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# LONDON MAGAZINE “THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW” AS A PROMOTER OF THE IDEA OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD IN THE WESTERN WORLD

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*The article is written on the basis of the library and archive collections in London during the author's UK internship. Its value lies in the fact that this is the first special study of the history of the English-language magazine of Ukrainians, published in London for almost 40 years in the second half of the twentieth century and intended for a foreign reader.*

*The author formulates three main reasons why Ukrainians founded such a magazine in London: to break the stereotype of the world's perception of Eastern Europe through the prism of the Russian Empire, to remind Europe about the Ukrainian issue still unresolved after the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921, to expand the number of foreign politicians and parliamentarians who sympathized with the Ukraine's revival as an independent state*

*The founders of the magazine were Union of the Ukrainians in the United Kingdom, the League of Liberation of Ukraine in Canada and the Organization for the Defense of Four Liberties of Ukraine in the United States.*

*Two categories of readers a new magazine was aimed at, have been identified. First: English-speaking foreigners from among politicians, parliamentarians, journalists. Second: young Ukrainians who grew up in emigration and did not learn Ukrainian.*

*The main principle of the editorial policy of the magazine was proclaimed: to be an authoritative source of information about the situation of Ukrainians under the occupation of Russia, to explain the distinctness of the history of Ukrainians and their statehood aspirations to foreigners, to get them acquainted with culture, literature and traditions of Ukrainians.*

*In the analysis of the magazine's mass circulation policy the attention is drawn to the fact that for 38 years circulation was 1,500 copies, minimum — 950. Half of this pressrun was accounted for subscribers, the other half was distributed free of charge. The magazine was distributed in accordance with an addressees' list. It was sent to libraries, academic institutions, newspaper editors, political parties, universities, colleges and schools, as well as to individual politicians, scholars, journalists, parliamentarians in most parts of Western Europe, America and Asia. In the analysis of financial grounds, it was stressed that losses from the magazine's publication were covered exclusively by donations from Ukrainians.*

**Key words:** *The magazine “The Ukrainian Review”, Ukraine, Ukrainian emigration, editorial policy, range of topics, magazine promotion, distribution network, circulation policy, Anti-Bolshevik Block of Peoples, bulletin “Congress Record”.*

## ЛОНДОНСЬКИЙ ЖУРНАЛ “THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW” ЯК ПРОМОУТЕР У ЗАХІДНОМУ СВІТІ ІДЕЇ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ

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*Стаття написана на основі опрацьованих автором бібліотечних та архівних колекцій у Лондоні під час наукового стажування у Великій Британії. Цінність її полягає в тому, що це перше спеціальне дослідження історії англомовного часопису українців, що виходив у Лондоні в другій половині ХХ ст. упродовж майже 40 років і призначався для іноземного читача.*

*Виділяються три головні причини заснування українцями такого журналу в Лондоні: полатати стереотип сприйняття світом Східної Європи крізь призму Російської імперії, актуалізувати нерозв'язане після поразки Української революції 1917–1921 років українське питання, розширити з числа іноземних політиків і парламентарів коло нових симпатиків відродження України як самостійної держави.*

*Йдеться про засновників видання — Союз Українців у Великій Британії, Лігу Визволення України в Канаді й Організацію Оборони Чотирьох Свобід України в США.*

*З'ясовані дві категорії читачів, на які був спрямований новий журнал. Перша: англомовні чужинці з числа політиків, парламентарів, журналістів. Друга: молоді українці, які виростили на еміграції і не володіли українською мовою.*

*Головним у редакційній політиці журналу проголошувалося: бути авторитетним джерелом відомостей про становище українців під окупацією Росії, роз'яснення іноземцям окремішності історії українців та їх державницьких домагаць, знайомство з культурою, літературою та традиціями українців.*

*В аналізі тиражної політики журналу звернена увага, що упродовж 38 років існування максимальний наклад становив 1500 примірників, мінімальний — 950. Половина з такої кількості склали передплатники, інша половина розповсюджувалася безкоштовно. Журнал поширювався, згідно зі складеним адресарем, до бібліотек, наукових інституцій, редакцій газет, політичних партій, університетів, коледжів та шкіл, а також окремим політикам, ученим, журналістам, парламентарям у більшості країн Західної Європи, Америки та Азії. В аналізі фінансових засад наголошується, що збитки від видання журналу покривалися винятково на пожертви українців.*

**Ключові слова:** Журнал “The Ukrainian Review”, Україна, українська еміграція, редакційна політика, тематика статей, промоція журналу, мережа поширення, тиражна політика, Антибольшевицький Блок Народів, бюлетень “Congress Record”.

