of Ukrainian cultural and political life which also influenced the Russian culture. However, V. Holobutskyi, the leading historian for this period, generally supported the official Soviet interpretation of Cossack history.<sup>34</sup> All these attempts to undermine the official "Pereiaslav Theses" indicate that at the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s many leading Ukrainian historians were involved in major revision of the accepted views on Ukrainian Cossack history. Probably the most direct and severe criticism of the established historical Soviet dogmas was presented by M. Braichevskyi in his challenging essay, *Annexation or Reunion? (Priednannia chy voziednannia?)*<sup>35</sup> in which he demolished the fundamental concept of "reunification" of Ukraine and Russia, using Marxist semantics and methodology. According to Braichevskyi, "It is impossible to 'Reunite' Ukraine with Russia, if one recognizes the existence of the Ukrainian and Russian people as separate ethnic components of eastern Slavdom" (p. 12). Furthermore, he stresses the incompatibility of the "Pereiaslav Thesis", formulated by the Communist Party, with historical facts and rejects the hypothesis of the "eternal friendship" of nations in Tsarist Russia as well as the thesis on the "beneficiality" of the Russian colonial policy. He points out the Tsarist government's betrayal of the Pereiaslav agreement in 1667, when the Tsar concluded a treaty with the Polish Commonwealth and Russia. Braichevskyi questioned the credibility of historians who in many instances "conform to the letter of decrees" and "simply conceal from the reader widely known and totally undisputed facts," and in this context he requested a basic reappraisal of Russo-Ukrainian relations. It is important to note that this essay not only reveals the falsehood of Soviet historical concepts, but also depicts the strong political pressures which force the historian to conceal and distort historical

evidence and to defend "erroneous theses, which are based on one-sided and tendentiously selected materials". Regardless of a more relaxed atmosphere during the "Shelest era" in the 1960's and despite revisionist attempts by Ukrainian historians, one still finds in their works dealing with the various phases of Cossack history a number of distortions, factual errors and biased interpretations concerning the formation of Zaporozhian Sich, the role of the Ukrainian aristocracy in the Cossacks' state building efforts in the 17th and 18th centuries, the role of Khmelnytskyi, Mazepa and other Ukrainian political and military leaders as well as a rather grotesque presentation of Ukrainian-Russian friendship. Braichevskyi's essay of 1965 explains the reason for this phenomenon in Soviet Ukrainian historiography. Nevertheless, one still finds in the monographs of I. Krypiakievych, F. Shevchenko, O. Holobutskyi, O. Apanovych, K. Steciuk, and other historians valuable materials, especially on the social and economic conditions of Cossack Ukraine, despite the official Marxist-Leninist semantics and distortions. The same applies to published collections of historical sources pertaining to this period.

#### OTHER HISTORICAL TOPICS

Ukrainian history in the 19th century is another popular topic in Soviet Ukrainian historiography. I. O. Hurzii, P. K. Fedorenko, M. P. Herasymenko, F. Iastrebov, H. Serhienko, and other historians<sup>36</sup> published a number of studies pertaining to the development of commodities; production and trade; social, political, and economic conditions; the class struggle; and cultural and political developments of Ukrainian society in the 19th century. These works are based on the Marxist point of view and on the Soviet historical scheme which stresses the development of industrial capitalism and the initiative of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in Ukraine, the Ukrainian lands under the oppression of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and the positive Russian influence on Ukrainian political and cultural life.

The partial rehabilitation of M. I. Kostomarov, S. Podolynskyi, M. Drahomanov, O. Lazarevskyi and others; the reevaluation of the role of the Cyril-Methodius Society and its ideology; and the reexamination of the Ukrainian populist and Ukrainophile movements in the 19th century by Ukrainian Soviet historians, follow revisionist patterns similar to the previous period. While the interpretation of the political process in general is distorted because of the Marxist-Leninist point of view, many of the published historical studies are based on new archival materials and contribute to the historical literature on the social and economic development of Ukraine in the 19th century.

