# Resistance Ukrainian Culture in Times of War

Ulrich Schmid
Does Ukraine Have a Literary History?
Basic Outlines of the Literary Process in Ukraine

Ever since its East Slavic beginnings, Ukrainian literary history has evolved in different spaces. Multilingualism and cultural overlap were always constitutive features of literary creation in the space that is modern-day Ukraine. In addition, there have been repeated attempts to place Ukrainian literature in the imperial centre St. Petersburg. Therefore, what holds true for many European national literatures applies to Ukrainian literature: writers and other figures involved in cultural politics consciously constructed a literary system, and historians of literature projected this construction onto the past. The suppression that Ukrainian writers experienced again and again as part of the national movement in the tsarist empire and the Soviet Union has meant that the relationship to state and nation has defined the literary process in Ukraine to this day. This is seen in the importance of writers in society during Russia's aggression against Ukraine, a conflict that began in 2014 and escalated to open war in 2022.

Annette Werberger
Polyglot Legacy
Multilingualism in the History and Literature of Ukraine

Linguistic pluralism in literature as well as in everyday life is a characteristic of Ukraine. This relaxed multilingualism is a legacy of the multi-ethnic European empires to which the country belonged throughout its history. In Western Europe, however, this was often seen as a sign of unfinished nation-building. Only recently has the German public discovered the positive potential of Ukraine's linguistic diversity. This applies in particular to the field of literature, where multilingualism has produced a special richness of forms and timbres. However, the war that Russia thrust upon Ukraine in February 2022 also threatens to destroy this unique mobility and openness.

Claudia Dathe "The Silent Language of Rage" Ukrainian Poetry at War

Literature, especially contemporary poetry, has developed into an important medium for processing the war in Ukraine intellectually. Since 2014, the violence to which the country and its citizens have been subjected has been the subject of numerous poems. With the February 2022 invasion, the field of literature has shifted significantly yet again. The war has become an inescapable reality that poets must confront. Documentation comes to the fore, a "high poetic tone" seems to have become impossible, likewise the classical form of narration. Language is no longer merely a tool of description, but itself part of what is happening and the subject of poetic reflection.

#### **Nation and State**

Getting Off the Sidelines

Andreas Kappeler: Ukraine as Subject in History

Andreas Kappeler, a historian of Eastern Europe, looks back on his personal discovery of Ukraine as a nation at a time when the mere mention of the word "nation" was considered disreputable. He explains where the stereotype of Ukrainians as nationalists and anti-Semites comes from. In his view, however, the widespread Western disinterest in Ukraine has been overcome, and Ukraine is now recognized as an equal subject within the international community of nations. As a historian who thinks long-term, he refuses to believe that a megalomaniacal dictator in the Kremlin can chart a new course in the history and historiography of Europe in just a few years.

Andrii Portnov, Tetiana Portnova Ukrainian History Approaches to Interpretation and Explanation

For a long time, Ukrainians avant la lettre lived in different empires. Does such a "stateless people" have a national history? Historians of different persuasions such as Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, Stepan Tomashivs'kyi, or Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi unreservedly answered this question in the affirmative. To define the Ukrainian nation and its history, they focused on the Cossacks, the pursuit of freedom and self-determination, the peasant ethnos, or the language. This approach, which was committed to social and societal history, stood in contrast to a political historiography related to the state. This attempted to grasp the history of Ukraine geographically and territorially. By this telling, the Principality of Galicia and Volhynia was the first "Ukrainian nation state". Both schools express the es-

sence of the nation as a collective entity that transcends time. Ukrainian historiography, wether in exile, in the Soviet Union, or in independent Ukraine, follows in the footsteps of these schools.

### Ricarda Vulpius Competition, Conflict, Repression Russia and Ukrainian Nation-Building

Putin's talk about the historical unity of Russians and Ukrainians serves to justify the war ideologically. This thinking is not new. It goes back to the 17th century. It is based on the idea of the "all-Russian nation", to which "Great Russians", "Little Russians", and "Belarusians" belonged. The tsarist government and the bulk of Russian society congregated around this idea in the late 19th century. Even members of the liberal intelligentsia denied Ukrainians the right to form their own nation. Russia suppressed every flicker of Ukrainian linguistic and cultural autonomy. These repressions and the suppression of the Ukrainian national movement are part of today's Ukrainian collective memory.

