

Living the Independence Dream

Ukraine and Ukrainians in Contemporary Socio-Political
Context

Edited by

Lada Kolomiyets

Dartmouth College,

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

Series in Social Equality and Justice



VERNON PRESS

Copyright © 2024 by the authors.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.

www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas:

Vernon Press
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200
Wilmington, Delaware, 19801
United States

In the rest of the world:

Vernon Press
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,
Malaga, 29006
Spain

Series in Social Equality and Justice

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024931692

ISBN: 978-1-64889-861-7

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.

Cover design by Vernon Press. Image "Antonov Design Bureau Antonov An-225 Mriya at Leipzig Halle (EDDP-LEJ).jpg" by Myroslav Kaplu, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>. Background image 50 днів активного спротиву окупанту 05.jpg by Kyivcity.gov.ua, CC BY 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Photo design and retouching of the photo gallery by Anastasia Bobko.

Table of Contents

	Foreword	vii
	Lada Kolomiyets <i>Dartmouth College/Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv</i>	
	I. Historical Narratives, Language, and Cultural Policy	1
Chapter 1	Making the Future - Remaking the Past: Historical Narrative in State-Building Processes in Today's Ukraine	3
	Antonina Berezovenko <i>National Technical University of Ukraine "Igor Sikorski Polytechnic Institute"</i>	
Chapter 2	Holodomor—Genocide, War Crimes & Crimes Against Humanity	59
	Bohdan A. Futey <i>Senior Judge on the United States Court of Federal Claims in Washington, DC</i>	
Chapter 3	The Influence of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on Shaping Ukrainian National Identity	67
	Domagoj Krpan <i>Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University in Rijeka</i>	
Chapter 4	Between 'Ideal' and 'Living' Language: Ideologies of the Ukrainian Language Revival in Independent Ukraine	87
	Natalia Kudriavtseva <i>Kryvyi Rih State Pedagogical University, Ukraine</i>	

Chapter 5	Thirty Years of Political Orders in Ukraine: Constructing a Nation of Decentralized Communities	111
	Ostap Kushnir <i>University of Portsmouth</i>	
	II. Philosophy, Popular Culture, Literature	131
Chapter 6	Happiness as a Value or Why are Ukrainians (Un)happy?	133
	Olga Gomilko <i>H. Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine</i>	
Chapter 7	A People's Cyber War: Ukraine's Digital Folklore and Popular Mobilization	151
	Lada Kolomiyets <i>Dartmouth College/Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv</i>	
Chapter 8	To Reach Paradise, Maturing in Purgatory Is Necessary	195
	From <i>Hell</i> and <i>Purgatory</i> to <i>Paradise</i> : Literary Reflections by Dante, Valerii Shevchuk, and Sofiia Maidanska on their Countries' Paths to Independence Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych <i>Princeton Research Forum</i>	
	III. Memoirs and Reflections	213
Chapter 9	A Participating Witness to Modern Ukraine: Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak	215
	Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak <i>Professor of History</i>	
Chapter 10	War and the Historian: Subjective Notes	231
	Yuri Shapoval <i>Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnonational Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine</i>	

Chapter 11	The Way We Were: The Semiotics of a Ukrainian Diaspora Experience	251
	Myroslava Tomorug Znayenko <i>Professor Emerita of Rutgers University</i>	
	IV. Photo Gallery	313
Chapter 12	Photo Gallery: Ukrainians and the World	315
	Compiled and commented by Antonina Berezovenko <i>National Technical University of Ukraine “Igor Sikorski Polytechnic Institute”</i>	
	Contributors	337
	Index	343

Foreword

Lada Kolomiyets

Dartmouth College/Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

The idea of the book *Living the Independence Dream* is to create an insightful perspective of the thirty-plus independence period in contemporary Ukrainian history. For many Ukrainians, 1991 was a crucial point when their long-held dream of independence came true. The image of the future life in independent Ukraine was then almost identical to folklore images of Ukraine as the land of milk and honey. *Living the Independence Dream* takes a multi-dimensional look at the period of regained independence as a time of advancement towards the realization of collective dreams shaping the post-Soviet nation, even through everyday disappointments, anxiety, and uncertainty. The collection features research of historical, cultural, political-economic, and linguistic narratives by Ukrainian and diasporic scholars, as well as personal accounts of several outstanding Ukrainian Americans who dedicated their lives to social and academic services.

The release of the book was planned for 2022, but Russia's full-scale aggression against Ukraine postponed its publication for some time and made the authors of research chapters reconsider their previous work. Now, the book is divided into three main sections: I. Historical Narratives, Language, and Cultural Policy; II. Philosophy, Popular Culture, Literature; and III. Memoirs and Reflections. Each section combines texts by authors from Ukraine and abroad. Section IV is a photo gallery that includes illustrative photos, which have not been published before, of important events in the life of the Ukrainian diaspora in various countries of the world, mainly in the USA and Canada, as well as during their visits to the independent Ukraine.

The rise of an independent Ukrainian state on the world map on August 24, 1991, has led to changes in historical narratives. In the early 1990s, historical figures who had been depicted in the Soviet historiography in a negative way re-entered the Ukrainian narrative and societal consciousness as national heroes, and the process of "monuments revision" started. Since 1991, changes emerged in the educational, scholarly, and media space in Ukraine, together with the value system and national identity. The importance of legal recognition of the Holodomor as Genocide via international covenants, agreements, and court decisions became evident.

The first section opens with Antonina Berezovento's contribution, "Making the Future – Remaking the Past: Historical Narrative in State-Building Process in Today's Ukraine," which examines the dynamics of the Ukrainian historical narrative after the collapse of the USSR. It deals with the major Soviet distortions of the Ukrainian national history and simultaneous formation of the Russian grand narrative, which has a far-reaching influence not only on the minds of Russian citizens but also on European policymakers. Berezovento pinpoints the *immanent democratic-liberal qualities* of the Ukrainian historical narrative, which has crystallized as independent from the Russian grand narrative after the emergence of independent Ukraine and liberation from the influence of historical Soviet-Russian schemes.

What is most characteristic of the thirty-two-year process of changing Ukraine is the transformation from the Soviet obedience to authority—and total surrender to the state—to the values of self-respect, sustainability, resilience, enrichment, and well-being. The book investigates from various perspectives the "system of mirrors" of national self-awareness (to use the metaphor of outstanding contemporary Ukrainian poet Lina Kostenko from her lecture "The Humanitarian Aura of the Nation, or the Defect of the Main Mirror", 1999) or the intertwined dreams of independence, commitment, and national identity, perceived as a dynamic and developing category.

The next article in this section belongs to Bohdan A. Futey, a Ukrainian who built a career in the United States as a Senior Judge on the United States Court of Federal Claims in Washington, DC, appointed by President Ronald Reagan in May 1987 (retired). Judge Futey, who graduated from Cleveland Marshall Law School in 1968 with a Doctor of Law degree, has been active in various Rule of Law and Democratization Programs in Ukraine since 1991. He served as an advisor to the Working Group on Ukraine's Constitution, adopted June 28, 1996. In March 2015, he was appointed by the President of Ukraine to serve as a consultant on the Constitutional Commission. His contribution to the volume is entitled "Holodomor—Genocide, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity" and investigates war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide committed in Ukraine by Russia. Special attention in the article is paid to the legal assessment of Russia's war crimes against Ukraine (such as the abduction of Ukrainian children and their adoption by Russian families) committed during the large-scale invasion that began on February 24, 2022.

The article by Domagoj Krpan, "The Influence of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on Shaping Ukrainian National Identity," considers the question of Ukrainian national identity in its historical complexity. The author views the formation of Ukrainian identity through the religious lens, as rooted in the supremacy of Moscow in church questions in Soviet Ukraine and as influenced by

the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the western part of Ukraine. This influence, particularly noticeable after Ukraine gained independence, has been analyzed in political, cultural, and other fields.