One of the strongest accusations against the Tsarist colonial policy in

Ukraine was made by O. Luhova in her study, "On the Situation of Ukraine during the Period of Capitalism" (*UIZh*, no. 3 [1967]) in which she reexamines the economic and political relationships of Russia and Ukraine in the 18th and 19th centuries. Luhova exposes the Tsarist "economic and national oppression of the Ukraine," aimed at the destruction of the Ukrainian nation. F. Shevchenko, the chief editor of *UIZh*, was reprimanded by party officials for the publication of this article, and was removed from his editorial post for one year.

The Soviet period of Ukrainian history dominates historical studies at the Institute of History of the Academy and the Institute of History of the Party. Over ninety percent of all historical publications are devoted to the study of the Communist party, the October revolution, Lenin and his influence on Ukrainian history, the incorporation of West Ukraine into the USSR, the Second World War, the history of the Ukrainian working class, *Kolkhoz* peasantry, and other topics relating to the history of communist state building in Ukraine. At present, most of these materials are propagandistic, and in many instances historical research is replaced with political propaganda based on *a priori* conclusions dictated by the official party line. In my opinion, these topics are probably closer to political science, which primarily revolves around the problems of political institutions and their functions, political parties and public opinion, the study of propaganda, current political ideology and theory, and other cognate areas. Conservative historians would point to the absence of historical perspective, crucial to the assessment and thorough analysis of the so-called "current history". Regardless of these considerations, a few comments concerning this field of Soviet historiography are in order. Prior to 1956 the Ukrainian historical process of the 20th century, especially the period 1917-1921, was regarded as a natural extension of the history of the Russian proletariat under the guidance of the Communist Party in political, social, economic, and cultural spheres of development. In this context Ukrainian national leaders of the Revolutionary period (Hrushevskiy, V. Vynnychenko, S. Petlura and others) were stigmatized as "faithful menials of foreign imperialism" and "traitors to the Ukrainian people" (*Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR*, vol. 1 [1953]). Also the Ukrainian Central *Rada* was described as a "reactionary clique" composed of bourgeois landowners and nationalist members of the intelligentsia with the major objective of splitting the unity between the Ukrainian and Russian working masses in their struggle for liberation from the tsarist regime and capitalism.

During the "destalinization period," M. Hamretskiy, O. Karpenko, S. M. Korolivskiy, I. Kuras, and other historians attempted to reevaluate the significance of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the activities of Ukrainian national parties, and the role of the Central *Rada*. For instance, in his article, "The Ukrainian National Movement during the Preparation and Implementation of the October Revolution,"<sup>37</sup> Korolivskiy stresses the significance of the Central *Rada* as a Ukrainian political center with a par-



tial "democratic base" in early 1917. In its national liberation struggle the *Rada* was supported by large masses of Ukrainian peasants and soldiers.

This limited reexamination of the various phases of the Ukrainian revolution in 1917-1920 did not eliminate from Ukrainian Soviet historical studies distortions and biased analyses of political and other developments in Ukraine. The rehabilitation of M. Skrypnyk, D. Lebed, V. Zatonsky and other Communist leaders was more complete and permanent. It is important to note that F. P. Shevchenko, one of the leading revisionists and outstanding organizers of historical research, attempted to rehabilitate Hrushevskyy in *UIZh* and stressed his professional activity in Soviet Ukraine which "influenced the development of Ukrainian scholarship and culture".<sup>38</sup> This attempt failed and was used against Shevchenko in his dismissal from the directorship of the Institute of Archaeology and from his position as chief editor of *UIZh* in 1972.