*Topic relevance*

Ukraine is little known in the world. One of the reason of this situation is Ukraine's continual colonial dependence on Russia. For decades after the October coup and the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921, the Western world perceived the East of Europe through the prism of the existence of the Russian Empire there.

For more than a quarter of a century of the Ukrainian State existence its officials have done very little for the promotion of the Ukrainian issues on the world arena. Therefore the study of such activities in the situation when Ukrainian state did not exist officially but its interests abroad were represented by institutions, formed by Ukrainian diaspora gains its topicality. To such institutions printed periodicals belong, which were published in English by Ukrainians.

*Problem development condition*

In the Ukrainian science this is the first study of the English language Quarterly “The Ukrainian Review”, the full file of which is still not available in any Ukrainian library. The author conducted this research during his recent practical studies in London.

*The purpose of the article* is to analyze the preconditions for the rise of the English language magazine of the Ukrainian diaspora in the UK, find out founders, to outline the features of editorial policy, problem-themed palette of publications, the circle of authors.

*Basic material presentation*

**Prerequisites for the magazine foundation**

After the Second World War, large groups of emigrants from the eastern territories of Europe fostered their lives in newly settled separate colonies in western countries. Ukrainians were not an exception.

At the beginning, there appeared organizations that were organizing a social, cultural, educational and religious life. From hard-earned funds, public money funds are formed. Church communities were formed, Sunday schools were opened, Ukrainian houses were built. Periodical press became a significant factor in the formation of the national, patriotic, educational and cultural core of the community. Moreover, the press was branched out, which took into account the various readers' tastes, socio-political guidelines, age categories and preferences.

One of the largest public organizations — the Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain — founded the newspaper “Nash Klych”, which soon turns into a “Ukrainian Opinion”; thereafter, it appears that there should be a children's magazine called “Young Friends”. The first printed organ of the supporters of the Ukrainian Nationalists' Organization was the “Ukrayinsky Klych” newspaper, later the Ukrainian Publishing Union was registered here and they began publishing the monthly “Liberation Road” (“Vyzvolnyi Shlyakh”) magazine. Church publications also appear: Ukrainian Greek Catholics pub-

lish “Nasha Tserkva”, the Orthodox — “Vidomosti”. The members of the Association of Ukrainian ex-Warriors in Great Britain (AU ex-W) — had their own magazine “Trumpeter” (“Surmach”) and the annual “Almanac of the AU ex-W”. A number of first publishing houses were also established.

Thus, during a short time, from the second half to the end of the 40s of the twentieth century, a network of Ukrainian-language printed periodical and non-periodical publications was created on the territory of Great Britain, which reflected socio-political, cultural and educational orientations of different groups of Ukrainians.

Then-time observer of the press movement in emigration, I. Dmytriv, described the historical mission of such publications as follows: “We have become the advanced post of Ukraine, where national-political and cultural thought is fought for and the skilled personnel were brought up, who will stand together with the whole people before the final massacre with Moscow” (I. Dmytriv, 1963).

Shortly thereafter, the question arose about the Ukrainian periodicals’ establishment in English.

What was it caused by?

In retrospective review, there were several reasons for that.

*The first one.* British society continued to measure the world with old standards and looked at Eastern Europe through the prism of the existence of the great Russian empire there. Against the background of a massive attack of propagandists from the Moscow Kremlin who were inspired by brave victory over fascism, the voice of the peoples from the national vicinities of the empire, including Ukrainians, oppressed by Communist-Bolshevik system, was never heard.

*The second one.* After the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–1921, the urgency of the unresolved “Ukrainian issue” was aggravated due to the massive migration of millions of Ukrainians in the post-war days to the West. They could not reconcile with the anti-human system of communist-Bolshevik order imposed by Moscow.

*The third one.* Under these conditions there arose the need to represent struggling Ukraine to belligerent alien world, to defend its national-state rights, to show genuine, real situation under Moscow oppression, to find supporters of the national liberation movement of the Ukrainians among foreigners.

*The fourth one.* The post-war Ukrainian emigration was intended to continue the attempts of its predecessors to publish periodicals in English in this country, emphasizing not only the continuity of their struggle for statehood, but also the intentions to systematically inform foreigners about the problems of the multimillion Ukrainian nation in the center of Europe

There were two English-language bulletins that were released in Britain for a short time.

