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THE UKRAINIAN GERMAN-LANGUAGE PRESS  
IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC (1918—1933s)

*The article aims to make a comprehensive and synthetic overview of the Ukrainian German-language press' corpus in the Weimar Republic (1918—1933s). For the first time ever in the media history, we have identified, systematized and explored eight Ukrainian print media in the German language of that period on the basis of their empirical study de visu. The paper seeks to develop new avenues for the study of the Ukrainian information and propagandist, as well as socio-cultural activities in Germany in a retrospective of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.*

**Keywords:** *Ukrainian, German-language, the Weimar Republic, Germany, Berlin, Munich, press, newspaper, magazine, bulletin.*

*Стаття ставить за мету здійснити всебічне, синтетичне дослідження корпусу української німецькомовної преси у Веймарській Республіці (1918—1933 рр.). Вперше ми ідентифікували, систематизували та дослідили вісім українських періодичних видань німецькою мовою зазначеного періоду на основі їхнього емпіричного дослідження de visu. Розвідка націлена на те, щоби розробити нові напрями для дослідження української інформаційно-пропагандистської та соціокультурної діяльності в Німеччині у ретроспективі ХХ ст.*

**Ключові слова:** *український, німецькомовний, Веймарська Республіка, Німеччина, Берлін, Мюнхен, преса, газета, журнал, бюлетень.*

A contemporary state and development of long-term mutually beneficial, a constructive and stable collaboration between Germany and Ukraine in the perspective of the XXI century require researchers to study comprehensively the German-Ukrainian complex and controversial relations in retrospective.

Moreover, the current European integration of Ukraine<sup>1</sup> makes relevant its European legacy. The intensification of the European integration of the Ukrainian state in perspective of the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>2</sup> makes relevant the European heritage of the Ukrainians in retrospective. The complex and controversial processes of the European integration of Ukraine necessitate the Ukrainian scholars, researchers to make a fundamental and comprehensive study of the transnational cooperation between the Ukrainian and the West European «opinion leaders» not only in synchrony, but also in diachronic dimension, specifically, over the last century.

The relevant period is early XX century, in particular, during the Ukrainian national liberation movement / the Ukrainian national revolution (1917—1921)<sup>3</sup> and more broadly — during the interwar period (1918—1939) [75]. Of a particular relevance are collaboration and communication of the German and Ukrainian «opinion leaders» in various areas in the first quarter of the XX century, specifically via prism of the transnational media discourse.

Important (often unique and indispensable) records on this subject are the Ukrainian print media issued in the West European languages of Europe, specifically, in the German language. These media enable us to track and analyse a genesis, formation and development of the transnational collaboration and communication between Ukraine and West Europe, in particular, Germany, in various areas. A comprehensive study of these documentary sources also allows us to evaluate the impact of the media coverage of Ukraine-related topics in the German language. Specifically, it is interesting to evaluate its impact on the formation of

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, it is relevant and appropriate to use a term «the European reintegration of Ukraine», since the European-Ukrainian cooperation and communication (on the one hand, the Ukrainian presence in Europe and on the other — the European representation in Ukraine) dates back to the XI century, specifically, the relations of the Kyiv Rus' with the Byzantium and particularly the dynastical (family) ties of the Kyiv's Rus Grand Duke Yaroslav the Sage' with the West European countries' noblemen (exemplified and epitomized by the marriage of his daughter — Anna Yaroslavna of Kyiv with the French King Henry I in 1051).

<sup>2</sup> Specifically, after its formal institutionalization in early 2014, following signing of the association agreement between Ukraine and the EU and its subsequent ratification in 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. classical Western scholarship on this subject: Reshetar J. S. [62] and Hunczak T. [33].

the West European public opinion regarding the following topics. First, it is the national liberation movement of the Ukrainians and their nation-state aspirations/The Ukrainian National Revolution (1917—1921). Second, it is the geopolitical orientation of the Ukrainian state in a diachronic dimension. Third, it's a participation of Ukraine in various international organizations and alliances. Last but not least, it is a trans-national communication and cooperation of Ukrainians and German «opinion leaders» in different spheres, specifically, in political, economical and military areas.

On top of that, the ongoing Russian «hybrid war» (since 2014) against Ukraine, its European aspirations has been making relevant the Ukrainian and the European-Ukrainian (specifically, German-Ukrainian) information-propagandist and counter-propagandist activities against Russian (1919—1921) and subsequently — Soviet information and propaganda policies (1922—1939) abroad, in particular, in interwar Europe (1918—1939).

In this context, it is relevant to compare historical lessons of the foreign-language information, propagandist and communication activities of the Ukrainian emigrant organizations, societies, public and political figures, in particular, in the Weimar Republic.

### **Overview of the research literature**

A relevance of the research subject has been problematized and contextualized in works of the Ukrainian and foreign researchers regarding the German-language publications of foreign Ucrainica records. In this context, one should note a deficit of systematic, comprehensive studies (both bibliographical guides, as well as the historical sources) concerning the research subject. Among main studies in this field there are bibliography guides of the Ukrainian émigrés in Canada — Ie.-Yu. Pelenskyi [105]; J. S. Jaworsky and O. S. A. Szkabarnicki [4], bibliographical overview of the Ucrainica records in the German libraries and archives of the Ukrainian archivists — T. Sebta [109], P. Burim [92, 93], historiographical studies of the Ukrainian historians — D. Budkov and D. Viedieniev [91], P. Hay-Nyzhnyk [94], V. Soloviova [110], the pre-eminent scholar of the Ukrainian interwar emigration in Europe — S. Narizhnyi [104]; as well as works of German rescholars F. Golczewski [29], P. Rohrbachs [11], G. Koennen [41], C. Kumke [45], K. Meh-

ner [51] and others [56], the press studies of the Ukrainian historians — A. Zhyvotko [95], M. Martyniuk [103], N. Kulesha [98; 99; 100], O. Boguslavskyy [90], S. Blavatskyy [89], N. Ivanychuk [96], P. Tymniak [112]; encyclopaedic entries of A. Zhukovsky [22], I. Mirchuk [20] and V. Markus [23] and others [21] in the five-volume «Encyclopedia of Ukraine». However, the works cited contain inconclusive and fragmentary references about the Ukrainian foreign-language press publications, in particular the German-language and bilingual (German-Ukrainian) periodicals published by Ukrainians and Germans in Europe during 1918—1926 yrs. E.g., the single press studies monograph relating to the research of the Ukrainian press of N. Kulesha is mainly focused on examining the Ukrainian-language press publications in Germany spanning 1919—1945s [98]. Thus, it overlooks by and large a phenomenon of the Ukrainian German-language press in that country. In another study of the Ukrainian press history the above-minded researcher made an attempt to draw an overview panorama of the German-language periodicals of the Ukrainian émigrés spanning 1920—1940s [99]. However, the latter failed to include all the German-language press publications published by the Ukrainians in Germany during the interwar epoch. Moreover, this study contains a number of controversies relating to the Ukrainian print media in the interwar Germany and generally causes a perplexity<sup>1</sup>.

This lack of comparative perspective concerning the Ukrainian media history studies, its clarification, classification, problematization and contextualization is characteristic for the works of the domestic (Ukraine-born) researchers specializing in the press history studies. Additionally the above-minded Ukrainian bibliographers and media history researchers mainly committed numerous inaccuracies, mistakes and lacunas in their studies. They require substantial specification, complementation, and, subsequently, a reassessment of a role, place and significance of the Ukrainian interwar press in German language.

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<sup>1</sup> E. g., the latter confused the Ukrainian periodicals issued by the press bureau attached to the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in Berlin (1918—1923), international bodies (e.g., the Committee for Subjugated Nations (Berlin, 1924—1934) and specifically the Ukrainian émigrés in Germany. Thus, this perplexity concerning the Ukrainian émigré press in Germany, the German-Ukrainian German-language periodicals and the Ukrainian-founded print media of international appeal needs clarification, specification, media differentiation and their proper classification.

Thus, an overview of the recent studies allows us to draw a conclusion about an insufficient study of the research problem. Moreover, a critical juxtaposition of the domestic and foreign (in particular, diaspora) studies on the research subject enables us to give preference to the latter paradigm of the Ukraine-related scholarship concerning the press studies.

### **Research methodology and theoretical framework**

Thus, these factors necessitate a need for a comprehensive, complex and fundamental research of the Ukrainian foreign German-language press of interwar period, specifically, in the stated timeframe of the study (1919—1926). The *object* of the study is the Ukrainian print media in the German language spanning 1918—1926 yrs published in the Weimar Republic. The *aim* and **scope of the research** is to study an ideological orientation, editorial policy, thematic (content) direction, peculiarities/specificity, content dominants and determinants of the Ukrainian German-language press of the indicated period.