These rehabilitative and revisionist trends in Ukrainian Soviet historiography reflect a healthy fermentation among a large circle of Ukrainian historians who have attempted to reexamine and even challenge some of the prescribed political formulas and historical myths pertaining to various phases of Ukrainian history created during the Stalinist era. However, these revisionist tendencies were not shared by all Ukrainian Soviet historians. In his dissertation<sup>39</sup> I. Myhul divides Ukrainian Soviet historians into two separate schools of thought — "detractors" (conformists) and "rehabilitators"; the latter group through the "usage of metaphors and symbols" reflected in their publications "ethnic pluralism, ethnic identity and ethnic nationalism as positive categories." Although this classification of historians is interesting, it does not provide a well-grounded assessment of the historiographical developments in Soviet Ukraine as related to the party's role in historical research. It is unfortunate that in this respect Myhul did not analyze the relationship of Peter Shelest with the "rehabilitators," which, in my opinion, is essential to his topic. Also such an inflexible classification of all Soviet Ukrainian historians into two mutually exclusive "schools" fails to provide an explanation of the shifting positions of historians who switched from "rehabilitators" to "detractors" and vice versa, as well as the status of those historians who belonged to both groups simultaneously, depending upon the topic of investigation.

In my opinion this rehabilitative trend in Soviet historiography should not be confused with the limited rebirth of Ukrainian national historiography or with the "ethnic nationalistic" interpretation (I. Myhul) of the Ukrainian historical process. I consider this development as a strong reaction by Ukrainian historians against the russification policies of the Russian Communist party and in favor of Ukrainian historical scholarship and the Ukrainian culture in general. The "destalinization" process and Shelest's Communist leadership in the 1960's provided an opportune

moment for this reaction which, nevertheless, still was confined to Marxist-Leninist "orthodox" methodology and interpretation of Ukrainian history. Their research excluded the spirit of free historical inquiry. In the 1970's Ukrainian historians lost their "revisionist battle" due to a shifting in the nationality policy of the Communist party and the removal of Peter Shelest from his position in 1972. In general I agree with the opinion that the so-called "Shelest era" was accompanied by "an attempt to highlight Communist achievements not only in an All Union, i.e. Russian context, but also in a Ukrainian one. The underlying aim of this attempt was the legitimation of Ukrainian national pride without an incursion into Russian imperialistic sensibility. Thus Ukrainian historians were allowed to delve into the sources and write about their research, but only on the condition that they avoid certain touchy subjects, reserved exclusively for Russian scholarship."<sup>40</sup> Of course there were a few exceptions to this rule, as demonstrated in Braichevskiy's case and his interpretation of the ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian and Russian people.

The present subperiod of Ukrainian Soviet historiography, covering the years 1973-1978, may be regarded as being the most repressive; the following developments have occurred:

1. Complete reversal of the revisionist trend in Ukrainian Soviet historiography after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in 1956 and in the 1960's. The present development of Ukrainian historiography is directly linked to the official guideline expressed in the decrees of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th Congresses of the Communist Party and in Brezhnev's official communications.<sup>41</sup> As a result of the present official party line, all major historical serials established during 1960 were liquidated, and the old Soviet concepts of "reunification," "common origin" of Ukrainians and Russians, and "eternal friendship" of Soviet nations were reintroduced in historical publications with emphasis on the development of a new historical entity the "Soviet People." A content analysis of *UIZh* for the past five years and of the newly published volumes of *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR* supports this conclusion. In view of this the revisionist trend of Ukrainian Soviet historiography ceased to exist and was replaced by the new cult of Brezhnev, which reveals many neo-Stalinist features, applied to Soviet Ukrainian historiography.

2. Key administrative positions in Ukrainian historical research centers are now occupied by hard-line Communists who adhere to prescribed policy and are ardent supporters of the "cult of Brezhnev." For instance, the Institute of History of the Academy is headed by Communist hard-liner A. H. Shevelev; the present director of the Institute of Archeology is I. A. Artemenko; the director of the Central State Historical Archives is N. F. Vradii; and V. I. Iurchuk heads the Institute of the History of the Communist Party. A similar pattern is evident in the editorships of Soviet Ukrainian serials: the chief editor of *UIZh* is P. M. Kalynenko, who replaced

F. Shevchenko in 1972; A. H. Shevelev is the chief editor of two current serials sponsored by the Institute of History, *Istoria zarubizhnykh krain* (Kiev, 1975- ) and *Vitchyzniana istoria* (Kiev, 1976- ), and he is also the chief editor of the recent multivolume *History of Ukrainian RSR* (Kiev, 1977- ). In summary, the revisionists of the 1960's have been replaced with dogmatic followers of the Communist Party, and *UIZh* and other historical serials now published have been converted into propagandistic organs of the Party.