So, the bulletin “The Ukraine” was released under the guidance of the Ukrainian press office in London from the beginning of June 1919 up to the end of February 1920 and was aimed at “providing reliable information about Ukraine” (To Readers, 1919).

From May 1939 to April 1941, 18 numbers of another edition of Ukrainians appeared in London — “The Ukrainian Bulletin”. It was initialised by the Ukrainian National Information Services (UNIS), which at that time operated in London under the auspices of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In the first issue, the editorial program was announced: “UNIS will strive to provide accurate and objective information about Ukraine for the sake of clear understanding of the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation by British citizens”. Among the topics raised on the pages of the Bulletin were the following: the situation in Soviet Ukraine and in the Ukrainian lands under Poland, the West’s policy towards Ukraine, the life of Ukrainian communities in Canada and the United States, and pages on the history of Ukraine (“Ukrainian Bulletin”).

The forerunners of the appearance of a new English language publication after the Second World War were also a series of books of contemporary authors translated from Ukrainian. However, they were mostly brochures — small in size, poor in topics, not deep in the analysis of problems, not to mention printing design (W. K. Mathews & T. Shevchenko, 1951; O. Martovych, 1954).

In the early 1950s, several brochures, edited by Dr. J. F. Stewart under the auspices of the Scottish European Liberal League, appeared in English in the Ukrainian literature market (“The Strength and weakness”, 1950).

The first attempt to establish a periodic publication for the English-speaking world is made by London Ukrainians in 1952: there appears “The Ukrainian Observer”. It was a peculiar digest of Ukrainian think-tank publications from “The Ukrainian thought” translated into English, which, according to the founders, could be of interest to the British reader. With varying frequency and volume, somewhat primitive in terms of printing this newsletter registration within three years of going out to people paved the way for the emergence of a new type of Quarterly — “The Ukrainian Review”.

The first issue of the Quarterly was released in December 1954, the last one in spring of 1992.

#### **Founders, the program, range of themes, authors.**

It was this magazine that performed its historic mission for a long time (almost forty years) — to be a true, authoritative, persuasive and consistent voice of Ukraine, struggling for the right to be an independent, congregated and a prosperous part of a democratic, civilized Europe for centuries.

At the time of the appearance of “The Ukrainian Review” there were published already three respectable English language periodicals, initiated

by Ukrainian diaspora. Thus, in American New-Jersey since 1933 there was published the English-language weekly, an addition to the largest in circulation and best known in the world newspaper “Svoboda” — “The Ukrainian Weekly”. In 1944 The Ukrainian Congressional Committee of America (UCCA) in New York established an English language Quarterly on Eastern European and Asian issues “The Ukrainian Quarterly”. In 1949 in Munich, Germany there appeared “ABN-Correspondence” — information and propaganda monthly, which was founded and published by the International Organization “Anti-Bolshevist Organisation of Nations”.

Under these circumstances, it was important for London Ukrainians to find their own niche in this important sector of the world’s information space — not to follow in the tracks of their predecessors, but to pave their own way, forming and expanding the problem-thematic field.

Three social organizations of Ukrainians which were registered and were operating in different countries of the West — the Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain (UUinB), Ukraine Liberation League in Canada and the Organization for the Defense of Four Liberties for Ukraine in the US — were the founders of a new English language Quarterly.

Having preliminarily outlined a future reader, the founders had in mind, first of all, two categories of readers:

*The first one:* English-speaking foreigners especially from politicians, parliamentarians, journalists — all those who had any relation to public opinion formation, to developing a real foreign policy in countries.

*The second one:* Ukrainian younger generation who had grown up in a foreign country and for various reasons did not know the Ukrainian language well enough, but lived and worked in the Ukrainian communities and required knowledge of the Ukrainian national affairs.

In accordance with such a specific contingent of readers the editorial policy of a new publication was formed.

Concerning national-political questions the editorial board of the magazine strictly adhered to the liberation-statehood principles.

In matters of church and religion the problems of the legality of Ukrainian churches, the close cooperation among them and the common spiritual and moral support of the people in their strivings for existence on Ukrainian lands, were the core platform of the publications.

Loyalty to such a policy was periodically verified in the annual reports of the organization. The correctness of chosen strategic direction of the editorial staff is proved by the evidence in archival documents:

“The magazine was and remains an extensive tool for disseminating the information about the situation of the Ukrainian people under Moscow Bolsheviks’ oppression, about their national-state aspirations and a continuous struggle for their freedom and statehood...” (“Zvit diialnosti ... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1963”).