The **objectives** of the study are:

- to identify, systematize and classify the Ukrainian periodicals in German language according to the types of the print media in the Weimar Republic;
- to elucidate their editorial policies, political and ideological affiliation;
- to determine dominants and determinants of their content.

Chronological **timeframe** of the research span the key transformation counterpoints in the Ukrainian foreign information and propagandist activities in Europe during the Ukrainian national liberation movement/the Ukrainian Revolution (1917—1921s) and the Russian Civil Wars<sup>1</sup>, the Ukrainian presence and information-propagandist activities in the Weimar Republic in Germany (1919—1933).

The **research methodology**, which will be employed in this research, includes logical, theoretical and empirical (descriptive) methods. The **leading methods** in the research will be qualitative ones, in par-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. relevant historiographical studies of the British scholarship on the stated research subject: Smele J. [75].

ticular bibliographical heuristics, framing, qualitative content analysis, comparative- and cluster analysis and a discourse analysis.

The *scientific novelty* of the research is that for the first time in the Ukrainian journalism and historiography discourses, in the Western scholarship we introduce new historical and bibliographical references about the Ukrainian periodicals of the stated period<sup>1</sup>. These were: «Mitteilungen des Deutsch—Ukrainisch Wirtschaftsverbandes» (Berlin, 1919—1920), «Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1919—1921), «Ukrainische Pressedienst: Wirtschaftliche Nachrichten» (Berlin, 1919—1920), «Deutsch-Ukrainische Zeitung» (Berlin, 1920—1921), «Der Ukraine-Philatelist» (Berlin, 1921—1922), «Ukrainische Wirtschaftszeitung» (Berlin, 1922), «Die Technik: Deutsch-Ukrainische-Ingenieur Zeitung» (Berlin, 1922), «Ukrainische Nachrichten» (Berlin, 1922—1923), «Die Proletarische Schule» (Berlin, 1923—1924), «Ost-europäische Korrespondenz für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur» (Berlin, 1924—1934), «Die Ukraine-Bericht» (Berlin, 1930), «Die Ukrainische Korrespondenz» (Berlin, 1932—1933).

Thus, we propose here such classification of the above-minded periodicals in terms of topical direction of their editorial policies: information and analytical bulletins, socio-political reviews (of international appeal), and specialized (trade) periodicals<sup>2</sup>.

For the first time here, we introduce here into media history, political science and socio-cultural discourses little-known facts, empirics, findings, in particular press publications and archival

<sup>1</sup> In the process of the fieldwork in the holdings of the Ukrainian and the Western (specifically, American, Canadian, German and French) libraries and archives during 2012—2017s, the matrix of the Ukrainian German-languages press in Germany of the stated period (1918—1926) has been rediscovered and identified. This was accomplished through comprehensive, meticulous, systematic study of the foreign-language bibliography and scholarly reference sources (bibliography heuristics), as well as both OPAC (e-catalogue) distance analysis and field research in the holdings of the archives and libraries. The latter included The Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine (Lviv), the Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (Kyiv), The Central State Archive of NGOs of Ukraine (Kyiv, Ukraine), the BDIC (the Library of Contemporary International Documentation (Nanterre, France), the Berlin State Library for Prussian Heritage (Berlin), the BUSP (the Simon Petlioura Ukrainian Library (Paris, France), Hoover Library of Stanford University (Stanford, the USA) and Carleton University Library (Ottawa, Canada).

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the periodical publications dealing with a particular area/field: economy, technology, science, culture or education.

documents concerning the German entanglement into the Ukrainian press publishing discourse in Germany. These media sources serve as important and sometimes indispensable records for historians, researchers of international relations, political science about activities of the Ukrainian émigrés in Germany, the German-Ukrainian communications, relations and cooperation in the period of the very aftermath of the WWI, specifically, during the Paris Peace Conference (1919—1920). **Operationalization** of the research findings has been made on the basis of the empirical research of these periodicals *de visu*.

A critical juxtaposition of the problematics in the Ukrainian domestic<sup>1</sup> scholarship with the Ukrainian diaspora studies allows us to draw a conclusion about a preference of the latter paradigm.

### **The Ukrainian German-language press in Europe: a short historical overview**

The comprehensive study of the Ukrainian German-language press in Germany is impossible without a retrospective analysis of a genesis of the German-language print media of the Ukrainian émigrés in Europe. The origins of the Ukrainian German-language press in Europe date back to the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In early 1900s the Ukrainian journalist and editor R. Sembratovych founded in the Austrian capital — Vienna — the first Ukrainian press publications in the West European/Roman-Germanic languages: «X-Strahlen» (Vienna, 1901) and «Ruthenische Revue» (Vienna, 1903—1905s) [95; 110; 111].

It should be noted that these magazines were not only the pioneers of the Ukrainian press in the German-language environment, but also in the then European information and communicative space. The main goal of the «Ruthenische Revue», as it was indicated by the publishers in the address to readership, was establishment of mediation between the Ukrainians and other European nations, «discovery» of the «Ukrainianness» for Europe, familiarization with their cultural life, problems, aspirations and «sufferings» [60]. Thus, these press publications (as well as their successors)<sup>2</sup> aimed primarily at popularizing the Ukrainian problems, cause in the Western world, specifically, among the West

<sup>1</sup> I. e., born in Ukraine.

<sup>2</sup> Specifically, «Ukrainische Rundschau» (Vienna, 1906—1915), «Ukrainische Nachrichten» (Vienna, 1914—1917), «Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt» (Vienna, 1914—1916), «Ukrainisches Korrespondenz» (Vienna, 1917—1918).

European intellectual circles, «opinion leaders». Moreover, they became a platform=«bridge=mediators of transnational communication and cooperation of diverse socio-cultural environments: the Roman-Germanic and Slavic Europe [38]. On top of that, the editorial staff and publishers of these print media (specifically, the magazine «Ruthenische Revue») managed to engage renowned cultural and political figures of Europe<sup>1</sup>. The Europeans' engagement, attention to the Ukrainian cause in early XX century helped to produce a resonance in the European public sphere and contributed in transformation of the Ukrainian problem from purely ethnic (as well as sociocultural) into the political problem<sup>2</sup> on the eve and during the WWI.

Thus, we can conclude that the phenomenon of the Ukrainian press in the Roman-Germanic/the West European languages originated in the German-language environment and in the German-language discourse. And key, focal place of its location (as well as the Ukrainian emigration/exile in Europe) in early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the Austrian capital — Vienna [22].

### **A genesis of the Ukrainian German-language press in Germany during the WWI**

An emergence of the Ukrainian German-language press in Germany during the developments of the WWI was mainly determined by geopolitical reasons of that period. As V. Markus noted in his encyclopedic entry, «In Berlin a Ukrainian Press Bureau was organized by D. Dontsov and funded by the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation; it published **Nachrichten des Ukrainischen Pressburos**<sup>3</sup> and political brochures in 1914—1916. In 1916 Dontsov moved to Bern, Switzerland, where until March 1917 he headed the Bureau of Nationalities of Russia and published in German, French and English the bulletin *Korre-*

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., the Norwegian playwright, publicist, statesman B. Björnson, the Danish philosopher, journalist, writer G. Brandes, the French political figure, historian, philosopher, theoretician of socialist, pacifist — Jean Jorès (1859—1914), and last, but not least, the prominent German historian, lawyer, politician and scientist — Theodor Mommsen (1817—1903).

<sup>2</sup> Specifically, this transformation was salient in the change of the ethnonyms in the anthropology — instead of Ruthenians (or Little Russians) the Europeans learned about the Ukrainians. — See e.g. Zur anthropologie der Ukrainer // Ukrainische Rundschau. Wien, 1908. N 2. P. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See more on this subject: Blavatsky S. [87].



*spondenz der Nationalitäten Russlands*, funded by V. Stepankivsky» [22, 214].

1916 marked a transformative counterpoint in the press publishing activities of Ukrainians in Germany. The very same year the German political establishment ventured with publishing an influential magazine of international appeal — «Osteuropäische Zukunft» (Munich, 1916—1918). Actually, it was founded by the German Union for support of Ukrainian freedom-loving aspirations «Die Freie Ukraina» with a financial funding from the Bavarian King of Ludwig III <sup>1</sup> [88, p. 475].

