

Background Guide



WAMUNC XXVI

NEITHER HER GLORY
NOR HER FREEDOM



Letter from the Crisis Director

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to WAMUNC XXVI, and congratulations on becoming the first members of the All-Ukrainian Central Rada! The fate of this young nation at the gates of Europe lies in your hands. My name is Sophia Pavlenko, and I'm incredibly excited to be your CD for this year's WAMUNC. Currently, I am a second-year at the George Washington University (GW), where I study international relations, history, and geography. Although I never had the opportunity to do Model UN at a high school level, I was able to gain a lot of experience by being on GW's MUN Travel Team freshman year, allowing me to compete as far away as Chicago and Los Angeles. As of now, I'm currently taking a break to focus on professional development and managing an undergraduate research journal in international relations. Despite the break, I have found my time on the collegiate circuit invaluable, and I'm looking forward to contributing to your MUN experience!

Though I have lived in the United States for several years, I am by nationality Ukrainian from Crimea, which was taken over in 2014 by the Russian Federation. In the 1980s, my grandfather served as a specialist in chemistry and Soviet diplomat in the International Organization of Vine and Wine, a political-scientific council on viticulture; in the wake of Ukrainian independence in December 1991, he wrote extensively and created documentaries on Crimea's political and natural history. This personal background, along with the start of the full-scale invasion in 2022, has made me extremely passionate about sharing the language, history, and politics of my homeland, and I look forward to helping immerse you in this time period. I consequently encourage you all to do your own research and look at the 1917-1921 events gripping Eastern Europe through a myriad of perspectives and analytical lenses.

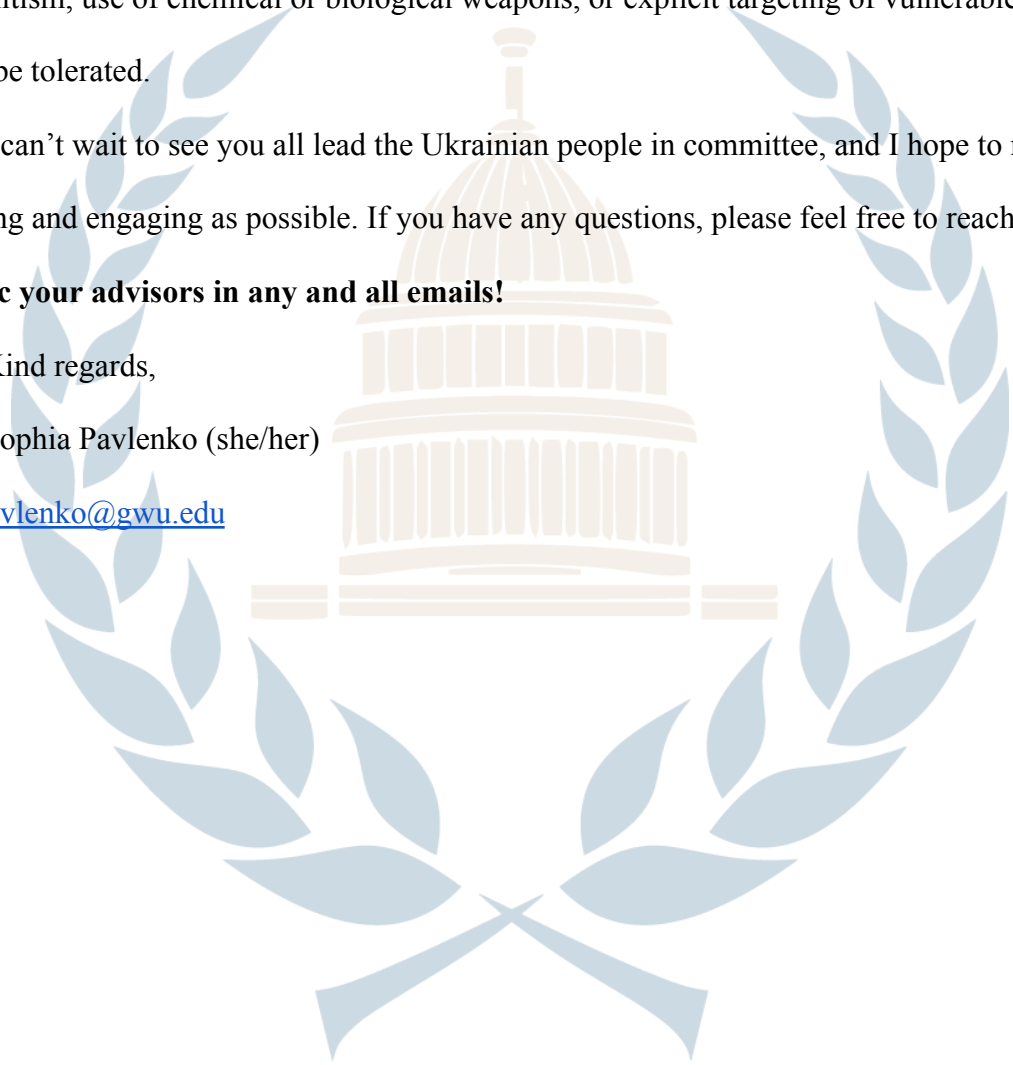
Nevertheless, I would like to caution that the First War of Independence, like many 20th century conflicts, involved a variety of sensitive topics, including instances of political repression, ethnic violence, and famine that disproportionately affected civilian populations. As a result, please note that any actions resembling or promoting fascism, mass violence, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, use of chemical or biological weapons, or explicit targeting of vulnerable groups will not be tolerated.

I can't wait to see you all lead the Ukrainian people in committee, and I hope to make it as exciting and engaging as possible. If you have any questions, please feel free to reach out, though **cc your advisors in any and all emails!**

Kind regards,

Sophia Pavlenko (she/her)

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Format of Committee

This is a historic/specialized committee that will **heavily incorporate crisis elements**.

Delegates will write directives, respond to special and timed crises, and by the end of committee will have hopefully led Ukraine into self-rule through military, political, diplomatic, legal, and ideological means. Delegates will have access to a backroom via a one-pad crisis note system, allowing them to increase their portfolio powers in a private and even clandestine manner.

However, delegates should be aware of **several modifications to committee procedure**.

Firstly, all directives will be categorized as one of two types: **Universals and Action Directives**. Universals represent legal and foundational measures to be approved by the committee. This includes, but is not limited to, declarations of autonomy or independence, establishing diplomatic ties, defining the state ideology or constitutional principles, and conducting in-committee elections. In contrast, Action Directives represent steps approved by the committee to enforce its authority; such measures include but are not limited to, the application of military force, espionage and surveillance, the transport and recruitment of troops, police and militias, the enforcement of laws or ideological principles on localities, the judicial prosecution of individuals, and the usage or redistribution of state funds for particular projects.

To generalize, a Universal is an Act of Law, and an Action Directive is a step to exercise committee authority and enforce Acts of Law. However, the line between a Universal and an Action Directive will not always be clean, and deciding what a Directive qualifies as will ultimately be at the chair's discretion.

