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Orest KRASIVSKYI

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the European Integration and Law Department of Lviv Regional Institute of Public Administration of the National Academy of Public Administration under Presidential authority, 16 V. Suhomlinskyi street, Bryukhovychi, Lviv region, Ukraine, postal code 79491 (rasivskyi_o@academy.lviv.ua)

Mykola LYTVYN

PhD hab. (History), Professor, Head of the Center for the Study of Ukrainian-Polish Relations, I. Kryp'iakevych Institute of Ukrainian Studies, NAS of Ukraine, 4 Kozelnytska street, Lviv, Ukraine, postal code 79026 (ukrpol.cent@gmail.com)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1010-2329>

ResearcherID: C-1385-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/C-1385-2019>)

Орест КРАСІВСЬКИЙ

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач кафедри європейської інтеграції та права Львівського регіонального інституту державного управління Національної академії державного управління при Президентові України, вул. В. Сухомлинського, 16, Брюховичі, Львівська область, індекс 79491 (rasivskyi_o@academy.lviv.ua)

Микола ЛИТВИН,

доктор історичних наук, професор, завідувач Центру дослідження українсько-польських відносин Інституту українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, вул. Козельницька, 4, Львів, Україна, індекс 79026 (ukrpol.cent@gmail.com)

UKRAINIAN INTEGRAL NATIONALISM: SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DIMENSIONS

Review: Roman Shukhevych in the Social and Political Life of the Western Ukraine in 1920 – 1939: Memories, Documents, Pictures / Arr. and resp. ed. by Andriy Sova; Independent Historical Studies Center. Lviv: Apriori, 2019. 816 pp.; Posivnych Mykola. Stepan Bandera. Stryi: Shchedryk, 2017. 332 p.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ІНТЕГРАЛЬНИЙ НАЦІОНАЛІЗМ: СУСПІЛЬНИЙ ТА ОСОБИСТІСНИЙ ВИМІРИ Рецензія: Роман Шухевич у громадсько-політичному житті Західної України 1920 – 1939 рр.: спогади, документи, світлини / упор. і відп. ред. Андрій Сова; Центр незалежних історичних студій. Львів: Апріорі, 2019. 816 с.; Посівнич Микола. Степан Бандера. Стрий: Щедрик, 2017. 332 с.

The Ukrainian researchers, in particular, Oleksandr Zaitsev, made a decent remark that the present day «modern world» was formed up with the help of a global and hundreds of local successful and unsuccessful nationalist projects participation. The Ukrainian integral

nationalism could be singled out among them, which has not been fully implemented, but which is still affecting politics in Ukraine and abroad¹. The Ukrainian integral nationalism originated and spread in the XXth century during the interwar period in the western Ukrainian lands, especially in the Ukrainian military-political emigration environment. The paramount national variants of the common European phenomenon were: the «active nationalism», a political doctrine created by Dmytro Dontsov (born in Melitopol, the southern Ukrainian city, he lived in Lviv before and after World War I; died and was buried in Canada); the «integral nationalism», the illegal ideology of the radical right-wing Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) (founded in 1929 under Yevhen Konovalets leadership); the «creative nationalism», the legal Front of National Unity (founded on Dmytro Paliiv initiative in 1933 and the First November Uprising organizer in Lviv in 1918) In general, the Ukrainian integral nationalism had a radical ideology concerning the Ukrainians national liberation, whose ethnic territories were part of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, the Soviet Union in the interwar period and even before World War II outbreak – Hungary. At the same time, the Ukrainian nationalists promoted and mobilized the Ukrainians to fight against the national oppression, for the sovereign Ukrainian state restoration, as it was about to become Eastern Europe regional leader. However, the Ukrainian nationalists were constantly persecuted and severely punished by the Polish authorities and the USSR special services as their radical moods were not approved by the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the clergy, the politicians of centrist parties.

The Ukrainian integral nationalism was not only the ideology of a non-state enslaved nation, but also the radical right-wing liberation movement center and representative in 1920-ies and 1940-ies. In the early 1950-ies the Ukrainian integral nationalism transitioned to the democratic foundations gradually. Actually, more detailed information about the Ukrainian nationalism formation and evolution, the functioning of its system of symbols and rituals, and the life of its leaders could be found in Lviv scholars new books, who are reviewed in the aforementioned publication.