As there was declared in the leader of the first issue of the press publication, [«We cannot close our eyes on the fact of existence of the Ukrainian problem, which has for Germany enormous and direct significance»] [79, p. 1]. The Ukrainian-centric German-language magazine was considered as information «accompanying» of the German expansion in the Eastern Europe, in particular, in Ukraine. Thus, a role of Ukraine, its factor as «living nerve» of Russia, its focal importance in conflict of the Central Powers (the Quadruple Alliance) with Entente member states, as well as the Ukrainian importance as «Lebensraum» for the Second Reich was made relevant in the editorial policy of the medium<sup>2</sup> [88, p. 475]. A political aspect of the Ukrainian cause, specifically, a realization of aspirations, right of the Ukrainian nation to national self-determination in the form of its own nation-state, was analyzed in a number of publications. The latter' authors were prominent statesmen, politicians, military figures, publicists and scholars — both the German, and the Ukrainian ones. Thus, it attested to its dual, ambivalent structure — the German-Ukrainian nature. This ambivalence of the Ukrainian foreign-language (i.e., in the West European languages) press in Europe was characteristic for it since its commencement in early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The new press publication differed from its predecessors in Germany. It resembled the then German elite press, by emulating their architectonics, format, design and content. One of the novelties of the periodical was that numerous representatives of the German political and military establishment cooperated and contributed to it. Moreover,

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<sup>1</sup> The latter *de facto* organized a contest in Munich for a right of publishing «the Ukrainian weekly». — See more on this subject: Blavatsky S. [88].

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Blavatsky S. [88, P. 475].

the Ukrainian problem was contextualized in the East European context and more broadly — in the context of the national liberation struggle of the oppressed<sup>1</sup> nations of the Russian Empire<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, an ethnographic map of the Ukrainian ethnic settlements in the Eastern Europe was regularly printed on the pages of the magazine. This technique was employed on purpose, intentionally — to assert, justify territorial claims of the Ukrainian people for its own nation-state in the prospective post-war Europe<sup>3</sup>.

### **«Die Ukraine» and a genesis of the Ukrainian German-language press in the Weimar Republic**

The Ukrainian press publishing activities in the interwar Germany and specifically in the Weimar Republic (1918—1933) was a relatively new stage in the Ukrainian information and propagandist activities in Europe. Its media manifestations diverged from its predecessors in form, genre, content, editorial policies, bent and ideologemes. This diversification in form and genre palette was characteristic for this complex of the Ukrainian interwar press in the West European languages in general.

Although there was some continuity in the Ukrainian German-language media process in the German state in the postwar period in the relation to its precursors<sup>4</sup>, a corpus of the Ukrainian German-language press in the Weimar Republic was rather a new phenomenon. And it was logical due to new geopolitical (and political) realities of the postwar period — an emergence of the new independent Ukrainian state

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., non-Russian, allogenic, border nations of the Russian Empire: Ukrainians, Bielorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Poles, Finns, Georgians, Armenians and so on.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, its editorial policy echoed and evoked ideologemes of the editorial policy of another periodical — «Bulletin of the Nationalities of Russia» (and its French- and German-language counterparts — «Bulletins des Nationalités de Russie» and «Korrespondenz der Nationalitäten Russlands» (Bern, 1916—1917).

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the latter way of justification of the rights of Ukrainians for their own nation-state was employed by a number of the Ukrainian press in the West European languages during the WWI, in its aftermath (the postwar period (specifically, the Paris Peace Conference (1919—1920) and more broadly — during the interwar epoch. E.g., the leading Ukrainian French-language newspaper in the Western Europe of that period — «L'Ukraine» (Lausanne, 1915—1921) regularly ran the maps of ethnic settlements of Ukrainians in the Eastern Europe.

<sup>4</sup> Specifically, the above-mentioned «Nachrichten des Ukrainischen Pressbüros» (Berlin, 1915—1916) and «Osteuropäische Zukunft» (München, 1916—1918).

(the UNR and its successor — the Ukrainian State (Hetmanate (1918) during the Ukrainian Revolution (1917—1921) and its international contacts, relations with the European counterparts, specifically, Germany.

This thesis concerning the Ukrainian interwar German-language press in the Weimar Republic is particularly relevant for a socio-political monthly review — «Die Ukraine: Monatschrift für Deutsch-Ukrainische Volks, Wirtschafts- und Kulturpolitik» (Berlin, 1918—1926)<sup>1</sup>. The first issue of this magazine is dated with Dec. 1918/Jan. 1919, and its last number (Vol.8) for December appeared in December 1926<sup>2</sup>.

The editorial policy of this magazine unfolded in several directions. First of all, a quintessence of its relevant publications aimed at justification and development of economical and political ties, relations between Ukraine and the Weimar Republic. In this context, a number of op-eds were published in this publication. They highlighted and analyzed political developments, transformations [70], trends in the Germany and Ukraine of that period. E.g., there were published a series of opinion pieces of the prominent German and Ukrainian «opinion leaders», intellectuals — Dr. D. Dontsov [13], O. Schulgin, M. Kushnir, S. Petliura, Dr. P. Rohrbach and A. Schmidt. They analyzed the geopolitical reconfiguration of the Eastern Europe in comparative perspective [46; 63; 65], the German [12; 66] and the Entente interests in Ukraine in the retrospective [74] and perspective dimensions [71], as well as the Russian-Ukrainian [58] and the Polish-Ukrainian political relations in diachronic and synchronic dimensions [12; 72]. Such juxtaposition of the

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<sup>1</sup> «Die Ukraine» (Berlin, 1918—1926 — in general, 40 issues appeared) — the latter was published by the German-Ukrainian Society (Deutsch—Ukrainische Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1918—1926) and edited by A. Schmidt [the latter was the most active, leading author of the publication]. The publication contained valuable information about Ukraine, the German-Ukrainian ties, links, the Ukrainian problem, its people, economy, society, culture, traditions, history and so on. — Cf.: German—Ukrainian Society [21] and [11]. This magazine is available in the Ukrainian and German libraries: **The Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv**: 1918/1919 — Vol. I H. 1, 1919 — Vol. 2 H. 2—11/12, 1920 — Vol. II H. 1—9, 11—12, 1921 — Vol. III H. 1—8, 9, 1922 — Vol. IV H. 1—4, 1923 — Vol. V H. 1—2, 1924 — Vol. 6 H. 1—2, 1925 — Vol. 7 H. 1, 1926 — Vol. 8 H. 12; **The Berlin State Library for the Prussian Heritage**: 1918/1919 — Vol. 1 № 1, 1919 — Vol. 2 H. 2—11/12, 1920 — Vol. 2 H. 1—9, 11—12, 1921 — Vol. 3 H. 1—8, 9, 1922 — Vol. 4 H. 1—4.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1925 the magazine changed its periodicity from a monthly to annual edition due to financial difficulties of its main publisher — the German-Ukrainian Society.

different viewpoints, approaches of the German and Ukrainian intellectuals, public and political figures helped to provide better understanding of the Ukrainian problem in the geopolitical context of the postwar period<sup>1</sup> and more broadly — the interwar years (1918—1939s).

The editorial staff of the review and its Ukrainian contributors monitored and operatively informed the German public about the current developments in Ukraine, in particular, the ongoing warfare between the Ukrainian troops and the Red Army in 1919. They covered and analyzed the resistance movement upon the Ukrainian terrains against the Bolsheviks' authorities and their armed detachments. Moreover, the authorship of the magazine accentuated a hostility of the Ukrainian peasantry to the Bolshevism ideology, collectivism and their means of rule [37]. Later on, the op-eds of the review informed the readership about the armed conflict between the Russian Voluntary Army (headed by the General A. Denikin) and the UNR Directorate's army in late 1919 — early 1920 years, as well as the ongoing insurrection movement of the Ukrainian peasants versus the Soviet rule in the Great Ukraine.

The editorial agenda-setting of the magazine also included foreign news and international dimension of the Ukrainian State, specifically, its official and unofficial diplomacy abroad. In this regard, the proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference (1919—1920), the Spa Conference (1920) were extensively illuminated there in projection to the work of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR in Paris and its official representatives<sup>2</sup>. These activities aimed at the international recognition of the UNR independence *de jure* from the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference, namely, France, the UK and the USA.

A particular attention has been paid to the coverage of the German-Ukrainian Society. In this context, a series of the regular announces, ads and editorials informed the target audience about its goals, objectives and activities during 1918—1926 yrs [10]. Additionally, the monthly featured publications about work of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin [25].

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<sup>1</sup> Specifically, during proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference (1919—1920).