Secondly, at the end of every directive round where one or more Action Directives is passed, the CD will provide delegates with a paper – a **Compliance Card** - to record their strategic response to the committee’s actions. On this paper, a delegate will write their name and either the word “Comply” or “Disobey”. The delegate will then silently hand the Card to the CD, thus noting the delegate’s immediate, private orders to the staff under their command, whether those are revolutionary paramilitaries, lawyers, or university students. In this way, the committee will not only reflect the more unstable nature of Ukraine in 1917 but also allow delegates to more actively use their portfolio powers to shape the path of the Central Rada. To illustrate how this system will work in committee, we will outline a brief hypothetical example:

1. The committee debates, drafts, and votes on an Action Directive for a military offensive into enemy-held territory.
2. The Action Directive passes; CD gives out Compliance Cards and delegates write their response. Most delegates, who directly control military assets, write “Disobey”.
3. Although the Action Directive was formally passed, since the majority of the army was instructed to disobey orders, the CD notifies committee that the offensive fails.

Finally, at the beginning of every committee session, each delegate will receive a private letter known as a **Staff Memo**. The memo will provide an official approximation of the delegate’s portfolio powers throughout committee. It will also include brief intelligence updates, depending on the resources, alliances, and positions of power one attains in both front-room and backroom.

Historical Background

The committee will begin in **March 1917**, when the Ukrainian Central Rada (Українська Центральна Рада) historically first convened. This organization took a leading position in the War of Independence, as it successfully used its status to form the official legislature of the Ukrainian People's Republic. However, please note that the Ukrainian Central Rada began as just a coordinating committee, and it was only one part of the initial struggle for self-rule, with other governmental organizations and political forums taking just as significant a role.

Consequently, for logistical reasons, this committee **will not directly correspond** to the Ukrainian Central Rada, and not all characters will have historically been part of the aforementioned body. Instead, the committee will serve as a united council to represent the movement for Ukrainian nationhood as a whole around the era of 1917; it is thus named **the All-Ukrainian Central Rada (Всеукраїнська Центральна Рада)** to differentiate it from the historical body.

Despite this choice to divert from historical accuracy, it remains important for the committee to keep in mind that the rise of an effective, organized pro-Ukrainian movement in 1917 is the culmination of several historical processes.

Imperial Rule Over Ukraine

Timeline:¹

- **900s:** The Kyivan Rus, a medieval polity, forms in what is now Ukraine, Belarus, and European Russia.

¹ "Ukraine Has Seen Centuries of Conflict," HISTORY, last modified July 11, 2023, <https://www.history.com/news/ukraine-timeline-invasions>.

- **1200s:** The Kyivan Rus collapses to Mongol invasion. Multiple semi-independent kingdoms, medieval republics, and principalities form in the chaos as successors to both Kyivan and Mongol rule.
- **Mid-1400s:** Ivan III, ruler of the Grand Principality of Moscow, breaks free of the rule of the Tatar Khan (successor state of the Mongol invasion), invades the Republic of Novgorod, and declares himself to be the legitimate heir of the Kyivan princes.²
- **1558:** Muscovy begins an initially unsuccessful push westward, hoping to enforce its dynastic claim over East Slavic lands.
- **1569:** Facing aggression from Moscow, the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania merge into a Commonwealth. Poland establishes control over Kyiv and swaths of Ukraine.
- **Late 1500s:** Cossacks – freemen and runaway serfs banding together into autonomous, semi-militarized communities – emerge as a powerful force in the Wild Fields, a southern steppe borderland between the Polish lands in Ukraine and the Crimean Khanate (a realm under the influence of the Ottoman Empire).³
- **1648:** Dissatisfied by political and religious persecution, the Cossacks revolt against the Poles & establish the Hetmanate ruled by a *hetman* (commander).
- **1654:** The Hetmanate tries to keep its autonomy and balance against the Polish realm by strategically allying with the Muscovite tsar, who soon defeats the Poles and, in a betrayal, occupies Ukrainian Cossack lands with his own troops.

² Serhiy Plokyh, *The Russo-Ukrainian War: The Return of History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2023), 4-5.

³ “Why Are Cossacks Key to Understanding the Ukrainian Nation?,” *Ukraine World*, March 13, 2019, <https://ukraineworld.org/en/articles/ukraine-explained/why-are-cossacks-key-understanding-ukrainian-nation>.

- **1708:** The Ukrainian Hetmanate revolts against Muscovy while Tsar Peter I is at war with Sweden. Moscow crushes the uprising and places the Cossacks under the rule of a “Little Russian Collegium.”⁴
- **1721:** Having attained dominance in the Baltics, defeated the Swedes, and regained control over the Cossacks, Tsar Peter I declares Muscovy the Russian Empire and himself emperor.
- **1762-1796:** Russian Empress Catherine completes the conquest of most Ukrainian lands, annexing Crimea, partitioning the Kingdom of Poland, and destroying the last vestiges of Cossack autonomy.

Since the collapse of the medieval realm known as the Kyivan Rus, **the Ukrainian people have been ruled by imperial powers and have never had an independent, modern state to call their own.** Attempts to secure some authority from larger powers were made in the 1500s and 1600s by the Cossacks, often fueled by feelings of social and religious persecution. Despite their struggle’s brutality, the Cossacks eventually succeeded under military leader Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who formed the Hetmanate (Гетьманщина), a proto-Ukrainian state governed under a mix of democratic, monarchic, and militaristic traditions.⁵ Although Khmelnytsky achieved *de facto* sovereignty, his new territory quickly came under geopolitical pressures, forcing the Cossacks to balance bigger Eastern European hegemony like Poland, Lithuania, Muscovy, and the Crimean Tatars through ever-shifting periods of alliance and

⁴ Plokhy, *The Russo-Ukrainian War*, 8-9.

⁵ Alisa Ballard Lin, “The Cossacks, Ukraine’s Paradigmatic Warriors,” *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*, January, 2023, https://origins.osu.edu/read/cossacks-ukraines-paradigmatic-warriors?language_content_entity=en.

By the end of the 18th century, through military might, Muscovy had become the Russian Empire and came to control all eastern Ukrainian lands, which it would try to assimilate through a policy of Russification. The western half came under the influence of the Habsburg dynasty in control of the Austrian Empire. This *status quo* would last until 1917 when the Russian Empire finally began its disintegration.



Borders of Europe in 1914. Note the Russian control over nearly all Ukrainian lands.⁹

Ukrainophiles vs. Russophiles

Timeline:

⁹ *European alliances during the 1914-18 war. Neutral countries in yellow, Central powers in purple, Allied or Entente powers in green, Vector Map, Department of History, United States Military Academy, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_1914.jpg.*

- **1798:** First popular literature and theater in the Ukrainian language is officially published.¹⁰
- **1823:** The first Ukrainian language dictionary is published.¹¹
- **1834:** The Tsarist government establishes the University of Saint Vladimir in Kyiv, the third university in Ukraine, to educate local imperial authorities, promote Russian identity, and publish manuscripts to establish the historical legitimacy of Russian rule in Ukraine.¹²
- **1845:** At the University of Saint Vladimir, Professor Mykola Kostomarov and Taras Shevchenko form the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the first clandestine pro-Ukrainian political organization.¹³
- **1862:** The Ukrainian national anthem is written. Its first words, inspired by the anthem of the similarly oppressed Poles, can be translated as “Ukraine has not yet perished / neither her glory nor her freedom.”¹⁴
- **1863:** The first Russian ban on publication of material in the Ukrainian language is decreed. Ukrainians in Habsburg Galicia continue to be allowed to publish in their language. The 1876 “Ems Ukase” makes the ban even more strict.¹⁵

¹⁰ Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey Through the History of Ukraine* (New York:Basic Books, 2022), 76.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 77.