### Sergei Lebedev When the Graves Speak Sandarmokh – Memorial for Victims of Colonial Violence

Russia's crimes in Ukraine in 2022 continue a long history of imperial violence. In Russia, the only visible cultural sign of past crimes against the Ukrainian nation lies in the Karelian forest of Sandarmokh. There, in 1937, the Soviet secret service shot thousands of people, including some 300 Ukrainian writers and artists, together with members of the cultural elite of many other peoples. Like no other place, Sandarmokh reveals the colonial dimension of the crimes. It is the arcanum of an empire, a repository for memory to be destroyed. The man who discovered it, Gulag researcher and Karelian section director of the human rights organization Memorial, Yurii Dmitriev, was arrested after the first attack on Ukraine in 2014 and, on the basis of scurrilous charges, sentenced to 15 years in prison.

### Anna Veronika Wendland Zaporizhzhia as a Symbol Russia Attacks Ukrainian Modernity

Russia's war is meant to destroy Ukraine as a state. Military attacks also target symbols of modern statehood, which include infrastructure and industrial facilities. Industrial modernisation and technical infrastructure were central to Ukraine's nation-building process. This is particularly evident in the case of the country's nuclear power plants and its electricity grid. An important period of Ukrainian nation-building took place in Soviet Ukraine and is bound up in traumatic experiences. This is the source of the fractured and ambivalent relationship that today's Ukrainians have toward their history of modernisation. Russia completely negates this story.

Mateusz Fałkowski Against Great Russian Imperialism

On the Topicality of the Declaration on the Ukrainian Cause from 1977

Russia is waging war against Ukraine with the aim of destroying it as an independent state and Russifying Ukrainians. The Putin regime is thus following in the tradition of Russian and Soviet imperialism. In 1977, the Polish exile magazine Kultura published a "Declaration on the Ukrainian Cause". It was an appeal to international public opinion to support Ukrainians and other nations in Eastern Europe in their efforts to gain independence and to work together to create a free, federal Europe. The warnings, positions, and visions contained within this declaration are of unexpected topicality. They form the intellectual basis of the broad support found in Poland for the Ukrainians' struggle to defend their right to self-determination and freedom.

Sabine Adler
Ignorant of Ukraine
A Lesson from the German Politics

For a long time, many Germans sympathized with authoritarian Russia and shied away from Ukraine, which has been moulded by civil society. Representatives of this position were the Social Democrats security expert Egon Bahr and peace activist Erhard Eppler, as well as the former chancellors Helmut Schmidt and Gerhard Schröder. For decades, they advocated the maxim that peace was only possible in concert with, not against the Soviet Union or Russia. This became a guiding principle of the Federal Republic of Germany's foreign policy. Fixated on Russia as a superpower, these politicians ignored Ukraine, subordinated its right to freedom and self-determination to the alleged security and stability interests of Moscow and Berlin, and clung to thinking in terms of spheres of influence. These positions have outlived their usefulness, as has the recipe for "change through trade".

### War and Cooperation

Gwendolyn Sasse Russia's War on Ukraine Factors, Causes, Dynamics

Wars do not fall from the sky. They have a pre-history. The constellation for a conflict consists of various factors involving domestic politics, foreign policy, and international relations. In the case of Russia's war on Ukraine, the Putin regime's radicalization into autocracy and its dissociation from the West combined with Ukraine's simultaneous democratisation and increasingly Western orientation are the central factors that explain the conflict's dynamics, made the outbreak of war more likely, and influence the dynamics of warfare as well.

### Tatiana Zhurzhenko Terror, Collaboration and Resistance Russian Rule in the Newly Occupied Territories of Ukraine

In the territories occupied by Russia since February 2022, the occupiers are using the same instruments they used in Crimea and Donbass in 2014. They cut the population off from Ukrainian sources of information, spread their propaganda, and forcibly bring the educational system into line with their own. They instrumentalize humanitarian aid, pay social benefits and wages in roubles, issue Russian passports, and link the use of services and rights to Russian citizenship. They recruit collaborators from the local elite and resort to repression and open terror. The Crimea and the so-called people's republics of Donetsk and Luhansk provide the starting point for the administrative and military incorporation of the newly occupied territories into Russia. While prospects for the liberation of the occupied territories by military means remain hazy, one thing is clear: the longer Russia remains there, the harder it will be for Ukraine to take them back.