The contribution by Natalia Kudriavtseva, “Between ‘Ideal’ and ‘Living’ Language: Ideologies of the Ukrainian Language Revival in Independent Ukraine,” explores the evolution of attitudes towards the Ukrainian language within the past 30 years. The author argues that the Ukrainian language has been valued “both as an identity marker and as a communication tool.” The latter attitude is viewed in the article as more promising, not only in terms of further language revitalization but also for growing confidence in the status of Ukrainian as the state language and in Ukraine’s independence itself.

The concluding article in this section, “Thirty Years of Political Orders in Ukraine: Constructing the Nation of Decentralized Communities” by Ostep Kushnir, takes a look at the political orders of contemporary Ukraine as “a sovereign homeland to a cluster of culturally versatile communities.” Their diversity, inventiveness, and resilience are viewed in connection with Ukraine’s role as an area of unceasing interaction between Asian and European powers since the Cossack time. Kushnir claims that Ukraine has often been considered an area of interaction between Asian and European states. The nature of this interaction makes Ukrainian communities invariably diverse, inventive, and resilient, which finds its reflection in the historical Cossack traditions of statecraft. Regardless of religion and ethnic diversities, contemporary Ukrainian orders are created on the idea of the Ukrainian language as the unifying state language of Ukraine and through interactions of “active” and rather “conformist” social groups more or less equally distributed all across Ukraine.

In the second section, Olga Gomilko, in her contribution entitled “Happiness as a Value, Or Why Are Ukrainians (Un)happy?” scrutinizes happiness as a value while referring to the post-colonial experience of Ukraine. The economy of independent Ukraine in the thirty-plus-year period has gone through significant swings of promise and relapse that have brought subsequent swings of happiness and despair to the general populace. The expectations and values of Ukrainians have been “measured” in Gomilko’s article, drawing on the Happiness Index, the Human Development Index, and other international indices that attempt to allow for a ranking of countries. In search for answers to the question “What makes Ukrainians an (un)happy nation?”, the author ties the feeling of happiness to the freedom-loving spirit as well as optimism and “a strong faith in victory and a happy life in the future.”

Ukrainian civilians, for whom the Russian war on their country began in 2014 in the aftermath of the Euromaidan protests and Revolution of Dignity, found themselves at the center of Ukraine's virtual mobilization. With the expansion of Russia's war on February 24, 2022, Ukrainians not only supported and sacrificed for the war effort but also opened up new, virtual fronts, making their resistance present to a global audience. Since then, everyday Ukrainians have been at the center of virtual mobilization. Many of them took up real arms in the first days of the Russian invasion, and many more engaged in virtual battles, which made a crucial battlefield difference. Thus, Russia's war on Ukraine has created an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of warfare—the ability of ordinary people to attempt to influence an ongoing conflict in real time via virtual conversation.

Lada Kolomiyets, in her article “A People's Cyber War: Ukraine's Digital Folklore and Popular Mobilization,” focuses on Ukrainian digital folklore, verbal and visual arts as a reaction to the Kremlin propaganda Newspeak since 2014. Having observed the historical dynamics and diversity of jokes, memes, caricatures, art posters, and art objects, the author discusses humor, creative writing, and graphic arts in public cyberspace as the field of resistance to the aggressor state. The discussion features wartime poetry, (humorous) digital verses, mocking neologisms, and onomastic euphemisms of the Russo-Ukrainian war.

The third article of this section, “To Reach Paradise, Maturing in Purgatory is Necessary (From Hell and Purgatory to Paradise: Literary Reflections by Dante, Valerii Shevchuk, and Sofii Maidanska on their Countries' Paths to Independence),” written by Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych, analyzes the works of two Ukrainian writers, Valerii Shevchuk and Sofii Maidanska, who “feature protagonists with different memories of the past and different responses to their families and post-Soviet reality.” The author discusses the idea of national Paradise and its prerequisites—personal identity and values “while the people are still in Purgatory and climb Mount Purgatory, trying to reach Earthly Paradise or heaven on earth.”

How does the outer world view the Ukrainian ethos of resistance and the Ukrainian concept of dignity, its personalistic element, and social dimension? What qualities of the national character in the post-colonial Ukrainian state have been considered as a social priority: the “noble” victimhood and civil passivity, or the self-rule and self-determination? The volume *Living the Independence Dream* comprises personal accounts of several generations of Ukrainians who found themselves displaced after WWII (Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak, Myroslava Tomorog Znayenko, among others).

In the third section, the memoir article by Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak, “A Participating Witness to Modern Ukraine: Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak,” tells a

fascinating story of Ukrainian emigration to the USA in the second half of the 20th century using a specific real-life example. The author is a historian educated at Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania, and she enjoyed a long teaching career that included service at George Washington University, Johns Hopkins in Baltimore, the Catholic University of America, Seton Hall University, Farleigh Dickinson, and Harvard universities, as well as at the universities in independent Ukraine, such as the Kyiv Mohyla Academy and the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv. She completed her career by working at the National Endowment for the Humanities and serving as the Director of the Fulbright Office in Ukraine.

In his memoir “War and The Historian: Subjective Notes,” Ukrainian historian Yuri Shapoval reflects on his personal experience of the Russian war on Ukraine, which he encountered in Ukraine and was lucky enough to escape from the occupation. The author highlights that this experience will not fade away; one cannot run away from this kind of experience... So today, as Shapoval observes, “all Ukrainians have their own military history—the history of their families and dead relatives, the history of their homes and regions, and the feelings that manifested themselves on the morning of February 24, 2022.” Now, every Ukrainian has their own history of destroyed homes, villages, cities, or towns, of killed family members. No one will ever forget the emotions which they had on the morning of February 24, 2022. This awareness will not disappear.

Myroslava Tomoruz Znayenko, in her memoir under the telling title “The Way We Were: The Semiotics of a Ukrainian Diaspora Experience,” gives a personal account of “a young woman who became an American at the age of sixteen and lived a life dedicated to advancing truth and combatting lies about her native land – Ukraine.” Znayenko’s narrative is not only about the quest of her own generation. It encompasses several generations of displaced Ukrainians who “joined hands to create more than a dream of independence by living a life committed to its realization” amidst political upheavals in foreign lands.

The book explores, among other important topics, the Ukrainian language revival, national identity formation, and the ways that Ukrainian literature, neo-folklore, and popular arts generate vital energy amidst the war. The collection aims to analyze, therefore, the agency of contemporary Ukrainian people and the role of media, literature, and the arts in creating new messages, meanings, and values formed during the Independence decades.

That being said, the range of topics considered in the book *Living the Independence Dream* can be outlined as a list of major thematic blocks:

- Making the future by re-narrating the past: historical and personal narratives in today’s Ukraine.

- Key concepts, values, and meanings comprising Ukrainian societal life during the post-Soviet period.
- Experiences of Ukrainian diaspora in the USA, Europe, and Canada; self-understanding and self-narratives.
- Ukraine in transition, confronting unpredictable and everyday challenges.
- Literary reflections of the (first) steps taken along the road to the renewed Ukrainian Independence.
- New messages, meanings, and values formed in independent Ukraine, dignity, responsibility, democracy, and freedom as the greatest values.
- The role of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine's struggle to acquire its own agency, subjectiveness, and messages both in the real world and the historical past.
- A linguistic component of hybrid warfare: Russian propagandistic 'Newspeak' as a battlefield of (neo)imperialistic mentality against postcolonial revision.
- People's activism in the circumstances of Russia's war on Ukraine; responsibility in action; humor as a weapon: how Ukraine is winning the social media war.

The war for Ukrainian territorial integrity and survival as a state means for Europe shifting the "wall" further East. The societal evolution process that started three decades ago has led to the modernization of national symbols and revolutionary events in Ukraine. These are the processes that last for quite a long period of time. The book explores changes in the Ukrainians' image of the "self" and their visions of nation and state over the past thirty years. The feeling of the importance of justice and the Rule of Law for every citizen has been a driving force of the Revolution on Granite (1990), Orange Revolution (2004), and Revolution of Dignity (2014).