¹² Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine* (New York:Basic Books, 2021), 156.

¹³ Mykhailo Hrushevsky, “Ukraine’s Struggle for Self-Government,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1918, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1918/02/17/102671664.html?zoom=14.56&pageNumber=68>.

¹⁴ Mike Snider, “A song of defiance: Ukraine's national anthem being heard all over the world,” *USA Today*, February 26, 2022,

<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2022/02/26/ukraine-national-anthem-global-protest-song/6952855001/>.

¹⁵ Hrushevsky, “Ukraine’s Struggle for Self-Government.”

- **1867:** The Austro-Hungarian Habsburg monarchy recognizes the rights of ethnic minorities, including Ukrainians in Galicia, protecting their ability to publish in their own language, establish their own schools, and win political representation in parliaments.¹⁶
- **1905:** The 1st Russian Revolution overturns the ban on Ukrainian-language publication in the east; pro-Ukrainian political parties begin to operate more openly.¹⁷
- **1910-1914:** An autocratic, Russian nationalist wave in imperial politics occurs, with a reinstatement of the ban on Ukrainian-language publication and a curtailing of the Ukrainian movement's activities.¹⁸

The 1800s in Europe were an era of rising romantic nationalism, or the belief that certain people constitute their own nation and should have their own sovereign state; as seen by the timeline above, the Russian Empire was no exception to this phenomenon. The Poles, once a dominant ruling power over Ukrainians but similarly conquered by Russia in the 18th century, rebelled numerous times against tsarist rule during this century. Although these uprisings were defeated, the tsarist government felt its control increasingly threatened, leading imperial historians and officials to experiment with new models of Russian nationalism to ensure the loyalty of the Eastern Slavs.¹⁹ This included the “Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality”

¹⁶ “A short history of Ukrainian nationalism — and its tumultuous relationship with Russia,” *The Conversation*, March 17, 2022, <https://theconversation.com/a-short-history-of-ukrainian-nationalism-and-its-tumultuous-relationship-with-russia-179346>.

¹⁷ “This day in history. The Ems Ukaz as attempt to destroy Ukrainian culture,” *Ukrinform*, May 30, 2018, <https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-society/2470383-this-day-in-history-the-ems-ukaz-as-attempt-to-destroy-ukrainian-culture.html>.

¹⁸ Yoko Aoshima and Darius Staliūnas, *The Tsar, The Empire, and The Nation* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021), 24.

¹⁹ Plokhly, *The Russo-Ukrainian War*, 10.

doctrine under Nicholas I, as well as the myth of a “triune” Russian nation, composed of Little Russians (Ukrainians), White Russians (Belarusians), and Great Russians (Muscovites).²⁰

Simultaneously, Ukrainian society in the Russian Empire began experiencing its own national revival in literary and intellectual circles.²¹ This is best exemplified by Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine’s most famous artist and poet. Having bravely published in 1840 his Ukrainian-language work *Kobzar*, which was almost immediately censored, Shevchenko went on in 1845 to take a leading role in the formation of the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, one of the first pro-Ukrainian political organizations. A clandestine group in the University of Kyiv, the Brotherhood incorporated ideas of pan-Slavism and Ukrainian nationalism, envisioning the flourishing of the Ukrainian language, the rebirth of ancient traditions, and the creation of an autonomous Ukraine within a wider Slavic federation. Although discovered by tsarist authorities and shut down in 1847, the brief existence of the Brotherhood paved the way for the emergence of other Ukrainian intellectual groups promoting nationalism around a common language, history, and folk culture.²² Nevertheless, tsarist repression, as well as the migration of Russified groups to Ukrainian urban centers, curtailed Ukrainian nationalism from attaining widespread support, at least until the removal of the ban on Ukrainian-language publications in 1905. At most, Ukrainian nationalism became widely supported in the rural countryside, while the majority of urban dwellers were either indifferent or hostile to the movement.²³

In the Habsburg Austrian Empire, western Ukrainians, who traditionally referred to themselves as ‘Ruthenians’, were much freer to advocate for their culture, literature, and political autonomy. Although their attempt to secure autonomy and language rights during the 1848

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Matthew Kowalski, "The Failure of Nationalism in Revolutionary Ukraine: 1917-1920," *The Histories*, Vol. 4, Iss. 1, Article 4, https://digitalcommons.lasalle.edu/the_histories/vol4/iss1/4.

Spring of Nations was ultimately thwarted, the Habsburgs, seeking to balance against the increasing prominence of the Poles in the new territory of Galicia, continually permitted Ukrainian groups to publish in their native language and politically organize.²⁴

Despite the differences in imperial policy regarding the rise of a Ukrainian national consciousness, by 1917, both western and eastern Ukrainian society, living in decaying centuries-old empires, became highly polarized between two groups: Ukrainophiles, or those who advocated for autonomy, language rights, and even outright independence, and Russophiles, who believed that all Ukrainian lands, including those under the Habsburg crown, should be under the authority of the Russian tsar.²⁵

Ukraine in World War I

The outbreak of the biggest, most technologically advanced war in the history of Europe ultimately resulted in the downfall of the Russian Empire and its Romanov dynasty, beleaguered by famine, increasing dissatisfaction of the lower classes, and continual defeats on the frontline. The following timeline helps summarize the impact of the still ongoing Great War on both Ukraine and the wider Russian Empire:²⁶

- **June 1914:** Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip assassinates Archduke Franz Ferdinand of the Habsburg Austria-Hungary.
- **July 1914:** The assassination turns into an international crisis as complex networks of alliances turn European powers against one another. With Austrian troops' attacks on

²⁴ "Austria ruled western Ukraine (Halychyna) from 1772-1918," *Kyiv Post*, October 27, 2011, <https://www.kyivpost.com/post/7173>.

²⁵ Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe*, 172-73.

²⁶ A general timeline that formed the basis of this section can be found at: "Chronology: War and Revolution in Ukraine, 1914-23," University of Toronto Libraries, accessed December 4, 2023, <https://exhibits.library.utoronto.ca/exhibits/show/war-and-revolution-in-ukraine-/appendices/chronology>.

Serbia, the First World War begins between the Entente and the Central Powers, which puts Austria-Hungary against the Russian Empire.

- **1914-1917:** Ukrainians, divided by imperial borders, fight in both armies. Both Russia and Austria try to suppress ethnic separatism while mobilizing national movements against each other, often with promises of future statehood or autonomy. Ukrainian Galicia becomes a theater of heavy fighting between Russia and the Central Powers. Russian forces suffer heavy casualties.
- **September 1915:** As the war turns increasingly precarious for the Russian Empire, Tsar Nicholas II assumes personal command of the frontline.²⁷
- **July 1916:** The Brusilov Offensive in western Ukraine becomes Russia's last major military success.²⁸
- **March 1917:** The February Revolution occurs. Widespread hunger, bread shortages, worker's strikes, and a failing war effort result in protests in Petrograd, forcing the tsar to abdicate and a Russian Provisional Government to step in. Though the new government continues the war effort against the Central Powers, its executive authority is largely defunct, as separatist movements, from Ukraine to Central Asia, begin openly vying for independence.²⁹
- **March 1917:** Word of the tsar's overthrow makes its way to Kyiv. As the old tsarist order breaks down, pro-Ukrainian political, cultural, and intellectual organizations begin to

²⁷ Jennifer Rosenberg, "Russian Revolution Timeline," *ThoughtCo*, last updated September 12, 2019, <https://www.thoughtco.com/russian-revolution-timeline-1779473>.