“The magazine was the first to raise the issues of bullying the underground church in Ukraine by Moscow Bolshevik regime, giving the translation into English of all the documents and evidence of the real situation in Ukraine, enslaved by Moscow” (“Zvit diialnosti... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1981”).

“Devoting many publications to Ukrainian fighters, tortured in Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps in Siberia, the English reader with acknowledgment found the materials he needed only in “The Ukrainian Review”. Now when that prism of blindness of the Western world concerning the benevolent intentions of Moscow gradually disappears, mainly because of Moscow’s imperialistic attack on Afghanistan — the voice of the West finds its 100% justification on the pages of “The Ukrainian Review” (“Zvit diialnosti... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1982”).

Careful acquaintance with archival releases, with which the author was fortunate enough to work at London office of the Ukrainian Union in the UK, gives grounds for determining the main thematic areas of the Quarterly. Conventionally, they can be grouped into three blocks:

- “Politics, history, ideology”: international block of articles on current topics;
- “Literature, art, education”: the block of articles on Ukrainian issues;
- “Ukrainians in the Free World”: chronicals ( review of publications of the world press, where Ukraine and Ukrainians are mentioned).

The preference was given to the scientific and journalistic articles of foreign and Ukrainian authors on “Soviet Studies”, the widespread research direction in the West.

The editors paid great attention to the publications, which referred to translations of works of Ukrainian writers, publicists and scholars into the languages of the peoples of the world. At the same time, widely known was the information about translation and works of world literature into the Ukrainian language.

It is possible to imagine, in what sequence and on what topics the issues of this rare edition were compiled, by turning to separate editions. Let us take, for example, edition number 1 in 1959.

On the first pages of the issue one can find an analytical article by Slava Stetsko “Russian imperialism is not invincible!”. In this valuable research, which is also relevant today and is marked with the iron logic of facts and journalistic comments to them, one aspect of the problem is taken as the basis — the importance of conducting psychological campaigns against the Russian aggressor. This is exactly what the Kremlin’s propaganda deals with constantly and not without success.

Section “Politics, history, ideology”, except for the title article is amplified with Vladimir Luzhanskyi’s research “The 40th anniversary of the liberation movement in Western Ukraine, a critical review of Yurii Studynsky

“The idea of independence and unity of Ukraine in historical context”, the first part of Dmytro Dontsov’s research “Russia and the West”, based on Western sources. In this chapter one can find relevant analytical writings of well-known American researcher Edward O’Connor “American political realism and the Russian Empire”.

The section “Literature, Art, Education” is full of publications on diverse topics. Volodymyr Derzhavyn’s sensational commentary “The Case of Pasternak or Self-Accusation of Bolshevik Literature” sheds light on the manipulation of Moscow’s ideologists around the nomination of the Russian writer, who was in opposition to the Russian government, to the Nobel Prize. Known in England Ukrainian translator Vera Rich gave foreign language reader a social-political analysis of Shevchenko’s poem “Caucasus” and its English translation. High moral standards of Lesia Ukrainka, Olena Teliha, Olga Besarab, Liudmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska, tens and hundreds of young UNO and UIA activists were taken as factual background for Zenovii Mosiichuk’s research “The role of women in the struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian nation.” The last part of Leonid Lyman’s work “A Tale about Kharkiv” is published. A number of publications in this section introduces the reader to individual trends in the areas of culture, education, literature of the then Soviet Ukraine: how the art of painting developed, what the situation with the Ukrainian-language books and newspapers was, what the true essence of the Bolshevik “reform” of education was; why the persecution for religious convictions.

The section “Ukrainians and the Free World” is small in size, but very rich and varied in content. This time, here one can find a review of the foreign press, which widely responded to the 41 anniversary of the restoration of the Ukrainian State. The theme of the life of Ukrainian Diaspora is supplemented with two other publications — the successful European tour of the Ukrainian Bandurist orchestra led by Hrygorii Kytastyi and dance ensemble “Orlyk” under the direction of Petro Dnistrovyk in autumn of 1958. Both were formed on American continent.

It is well-known that the importance and authority of any periodical depend primarily on the authors.

Who formed the core of the authors’ team of “The Ukrainian Review”?

We divide this core into Ukrainian and foreign parts.

As for the Ukrainians, the standard of publication requirements was particularly high. After all, the best national forces in the fields of science, journalism and literature emigrated after the Second World War. And they were not difficult to be found there. Let me mention the most active contributors.