Comparisons may be drawn between the beginning of the Russian war on Ukraine, which started in February 2014 with the annexation of Crimea and self-proclamation of the Donetsk and Lugansk "people's republics" in Eastern Ukraine (with Russian proxy governments), the Transnistrian Moldavian Republic, which was proclaimed on August 25, 1991, and the 2008 Russo-Georgian War (which was

a war between Georgia, on one side, and Russia and the Russian-backed self-proclaimed republics of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, on the other).

The semiosphere of Ukrainian dreams of independence became substantially more inclusive after 2014, not only for ethnic Ukrainians but also for other ethnic groups living on the territory of Ukraine—as Ukrainian citizens and members of the post-Soviet Ukrainian political nation. Concurrently, with the start of the full-scale invasion, the work of countless civil society and public organizations, volunteer initiatives, and humanitarian aid volunteers from around the world, alongside the activity of Ukrainian citizens in social networks, became particularly visible. All the heroic pages of Ukraine's history are directly related to the responsibility Ukrainians showed in the most critical moments for the existence of statehood to preserve their own identity, freedom, and independence. The responsibility of Ukrainians appeared to be particularly strong during the Revolution of Dignity and the opposition to occupation and armed aggression by the Russian Federation. Individuals, the public sector, and Ukrainian businesses have actively shown and continue to show their responsibility for the country's transformation.

Living the Independence Dream will prove useful as a highly informative source of knowledge about the lives and struggles of contemporary Ukrainians, promising fascinating discoveries and new material for both academic research and the development of university lecture and seminar courses in Ukrainian studies.

I. Historical Narratives, Language, and Cultural Policy

Making the Future - Remaking the Past: Historical Narrative in State-Building Processes in Today's Ukraine

Antonina Berezovenko

National Technical University of Ukraine "Igor Sikorski Polytechnic Institute"

Abstract: This section examines the dynamics of the formation of the Ukrainian historical narrative after the collapse of the USSR. It highlights the main distortions of Ukrainian history (this list is not exhaustive) that have been most harmful – both in Ukraine and abroad – to the formation of a national grand narrative, which existed at the time of the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state after 1991. The components of the Ukrainian historical narrative that crystallized after Ukraine's independence in the context of its liberation from the influence of historical Soviet-Russian schemes receive equal attention. The formation of the newest national narrative is analyzed in its correlation with Ukraine's national and state subjectivity and the ways it is realized. The essential characteristic features of the Ukrainian national narrative allow us also to consider the prospects of its development in the European context, given the stability of its imminent democratic-liberal qualities.

Keywords: Historical narrative, grand historical narrative, Ukrainian independence, national identity, state identity, national subjectivity, state subjectivity.

“We need to dream, and then concentrate our energy
on specific areas and actions. It is necessary to take
risks and make mistakes, but learn from them and then
to start a new cycle with dreams.”

(Bohdan Havrylyshyn. *I remain a Ukrainian: memories*¹, p.81).

¹ All translations from Ukrainian in this text are made by the author.

Introduction

The emergence of an independent Ukrainian state on the world map in 1991 led to a rethinking of its past and, consequently, to changes in its historical narrative². The process of the emancipation of a nation presupposes, first of all, a pronounced intensification of self-reflection, the reproduction of history with those accents that emphasize the events that are important for precisely this and not for any other subject of the historical process. No matter how much an author of a historical narrative strives for objectivity, they will never be able to completely free themselves from the socio-cultural and political context of their time. The very fact of the author's "appropriation" of the right to create a narrative affects both the content of the latter and the reading of previously created narratives.

Highlighting the importance of events, processes, and phenomena relevant to each given problem, as they appear within the author's narrative, in turn, determines the picture of the past and - what is no less important - the prospects of the future and the very presence of what is described in it.

In general, the mode of representation of the past, the language (in a broader sense - discourse) of historiography after the "linguistic turn" of the 1960s began to be considered as an important factor in shaping the perception of the described events. Defining historical narrative as "a mode of historical writing," Stone underlines that "it is a mode which also affects and is affected by the content and the method" (Stone 1979, 4).

Thanks to the works of the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard (Lyotard 1984), the concepts of "historical narrative" and "historical grand narrative" entered wide scientific circulation. The cognitive field of the study of various narratives was formed in the 1960s and 1970s and received the name "narratology," as proposed by the Bulgarian-French scholar Tsvetan Todorov (Todorov 1969).

Along with the works of Lyotard, the formation of the theoretical basis for the study of narratives, including the historical one, includes the works of Roland Barthes (Barthes 1981), Hans-Georg Gadamer (Gadamer 2004), Claude Bremond

² In this work the term "narrative" will be used as it was invented in the field of philosophy by Jean-François Lyotard in his work *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, 1984, initially published in 1979 and later adopted in other scientific fields (history, literature, political science), in particular meaning "a story," a description of events in a certain mode, and containing a certain interpretation of the events in question.

(Bremond 1980), Gérard Genette (Genette 1988), Hyden White (White 1987), Lawrence Stone (Stone 1979), Paul Ricoeur (Ricoeur 1984).

A fruitful direction of narratology has become the study of historical and tangential texts as a historical narrative/grand historical narrative in its nation- and state-building function. Such works include, for example, “Grand Narrative in American Historical Writing: From Romance to Uncertainty” by Dorothy Ross (Ross 1984), *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* by Charles Taylor (Taylor 1989), “Domestic grand narrative against the background of transnational history” by Stanislaw Kul`chyts`ky (Kul`chyts`ky 2022), “What kind of history does modern Ukraine need?” by Serhii Plokhyy (Plokhyy 2013), “The Two-tiered Division of Ukraine: Historical Narratives in Nation-building and Region-building” by Glenn Deisen (Deisen 2017) and Conor Keane, “Traditions of great historical narratives in the light of cultural epochs of the late 18th–20th centuries” by Oleksiï ŤAs’ (ŤAs’ 2012), Post-Eurocentric grand narratives in critical international theory by André Saramago (Saramago 2022) and many others.

The actualization of research of this kind against the background of intensive state-building processes in Ukraine after 1991 became a noticeable phenomenon and had its formal embodiment. In 2012, a special section titled *Contemporary Ukrainian Grand Narrative: Approaches, Conceptions, Realizations* (Smoliï 2012) appeared in Ukraine’s most authoritative historical quarterly, *Ukrainian Historical Journal*. This section has been contributed to systematically for several years. Therefore, it was the development of narrative research that emerged as the most promising way to solve the problem of “legitimization of new authorities” (Lyotard. 1984, 21-22) in the realm of knowledge about Ukraine’s past.

In this work, the historical narrative is considered a holistic story, a text about the existence of the Ukrainian people with its storylines, heroes, ideas, events, or myths and their evaluations in the context of state-building processes in Ukraine. In other words, the historical narrative is understood as a holistic text, which is the embodiment of the mode of representation of the past as it appears in public perception.

The methods of narrative, hermeneutic (in particular, the hermeneutic circle), pragmatic and comparative analysis of historical, socio-political, journalistic, and artistic texts, their discourse, and content analysis were used to study the dynamics of the formation of the Ukrainian historical narrative.

This chapter consists of: Introduction, five sections in the main body, concluding notes, and an appendix outlining the major sources used for this research. Part I, “Past – present – future of Ukraine through the eyes of its “own” and “alien” narrators,” analyzes the visions of Ukraine that were formed domestically and abroad; Part II, “Ukrainian historical narrative’s distortions in “ordinary Russia’s

historical scheme" considers main perversions of Ukrainian history in Russo-centric texts. Part III, "Searching for unreduced knowledge," addresses the "restorative" processes of a full-fledged Ukrainian historical narrative; Part IV, "Unevenness of the Ukrainian historical narrative's creation," analyzes the dynamics of change in the historical narrative relating to Ukraine. Part V, "Ancestors, descendants, and memory – steps back and forward," considers memory practices in Ukraine to be an important factor in state-building in that country.

I. Past – present – future of Ukraine through the eyes of its "own" and "alien" narrators

The emergence of an independent Ukraine in 1991 changed the vision of its future, both in Ukraine itself and in the world around it. It inevitably entailed a change in value orientations and moral guidelines of Ukrainian society. In other words, it led to the reconfiguration of not only political boundaries but also humanitarian boundaries - intellectual, moral, and ultimately, personal. The change in the vision of the past after the declaration of independence gave a new impetus to intensive changes in Ukraine's linguistic and semiotic space. In particular, in the context of creating a national historical grand narrative, the educational, scholarly, and media texts and the entire semiotic space in Ukraine were changed, together with the value system and national/state identity.