²⁸ Additional resources used for the building of the timeline can be found at: "1917-2017 Centennial of the Russian Revolution," *Miami University*, accessed December 4, 2023, <https://miamioh.edu/cas/centers-institutes/havighurst-center/additional-resources/havighurst-special-programming/1917-centennial/index.html>.

²⁹ Plokhly, *The Russo-Ukrainian War*, 15.

organize in the Ukrainian Revolution, hoping to create a council to lead the Ukrainian people and represent them in a post-imperial era.

Committee Topics

Autonomy or Independence?

The All-Ukrainian Central Rada has convened at this unique moment not only to represent the interests of the Ukrainian people but also to decide how much to demand in terms of accommodations from the vulnerable Russian Provisional Government. In the first days of the Petrograd Revolution, the old guard of Ukrainian nationalists, particularly the Society of Ukrainian Progressives, hesitated to act at all; they had seen their aspirations for systemic change in the Russian Revolution of 1905 evaporate amid a reactionary wave, and they consequently lobbied for **language rights and smaller cultural concessions** in exchange for their loyalty to the new government.³⁰ The return to Kyiv of respected Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who had been exiled to Moscow and was popularly elected President of the Central Rada, largely put an end to this dynamic, as he openly supported the new generation of Ukrainian nationalists – writers, scholars, and students – to lead the movement and **demand Petrograd give Ukrainians territorial autonomy**.³¹

³⁰ Serhii Plokhy, “Ukraine in the Flames: ‘1917 in Kyiv’,” Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, September 8, 2017.

³¹ *Ibid.*



Pro-Ukrainian residents of Kyiv demonstrate on Sofia Square in favor of Ukrainian independence.³²

Despite the romantic nationalists' zeal for Ukrainian liberation, the various, largely left-wing, factions of the All-Ukrainian Central Rada have not come to a consensus on what autonomy should look like. The Socialist Federalists, a liberal party that can trace its roots to the Society of Ukrainian Progressives, advocate for a “**gradual approach and co-operation** with the Provisional Government regarding the autonomy question.”³³ The Social Democrats, an influential but somewhat small party, are largely in favor of ambiguous autonomy within a Russian federative structure, although a few have voiced their support for outright

³² *Ukrainian manifestation on Sophia Square in Kyiv. 1 April (19 March) 1917*. Black and white photograph, Istorichna Pravda, 28 September, 2018, <https://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2018/09/28/153033/>.

³³ Johannes Remy, “‘It Is Unknown Where the Little Russians Are Heading to’: The Autonomy Dispute between the Ukrainian Central Rada and the All-Russian Provisional Government in 1917.” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 95, no. 4 (2017): 698, <https://doi.org/10.5699/slaveastorev2.95.4.0691>.

independence.³⁴ Similarly, two smaller parties – the Ukrainian National Party and the Ukrainian Democratic Agrarian Party – advocate for independence in some form.³⁵

Notably, The Social Revolutionaries (SRs) act as the main representatives of the predominantly pro-Ukrainian peasantry and are consequently poised to become the most popular faction in Ukrainian politics.³⁶ Although the most radical voice in the Rada, the party has experienced **internal tensions**: the centrists and right-wing are heavily committed to Ukrainian autonomy and independence, while the left-wing is less of an advocate for Ukrainian interests and more for workers' liberation.³⁷ Worryingly, rumors in Kyiv abound that if the unstable situation in Russia leads to the downfall of the Provisional Government and the rise of the rival Petrograd Soviet (or even the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin), leftist members of the SR Party may choose to abandon Ukrainian autonomy in favor of internationalist revolution.

Regardless of how much Ukrainian factions will collectively demand from the Russians, **the question remains of how much the Provisional Government will choose to work with Kyiv in the resolution of the Ukrainian question.** Although Petrograd recognizes the Central Rada as a body and certain Russian factions are willing to make concessions in language instruction and federalism, the Government remains opposed to the Rada's more ambitious ideas.³⁸ Furthermore, it is necessary to take into account that the Provisional government, rivaled by the proletarian Petrograd Soviet and having chosen to continue the war effort against Germany and Austria-Hungary, is under increasing pressure and weakening by the day. It thus

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 699.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Arkadii Zhukovsky, "Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries," *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, last accessed Dec. 6, 2023,

<https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianPartyofSocialistRevolutionaries.htm>

³⁸ Remy, "'It Is Unknown Where the Little Russians Are Heading to'," 694.

remains a possibility that a new government, right-wing or left-wing, will take power by force, reject the Rada's legitimacy, and attempt to conquer Ukraine for its own goals, thus making supporting Ukrainian independence rhetorically or by force of arms less a political question and more a matter of national survival.



All-Ukrainian Central Rada President Mykhailo Hrushevsky and other delegates attend a military parade in Kyiv, 1917.³⁹

Statebuilding

Centuries of imperial subjugation of Ukrainian lands have left Ukrainian patriots with few foundations to call upon for the building of an autonomous polity or a sovereign state.

Although the All-Ukrainian Central Rada exists and has elected Mykhailo Hrushevsky President, delegates in Kyiv will have to build the rest of their modern state apparatus from the ground up.

³⁹ *The Head of the Ukrainian Central Rada, Myhailo Grushevskiy, at a military parade in Kyiv in 1917*, Black and white photograph, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grushevskiy_parad.jpg.

This will include enacting a constitution, creating ministries, appointing officials, forming an army, organizing a diplomatic corps, and a variety of other tasks to replace the institutions of the old regime.⁴⁰

The lack of progress on this front is so lacking that the national movement even lacks a concrete understanding of what territories Ukraine can reasonably claim as its own within the greater Russian empire, thus making it necessary for the Rada to decide not only how to govern but where.⁴¹ Of course, such a question of borders also involves a substantial foreign policy element, as a new Ukrainian authority will certainly have to enact official policy regarding the fact that the western half of Ukraine is still controlled by Austria-Hungary, a member of the Central Powers and hence a state that war-weary Ukraine and Russia are collectively in conflict with:



⁴⁰ Serhii Plokhyy, “Ukraine in the Flames: ‘1917 in Kyiv’”

⁴¹ *Ibid.*



Dismembered Russia—Some of the Fragments



Competing visions of a future state or autonomous region have created confusion over what Ukraine is or can reasonably claim as its own.⁴²

State Power

“[In Kyiv,] edicts were issued, cabinet crises were resolved, diplomatic talks were carried on—but the rest of the country lived in its own existence where the only effective regime was that of the gun.” - Richard Pipes⁴³

Regardless of how the Rada chooses to build its new government, its officials, legislators, soldiers, and diplomats face the difficult task of actually controlling and stabilizing Ukraine. The ongoing Great War in the West has already taken a toll on the civilian population, as both the Central Powers and the Russian Imperial Government have not only conscripted Ukrainians into national armies but also deported and imprisoned them en masse. Although order for now remains and the Rada retains influence over Ukrainian cities, Russia’s slow disintegration is imminently at risk of becoming an outright civil war and throwing the countryside into chaos.⁴⁴ Without organizing a loyal army or at least taking over (e.g., “Ukrainizing”) certain divisions of the Russian forces, the Rada will have little to no ability to defend itself, whether against the Central Powers, a hostile government in Petrograd, deserting Russian or Ukrainian soldiers, or even small groups of bandits in the villages.⁴⁵

⁴² In order of presentation, the image source are: *Rare Map of Ukrainian People’s Republic*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:UPR_map_of_1918.jpg ; *Map of Ukraine at Ukrainian postcard (1919)*, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Ukraine_\(postcard_1919\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Ukraine_(postcard_1919).jpg) ; *Dismembered Russia – Some of the Fragments*, The New York Times, February 17, 1918, <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1918/02/17/102671665.html?zoom=14.56&pageNumber=68>.

