

CULTURAL PROCESSES IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN MYKHAYLO DEMKOVYCH-DOBRIANSKY'S PUBLICATIONS (1950s–1980s)

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Presented paper is based on the Mykhaylo Demkovych-Dobriansky personal archive and it deals with his articles and radio programs devoted to cultural situation in the Soviet Ukraine (1950s–1980s). It focuses on his biography and intellectual heritage. M. Demkovych-Dobriansky was an author of hundreds radio programs on Radio Liberty and dozens of publications in different Ukrainian diaspora periodicals. His writings were dedicated to: Ukrainian-Russian relations (especially huge influence of Ukrainian scholars on Russian history), problems of Ukrainian culture in the Soviet Union (russification, lack of dictionaries and audio types with Ukrainian songs etc.), role of Ukrainian dissidents in the USSR (series of programs devoted to V. Chornovil, I. Dziuba etc.) etc.

Key words: M. Demkovych-Dobriansky, Radio Liberty, diaspora, dissidents, Soviet Ukraine, culture.

КУЛЬТУРНІ ПРОЦЕСИ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ РСР У ПУБЛІКАЦІЯХ МИХАЙЛА ДЕМКОВИЧА-ДОБРЯНСЬКОГО (1950–1980-ті рр.)

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На основі особового архівного фонду М. Демковича-Добрянського та його опублікованих робіт простежено ставлення автора до подій у радянській Україні 1950–1980-х рр. М. Демкович-Добрянський (1905–2003) – відомий історик, очільник української редакції радіо “Свобода” (1956–1972), публіцист та громадсько-політичний діяч, член Українського національно-демократичного об’єднання (УНДО) та голова Союзу українців у Великій Британії (СУВБ). Архів фондоутворювача зберігається у відділі рукописів ЛННБ України ім. В. Стефаника (фонд № 298). Висвітлено життєвий і творчий шлях фондоутворювача, автора численних праць на тему українсько-польських та українсько-російських відносин; акцентовано увагу на радіопрограмах, які висвітлювали різні сторінки історії України: проблеми українсько-російських взаємин, історію, мову, аналіз феномену шістдесятників та дисидентів у СРСР тощо.

Ключові слова: М. Демкович-Добрянський, радіо “Свобода”, діаспора, дисиденти, УРСР, культура.

Introduction. During all XX cen. till nowadays diaspora played a very important role in forming positive image of Ukraine in the world. M. Demkovych-Dobriansky – famous historian, journalist, public and political activist without a doubt, belongs to the most prominent representatives of foreign Ukrainians. His

publications in popular newspapers and journals abroad and also his programs on Radio Liberty dedicated to both well-known and unfamiliar pages of cultural events that took place in the 1950s–1970s Soviet Ukraine.

During the early decades in power, the Soviet regime was the most radical and innovative in the world.

By the 1960s, however, extreme conservatism became a hallmark of its internal policies. Fearful of the unpredictable and undesirable consequences of the change, the aging, bureaucratic elite of the USSR opted for maintaining in somewhat milder form, the system that J. Stalin had put into place. For Ukraine this meant the Moscow, not Kyiv, continued to make all the major decisions that affected Ukrainians. And the role of Russification in holding the numerous nationalities of the USSR together not only continued but increased.

The goal of presented paper is to describe the cultural processes that took place in the Soviet Ukraine during 1950s–1980s in M. Dobriansky's publications and radio programs. It would help us reconstruct the image of the Soviet Ukraine in the Ukrainian diaspora and give a guide through the intellectual history of one of its distinguished representatives.