Personalities who were habitually depicted in Soviet historiography with negative connotations re-entered the Ukrainian narrative and – more broadly – the societal consciousness of independent Ukraine as national heroes. In contrast, many of the heroes of the pre-independence narrative were defrocked. At the same time, the non-Ukrainian narratives on Ukraine also changed, often in ways that did not correspond to Ukrainian narratives.

The discrepancies became so significant that for Ukrainians, the pre-independence image of Ukraine (within and outside of the country) became almost unrecognizable in many cases. Today, for example, in Russia's historical and political narrative, Ukraine and Ukrainians have very little to do with the image of the victor in World War II that is projected there. Indeed, the realm of the historical narrative became an informational battlefield that can be rightfully viewed as a forerunner of the conventional war against Ukraine that was begun by the Russian Federation in 2014. Moreover, the 30-years jubilee of Ukrainian independence came on the eve of the Russian Federation's full-scale war against Ukraine.

The period from the late 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s is a segment of the chronological vertical that emerged in the minds of Ukrainians as the time of the "bright future that has come," which was dreamed about by many generations. The

PAGES MISSING
FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

Contributors

Antonina Berezenko is a Ph. D. (Philology) in Slavic Linguistics, Associate Professor at the Department of Ukrainian Language, Literature, and Culture, Faculty of Linguistics, National Technical University of Ukraine “Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute” where she is currently teaching; Fulbright senior visiting scholar/professor at Columbia University (1996-1997); senior research fellow on Petrarch Program at the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University (2023). While teaching at Columbia University she developed and introduced into curriculum author’s courses “Language Development in Post-Totalitarian Space” and “Language and Society: Power, Identity, and Ideology” (graduate and undergraduate levels); during 2000-2007 she was running a monthly Harriman Institute roundtable “Language Policy and Language Situation in Ukraine.” Her current research interests are focused on problems of national identity, Post-Totalitarian societies, socio-political discourse, linguo-semiotic analysis, comparative language policy (Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Russian). She was elected a member of the Board of Directors of Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies for the period of 2024-2026. She served as a Scholarly Secretary of the International Association for Ukrainian Studies (2002-2005), as a member of book Prize Committee of American Association of Ukrainian Studies (2018-2020), and since 2009 she is an editor-in-chief of the scientific journal “Philological Herald.”

She is a widely published author. Her list of publications includes books, book chapters, and articles. Her recent articles are: “Der Glockenturm der Kiewer Sophienkathedrale” (Ost-West, 2022); and published in Ukrainian “Russian-Ukrainian War in Ukrainian Political Discourse” (2021); “Orthodoxy as a Factor of Political Mobilization of Social Existence of Ukraine and Bulgaria: Historical Parallels and Current Trends” (2021); “Cult of Personality of Vladimir Putin in Post-Modern Context” (2019); “After Maydan 2014: The Images of Ukraine and Russia in Russia’s Political Discourse” (2018).

Martha Bohachevsky Chomiak, a historian educated at Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania enjoyed a long teaching career that included service at George Washington University, Washington D.C, Johns Hopkins in Baltimore, MD, the Catholic University of America, Seton Hall University, Farleigh Dickinson, and Harvard universities, and Manhattanville College, as at the universities of Kyiv, the Kyiv Mohyla Academy, and the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv.

She completed her career by working at the National Endowment for the Humanities and serving as the Director of the Fulbright Office in Ukraine.

The recipient of numerous scholarships and awards, she holds the 1989 Antonovych award for the best book in Ukrainian studies, as well as the first Held Award in Women's Studies a year earlier. She holds the second honorary doctorate awarded by the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv.

She published widely in English and Ukrainian journals. Her major books include *Ukrainian Bishop, American Church: Constantine Bohachevsky and the Ukrainian Catholic Church*; *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life 1884-1939*; *S.N. Trubetskoi: An Intellectual Among the Intelligentsia Prerevolutionary Russia*; *Spring of a Nation: Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, In 1848*. She contributed chapters to a number of collections, booklets and edited works in Ukrainian and Russian history.

She is an active member of the Association for the Advancement of Eastern European, Central Asian and Russian Studies, Shevchenko Scientific Society, and of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in New York, and continues to be the advisor to the Women Studies Center at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv.

In addition to her scholarly activities, Bohachevsky-Chomiak served as a vice president of the Council of Women in the USA, as well as of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America.

She is the mother of Tania Chomiak-Salvi and Dora Chomiak, and the grandmother of four young adults.

Bohdan A. Futey is a Senior Judge on the United States Court of Federal Claims in Washington, DC, appointed by President Ronald Reagan in May 1987. Judge Futey has been active in various Rule of Law and Democratization programs in Ukraine since 1991. He has participated in judicial exchange programs, seminars, and workshops and has been a consultant to the working group on Ukraine's Constitution and Ukrainian Parliament. He served as an official observer during the parliamentary elections in 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2015, and presidential elections in 1994, 1999, 2004, 2010, and 2015, and conducted briefings on Ukraine's election Law and guidelines for international observers. He served as a member of the working group on Ukraine's Constitution adopted on June 28, 1996. Judge Futey is a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany and a visiting professor at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv, Ukraine.

Olga Gomilko is a Doctor of Philosophy, a Professor, Leading Researcher of H. Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy (Department of Philosophy of Culture, Ethics, Aesthetics) of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Her research areas are social/political philosophy, philosophy of education, philosophical anthropology,

philosophy of culture, and environmental philosophy. The key subject of her research is the human body in its philosophical implications. She published the book “Metaphysics of the Human body”, and more than 160 articles. She teaches at Kyiv Mohyla National University (Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies), and Ukrainian State Dragomanov University (Department of Social Philosophy and Philosophy of Education). Her teaching courses are “Social (Political) Philosophy”, “Ontology of the Human Body”, “Philosophy of Music”, “Animal Philosophy”. She is Fulbright Scholar (Pennsylvania State University, 1998-1999).

Lada Kolomiyets is a DSc (Philology) in Translation Studies, Professor at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Ukraine, and Visiting Professor at Dartmouth College, USA; Fulbright visiting scholar to the University of Iowa (1996-97) and Pennsylvania State University (2017-18). An interdisciplinary researcher in literature, folklore, and translation studies, with three monographs, several textbooks for graduate students, literary anthologies, numerous chapters in collective volumes and articles published in Ukrainian and English in the leading peer-reviewed journals. Her research interests focus on the history of literary translation, linguacultural and translation studies, cross-cultural communication, and post-communist transformation in Ukraine. Her books include monographs *Conceptual and Methodological Grounds of Contemporary Ukrainian Translations of British, Irish, and North American Poetry* (2004) and *Ukrainian Literary Translation and Translators in the 1920s-30s* (2013, 2nd ed. 2015), among others, as well as book chapters in *Translation Studies in Ukraine as an Integral Part of the European Context* (2023), *Translation under Communism* (2022), *Translation and Power* (2020), *Protest and Dissent: Conflicting Spaces in Translation and Culture* (2020), “A Sea-Change into Something Rich and Strange”: *Shakespeare Studies in Contemporary Ukraine* (2020), *National Identity in Literary Translation* (2019). She has held fellowships at Wenner-Gren Foundations (Sweden), the Harris Distinguished Professorship Foundation at Dartmouth College, and the University of Iowa. A poet-translator and member of the National Writers’ Union of Ukraine, with published English-to-Ukrainian, Ukrainian-to-English translations of contemporary poetry.

Domagoj Krpan is a Croatian historian and philosopher. He received his MA in history and philosophy at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, University in Rijeka, Croatia. As a student, he was a student assistant in different activities within the Department of History, and was involved as a translator for the Student International Film Festival in Rijeka.

Currently, he is engaged as the Secretary of the Centre for Interreligious Dialogue, contributing to the national and international interreligious and intercultural projects.