<sup>2</sup> Specifically, the head of the Extraordinary Diplomatic Mission of the UNR at the Paris Peace Conference, the renowned diplomat, philanthropist, public and political figure, artist — the count M. Tyszkiewicz/M. Tyshkevych.

The Ukrainian (as well as German) authors and contributors to the magazine analyzed and presented here overviews of the Ukrainian economy [59]. They aimed at justification of the economic prerequisites of the Ukrainian people to independent nation-state, contrary to claims of its Russian opponents of economic self-sustainability of Ukraine. On top of that, they endeavored to show economic benefits for the German economy, specifically, industry from the recognition of the Ukrainian independence and the German-Ukrainian mutually beneficial ties [39].

A specific place in the content of the publication was occupied by the informative features, enlightening materials concerning the Ukrainian literature [49; 50; 77], history, culture, art [6; 86], language [80], science [61; 64] and other socio-cultural aspects of the Ukrainian identity. Thus, the editorial staff attempted to popularize the Ukrainian problematic in the German-language environment, as well as partially familiarize the German establishment, intellectual circles with the European legacy of Ukraine.

Additionally, on the pages of the magazine a few obituaries about prominent Ukrainian political figures, statesmen there were printed. E.g., one can find in the last issue of the review a publication *in memoriam* of S. Petliura [73]. This personalization of the coverage of the Ukrainian political life was made deliberately. Its motive was to demonstrate through this emblematic personality the path of the Ukrainian people from dependence to independence in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the text of this obituary about the murder of S. Petliura in Paris in 1927 serves as an example of the victimization of Ukrainian nation in the media discourse. The narrative of the victimization of the Ukrainians<sup>1</sup> was employed not only by the Ukrainian German-language press<sup>2</sup>, but also other print media issued by the Ukrainians in the interwar Europe<sup>3</sup>. This approach was used deliberately — to evoke empathy for the Ukrainian nation as «martyr», victim from the other European peoples and secure understanding for its nation-state claims.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., their portrayal as victims of the geopolitical interests, «Realpolitik» of the «super-powers» in the Eastern European region of the interwar period.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. the obituary of the prominent Ukrainian clergyman, scholar, editor, journalist — W. Kutshabsky published in the «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz»: *Kutschabsky W. Petljura Simon // Osteuropäische Korrespondenz Berlin, 1926. № 11. P. 1—5.*

<sup>3</sup> Specifically, the press publications issued in French, English, Italian, Czech and other languages.

Although the review «Die Ukraine» disappeared in late 1926<sup>1</sup>, its ideologemes, content determinants survived it. They found continuation (and mainly transformation) in editorial policies of its successors, specifically, the bulletin «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» (Berlin, 1924—1934)<sup>2</sup>.

A founder and inspirer of this information and analytical publication for the West European public was the renowned Ukrainian military, political figure of the interwar epoch — the colonel E. Konovalts.

The publishing of the bulletin was realized on behalf of the Committee of national minorities of Germany, where Ukrainians and Lithuanians played pivotal role. Its funding was made by several channels. The first source was contributions of members of the Ukrainian Military Organization<sup>3</sup> (UVO) [40]. The second — latent subsidies from the German government, which provided 500 Reichsmark to the editorial

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<sup>1</sup> It was renovated in early 1930s by the Ukrainian nationalists and specifically by the Ukrainian Press Service. In 1933 it appeared under the title «Die Ukraine», and its short-lived appearance (only two issues came out) attested to a growth of an interest of foreign audience to the Ukrainian question. The magazine comprised four parts/rubrics («Political situation», «Ukrainian history», «Ukrainian economy» and «Ukrainian culture»). They were written by R. Jary, S. Chuchman and B. Krupnytsky and Z. Kuzelia respectively. The Ukrainian émigré figures considered a coming out of the magazine a proof that «the Ukrainian cause became a substantial factor of international politics...» — See e.g. Кулемпа Н. [99, с. 94].

<sup>2</sup> This periodical we have managed to rediscover in the *ex-spetsfond* [i.e., *spetsfond* (special holding — these were the repositories with restricted or no access (during the Soviet regime (1922—1991) containing nationalist, anti-Soviet, émigré publications, stuff (specifically, Ukraine-related materials] of the **Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. Availability:** 1924 — [s.d, s.n.], Nr. 2, 1925 — Jg. 2 Nr. 1, 2/3, 4, 11, 25, 26, 1926 — Jg. 3 Nr. 1—12/13, 14/15, 16—24, 1927 — Jg. 4 Nr. 1—12, 18, 20, 21, 1928 — Jg. 5 Nr. 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13—15/16, 18, 21, 22, 23/24, 1929 — Jg. 6 Nr. 1—5, 8, 11, 1930 — Jg. 7 Nr. 10, 16, 17, 1931 — Jg. 8 Nr. 1, 3, 5—9, 1932 — Jg. 9 Nr. 1, 4, 5, 1933 — Jg. 10 Nr. 1, 4, 9, 10—16, 18, 20, 1934 — Jg. 11 Nr. 1—7/8.

<sup>3</sup> **Ukrainian Military Organization** (Українська військова організація; Ukrainiska viiskova orhanizatsiia [UVO]). An underground revolutionary organization formed in 1920 to continue the armed struggle for an independent Ukrainian state. Its founders were former officers of the **Sich Riflemen** and the **Ukrainian Galician Army**, particularly the **Rava Brigade of the Ukrainian Galician Army**. UVO members differed in political outlook but were bound by their participation in the **Ukrainian struggle for independence (1917—20)**. — See more on this subject: Knysh Z. [40].

staff every month. The third source was monthly donations in 1926 of the leader of the UVO — E. Konovalts (from 200 to 300 Marks).

From the very commencement of its appearance, the bulletin was published and edited by a few prominent German Ukrainophile figures — Walter Schotte (1924—1925) and Dr. Harald Laeuen (1926—1927). Later on, editors and publishers of the bulletin were the renowned Ukrainian figures, journalists — W. Kutschabsky and R. Jary (1932—1934).

The editorial policy of the periodical «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» was partially reflected in its subtitles. Originally, it was subtitled as «Informationsblatt für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur» [Newsletter for Politics, Economy and Culture] (1924—1925). Later on<sup>1</sup>, the bulletin carried a subtitle «Ausserpolitisches Informationsblatt» [Foreign Political Newsletter]. And in its final year of issuing (1934), it came out with a heading «Für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur» [For Politics, Economy and Culture]. The transformation of the subtitles of the publication attested to a dialectic of its editorial policy throughout an existence of the bulletin.

The main objectives of this press publication were, on the one hand, to provide foreign (mainly — the West European press, news agencies) and political institutions (specifically, the German political establishment) relevant information concerning the national liberation aspirations, interests of the oppressed East European nations, primarily — the Ukrainians, and to a lesser extent — the Lithuanians and the Byelorussians. On the other hand, the editorial policy of the medium aimed at «revision» of the decision of the Entente Ambassadors' Council from the 14<sup>th</sup> March 1923 concerning an establishment of the eastern borders of the Second Rzecz Pospolita (the Polish state). In this context, on its pages there was presented a text of declaration and official memorandum [44] on behalf of high representatives of the Ukrainians (E. Petrushevych), Lithuanians and Byelorussians in the Committee of Oppressed Peoples (Paris, 1924)<sup>2</sup>.

Given the declared goals, the editorial policy of the publication unfolded in several key vectors. Those topical directions were reflected in its diverse headings: «Polen: InnenPolitik» [«Poland: Internal Poli-

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<sup>1</sup> Since 1926 till 1933.

<sup>2</sup> The Committee was established in 1924 in Paris, but since 1925 it moved to Geneva, and was headed by the renowned Ukrainian intellectual, public figure — Dr. M. Lozynskyi.

cy)]; «Kirchenfrage» [«Church question»], «Nationalitäten Politik» [«The national policy»].

From 1926 the editorial policy of the bulletin has changed. This transformation was seen in broadening a program of the periodical — the latter became more international. The trend towards internationalization of the publication's bent was well reflected in a change of orientations and its headings' diversification. Thus, the problematic of national liberation (as well as nation-state) aspirations of the East European peoples was considered in new, enlarged, geopolitical context of the *Intermarium* concept, the German-Polish, Czech-Polish relations<sup>1</sup> of the second half of 1920s. A diversification of rubrics of the periodical was salient in an introduction of new headings: «AussenPolitik» [«Foreign Policy»], «Wirtschaftspolitik» [«Economic policy»], «Militärpolitik» [«Military Policy»]. The editorial staff and publishers of the bulletin began presenting «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» as «Aussenpolitisches Informationsblatt»<sup>2</sup>.