The results. Name of Mykhaylo Demkovych-Dobriansky is not so recognizable in modern Ukraine. He was; born on November 7 1905 in the village of Lahodiv (Peremyshliany raion, Lviv oblast, Ukraine; at that time – Peremyshliany county, Austrian Galicia). After graduating, in 1926, from the Ukrainiska akademichna himnaziia secondary school (gymnasium) in Lviv, M. Dobriansky studied Slavonic philology for two years at the University of Lviv, and then law and political science at the universities of Vienna (incomplete year) and Berlin (three years) [Baranovskiy, 2000: 9]. In 1921, at the gymnasium, he joined the Plast Ukrainian scouting organization (“Lisovi chorty” section [Demkovych-Dobrianskyi, 2003: 31]). Despite that he was a co-founder of the clandestine Union of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth in 1926, in 1928 he joined the mainstream liberal Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO) political party. Returning to Lviv after completing his studies, from 1933 to 1939 he worked on the editorial boards of the weekly newspapers “Meta” and “Khrystos nasha syla” and the monthly journal “Dzvony”, all of which were published by the Ukrainian Catholic Union. In 1934–1939 he was also chief secretary of the Union [Commemoration of the Ukrainian Activist, 1996: 5].

After the occupation of Galicia by the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1939, he crossed into the German-occupied Sian Region, where he served as mayor of the Radymno district until the spring of 1941 [Demkovych-Dobrianskyi: <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/ukr/02/demkovych-u.htm>]. During the German occupation of Galicia, from September 1941 to July 1944 he worked for the Ukrainian Regional Committee (URC) in Lviv, which was transformed in March 1942 into the Lviv Centre of the Krakow-based Ukrainian Central Committee (UCC). He was deputy head and executive director of the URC, and then of the Lviv Centre, and a close adviser of Volodymyr Kubiiovych, head of the UCC. After the Lviv Centre was evacuated to Lublin (Lower Silesia), in July-August 1944 he

worked at the Lublin office until the end of January 1945 when he left for Germany [Kravec, 2013: 30]. In 1947–1948 he was editor of the journal “Problemy”, published in Munich. In 1948 he became a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which had been revived in Germany the previous year [Kravec, 2013: 205].

In the autumn of 1948 M. Dobriansky was invited by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain to work in London on the editorial team of the “Ukrainska Dumka” newspaper. He joined the team in April 1949 and subsequently became editor-in-chief. In November of the same year he was removed from this position, but continued to work on the team until the Spring of 1950. In December 1949 he was elected to the financial oversight committee of the International Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe and Baltic and Balkan Countries [Melnychuk, 1993: 103]. From November 1950 to December 1951 he co-edited (with Roman Holian) the independent “Soborna Ukraina” newspaper which was published in Paris [Demkovych-Dobrianskyi: <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/ukr/02/demkovych-u.htm>]. At the beginning of August 1954 M. Dobriansky began to work in the newly-created Ukrainian section of the US-funded Radio Liberation (renamed Radio Liberty in 1959) in Munich. In 1956 he became head of the Ukrainian section and remained in this post until his retirement in May 1972 [Removska, 2014: 70].

From March to November 1951 he was head of the Ukrainian branch of the Transport and General Workers Union in London. From 1952 to 1954 he was a member of the financial oversight committee of the London Office of the Ukrainian National Council Executive Committee. From 1954 to the early 1970s he was a member of the Ukrainian National Council (UNC), initially as a representative of the Ukrainian National State Union (formed in Germany in 1946) and subsequently of the UNDO (revived in 1947 in Western Europe). For several years during this time he was a member of the UNC presidium [Demkovych-Dobrianskyi: <http://www.ukrainiansintheuk.info/ukr/02/demkovych-u.htm>].

From 1972 he lived permanently in London. In 1976 and 1977 he worked on the documentation of aspects of the life of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi in connection with the campaign for his beatification. In 1978 he was a co-founder of the London group of the Ukrainian Democratic Movement. He frequently gave presentations at meetings of the Ukrainian Graduate Society in London (1978–1990), and was a member of the Polish-Ukrainian Society in London [Demkovych-Dobrianskyi: <http://www.Ukrainiansintheuk.info/ukr/02/demkovych-u.htm>].