He has a broad area of interest in history, philosophy, and cultural studies. He presented papers at various international scientific conferences discussing racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural relations in a multicultural society.

He has experience teaching in primary and secondary schools. Currently, he is enrolled as a Ph.D. researcher in the field of political philosophy at the University of Rijeka.

Natalia Kudriavtseva is Professor of Translation and Slavic Studies at Kryvyi Rih State Pedagogical University, Ukraine. Her research focuses on language policies, identities and Ukrainian language education. Her recent work explores the shift to Ukrainian among Ukraine's speakers of Russian, particularly the influence of language ideologies on the popularization of Ukrainian among speakers of Russian in Ukraine. For several years, Natalia has been working with grassroots language popularization initiatives the first of which appeared in the time of Ukraine's Euromaidan. She has done qualitative ethnographic research on *Free Ukrainian Language Courses*—the first offline nationwide volunteer project which transformed into an online platform *Ye-Language* (Є-Мова) during the Covid-19 quarantine. Since the 2022 full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, Natalia has been collaborating with the grassroots project *United* (Єдині) that has become the most wide-ranging Ukrainian language popularization initiative launched in 2022. Between October 2022 and June 2023, Natalia was also doing fieldwork on a local grassroots initiative *Let's speak Ukrainian!* (Спілкуймося українською!) in Ukraine's southeastern city of Kryvyi Rih. A chapter summarizing the results of her research on *Ye-Language* learning materials appeared in the volume *Teaching and Learning Resources for Endangered Languages* (Brill) in 2023. Natalia has also written for the US Kennan Institute's *Focus Ukraine* blog on Ukraine's language policy and grassroots Ukrainianization. She has held fellowships at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the University of Cambridge, the Alfried Krupp Institute for Advanced Study, Greifswald and Hanse Institute for Advanced Study, Delmenhorst.

Ostap Kushnir is a lecturer in politics and international relations at University of Portsmouth (UK). His academic interests include geopolitical and identity-forming processes in Central and Eastern Europe, specifically in the Black Sea region. He is the author of the book *Ukraine and Russian Neo-Imperialism: The Divergent Break* (2018), editor of *The Intermarium as the Polish-Ukrainian Linchpin of Baltic – Black Sea Cooperation* (2019) and *Meandering in Transition: Thirty Years of Identity-Building in Post-Communist Europe* (2021). He also authored more than twenty academic articles on the topics of Ukrainian journalism, geopolitics, and identity. He is a member of the editorial board of the *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, and a member of the Polish Political Science

Association. He holds BA and MA degrees in Journalism from Odesa National Mechnikov University, Ukraine, and an MA in International Relations from the University of Wales. He obtained his PhD from Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland. He was an Academic Visitor under the Kolasky Distinguished Visiting Fellowship at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, in the academic year 2022-23.

Larissa M. L. Zaleska Onyshkevych specializes in Ukrainian drama from the time when she wrote her dissertation on “Existentialism in Modern Ukrainian Drama” (for her Ph.D. from U. of Penn). She is the editor of anthologies of modern Ukrainian drama (*Blyzniata shche zustrinut’sia: Antolohia dramaturhii ukrains’koï diaspory*, 1997; *Antolohiia modernoi ukrains’koï dramy*, 1998, and a parallel translated volume *An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama*, 2012). Her book *Tekst i Hra* [Text and Performance, 2009] consists of studies of Ukrainian plays by themes. She has edited, compiled, and/or co-authored eleven other books and wrote over 150 articles on Ukrainian literature, language, theatre, and culture. Translation of Ukrainian poetry represents another field that she pursued; she organized workshops in translations (at U. of Illinois and the Ivan Franko Ukrainian National University in Lviv). She compiled and edited a selection of Ukrainian poetry for the anthology *Shifting Borders: East European Poetries of the Eighties* (1993). She is also the author of a memoir (*Borders, Bombs, and Two Right Shoes. WWII Through the Eyes of a Ukrainian Child Refugee Survivor* (2016, and its Ukrainian translation, *Bomby, hranytsi I dva pravi cherevychky. Druha svitova viina ochyma dytyny-bizhentsia*, 2018).

Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych taught Ukrainian literature at Rutgers University, was literature editor of *Suchasnist* (monthly), served as President of Princeton Research Forum, and later the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Yuri Shapoval (1953) is a doctor of historical sciences (since 1994), professor (since 2000) of history at the Institute of Political and Ethno-National Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Head (since 1998) of the Center for Historical Political Studies. At the present time he is one of the leading researchers of the Soviet period of Ukrainian history.

He has a significant contribution to research of: Political history of Ukraine, history of communist totalitarianism in Ukraine, comparison of totalitarian regimes; biographies of figures whose names were suppressed; mechanisms of activity of the communist special service in Soviet Ukraine; 1930s-1940s Polish-Ukrainian relations; history of the Ukrainian nationalist movement; school textbooks on history; politics of memory in modern Ukraine.

Shapoval is an author of more than 800 publications, including Ukraine from the 1920s to the 1950s: Pages from an Unwritten History. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1993; Ukraine in the Twentieth Century: The People and Events of a Difficult Time. Kyiv: Heneza, 2001; “The Ukrainian Years, 1894–1949.” In Nikita Khrushchev. Ed. W. Taubman, S. Khrushchev, and A. Gleason. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000: 8-43; “La dirigenza politica ucraina e il Cremlino nel 1932-33: i coautori della carestia”. In La morte della terra. La grande “carestia” in Ucraina nel 1932-33. A cura di Gabriele de Rosa e Francesca Lomastro. Roma: Viella, 2004; Vingtième siècle. Revue d’Histoire, numéro 107, (juillet-septembre 2010): 39-54; Baby Yar: la mémoire de l’extermination des Juifs en Ukraine. In Commémorer les victimes en Europe. XVI-XXI Siècles. Champ Vallon, 2011 : 289-303; Faux coupables. Surveillance, aveux et procès en Ukraine soviétique (1924-1934). L’exemple de M.Grushevskij et S.Efremov. Paris, CNRS éditions, 2012 (with Alain Blum); Unforgiven. Oleksandr Dovzhenko and the Communist Special Services. Warsaw-Kyiv-Kharkiv, Volumina. Daniel Krzanowski, 2022 etc.

Myroslava Tomorug Znayenko is Professor Emerita of Slavic Languages and Literatures and former Director of Central and East European Studies at Rutgers University, Newark, N. J. (1969-2010). She has been Adjunct Professor in Ukrainian at Columbia University (1991-2000), a Visiting Scholar at Harvard, Columbia, and the Hokkaido University Slavic Research Center (Japan), and has held several awards and research grants, including a Fulbright to Ukraine (2009/10). She has a BA from the University of California (Berkeley) in Slavic Languages and Literatures, an MA from Yale in Russian/Slavic Area Studies, and an MLS of Library Sciences and PhD in Slavic Languages and Literatures from Columbia University (1973). She is the first woman and the first Ukrainian to receive a graduate degree from Yale in Slavic area studies (1956).

Myroslava Znayenko is the author of *The Gods of Ancient Slavs* (1980), reissued by Slavica (2016), *Ucrainica at Hokkaido University* (with Takako Akizuki, 1995), studies on Volodymyr Vynnychenko in *Slavic Studies in the Narrative and Visual Arts in Honor of William E. Harkins* (2000) and in *Quest of Aesthetic, Individual, and Civic Harmony* (2005), as well as numerous articles on Slavic mythology and Ukrainian, Czech, and Slovak literatures. A recent article on Lina Kostenko appeared in the June 2019 issue of *Slovo i Chas*.

Myroslava Znayenko is on the executive boards of Columbia University’s Advisory Board on Ukrainian Studies, The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in U.S., The Shevchenko Scientific Society, and AAUS (American Association for Ukrainian Studies). She has been a life-long member of ASEES (Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies) and ASN (Association for the Study of Nationalities).