Among the professors of the Humanities: N. Polonska-Vasylenko, V. Kubiiovych, O. Ohloblyn, H. Vashchenko, D. Doroshenko, I. Holubovych, I. Mirchuk, B. Krupnytskyi, V. Yaniv, V. Derzhavyn, V. Oreletskyi, Yu. Yuiko, V. Zalozetskyi, T. Matskiv.

Politicians — statehood activists: Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, Slava Stetsko, Dmytro Dontsov.

Writers and artists: O. Voropai, Yar Slavutych, M. Orest, V. Kosyk, S. Hordynsky.

Foreign authors. The surnames themselves prove that the whole civilized world is represented here: professors J. F. Stewart, J. Nandris, O'Connor, Baimirse Hait, ambassadors Arthur Malloyne, P. Scott-Montague, colonel S. K. Giffe, politicians, scholars, artists and statesmen Niko Nakashidze, Veli Kaium Khan, Clarence A. Manning, V. K. Mathews, Monica Furlong, D. Valchev, V. Staus, Vira Rich.

**Specificity of editorial work, financial principles, circulation policy**  
*Specificity of editorial work*

One of the peculiarities of the work of any Ukrainian editorial team in a foreign country is that the editorial board, editorial staff and technical staff often work at a great distance from each other.

A valuable testimony to the fact that the editorial working process with copyrights and manuscripts, their English translations, was difficult and not quite customary for the usual editorship, was left by a former professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, an active editor and publisher on emigration, Mykola Chubatyi: "Often the author lived in The United States, language editor, — in Canada, and printing took place in Munich... In these extremely abnormal working conditions, during a permanent journey of the manuscript and the corrections between New York, Toronto, Rome and Munich, it was above human power, to look after everything and to guard against mistakes..." (M. Chubatyi, 1965).

The creators of "The Ukrainian Review" found themselves in the same situation. At the initial stage (late 50's) editorial preparation was conducted mostly in London. The first chief editor of the Quarterly was a former professor of Kharkiv University, a specialist in classical philology and Oriental studies Volodymyr Derzhavyn. At the same time, he was also the author of a number of problematic articles and a reviewer of the works of foreign authors. In 1962, because of Professor Derzhavyn's illness the functions duties of the editor-in-chief were fulfilled by the rector of Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, anthropologist by profession, Professor Rostyslav Yendyk (since 1945 this institution moved from Czech Podiebrad to Germany, Regensburg, Munich) (I. Dmytriv, 1963).

Since this time onwards, Munich becomes the seat of the editorial board, as well as the place for the exchange of proofs and prints. The editorial policy of the Quarterly for many years had been carried by the true associate of one of the forefathers of the OUN, Yaroslav Stetsko, a member of the OUN Ward, journalist Slava Stetsko, editor-in-chief. It is interesting to know that Mrs. Slava was also the head of the chief printed organ of the Central Committee at Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations, "ABN-Correspondence", published in English.

London also housed the headquarters of deputy editor-in-chief and senior manager. For a long time the functions of a deputy were performed by Yaroslav Vasyliuk. He was responsible for the preparation of publications on the life of Ukrainians on both emigration and on their territory, occupied by Russian invaders. In the Annual UUinB Reports we can find out the names of edition managers, which were usually not mentioned in issues. At various times, these important functions were performed by A. Cholii (1957), Mykola Tuzhyliak (1987), Mykhailo Semianiv (1991).

Other employees worked mainly overseas, from where they sent English translations for further proofreading and text editing.

In the early 80's of the twentieth century, the editorial board, which was headed by Slava Stetsko, incorporated representatives of the younger generation of emigration: Prof. Lev Shankovsky, Doctors Oleg Romanyshyn, Anatol Bedriy, Master Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, Marta Savchuk. Significant help in translating articles into English was provided by Volodymyr Slez.

#### *Financial principles*

The archival documents prove, that notwithstanding the existence of three founders of the English language Quarterly (Union of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ukraine Liberation League in Canada and the Organization of Four Liberties for Ukraine in the USA), the financing of its publishing was provided by UUinB.

About the expenses on publication of the first issue of "The Ukrainian Review" one can learn from the publication of I. Dmytriv in the newspaper "Ukrainian Thought": "UUinB started its publishing activity for foreign World with a capital of 268 pounds. This amount is insignificant in relation to the efforts and finance that should be invested in every such business. But the matter was not in the money, but in the need of the magazine, in the course of propaganda work on foreigners' territory" (I. Dmytriv, 1963).

Thus, it becomes clear: from the very beginning the publishers of the magazine realized that this publishing project, which was important from the ideological point of view, could not be self-paid, or profitable, that the implementation of the idea about systematic informing the foreign world about Ukrainian problems would require considerable expenses.