He was the author of “Ukrainsko-polski stosunki u XIX storichchi” (Ukrainian-Polish relations in the 19th century; Munich, 1969), “Pototskyi i Bobzhynskyi: Tsisarski namisnyky Halychyny 1903–1913” (Potocki and Bobrzyński: Imperial governors of Galicia 1903–1913;

Rome, 1987), "Ukraina i Rosiia: Istorychni narysy na temy rosiiskoho imperializmu" (Ukraine and Russia: Historical essays on Russian imperialism; Rome, 1989; Lviv–Kraków–Paris, 1993), "Yevrei v Ukraini, XI–XVIII stolittia" (Jews in Ukraine, 11–18th centuries; unpublished); as well as many articles in periodicals such as "Ukrainski Visti", "Lysty do Pryiateliv", "Ukrainskyi samostiinyk", "Suchasnist", "Nash Holos" and "Patriarkhat".

He was a bibliophile and built up a private collection (arguably the largest among Ukrainians in the UK) of scholarly and other publications, primarily relating to Ukrainian studies, but covering also general history, political science, culture, philosophy and other subjects. After his death the bulk of this collection was transferred, in accordance with his will, to the library of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv and his personal papers to the department of manuscripts at Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine.

M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi devoted great part of his professional life to the Radio Liberty. During the Cold War, Radio Free Europe was broadcast to Soviet satellite countries and Radio Liberty targeted the Soviet Union. Radio Free Europe was founded as an anti-communist propaganda source in 1949 by the National Committee for a Free Europe. Radio Liberty was founded two years later and the two organizations merged in 1976. Communist governments frequently sent agents to infiltrate the Radio headquarters, and the KGB regularly jammed its signals. RFE/RL received funds covertly from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) until 1972. During RFE's earliest years of existence, the CIA and U. S. Department of State issued broad policy directives, and a system evolved where broadcast policy was determined through negotiation between them and RFE staff [Mickelson, 1983: 212].

The work of Ukrainian edition of Radio Liberty started in April 1954. At the beginning there were only "three editors and one stenographer" [Prymachenko: http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Radio_Svoboda]. On August 16 1954 the first Ukrainian radio program been broadcasted with these words: "Brothers and sisters! Ukrainians! We live abroad, but our hearts and thoughts are always with you. No "iron curtain" can divide us" [Radio "Liberty", 1954: 2]. During M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi's cooperation with Radio Liberty it was headquartered at Englischer Garten in Munich, West Germany, from 1949 to 1985. European operations have been significantly reduced since the end of the Cold War. In addition to the headquarters, the service maintains 17 local bureaus in countries throughout their broadcast region, as well as a corporate office in Washington, D.C. RFE/RL broadcasts in 25 languages [Puddington, 2000: 581].

Book reviews dedicated to the history and present of Ukraine were prior topics of the Ukrainian section of

Radio Liberty. In a series "Ukraine between past and future" M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi presented a review of a book written by I. Koliaska "Education in the Soviet Ukraine" (Toronto, 1970). The author was a Canadian of Ukrainian origin, member of Canadian Communist Party (1932–1968) spent two years (1963–1964) at Kyiv University (High Party School of Ukraine) and described how Communist Party of the Soviet Union spread Russian language in Ukrainian schools [Dobrianskyi, 1957: 44]. Privately he received an information about percentage of all Ukrainian pupils in Russian language schools: Kyiv 73,1 %, Kharkiv 95,9 %, Odesa, 91,9 % [Dobrianskyi, 1979: 103].

Also editor reviewed a monograph "Sophiia of Kyiv" by H. Lohvyn (Kyiv, 1970). Journalist underlined that in 1954 Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in New York published monumental work by O. Povstenko "St. Sophiia Cathedral in Kyiv". As an "answer" the book "Sophiia Reservation" by M. Kresalskyi appeared in the USSR, but it "faced a tough hand of censorship by Agitprom" [Dobrianskyi, Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv Fond 298: 75]. In September 1972 in one of the radio program M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi analyzed another Soviet edition – "Acts of Odrechova village" (The village belonged to Sianok Land of Ruske voivodship). Despite that this book had a great value as a source for historical research it been published "quite rude" and with a low circulation. The author believed that the low circulation of a very important book was another sign of cultural ignorance in Ukraine. In 1965 Academy of Sciences published fourth and the last volume dedicated to all artistic heritage of T. Shevchenko: "This monumental edition deserves a lot of honors because of it's contest and technical view... but there is one imperfection – only six thousand books were printed. Very few for a 40 millions people living in Ukraine" [Dobrianskyi, 1957: 56]. Soviet officials explained that situation with a lack of paper materials in Ukraine, but M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi was sure that it was rather a lack of political will.