3. Many revisionist historians of the 1960's have been restrained from pursuing historical research by such means as political harassment and deprivation of their positions at research institutes, and in many instances they have been silenced. Furthermore, it is important that during the last twelve years a number of noted Ukrainian historians have died, including I. Krypiakovich, A. Diadychenko, I. Hurzij, I. Boiko, K. Huslysty, F. Jastrebov, and S. Korolivskiy. Unfortunately those specialists cannot be replaced with the current cadres of propagandist-oriented historians trained at the Institute of the History of the Communist Party.

4. At the present time we are witnesses to an intensified effort aimed at the russification of historical scholarship in Ukraine. This trend, which is clearly reflected in the content of Ukrainian Soviet historical publications, is directly related to the Party's official nationality policies, the objective being the fusion of Soviet nations and the formation of a new historical entity — "the Soviet People." In his annual report of November 11, 1977, A. H. Shevelev, director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev, emphasized the imperative to follow the guidelines of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the Communist Party in regard to the "unbreakable ties between the Soviet nations and the creation of the new entity of the Soviet people" (*UIZh*, no. 1 [1978], p. 154).

In contrast to their predecessor (P. Shelest), V. V. Shcherbytskyi, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and V. Malanchuk, party secretary, have promoted russifying policies in regard to Ukrainian historical scholarship and the Ukrainian culture in general. This russifying trend is also shown by the Party's official linguistic policy, which has as its ultimate objective the replacement of the various national languages of the Soviet Republics with the Russian language, viewed as the dominant and prescribed language for the "multinational Soviet people." The surfacing of the Ukrainian academician T. K. Bilodid in the 1970s with his lectures on the "Development of languages of Socialist nations, and the Russian language — the language of international communication as related to the fusion of the Soviet nations" (*UIZh*, no. 2, 1978) indicates the intensified linguistic russification patronized by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. It is interesting to note that in 1975-1976 the Institute of History had contemplated changing the language of the *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal* to Russian.

In reviewing the state of present-day Ukrainian Soviet historiography, evidence indicates a definite reversal to the repressive pre-1956 conditions. Only significant changes in the nationality policies and in the political leadership in Moscow and Kiev may revitalize historiography in Soviet Ukraine and redirect its present ominous course. However, judging by all available evidence, present Ukrainian Soviet historical scholarship is in a state of deep crisis, and with no signs of significant changes appearing, only pessimistic predictions can be made for the future.

## NOTES

1. For general studies on Ukrainian historiography see Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography* (New York, 1957); Alexander Ohloblyn, *Ukrainian Historiography, 1917-1956* (New York, 1957). These surveys were published in the U.S. vols. 5 and 6 of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences*; see also O. Ohloblyn, *Dumky pro suchasnu ukrains'ku sovjets'ku istoriohrafii* (New York, 1963); B. Krupnytsky, *Ukrains'ka istorychna nauka pid Sovietamy 1920-1950* (Munich, 1957); V. A. Dyadychenko, F.E. Los, and V.G. Sarbey, *Development of Historical Science in the Ukrainian SSR* (Kiev, 1970); Jaroslav Pelenski, "Soviet Ukrainian Historiography after World War II," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 12, no. 3 (1964); Stephan Horak, "Ukrainian Historiography 1953-1963," *Slavic Review*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1965); Akademia Nauk URSR, Instytut Istorii, *Rozvytok istorychnoi nauky na Ukraini za roky radians'koi vlady* (Kiev, 1973).
2. D. Doroshenko, *Survey*, p. 2.
3. The analysis of M. Hrushevskyi's historical concepts is presented by Lubomyr R. Wynar, "Ukrainian-Russian Confrontation in Historiography: Michael Hrushevskyi versus the Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1974.
4. For a detailed analysis, see L. R. Wynar, *Mykhailo Hrushevskyi i Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka (1894-1930)* (Munich, 1970).
5. M. Hrushevskyi established his historical school in Lviv prior to World War I, and in Kiev during 1920s. Among his students one finds such noted historians as I. Krypiakevych, M. Korduba, S. Tomashivskyi, V. Lypynskyi, V. Herasymchuk, M. Chubatyi, O. Baranovych, S. Shamray, and I. Hermaize. It is important to note that Hrushevskyi represented in Ukrainian historiography a "populist trend." His students accepted Hrushevskyi's historiographical scheme of East European history, his terminology, and scientific methodology. Some of them (S. Tomashivskyi, V. Lypynskyi and others) parted with their mentor's populist interpretation of Ukrainian historical process and founded a state-oriented historical school stressing the role of the "state" in Ukrainian history.
6. B. Krupnytskyi, *Istorychna nauka*, pp. 5-15; O. Ohloblyn, *Historiography*, p. 307-308.
7. O. Ohloblyn, *Historiography*, p. 300.
8. C. E. Black, "History and Politics in the Soviet Union," in *Rewriting the Soviet History*, ed. by C. E. Black, 2nd ed. New York, 1962, p. 32; The nature of

