

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book was completed just eight years ago. Even in this short time, however, many developments calling for revision of the original text have occurred. When the latter was written, there was only one major scholarly work in English on the modern Ukraine, John S. Reshetar, Jr.'s *The Ukrainian Revolution*, though there were several important personal accounts and surveys. In subsequent years, an impressive number of books on the Ukraine in the twentieth century have appeared. In addition, new materials of many other kinds have become available. Participants in various phases of recent Ukrainian history have written their memoirs, and some who have not published their accounts have been willing to discuss their experiences orally. Some accounts of this kind have appeared in the Soviet Union itself, and it has been possible to visit the Ukraine and even to talk to Soviet citizens about events there. Finally, I have been greatly aided by the criticisms and factual emendations (in print or expressed privately) of those who read the first edition.

Two of the main potential sources for the examination of the last twenty years of Ukrainian history remain unavailable, however. The Soviet authorities have not opened their archives. German official documents on the occupation of the Ukraine during World War II, in the hands of the United States government or elsewhere, are generally not available for scholarly use. Under these circumstances, the considerable expenditure of time and money required for a complete rewriting of this book does not yet appear warranted. The present revision, therefore, is an effort to take account, within the general framework of the original work, of the large body of new material now available.

Chapter I, "The Emergence of Nationalism," was always intended as a brief survey of the background of my topic. If I were

required to begin such an introduction today, I should probably base it entirely upon the excellent secondary sources which have appeared in recent years. When I wrote the first edition, however, the scarcity of secondary sources forced me to base a large part of the introduction upon memoirs and other original sources. On the whole, I believe that the specific evidence I cite continues to have some interest, and my generalizations some validity. Under these circumstances, I have thought it best to leave the body of the chapter essentially untouched, while indicating important new secondary sources in the footnotes.

Subsequent chapters deal with Ukrainian nationalism during World War II. Here the publication of new scholarly studies and personal accounts has not been so extensive. For the most part, these works—and minor substantive changes—have been indicated in the footnotes, with only factual errors corrected in the text. However, the discussion (at the end of Chapter VI) of changes in OUN ideology as a result of contact with the East Ukrainians has been considerably revised and expanded on the basis of contemporary documents which Lev Shankovs'kyi and his associates kindly made available to me. The final chapter (XII) of the original work presented my conclusions concerning Ukrainian nationalism during World War II. After reviewing these conclusions, I see no reason to alter them. Consequently, I have merely changed the title of the chapter from "Perspectives" to "Perspectives of War-time Nationalism."

The greatest change in the second edition is the addition of a thirteenth chapter, "After the War." Compared to the detailed examination of the war period, this chapter is only a survey, but (together with the introductory chapter) it rounds out the general picture of Ukrainian nationalism. When the first edition was written, the events of the war seemed still very close; after even eight years, a new generation of readers might well feel at a loss if the story of Ukrainian nationalism stopped with 1945. It is now relatively easy to trace the postwar development of the various nationalist parties. It is still extremely difficult to obtain accurate information on developments within the Soviet Union itself. However, the lapse of time has provided perspective for assaying some of the most important of these developments, particularly nationalist

guerrilla activity against the Soviet regime. Today, when concern with the lessons of unconventional warfare is constantly increasing, it seems highly relevant to trace the postwar history of this unusual episode.

In preparing the first edition I was very fortunate in obtaining oral accounts from many of the major actors in the history of war-time Ukrainian nationalism. In the relatively short time since I concluded my study, death has taken Stephen Baran, Elie Borschak, Diomid Gulai, Hans Koch, Andrew Livyts'kyi, Ivan Mirtschuk, Constantine Shtepa, Michael Vetukhiv, and Archbishop Polykarp Sikors'kyi. My friend and mentor Professor Franz L. Neumann died shortly before the first edition was published. These were men of sharply differing views; but they were united in the courage with which they upheld their convictions.

Many persons have aided me in revising this book. I am especially grateful to the staff of the Russian Institute (in particular Louise Luke) and to the editors of Columbia University Press who have patiently helped in the necessarily tedious details of revision. As always, my wife, Annette Taylor Armstrong, has borne a major portion of the burden of my essays at scholarship.

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