Also M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi reviewed the latest edition of T. Shevchenko's "Kobzar" (Kyiv, 1977). The journalist criticized the book appearance ("cheap paper, that won't last for even 10 years... I barely opened the book for a few times and the cover has already damaged"). The reviewer was surprised because usually "Dnipro" publishing house took a good care about it's editions (for example 1968 "Kobzar" with the illustration of Sofiia Karafa-Korbut). But still any T. Shevchenko's edition in the USSR was touched by a censorship [Dobrianskyi, 1978: 3].

Another book reviewed by the author was "Povist mynulyh lit" a special children's edition (Kyiv, 1980): "We appreciate that! But it is not allowed to say that "Povist" is the oldest chronicle of Ukrainian people. In

Moscow for the last ten years dozens of books were published for popularization of Kyiv Rus history – of course from Russian point of view (Kyiv Rus – the cradle of Russia and Russian nation etc.). The editor V. Blyznec used the word “Ruski” as “Russian” and he avoided religious moment in the “Povist” that’s why the edition lost it’s value [Dobrianskyi, 1980: 8].

Radio Liberty programs informed that till the end of 1960s the Soviet government limited celebration of events connected with the life of T. Shevchenko. In particular, under the prohibition was a celebration of May 22 (reburial of T. Shevchenko’s ashes in Chernecha mountain in Kaniv). Thanks’ to Ukrainian Samizdat (Samvydav) an authors and editors of Radio Liberty got news from Ukrainian SSR. In 1968 few employers were fired from republican radio in Kyiv, because they decided to commemorate the date of May 22 without permission of radio’s command. In different cities all around Ukraine local officials were organizing parades or other communism related meeting near T. Shevchenko’s monuments only just to limit access to those places for Ukrainian activists. M. Demkovych-Dobrianskyi wrote that these facts showed the “malorossian” character of cultural policy in the Soviet Ukraine: “There was a special order to strictly look after concerts and other events that were dedicated to T. Shevchenko. There must be nothing but hopak dances” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 37].

The Soviet government during the 1960s–1970s carried out an anti-national population policy, which was nor favorable to the growth of national consciousness of the Ukrainian people and the restoration of traditional family values of the Ukrainian nation. There was an artificial emigration of Ukrainians outside the place of their residence. They were mostly replaced by Russians who settled in the Ukrainian towns and villages, especially in the East and South of Ukraine [N. Kindarchuk, 2015: 33]. Russification of the Soviet Ukraine by Moscow Communist Party leaders was one the most important topic in M. Demkovych-Dobrianskyi publicistic heritage. Viewed from the perspective of the Kremlin, the nationality issue in the USSR is a daunting and complex one. Apparently the Soviet leadership believes that the more the other nationalities of the USSR are like the Russians, the greater their feeling of mutual solidarity will be. Hence the view held by mane Western scholars and non-Russian dissidents in the USSR officials thesis about “sblizhenie” (drawing together), “sliianie” (fusion), and “sovietskii narod” (Soviet people) are simply code-words for Russification of the non-Russians [Mickelson, 1983: 581].

On Radio Liberty program “Ukrainian Language and Ukrainian Science” the author expressed a thought, that V. Glushkov Institute of Cybernetics in Kyiv shouldn’t publish it’s encyclopedia in Russian because:

“Every science history researcher will add this edition to the Russian science achievements, not Ukrainian.” [Dobrianskyi, 1957: 12]. M. Dobrianskyi proved convincingly that under the Moscow pressure Ukrainian language degraded especially in natural sciences. “International Book” – the Soviet institution which had a monopoly in trading the Soviet books abroad, had an annual catalog “New Books of Ukraine”. This catalog was a list of books that were published in Ukrainian language all over the USSR. “I reviewed the last six catalogs (1967–1972). I was looking for math books and found only 19 editions that appeared in the USSR during that time. Most of them were pop-science” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 44]. Historian made a sad conclusion: during 1967–1972 Ukrainian Academy of Sciences published five times more books in Russian than in Ukrainian. Few years later mentioned catalogue was more disappointing: “1977 “New book of Ukraine” catalogue is a horrible document. I’ve got nothing to order from it” [Dobrianskyi, 1977: 4]. According to K. Khanzarov the Russian language took 88,5 % in the Soviet Ukraine science [Dobrianskyi, 1979: 7]. “Ukrainian cities became a laboratory for russification” – that was a tittle of another program dedicated to the situation of Ukrainian language in the USSR. It says that foreign Ukrainians were annoyingly shocked about expansion of the Russian language in Ukraine [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 77].

Soviet censorship limited the development of Ukrainian humanitarian sciences especially history. Every historian in the USSR had to follow the “instructions’ from Communist Party. History of Ukraine researchers was “tied” by CPSU resolution entitled “Thesis about 300 anniversary of Russia and Ukraine reunion” (document was published in “Pravda” newspaper on January 12 1954). M. Demkovych-Dobrianskyi assured that the 1654 Pereyaslav treaty between hetman Bohdan Khlmelnytsyi and Moscow tsar wasn’t a reunion at all, because before that Ukraine never was an internal part of Russia. The author also argued the Soviet official thesis about “ancient Rus nation” (“drevnieruska narodnist”) during Kyiv Rus period, that was a cradle of Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian nations: “This definition is absolutely artificial and it appeared only in 1930s as a product of Russian chauvinism” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 91].

M. Dobrianskyi’s article “Why publication of 10 volumes Ukrainian language dictionary have been delayed?” says that the last Ukrainian-Russian dictionary (1948) added thousands of Russian words into Ukrainian language. The author recalled: “My Russian is poor. That’s why while reading Russian texts I look to the dictionary every time. But 1948 dictionary was quite useless because usually Russian word in Ukrainian translation looked the same”. The best Ukrainian

dictionaries were edited by A. Krymskyi in 1920s–1930s, but Soviet government stopped that work. There were at least few publishing houses in Moscow and Leningrad that printed only dictionaries and at that time Ukrainian dictionaries were “done quite careless from printing point of view” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 67].

Despite poor situation of Ukrainian language in the USSR the author looked optimistic into the future. On radio series “People and ideas of 1960s” M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi cited an article “Love To Native Language” written by Mykola Shumylo. This paper started a movement for the defense of the Ukrainian language. Famous Ukrainian poet Maksym Rylskyi supported it. In his article published in governmental newspaper “Radianska Osvita” he made a keen appeal to teachers in Ukraine to use and spread Ukrainian language. By the way teachers of Kyiv reacted to this in “Literaturna Hazeta” and asked Ministry of Education to print more handbooks for studying Ukrainian language. Against “linguistic nihilism” was also the Soviet Ukrainian writer of Jewish origin Natan Rybak. On the 4th plenum of the Ukrainian Writers Union the owner of the State Literature Reward said: “beautiful Ukrainian language is a huge source for us” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 33]. February 11–15 1963 scientific conference dedicated to the Ukrainian language took place in Kyiv. M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi believed, that it was one of the most important cultural event in Ukrainian SSR on the beginning of 1960s. The local press didn’t pay attention to the resolutions of this conference at all. They have been published only in “Nasha Kultura” – organ of Ukrainian community in Poland: “where influence of CPSU is weak” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 90]. Conference participants demanded full ukrainization of education and science in the Soviet Ukraine.

M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi assured his listeners and readers that people of culture in the Ukrainian SSR had two main goals: to increase a quality level of native literature and other forms of arts and “care about the culture of Ukrainian language and it’s rights”. The journalist thought that “Literaturna Ukraina” newspaper assisted those who tried to fight for Ukrainian language and he asked compatriots in diaspora to subscribe it and, at least, read series “Around the word” written by M. Rylskyi. On the other hand “Radianska Ukraina” newspaper used a lot Russian words and expressions in it’s articles [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 18].

