

Review Essay **Conditio sine qua non**

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Mariusz Sawa. *Ukraiński emigrant: Działalność i myśl Iwana Kedryna-Rudnyckiego (1896-1995)* [Ukrainian Emigrant: The Activities and Thought of Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky (1896-1995)]. Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2016. 400 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Indexes. PLN 31,00, cloth.

Biographies do not constitute a well-developed genre of writing in Ukraine. Popular biographies and biographic scholarly monographs are in short supply, even those dealing with the most prominent and central figures of Ukrainian history. Book-length biographies about Galicians are particularly scant: with few exceptions, these individuals' "Galician nature"—assigned a status of marginality in the historiographic paradigm that has been carried over from the twentieth century—has caused them to be excluded from the pantheon of important figures about whom biographies are written. The elevated genre of intellectual biography, which spans the disciplines of history, philosophy, and political studies, is represented by very few works (first and foremost among them is *Prorok u svoii vitchyzni: Franko ta ioho spil'nota [1856-1886]* [A Prophet in His Own Homeland: Franko and His Community (1856-1886)] by Iaroslav Hrytsak). The publishing market in Poland is a completely different story: biographies (and memoirs) are among the most popular published genres. Furthermore, Poland has the most active publishing market outside of Ukraine with regard to books on Ukrainian topics, including the history of Ukraine. Each year, several dozen books on Ukrainian issues are published; naturally, these include biographies. To date, their protagonists have featured, for instance, Bohdan

Khmel'nyts'kyi,¹ Petro Doroshenko,² Ivan Vyhovs'kyi,³ Symon Petliura,⁴ Nestor Makhno,⁵ Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi,⁶ and (recently) Stepan Bandera.⁷ Also, there have been intellectual biographies of V'icheslav (Wacław) Lypyns'kyi⁸ and Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi⁹; popular biographies of politicians (such as Iuliia Tymoshenko¹⁰ and Vitalii Klychko¹¹); and novels based on the biographies of Taras Shevchenko¹² and Nestor Makhno¹³ (I intentionally omit the writings of professional opponents of Ukrainian nationalism who produce propaganda under the thin veil of biographies).

However, certain lacunae still exist in Polish studies. Until recently, historians had approached the study of Galician Ukrainian politicians and civic activists only with the utmost caution—a caution obviously inherited from the interwar period, when the majority of these politicians and activists were considered to be “Ukrainian nationalists.” Perhaps, this phenomenon could also explain why the short biographies of Ukrainian deputies of the Second Polish Republic began to be listed only recently alongside those of their ethnic Polish colleagues on the website of the Polish parliament (Sejm). The famous *Polski słownik biograficzny* (*Polish Biographic Dictionary*—the gold standard for scholarly biographic entries) does contain biographic notes on Ukrainian Galician activists, but none of these texts were developed into comprehensive biographies. Thus, Mariusz Sawa’s biography of the Galicia-born journalist and politician Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky (1896-1995), published in 2016 under the aegis of the Institute of National Remembrance, marks a certain shift. Given the high level of Polish biographic scholarship and the extraordinary character of the book’s protagonist, one could hope for a fascinating read. This young scholar’s research had been generating interest long before it came out in book form; excerpts were published by several Polish and Ukrainian historical websites (including *Ukraina moderna*, 2014; *Historians.in.ua*, 2012; *Kultura Paryska*; and *Histmag.org*, 2014). From

¹ See Kaczmarczyk.

² See Perdenia.

³ See Ossoliński.

⁴ See Serednicki.

⁵ See Przyborowski and Wierzchoś.

⁶ See Kubasik.

⁷ See Romanowski, *Bandera: Terrorysta z Galicji* and *Bandera: Ikona Putina*.

⁸ See Gancarz.

⁹ See Adamski.

¹⁰ See Przełomiec.

¹¹ See Słowiński and Uhl-Herkoperec; and Adamczyk.

¹² See Jędrzejewicz.

¹³ See Łubieński.

the perspective of Polish-Ukrainian relations of the interwar period, Kedryn-Rudnytsky may be considered a key figure, arguably even more prominent than vice-speaker of the Sejm Vasyl' Mudryi or the chief of the Ukrainian delegation within the Sejm and head of the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance, Dmytro Levyts'kyi. Kedryn's memoir, *Zhyttia—podii—liudy: Spomyny i komentari (Life—Events—People: Recollections and Comments)*, published in 1976 when he was about to turn eighty, remains among the top ten Ukrainian memoirs, reflecting not only the personality of its author but also shedding light on an entire era, a fact noted by even the most critical reviewers of Kedryn-Rudnytsky's magnum opus.