⁴³ Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime* (New York:Penguin Random House, 1994), 152.

⁴⁴ Reid, *Borderland*, 97-98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*



Anti-Kyiv peasant leader Nestor Makhno poses with his lieutenants.⁴⁶

A particularly concerning security issue is currently developing in Zaporizhzhya concerning **a peasant leader known as Nestor Makhno**. Previously a revolutionary activist, Makhno was imprisoned in 1908 for his activity and taken to Moscow, where he was introduced to the ideology of anarchism.⁴⁷ He was released during the February Revolution and was able to return to his native southeastern city of Huliaipole; there, he formed a Peasants' Union out of a wish to achieve liberation through the complete destruction of the state. This Union is actively turning into an angry fighting force colloquially referred to as the Black Army, with its ever-expanding territory known solely as the *Makhnovschyna*. The Central Rada thus far has created no policy on ending his rule by negotiation or force, and with disillusioned peasants and workers joining him en masse, **Makhno has decided to completely reject the body's**

⁴⁶ *Nestor Makhno and his Lieutenants, Berdyansk, 1919*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nestor_Makhno_and_his_Lieutenants,_Berdyansk,_1919.jpg.

⁴⁷ Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2017), 49.

authority.⁴⁸ The Makhno-led anarchist movement is thus one of the most dangerous to the ability of Kyiv to project power beyond a select few urban centers.

Socio-Economic Policy

The framework espoused by the All-Ukrainian Central Rada was “a [highly addictive] mixture of liberal nationalism and socialism,” and one of the body’s most significant proposals to aid Ukrainian society, predominantly agrarian, tired of war, and opposed to continued autocracy, is **land reform.**⁴⁹ This radical process, which involves redistributing noble agricultural lands to local peasants and thereby improving their standard of living, is widely supported by many in Ukrainian politics as not only an ideological imperative but also a practical instrument to hopefully gain greater support for the Rada among the rural population.⁵⁰ **However, radical redistribution is heavily opposed** not only by landowners and aristocrats like Pavlo Skoropadsky but also by the conservative minority Democratic Agrarian Party, which sees it possible to build an independent Ukraine with protections for private property.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 50.

⁴⁹ Serhii Plokhy, “Ukraine in the Flames: ‘1917 in Kyiv’”

⁵⁰ Kowalski, “The Failure of Nationalism,” 18.

⁵¹ Roman Senkus, “Ukrainian Democratic Agrarian Party,” Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine, last accessed December 4, 2023,

<https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CU%5CK%5CUkrainianDemocraticAgrarianparty.htm>.



Ukrainian Central Rada & Ukrainian People's Republic propaganda leaflet, 1917.⁵²

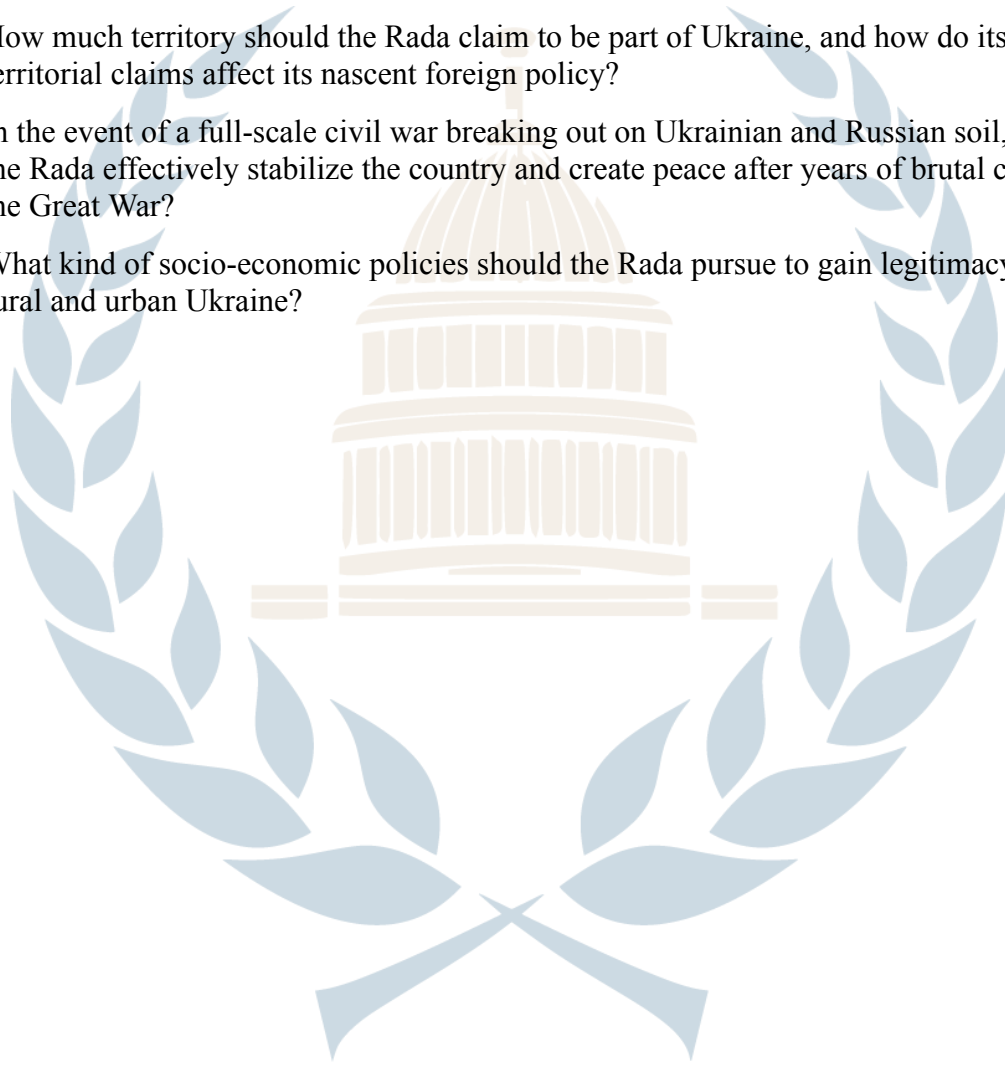
At the same time, the All-Ukrainian Central Rada lacks sufficient socio-economic ideas to gain popularity in urban centers. There, the majority of the population, which includes Russian immigrants and Russified Ukrainian workers, significantly supports Russian and non-Ukrainian socialist parties. These populations are thus not only indifferent to Ukrainian nationalism but also have little incentive to support the Rada's activities given the fact other groups cater more to their interests in workers' control of factories and the socialization of industry.⁵³ Consequently, even if the All-Ukrainian Central Rada creates a viable state, **without sufficient change in socio-economic program, challenges to gaining political legitimacy in Ukrainian cities will persist.**

⁵² *The Ukrainian propaganda leaflets, 1917*, Color drawing, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Propaganda_UPR.jpg.

⁵³ Kowalski, "The Failure of Nationalism," 19..