- Soviet historical scholarship is adequately discussed by several authors: John Keep and L. Brisby, eds., *Contemporary History in the Soviet Mirror* (New York, 1964); Nancy Whittier-Heer, *Politics and History in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971); Lowell Tillet, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1969); I. Myhul, "Politics and History in the Soviet-Ukraine: A Study of Soviet Ukrainian Historiography," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973).
9. According to this formula Ukraine's annexation to Russia in 1654 was considered as "lesser evil" than possible annexation by Poland. For explanation see K. Shtepa *Russian Historians and the Soviet State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1962), pp. 276-284; See also N. Nichkina, "K voprosu o formule 'Naimenshee zlo'," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 4, 1951.
  10. This concept was advocated in Soviet Ukrainian historical and political literature prior to and after World War II. In 1947, for instance, K. Lytwyn, then Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, stated in his article "On the History of Ukraine" (*Bolshevik*, No. 7 [1947]) that Ukrainian historians must depict the unity of the Russian and Ukrainian people, and disprove Hrushevskiy's "bourgeois" concept of Ukrainian history. The same views were expressed by many historians including O. K. Kasymenko, then Director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR, who stated in 1950, "the Ukrainian history and its periodization is only comprehensible on the basis of unity of the historical destiny between Russian and Ukrainian nations," O. K. Kasymenko, "Rozrobka i vysvitlennia osnovnykh etapiv istorii Ukrainy," *Naukovi Zapysky*. A. N. Instytut Istorii Ukrainy, vol. 3 (1950): 3.
  11. V. A. Diadychenko, A. K. Kasymenko, F. E. Los, eds. *Istoria Ukrain's'koi SSR*, 1 (Kiev, 1956): 281-282. For interpretation of the Pereiaslav thesis see J. Pelenski, "Historiography", pp. 381-399; A. Moskalenko, *Khmelnitskyi and the Treaty of Periaslav in Soviet Historiography* (New York, 1955). In American historiography the clear interpretation of the "reunification" concept is presented by Lowell Tillet, *Great Friendship*, pp. 298-299, 336-340. The official theses of the *Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Reunion of the Ukraine with Russia* were prepared and published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1954 in Russian, Ukrainian, and other languages.
  12. According to Russian historians "the great Russian" nationality developed a distinct and brilliant culture exercising a great influence on the cultures of the brotherly nations, Ukrainians and Belorussians. A. M. Sakharov and V. A. Muravev, *Ocherki Russkoi kultury IX-XVIII* (Moscow, 1962), p. 117.
  13. See M. Kotlar, *Istorychne mynule ukrains'koho narodu i zarubizni falsyfikatory* (Kiev, 1974); M. M. Varvartsev, *Burzuazno-natsionalistychna propahanda na sluzbi antykomunizmu* (Kiev, 1974).
  14. *KPRS v rezolutsiakh i rishenniakh zizdiv, konferentsii i plenumiv* (Kiev, 1964), p. 360.
  15. *Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 13-14.
  16. "Pro 60-richcha vstanovlennia radians'koi vlady na Ukraini," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, (later cited as *UIZh*), no. 12 (1977), p. 5.
  17. *UIZh*, no. 1 (1978), p. 154.
  18. Yaroslav Bilinsky, *The Second Soviet Republic: The Ukraine After World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1964), pp. 206-207.