In particular, the documentary issue dedicated to Roman Shukhevych (1907 – 1950), edited by Andriy Sova, reconstructs not only the life path of this public-political figure, the UPA future Commander-in-Chief before World War II outbreak, but also actualizes many problems and little-known facts from the history concerning the Ukrainian liberation movement, in particular after the Ukrainian National-Democratic Revolution defeat during 1917 – 1921. The historian uses not only the archival documents, but also the participants' memories and eyewitnesses to some events, the photographs, some small circulations periodicals, which were found in the United States, Canada, Argentina, the United Kingdom, France, and Poland. The young reader would consult the dictionary with pleasure and could take advantage of infrequently used and outdated words. It is also important that the documentary issue is accompanied by the name and geographical indexes, some supplements with the bibliographic materials, Decrees of the President of Ukraine.

Stepan's Shah historical and memoir essay, written in 1965, depicts and reconstructs Roman Shukhevych family roots: Joseph Shukhevych, the great-grandfather, the Greek Catholic Father and his sacrificial public and writing activities, whose work was appreciated by young Ivan Franko; the scientific and educational work of his grandfather – the famous ethnographer Volodymyr Shukhevych, his cousins – lawyers Mykola Shukhevych and

¹ Zaitsev O. Ukrainian Integral Nationalism (1920ies – 1930ies): Essays on Intellectual History. Kyiv: Krytyka, 2013. 488s.

Stepan Shukhevych (Stepan became the Galician Army Chieftain (Ataman)); Joseph Shukhevych, Roman's father, talented singer and County Judge in Krakivets. While studying at the Academic Gymnasium branch in Lviv, the young man read a lot of historical literature, especially Roman was fond of Mykola Hohol's story «Taras Bulba»; he gladly visited Lviv's historical nooks and crannies, museums, Knyazha Halych. According to the book's documents, Roman Shukhevych travelled around the city, visited the Carpathians, participated in illegal national holidays celebrations, for instance, the proclamation of ZUNR anniversaries, the Act of UNR and ZUNR Union in 1919, Petlyura's Holidays, the trips to the legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and the Galician Army soldiers' graves as he was the part of «Lisovi Chorty» (Forest Devils), the plast (boy scout) kuren and «Tury» (Tours), the tourist group.

The book depicts Roman's Shukhevych interests, who was already the OUN member, while studying at Lviv Polytechnic (studied at bridges and dams department), his arrest and imprisonment for attempting to assassinate the Polish Interior Minister Bronisław Pieracki at Lviv Bryhidka prison and in Bereh Kartuzkyi Concentration Camp (1934 – 1935) (p. 281). It is noted that in 1928 – 1929, the young man obtained military combat training in the Polish army – Gdańsk officers' school and Volodymyr-Volynskyi artillery school of gunmen in (pp. 48–50, 150). Roman's Shukhevych reminiscences are also included (pseudo «Shchuka») as he was the Carpathian Ukraine defender – young and energetic the Carpathian Sich Chief of the staff (1939), the OUN member (1941), who as the UPA Commander-in-Chief in 1943 headed the «anti-German struggle» (p. 62–63, 83, 155, 170, 451–466).

The book's pages on Roman's Shukhevych personal life and interests are considered to be the most interesting and exciting as there is much unknown information, which the foreign authors did not cover on purpose. It is known that the young man was the co-founder of the plastun (boy scout) sports group «Yasnyi Tryzub» (Bright Trident), the Carpathian leshchetarskyi club, Zaporizkyh games (ihrushch) participant in Lviv, where he won the 100-meter swim, the 400-meter hurdles race. He played chess, volleyball and basketball with pleasure, did gymnastics, participated in cross-country skiing for 10–15 kilometers near Lviv, and won in a motor-free hang-glider flights in Gdańsk (pp. 191–205, 215, 662, 664, 708). He skillfully played the piano and sang concerts with the «Bohema» (Bohemian) Quartet (pp. 206–207). The young man quickly learned the laws of business, hence, created a successful advertising firm «Fama», which became the OUN financial donor (pp. 286–307). As a matter of course the book presents facts about Roman's Shukhevych relationship with Yevhen Konovalts, Stepan Bandera, Mykola Lebed', Bohdan Pidhainyi, Zinoviy Matla, Osyp Boydunyk, Vasyl Kuk and other OUN figures.

In general, the book contains a rich variety of documentary material, but for the unprepared reader (especially the young one), for the deeper understanding, it was vital to submit in the book introduction not only the archeographic remarks, but also a generalized prosopographic essay on Roman's Shukhevych life and activities, mention not only the Ukrainian but also the foreign researchers, who dealt with the Ukrainian liberation movement.