Guiding Questions

- How far should the All-Ukrainian Central Rada push its demands when working with the Provisional Government? Is full independence through the creation of a Ukrainian People's Republic a realistic option?
- What steps can the Rada take to quickly create an armed force and government institutions?
- How much territory should the Rada claim to be part of Ukraine, and how do its territorial claims affect its nascent foreign policy?
- In the event of a full-scale civil war breaking out on Ukrainian and Russian soil, how can the Rada effectively stabilize the country and create peace after years of brutal conflict in the Great War?
- What kind of socio-economic policies should the Rada pursue to gain legitimacy in both rural and urban Ukraine?



Positions

Note: Many names on this list are not consistent from source to source, amid differences in transliteration style and preference to use the Ukrainian or Russified spellings as a reference. To assist you with your research, the Ukrainian alphabet name is included. In addition, while the below information is primarily based on biographical information, it has been tailored and adjusted for the time period, pacing, and needs of the committee. Consequently, though in-depth research is encouraged, keep in mind that it may not completely correlate to what is included below.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky (Михайло Грушевський) - Historian

If Taras Shevchenko can be thought of as Ukraine's greatest poet, then Hrushevsky is certainly the nation's greatest historian. Born in Tbilisi, Georgia to Ukrainophile parents, he obtained his education in Kyiv, showed promise as a scholarly researcher on Eastern Europe, and was offered a post in Austria-Hungary as its very first chair of Ukrainian history. From Lviv, Hrushevsky committed himself to increasing the intellectual capabilities of the Ukrainian movement: he became President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and began publishing his ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus*. This magnum opus departed radically from the Russocentric narrative that Moscow inherited the mantle of the Kyivan Rus and had reunited the Eastern Slavs under one imperial polity, instead asserting that Ukraine had its own distinct identity, culture, and history. This academic achievement made him instantly recognizable in Ukrainian revolutionary circles, and with the overthrow of the tsar, he arrived in Kyiv as the newly elected President of the Central Rada. Although encouraging the old guard to at least support a Ukrainian autonomous polity within a Russian Federation, his recent political activity as a member of the younger Socialist Revolutionaries has shown him to be more of a strong advocate for radical democracy, socialist policies, and outright independence. Nevertheless, he currently rejects the need to build a national army.

Simon Petliura (Симон Петлюра) - Journalist

Initially intending to become an Orthodox priest, Petliura was expelled from his seminary student position when he was discovered to be a member of a secret Ukrainophile society. Thereafter, he moved to the Kuban region, where he worked as both a teacher and archivist; however, when it was found out that Petliura had continued his involvement in revolutionary organizations, he was arrested and ultimately moved to exile to Austria-Hungary. Based in Lviv, he took to journalism, editing numerous journals and publishing articles for social democratic and Ukrainophile publications. Returning to the Russian Empire under an amnesty, Petliura continued his career in eastern Ukraine and was able to publish thousands of articles in both Russian and Ukrainian languages, thus giving him considerable resources through contacts across the wider empire as of 1917. Although Petliura as a member of the Central Rada is openly on the left-wing of Ukrainian politics, he opposes both those working with the Petrograd Soviet and those seeking a more moderate approach to negotiating with the Russian Empire. In particular, he sees it imperative for the Rada to build its own military force, so that the Ukrainian national movement can protect itself from interference and independently choose its own path.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko (Володимир Винниченко) - Modernist Writer

Fueled by his personal experience of oppression by wealthy landowners and Russophilic classmates, the rebellious Vynnychenko has been a passionate advocate for social equity and Ukrainian independence since high school, when he was nearly expelled for writing

revolutionary poetry. During his university studies in Law, Vynnychenko published his first fiction novel, engaged in Ukrainian nationalist activity, and wrote revolutionary works, leading him to be incarcerated multiple times and nearly sent off to a penal colony in Siberia. Following his graduation, he was arrested again but rescued by a wealthy patron of Ukrainian culture, who paid for his bail and gave him the opportunity to escape to western Ukraine, then under the jurisdiction of Austria-Hungary. Thereafter, he essentially became a celebrated emigre, returning only at the start of the Great War to hide in Moscow, where his writing focused on exposing Russian indifference and even hostility to Ukrainian wartime suffering. In 1917, Vynnychenko arrived in Kyiv to take on a leading role in the Ukrainian Revolution, particularly in the formation of an autonomous government, and organize diplomatic negotiations with the Russian Provisional Government in Petrograd. Like Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko is committed to preserving a nascent Ukrainian democracy in whatever form possible and opposes the creation of a major military apparatus of the Rada out of fear that it may be used to initiate an autocratic takeover of the national project.

Arnold Margolin (Арнольд Марголін) - Lawyer & Jewish Community Leader

Margolin became famous in Kyiv for his defense counsel on politically-charged trials against Ukrainian and Jewish individuals, eventually leading him to be disbarred under the pressure of tsarist authorities. Banned from practicing law, Margolin moved to Petrograd, supported himself through business dealings and legal advice for Russian industrial corporations, and began supporting organizations advocating for equality for the oppressed Jewish peoples of the wider empire. Returning to Kyiv in 1917, Margolin joined the Central Rada and became part of the Socialist Federalists, in line with his personal support of the Provisional Government in Petrograd and simultaneous belief that Ukraine should have self-determination in some form. Keen to return to practicing law and wanting Ukraine to forge its own destiny, he is dedicated to helping a future autonomous government in Kyiv forge a legal code and attain diplomatic recognition.

Oleksander Shulhyn (Олександр Шульгин) - Academic

A professorial assistant until the collapse of tsarist rule, the youthful Shulhyn came to prominence within the national movement during his time in the Ukrainian intellectual circles of Petrograd, which allowed him to enter the Society of Ukrainian Progressives and its political successor - the Party of Socialist Federalists. Arriving back in Kyiv amid news of the Central Rada's formation, Shulhyn was selected as a delegate and as one of the body's sole intermediaries with the Petrograd Soviet, the socialist government vying for power against the Provisional Government. Though trained as a historian and part of the Rada's more moderate wing, Shulhyn is most interested in helping Ukraine obtain diplomatic recognition from the great powers of Europe, regardless of how the Great War ultimately ends.

Serhiy Yefremov (Сергій Єфремов) - Literary Critic

As head of the Party of Socialist Federalists, Yefremov represents the older, more experienced members of the Ukrainian national movement. In line with his moderate colleagues who worry about the negative repercussions of radical demands like total separation from Russia, Yefremov has largely focused through his professional life on the cultural side of Ukrainian nationalism. As a critic and journalist, his publications centered around criticizing modernist art and helping develop a uniquely Ukrainian literary tradition, which he claimed should ideally emphasize the themes of personal freedom, national liberation, and 'progressive populism'. Although his stance on the independence question is overall neutral, his writings resulted in multiple arrests by the tsarist authorities, forging him overall into a democratic, pro-Rada figure.

Mykola Kovalevsky (Микола Ковалевський) - Agrarian Political Activist

Although his family came from the imperial noble class, the vast majority of which was Russophilic, Kovalevsky found himself drawn to Ukrainian politics during his high school and university years, having participated in nationalist groups in his hometown of Chernihiv, in Polish Radom, in Moscow, and ultimately in Kyiv. During the Great War, Kovalevsky was able to avoid being conscripted into the Russian Army and instead worked with the wider Ukrainophile movement by organizing a protest commemorating the late Taras Shevchenko's 100th birthday, taking leadership roles within the radical SR Party, and joining the more moderate Society of Ukrainian Progressives. Although most interested in cooperative and agrarian affairs, he is currently serving as one of the Rada's multiple diplomatic liaisons to the Russian Provisional Government.