In 1924—1934s this publication informed the German public, media about the Ukrainian question, and the publishing house of «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» (or OEK<sup>3</sup>) realized a function of the press agency of the Ukrainian military organization (later on — OUN). Its main aim was to prepare comprehensive information about state of affairs in the interwar Ukraine in German language. The bulletin relied upon the Ukrainian parliamentary representation in the Union of Minorities<sup>4</sup> and the correspondents from the Eastern Galicia.

From the very creation of OEK it became of interest to various German national organizations, groups and respective organizations in Poland. All of them supported the periodical with the information stuff, reprinted its publications in their respective press. Individual scholars, specifically, historians, engaged with the Ukrainian cause of historical, economical and cultural topics, also got interested in its content.

<sup>1</sup> Specifically, authors, contributors and editors of the bulletin in a number of leaders, opinion pieces and editorials considered, analyzed reasons for escalation of tension, confrontation between Poland and Germany, the Czechoslovakia and Poland in the interwar Europe in order that to model future conflict scenarios and project their probable repercussions for nation-state aspirations of the oppressed peoples of the Eastern Europe: Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Slovaksians.

<sup>2</sup> I. e., a foreign political newsletter (1926—1933).

<sup>3</sup> OEK was a popular acronym denoting this publication.

<sup>4</sup> In Berlin.



The permanent authors of the bulletin were R. Jary, S. Chuchman, Z. Kuzelia, I. Kedryn (a permanent correspondent of the periodical in Kenigsberg), and contributors — ambassadors D. Levytsky, V. Tselevych, D. Paliiv, Ia. Bochkovskiy and others.

A suspension of publishing this influential publication in 1933 was mainly caused by political and rather geopolitical reasons. Those were a rollback of political, information and propagandist activities of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Germany in the mid-1930s, after signing the German-Polish non-aggression pact in 1934 and a murder of the Polish minister of internal affairs B. Pieracky by the Ukrainian nationalists the very same year.

«Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1919—1933): localization of the Ukrainian German-language information and propagandist campaign in Germany

Since early 1919 the Ukrainian Embassy in Berlin ventured to launch the special, separate Ukrainian press service. This structure issued informational bulletins, communiqués tailoring to the specific target audience. Presumably, it was made deliberately, in order that to boost the Ukrainian information-propagandist campaign in the Weimar Republic, specifically, «*Die Ukraine*» magazine. Given the monthly periodicity of the latter, the new information bulletin, which appeared almost every day, filled in «information vacuum», and satisfied demand for the Ukraine-related topics in the German «media environment» of the postwar period.

In this context, one should quote here an excerpt from the monograph of D. Budkov<sup>1</sup>: [«From the 14<sup>th</sup> March it<sup>2</sup> published in German bulletins for media of communication virtually on a daily basis. Till October 22<sup>nd</sup> 294 issues of such bulletins were published<sup>3</sup>. They were delivered to the Berlin press and leading provincial periodicals, foreign representatives in Berlin, semi-private [news agencies] — Telegraph Bureau of Wolf, the Press Bureau of Wolf, which served up to 1000

<sup>1</sup> Here and hereinafter — our own translation from Ukrainian into the German language — S. B.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the Ukrainian Embassy in Berlin.

<sup>3</sup> In total, since 1919 till 1921 — 315 issues (according to its availability in the holdings) of the periodical were issued.

German periodicals. Close business ties with a number of the German journalists and politicians were established. Due to this an impact on the German socialist press boosted, and the English- and Russian-language press began reprinting publications' stuff prepared by the Embassy<sup>1</sup> [91, p. 75]. In the course of our bibliographical heuristics and the empirical fieldwork in the Western libraries and archives, we have managed to rediscover the typeset (mimeograph edition) bulletin entitled «Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1919—1921)<sup>2</sup>.

Unlike «Die Ukraine» magazine, the new periodical aimed at providing operative information, news about current developments, events in Ukraine and Ukraine-related activities abroad. E.g., it published roundups of news items about relevant socio-political situation in the Eastern Galicia during 1919—1920s. In this context, one can find here radiograms concerning different topics, trends and transformations both in the Eastern Galicia, and the Great Ukraine. First of all, it was an inner political situation in the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR). Second, it covered foreign diplomacy activities of the ZUNR and UNR authorities, as well as work of the military and diplomatic missions of the Western states (France, the UK, Romania, interallied mission) in Stanislaviv about peaceful settling of the Polish-Ukrainian armed conflict in 1919. Third, it illuminated official negotiations between leaders of the ZUNR and UNR concerning military and political alliance against foreign enemies, specifically, in the warfare with the Red Army. Fourth, it informed the German readership about repressions against the Ukrainian socio-political figures, as well as a violation of political, civic, cultural and religious rights and freedoms of the indigenous, Ukrainian, population by the Polish authorities in the Eastern Galicia during 1919—1921s.

The bulletin promptly covered a course of the military conflict between the Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA) and the Polish Army in 1919—1920s. In this context, it highlighted a participation of the Polish military detachments (under the command of the General J. Galler) in this conflict on the Polish side.

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<sup>1</sup> Embassy of the UNR in Germany.

<sup>2</sup> *Availability*: **Carleton University Library**: 1919 — Nr. 2, 2a, 2b, 3—192, 1920 — Nr. 196—300, 1921 — Nr. 301 — 315; **Hoover Library**: 1919 — Nr. 1—2, 2a, 2b, 3—192, 1920 — Nr. 194— 300, 1921 — Nr. 301—306.

Apart from the «Ukrainische Pressedienst» press bulletin, the Ukrainian Press Service affiliated with the UNR Embassy in Berlin issued special mimeograph periodical entitled «Ukrainische Pressedienst: Wirtschaftliche Nachrichten»<sup>1</sup>. The latter tailored to the specific informational interests of the respective target audience in Germany — the press, wire- and news agencies and was distributed in small circulation. Presumably, we hypothetically suppose that D. Dontsov, the then head of the Ukrainian Press Service in Berlin, played some role in appearance and publishing this edition.

As it follows from the title of the bulletin, a key place in its content was occupied by the chronicle of the economic developments in Ukraine during 1919—1920s. In this context, there were presented commentaries, news items, information and analytical overviews on the history, the then processes of formation and the perspectives of development of different branches of the Ukrainian economy.

A significant cluster of publications in the periodical was devoted to setting up external trade relations with foreign partners, specifically, export—import operations with the European counterparts in the Western Europe and more specifically — with Germany [3], promotion of the Ukrainian goods at the European market [27], in particular by means of a creation and development of the bilateral commerce chambers. In this context, there was presented an article about a foundation of the Ukrainian—Swiss Chamber of Commerce in Geneva in 1919, its key objectives and goals [83].

The next stage in the Ukrainian information and propagandist activities<sup>2</sup> in the German capital was issuing the typeset informational bulletin entitled «Ukrainische Nachrichten» (Berlin, 1922—1923)<sup>3</sup>. The first issue of the periodical was published in 1922, and the last one (№ 56) carries the date of the 26<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1923.

We suppose that this typeset edition was, presumably, initiated by the Ukrainian Mission of the People's Commissariat for the Foreign trade of the USSR in Berlin. The paramount aim of the publication, as

<sup>1</sup> *Availability*: **Hoover Library**: 1919 — H. 1—6, 1920 — H. 7—8. The first issue appeared in July, and the last available number (№ 8) bears the date the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1920.

<sup>2</sup> In terms of the information and communicative campaign of the Ukrainian press service in Berlin.

<sup>3</sup> *Availability*: **Preussechliche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin** [The State Library of the Prussian cultural heritage in Berlin]: 1922 — H. 1—43, 1923 — H. 44—56.

it was stated by the editorial staff in one of the issues, was to make an operative, unbiased and comprehensive monitoring of the economic situation in the Soviet Ukraine and its foreign trade activities in early 1920s.

Given that, the bulletin featured mainly in-depth news items about the then state of the Ukrainian economy, processes of centralization and concentration of production in various economic fields causing an emergence of new economic agents in forms of trusts: tobacco, meal, oil, agricultural manufacturing, electric, ceramic, textile and so on. In this context, authorities, functions and responsibilities of new state bodies in the area of economic activities regulation (specifically, the Ukrainian Economic Council) were clarified.