Sawa chooses to use the figure of Kedryn-Rudnytsky to demonstrate the plight of Ukrainians in the twentieth century. He defines his objective as the creation of an intellectual biography against the backdrop of an era (9), professing the desire to develop a deeper understanding of the actions, choices, and views of his protagonist by engaging sources varying in origin (337). I should preface my critique by stating that an objective of this scope would pose a challenge for even a mature and experienced historian, never mind a younger scholar. After all, such a portrait requires that the author not only have a solid background in theory and possess an extensive general knowledge but also undertake an in-depth exploration of a large corpus of sources. Some of Sawa's challenges came with the territory: the activity of his protagonist was multi-faceted and the sources are dispersed and fragmentary. Potential subjective obstacles in a historical narrative may be divided into those that are external (relating to ideological tenets, methodological models, and, more broadly, the historiographic tradition) and those that are internal (including the writer's world view, his level of knowledge, and, last but not least, his capacity for empathy). The ability to visualize and understand the world of one's protagonist (not to be confused with being an apologist) is of critical importance in preparing a biography. To what extent was Sawa aware of the challenges inherent in his project? And to what degree did he properly handle them? It would be a stretch to praise Sawa in answer to these questions, although I do understand the colossal scope of the research involved and the complexity of the task that he faced. I would like to begin my analysis of Sawa's book with an overview of the objective challenges faced by the author; later, I will address issues regarding the narrative and some problems with subjectivity that, together, cause the author to substantially veer from his stated objective.

I. TOWARD A PORTRAIT

Rudnytsky was born in the late nineteenth century into a Ukrainian-Jewish Galician family—an uncommon ethnic combination at the time. His first language was Polish, but he received his secondary education at the Ukrainian academic gymnasium in Lviv. As a young man, he visited the Transbaikal region; revolutionary Kyiv; the fortress of Kamianets-Podilskyi, which had been besieged by the Bolsheviks; and Vienna in the early 1920s. His mature years coincided with the interwar era in Poland and with the Nazi occupation. As a fifty-year-old man, he found himself in postwar Austria, in a displaced persons (DP) camp. Rudnytsky ended up in the United States as he was approaching the age of retirement, but he worked there for almost another quarter century—both professionally, as a journalist, as well as on his political projects. Rudnytsky remained an active presence in the New York community throughout the last fifteen years of his life (from his eighties up until his death).

Rudnytsky's life journey was a complex one. He fought in two armies (the Austro-Hungarian and the Ukrainian) and was taken prisoner (he was captured by the Russians in 1916-17 and was in Bolshevik hands in 1919, at that time just narrowly escaping the grip of the Cheka). After World War I, he worked as a journalist, politician, political commentator, a liaison between various political factions, and a representative in Polish-Ukrainian negotiations. Kedryn (a pseudonym that Rudnytsky chose in the early 1920s) was among the few Ukrainian voices in the interwar Polish press representing the Ukrainian perspective on contentious issues in Polish-Ukrainian relations. At the same time, he remained a consistent proponent of dialogue and the notion of Prometheism, and he was among those Galicians who believed that in order to create a unified Ukraine, one needed to cooperate with the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) government-in-exile rather than obey the orders of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) authorities. Rudnytsky spent his time during World War II in Kraków, with his wife and his brother (this period of his life raises the most questions, which are difficult to answer unless we probe the surviving sources from a new perspective). In emigration, Rudnytsky worked, first, as a menial labourer and, later, as a journalist at *Svoboda* (*Liberty* [Jersey City]), the oldest Ukrainian newspaper in the United States. The aging emigrant dedicated all of his free time to civic activity, acting both as a volunteer editor, the deputy head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the leader of a Ukrainian émigré political group, and an active parishioner of his church. For his entire adult life, Kedryn-Rudnytsky dreamt of an independent and unified Ukraine, and democracy remained his political ideal. Rudnytsky lived to the age of ninety-nine, having been not only a witness to an era but also an

unerringly observant spectator. Obviously, he was far from objective, and this fact requires constant caution on the part of the writer of his intellectual biography.