Mykola Stasiuk (Микола Стасюк) - Peasant Cooperative Leader

Born in south-central Ukraine, Stasiuk, like many of his colleagues in the All-Ukrainian Central Rada, discovered the Ukrainian national movement during his years in Petrograd as a college student, and he enthusiastically entered the ranks of the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs). Returning to his native town of Yekaterinoslav during the 1905-10 period when political activity by Ukrainophile parties was more or less permitted, Stasiuk turned to cooperative work, helping conduct academic research on Ukraine in the Russian Empire and creating local peasant unions to allow them to organize economic activity and advocate collectively. Such accomplishments, though greatly respected by the rural peasantry of Ukraine, repeatedly made him a victim of imperial repression. With the founding of the Central Rada in Spring 1917, Stasiuk was primarily chosen as a deputy to advocate for Ukrainophile peasant interests and organize affairs related to agrarian reform and food logistics.

Borys Martos (Борис Мартоc) - Cooperative Leader & Entrepreneur

Borys, a Social Democratic Party Member, initially began his activism for Ukrainian nationalism as a student and educator. However, imprisoned and banned from teaching by the tsarist authorities in 1908, he switched careers to local government, finance management in the Kuban, and cooperative organization. With the convocation of the Central Rada, this experienced activist is particularly interested in agrarian affairs and aiding the Ukrainian people's humanitarian recovery.

Mykola Porsh (Микола Порш) - Economist

Porsh's journey in the national revival began with his involvement in Marxist ideological circles in the 1890s, an experience that introduced him to Ukrainophile intellectual groups. Believing that Ukrainian nationalism's biggest vulnerability lies in its lack of support in the cities, he unsuccessfully tried to create a worker-oriented publication, and following the Russian Revolution of 1905, he helped found the Social Democratic Party, studied Ukraine's economic and agrarian conditions, and emigrated to western Ukraine under Austro-Hungarian control. With the February Revolution of 1917, Porsh made his way back to Kyiv, where he is dedicated to helping the Central Rada organize a functional state apparatus.

Mykola Mikhnovsky (Микола Міхновський) - Ukrainophile Lawyer

Mikhnovsky has been famous in nationalist circles for years: in 1900, he publicly gave a speech at the University of Kharkiv outlining the 'legal basis' for Ukrainian statehood, and until 1917, he actively engaged in defending Ukrainian cultural life, whether through the defense of Ukrainophile activists in court or promoting nationalism directly in the urban and rural areas of the industrial Donbas. Although his colleagues in the Central Rada for now dismiss him and his

National Party as too radical due to his worry of an imminent Russian attack on Ukraine, he continues to anxiously call for the organization of some kind of armed forces just in case.

Arkadii Stepanenko (Аркадій Степаненко) - Right-Wing SR Activist

An SR radical and a member of the Peasant Association, Stepanenko was one of the few voices in the initial days of the Ukrainian Revolution to openly call for a complete separation from Russia. Although convinced that the best path for Ukraine is uncompromising independence, Stepanenko largely believes that the democratic character of the Central Rada is more good than bad and opposes spoiling what could be a once in a century chance for national liberation on ill-considered projects like global worker's liberation in cooperation with Marxist firebrands in Petrograd.

Pavlo Khrystiuk (Павло Христюк) - Leftist Journalist

A centrist member of the Socialist Revolutionaries and a prolific writer in cultural and political magazines, Khrystiuk is no stranger to the cutthroat world of newspapers and SR factionalism. He has been recognized as a leading representative of the interests of the lower classes through his work in the SR's Peasant Association, and he is keen to turn his passion for improving the lives of the common rural laborer through his legislative work with the Central Rada. Although time will tell if his radical Party will stay loyal to the Rada itself, Khrystiuk at least seems to be a genuine voice for reason and compromise for the betterment of Ukraine.

Panas Liubchenko (Панас Любченко) - Leader of the Leftist Socialist Revolutionaries

Head of the SRs since 1913, Panas Liubchenko is one of the loudest voices of Marxist revolution in the Central Rada. Trained in university in medicine and passionate about socialist ideas, Liubchenko combined his two passions in the first years of the Great War by being a medical assistant on the frontlines of the Eastern Front and conducting underground publishing of socialist magazines. Since his arrival in Kyiv as a deputy of the Central Rada, he has been a major voice of support for the continued radicalization of Ukraine and the wider Russian Empire. In particular, he has asserted that the Central Rada is too bourgeois, and that the Ukrainian movement should instead cooperate with anti-reactionary Russian forces for the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine, even if that comes at the expense of outright independence.

Alexander Shumsky (Олександр Шумський) - Ukrainophile Communist

Although he denies his noble family origins, Alexander Shumsky has made it quite clear that he has been a committed revolutionary for a long time, having joined the workers' movement back in 1908. Moving to Moscow in 1911, Shumsky attended university, joined a Ukrainian socialist club, and became a member of the radical Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs), embedding himself into the party's left wing. In 1914, he was imprisoned for his revolutionary activity and forcibly sent to serve on the frontlines of World War I. With the collapse of the tsarist repressive structure, Shumsky used his experience as a revolutionary to become an elected representative of war-weary and zealously militant soldiers on the frontline; thereafter, he came to Kyiv, was elected to the Central Rada as part of the SRs and heavily advocated for social, cultural, and agrarian reform. Nevertheless, his patience with the chaotic and less radical elements of the Rada is wearing thin, and like for many leftist SR members, the appeal of internationalist armed struggle is growing by the day.

Dmytro Odryna (Дмитро Одрина) - Public Health Advocate

As a doctor and member of the pro-independence right wing SRs, Odryna is only loyal to two things: Ukraine and the Hippocratic Oath. Odryna was raised in a poor rural family, and when a teacher recognized his educational talents, the local village council decided to pay for the young man's education and allow him to pursue a prestigious medical career. During the Great War,

Dmytro Odryna organized the operations of a medical train on the frontline, and in the conflict's aftermath, he has lobbied the Central Rada for improvements in public health, sanitation for foreign and domestic troops on Ukrainian soil, and the establishment of Ukraine's own Red Cross.

Mykhailo Poloz (Михайло Полоз) - Internationalist Revolutionary

Hailing from Kharkiv, Mykhailo Poloz is a leading figure in the left wing of the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs). Although currently involved with the Central Rada and a liaison of the Rada to the Provisional Government in Petrograd, he is privately an advocate for cooperating with the Bolsheviks in the rival Petrograd Soviet, making peace with the Central Powers, and implementing SR ideas into Ukraine at any cost, even if it means eventually betraying the Rada itself.

Vasyl Blakytny (Василь Блакитний) - Revolutionary Poet

Currently based in his hometown of Chernihiv, Vasyl Blakytny became exposed to Ukrainian nationalism during his educational years, eventually joining the Socialist Revolutionaries as a university student in Kyiv. Hot-tempered and impulsive, Blakytny stands firmly against bourgeois and reactionary elements within the Rada, and his fiery poetry similarly evokes sharp themes of persistent struggle and revolution. Skilled in writing everything from news articles to satire and in organizing underground activities, the talented Vasyl Blakytny is most prominently engaged as a leading editor of the leftist SRs' newspaper *Borotba*.