### Bert Hoppe Attack on Historical Heritage Russia Targets Ukrainian Archives

Russia's war is also directed against Ukraine's historical memory. The large number of attacks on architectural monuments, cultural institutions, and archives suggests that these are not instances of so-called collateral damage. Russia's army is striking pillars of Ukrainian national consciousness. In the vicinity of Kharkiv, the Hryhorii Skovoroda Museum of Literature was destroyed, and near Bucha, the archives of the Chornovil Foundation went up in flames. In Chernihiv, the regional archive of the secret service SBU with its historical holdings of records from the NKVD and KGB was hit. This was where the files of the perpetrators and victims of the Stalinist terror were held. The destruction of such an archive weighs all the more heavily given that Ukraine, with its liberal, open archival policy, enabled scholarly research into the history of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and the German occupation. Ukraine's historical memory is largely at the mercy of Russia's rockets and shells.

### Svitlana Kravchenko Attacks on Cultural Heritage Ukrainian Libraries in Russia's War

There are nearly 15,000 public libraries in Ukraine. In 2022, after being closed due to Corona, they were supposed to once again become places to promote reading, encourage learning, and facilitate encounters. But Russia's war thwarted those plans. In defiance of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property, libraries have also been the target of artillery and missile attacks. The destruction, damage, and loss of inventory are lamentable. The situation in the occupied territories is unclear. In the areas where there is no active fighting, libraries are going about their work. Moreover, they often coordinate the efforts of volunteers supporting displaced persons and soldiers on the front lines.

#### Words and Books

### "We Are Coughing Up Russian Literature with Blood" Oksana Khmel'kovs'ka from the Literary Portal Chytomo

A cultural journalist looks back on the difficult beginnings for the Ukrainian book market, provides insights into Chytomo, a platform for literature and books dedicated to strengthening Ukrainian publishing. She describes the upswing and the differentiation that took place on the book market after the Euromaidan, criticizes the fact that international literary agents stuck with the practice of selling licenses under the motto "Russia First" for too long, and vehemently defends the ban on importing Russian books when war crimes are being committed in places such as Olenivka.

# "The Market Is as Good as Dead" Kharkiv publisher Viktor Kruhlov offers insights

Against unequal competition with publishers from Russia, the best Ukrainian publishers were able to hold their own. After the annexation of the Crimea, more and more people became aware of the importance of books in the Ukrainian language. The market grew. Since February 24, the situation has been precarious. There is a shortage of paper, prices have exploded, printers are being shelled, people's purchasing power is minimal, and books are not part of their daily needs. Most publishers work out of enthusiasm. Books are a contribution to cultural self-assertion.

### "A Society Needs Citizens Who Read" Mariana Savka on Books and Politics in Times of War

A society can only be considered complete if its citizens read. Too often, this is not the case in Ukraine. Bookshops are rare, there are few campaigns to promote reading, and literary criticism is in short supply. An understanding that books are essential is lacking. Shared values are the basis for the consolidation of any society. Books are the bearers of these values. Ukrainians should talk about the issues that mould their national identity, form their historical memory, and give them the strength for visions for the future.

## "We Need to Get People to Read" Yuliia Orlova on Publishing during the War

The director of Vivat Publishing in Kharkiv praises the change in awareness among Ukrainian readers that followed Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014. As Ukrainians turned their back on Russia, there was an upturn on the Ukrainian book market. Yet making books under wartime conditions has become compli-

cated. There is a lack of paper and printing capacity. Only a minority of the population reads and buys books. Where demand exists, it can hardly be satisfied. Thus, there is a lack of competent Ukrainian non-fiction authors.

## "It's about Decolonization" Pavlo Shved on Language and Books in Times of War

Ukraine was heavily Russified, Ukrainian marginalized. Publishing corporations from Russia dominated the book market with Russian books. Books can also be an imperial tool. So long as Moscow is at war with Ukraine, a total ban on the import of books from Russia will be necessary. This is an act of self-defence. And every Ukrainian-language book is a contribution to the promotion of Ukrainian cultural and national identity.