Sawa does not seek to probe Kedryn-Rudnytsky's biography in finer detail, choosing instead to focus on his intellectual biography. Thus, his monograph does not contain extensive information about Rudnytsky's family (this topic still awaits a dedicated scholar); nor do we learn much about Kedryn's social circles—about his friends and enemies (with the exception of a few politicians and, toward the end of the book, his priest and friend). In my opinion, this choice is not necessarily beneficial for the book. One cannot write a proper intellectual biography without examining the protagonist's social environment—in particular, relationships with friends and mentors. And this deficit in the book impedes the reader's understanding of the pivotal points of Rudnytsky's biography, like his role in Ukraine's struggle for independence in 1918-19 or his lifelong devotion to the ideal of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Sawa does not try to explain how Rudnytsky's half-Jewish family managed to survive World War II—he does not even touch on the issue. Instead, Sawa continually revisits the articles that Rudnytsky published throughout 1940 in the newspaper *Krakivs'ki visti* (*The Kraków News*) under the pseudonym *Homo politicus*. The author of the biography interprets Rudnytsky's co-operation with the newspaper, issued under German occupation, and his book *Prychyny upadku Pol'shchi* (*The Causes of Poland's Fall*) as indicators that Rudnytsky collaborated with the Nazis.

As I have already stated, the multi-faceted nature of Rudnytsky's activities and the abundance of some documents and scarcity of others, together, pose a genuine challenge for any scholar. Aware of this challenge, Sawa chose to avoid a simple chronological structure for his book in favour of an analysis of Rudnytsky's divergent roles. Readers are introduced to Kedryn's career in journalism (in chapters 1 and 2); his political views and activism (in chapters 3 and 4); Kedryn as a proponent of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation (in chapter 5); and Rudnytsky as a religious person (in chapter 6). Declaring his intention to pen an intellectual biography, Sawa gives his book the subtitle *The Activities and Thought of Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky*.

Intellectual biographies often combine a chronological and a topic-specific approach in their structure. Sawa chooses a topic-specific approach, but he gets bogged down: Instead of outlining and analyzing the questions that the book's protagonist sought to answer or examining in depth the main works and projects of his protagonist, Sawa, somewhat artificially, outlines individually the various fields in which his protagonist worked. This, in turn, complicates the structural and conceptual organization of the materials that he employs. Sawa's choice to present Kedryn's career as a journalist

separately from his activity as a political commentator is, in my opinion, the most problematic aspect of his approach. It is unclear what benefit he derives from discussing in one chapter (chapter 5) Rudnytsky's efforts toward Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation—which began with his publicistic articles in *Dilo* (*The Deed* [Lviv], late in 1930) and *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* (*The Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin* [Warsaw], in 1932)—while covering separately (in chapters 1 and 2) Rudnytsky's articles in *The Deed*. Readers learn nothing about Kedryn's rhetorical strategies; nor are they offered a comparative analysis of his pro-reconciliation arguments addressed to Polish and Ukrainian readerships. Sawa analyzes Rudnytsky's strictly political activities, which he confines to the émigré period, before he outlines Kedryn's attitude toward nationalism (in chapters 3 and 4, respectively). The Polish-Ukrainian conflict itself is treated in the chapter on nationalism, although it would make more sense if the topic were placed in the subsequent chapter, which is dedicated to Polish-Ukrainian relations. Even at first glance, the table of contents gives the impression of chaos, and this impression only deepens with every page read.

It is little wonder, then, that the book repeats itself on multiple occasions: interwar Polish-Ukrainian relations and reconciliation attempts are dealt with twice (in chapters 2 and 5), and Rudnytsky's attitude regarding nationalism is analyzed three times (in chapters 2, 3, and 4), while his opinion about the status of Ukrainians in the Polish People's Republic is described twice (in chapters 5 and 6). When Sawa focuses on a given period, he can produce very persuasive results (for example, in the chapter on Rudnytsky as an émigré politician [chapter 3], which provides a plethora of valuable and little-known information about the political life of postwar Ukrainian émigré circles). However, the historian generally fails in his efforts to analyze discrete facets of Rudnytsky's world view.