Mykola Liubynsky (Микола Любинський) - Academic

Although Liubynsky is a linguist by training, he is passionate about the Ukrainian national project and its ultimate objective: independence. A member of the SRs within the Central Rada, he is heading a small, radical faction to push for a lasting peace accord with the Central Powers and reject any and all cooperation with the Provisional Government in Kyiv. Though a minor entity in the political sphere, he shows promise given his linguistic skills as a diplomat and representative of Ukrainian interests abroad.

Levko Kovaliv (Левко Ковалів) - Young Socialist Revolutionary Party Member

Having joined the wider Ukrainian national movement in 1913, the young Levko Kovaliv became a member of the SRs during the Great War, a decision that forced him to move to the province of Poltava to escape tsarist repression. Like many of his fellow left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries, he is an active writer, underground organizer, and advocate within the Central Rada for a more radical revolution and for potential cooperation with the increasingly prominent Bolsheviks in the Petrograd Soviet.

Mykhailo Kovalenko (Михайло Коваленко) - Founder of the All-Ukrainian Union of Landowners

An agronomist by university training, Mykhailo Kovalenko is heavily involved in Agricultural Societies and local Poltava politics. Engaged in local governance and as a non-partisan member of the Russian Duma, Kovalenko supports some elements of the Ukrainian national movement, particularly in terms of cultural autonomy and language rights. Following his service with the Red Cross on the Russian front and the overthrow of the tsar in February, he began actively protesting against the All-Ukrainian Central Rada's political program, including land reform, socialist ideals, and the push by many delegates for Ukrainian independence.

Viktor Andriievsky (Віктор Андрієвський) - Co-Founder of the Democratic Agrarian Party
Based in Poltava, Viktor Andriievsky serves in the Rada as a representative of the Agrarians and serves as a minor official in the regional government, where he is currently engaging in Ukrainization initiatives of the local school system. Like his fellow Agrarians, he is resolutely

opposed to land reform and socialist policies of any kind, and he has written extensively to newspapers to spread his pro-conservative message.

Serhii Shemet (Сергій Шемет) - Co-Founder of the Democratic Agrarian Party

Serhii Shemet is a landowner from his native region of Poltava. An advocate for Ukrainian autonomy and statehood since his years as a student in Petrograd, he supports Ukrainization but is largely opposed to land reform and the socialist policies of the Central Rada. Instead, he supports a more conservative, or even monarchist, form of government for a new independent Ukraine.

Fedir Lyzohub (Федір Лизогуб) - Democratic Activist & Political Figure

Fedir, a descendant of the noble Cossack Lyzohub family, is a hardened advocate for Ukrainian cultural interests. Following years of public service on the local level in Chernihiv and Poltava, Lyzohub founded a Ukrainian museum in Poltava and lobbied for traditional Ukrainian architecture and handicrafts. With the fall of the tsar in 1917, Lyzohub began his term as both a member of the Rada and as a minor official within the Russian Provisional Government, although he would be willing to take greater involvement in the Ukrainian national movement if it managed to become more moderate democratic in ideology.

Dmytro Doroshenko (Дмитро Дорошенко) - Conservative-Leaning Historian

Born to a prestigious noble Cossack family, Dmytro Doroshenko studied history in his youth at universities in Poland, Petrograd, and Kyiv, becoming active in the heavily intellectual Ukrainian national movement by publishing research articles, taking part in academic societies, and editing the political journal *Ukrainian Herald*. During World War I, Doroshenko largely stayed out, mainly aiding Russian civilian relief operations in western Ukraine away from the frontline. With the belated end of the tsarist regime, Doroshenko is enthusiastic to help represent the Party of Socialist Federalists in the Central Rada and push for a federal union between Russia and Ukraine, although the Rada's increasingly unstable and left-wing character is making the organization increasingly difficult for him to support.

Pavlo Skoropadsky (Павло Скоропадський) - Army Lieutenant General

Born in the German Empire in a Russified family of elite Cossack descent, Skoropadsky became heavily involved in military affairs during his youth, attending a cadet school in Saint Petersburg before formally entering the Russian Imperial Army. A veteran of the Russo-Japanese War, he fought heavily in the Great War under Tsar Nicholas II and rose to the rank of Lieutenant General. A military leader and socially conservative aristocrat first and foremost, he actively supports the creation of native Ukrainian army units for the Rada but is largely ambivalent on the question of independence. Although he currently follows the orders of the Central Rada, he has become increasingly alarmed by its socialist leanings, making his loyalty to the democratic Ukrainian project more and more uncertain.

Semen Hryzlo (Семен Гризло) - Military Commander of the Free Cossacks

Semen Hryzlo is an ardent socialist and fighter for Ukraine's independence. Born in Kyiv region, he was conscripted into the Russian Black Sea Fleet, where during the 1905 Russian Revolution, he participated in the famous sailors' uprising on the Battleship Potemkin. For his involvement in the mutiny, Hryzlo was imprisoned and exiled to Siberia, although he was quickly able to return to his native Ukraine in 1917 following the abdication of the tsarist government. Now in Kyiv, he has joined the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) and is one of the leaders of the Free Cossacks, a skilled but small volunteer militia group mobilized to defend the Ukrainian national movement.

Oleksander Zhukovsky (Олександр Жуковський) - Military Officer & Civil Servant

Oleksandr Zhukovsky is a leader of the centrist wing of the Part of Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs). Currently acting as a direct representative of Ukrainian military officers to the Russian Provisional Government, he previously served as a colonel in the Russian Imperial Army, where he was awarded a golden saber for bravery on the front. Loyal to the cause of Ukrainian independence, or at least autonomy, Zhukovsky is one of the more ambitious members of the Rada and is keen to begin organizing ministries and all-Ukrainian regiments.

Nykyfor Hryhoriev (Никифір Григор'єв) - Army Staff Captain

Nykyfor Hryhoriev, sometimes known as Matvii Hryhoriev, is a charismatic military leader. Of Cossack descent, Hryhoriev initially studied health care in school but volunteered in a patriotic wave to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. Following Russia's humiliating defeat and the Revolution of 1905, he was demobilized, though he rejoined the Russian Imperial Army to fight in World War I, during which time he was promoted for his service. With the tsar's defeat and the rise of the Central Rada to prominence in Ukraine, he was recruited into the service of the Rada to aid its organization of a volunteer army. Although for now ready to begin recruitment for the Rada, Hryhoriev is becoming more and more disillusioned with the Rada's inability to govern and ensure stability, and his greed for personal power grows by the day.

Oleksandr Udovychenko (Олександр Удовиченко) - Army Colonel General

Oleksandr Udovychenko is a senior Ukrainian officer and defender of the Central Rada. Born to a peasant family, Udovychenko entered the Imperial Russian Army at a young age, attending a military college, where he was able to specialize in cartography, an essential skill set for army navigation, logistics, and the organization of fortifications and other defensive structures. Being sent to fight for the tsar in the Great War against the Germans and Austro-Hungarians, he acted bravely on the frontline, was wounded, and was given the opportunity for further specialized training to raise himself through the ranks. With the collapse of tsarist authority, Udovychenko decided to support the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Although formerly a loyal soldier of Petrograd, he is currently a supporter of Ukrainian sovereignty, regardless of exact leadership in Kyiv, and he is eager to both restart his military career and organize his own army units.

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