### Volodymyr Kulyk The Language of Resistance The War and the Upsurge of Ukrainian

War brings death and breeds hatred. Many Ukrainians also blame Russia's population for the war and the crimes committed by occupying Russian forces. More and more people in Ukraine refuse to speak Russian - even native speakers. Russian is considered the language of the enemy. What Ukraine has not achieved by means of its language policy in 30 years, Russia has provoked by attacking its neighbour. This full-scale war is promoting a change in language. Using Ukrainian is the order of the day, for Ukrainian is the language of the resistance.

### Yurii Marchenko, Oleksandra Koval' Against All Odds The Ukrainian Book Market, 1991–2022

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a diverse private publishing landscape emerged in Ukraine. New authors took the stage. But the book market has faced setbacks again and again: the economic chaos of the early 1990s, the economic crisis of 2008-2009, the Russian aggression of 2014, and Russia's invasion since February 2022. One consequence of the current situation is that books from Russia and Belarus are increasingly being replaced by books in Ukrainian, made in Ukraine. But as a result of the war, the economic and infrastructure problems in the Ukrainian book market are considerable.

### Valentyna Vzdul's'ka Laboratory of change Ukrainian Literature for Children and Adolescents

The Ukrainian market for literature for children and adolescents has undergone a fundamental change since 1991. It has overcome Soviet taboos and traumas, mastered economic crises, and confronted the distortion of competition from Russian competition. By means of biographies, series on Ukrainian history and

culture, as well as high-quality illustrated books, this market has tapped into a new readership. But print runs remain small, the assortment limited. There is a need to catch up. Development is being hampered by weak purchasing power and the war. At the same time, the war is drawing the attention of foreign publishers of children's books to Ukraine and Ukrainian topics.

### Ola Hnatiuk The New Closeness and Its Roots Poland and Ukraine in Literature and Society

Poland's solidarity with Ukraine in its defensive war against Russia is by no means a given. Just a few decades ago, the two nations were enemies. The impetus for reconciliation came from the Polish exile magazine Kultura with its far-sighted thinking. Since the 1990s, the number of Polish-Ukrainian contacts has grown exponentially. Today, almost every Polish family has acquaintances in and from Ukraine. This is the result of Ukrainian labour migration and cultural cooperation. Authors and the literary scene played a central role: with their books, writers such as Yurii Andrukhovych and Serhii Zhadan stirred an enormous interest in Ukraine. Poland became the hub of Europe for Ukrainian literature and culture. At the same time, Andrukhovych & Co. acted as ambassadors of Polish culture in Ukraine.

### Oksana Khmel'ovs'ka From Ugly to Angry Ukrainian Book Design over Three Decades

In the beginning, there was the Ukrainian avant-garde of the 1920s. With Ukraine's independence at the end of 1991, this art was rediscovered and reinterpreted. "Ugly design", which was trending around the world, appeared in Ukraine in the early 1990s. Today, Ukrainian book design is embedded in global markets and trends, but it has preserved its national traditions and peculiarities in both theory and practice. Ukrainian illustrators are keeping visual diaries of the war. They are chroniclers of Russia's war crimes and are creating angry, bold art.

### Tamara Hundorova Heterotopia and One's Own Territory The Donbass in the Work of Serhii Zhadan

The Donbass has played a central role in Serhii Zhadan's work from the very start. In his most recent novel Orphanage (Ukr. - Internat, 2017), as well as in Voroshilovgrad (Ukr. - Voroshylovhrad, 2010), Ukraine's eastern borderland provides both setting and subject. Zhadan depicts it as a territory of emptiness, a geographical and historical space of transition - but not as a no-man's-land. Real and mental migration mould this region, and that is what makes it a genuinely European territory. Defending it as one's own territory - this literary message from 2010 has taken on a very concrete and extremely urgent meaning twelve years later.

#### **Images and Sounds**

Ada Raev In Focus Ukraine's Artistic Culture

For art historians in the West, Ukrainian art is a blind spot. It has been either fully ignored or subsumed into Russian and Soviet art. While certain artists' biographies and works may be characterized by Ukrainian-Russian intertwining, there is also a rich independent Ukrainian culture, from folk art and fine art to architecture. Catchwords here are the wooden churches, the Cossack baroque, and the avant-garde. The artistic heritage of Ukraine, whose history has been moulded by territorial discontinuity and political ruptures, draws on different cultures and strands of tradition. Diversity and heterogeneity are its hallmarks.