Sawa's book is marked by obvious disproportionality and inconsistencies in its treatment of certain topics: some topics are underappreciated, while others are given too much attention. The author dedicates only five pages (that is, pages 23-28) of a thirty-page chapter (chapter 1) to Kedryn's journalistic efforts during the interwar period and fails to mention the full thematic scope of Kedryn's publications. He comes to the conclusion that Rudnytsky's focus on the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in his writings overshadows attention given to the issues of Dnipro Ukraine, such as the Holodomor, the Great Terror, and so on (338). The same surprisingly short first chapter features a six-page subchapter entitled "Kolaborant?" ("Collaborator?"), in which the author muses about Kedryn's alleged collaboration. If the historian is right in stating that the 1930s marked the pinnacle of Kedryn's career as a journalist and political commentator (338), then why does he accord these years so little space in his book? And if

Rudnytsky did not undertake new challenges during wartime and the postwar era (338), then why does this period take up a good half of the monograph? These inconsistencies, caused by Sawa's apparent bias, lead him to some wrong conclusions.

II. SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Kedryn's memoir, *Life—Events—People*, is the main source used by Sawa in the biography under review. Additional sources include article collections and other memoirs as well as documents from the archives of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York, the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America in New York, the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv, and the University of Alberta in Edmonton (Kedryn's correspondence with his nephew Ivan Lysiak Rudnytsky). For some reason, Sawa did not make use of Milena Rudnytska's archive, located in the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in New York, which contains Rudnytsky's correspondence with representatives of the Ukrainian government-in-exile. This resource could have offered a deeper understanding of Rudnytsky's postwar position and standing, particularly with regard to his contacts with Banderite circles. The selection of published ego-documents utilized by Sawa includes Jerzy Giedroyc's correspondence with proponents of Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation. But the author did not manage to review the entirety of Giedroyc's broad correspondence, preferring instead to accuse the journal *Kultura* (*Culture*, Paris) and Giedroyc personally of overlooking crucial issues (such as "the extermination of Poles in Volhynia and eastern Galicia," and "the collaboration of Ukrainian military formations with the Nazis" [291]). Sawa also avoids using Klaudiusz Hrabyk's memoir (*Wspomnienia* [Recollections]), although he should have addressed the Polish journalist's "revelations" about Kedryn's ties to the Second Department of the Polish General Staff. It should be noted, however, that Sawa's chapter 3, devoted to Rudnytsky as a politician, is his most successful, and it offers an abundance of new information.

In his analysis, Sawa addresses Rudnytsky's prewar volume *Beresteis'kyi myr: Spomyny i materialy* (*The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk: Recollections and Materials*, 1928); the collections of articles *The Causes of Poland's Fall* of 1940 (these articles were initially published individually in the occupation-era *The Krakivs'ki visti*) and *U mezhakh zatsikavlennia* (*Within a Range of Interests*, 1986); and also numerous articles from prewar and postwar Ukrainian and Polish periodicals. Regrettably, the historian does not bother to include in his bibliography a complete list of Rudnytsky's book-length publications (obviously, he could not provide a bibliography of all of Rudnytsky's works,

given their multitude). Also, the bibliography and the author's analysis both fail to address several important publications, particularly Kedryn's reflections on the Peace of Riga (*Paraleli v istorii Ukrainy: Z nahody 50-richchia Ryz'koho myru* [*Parallels in Ukrainian History: On the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Peace of Riga*], 1971) and his polemic essay on the Ukrainian Revolution, which was published as a booklet (*Vykryvlena pravda: podii v Ukraini v 1918 r. u kryvomu dzerkali spomyniv d-ra Lonhyna Tsehel's'koho* [*The Distorted Truth: Events of 1918 in Ukraine from the Skewed Perspective of the Memoirs of Dr. Lonhyn Tsehel's'kyi*], 1963). I believe that it was this omission that led Sawa to treat cursorily the national liberation war of 1918-20, a crucial period in the intellectual formation of his protagonist. This formative period should have been the subject of extremely close analysis in the biography, along with Rudnytsky's later changes of opinion. This omission also draws attention to the book's structural shortcomings: the author deals with both the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the Peace of Riga in the chapter (that is, chapter 5) on reconciliation with the Poles, of all things. Although both treaties gave Ukrainians reasons to reproach the Poles, they do not formally belong within the sphere of Polish-Ukrainian relations; moreover, they are not examples of reconciliation but, rather, the opposite.