Index

A

- AAASS (American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies), see ASEES, 256
- Aasland, Aadne, 118, 127
- AAUS (American Association for Ukrainian Studies), 256, 297- 298, 310, 337, 342
- Abish, Dr. Jakob, 264
- activists (mindset), 14, 119-120, 124, 126
- allegory, 195-196, 198-199
- anamnesis, 205
- Andryczyk, Marko, 255
- anonymity, 93, 96, 188
- Arendt, Hannah, 242
- Aristotle, 134, 138-140, 146-148
- ASEES (Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasia Studies), formerly AAASS, 22, 48, 298, 337, 342
- ASN (Association for the Study of Nationalities), 30, 256, 298, 304, 310, 342
- Aspaturian, Vernon, 115, 127
- authenticity, 19-20, 93, 96, 108, 171

B

- Babij, Oles', 277
- Balakliia, 245
- Balcer, Adam, 121-122, 127
- Bandera, Stephan, 23, 33, 156, 174, 295, 297, 299
- Barghoorn, Frederick, 289-291
- Beatrice, 196, 202, 207, 209

- Bekeshkina, Iryna, 123-124, 128
- Belknap, Robert, 307-308
- Bellezza, Simone, 262, 311
- Bilaniuk, Laada, 89, 92-98, 100, 106, 153, 188
- Black Sea shores, 114, 118-119
- "Bloody Thursday", 242
- blue lotus, 204
- Bohachevsky, Martha. See Chomiak, Martha Bohachevsky, x, 215, 229, 296, 301, 311, 337-338
- Bolsheviks, 43, 125, 186, 272
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 44, 48, 114, 116, 128, 215, 225, 301
- Bush, George W and George W. H. Bush, 293
- Bush, Prescott Seldon, Senator, 293
- bylyny (short, melodious, recitative epic songs of the Eastern Slavs), 208

C

- Catalan, 93
- Cehelsky, Dr. Michael, 262
- Central Europe, 85, 114, 116, 340
- centralized governance, 125
- centralized order, 115, 125
- CESUS (Tsentral'nyi soiuz ukrains'koho studentstva), 295
- Cheka-NKVD-MGB-KGB, 237
- Chemych, Stephan, 295-296
- Chomiak, Martha Bohachevsky, x, 215, 229, 261-262, 296, 301, 311, 337-338
- Chomiak, Rostyslav Lev, 216-217, 261-262, 301
- Churchill, Winston, 243, 249
- cleft country, 115
- Cohen, Saul B., 116, 128

Cold war, 114-115, 233, 235, 244, 287
 Colgate Foreign Policy Conference, 293, 296
 collective West, 232, 234, 244, 246
 Columbia University, xi, 215-216, 219, 221, 225, 252, 256, 261, 293-294, 296, 300-301, 306-307, 309-310, 335, 337, 342
 Commissioner for the State Language Defense, 95
 conformists (mindset), 119-120, 124, 126
 Constitution of Ukraine, 140, 147
 Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, 61
 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 60, 62, 64-65
 Corsican, 93,
 Cossack fellowship, 113, 122, 124, 126
 Cossack liberties, 115
 Cossack political traditions, 120, 126
 Cossacks, 11, 14, 16, 55, 86, 118-119, 121, 124, 127, 129, 145
 critical geopolitics, 111-112, 127-128, 130

D

Danko, Josef (Osyp), 261, 290, 301
 Dante, x, 195-202, 207, 209-210, 212
 decentralization reform, 123
 decentralized communities, ix, 111-115, 126-127
 Declaration of Independence, 6, 22, 140, 147
 deconstruction, deconstructive translation, 35, 158-159, 171

“deep people” (near-equivalent for “grassroots people), 234, 237, 241, 245
 democratic values, 45, 113, 126, 235
 “denazify and demilitarize Ukraine”, 242
 Desiak, Isaac, 302, 311
 diaspora, vii, xi, xii, 16-17, 35, 37, 215, 218-219, 226, 251-252, 260-261, 263, 296-297, 315
 digital folklore, or cyber folklore, x, 151-154, 169, 177, 182-184, 187-188
 Divine Comedy, 196-197, 210
 Dmytryshyn, Basil, 287
 Donbas, 29, 31, 50, 63-64, 98-99, 116, 122, 128, 130, 155, 157, 160, 175, 188, 191-192, 242, 248, 306
 Dorichenko, Oles’, 215, 221, 226
 Dovzhenko, Alexander, 39, 240, 342
 DP camps (displaced persons camps), 275, 277
 Drach, Ivan, 20, 50, 215, 223, 225-226, 261-262
 Dugina, Daria, 245
 Dushnyk, Walter, 296
 dysphemism, dysphemization, 95, 174

E

Earthly Paradise, x, 195-196, 209-210
 Eastern Europe, 21, 57, 68, 84, 108, 115, 117, 127, 219, 227, 233, 260, 284, 287, 294, 338, 340
 Empress Catherine, 119
 End of the Century, 195, 197, 212
 endangered language, 88, 90, 92, 97, 105, 107, 109, 340
 Eric, Martin, 122, 128
 euphemism, euphemization, x, 151, 174, 232
 Eurasian crossroad, 116, 118-120

Euromaidan, EuroMaidan, x, 95, 97-99, 105, 107, 116, 120-122, 124, 128, 156, 340

European Convention on the Non Applicability of Statutory Limitations to Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes, 1974, 61

Evtushenko, Evgenii see Yevtushenko, Yevgenii, 220

F

famine, 12, 14-15, 35-36, 48, 59, 62, 158, 197, 306

Federation of Ukrainian Student organizations in U.S. see SUSTA, 288, 294

Fedyshyn, Oleh, 291, 294, 297, 302, 304, 306, 311

Ferris, Richard, 279-280

Fizer, Ivan see Fizer, John, 298, 302, 304, 308

Fizer, John see Fizer, Ivan, 262

foreign rule, 113

fountains in "Paradise", 207

Free Ukrainian Language Courses, 96, 98, 100, 103-104, 340

Freedom, ix, xii-xiii, 7, 13, 59, 64-65, 133-138, 140-141, 145-146, 158, 162, 192, 194-195, 251, 254, 259-260

Freimann-Muenchen DP camp, 277

Friedman, Debra, 92-93, 95-96, 106, 182-183

frontier identity (see also frontier mindset), 119-120

G

Galicia, 67, 69, 71-80, 82, 84-86, 215, 229, 254, 256-257, 267, 338

genocide, vii- viii, 35-37, 52, 59-65, 135, 156, 167, 177, 193

Genocide Convention of 1948, 60, 64

"good Russians", 242

governance, 111, 113, 116, 119-120, 123-127

Grabowicz, George, 112, 293, 298, 305

grand historical narrative, 3, 5

"Great Patriotic War", 14, 34, 161, 173, 241, 247

H

Habsburg Empire (Austro-Hungary Monarchy), 68, 71-72

Hagen, Mark von, 47, 298, 304

happiness, ix, 133-149, 209

Haran, Olexiy, 117, 128, 130

Hazard, John, 261, 296

Heartland, 114

Hell (Inferno), x, 195-201, 204, 207, 210, 225, 283

Hermann, Christoph, 258, 288

historical narrative, vii-viii, 1, 3-8, 10-15, 18-19, 21-28, 33, 35-38, 42-45, 49-50, 241

Holodomor, vii-viii, 10, 18, 35-37, 47, 49-50, 56-57, 59, 62-63, 65, 158, 195, 197, 327

Holodomor-Genocide, viii, 36-37, 59, 63

Honchar, Oles, 299, 309, 335

hope, 28, 47, 79, 145, 152, 195-196, 198-201, 203, 205, 207, 219, 229, 260, 269, 286-287

Horecky, Paul, 298-300

Horizons (SUSTA journal), 252, 279, 295

Hrushevsky, Mychaylo (Mykhailo), 8-9, 13, 16, 23, 37-39, 51, 54, 86

Hucul, Walter, 286-288, 304

human "errors", 207

human "sins", 196, 200, 207

Hunczak, Taras, 255-256, 294, 304-305

Huntington, Samuel, 11, 50, 115-116, 128, 140
 hybrid war (warfare), xii, 11, 30, 155, 158, 160, 233, 251