The analysis of the financial side of the editorial board activity suggests that during the 38 years of the Quarterly publishing only two years proved to be break-even for the founders: 1955 (even with a profit of 66 pounds) and 1967 (plus 54 pounds). In all other years, the issue of each number needed subsidies: from 29 pounds in 1956 to 1077 pounds in 1965 ("Zvit diialnosti... vid 1954 do 1992").

However, the losses were not so great in comparison with the benefits of the propaganda nature in the Ukrainian issue promotion in the world. As it was mentioned in one of the reports, for ten years of uninterrupted publishing of "The Ukrainian Review", its deficit was only 1700 pounds, taking

into account that almost 60 percent of the entire circulation was sent free of charge to various parts of the world, including Asia and America, to the Far and the Middle East.

During 1983 the UUiB Central Fund subsidies to publish four issues of the magazine, including revenue from subscriptions and donations amounted to £ 4724 (“Zvit diialnosti...vid 01.01 do 31.12.1983”).

Two factors increased the cost of the magazine: the increase in prices for postal services and printing materials, which was observed in the UK throughout the postwar period, and the issue of Quarterly supplements in the form of brochures in English.

From time to time inflation prompted to increase the cost of the annual subscription and the selling price of each copy, which, of course, had a negative effect on the pressruns. Such a comparison: if in 1959 the annual magazine subscription fee was 4 pounds (that is, one pound for a separate number), then in 1988 for the same four numbers it was necessary to pay four times more — 16 pounds. For subscribers in the US and Canada, the annual overpayment was 32 American dollars.

As for brochures, this case was especially noticeable on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the magazine. Then the UUiB decided to send all subscribers well-prepared essays on the life and work of the iconic figures of Ukrainian culture — Hryhorii Skovoroda, Lesia Ukrainka, Mykola Lysenko, as well as a brief chronicle of the history of the UIA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) on the occasion of its 20th anniversary.

#### *Pressrun policy*

During the 38 years of the magazine existence, about one and a half hundred issues of the Quarterly were published. The circulation of each number varied from 1500 to 950 copies.

Is it a large or small number?

If compared with the pressrun of other periodicals of the Ukrainian diaspora, this figure can be considered one of the most typical. But if we bear in mind the publication specificity — published in English and for foreigners, well-informed on the subject, then such a number of copies is convincing. Especially against the background of pressruns of some central printed editions in modern Ukraine.

The first five years of “The Ukrainian Review” existence should be considered the best period of its circulation — each year 1500 copies are stable. During the 60’s and the beginning of the 70’s the total circulation was 1250. From the beginning of the 1980s it began to fall: in 1980 — 1,000; in 1991–1992 — 950. A noticeable increase in the circulation occurred in 1987 (1300 copies), which became possible thanks to the diaspora’s initiative on the eve of the 1000th anniversary of Ukraine’s baptizing and the active participation of the editorial board in the coverage of this event (“Zvit diialnosti...vid 1.01 do 31.12.1987”).

Saved archival data provide an opportunity to analyze these figures in terms of subscriptions and peddling. Take for example 1957 data. In total, the number of individual subscribers at that time was 81 (foreigners — 42, Ukrainians — 39). The number of copies subscribed by institutions, organizations and libraries was 61. The bulk of the publication pressrun found its reader through a network of distributors. In this way there were distributed: in UK — 505 copies, outside the country — 224. Copies that were written off under “gift” title (i.e. tittle given free) were 315. By the way, the last figure, if changed, then it only increased. The last part of the total circulation in 1,500 copies was considered as an editorial stock (“Zvit diialnosti... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1957”).

Usually free copies were sent by post, according to the pre-compiled addresses’ list, to libraries, research institutions, newspapers, political parties, universities, colleges and schools, as well as individual politicians, scientists, journalists, parliamentarians.

It is interesting to analyze in what quantity and where copies were sent. Here’s the data for 1971.

Foreign countries by subscription: Canada (Liberation League of Ukraine) — 86, Canada (individual subscribers) — 20, USA — 65, Australia — 20, Europe — 8. Totally 608 copies were sent abroad by subscription and through the distributors.

Foreign countries and the United Kingdom were given as a gift: Europe — 95, USA — 60, Canada — 12, Argentina — 2, countries of Asia — 140, Great Britain — 55. Totally 364 copies.

Great Britain (subscription and distributors): UUinB departments — 360, UUY cells — 13, individual — 36 copies (“Zvit diialnosti... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1971”).