It is unclear why Sawa has omitted publications dedicated in part or in full to the Rudnyts'kyi family and, in particular, to Kedryn-Rudnytsky himself (see 14-15). And while it is understandable that the most recent publications (including my works of 2015¹⁴ and the 2016 article by the Wrocław-based scholar Sylwia Wójtowicz in *Studia Ukrainica Posnaniensia*) could not be incorporated either into the analysis or the bibliography, it is inexplicable why the bibliography fails to include earlier texts, starting with Józef Łobodowski's extensive review of Kedryn's memoir, *Life—Events—People*, which was published in *Kultura* right after the memoir came out (granted, Sawa does quote the article, but not in order to analyze Łobodowski's arguments). The bibliography also omits Rudnytska's collection *Statti, lysty, documenty* (*Articles, Letters, and Documents*) with its comprehensive introduction by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak; the volume of selected works by Mykhailo Rudnyts'kyi with a foreword by Oleh Bahan (which features detailed information about the Rudnyts'kyi family); and Petro Khmel'ovs'kyi's study on Pavlo Lysiak (published in *Halychyna* [Ivano-Frankivsk]). Also missing are some thematically relevant publications—first among them, I would place Hrytsak's collection of essays on nationalism (in two editions, both with the main title *Strasti za natsionalizmom* [*Passions Around Nationalism*]). Detailed biographic information about members of

¹⁴ That is, *Odwaga i strach* (*Courage and Fear*; and the Ukrainian translation—*Vidvaha i strakh*) and “Vakatsii nad Prutom” (“Vacation on the Prut River”).

the Rudnyts'kyi family can be found in the commentary section of Lysiak Rudnytsky's two-volume *Istorychni ese* (*Historical Essays*; see also Omeljan Pritsak's introduction, where he sketches the intellectual biography of Lysiak Rudnytsky and describes, in the process, some important aspects of the history of the Rudnyts'kyi family). Neither Sawa's bibliography nor his footnotes feature my biography of Kedryn's close friend Piotr Dunin-Borkowski, which was published more than ten years ago (in *Zeszyty Historyczne* [*Historical Notebooks*, Paris]) and which, among other things, addresses their wartime meetings in Kraków. The bibliography features, instead, a number of entries that have no relation either to Kedryn and his milieu or to the events analyzed with respect to them. For instance, one will find Volodymyr Stakhiv's article "Iak zahynuv O. Ol'zhych" ("How O. Ol'zhych Perished") about the poet and historian Oleh Ol'zhych (354); and, of all things, two editions of Borys Gudziak's unquestionably brilliant work on the Union of Brest of 1596 (350-51). The bibliography and footnotes include a significant number of random items—for example, Elena Borisenok's 2006 book on the phenomenon of Ukrainianization (349)—but fail to mention canonical works on the issue of Ukrainianization by some of the most authoritative scholars in the field, such as Heorhii Kasianov, Stanislav Kul'chyts'kyi, Iurii Shapoval, Myroslav Shkandrij, and George S. N. Luckyj, who have produced numerous publications on the topic (the latter two scholars—in English). Sawa's book also contains acknowledgements of publications that are not considered authoritative in their respective fields—for example, the 2005 book by Grünberg and Sprengel (26).

It comes as no surprise that Sawa's lack of extensive knowledge about the period analyzed, coupled with a randomly collated bibliography, together, lead not only to a faulty interpretation of information and inconsistencies in his book but also to the incorporation of factual errors—and there is no shortage of such errors. For example, the journal *Suchasnist'* (*Contemporaneity* [Munich]) was founded in 1961 not 1951 (see 35), and Volodymyr Stakhiv never served as its editor-in-chief (see 37). The editor's lapses also have a negative impact on the text: the book has many strange language constructions, grammatical errors, jumbled expressions, unclear quotes, and footnote errors. Furthermore, transliterations of Ukrainian names are inconsistent (for example, we find both *Rudnycki* and *Rudnicki*; *Hudziak* instead of *Gudziak* [351]; and *Michajło Hałaszyński* instead of *Mychajło Hałaszczyński*). There are some very surprising mistakes in English-language proper names (for example, we find *Uniwersytet Harwarda* instead of *Harvard*, and so on). Toponyms and demonyms have long been normalized in Polish, yet Sawa's book occasionally spells *Galicja* as *Halicja* (e.g., 65) and, in keeping with this inconsistency, turns *Galicians* into *Haliczanie* (in Polish, the latter usually denotes the residents of the town of

Halych). There is also some confusion in the footnotes (e.g., 65, note 92—Lysiak Rudnytsky's work is mixed up with one by Kedryn-Rudnytsky). In addition, there are some confusing contextual constructions in the text. For example, at one point, the Ukrainian boycott of the 1922 elections to the Sejm is described in one sentence, and the next sentence relates the establishment, that same year, of a Ukrainian bloc in the parliamentary Bloc of National Minorities (68).