19. For additional information see J. Pelenski, "Historiography," pp. 389-394, Bilinski, *Second Soviet Republic*, pp. 207-209; Tillett, *Great Friendship*, pp. 225-228.
20. D. K. Kasymenko, "Novi osiahy Ukrains'kykh istorykiv," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi Zhurnal*, no. 3 (1963), p. 140.
21. Jaroslav Pelenski, "Shelest and his Period in Soviet Ukraine (1963-1972): A Revival of Controlled Ukrainian Autonomism," *Ukraine in the Seventies*, ed. P. J. Potichnyj (Oakville, Ont. 1975), p. 284. See also L. Tillett, "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Fall of Shelest," *Slavic Review*, 34 (1975): 752-768.
22. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was established by Hetman P. Skoropadskyi in Kiev in 1918 and in the 1920s constituted the major Ukrainian research center. Since the 1930s the Academy has been under strict party supervision. For references see N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Ukrains'ka Akademia Nauk*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1955-58); *Istoria Akademii Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1967).
23. O. Pritsak, *Chomu katedry ukrainoznavstva v Harvardi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), p. 126.
24. Critical reviews on *UIZh* were published by M. Zdan in *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, 2 (1965): 89-93; O. Subtelnyi, *Recenzija*, 1 (1970): 38-48. It is interesting to note that *UIZh* excludes reviews of Western publications by Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian historians, thus limiting its scope. Subtelnyi stressed the provincialism of *UIZh* ("turgid style" and "stultifying ideological orthodoxy"). See also S. Horak, "Historiography," pp. 265-266.
25. Critical reviews published by O. Pritsak in *Recenzija*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1972); M. Zdan in *Ukrains'kyi istoryk* nos. 3-4 (1966); and nos. 1-2 (1967); nos. 1-3 (1969).
26. Reviewed by M. Zdan in *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, nos. 3-4 (1972); F. Sysyn in *Recenzija*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1977).
27. J. Pelenski, "Historiography," p. 288.
28. On recent developments in the Academy see *UIZh* no. 1 (1978), pp. 141-8, 158-59; *UIZh* no. 6 (1978), pp. 153-54.
29. Other important collections of archival materials include *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej*, 3 vols. (Moskva, 1954); *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnytskoho 1648-1657* I. Krypiakevych and I. Butych, editors (Kiev, 1961); *Revolutsia 1905-1907 g. na Ukraine*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1955); *Grazhdanskaia voina na Ukraine 1918-1920*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1967). For a brief survey of these publications see S. O. Iakovlev, *Ukrains'kaadians'ka archeohrafia* (Kiev, 1965), pp. 137-168; also for a general survey see *Rozvytok istorychnoi nauky*, pp. 37-64; V. A. Dyadychenko, et al., *Development of Historical Science*, pp. 35-39; Special historical surveys include M. I. Marchenko, *Istoria ukrains'koi kultury* (Kiev, 1961) and his *Ukrains'ka istoriographia* (Kiev, 1959). Both of these publications reflect the revisionist spirit of Ukrainian historiography and are valuable contributions to historical literature.
30. For example, M. Iu. Braichevskyi, *Koly i iak vynyk Kyiv* (Kiev, 1963) and *Pokhodzenna Rusi* (Kiev, 1968); I. M. Shekera, *Mizhnarodni zviazky Kyivs'koi Rusi* (Kiev, 1966); V. I. Dovzenok, *Zemlerobstvo drevnoi Rusi* (Kiev, 1961). The Archaeological Institute of the Academy published a collective work *Narysy starodavnoi istorii Ukrains'koi RSR* in 1957, and a comprehensive *Archeologia Ukrains'koi RSR*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1971-73).