On the pages of the bulletin a state of the agriculture in the early 1920s was illuminated. In this context, here, there were published predictions about the prospective harvest in different regions of the country. It also covered extensively the course of the campaigns concerning gathering in the harvest and the organized grain purchases in the Soviet Ukraine. Additionally, the edition also featured extracts from official speeches of the Ukrainian statesmen (specifically, Christian Rakovsky (1873—1941) about scope of the grain exportation from Ukraine to Russia over 1922—1923 time period, prices for alimentation products according to the data of the Ukrainian commodity exchanges for the monthly period and so on. Besides, the editorial staff informed its readership about scale of the collection of the alimentary tax in Ukraine over the respective calendar period in terms of different grain cultures.

The bulletin also featured news items about a formation, work, functions and tasks of the special financial and credit establishments, formed with an aim of assistance of a development and promotion of the cooperative movement in the Soviet Ukraine: VukopSpilska [«The All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union»] and «UkrainBank».

The publication also covered foreign trade activities of Ukraine, specifically, a work of different trade missions, representatives of the Soviet Ukraine abroad: in Italy, Germany, Turkey, Austria, as well as trade representatives of the foreign states (Germany, Italy) in Ukraine. In this context, it published indicators of foreign trade over respective calendar period and analyzed its structure according to the commodities data. In this context, the bulletin provided information about the bilat-

eral foreign trade agreements between Ukraine and other countries: Germany, Italy and Turkey.

Foreign news, international problems were illuminated via a prism of the diplomatic relations between the Soviet Ukraine and its neighbors, specifically in the context of tension escalation between Ukraine and Romania, Poland—Ukraine due to espionage activities, concentration of troops along the border and trans-border incidents.

On the pages of the edition there was covered a socio-economic situation on the Ukrainian territories in early 1920s, specifically a phenomenon of the large-scale famine (1921—1922) and the foreign food aid (in particular, from the German side) to the affected Ukrainians, as well as to the German colonists in the central regions of Ukraine [7]. Besides, the bulletin also featured statistical data about the course of epidemics of cholera in the Ukrainian regions, mainly — scale of the dissemination of this disease and mortality ratio. In this regard, there were published references about the work of the German branch of the Red Cross in Ukraine in the 1920s.

The editorial staff also informed its target audience about a formation and the subsequent build-up of the communication infrastructure in Ukraine, in particular, a network of the radio- and telephone stations, a reorganization of the post system and so on.

Since 1923 till 1930 there was a long pause in the activities of the Ukrainian press service in the Weimar Republic. Presumably, it was due to a combination of political and economical reasons: loss of the Ukrainian statehood in the early 1920s and a lack of proper funding from the Ukrainian émigrés.

Only in early 1930s the Ukrainian Press Service renewed its work. In 1930 it along with the Osteuropäische Korrespondenz's staff issued several issues<sup>1</sup> of the bulletin «Ukraine-Bericht» (Berlin, 1930) [99, p. 92]. It featured reports about socio-political life, developments upon the Ukrainian ethnic terrains and abroad. Specifically, the Ukrainian question was raised in the opinion piece of Z. Kuzelia [47] about the Ukrainian language and two items concerning public lectures of Z. Kuzelia and D. Doroshenko at public universities in Germany. The bulletin also covered activities of the Ukrainian émigré scientists in Poland [26] and mentioned in its publications festivities regarding

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<sup>1</sup> At least 4 issues of this bulletin came out.

U. Kravchenko's anniversary in Przemysl [36]. Besides, the publication featured a report from Kharkiv about 5-year development plan of the USSR [34]. The bulletin also presented a list of the German publications featuring scholarly works or articles on the Ukrainian question [99].

In 1931 the Ukrainian Press Service affiliated with the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) began issuing a bulletin in the German language under the title «Ukrainische Pressedienst»<sup>1</sup>. During the 1931—1934s these bulletins were edited by M. Seleshko, and in 1938—1939s — by V. Stakhiv [99, p. 93]. A lack of access to this periodical<sup>2</sup> due to objective reasons disables us to conduct its full and comprehensive research *de visu*. As the former OUN member, the Ukrainian émigré nationalist Z. Knysh recalls in his monograph<sup>3</sup>, «bulletins of the «Ukrainische Pressedienst» were distributed among publishers of all the German press, influential political figures and organizations, and even the state institutions of the German-language countries. At the same time, they were sent by diplomatic channels to the German embassies in the world. Thus the German-language bulletins of the Ukrainian Press Service entered the USSR» [97, p. 131—132].

According to references found in the Lviv daily «Novyi Chas» [102], the *entourage* of former ZUNR dictator — E. Petrushevych's since July 1932 ventured to publish information bulletin entitled «Ukrainische Korrespondenz» (Berlin, 1932—1933)<sup>4</sup>. As N. Kulesha's calculated, «... from six to eight issues came out [of this bulletin]» [99, p. 94]. It tailored to a specific target audience, «destined for the press and the *milieu* interested in the Ukrainian cause». The editorial line of this publication, according to publications in the German press, was pro-Communist and reflected E. Petrushevych's engagement with communism [102].

### **A phenomenon of the Ukrainian specialized (trade) German-language press in Germany (1920s)**

A cluster of the Ukrainian specialized (trade) German-language press was a new phenomenon not only in the Ukrainian press issued in

<sup>1</sup> It evoked memories of the official Ukrainian representation in Germany in the postwar period and its respective press publishing activities.

<sup>2</sup> *Availability: Carleton University Library*: 1932 — H. 1—10.

<sup>3</sup> Our own translation from Ukrainian into the German language.

<sup>4</sup> It appeared irregularly — mainly three times a week.

German, but in the whole corpus of the Ukrainian interwar press in the West European languages in Europe. Its emergence and development marked a transformation, differentiation, diversification of the Ukrainian German-language press in the Weimar Republic and, subsequently, branch specialization<sup>1</sup>. This new type of the periodicals diverged from «classical» Ukrainian socio-political press in architectonics, content, genre and editorial line. They tailored to specific target audience and reflected (as well as satisfied) their informational needs and demands. These specialized, trade press publications were: «Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Ukrainisches Wirtschaftsverbandes» (München, 1918—1921); «Der Ukraine-Philatelist» (Berlin, 1921—1922); «Ukrainische Wirtschaftszeitung» (Berlin, 1922); «Die Technik: Deutsch-Ukrainische-Ingenieur Zeitung» (Berlin, 1922); «Die Proletarische Schule» (Berlin, 1923—1924); «Mitteilungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin» (Berlin, 1927—1928).

In chronological terms, it is expedient to analyze an editorial policy and content of the bulletin «Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Ukrainisches Wirtschaftsverbandes» (München, 1918—1921)<sup>2</sup>. The latter was founded by the German-Ukrainian Economic Society in Munich back in 1918. The paramount aim of this organization was facilitating commercial relations between Germany and the Black Sea's countries, specifically, Ukraine, in terms of searching for new markets for the German manufacturing. The managing editor of the bulletin was the German intellectual, Dr. Erwin Fink.

This periodical aimed at fostering commercial ties between the German entrepreneurs (specifically, industrialists, merchants, financiers and so on) and their East European counterparts. Thus, its editorial policy differed from other Ukrainian German-language periodicals in Germany by internationalizing the economic thematic<sup>3</sup> [2]. In this context, the bulletin published analytical pieces concerning new economic opportunities in trade with Russia and Ukraine, specifically, by means of new infrastructure projects.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the periodical publications dealing with a particular area: economy, technology, science, culture or education.

<sup>2</sup> *Availability: The Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv: 1921 — Vol. IV H. 1/2.*

<sup>3</sup> It problematized the economic cooperation between Ukraine and Germany in the broader context of collaboration with Russia and other East European states, specifically, the border states. — See e.g. the publication [1].

The press publication also featured opinion piece of the General Consul of Ukraine in Munich — Dr. Vasył' Orentchuk. It analyzed an asymmetry in economic relations between Russian and Ukraine in a retrospective and perspective dimensions [55].

The second trade print medium was the illustrated<sup>1</sup> magazine «Der Ukraine-Philatelist» (Berlin, 1921—1922)<sup>2</sup>. The very title of the print medium conveyed the main message of its editorial line — a popularization of philatelist cause. It was a mouthpiece of the German—Ukrainian foreign NGO — the Union of philatelists of Ukraine affiliated with maternal organization — the Union of the German philatelists<sup>3</sup>. The core of its founding fathers consisted of the German collectors of the post stamps, who were interested in the study of the Ukrainian philately<sup>4</sup>. The paramount aim of the publication was to cultivate links between the German and Ukrainian philatelists and to provide understanding<sup>5</sup> of the philately among the relevant German readership.