Yuliia Nikolaevs'ka Music of Resistance and Hope Ukrainian Composers of the 20th and 21st Centuries

The history of Ukrainian music in the 20th and 21st centuries is contradictory. On the one hand, the art of composition flourished; on the other hand, numerous composers and their works were subjected to politically motivated restrictions. In nearly every phase of Ukrainian music history, there is repression and censorship, to which composers and their works fell victim. Yet despite all the devastation, Ukrainian music regenerates itself again and again. Ukrainian musical culture is a domain of resistance.

Ivan Kozlenko
Film and Film Industry in Ukraine
30 Years of Decolonization: A Balance Sheet

The history of Ukrainian cinema and the film and television industry over the past 30 years is a history of an arduous process of liberation from colonial dependencies. It reflects the development of Ukrainian national identity, the language issue, and the political economy of a contested sector. After a decline in the 1990s, dependence on Russian capital and the Russian market led to the industry's Russification. Money and ideas, including aggressive anti-Ukrainian and anti-liberal views of history, came from Moscow. Russian-language films were produced in Ukrainian studios for low wages. Change came only in 2014. Funding for cinema was improved, legal language quotas in the production and post-dubbing of films were better enforced. This weakened the Ukrainian television lobby's ties to Russia, but led to disputes over the distribution of funding. Beyond the struggle for big money, the past 30 years has seen the emergence of excellent documentaries and a Ukrainian cinéma d'auteur that enjoys a permanent place at international film festivals.

Barbara Wurm Life – Cinema - Life Ukrainian Cinema at War (2014-2022)

Reality, documentary, and fiction merge in Ukrainian cinema in a unique way. Directors, actors, and cinematographers come from the war, make films about

the war, and go to the front lines again to defend their country. Filmmaking is participation and a gesture of self-empowerment. The films about war from 2014-2022 make visible physical and psychological injury, personal loss, and social tragedy in a broad spectrum of forms. They oscillate between the dream of peace, freedom, and independence, on the one hand, and the traumatization caused by violence, torture, rape, and death, on the other.

### Sergii Cane The Sound of Resistance Pop, Rock, Rap & Hiphop from Ukraine

For many Ukrainians, their music is an elemental part of their national self-image. Therefore, imperial rulers in Moscow repeatedly targeted Ukrainian music. It was to be destroyed or robbed of its autonomy, declared to be Russian music or reduced to homogenized folklore. Yet Ukrainian music survived in niches and came back again and again. Since 2014, the market power of music from Russia has also been broken, and Ukrainian music has rapidly branched out into all contemporary genres: from catchy pop and loud rock to hip-hop, rap, and electronic music of all kinds. Since Russia's invasion, Ukrainian musicians have known only one goal: to defend their country, whether as soldiers or fundraisers. And after a moment of shock at the start of the invasion, the music itself has also returned and is uniting the nation in its fight for survival.

### Dariia Bad'jor Attack on Cultural Heritage Ukrainian Museums and Memorials at War

Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine is also endangering museums, collections, and memorial sites. A prominent case is the destruction of the mansion in Kharkiv Oblast where the philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda spent his twilight years. Russia is not complying with international conventions on the protection of cultural heritage. What's more, there are indications that Russia's troops are destroying cultural and historical sites in a targeted fashion. After all, they are physical evidence of an independent Ukrainian culture. With each attack on their cultural heritage, the Ukrainian people become more aware of their own culture. The nation's cultural heritage has been transformed from a list of dusty objects in barely visited museums into a living treasure.

### Elena Korowin Art against War Digital and Urban Worlds of Protest

"When the guns speak, the muses fall silent." No, they don't! In Ukraine and Russia, artists have overcome their silence after a brief state of shock at Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. Repression and the dangers posed by the war may have severed ties between like-minded artists in both countries, but they are fighting the war together using their own weapons and techniques. They work in digital as well as urban spaces and rely on crypto art and memes, graffiti, stencils, or murals. The war is also changing art in its aesthetics.