III. BETWEEN THE SCYLLA OF SUBJECTIVITY AND THE CHARYBDIS OF BIAS

In conclusion, I would like to examine the extent to which Sawa has achieved the desired goal of a balanced scholarly analysis. It is perfectly understandable that all historical studies are, by their very nature, subjective interpretations, affected by their respective authors' world view, depth of knowledge, and emotions. The final text of any study is always influenced by both objective and subjective factors. The author's professional skills determine the extent to which he/she remains unshackled by his/her ideology and/or predefined modes of interpretation.

Sawa presents his conclusions toward the end of his book. This is where his least-balanced claims are put forth, and they cast doubt on his entire endeavour. The historian maintains that the late 1930s witnessed the gradual radicalization of Kedryn-Rudnytsky's views on Polish domestic and foreign policies as the Ukrainian developed a pro-German orientation (338). Sawa also contends that the wartime years affected Kedryn's beliefs more strongly than the interwar period did (338), making manifest Rudnytsky's strong anti-Polish bias; Sawa refers to him as a "typical Polish Ukrainian" (339) and "a Ukrainian nationalist" (340).

Kedryn's work for *Krakivs'ki visti* and his article collection *The Causes of Poland's Fall*, published during the German occupation, are presented as the most substantial evidence of his "collaboration." The historian brings up the issue several times, frequently quoting the most anti-Polish passages of *The Causes of Poland's Fall* but without adding anything new to his conclusions from the earlier section of his book. It bears repeating that bitterness caused by wartime defeat and disillusionment with the Polish government's stance were common in the early years of the war. At that time, Lviv residents ridiculed the Polish propaganda effort, distorting its slogan in the following way: "Strong—against the weak; united—by the trough; ready—to flee" (Zieliński,¹⁵ card 3). The German occupiers understood this disillusionment

¹⁵ This is an undated memoir submitted to the Karta Centre on the occasion of the centre's 1991 contest for the best wartime memoir regarding the former eastern

very well and capitalized on it in their own propaganda, recruiting national minorities in their cause.

Sawa contrasts Rudnytsky's stance with that of Władysław Studnicki: although the Polish politician and political commentator was pro-German, he refused a position in an occupation-era newspaper (30). However, Sawa "forgets" to mention a different example when making comparisons: the renowned Lviv writer and commentator Stanisław Wasylewski became the editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Gazeta Lwowska* (*The Lviv Newspaper*) under German occupation. And Sawa, instead, provides an entire list of other Ukrainian "collaborators" (31). This list includes Mariia Strutyns'ka, who spent 1940-41 working at the Ivan Franko Museum in Soviet Lviv; and Ivan Nimchuk, who was incarcerated at Lubianka prison in Moscow until 1941—his time at Lubianka, as far as I know, did not lend itself to contact with wider society.

There is little doubt that Rudnytsky's publication of an anti-Polish work during the German occupation is hardly praiseworthy, and various authors have remarked on this fact. Łobodowski, Kedryn's close acquaintance, took his action the hardest. I do, however, believe that drawing far-reaching conclusions that Rudnytsky had a pro-German orientation and was a partial collaborator and castigating him for a strong anti-Polish bias and for not conclusively owning up to his wartime past, all on the basis of a single episode, no matter how shameful, is a complete misinterpretation of fact. One should note that in the postwar work *Dvadtsiat' rokov pol's'koi samovoli u Zakhidnii Ukraini* (*Twenty Years of Polish Iniquities in Western Ukraine*), Rudnytska is no less critical of Polish interwar policies toward Ukrainians, but these views are not grounds for accusing her of a pro-German stance. Even less justified is the choice to accuse an entire community of collaboration (see the subchapter of chapter 2 entitled "Kolaboranci?" ["Collaborators?"]). And statements like "[p]erhaps they [Ukrainians] simply chose this option [collaboration] because they were incapable of anything else?" (128) are totally unacceptable and, in my view, even divest this scholar of his authority and credibility.