31. For instance in *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR*, vol. 1 (1967), 800 p. The history of Kievan and Galician Volhynian state is presented on 69 pages, including many illustrations; O. K. Kasymenko in *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR* (Kiev, 1960), 397 p., discusses this period on 26 pages, and in another *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR*. K. Dubyna (Kiev, 1967), 407 p., it is discussed on 17 pages.
32. M. Iu. Braichevsky, "Historical Monuments," *Soviet Studies in History*, vol. 5, (1966): 36, originally published in *Istoria SSSR*, no. 2 (1966).
33. The following studies deserve special attention: I. Krypiakovykh, *Bohdan Khmenytskyi* (Kiev, 1954); F. Shevchenko, *Politychni ta ekonomichni zviazky Ukrainy z Rossieiu v seredyni XVII st.* (Kiev, 1959); K. I. Steciuk, *Narodni ruchy na Livoberezhnii i Slobidskii Ukraini v 50-70-kh rokakh XVII st.* (Kiev, 1959); I. D. Boiko, *Selanstvo Ukrainy v druhii polovyni XVI-pershil pol. XVII st.* (Kiev, 1963). For Soviet interpretation see *Rozvytok istorichnoi nauky*, pp. 86-89.
34. V. Holobutskyi, a leading Ukrainian historian, has written several major works on Ukrainian Cossacks, including *Chernomorskoe kozachestvo* (Kiev, 1956), *Zaporozkoe kozachestvo* (Kiev, 1957), and *Zaporozka Sich v ostanni chasy svoho isnuvannia* (Kiev, 1961).
35. M. Braichevskyi, a senior research member of the Institute of History (Academy of Sciences of Ukrainian SSR) and author of numerous monographs and articles (*Rymska moneta na terytorii Ukrainy*, Kiev, 1959), *Bila dzerel slovians'koi derzavnosti* (Kiev, 1968) and others (see footnote no. 30). His essay "Annexation or Reunification?" was submitted for publication to the Institute of History in 1965, but was never published in Ukraine due to its "controversial content." In 1968 Braichevskyi, together with other Ukrainian intellectuals, signed a protest-memorandum addressed to L. Brezhnev, A. Kosygin and N. Pothorny criticizing and protesting "the political trials of young people belonging to the creative and scientific intelligence" held in Soviet Union (See M. Browne, ed., *Ferment in Ukraine* (New York, 1971), pp. 191-196. As a result of his protest, Braichevskyi was dismissed from his position in the Academy. The first published edition of his work appeared in Canada in 1972, and an English version by G. Kulchycky was published in Munich in 1974, as *Annexation or Reunification*.
36. For information and analysis of historical research pertaining to the 19th century, see I. Myhul, "Politics and History," pp. 163-255; V. A. Diadychenko et al., *Historical Science*, pp. 57-58.
37. M. Korolivsky, "Ukrainskoe natsionalnoe dvizhenie v period podgotovky i provedenya Oktiabrskoi revoliutsii," *Istoria SSSR*, no. 5 (1965); also I. K. Rybalka, "Povorot serednioho selanstva Ukrainy na bik Radians'koi vlady," *UIZh*, no. 2 (1963); I. M. Hamretskyi, "Do pytannia pro taktyku bilshovyktiv shchodo Tsentralnoi Rady v lystopadi 1917 R.," *UIZh*, no. 3 (1965).
38. F. P. Shevchenko, "Chomu M. Hryshevskyi povernuvsia na Riadiansku Ukrainu," *UIZh*, no. 11 (1966), pp. 13-30.
39. Ivan Myhul, "Politics and History in the Soviet Ukraine: A Study of Soviet Historiography," Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1973, p. 6. It seems that Myhul based his dissertation on a content analysis, a popular research method in political science and journalism. Unfortunately, he did not explain his methodology (e.g., his units of content analysis nor sampling procedures in regard to utilized quotations).

40. Pritsak, *Recenzija*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 34-35.
41. See *Istoria Ukrains'koi RSR*, vol. 5 (1977): 7. On Brezhnev and his policies see Robert G. Wesson, *Lenin's Legacy: The Story of CPSU* (Stanford, 1978), pp. 235-71.