The historian Mykola Posivnych, the «UPA Chronicle. New Series» multi-volume editorial board member, several documents collection compiler, in particular about Roman Shukhevych («Taras Chuprynka» and Stepan Bandera) was well-known among the readers. The new scientist's book, which was issued in Stryi (Lviv region) in 2018, highlights the new tumultuous life fringes and Stepan's Bandera, the OUN leader political activity (1909 – 1959). First of all, the author tries to demythologize this iconic figure, who is mostly treated

as the fanatical terrorist rather than the Ukrainian patriot in Russia and Poland, sometimes in the east of Ukraine. Instead, Mykola Posivnych portrays Stepan Bandera as an active liberation movement participant and leader of the mid XXth century, as the founder of his political, ideological, tactical and strategic foundations (p. 6–7).

The author traditionally begins the story with Stepan's Bandera family members, first of all, his father, Father Andrew, the Ukrainian National Council of ZUNR member, the Galician Army chaplain. Moreover, the author puts the emphasis on Stryi Gymnasium, «Plast», «Luh», «Sich» communities, members of which he was in Stryi or his native village Staryi Uhryniv (Kaluha povit), as they had influence on the young's man outlook formation. Along with the plastuns, the guy repeatedly went hiking and camped in the Carpathians, worked part-time by giving Mathematics private lessons; Roman loved to sing, played the piano, mandolin, the guitar; he organized amateur performances; participated in hiking trips to the rifle graves on Mount Makivka. While studying at Lviv Polytechnic, the student joined the Ukrainian Military Organization and the OUN activities effectively. In order to reach success and in the name of future victories, the young man tempered his will and body by swimming and jumping in the water, cold pouring, skiing and hiking, basketball exercises (pp. 13–41). He helped «Sil'skyi Hospodar» (Agricultural) Society to promote agronomic knowledge among the peasants, to fight against smoking and alcoholism among the young people.

It is quite fair that the author of the book paid much attention to Stepan's Bandera political activities, who in 1929 became the OUN Stryi District constituent conference participant, in 1930 headed the OUN technical publishing department, and in 1939 – the underground foreign editions supplying department. As a propaganda referent, the young politician wrote a series of articles and instructions on how to deploy the organization, gave recommendations on how the politicians should focus on the peasants and the youth. The book describes in detail the the OUN structure, its program, the pressure apparatus, the struggle tactic; S. Bandera's activity as the OUN Regional Leader is analyzed. In order to prevent the enemy power from establishing on the foreign territory, the organization often used the revolutionary terror acts for the self-defense. On Stepan's initiative, the school campaigns were launched in order to defend the Ukrainian language. Mykola Posivnych paid much attention in the book to the course of Warsaw and Lviv processes (1935 – 1936), during which Stepan Bandera was on trial for the anti-Polish activity, he also tried to turn the authorities into a means of propaganda for the liberation struggle against the invaders (p. 91–118).

The author did not ignore the OUN split issue in 1940, the heated discussions concerning the further actions and tactics between the regional and the foreign leadership of the organization (pp. 133–146). The scientist argues that the new OUN Sergeant S. Bandera did not want to cooperate with the Nazi Germany, and therefore was sent to Hitler's Sachsenhausen concentration camp (1941 – 1944). The book objectively reveals the little-known post-war emigration period of S. Bandera's life, the tragic fate of his family; his death circumstances with the USSR KGB agents participation have been analyzed, the funeral course in Munich, which, in the Soviet special services opinion, «turned into a powerful demonstration of the unity and cohesion of the foreign nationalists» (p. 285). In the «Postscript», the author focuses the readers' attention on Bandera's ambiguous role in Ukraine's current commercialization policy, its image on the social networks.

However, in the reviewed book there are several discussion plots and provisions. In particular, there is a controversial thesis which claims that the OUN was one of the most successful Ukrainian public projects (p. 6). Let's keep in mind that the Ukrainian liberation

movement of the 20–50-ies in the XX century was based mainly on the the Ukrainian Revolution state-building traditions of 1917 – 1921, and was actively fueled by the centrist parties, such as the Ukrainian National Democratic Union and thousands of non-party rebels. The author should have paid more attention to Bandera’s associate work, Petro Fedyn-Poltava, the Deputy Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian General Liberation Council, who is considered to be (in particular, Lviv historian Mykhailo Romanyuk) the main ideologist of the OUN and UPA armed underground forces.

The reviewed books are the indispensable guides in order to the study the Ukrainian liberation movement in the XXth century, the leaders life. The documents and materials of these works should give a lesson to the current adherents of nationalist structures in Ukraine. It is worth translating Mykola’s Posivnych work into Russian and Polish for the neighboring countries readers. At present, there is a further legacy of the nationalist movement ideologies.

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