In general, the geography of the distribution of the magazine (by subscription and free of charge copies), according to the considerably expanded addresses’ list in the early 70’s of the twentieth century is as follows (in order of decreasing number of copies sent to the country): UK, USA, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Turkey, Australia, Switzerland, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, China, India, Israel, Pakistan, Egypt and others.

The tendency towards a steady decrease in the number of subscribers that emerged in the early 80s, forced the founders and editors deeply analyze the causes of this phenomenon and resort to additional measures aimed at intensifying the promotion of the publication. Facts about this can be found in the annual reports of UUinB activities. So, this question was the subject of discussion at the organization in early 1986. Four reasons were mentioned, according to which “The Ukrainian Review” lost its position in the English-language publications market in Ukrainian diaspora. Let’s enumerate them:

1. The lack of zealous distributors in Ukrainian communities, especially among younger generations.
2. The passivity of potential subscribers among the youth.
3. The unpreparedness of our reader to “consume” Ukrainian literature on scientific or political subjects because of the fatigue of political battles in which the elder emigrants grew.
4. Conservative form, content, sometimes language as the main reasons for not getting interested in topics.
5. Poor work with advertising and publication promotion on behalf of UUiNB with local and other Ukrainian organizations (“Zvit diialnosti... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1985”).

Another archive document points to such a problem which over the years has reminded more and more about itself: Ukrainians who are married to foreigners or whose children do not speak Ukrainian show very little interest in the magazine (“Zvit diialnosti ... vid 1.01 do 31.12.1962”).

From that time promotion campaigns became more aggressive. This gave some results.

Here are some examples.

On appeal to the American compatriots Mr. J. Rovenchuk from the USA responded. He drew up an annual subscription to “The Ukrainian Review” for 15 UNO representatives who supported Ukrainian issues, donating \$ 100 from his earnings.

20 new subscribers were found in Australia.

A few successful campaigns were held by the editorial board since the early 80’s under the motto “New address, new ways to find readers.” And here is their result.

*Year 1980.* A new area for distributing the magazine was Spain. In the summer, a group of non-indifferent Ukrainians organized a section of the Union of Ukrainian Former Soldiers in Great Britain. On behalf of this department, a written appeal was sent to the organizers of the next international conference on compliance with the Helsinki Human Rights Agreements, which took place in Madrid the same year. They answered immediately: bought 100 copies of the Ukrainian English-language magazine.

*Year 1982.* London hosted one of the largest conferences of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Peoples. It brought together hundreds of representatives of peoples oppressed by Moscow and thousands of Ukrainians manifested their desire for freedom on the main square in London, through dismembering the Russian prison of nations — the Soviet Union — into national states. Having prepared a special issue for this event, the Quarterly editorial board presented its publication at this respectable world forum.

Among new addresses the magazine was sent to was Austrian parliament, which received 20 copies of “The Ukrainian Review”.

From the third number in 1983, the magazine switched to new set-top technology and offset printing, following a predetermined format and volume (each number should have at least one hundred pages).

However, in spite of the considerable efforts of the editorial staff and founders, it was not possible to noticeably improve the situation with the maintenance of the achieved level of annual pressruns.

Every year it became harder to keep regular publication of the numbers within each quarter. The schedule of publishing issues was consistently violated starting with 1979. Thus, the fourth number for that year came out of print on March 21, 1980. The first number of 1980 was published on June 6, the second — August 6, the third — October 2, and the fourth — in January next year. Even worse is the picture for 1983: the third number came out in February 1984, and the fourth in April 1985.

Two main reasons prevented regular release of *Quarterly*: instability of funding and problems with editorial board members who lived in different countries.

1992 was the last in the life of this magazine.

### **Strangers about the English-speaking Ukrainian Quarterly**

An unexpected for Ukrainian Diaspora surprise was made by the official organ of the British Parliament “Congress Record”: several articles were placed in its issue on 10 September, 1964, which primarily had been published in London UUinB magazine “The Ukrainian Review”. Among those reprints there were “Shevchenko — Apostle of Freedom” by André Francois Ponce, “Shevchenko and the Ukrainian national idea” by E. Malaniuk and “Shevchenko in the eyes of his contemporaries” by Dr. K. Sikr. The total volume of these articles is over 40 pages.

What made this “Ukrainian breakthrough” on the pages of the British parliamentary publication possible?

The situation was like that.