The content of the periodical featured first-hand historical essays of the philatelist genesis in Ukraine [24; 43]. It also ran analytical pieces concerning a forgery of the post stamps' production<sup>6</sup> [42; 57], as well as the forthcoming monetary reform in Ukraine in the early 1920s [43].

Its short-lived appearance in early 1920s<sup>7</sup> attested to a phenomenon of a growth of the interest of the German-Ukrainian intellectuals to specialized cultural periodicals.

The next stage in the Ukrainian press publishing activities in German-language was a launch of the a specialized economic magazine

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<sup>1</sup> The design of this press publication (specifically, its masthead) was decorated with trident and Poseidon, and its content regularly featured the Ukrainian post stamps.

<sup>2</sup> *Availability: The Vasył Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv*: 1921 — Vol. I H. 1, 1922 — Vol. I H. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Der Ukraine-Philatelist: Organ des «Ukraine-Philatelisten-Verband E. V.». The Union of the philatelists of Ukraine was founded back on October 19 1920. In late 1922 this organization comprised 100 members.

<sup>4</sup> Specifically, they were intent on studying the authenticity of the Ukrainian post stamps in the period of their mass falsifications, forgery in the 1920s.

<sup>5</sup> As well as prospective engagement.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Peters O. E. [57]; as well as the publication entitled: Kohler H. [42]. Of a particular interests to researchers (specifically, philatelists) are featured examples of the authentic post stamps (with national symbol of Ukraine — trident) and fraudulent stamps.

<sup>7</sup> The last issue (№ 2) appeared on Aug. 22 1922.



entitled «Ukrainische Wirtschaftszeitung: Wochenschrift für Deutsch-Ukrainische Wirtschaftsinteressen» (Berlin, 1922)<sup>1</sup>.

This authoritative international specialized publication was founded, presumably, by representatives of the People's Commissariat in Foreign Trade of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, specifically, the Ukrainian mission in Berlin. As there was indicated by the editorial staff in the editorial marking the debut number of the magazine, «his aim is to lie fundamentals for economic ties [between Germany and Ukraine]...». His main objective was outlined in such a way: «The first goal of this magazine is to present in the form of checked and many times verified news a clear and distinct picture about real circumstances and conditions» [18, p. 1].

A dominant place in the content of the publication took a coverage and analysis of economic problems. In this context, this magazine ran a number of analytical pieces concerning a structure of the Ukrainian economy, key economic agents in the Soviet Ukraine in early 1920s [81], a contribution of the Ukrainian production into all-Russian GDP [32].

The authors of the periodical analyzed a development of the then national economy of Ukraine, specifically, different branches of the heavy and light industry.

A significant place on the pages of the magazine was devoted to the questions of the Ukrainian foreign trade, specifically, activities of the authorized bodies, institutes and agencies conducting foreign economic work (specifically, the People's Commissariat in Foreign Trade of the Soviet Ukraine) [35; 67]. In this regard, it ran interviews with trade representative of Ukraine abroad and acting People's Commissar in foreign trade of the Council of People's Commissars — Novakivsky and published texts of documents, specifically, three-party trade agreement among Ukraine, Russia and Austria. The editors and authors of the magazine scrutinized perspectives of the commercial and economic cooperation between Ukraine and the West European countries, mainly, with Germany [1; 8].

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<sup>1</sup> The first issue of this periodical appeared in 1922 on January 18, and the last one (17<sup>th</sup> issue) came out on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1922. The editor-in-chief of the publication was the German intellectual, scholar — Dr. Jenny Brunn. *Availability*: **BDIC**: 1922 — H. 1—17; **AD IISH**: 1922 — H. 1, 11—17.

A suspension of the magazine's publishing, as it was announced by editorial office, was mainly caused by *force majeure* circumstances [69].

Since February 1922 the publishing house of the «Ukrainische Wirtschaftszeitung» ventured to publish an independent, separate supplement entitled «Die Technik: Deutsch—Ukrainische—Ingenieur Zeitung» (Berlin, 1922)<sup>1</sup>. This bilingual<sup>2</sup> specialized, trade magazine<sup>3</sup> was created on purpose «to clarify in the smallest details, how reconstruct railroads, exploit natural resources, increase output of magnesium to the most productive and rentable indicators». As there was announced by the editorial staff, «there the German and the Ukrainian engineers exchange their opinions and experiences and present their plans concerning benefits for both countries» [19, p. 1]. Despite its short-term appearance, this press publication rests as an important source of references regarding the German-Ukrainian collaboration in the field of scientific and technological development, specifically, engineering.

The next Ukrainian German-language trade periodical was entitled «**Die Proletärische Schule: Nachrichtenblatt d. Freunde d. Erziehungs- u. Bildungswesens in d. Sowjet-Ukraine**». It appeared in Berlin in 1923—1924s<sup>4</sup>. As it elicits from the subtitle of this information and analytical bulletin, it was initiated by the «German friends» of the education the Soviet Ukraine. Presumably, it aimed at the fostering the German-Ukrainian exchange of educational, pedagogical techniques, practices and methods, specifically, for the emerging Soviet Ukraine's pedagogy.

The last Ukrainian trade press publication in German language was the analytical bulletin issued by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute<sup>5</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Its first issue appeared on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Febr., and the last (3<sup>rd</sup>) — May 15 1922. *Availability: BDIC: 1922 — Jg. 1 H. 1—3.*

<sup>2</sup> It came out both in German, and Ukrainian languages.

<sup>3</sup> Of the technical direction.

<sup>4</sup> The first issue appeared in May 1923, and the last available (№ 15) came out on 15 August 1924. *Availability: Berlin Bundesarchiv Bibliothek: 1923 — H. 3/4, 1924 — H. 8—15.*

<sup>5</sup> The Ukrainian Scientific Institute was founded back in December 1926 upon an initiative of the Ukrainian hetman (in exile) P. Skoropadsky, as a branch of the Berlin University of Friedrich Wilhelm, with financial and organization backing of the German government circles (specifically, the German general W. Groener). The institute fulfilled also political objectives. *De facto* it represented one of the organizational centres of the

Berlin entitled «Mitteilungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin» (Berlin, 1927—1928)<sup>1</sup>. It marked a distinctive transformation of the Ukrainian trade periodicals in Germany in terms of the ideological engagement with the Conservative ideology.

This bulletin aimed at popularization of the scientific heritage, work of the Ukrainian researchers both in Ukraine, and abroad. In this regard, the press publication ran informative essays concerning the genesis, evolution and development of the Ukrainian scientific and research life in a diachronic and synchrony, the Ukrainian scientific institutions' activities both in Ukraine, and abroad [5; 14; 15; 16; 17; 53; 54], specifically, the findings of the Ukrainian archaeology [68] and historiography [14].

It also carried bibliographical reviews concerning new publications in various fields of science, specifically, philosophy [52]. Additionally, authors of the bulletin analyzed an asymmetry in the Ukrainian-Russian economic relations, accentuated Ukraine's dependence on Russia's political decisions, as well as stated the lack of the economic sovereignty of the Ukraine's Soviet Socialist Republic [78].

The periodical also featured obituaries *in memoriam* of the prominent Ukrainian scholars in different fields of science, their scientific and research work both in Ukraine and abroad.

**«Deutsch-Ukrainische Zeitung=Німецько-Українська Часопись» (Berlin, 1920—1921): «when the fourth estate becomes the fifth column»**

A separate, specific place in the corpus of the Ukrainian German-language press in the Weimar Republic occupied the socio-political newspaper Deutsch-Ukrainische Zeitung=Німецько-Українська Часопись» (Berlin, 1920—1921 «)<sup>2</sup>. Its debut issue came out on 31 July 1920,

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Ukrainian émigré hetman's movement. Its first director was Dr. D. Doroschenko. According to the German researcher K. Kumke, it balanced permanently «between science and politics». — Cf.: Передерій І. Г. [106]; Потульницький В., Сидорчук Т. [108]; Бурім Д. [92]; Песчаний О. О. [107]; Кучер В. І. [101]; Voigt G. [85]; Kumke С. [45]; as well as the publication entitled: [82].

<sup>1</sup> *Availability*: The **Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv**: 1927 — Ht. 1, 1928 — Ht. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Availability*: **CUL**: 1920—Jg. 1 H. 1—14, 1921—H. 1—12; **Preussische Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin**: 1920 — Jg. 1 H. 6—14, 1921 — Jg. 2 H. 1—12.

and the last one (Jg. 2 № 12) is dated with Oct. 31 1921. According to the renowned Ukrainian historian P. Hay-Nyzhnyk, this newspaper was founded by the key Ukrainian financial agent in Berlin — H. Suprun. The latter was intent to discredit the UNR government (Directorate) and specifically — S. Petlioura before the German authorities and general public [94, p. 278].