Sawa's insufficient attention to his sources and a certain bias in his interpretation have muddled his argument: He analyzes *Krakivs'ki visti's* trajectory from 1940 through 1945 (32-33), in spite of the fact that Rudnytsky's contributions came to an abrupt end in 1940. It is also unclear why the author enumerates the anti-Soviet articles of *Krakivs'ki visti* from 1940 to 1945 but does not provide a list of Rudnytsky's articles. Perhaps, the reason may lie in the fact that such a list would have clarified for the reader that Rudnytsky's work for *Krakivs'ki visti* did not extend past 1940?

territories of the Second Polish Republic.

Sawa does not fail to mention that Rudnytsky's Kraków apartment had belonged to a Jewish family prior to the war (338). Had the historian properly understood the overall nature of totalitarian power and the particular nature of German-occupation policies, he might have added that the occupation authorities "reassigned" housing and maintained strict control over where refugees from the Soviet territories were housed. Also, had Sawa paid more attention to his sources, he would have noted that in the summer of 1941, after almost two years of Soviet occupation, Kedryn made a trip to Lviv to check if there was anything left in his former apartment, which he had abandoned on 22 September 1939, taking nothing but a briefcase and a spare pair of underwear. He returned there only to discover that his house had become home to a one-time colleague, a former officer of the Ukrainian Galician Army and, now, a *Volksdeutscher*. The new tenant greeted him with "Heil Hitler!" and proceeded to speak to him in German (Kedryn, *Zhyttia* 361). Sawa should have understood the mindset of his protagonist—a very well-known Ukrainian activist of Jewish origin who wanted to survive. And for the purpose of clarification, I would like to note that Rudnytsky could not have abandoned his legal status; that is, his only possibility for refuge would have been within the Ukrainian underground, and he could not have chosen this option, because the Ukrainian underground was dominated, at that time, by radicals of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) against whom Kedryn had waged a campaign in his 1930s essays.

Had Rudnytsky been a true collaborator and pro-German thinker, he would not have hosted in his home Dunin-Borkowski, a count and former Lviv voivode on the run from the Germans, during the occupation. Moreover, Dunin-Borkowski would have risked neither making frequent visits to Rudnytsky's home nor taking part in open political discussions, particularly about Germany's inevitable defeat. And had Rudnytsky really had anti-Polish biases, he would not have joined occupation-era attempts to establish Polish-Ukrainian political co-operation (the issue was covered by Ryszard Torzecki¹⁶ and, subsequently, by Henryk Głębocki [Głębocki 157] and by me

¹⁶ In "Kontakty polsko-ukraińskie na tle problemu ukraińskiego w polityce polskiego rządu emigracyjnego i podziemia (1939-1944)" ("Polish-Ukrainian Contacts against the Backdrop of the Ukrainian Question in the Policies of the Polish Government-in-Exile and Underground [1939-1944]"); *Polacy i Ukraińcy: Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej* (*Poles and Ukrainians: The Ukrainian Question during the Time of the Second World War on the Territory of the Second Polish Republic*); and "Problemy porozumienia polsko-ukraińskiego w okresie II wojny światowej" ("Problems with Polish-Ukrainian Reconciliation during the Time of the Second World War").

[in "Piotr Dunin-Borkowski"]]). Nor would he have so insistently resumed these efforts after the war.

The need for the normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations is a recurring idea in Kedryn's memoir; in fact, he devotes the most space to this very issue. It is not surprising that Sawa dedicates an entire chapter to this question in his own book, but it is, indeed, surprising that he fails to notice Rudnytsky's key statement, which sounds much like a legacy statement:

[U]nderstanding and co-operation between these two nations remain a "conditio sine qua non" for their stable state existence. Poland and Ukraine will only be able to secure independent sovereign states if they produce a Polish and Ukrainian Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer, who will understand that even the centuries-old animosity between the two nations must give way to co-operation and friendship when history demands it and when their existence depends on it. (Kedryn, *Zhyttia* 389)

In accusing his protagonist of having an anti-Polish bias and a pro-German stance and of collaboration, Sawa crosses the line from subjectivity, which is inevitable in any interpretation, toward outright contentiousness. It is patently obvious that impartiality is a *conditio sine qua non* for all scholarship. Impartiality and a measure of empathy are particularly important when writing a biography.

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