Radio Liberty programs created by M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi informed about other limits for Ukrainian cultural development in the USSR. In august 1974 appeared a program very truly entitled “Stalinists hide from people the most pressure treasures of Ukrainian culture”. The author underlined that thanks to Zynovii Lysko six volumes of monumental “Ukrainian folk melodies” collection came out in New York (it has about twelve thousands of Ukrainian folk songs) and these songs were still

unpublished in Ukraine at all. The author pointed to other sad phenomenon: “Probably Ukraine is the only county in Europe that doesn’t have gramophone records factory. It is much easier to find vinyl with Ukrainian songs in Winnipeg or Toronto than in Kyiv, Odesa or Lviv” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 1: 100]. “Why Chernihiv historical museum is locked behind seven seas?” asked M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi in one of the program [Dobrianskyi, 1957: 102]. The author reasonably believed that Soviet power did all this to hide from Ukrainians artistic and historical artifacts of their past.

Ukrainian Samizdat definitely was a significant part of cultural processes that took place in the USSR. M. Demkovich-Dobrianskyi informed that the very first important Samizdat writing printed in the West was “Lyho z rozumu” by Viacheslav Chornovil (Paris, 1967). Foreword to American book “Documents of Viacheslav Chornovil” was written by prof. Frederic Barhorn. In France also appeared the Mykhaylo Osadczyi’s book “Bilmo” [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 2: 70].

The speech of famous Ukrainian literature critic and publicist Ivan Dziuba in Babyn Yar was published in different languages. On September 29 1966 unofficial commemorate of murdered Jews took place there. I. Dziuba’s words in Babyn Yar was one of the most popular document of the Soviet Samizdat. So dissident I. Dziuba addressed a crush of several hundred people surrounding him: “I want to say a few words – a one-thousandth part of what I am thinking today and what I would like to say,” he told the crowd. “I want to turn to you as people, as to my brothers in humanity. I want to address you, Jews, as a Ukrainian, as a member of the Ukrainian nation, to which I proudly belong. Babyn Yar, this is a tragedy of all humanity, but it happened on Ukrainian soil. And that is why a Ukrainian does not have the right to forget about it, just as a Jew [doesn’t]. Babyn Yar, this is our common tragedy, a tragedy first of all of the Jewish and Ukrainian people”. Fifty years later, I. Dziuba is expected to return to the place where he uttered those words, the ravine in Kyiv known simply by its citizens as Babyn Yar, to take part in a ceremony [Fedushchak: <http://odessareview.com/remembering-babyn-yar-1966-speech-50-years-later/>].

Another well-known Ukrainian dissident was Valentyn Moroz. American edition of his writings was prepared by “Smoloskyp” publishing house (Baltimore) which played a significant role in popularization of Ukrainian Samizdat literature. Interesting fact that the big foreword to Canadian edition of V. Moroz’s works wrote Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, son of famous Russian poet Sergiei Yesenin [Dobrianskyi, Vol. 2: 91].

M. Dobrianskyi summarized the main topics and primary goals of Ukrainian radiobroadcasts: “Ukrainian edition fighting against russification policy of the KPSU, colonial system in Ukraine, exploitation of

natural resources. It fights against “modern malorossian” policy of the Soviet government in which Ukraine is only outskirts of the Soviet metropolis, where Ukrainian culture will be only province edition of Russian culture” [Dobrianskyi, 1957: 29].

Conclusion. M. Demkovych-Dobrianskyi paid a big attention to russification policy of the Soviet Communist Party in Ukraine. Also many Soviet Ukrainian publications have been reviewed. The author was interested in Ukrainian Samizdat especially in Western editions in Ukrainian dissidents writings. Events that took place in the Soviet Ukraine had a very big influence on Ukrainian diasporas agenda. As a chief editor of the Ukrainian edition of Radio Liberty M. Demkovych-Dobrianskyi had access to the unique documents and materials dedicated to the situation behind the “iron curtain” that’s why his articles and radio programs is an interesting additional source for those who study USSR.

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