The member of the British Parliament from the Republican Party, a Ukrainian by descent, Dervinsky appealed to the speaker of the House of Representatives with a proposal to draw attention to the publication of the *Quarterly* “The Ukrainian Review”, which Ukrainians had been publishing for more than ten years at the expense of Ukrainians under the auspice of the UUinB. Touching upon the problem of Russian Soviet propaganda materials domination in the information space of Great Britain, Dervinsky believed it was necessary to give the Western reader an opportunity to have an alternative point of view on the Ukrainian issue, in particular, from the sources of a number of publications written by Ukrainians in the Western world.

Mr. Dervinsky also draws attention to a significant event of the world importance, which millions of Ukrainian emigrants have expected for decades: the opening of the monument to Taras Shevchenko in Washington.

It is worthwhile to quote an extract from this appeal:

“Various materials published in the Ukrainian emigration and world press concerning the monument to Taras Shevchenko erection should be published in a separate book with the support of the British Parliament. The monument to Shevchenko is our second statue of Liberty, which imposes the strivings for liberation and independence of all the sovereign nations in the communist empire... The attempts of Moscow and its colonial puppets to use Shevchenko for their own purposes have failed. Events which led to the establishment of this monument, create a separate chapter in our struggle against the threat of the Russian empire colonialism. I believe that the republication is of vital importance for our understanding of the nationalism forces in the USSR”.

The member of the Parliament added some issues of the magazine and articles from it to this appeal which he offered to republish in the official parliamentary publication.

As it became known soon, a positive resolution was imposed on this appeal. And it was executed by the Speaker of the Houses of Commons of the British Parliament (“Shevchenko — Apostle of Freedom”, 1964).

And we should pay attention to a brief but capacious assessment of this edition, given by Colonel Cordo, a member of the British Parliament from Nottinghamshire at his meeting with London Ukrainian organizations in the Parliament: “My acquaintance with Ukraine and Ukrainians I owe to “The Ukrainian Review” (I. Dmytriv, 1963).

\* \* \*

And at the end of the story about this practically unknown in Ukraine magazine in English, which, for almost four decades of the second half of the twentieth century, was published in Great Britain by the best representatives of world Ukrainianians at the expense of their compatriots, we want to give some extracts from magazine’s publications, relevant for Ukrainian contemporaneity:

“The post-war period with its tendency towards peace and pleasure with resilient life, amplified by Moscow propaganda and nuclear war fears, allowed different Russophiles, cosmopolitans and pacifists go on top, and wipe out with its propaganda ideological and moral character of a Western man who was ready for keeping this peace to coexist together with Moscow bandits, despite the fact that this peace was bought with the blood of millions of best sons and daughters of the Ukrainian people”.

“Ukrainians considered their struggle against Moscow empire to be not only national business. Fighting for their freedom and statehood, Ukrainians struggled for freedom and prosperity of the Western World”.

“Imperialist Moscow is inventing new means and factors that oppose to the national aspirations of the peoples enslaved by it. And in the West, in

addition to some kind of perspicacity that is seen in the firm and resolute position of the Western powers in relation to Moscow, the idea of dismembering the Moscow prison of nations into national states has not yet been established strongly enough for us to be calm about our future. The Ukrainian emigration must continue its activities in foreign countries, and for this purpose appropriate means must be found”.

And here is the quotation of the readers' wish, related to the future of this magazine, on the occasion of its first decade. It was, unfortunately, not fulfilled. But we must remember about it today as of one of the greatest desires of the dozens and hundreds of thousands of our compatriots in the diaspora who laid their lives on the altar of Ukrainian independence: “The Ukrainian Review” should grow, find new co-workers and readers. Bearing in mind that well-developed advocacy information and propaganda activities reduce casualties on the battlefield, we must do our best to ensure that the truth about Ukraine reaches every single influential person in the free world”.

Can we, who nowadays live in Ukraine, create such Truth?

#### *Conclusions*

Quarterly magazine “The Ukrainian Review”, released in London during the years 1954–1992 at the expense of Ukrainian emigration is a valuable page of Ukrainian foreign journalism and Ukrainian-British relations, which was still unknown because of the lack of this rare edition in libraries of Ukraine.

By content, range of names of authors, problems and distribution network it gained considerable credibility in the western world: its publications were referred to by the leading politicians of the western state and reprinted by other foreign editions. References to articles are often contained in foreign bibliographic indexes.

Ukrainian emigration considered its struggle against the imperialistic Moscow not only a national matter. Struggling for their freedom and statehood, Ukrainians fought for the freedom and welfare of the Western world.

Publications in “The Ukrainian Review” magazine are particularly relevant now when Ukraine defends its independence from the Russian aggression in Donbas and needs strong support of the Western world.

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