I

I Place my Hope in Thee, 195, 201
 identity, vii-xi, xiii, 3, 5-6, 19-20, 24, 26, 32, 40, 43-44, 56-57, 67-71, 73, 79, 82-84, 86-87, 90-91, 93-96, 98, 100, 105-106, 108-109, 112-113, 115-118, 120, 125-129, 136, 141, 143-145, 147, 152, 154, 195, 200, 203, 205-210, 216, 223, 226, 253-254, 259, 337, 339-340
 In Te Speravi, 195, 201, 203, 208-209, 211
 independence dream, vii, x-xi, xiii, 112-114, 118, 124-125, 127
 independence of Ukraine, 7, 12, 17, 47, 63, 65, 227
 Independence Square, 121, 156
 information war, 30, 32, 35, 154, 186, 232
 Inglehart, Ronald, 135, 141, 148
 International Court of Justice ("ICJ"), 62, 64-65
 international law, 59-63, 65, 235, 296

J

justice, xii, 59, 62, 64-65, 122, 124, 287, 307

K

Kaulins, Brigita, 281
 Keenan, Edward L., 9-10, 113, 128
 Kerner, Robert, 286-288
 Kherson, 54, 94, 98-102, 104, 166, 171, 175, 209-210
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 7-8, 161, 244, 342
 Korotich, Vitaly, 215, 220-226, 261

Kosach, Yuriy, 215, 219
 Kostenko, Lina, viii, 25, 51, 151-152, 168, 193, 226, 256, 261-262, 342
 Krasynska, Svitlana, 122, 128
 Kravchenko, Volodymyr, 120, 128
 Kravchuk, Leonid, 22-23, 82, 115
 Kruk, Halyna, 163-168, 190-191
 Krychevsky, Kateryna Rosandich, 282
 Kryshchak, Jaroslav, 302, 304
 Krytyka Publishers, 111
 Kuchma, Leonid, 32, 82, 115
 Kulchyts'kyi, Stanislav, 112
 Kurzweil, Edith, 264
 Kuusinen, Otto, 243
 Kuzio, Taras, 117, 122, 129
 Kyiv Rus, 11, 127

L

language ideology, 87, 90-91, 107, 109
 language revitalization, ix, 87-88, 90, 92-93, 96-97, 99, 105-109
 Lemkin, Raphael, 35, 52, 61
 Levinson, Aleksei, 121, 129
 Lippman, Matthew, 60-62, 65
 Locke, John, 207, 211
 Luckyj, George, 226
 Lysiak Rudnytsky, Ivan (Lysiak-Rudnytsky, L.-Rudnytsky), 10, 16, 46, 71, 86, 114, 129

M

Mackinder, Halford, 114, 117, 129
 Magocsi, Paul R., 26-27, 52, 69, 71-74, 77-81, 85-86, 111-112, 129
 Maidanska, Sofiia, x, 195-196, 201-210
 MAPA—Digital Atlas of Ukraine, 118
 MAU (Mizhnarodna Asotsiatsiia Ukraïnistiv, International Association of Ukrainian Studies), 57, 297-298

Maystrenko, Levko, 302
 Mazepa, Ivan, 12-14, 23-24, 39, 45, 48
 McCarthy, Joseph, Senator, 260, 285
 “mediaphrenia”, 234, 247
 memory, 6, 32-34, 37, 42, 47, 50, 52, 54-55, 57, 118, 121, 126, 163, 167, 181, 195-196, 198-199, 201-203, 205-207, 211, 216, 229, 234, 265, 289, 305, 311, 341
 memory policy, 32-33, 37, 55
 memory recall, 203
 “mental war”, 231-234, 249
 Michelet, Jules, 247, 250
 mobilization, x, 20, 23, 120, 122, 125, 128, 151-153, 163, 172, 187, 239-240, 244, 337
 mobilization (latent or overt), 240
 “Moscow - the Third Rome”, 232
 Motyl, Alexander, 252, 255-256, 304
 multicultural identity, 112
 multicultural Ukraine, 112
 Muscovite / Russian barbarism, 10-11, 13, 113, 128, 237-238

N

narrative, vii-viii, xi-xii, 1, 3-8, 10-15, 18-28, 30-38, 40-45, 48-50, 52, 55-57, 136, 153, 155, 158, 187, 196, 233, 238-239, 241, 247, 251, 342
 National Committee for the State Language Standards, 95
 national identity, vii-viii, xi, 3, 32, 43-44, 67, 69, 71, 73, 82-84, 94-95, 129, 136, 143-145, 147, 337, 339
 NATO, 65, 116, 124, 128, 185, 231, 244-245
 NCWC (National Catholic Welfare Council), 279-280
 neo-imperial doctrine of the Russian Federation, 28

neologism, neologization, x, 151, 158-159, 171, 174, 176-177
 new speaker, 97, 108
 Newspeak, x, xii, 151, 154-155, 158, 160, 186
 NTSH (Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka), 49, 303
 nuclear terrorism, 241, 246
 Nuremberg Tribunal, 59-60

O

ODUM (Orhanizatsiia demokratychnoi ukrains'koi molodi), 295
 Old Ruthenians (starorusyny), 71-72
 Oleksii Tolochko, 112
 Orange revolution, xii, 25, 95, 206
 Orlyk, Pylyp, 12-14, 23, 45, 292
 Ozeriany Circle (Loch Ada, Glen Spey, N.Y.), 305

P

Paradise Mountain, 196, 210
 parodistic translation, 151, 153, 171, 174
 Pavlychko, Dmytro, 221, 225-226, 261-262
 Petliura, Symon, 23, 39, 125, 299
 “people of truth” (Russia), 232
 Petryshyn, Volodymyr, 294-295, 297, 302, 304-305
 phronesis, 195, 199, 207
 PLAST (Ukrainian Scouting organization), 278, 292, 295, 319, 322, 331-332
 Plokyh, Serhii, 5, 19-20, 27, 38, 42, 54, 69, 73-74, 76-81, 86, 116-117, 129, 153, 191
 poetic mystification, 151, 163, 168
 Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 68-69, 118-119

political culture, 86, 113-114, 117, 124, 128, 238
 political order, ix, 111, 113-114, 116, 123, 127
 political psychosomatics, 234
 popular culture, vii, 95, 104-106, 108, 131, 152-153, 187-188, 193
 popular mobilization, x, 151-152
 postcolonialism, 133
 post-communist transition, 120
 post-materialistic value, 133, 140-142, 144
 “post-truth”, 232, 246, 248
 “practically one nation”, 239, 242
 Procyk, Volodymyr, 278
 project authenticity, 96
 Prokop, Mykola, 261
 Prolog Associates, 303
 Purgatory, x, 195-196, 198-199, 207, 209-210
 purism, 87, 91-93, 102, 106, 108, 188
 Putin’s “second army of the world”, 240

R

Ramstein group, 244
 Rashists, 240
 Razumkov Center, 134, 143, 145-146, 148
 reason, 12, 41, 70, 74, 80, 83, 129, 138, 140, 165, 174, 199, 205, 218, 229, 242, 255, 264, 274, 280, 293, 315
 “restore dignity”, 246
 Revay, Julian, 264-265
 “Revelations”, 197, 199
 Revolution on Granite, xii, 25, 120
 Rewakowicz, Maria, 255
 Riabchuk, Mykola, 117, 120, 129, 153, 192
 Romanticism, 91
 Rudnycka, Maria, 273, 292

Rudnytsky, Volodymyr, 257
 ruscism, 151, 153, 177, 184-186, 192-193
 Russian Empire, 7, 13, 31, 43, 67-74, 76-77, 80, 88, 108, 186, 243
 Russian Orthodox Church – ROC, 70, 76-77, 80-81
 Russian world, 29, 33, 44, 156, 159, 171-173, 175, 234, 242, 247
 Russian-Soviet empire, 14, 35, 44
 Russophiles (moskvofily), 71-72, 74-75
 Rutgers University, 225, 251-252, 255, 307, 311, 335, 341
 Ruthenian Triad, 73
 Ruthenian Uniate Church – RUC, 69-71, 85