The editor-in-chief of this periodical was the German intellectual, the editor Gerhard Klückow. From the very beginning of its creation the editorial staff outlined several directions in its editorial line. The paramount vector was a coverage, as well as fundamental, comprehensive analysis of socio-political life in the UNR and ZUNR, and the foreign policy of the Directorate in the context of the German interests in this region. A leitmotif of the opinion pieces was an ostracism of the S. Petioura's policy, specifically, military and political alliance of the leader of the UNR's Directorate with the Polish head of the state — J. Pilsudskii in 1920 in general [28; 30; 84] and specifically their destructive repercussions for the indigenous population of the Eastern Galicia [31; 48].

An important place in the newspaper took economic topics. A leitmotif of the individual publications was a justification of return to Ukraine from Germany of the Ukrainian funds. Those were allegedly «illegally» siphoned by the representatives of the UNR's Directorate to Berlin [9].

The periodical also ran enlightening features, destined for familiarization of the German audience about Ukraine, its geography, economic potential, minerals, demography, history, culture, folklore, customs and traditions of the Ukrainian people, as well as popularization of the Ukrainian problematic among the German audience.

In the second year of the newspaper's issuing, in 1921, it became more regional, less Ukrainian-centric. The new editorial line was marked by a transformation of the periodical's concept, and respectively, the coverage of the Ukrainian cause in the context of the Russian and the East European topics. In this regard, the newspaper informed about the then socio-political status quo in the Soviet Ukraine. A number of articles of the prominent Soviet figures analyzed a phenomenon of the mass famine in the particular regions of Russia and Ukraine (mainly — in the places of the compact settlement of Germans — specifically, near the Volga river), reasons and potential ways of solving this problem. In this light the newspaper featured a number of appeals, letters and official documents (notes)

to the Western governments concerning a necessity of providing urgent food aid [76].

The editorial staff of the newspaper comprised representatives of the German, Russian and Ukrainian intelligentsia: journalists, publicists, writers, economists. The authors of the periodical were the Ukrainian Jew, famous Communist figure, journalist — K. Radek, the prominent Soviet leaders — L. Trotsky, L. Kameniev, Kh. Rakovskiyi. The finance minister of Germany, MP of the German Reichstag D. Gottein regularly contributed to the newspaper.

This illustrated periodical carried the anti-Petlioura political cartoon, a photo of the financial document — receipts of the finance minister of the UNR's Directorate — B. Martos.

By and large, this newspaper's editorial line contributed to compromising the Ukrainian cause in Germany, specifically, the support of the German authorities for the UNR, its state sovereignty and international recognition *de jure*.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR THE STUDIES**

Our empirical study of the Ukrainian German-language press' corpus in the Weimar Republic (1918—1933s) can be summarized as follows. First of all, we conclude that the Ukrainian German-language periodicals of the indicated period in Germany were a unique stage in the Ukrainian interwar press in the West European languages. Its development and transformation was characterized by profound divergence and diversification<sup>1</sup> in terms of architectonics, design, layout, format, genre, stylistics, ideological orientation<sup>2</sup>, as well as content/editorial line.

For the first time ever, we have identified, systematized and classified the comprehensive corpus of the Ukrainian German-language press in terms of types of the print media in the Weimar Republic. In terms of their editorial policies, we have made such a differentiation, classification of the stated periodicals: information and analytical bulletins («Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1919—1921), «Ukrainische Nachrichten» (Berlin, 1922—1923), «Die Ukraine-Bericht» (Berlin, 1930), «Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1931—1938), «Die Ukrainische Korrespondenz»

<sup>1</sup> From the Ukrainian German-language press in Germany of the WWI in terms of the editorial policies, ideological affiliation, content and so on.

<sup>2</sup> Specifically, ideologization — i. e., ideological engagement with the Ukrainian republicanism, Communism, Socialism, as well as the Ukrainian Conservatism.

(Berlin, 1932—1933); international socio-political reviews: «Die Ukraine» (Berlin, 1918—1926), «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» (Berlin, 1924—1934); and specialized (trade) periodicals: «Mitteilungen des Deutsch-Ukrainisches Wirtschaftsverbandes» (Berlin, 1918—1921), «Der Ukraine-Philatelist» (Berlin, 1921—1922), «Ukrainische Wirtschaftszeitung» (Berlin, 1922), «Die Technik: Deutsch-Ukrainische-Ingenieur Zeitung» (Berlin, 1922), «Die Proletarische Schule» (Berlin, 1923—1924), «Mitteilungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin» (Berlin, 1927—1928). This taxonomy, typological «triad» was specific for all the corpus of the Ukrainian interwar German-language press in Germany. A separate, specific place in the corpus of the Ukrainian German-language periodicals of the stated epoch took the «anti-establishment», opposition newspaper «Deutsch-Ukrainische Zeitung=Німецько-Українська Часопись». The latter challenged the UNR Directorate and opposed its political leadership.

Thus, in terms of their ideological orientation, we can make such a typology of the above-minded press corpus: the Republican press («Die Ukraine», «Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1919—1921); the nationalist press (the press issued by the Ukrainian nationalists (OUN): «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» (Berlin, 1924—1934), «Ukrainische Pressedienst» (Berlin, 1931—1938), «Die Ukraine-Bericht» (Berlin, 1930); the Sovietophile periodicals: «Ukrainische Nachrichten» (Berlin, 1922—1923), «Ukrainische Wirtschaftszeitung» (Berlin, 1922), «Die Technik: Deutsch-Ukrainische-Ingenieur Zeitung» (Berlin, 1922), «Die Proletarische Schule» (Berlin, 1923—1924), «Die Ukrainische Korrespondenz» (Berlin, 1932—1933), «Deutsch-Ukrainische Zeitung=Німецько-Українська Часопись»; the pro-Hetman press: «Der Ukraine-Philatelist» (Berlin, 1921—1922), «Mitteilungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin» (Berlin, 1927—1928). This ideological «quartet» was characteristic, specific for the corpus of the Ukrainian interwar press in Germany.

We have elucidated the editorial policies, political and ideological affiliations of these periodicals. We conclude that information and analytical bulletins were mainly oriented towards the local audiences. Their localization in the German-language media environment served as a transmitter of the Ukrainian-related news to the German press and telegraph agencies, as well as the mainstream newspapers. Unlike them,

the specificity of socio-political reviews' («Die Ukraine», «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz») editorial line was internationalization of the Ukraine's place, role and importance in the East European region and the Germany's geopolitical interests in it. The third cluster of the Ukrainian trade periodicals was characterized by press specialization on a specific, particular field, branch of science and technology. Thus, the latter served as intermediaries of exchange of knowledge between the German and Ukrainian economists, engineers, philatelists, educationalists and scholars.

Thus, we can summarize that the information and communicative activities of the German-Ukrainian press agents in the Weimar Republic followed three-stage communication flow:

Internationalization — specialization — localization

This cluster of the Ukrainian press in West European languages had an ambivalent, «hybrid» character. This ambivalence of these periodicals was well reflected in its functional heterogeneity. They fulfilled different functions: informational, propagandist (shaping public opinion in the Weimar Republic), counter-propagandist (specifically, against the Soviet émigré lobbies abroad), communicative (i.e. a transnational communication between the German and Ukrainians) and socio-cultural (by popularizing the Ukrainian topics, culture, literature, history in the German public sphere).

The synergetic character of the Ukrainian Press Service's staff composition, «Die Ukraine» and «Osteuropäische Korrespondenz» created collaborative journalistic culture of heterogeneous national, professional and sociocultural backgrounds. This cooperation balanced the information-propagandist activities of the Russian (later — the Soviet), as well as the Ukrainian Sovietophile German language press in the Weimar Republic. It was also instrumental in influencing the German «opinion leaders» regarding the Ukrainian question. Finally, it popularized the Ukrainian topics and the German-Ukrainian ties in the German public sphere.

The follow-up studies anticipate further fieldwork, research work in the Ukrainian and the Western archival and library holdings in order that to unearth new Ukrainian German-language press publications in the interwar Germany. Prospective avenues of the research also include a diachronic comparative content analysis of the indicated corpus of the

Ukrainian press, study of their ideologemes, as well as a cross-coverage of the Ukraine-related topics in the German and Ukrainian foreign-language press.

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