S

Samopomich (Ukrainian federal Credit Union, N.Y.), 256
 Schmid, Ulrich, 118
 self-awareness, viii, 11, 17, 25, 32, 51, 140
 self-governance, 113, 123, 125
 self-organization, 113, 129
 Sereda, Viktoriya, 118, 130
 serfdom experience, 115
 shadow diplomacy, 246
 Shankovsky, Lev, 277
 Sheptytsky, Andrey, Metropolitan (also Sheptytskyi, Andriy), 35, 75-80
 Shestydesiatnyky, 223, 261
 Shevchenko, Taras, vii, 7, 24, 73, 151, 162, 169-200, 204, 211, 229, 254-256, 265, 282, 288, 293, 315, 338-339, 341-342
 Shevchuk, Valerii (Valeriy), x, 195-201, 207, 209-212
 Silins, Laimonis, 282
 Skrypyuk, Mstyslav, 225
 Slipyj, Josyf (Metropolitan), 75, 80-81, 86

Sluzar, Sonia, 221, 261, 301
 Smal-Stocky (Smal-Stocki), Roman,
 218, 254, 286, 288, 303
 Snow, Edgar, 239
 Snyder, Timothy, 42, 177-178, 184-185,
 193
 Sonevytsky, Natalia Palidwor, 293, 302
 southern Russia, 114
 Soviet regime, 7, 21, 89-90, 200-201,
 209, 218, 226
 spatial communities, 113
 "special [military] operation", 232, 243
 St. Sophia Cathedral (Kyiv), 201, 208
 Stalin, Josef Vissarionovich, 36, 47, 62-
 63, 65, 68-69, 81, 88, 170, 178, 218,
 223, 240, 243-244, 247, 249-250, 254,
 260, 285-286
 Starossolsky, Jurij, 298
 state identity, 3, 6, 19, 40
 Steinem, Gloria, 215, 220
 Struk, Danylo, 226
 subjectivity, 3, 8, 10-11, 13, 15, 22, 24,
 40, 44, 113, 195, 233
 Suchasnist, 48, 57, 211, 218, 261, 303,
 341
 SUM (Soiuz ukrains'koi molodi), 295,
 318, 327
 surzhyk, 95
 SUSTA (Soiuz Ukrain's'kykh
 students'kykh tovarystv Ameryky;
 Federation of Ukrainian Student
 Organization of America) see
 Federation of Ukrainian Student
 organizations in U.S., 255, 288, 293-
 297, 306

T

"The collective West", 232, 234, 244,
 246
 "The bosom of Russian civilization",
 233

The Crimea, xii, 29, 59, 63, 86, 98-99,
 152, 156-157, 159-160, 175-176, 209-
 210, 242, 298
 the EU, 65, 116, 142, 190, 232-233
 The Gates of Europe, 42, 54, 86, 116-
 118, 129
 the great "Victory", 239, 241
 the Kremlin, x, 28, 43, 51, 115-116, 125,
 151, 155-159, 160, 162, 170-172, 182-
 184, 186, 194, 232, 234-235, 241, 243-
 248
 the reputational flaws of Stalin's Red
 Army, 240
 the Soviet "liberating soldier", 235
 Tomorug, Olena (also Olena Tomorug
 Zacharijiv), 253, 256, 292
 Tomorug, Eugene, 258, 276, 279
 Tomorug, Theofil, 253, 256, 258
 total hybrid war, 233
 Towster, Julian, 286-287
 transcribed borrowing, 159
 translanguaging, 101-103, 107
 Tsar Nicholas II's, 242, 249
 TUSM (Tovarystvo ukrains'koi
 students'koi molodi), 295
 Tychna, Pavlo, 169-171, 191, 193, 262

U

UHA (Ukrains'ka Halyts'ka Armiia;
 Ukrainian insurgent forces;
 Ukrainian Galician Army), 253, 256-
 257
 Ukraine, vii-xiii, 3, 5-27, 29-56, 59, 62-
 65, 67-70, 75, 77-78, 80-94, 96, 98-99,
 102, 104-109, 111-121, 123-130, 133-
 136, 138, 140-149, 151-171, 173-178,
 180, 182-194, 196-201, 205-207, 209-
 210, 215-219, 223-229, 231-246, 248-
 253, 255-267, 269, 273, 278-280, 287-
 291, 293, 295, 297-301, 303-306, 309-

311, 315-321, 324-327, 330-331, 335, 337-342

Ukrainian communities, ix, 111-112, 124-125, 127, 226

Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church – UGCC, viii- ix, 35, 67-68, 71, 81, 83-84, 318

Ukrainian history, vii, 3, 6, 8-9, 11-13, 27, 31, 33, 37-39, 42, 45-46, 54, 57, 86, 129, 255, 286, 288, 291, 341

Ukrainian identity, viii, 24, 67-68, 70, 79, 82-83, 125, 136, 145, 216, 253

Ukrainian national identity, viii, 67, 69, 73, 129, 136

“Ukrainian Nazis”, 232

Ukrainian SSR, 7-9, 14-15, 31, 46, 49, 51-52, 55-56, 60-61, 69, 257

Ukrainian Student Fund, 295

Ukrainian Studies Fund (USF), 36, 295-296

Ukrainophiles (narodovtsi), 71-73

Union of Brest, 67, 81, 86

UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), 229

USNSA (United States National Student Association), 294-295

UVAN (Ukrains'ka vil'na akademiia nauk Ameryky), 53, 303

V

value, vii-xii, 6-7, 13, 18, 41, 44-45, 89, 93, 95, 113, 117-119, 122, 124, 126, 133-148, 159, 165, 195, 199-201, 207, 209, 224, 229, 232, 234-235, 246-248, 309

Vernadsky, George, 289-291

“victorious and God-bearing nation”, 248

“victory frenzy”, 247

Vietnamization of the war, 246

Vinhranovsky, Mykola, 226, 261-262

Virgil, 196, 199, 207

Voloshyn, Msgr. Dr. Augustyn, 39, 264-265

Vysotskyi, Serhii, 201

W

war, viii-xiii, 6, 11-12, 14, 17-18, 26, 30-32, 34-35, 43-44, 46, 49, 53, 56, 59-65, 67, 69, 72, 75-77, 79-82, 89, 98-99, 106, 114-115, 119, 122, 125, 128-130, 133-136, 140, 142, 144-146, 148, 151-155, 157-158, 160-167, 169, 171, 173-178, 180, 183-184, 186-194, 197, 210, 216-217, 225, 228-229, 231-235, 237-254, 257, 259-260, 262-265, 267-276, 279, 285, 287, 297, 305-306, 317, 337

War for Independence, 125

wartime humor, 192

wartime poetry, x, 151, 163

Water of Life, 195, 197, 200, 209, 212

Wellek, Rene, 286, 289-292

Wilson, Andrew, 47, 117, 130

wordplay, 159, 172-173, 175, 181

World Happiness Report, 134-135, 140, 142-143, 145-146, 148

World Values Survey, 134, 141, 146, 148

World War II (also the Second World War), 6, 12, 18, 26, 34, 46, 53, 56, 59, 60, 75, 89, 174, 216, 217, 225, 231, 235, 238-241, 244, 248, 2502, 52-253, 257, 259, 264, 267, 269, 279, 297, 305, 317

World War III, 244

World-Island, 114

Wynnyckyj, Mychailo, 122, 130

Y

Yakobson, Sergius, 298, 300

Yarmolenko, Nataliya, 153, 193-194

Yavna, Uliana Diachuk, 294, 297

Yavorska, Galina, 91-92, 109
Yevshan, 203, 205
Yevtushenko, Yevgenii see
 Evtushenko, Evgenii, 235-236, 250

Z

Zacharijiv, Stanislava (Stasia), 253

Zacharijiv, Yaroslav, 258
Zaporozhian Sich, 119, 121, 129
ZAREVO, 295
Zelensky, Volodymyr, 65, 124, 155-156
Znayenko, Wassyl, 255, 258, 261, 293,
 299-300, 306
Zolkina, Maria, 117, 128